

Crowdsourcing, Curating and Network Power: Towards a Critical Crowdsourced Cultural Archive

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PhD Abstract

This thesis explores the use of the crowdsourced digital archive in contemporary museological and cultural projects and investigates ways co-creation can be used more critically and meaningfully by museums, galleries and wider cultural initiatives. A primary focus of the project is the inherent relationship between the archive, curator, power and politics, particularly in relation to the performative mechanisms through which hegemonic power produces, mediates and consolidates cultural norms and ideals.

Specifically, this project seeks to explore the complex relationship between the crowdsourced cultural archive and contemporary capitalist power, defined variously as New Capitalism, Network Capitalism or Inclusive Neoliberalism. Referring to a range of contemporary crowdsourced projects, the thesis argues that many existing participatory digital archives performatively replicate and consolidate hegemonic cultural norms, mirroring historical archival forms in this way. Further, I argue that the particular structuration of contemporary capitalism requires that attempts at criticality or political action tend to be reassimilated into hegemonic power.

Nonetheless, responding to calls for critical digital networks by theorists such as Jodi Dean (2008) and Geert Lovink (2011), the thesis aims to identify new models for the design and structuration of future critical crowdsourced archives. The project looks to Tactical Media, Hacktivism and Critical Digital Art to explore effective online criticality within New Capitalism, while an investigation of alternative architectures for critical collaboration is undertaken with reference to Free and Open Source Software (FOSS) and Net Art. Through this research, tenets for future critical crowdsourced cultural projects are delineated, paying particular attention to the role of the curator within the co-created project and critical approaches to digital architecture and design.

The thesis primarily employs interpretive research based in Cultural Studies, but also includes findings from nine interviews undertaken with prominent digital project leaders. It is hoped the research will contribute to knowledge within Digital Humanities, Art and Design History, Museum and Gallery Studies, Design Theory and Cultural Studies, as well as contemporary curatorial and archival practice in museums and galleries.

List of Objectives

- To explore and document the current landscape of cultural crowdsourced projects in museums, galleries and wider cultural institutions
- To address a theoretical aporia which currently exists between critical theories of New Capitalism, Museum and Gallery Studies and the theory and practice of cultural crowdsourcing
- To delineate the relationship between existing crowdsourced archives and hegemonic power structures within contemporary capitalism
- To explore ways in which future cultural crowdsourced projects might function to produce effective counter-hegemonic cultural narratives
- To explore ways in which future cultural crowdsourced projects might function to facilitate egalitarian co-creation
- To contribute to scholarship in Digital Humanities, Museum and Gallery Studies, Art History, Design Theory and Cultural Studies as well as contemporary curatorial and archival practice in museums, galleries and wider cultural institutions

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Introduction

This thesis explores the use of the crowdsourced digital archive in contemporary museological and cultural projects, and investigates ways in which co-creation can be used critically and meaningfully by museums, galleries and wider cultural initiatives. A primary focus within the thesis is the ongoing relationship between the archive, the curator, power and politics, particularly in relation to the performative mechanisms by which hegemonic power functions to produce, mediate and consolidate ideological cultural and subjective norms in society.

Specifically, this project seeks to explore the complex relationship between crowdsourced cultural archives and contemporary capitalist power. In so doing, the thesis problematizes the assertion put forward by Jacques Derrida in *Archive Fever* that 'effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation' (1995, 4 n1). The project also challenges theories of New Museology and utopian cultural writing concerning the value of crowdsourcing in cultural institutions, which frequently simplistically collates the notion of active participation in cultural projects with progressive, democratic cultural knowledge production. In this way, the thesis follows assertions made by Mirko Tobias Schäfer that 'defining participatory culture merely within a morally determined framework and associating participation only with positive connotations, is highly problematic' (2011, 13).

Through a deconstructive analysis of several current crowdsourced projects in relation to various theories of contemporary capitalist power, this project argues many existing participatory digital archives performatively replicate and consolidate hegemonic cultural norms, thus reproducing the operation of traditional public and private archival forms. Indeed, the thesis highlights the fact that contemporary Post-Fordist Capitalism - referred to respectively as Network Capitalism (Castells, 2009), New Capitalism (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2007, Fisher, 2011), Information Capitalism (Critical Art Ensemble, 1996, Lash, 2002), Communicative Capitalism (Dean, 2008), Empire (Hardt and Negri, 2000), Consensus Democracy (Rancière, 1999) Control Society (Deleuze, 1992) and Inclusive Neoliberalism (Wickstrom, 2012) - functions through apparently horizontal and inclusive

forms of collaboration, whilst remaining at its root a fundamentally individualist, neoliberal and sovereign form of power. Further, the thesis argues that a tendency for surveillance, assimilation of critical gestures or absolute exclusion of dissensual intervention within contemporary capitalism renders the effective performance of critical gestures incredibly difficult. For many theorists by 'enabling counter-publics and contestations of power, digital media are seen as strengthening the voice of alternative, marginalized, or otherwise oppressed groups' (Dahlberg, 2013, 863). However, this thesis suggests the process of developing effective critical counter-narratives through crowdsourced projects is complex and difficult to achieve.

Taking into account the vicissitudes of contemporary capitalist power, this thesis argues for a more critical and complex understanding of digital co-creation in contemporary society, and investigates ways in which such an understanding might be reflected in the design and curation of future participatory digital cultural projects. The thesis also investigates effective approaches deployed by critical digital archival initiatives to evade the clutches of contemporary power, principally by drawing from examples within Tactical Media and Hacktivism in order to isolate possible functional tactics for use in future crowdsourced archives. The thesis also explores practical models for collaborative interaction design in future crowdsourced projects, capable of acting with integrity in relation to contemporary power structures. To approach this aspect of the argument, the thesis elaborates on a suggestion made in passing by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri in *Multitude* (2005) around the possibility of a radical and progressive mode of collaboration based in Free and Open Source Software (FLOSS). The thesis then explores FLOSS projects in relation to various theoretical approaches to collaborative work and radical democracy, and also investigates critical and creative translations of FLOSS principles drawn from co-creative Net Art platforms which might be helpful in the structuration of future crowdsourced projects.

In making this investigation, the thesis aims to find practical ways to approach the call for critical, self-reflexive and meaningful cultural uses of the digital network made by theorists such as Jodi Dean (2008) and Geert Lovink (2011). Both Dean and Lovink devise a strong case for the development of more critical uses of technological networks which do not simply lead to meaningless circulation of cultural content, but use collaboration to

critical ends. For Dean, circulation of digital content with no critical goal actually 'forecloses the antagonism necessary for politics' (2008, 103), while for Lovink, similarly writing against apolitical participation, it is necessary to 'start designing tighter structures that can facilitate and coordinate collaborative work on cultural, political and educational projects' (2011, 167).

Throughout the thesis, a particular focus is placed on the performative nature of archival and exhibitionary power, the socio-political impact of design, the notion of the curator as project leader and the nature of critical collaboration. The thesis attempts to analyse ways in which these tropes play out in crowdsourced projects, and to find ways for future projects to function in a more egalitarian manner, producing progressive cultural narratives capable of effecting critical dissensus and thus impacting progressively on hegemonic societal norms. In this way, the thesis also addresses the mundane nature of power within contemporary society, as a patchwork of routine gestures and enacted roles often undertaken unwittingly through enculturated performances.

In fact, the concept of performance and the performative is used in diverse ways within this thesis to explore the socio-linguistic potential to perform new cultural truths. John Austin's notion of the performative speech act (1962) is variously explored here in relation to Derrida's theories on the archival production of truth (1995), Augusto Boal's *Theatre of the Oppressed* (1979), Mackenzie Wark's notion of Expressive Politics (2004) and contemporary examples of cyberperformance.

Methodology

The thesis is written from the primary methodological perspective of Cultural Studies. Bearing in mind that Cultural Studies is fundamentally based upon the idea that 'culture is produced within relationships of domination and subordination and thus reproduces or resists existing structures of power' (Kellner, 1997, 29), this thesis approaches the archive and curatorial practice as a set of cultural texts which reflect, mediate and help consolidate complex and ever-shifting societal power relations. Research within Cultural Studies also involves working across a variety of academic disciplines, attempting to 'overcome the standard academic division of labour by surmounting arbitrary disciplinary specialisation' (Kellner, 1997, 25). Following these principles, this thesis draws from

theoretical texts in a range of different disciplines including Politics, Economics, Philosophy, Digital Humanities, History of Art, Museum and Gallery Studies, Contemporary Art Theory, Communication Studies, Media Theory, Radical Pedagogical Theory, Performance Studies and Design Studies.

Despite its transdisciplinary ideals, Cultural Studies primarily functions through interpretive rather than empirical research. There is a tendency within Cultural Studies to consider that quantitative, empirical research risks violently reducing complex cultural phenomena to reified numerical values incapable of representing the intersectionality, particularity and flux of cultural experience (Murdock, 1997, 181, Silverman 1993, 204). Qualitative research strategies such as the medium of interview are also viewed with caution, being understood to gather data from respondents as fact without taking account of normalised or subconscious viewpoints, and to essentialise complex experience by drawing dominant trends from it (Holloway and Jefferson, 2005).

Working against this tendency within Cultural Studies research, this thesis complements its interpretive methodological basis with a series of interviews carried out with project leaders of crowdsourced and radical digital projects. Following Pierre Bourdieu's arguments in *Distinction*, qualitative research such as the medium of interview is considered helpful here if used carefully and critically as a starting point for interpretation rather than a set of self-evident facts (1984, 18). Accordingly, interviews have been undertaken in conjunction with analysis stemming from interpretation of existing sites and guidance from theories of Network Power and collectivity.

Interviews were principally undertaken to help explore concepts of leadership, collaboration and motivation within various digital cultural projects, to further influence the practical tenets put forward to inform future crowdsourced projects, and to cross-examine theories of collaborative work and interpretive analysis of existing sites at various stages within the thesis. On a broader methodological level, it was considered important not only to include a range of theoretical voices through transdisciplinary interpretive research, but also to explore the views of practitioners, curators and project leaders working practically in the field. Indeed, the placement of interviews within the thesis reflects this concern. Rather than being considered in isolation, material drawn

from interview is interwoven throughout this thesis in conjunction with theoretical material and examples of digital cultural practice. In this way, interview material contributes to the overall texture of argumentation within various chapters of the project, acting in a conversational way with theoretical insights and practical digital examples.

With the exception of two sets of questions undertaken via email, interviews documented within this thesis were conducted in a semi-structured way. This means interviews were formulated around certain key questions determined in advance, but room was also afforded for spontaneous dialogue. As Sharan Merriam states, this format 'allows the researcher to respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic' (2014, 90). Following theorists such as Tim Rapley, the process of interview is considered to be unavoidably hierarchical, in that 'interviewers have overarching control' (2004, 20). Nonetheless, an attempt has been made here to undertake 'engaged, active or collaborative interviewing' (Rapley, 2004, 26). This means accepting the unavoidable partisanship and power imbalance of the medium of interview, but aiming as far as possible to work towards an empathetic, dialogic and engaged interview process, recognising the interactional nature of the endeavour.

Within a thesis based upon crowdsourcing and collaboration, the power dynamics inherent in the interview process were understood to be of particular importance. The semi-structured interview process undertaken was therefore particularly significant. Although, as mentioned above, it was considered impossible to completely remove the hierarchical position of the interviewer from the process, utilising a semi-structured interview format enabled a mixture of both focused prepared research and spontaneous dialogue to take place. Questions were also circulated to respondents before the interview process began, in order that interviewees were able to familiarize themselves with the forthcoming questions. This strategy, twinned with the interweaving of interview material within the body of the thesis alongside published academic work, aimed to engage with the unavoidable power dynamics of the interview process to produce a mode of argumentation as conversational and horizontal as possible within the work.

A three-month residency was also undertaken during the PhD research period at Furtherfield Gallery, supported by AHRC and EU funding through Creativeworks London. This project meant conceptually redesigning a digital platform for artistic co-creation: *VisitorsStudio.org*. This residency offered a chance to apply intermediate theoretical research findings to a real-life project, as well as leading to the inclusion of the existing *VisitorsStudio* platform as a key case study in Chapter Four of this thesis.

Methodologically speaking, it is important to note that this thesis consciously occupies a position between Cultural Studies and traditional Design Research. As abovementioned, Cultural Studies is based in interpretive, analytical work which seeks to critique and work against explicit and implicit structures of domination and subordination within capitalism. Conversely, Design Research and Practice traditionally served commercial ends of profit through effective mass production (Thackera, 1988, 21, Mazé and Redström, 2007, 2). Further, Design Research has traditionally functioned through research methodologies based in empirical disciplines such as science, mathematics and engineering, which were later supplemented by social scientific disciplines such as sociology, psychology and anthropology to accommodate a commercial turn towards user participation in the design process (Bayazit, 2004, 21, Krippendorff, 2006, iii).

Nonetheless, there also exists a counter-history of radical and critical movements in design research since the 1960s and 1970s (Mazé and Redström, 2007, 4). Furthermore, contemporary design history offers a model for viewing the designed object interpretively as a cultural artefact reflective of societal and ideological forces (Fallan, 2010, 59). This thesis functions in line with the more radical history of design, attempting to find ways Design Research and Cultural Studies can benefit one another despite tensions in their traditional methodologies. The intention is that the frequently abstract theoretical interpretive research of Cultural Studies can find real-world impact in practical design motivations and tenets, while the radical ideological position of Cultural Studies can help ensure that the design of future crowdsourced projects benefits from historically, philosophically and politically deconstructed analyses of the socio-cultural impact of design. As we will see, this is particularly important for current crowdsourced projects, whose design often unwittingly reproduces and helps consolidate hegemonic norms despite claiming motivations to the contrary.

Transdisciplinary bricolage¹ between traditionally opposing research methodologies and subject areas is also relevant to this project's wider arguments concerning productive modes of collaboration. Indeed, as we will see, collaboration operating with an element of agonism, or 'dispute between equal adversaries', is considered by Chantal Mouffe as an essential feature of radical democratic practice (2000, 25), while Hardt and Negri's concept of the Multitude fundamentally relies on the idea of cooperation through difference (2005). It is hoped that the methodology of this thesis reflects its aims, by mobilising diverse theories to shared ends.

In relation to this notion of agonism and transdisciplinary bricolage, it is important to note that certain ideas drawn from interpretive research fields within this thesis function in tension with one another. Wherever this is the case, careful analysis has been undertaken to ensure theories function to supplement one another and do not operate in such a way as to structurally prohibit their shared use in the development of an argument. Where necessary, tensions are explicated within either the body of the thesis or footnotes to clarify the methodological and conceptual route taken to negotiate theoretical concerns.

For instance, in Chapter One, a particular tension is negotiated between the work of Jacques Derrida and John Austin's Speech Act Theory (1962). Derrida fundamentally reworked Speech Act Theory by questioning the very possibility of intentionality within text. This theoretical position led to a lengthy academic dispute with speech act theorist John Searle, culminating in Derrida's text *Limited Inc.* (1988). As Kira Hall states, 'Derrida looked to literature, arguing in a deconstructive vein that because the text can always be detached from the context in which it is written, the intentionality of its author is irrelevant. For Derrida, context can never be identified, since speech acts work through a potential of never-ending citationality' (2000, 185).

As explored below, in Derrida's publication *Archive Fever* (1995), the relationship between performative enactment and never-ending citationality remains central to arguments relating to patriarchy, religion and the archive. In fact, it is precisely this tension which enables the archive to function as both 'law' and 'beginning' (1995, 1). In

¹ Bricolage is a French term defined in the Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms as 'an assemblage improvised from materials ready to hand' (2004, 30). It has been appropriated and used widely by deconstructive theorists in relation to cultural and literary theory.

Chapter One, the ambivalence between performative enactment and resignification within the production of archival truth is also further framed by the writings of Judith Butler. For Butler, as explicated below, the iterability of the performative is fundamental to the possibility of radical resignification (2000, 186).

Similarly, in Chapter Two a disjuncture is navigated between the work of Jacques Rancière, Zygmunt Bauman and Manuel Castells. Bauman and Castells' framing of contemporary power is based in a binary model of either absolute inclusion or absolute exclusion, while Rancière understands current society to operate as a saturated, hierarchized 'continuum of positions' (1999, 116). Initially, this opposition appears prohibitive. However, if we accept the idea that contemporary societal subjects can be both visible to power and excluded from it, we can begin to reconcile the apparent disjuncture between the theories of Rancière, Castells and Bauman. In fact, viewed in this way, the theories of Rancière, Castells and Bauman can be understood to inflect one another in useful ways and offer a multi-faceted understanding of contemporary power despite their individual dynamics.

Contextual Review

Research within this thesis has shown there are currently two clear-cut methodologies in operation in relation to the relatively new field of crowdsourced museum practice. The first, mirroring traditional curatorial hierarchies, requires participants to undertake simplistic, administrative and safe to fail tasks which ape and extend traditional curatorial and archival roles, rather than challenging or subverting these roles to empower the production of new cultural narratives from the public themselves. Meanwhile, a second, more entrenched model of crowdsourcing asks participants to provide the content for centrally produced, structured and mediated sites. These latter sites tend to borrow the structuration of commercial social media platforms, through centralised project leadership, gamified models of interaction design and the division of site content into public profiles managed by individual contributors.

By foregrounding the production of personal profiles within the architecture of web platforms, participation in these latter sites tends towards the display of diverse individual statements presented in parallel with one another even when addressing a

common issue or question. The very design of sites therefore restricts lateral debate between participants and prevents co-creation around shared cultural material, mirroring contemporary neoliberal modes of interaction. However, as explored in Chapter Two, site rhetoric typically revolves around the empowerment of audiences to produce communities of practice and egalitarian modes of working, for the good of society at large. Therefore, sites seemingly consider digital collaboration to equate unproblematically to democratisation.

In the field of Digital Humanities, theorists such as Christian Fuchs and Geert Lovink have undertaken extensive socio-cultural analysis of social media projects for their lack of criticality and the ways in which they mirror aspects of capitalism. Lovink has also called for wider criticality in the field, stating that 'we need a contemporary network theory that reflects rapid changes and takes the critical and cultural dimensions of technical media seriously' (2012, 23). More broadly, theorists such as Manuel Castells (2009), Eran Fisher (2011), Scott Lash (2002) and Jodi Dean (2008) have explored the particular forms of power inherent in Post-Fordist Capitalism, and the relation between the Internet, digital culture and contemporary hegemony². A broad range of theoretical work has also been undertaken critiquing contemporary capitalism and its wider socio-cultural manifestations, including the theories of Hardt and Negri (2000, 2005, 2009), Jacques Rancière (1999, 2004), Maurya Wickstrom (2012), Zygmunt Bauman (1992, 2013), and Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello (2007).

There is also an established history of digital activism dating back to the early 1990s (Raley, 2009, 7). As discussed in Chapter Three, many tactics employed in these digital forms can also be traced back to earlier modes of direct action offline. Activist digital practice and hybrid activist initiatives within the realm of Tactical Media, Locative Media and Hacktivism also show a critical and self-reflexive approach to digital cultural practice which responds specifically to the dynamics of late capitalism. Collectives such as Critical Arts Ensemble incorporate theoretical research within their practice, while academic

² Hegemony is used here in relation to the work of Antonio Gramsci and refers to a specific functioning of power in which the worldview of the dominant classes is presented to society as common sense and accepted as such. In Gramsci's terms the process of hegemony operated via a 'combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent' (1971, 215).

scholarship by theorists including Mackenzie Wark (2004) and David Garcia and Geert Lovink (1997) surrounds the wider movements from which these collectives stem. Collaborative production is also endemic to digital histories around software production, and is fundamental to Free and Open Source Software. This is discussed in Chapter Three in relation to projects such as Linux and Apache - and initiatives such as the Free Software Foundation, as well as in theories of collectivity within open source put forward by theorists such as Christopher Kelty (2008), David M. Berry (2008) and Eric Raymond (1999).

There is also a rich history of theory and practice around radical, democratic, educational and creative forms of collaboration to draw upon in the design of digital projects. Theories of publics, notions of the commons and ideas of radical democracy include work by writers such as Mouffe (2000, 2014), Elinor Ostrom (1990) and Jo Freeman (1970) while radical pedagogical and performative collectivity has been explored in detail by Rancière (2011), Boal (1979), and Paulo Freire (1968). A long and established history of counter-hegemonic collectivity and participatory practice also exists within Fine Art, dating back to modernist artist collectives in the early twentieth century (Stinson and Sholette, 2007, 5), developing during the 1960s as a result of 'new technologies and the breakdown of medium-specific art' (Bishop, 2006, 10), and proliferating since the 1990s with the birth of Socially Engaged Practice (Bishop, 2006, 10).

Particularly relevant to this thesis is the development of Net and New Media Art from wider histories of collective and participatory art practice, itself mapped and theorised critically through the work of theorists such as Trebor Scholz (2006), Mark Tribe (2006) and Olga Goriunova (2011). Collaborative curatorial models within New Media Art have also been investigated through the work of theorists such as Sarah Cook and Beryl Graham (2010) as well as Joasia Krysa (2006). Meanwhile, postmodern theories of museum curation such as New Museology (Vergo, 1989) and New Museum Theory (Hooper-Greenhill, 2003, Marstine, 2006) call specifically for the development of egalitarian and discursive relations between curator and audience in order to facilitate the production of cultural narratives from diverse, and frequently marginalised, societal subjects.

However, despite the wealth of research around collaboration, criticality and cultural production in various parallel disciplines, research for this thesis has found academic literature specifically relating to crowdsourced digital practice in museums and galleries to be scarce, and where available currently failing to employ critical analysis of current models of cultural crowdsourcing in relation to broader critical cultural theories of capitalism. Early writing on the use of online collaboration in museums by theorists such as Harold Besser (1997), Jennifer Trant (1997) and Ross Parry (2007) tends to follow wider trends in theorisation around digital participation by either catastrophizing or idealising the potential inherent in museum crowdsourcing. Meanwhile, more recent writing on the subject of cultural crowdsourcing, by theorists such as Trant (2008), Oomen and Arroyo (2011) and Kirsten Drotner and Kim Christian Schrøder (2013), tends to function uncritically as a means of technically reviewing and mapping the field or exploring successful projects from a purely operational perspective. Such writing analyses the uptake of projects in relation to the tenets of New Museology rather than critically deconstructing their structuration in relation to the wider socio-political context.

Currently, only one text has been published on the specific subject of crowdsourcing in museums and galleries: Mia Ridge's 2014 edited publication *Crowdsourcing Our Cultural Heritage*. The first half of this text is again devoted to practical and technical reviews of projects successful in terms of bringing digital practice into line with New Museum theory. Case studies are written by project leaders of sites such as *Transcribe Bentham* and *Old Weather*, and fall into the first of the abovementioned crowdsourcing models as administrative extensions of traditional curatorial roles through tasks such as transcription and annotation of collections, rather than operating in more deeply entrenched, co-curated ways.

Essays in the second half of Ridge's book by Alexandra Eveleigh, Stuart Dunn and Mark Hedges, Lori Byrd Phillips and Trevor Owens are devoted to theoretical concerns around cultural crowdsourcing, and helpfully touch upon critical concerns such as creative and complex crowdsourcing, modes of authority and leadership within projects and labour within crowdsourced sites. However, in the main these essays serve to further map and define the existing field of museum crowdsourcing, and again, principally concern ways to bring future projects further into line with the tenets of New Museology, rather than

deconstructing and critiquing concepts of crowdsourcing, collaboration and New Museum Theory in relation to wider socio-cultural hegemony in order to develop fundamentally egalitarian, or 'horizontal'³ methodologies for critical and creative co-creation online.

Recognising this aporia, this thesis will therefore attempt to extend current critical research into cultural crowdsourcing, and help bridge the gap between current theory and practice surrounding cultural crowdsourcing and wider thinking concerning collaboration, criticality and power today, in order to develop critical formulations related to future collaborative cultural work online.

Chapter Synopses

Chapter One of this thesis explores the relation between the archive, power and politics in terms of both design and functionality. A particular focus is placed here on the Nineteenth Century as a societal paradigm shift to Industrial Fordist Capitalism, which crucially also saw the production of the first public museums and archives, itself a key part of the new capitalist democratic power structure. This relationship between power and the archive is explored philosophically through the work of Derrida and Michel Foucault, and extended culturally through the work of theorists such as Allan Sekula and Tony Bennett. Case studies employed here focus on the production of societal norms within early Biopower through early museums, galleries and World's Fairs, as well as via the physical archival form itself. An important theme introduced within this chapter and developed through the remainder of the thesis is the notion of the archive, and by extension the curated exhibition, as a performative mode of cultural truth-making, requiring specific 'felicitous conditions' (Austin, 1962, 6) in order to function effectively. A second essential theme introduced within this chapter through the work of Derrida is the etymology of the archive as something which refers both to the inculcation of 'law' and the possibility of a radical 'beginning' (1995, 1). This is understood as a structural feature

³ The notion of a 'horizontal' methodology for co-creation here refers to a method of working collaboratively which facilitates the equal and fair involvement of all participants in a given project. Operating against the notion of a vertical structuration of power and the fundamental hierarchy this implies, horizontal power systems aim to function through a flattened, distributed network form. As we will see throughout the thesis, in their ideal structuration, such systems do not advocate homogenous involvement by all participants, but rather allow for diverse skillsets to be represented at different junctures within a given project.

of archival meaning making which is essential to the potentiality of the archive to perform counter-hegemonic cultural truths.

Chapter Two explores existing examples of the digital crowdsourced archive in relation to contemporary power in New Capitalism. Questioning Derrida's assertion that 'effective democratization can always be measured by...participation in and access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation' (1995, 4 n1); as well as theories of New Museology and Digital Museum Theory which suggest active participation in cultural projects can displace the traditional hegemonic role of archivist or curator as cultural 'powerbroker' (Miles, 1985, 32); this chapter critically explores the relationship between collaboration and power in the contemporary cultural crowdsourced site. A review of current projects within museums, galleries and wider cultural initiatives is followed by a more in-depth analysis of two specific cultural projects: *Cowbird* and *Historypin* in their incarnations between 2011 and 2014⁴. These latter sites are critically considered in relation to various theories of contemporary capitalism including Fuchs' theories on digital labour, Castells' notion of Network Power, Fisher's definitions of the digital within New Capitalism, Rancière's theories surrounding Consensus Democracy, Bauman's notions of Liquid Surveillance within late Biopower, Gilles Deleuze's notion of the Control Society and Wickstrom's ideas around Inclusive Neoliberalism. Theories of power and identity within contemporary neoliberalism are also considered in this chapter with reference to the theories of Nancy Fraser and Wendy Brown.

This deconstructive analysis of *Cowbird* and *Historypin* uncovers an intricate relationship between contemporary capitalist power and the crowdsourced archive. It suggests the crowdsourced archive, despite its collaborative structuration, functions to perform and consolidate hegemonic cultural laws, norms and ideals just as physical private and public archival forms had done before it. It therefore becomes clear that collaboration alone is not sufficient to break the production and mediation of hegemonic cultural narratives by the archive. Indeed, this chapter finds that active collaboration in the production of dominant cultural narratives has itself become a key bastion of power within

⁴ Given the propensity of digital culture to develop in an iterative manner, it was considered necessary to capture activity on these sites in a time-limited manner in the first instance. *Historypin* underwent a major site update in October 2015, which has been accounted for in the Postscript of this thesis.

contemporary capitalist society, the dynamic of which relies on the consensual visibility of all societal subjectivities, including those marginalised in earlier forms of Biopower.

Further, this chapter finds the particular dynamic of collaborative power within New Capitalism structurally prevents critical and political gestures from being performed successfully. By becoming publicly visible, critical gestures tend either to be apolitically reassimilated into the saturated mapping of subjectivity in society, surveilled, or else completely prohibited and excluded from view should assimilation be impossible.

In light of these findings concerning the structural inhibition of criticality within New Capitalism, Chapter Three goes on to investigate possible tactics and techniques which could facilitate future crowdsourced projects in successfully performing radical or counter-hegemonic cultural narratives. To explore methods of critical cultural engagement sufficiently self-reflexive to achieve this, the chapter cites a range of digital projects in the field of Tactical and Locative Media and Hacktivism. Finding the performative success of such projects - based in defensive visibility and deliberate transience - to be at odds with the durational and public nature of the archive, the chapter then goes on to consider *Wikileaks* as a possible incarnation of an expressive, durational archive which also uses anonymity and visibility defensively.

After the previous chapter's exploration of the possibility for criticality in crowdsourced sites, Chapter Four returns to the question of collaboration within crowdsourced projects themselves. This chapter investigates the continued relevance of collaboration within critical cultural projects and analyses ways future participatory digital platforms could be structured and managed in order to function as truly democratic fora. This chapter takes as its starting point the concept of the Multitude in the work of Hardt and Negri (2005), which suggests that the particular combination of neoliberal individualism and networked collectivism within contemporary capitalism offers a unique opportunity to produce autonomous counter-hegemonic subjectivities, able to challenge capitalism effectively for the first time. Hardt and Negri's work on the Multitude is abstract in the main and lacking in practical examples. However, one suggestion made fleetingly by Hardt and Negri is that Free and Open Source Software (FLOSS) could offer a practical incarnation of the Multitude, an assertion many theorists have suggested requires further investigation (Poster, 2006, 66, Virno, 2003, 43-4, Mudu, 2009, 232).

Chapter Four takes the opportunity to explore the relation between FLOSS collaboration and the Multitude in detail. One particularly important finding in terms of this relationship is Christopher Kelty's notion of FLOSS as a 'Recursive Public' - an egalitarian and horizontal mode of collaboration between equals who self-reflexively and collectively question both the structure and content of a given platform or network in a fluid and sustained way. By exploring FLOSS as an example of the Recursive Public, and analysing its structuration alongside theories of democratic and collective functioning by theorists such as Ostrom, Freeman and Mouffe as well as theorists of radical pedagogy and performance such as Rancière, Boal and Freire, this chapter aims to conceptualise a potential practical model for collaboration which encompasses Hardt and Negri's more abstract delineations for the functioning of the Multitude.

However, despite the relevance of this collaborative framework for Hardt and Negri's theories, the history of FLOSS reveals that open source technology has itself also fallen prey to assimilation into hegemonic commercial and individualistic dynamics of contemporary capitalism. This highlights the fundamental and unavoidable ambivalence of collaboration within contemporary capitalism and again reinforces the need for self-reflexive criticality in the collective aims of participatory projects. To conceptualise what such a project might look like in the field of cultural crowdsourcing, this chapter turns to two directly critical and fundamentally collaborative examples of New Media Art, a genre itself conceptualised as a creative translation of FLOSS principles into art practice. These platforms, *VisitorsStudio* and *Upstage*, provide examples of the Recursive Public oriented to critical, collaborative ends, and thus offer further insight into the architecture, leadership and collaborative forms which a future critical crowdsourced archive might employ in order to function successfully and with integrity. The results of this investigation tally with findings from interviews undertaken with project leaders within wider critical digital collectives, and also lead to a reassessment of the very term 'crowdsourcing', suggesting 'co-creation' could be a more fitting definition for future collective platforms.

The concluding section of the thesis gives an overview of the project's argument and draws together various conceptual threads within the thesis in order to offer practical tenets for the production of future counter-hegemonic cultural crowdsourcing projects.

Tenets include ideas on how to produce, manage, lead and frame future crowdsourced initiatives and ultimately investigate whether the archive can successfully operate in a collaborative, radical and critical way; using its ambivalence to act as the radical beginning of new democratic cultural laws, norms and ideals rather than functioning only to perform and reproduce dominant norms.

Key Structuring Question of Thesis and Contribution to Knowledge

This thesis questions whether the crowdsourced museum archive is currently a hegemonic or counter-hegemonic cultural form, and whether future crowdsourced archives could function progressively and counter-hegemonically. The research approach works against a commonly held belief in theories of New Museology and Digital Humanities that collaboration equates necessarily to progressive, anti-oppressive, non-hierarchical and essentially anti-capitalist politics, and complicates an assertion by Derrida that participation in archives necessarily relates to their democratisation. Critically analysing these assertions in relation to theories of New Capitalism, the project seeks to approach calls by Lovink for critical forms of digital collaboration capable of affecting societal change (2011), as well as appeals by theorists such as Mark Poster for practical experiments in critical collaboration drawn from Hardt and Negri's *Multitude* (2006, 65). Through this research, the thesis also questions the nature of the radically democratised participatory digital archive, questioning what form such a structure might take, and how the etymological meaning of the archive as both law and beginning might function performatively in relation to this. As abovementioned, this thesis aims to offer both practical and theoretical insights, operating between the disciplines of Cultural Studies and Design Research. In this way, the methodology of the project seeks to take on the transdisciplinary character it advocates in wider projects, and aims to devise tenets for the design of future radical crowdsourced archives whose theoretical perspectives are rigorously researched.

Overall, this project seeks to make a contribution to knowledge by addressing a current gap between critical digital theory and the reality of cultural crowdsourced projects, which often unwittingly conflate the idea of collaboration with progressive politics and work within design strategies which reflect hegemonic neoliberal norms. By making this

situation visible and offering potential ways to negotiate such projects critically in the future, the thesis aims to aid the development of radical and progressive forms of digital culture in museums, galleries and wider cultural institutions. It is hoped this project will be relevant to a variety of academic subject areas including Museum and Gallery Studies, Art History, Digital Humanities, Design Research, Design History, Curating and Cultural Theory.

The project also documents a particular cultural, museological and academic landscape within the field of crowdsourcing from 2011-14. In a field as fast-moving as Digital Humanities, it is hoped this mapping of practice within cultural crowdsourced projects can function in a relevant way as a lasting historical research document.

Chapter One: The Archive, Power and Politics

This chapter explores the fundamental relationship of the archive to power and politics both in theoretical and practical historical terms. In so doing, the chapter helps frame the later argument within this thesis around dynamics of power and collaboration within contemporary crowdsourced cultural archives. Particular emphasis is devoted to the theory of the archive by Derrida in his 1995 publication *Archive Fever*. This publication relates the archive, both physically and conceptually, to the performative functioning of socio-cultural power. The text also highlights the ambivalent nature of archival narratives as intricately woven and perpetually refashioned moments of commencement and commandment in relation to cultural truth. In this way, *Archive Fever* helps provide insights into some of the central dynamics of curatorial and archival power analysed in later parts of this thesis.

A second focal perspective in this chapter is the work of Foucault. Foucault's theories around early Biopower and disciplinary rule help frame ways in which the first public archives and curated exhibitions functioned performatively to help disseminate cultural narratives across both Western and colonised Non-Western societies during early Industrial Capitalism. Foucault's theories provide an important basis for an exploration of the dynamics of power within Industrial Capitalism, alongside the work of theorists such as Tony Bennett, Judith Butler and Allan Sekula. The chapter also offers a historical illustration of these theories by exploring the development of the first public archives and museums. Further examples of the intersection between power, politics and public exhibitions are drawn in relation to the inauguration of the Louvre in Paris and Nineteenth Century World's Fairs: specifically the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.

Other significant themes of the thesis introduced within this chapter include the active participation of audiences within the production of hegemonic cultural narratives, the socio-political importance of spatial design in relation to power and the relation between visibility and power in public archival forms.

Archive Fever: The Archive, Patriarchy and the Performance of Truth

As Derrida reminds us in *Archive Fever*, the very concept of the archive is inherently entwined with power and politics. Indeed, the etymology of the word archive is a Romanised transliteration of the Greek *arkheion*, meaning a 'government record house' (Partridge, 2009, 24). The word *arkheion* itself stems from the term *arkhē*, which pertains to a 'beginning', 'the first place' or 'government' (Partridge, 2009, 24). Within *Archive Fever*, the word *arkhē* is interpreted as 'commencement' or 'commandment' (1995, 1) where commandment is understood in a specifically legal, power-related and authoritative sense, and commencement refers to the production of new histories or even modes of being. As Derrida states, the name *arkhē*:

Apparently coordinates two principles in one: the principle according to nature or history, *there* where things *commence* – physical, historical or ontological principle – but also the principle according to the law, *there* where men and gods *command*, *there* where authority, social order are exercised *in this place* from which *order* is given – nomological⁵ principle (1995, 1).

A third term related to the archive in Derrida's text is the *archon* – referring to the superior magistrates who inhabited the Ancient Greek *arkheion* (1995, 2). As Derrida states, archons had the authority to 'ensure the physical security of what is deposited and of the substrate. They are also accorded the hermeneutic right and competence. They have the power to interpret the archives' (1995, 2). The archon is therefore not only a custodian, but also a creator of governing truths within a given society: a role which reflects the double meaning of the archive as commandment and commencement.

Importantly for us, Derrida makes reference within this text to the fact that the design and architecture of the archive determines ways in which archival material is able to exercise this nomological power. As Derrida states, 'the technical structure of the *archiving* archive also determines the structure of the *archivable* content even in its coming into existence and in relation to the future. The archivization produces as much as it records the event' (1995, 17). At this juncture in the text, Derrida even refers to digital

⁵ The definition of 'nomological' in the Oxford English Dictionary: 'pertaining to, concerned with or designating laws, esp. (*in Philos.*) those which are not logical necessities' (Brown, 1973, 1933).

advancements including email as an example of a qualitative shift in communication through an alteration of a physical archival form (1995, 17).

The idea of the archive and its archon actually being able to produce truth is related to the idea of the performative or speech act⁶. The performative is an utterance considered to be able to enact what it states under certain 'felicitous conditions' (Austin, 1962, 6), including a need for the speech act to be executed according to established conventions understood and accepted by its audience (1962, 14-15). Interestingly, in Judith Butler's terms, the performative is also defined in terms of having authority and being linked inherently to power. As Butler states:

Performative acts are acts of authoritative speech: most performatives, for instance, are statements that, in their uttering, also perform a certain action and a binding power... If the power of discourse to produce that which it names is linked with the question of performativity, then the performative is one domain in which power acts *as discourse* (1993, 225, author's italics).

Butler also reflects Austin's assertions that the performative requires convention in order to function successfully, suggesting the performative actually produces its speaker as an authority through the conventional quality of its utterance. As Butler states: 'it is through the invocation of convention that the speech act of the judge derives its binding power; that binding power is to be found ... in the citational legacy by which a contemporary "act" emerges in the context of a chain of binding conventions' (1993, 225).

⁶ The theory of the speech act was first put forward in linguistic philosopher John Austin's 1955 William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University, published as *How to do Things with Words* in 1962. Derrida fundamentally reworked Austin's Speech Act Theory by questioning the very possibility of intentionality within text. As Kira Hall states, 'Derrida looked to literature, arguing in a deconstructive vein that because the text can always be detached from the context in which it is written, the intentionality of its author is irrelevant. For Derrida, context can never be identified, since speech acts work through a potential of never-ending citationality' (2000, 185). For this reason, iterability became central to Derrida's notion of the speech act, and of deconstruction itself; meaning the impact of the speech act itself will constantly change in a process of unending citationality, a fundamental ambivalence which is written into Derrida's account of the archive as both law and beginning. Poststructuralist theorists such as Judith Butler take iterability into account as a fundamental part of theories around performativity, suggesting this iterability itself is the key to radical resignification (Hall, 2000, 186). Within this thesis, iterability and citationality are considered to be central to the functionality of the performative, and to its potential as a way of operating towards radical change.

The idea of the archive as a performative, authoritative enactment of convention is developed through the remainder of *Archive Fever*, through the figure of various other performative knowledges including psychoanalysis, religion and history. The primary text used to make this exploration is a 1991 publication by Jewish historian Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi: *Freud's Moses: Judaism Terminable and Interminable*, a publication which aimed to shed a new light on Freud's work by reading psychoanalysis as a history of the Jewish people. However, it is used by Derrida to draw links between the sort of knowledge produced by religion, psychoanalysis, history and the archive in a multifaceted way⁷.

Within Yerushalmi's text, Derrida focuses on an account of a re-covered⁸ bible given to Freud by his father on his 35th Birthday. An inscription within this bible from Freud's father describes it as: 'the Book of Books, from which sages have *excavated* and *lawmakers* learned knowledge and judgement' (1995, 23). The inscription continues to relay that:

The book has been *stored* like the fragments of the tablets in an *ark with me*. For the day on which your years were filled to five and thirty I have put upon it *a cover of new skin*... And I have presented it to you as *a memorial and as a reminder* [a memorial and a reminder, the one and the other at once, the one in the other, and we have, perhaps,

⁷ The choice of Yerushalmi's text by Derrida is a careful one which folds back on itself in several layers. Written by a historian and concerning both psychoanalysis and religion, the publication encircles all three of these disciplines, which in their performative functionality can each be considered archival in Derrida's terms. For instance, as Susan Van Zyl states, 'psychoanalysis is itself an archival science, unceasingly concerned with questions of memory and forgetting, with the necessary and accidental destinies of desire and thought and the substrates that sustain or obliterate them' (Van Zyl, 2002, 41). Psychoanalysis thus reflects the structure of the archive in terms of documents acquisitioned and discarded and the impact this has on the cultural narratives produced. We can also draw links between psychoanalysis and the archive through the relation between scientific truth and fictional narrative within both practices. Both psychoanalysis and archival truth occupy an ambiguous yet influential ground between objective truth and cultural narrative. Despite Freud's self-proclaimed scientific approach to psychoanalysis, the practice has been termed a 'powerful mythology' by philosophers such as Wittgenstein (1966, 52), where the adoption of a mythological explanation for a situation by a patient makes 'certain things seem much clearer and easier for them' (Wittgenstein, 1966, 43). This point of view on psychoanalysis underscores the possible performative element within it, and also again reflects the archive as a cultural form which takes on a status and authority capable of being perceived as truth, and which performs certain laws in reality from this standpoint. This idea of producing a truth from a fiction can also be applied to history, which as Carolyn Steedman asserts, means the historian must attempt to 'conjure a social system from a nutmeg grater' (2001, 45). Meanwhile, the role of religion as a generational enactment of authoritative convention within this schema is more directly explored by Derrida within the text through the metaphor of circumcision and the dogma of religious writings.

⁸ The bible in question was literally given a new book cover, or 'skin' by Freud's father.

in the economy of these two words the whole of archival law: *anamnesis, mnēmē, hypomnēma*] of love from your father, who loves you with everlasting love (1995, 23).

This inscription thus acts as the link between archival, psychoanalytical, religious and historical truth-making in *Archive Fever*. Indeed, Freud's bible itself is termed an 'arch-archive' ... "'stored" with the arch-patriarch of psychoanalysis' (1995, 23). Most obviously, it portrays the performative passing down of knowledge between generations as a singularly patriarchal pursuit, in this case from the figure of God as father, to Freud's father and then to Freud himself. The biblical inscription from Freud's father is even signed from 'Jakob, son of R. Shelomoh Freud' (1995, 23), thus adding a third generational layer to its message.

This is something which reflects the abovementioned definition of *arkhē* as '*there where men and gods command*' (1995, 1), and is continuously re-inscribed throughout *Archive Fever*. In Derrida's schema, the archival function is always a male one which refers variously to 'we the fathers, we the archons, we the patriarchs, guardians of the archive and of the law' (1995, 48, author's italics). This notion of a paternal and patriarchal transference of knowledge over time is extended within *Archive Fever* in relation to a phantom, or spectral presence, understood to occupy and help re-inscribe existing norms through an intergenerational haunting (1995, 61).

This specifically male and paternal spectre is directly linked to the Death of the Father in Freud's *Totem and Taboo* which seeks to explain the very origin of 'social organization, of moral restrictions and of religion (2002, 176). Within *Totem and Taboo*, the origin of laws within a society stems precisely from the killing and devouring of the father by brothers within a tribe, an act of internalising and embodying the father which actually accomplishes an identification within him, and eventually a continuation of the norms and ideals he has set in place. As Derrida states, quoting Freud: 'The dead father became stronger than the living one... in accordance with the psychological procedure so familiar to us in psycho-analyses under the name of deferred obedience' (Freud, 1955, vol. 13, 143 in Derrida, 1995, 59). In *Archive Fever*, the spectre is considered to approximate a paternal presence of the expert, who 'sees without being seen' (1995, 61) and who speaks clearly in the present without hearing what is said. In Derrida's terms, this is 'a bit

like the answering machine whose voice outlives its moment of recording' (1995, 62). As Derrida states, in this way 'we know that a spectral response (thus informed by a technē⁹ and inscribed in an archive) is always possible. There would be neither history, nor tradition, nor culture without that possibility' (1995, 62-3).

The idea of patriarchal and intergenerational expert knowledge transfer is expanded further within *Archive Fever* through religion, and in particular through the metaphor of circumcision, considered to be a 'singular and immemorial archive' (1995, 26).

Circumcision is a rite passed down through generations of men via religious doctrine - not merely through understanding, but through a violent inscription onto the body which 'leaves the trace of an incision *right on the skin*' (1995, 20), so that the subject literally embodies the marks of religious doctrine for life. Interestingly, Derrida also describes the re-binding of the Freud family bible by his father as an act of paternal love which in Hebrew is known as giving 'a new skin' (1995, 21). In this way, giving the gift of the bible, as a physical archive, is associated with the act of circumcision, in terms of the transmission of religious doctrine across generations, and the way in which religious rules and laws are both internalised and embodied by the subject. Meanwhile, the corporeality of the bible as a physical archive acts as a performative commandment capable of actually impacting on the physical body of the recipient.¹⁰

This transmission of knowledge is also described through the figure of circumcision both as a 'dramatic turn' (Derrida, 1995, 21) and as a '*coup de theatre*' (Derrida, 1995, 21-2, author's italics) in *Archive Fever*. This reference to dramatic enactment returns us to the initial definition of arkhē as that performance and performativity which enacts as well as commanding the law. It also develops the notion of performativity as that which not only commences a commandment through convention, but does this in a specific way through

⁹ The use of the word technē here is pertinent. To the ancient Greeks, technē referred to a skilled art or craft, and 'embraced things as diverse as carpentry and poetry, shoemaking and medicine, sculpture and horse breaking' (Shiner, 2001, 19). Indeed, for Shiner, technē, like the Roman term 'ars' referred less to a class of objects than to the human ability to make and perform' (2001, 19). Derrida's use of the word technē here reminds us again of the performative function of expert knowledge, and its relationship to the archive, while the relation to both art and science in the etymology of this word reminds us of the craft of producing and performing archival truth, something which is as creative as it is factual.

¹⁰ The corporeality of the bible as a physical archive making a physical impact on the living body is a relevant concept in relation to the digital archive. Although the digital archive acts virtually rather than in a corporeal manner, the performative functionality of the knowledge production within this cultural form remains, as explored in Chapters Two, Three and Four of this thesis.

the embodiment or internalisation of ideals across generations. In this way, the metaphor of circumcision in *Archive Fever* brings to mind Althusser's ideas on performativity in relation to subject formation. In Althusser's terms, every human subject is performatively called into being, or 'interpellated' through ideology. As he states, 'all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects' (Althusser, 1969, 173). Subjects then perform their identities according to dominant cultural norms and narratives.

The emphasis on these performative norms as specifically patriarchal also has a wider meaning within Derrida's work and deconstructive theory more generally. Following Lacan's theories which reinterpret Freud's ideas through language, Derrida understands the very linguistic system which Western individuals grow into to be based in a patriarchal or 'phallogocentric'¹¹ mode of being, leading to a competitive, highly rational societal formation and set of values which is intent on individual mastery and fearful of any loss or lack, something which itself is based in the fear of a loss of power (See for example Derrida, 1976, 1987, 1993, 1995, 1995b)¹².

In Derrida's terms, this system is based on the building blocks of western language, which are produced from binary oppositions: pairs in which 'one of the two terms governs the other (axiologically, logically, etc.), or has the upper hand' (Derrida, 1995b, 41). Binary oppositions therefore function through 'a violent hierarchy' (Derrida, 1995b, 41) in which one of the two terms is always considered the subordinate one. In this way the very structure of language as violent and oppressive reflects and helps consolidate the wider patriarchal structure in which it is formed. This set of assertions also reflects Lacan's re-reading of Freud's castration complex, where the development of the human child into the linguistic world acts in a performative way to produce the patriarchal subject over generations (Lacan, 1977). As the theorist Toril Moi states, the desire for mastery within patriarchy also has a fundamental impact on knowledge production, where 'the humanist

¹¹ This term is coined by Derrida, and as Simon Morgan Wortham states: 'grafts together logocentrism and phallogocentrism, a term initially used by the psychoanalyst Ernest Jones to critique Freud's analytical bias towards the phallus. Derrida brings the term into play in order to deconstruct the Lacanian reference to the phallus as master signifier within the symbolic order' (2010, 89).

¹² Derrida's *Truth in Painting* (1987) and *Memoirs of the Blind* (1993) are two texts in which the relationship between knowledge production, phallogocentrism and gender are explored in detail, both in relation to written and artistic creativity. Here the phallus represents a mode of meaning-making which is both violent and unitary. Conversely, the notion of the abyss refers to a feminine set of possibilities in relation to meaning, where sense can be fluid, generous and multiple.

creator is potent, phallic and male – God in relation to his world, the author in relation to his text’ (Moi, 2002, 8).

This wider deconstructive context adds a further set of connotations to Derrida’s explorations of psychoanalysis, history and patriarchy, making multiple links between the ways psychology, history and religion are performatively produced and mediated in patriarchal society. By extension, it also offers us a framework from which to understand archival knowledge production as a performative commandment carried out across generations in an attempt at mastery. The knowledge passed over generations here is genealogically a male, phallic, logocentric and expert one, which we will see replicated in various historic and contemporary archival forms explored throughout this thesis¹³.

Derrida’s definition of commencement in relation to the archive is also related to this performative mechanism of commandment, and is explored through the metaphor of three interlocked and interweaving doors to the future, here operating in relation to aspects of Yerulshalmi’s book¹⁴. As Derrida states: ‘the three doors of the future come to resemble each other to the point of confusion, but they differ between themselves: at least in that they regularly turn on their hinges to open, one onto the other. Their topologic thus remains properly *disorientating*’ (1995, 69).

The first of these doors is said to open on the last page of Yerushalmi’s book. It operates as a potential continuation of the history already told, where the ‘historian promises to keep secret on the subject of an archive yet to be established’ (1995, 69). The historian here promises to keep their secret to the paternal spectres of past knowledge who have

¹³ The crowdsourced digital archive can appear almost anti-genealogical, both in terms of immediacy of access and the fragmented production of content by an amateur public, where the professionalised ‘expert’ figure is not clearly visible as an enframing structure in the construction of meaning by the archive. However, as we will see in Chapter Two particularly, performativity remains a driving force behind the digital archival form which reflects the dynamic of archival power set out by Derrida, and relies on societal convention and sanctioned expert authority in order to act effectively.

¹⁴ As Carolyn Steedman reminds us, the complicated (and perhaps ultimately impossible) nature of commencement as an absolute beginning unobscured by the past is highlighted in both the form and the content of Derrida’s text. Indeed, the very notion of a fever related to the archive is based in the desire for origins, which in Derrida’s terms is a futile search. As Steedman states: ‘what “archive” may be doing there at all then, is the work of meditating on starting places, on beginnings, the search for which, because it is impossible, Derrida names a sickness, a movement towards death’ (Steedman, 2001, 6). The structuration of this text itself also reminds us of this impossible search for origins, in that the majority of the publication and its argument is self-consciously developed in a series of deferred beginnings – variously entitled the ‘Exergue’, ‘Preamble’ and ‘Foreword’ – sections of writing which also take up the bulk of the publication before the more diminutive ‘Theses’ and ‘Postscript’ (Steedman, 2001, 6-7).

framed the historian's meaning-making so far, and thus remains within their performative and patriarchal frame. Meanwhile, the third door is defined by Derrida as being the same as the first: representing the irreducible and interminable heritage of meaning carried with the historian as they work, which cannot help but define future work, and which in Yerulshalmi's case is signified by 'Jewishness' (1995,71).

In different ways, both these doors relate to Derrida's idea that there can be 'no future without repetition'¹⁵ (1995, 81) and underscore the continuing spectral and paternal presence of the past as something which means 'the interpretation of the archive... can only ever illuminate, read, interpret, establish its object, namely a given inheritance, by inscribing itself into it' (1995, 67). However, even taking this inescapable repetition and its attendant ambivalence into account, the final mode of future making within *Archive Fever* – the second door - is a radical one which signifies the possibility of a true commencement of new cultural truths and subversion of existing laws by the archive. As Derrida states, the second door 'leaves a double definition open...to a future radically to come. Indetermination forcefully and doubly potentialised, indetermination *en abyme* (1995, 70).

Although in Derrida's archive we can never escape the heritage from which we have come, it seems we can actively work against it to make alterations to the reading of the archive and new possibilities for its future. By questioning or suspending belief in the laws of the past even momentarily, it becomes possible to reimagine future knowledge. As Derrida states, this door opens 'to infinity the gaping of the future in which the very possibility of knowledge remained conditional' (1995, 70). It is here that the notion of commencement within the archive becomes most interesting in relation to power and performativity. The possibility is of performing, and bringing into existence a new truth and a new set of laws. These truths may not be lasting due to the endless repetition and remaking of the archive and its truths. However, they can seemingly formulate a sort of subversive dialogue with hegemonic 'laws' or 'commandments' of the archive¹⁶.

¹⁶ The ambivalence of archival truth and the way in which repetition alters meaning is an important fundamental theme throughout this thesis. As we will see in later examples and case studies in Chapter Three and Four particularly, this characteristic of the archive offers the potentiality for subversive performative readings of existing socio-cultural laws or truths.

This form of subversive performativity might then be understood as something like the radical performativity espoused in Judith Butler's theories of the cultural meaning of words such as 'queer', in which members of marginalised communities are able to reclaim injurious terms by harnessing the authoritative power of convention and repetition which makes them act, and uses a spark of indeterminism to subvert these to new progressive ends. As Butler states:

If a performative provisionally succeeds... then it is not because an intention successfully governs the action of speech, but only because that action echoes prior actions, and accumulates the force of authority through the repetition or citation of a prior and authoritative set of practices. It is not simply that the speech act takes place *within* a practice, but that the act is itself a ritualised practice. What this means then, is that a performative "works" to the extent that it draws on and covers over the constitutive conventions by which it is mobilised. In this sense, no term or statement can function performatively without the accumulating and dissimulating historicity of force (1997, 51).

The idea of a macro-frame of ideas which can potentially be altered from the inside also has interesting links to Foucault's theories on the archive. Indeed, Carolyn Steedman has drawn comparisons between the theories of Foucault and Derrida, suggesting *Archive Fever* is part of 'an intermittent dialogue between the two theorists on the "archive as a way of seeing, a way of knowing; the archive as a symbol of power" (2001, 2). However, where in Derrida's work the archive is discussed both as a physical entity and a wider conceptual dynamic of performative knowledge production, the archive in Foucault's terms refers to the very overarching system into which all societal ideas and knowledge fit at a given time, and therefore governs all that which can be said within a given society. As Foucault states: 'the archive is first the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events... it is the general system of the formation and transformation of statements' (2002, 146).

For Foucault, the statement has a very specific meaning, referring to the building blocks of wider discourses of ideas and knowledge, or discursive formations, which in turn make

up an epistemic context, or archive at a given time in society¹⁷ (Rouse, 1994, 93). In Foucault's terms, statements are intelligible and authoritative only within these specific discursive formations, which are particular to specific societies and times. It follows that, to Foucault, the wider archive of knowledge is necessarily in flux. As Lois McNay states: 'the archive constitutes a historical a priori, that is a set of rules that are themselves historically determined and thereby capture a notion of change (1994, 66).

In this way, both the Foucaultian and Derridean archival concept is fundamentally tied to its historical context, and cannot escape this. However, within the terms of both thinkers, it would be possible for a singular physical archive to impact progressively on the broader macro-archive of discursive norms and ideals within society.

Foucault's Archive and Disciplinary Rule

Foucault's work also helps illuminate the performativity of the individual physical archive in practice, and the way it represents, reflects and consolidates the more abstract socio-cultural definition of archive as discussed earlier, particularly in relation to power and dominant cultural narratives. In fact, the inauguration of the modern public archival form correlates with what Foucault identifies as an epistemological break in the very structuration of Western society - beginning in the seventeenth century and reaching fruition in the nineteenth (2004, 242).

In Foucault's terms, this epistemological break relates to a move from sovereign to disciplinary rule, or Biopower. Sovereign rule relates to a centralised monarchical mode of absolute power which situates itself above societies' conflicts, defers to legal premises to settle claims and conflicts, and operates in a purely negative and punitive manner (Rouse, 2003, 103). Similar to Derrida's assertions around the genealogical functioning of the performative, Foucault's theories of sovereign rule are based on the passing down of power over generations in a ritualistic way (Foucault, 2004, 67-9).

In Foucault's terms, 'the theory of sovereignty is... a theory which can found absolute power on the absolute expenditure of power' (2004, 36). Sovereign rule is based on legal determinations produced behind closed doors, which have the power to inflict bodily

¹⁷ As Lois McNay has stated (1994, 64-69), Foucault's early concept of the Episteme did not allow for flexibility, while his later concept of the archive which replaced this had flexibility at its root.

harm and are 'essentially a right of seizure: of things, time, bodies, and ultimately life itself' (Foucault, 1998, 136). The absolute power of sovereignty is such that, as Rouse states, it simply 'prohibits, confiscates or destroys what sovereign judgement pronounces illegitimate' (2003, 103-4). Furthermore, this bodily harm and destruction is used within sovereign rule as a highly visible and spectacular deterrent for further rebellion in broader society. In Foucault's terms, 'the body of the condemned man became the king's property, on which the sovereign left his mark and brought down the effects of his power. Now he will be the property of society: the object of a collective and useful appropriation' (1977, 109).

Conversely, disciplinary rule is based in the democratic principles of a consensual social contract. It is considered by Foucault to be a bourgeois phenomenon and 'one of the basic tools for the establishment of industrial capitalism' (2004, 36). Rather than functioning in a centralised and punitive manner through a specifically legal framework, disciplinary rule operates in a decentralised, networked manner through the inculcation of scientific and specifically medical norms and ideals within the populace (Foucault, 2004, 38). Disciplinary rule uses these medicalised norms and ideals to control the human body, and is termed Biopower by Foucault for this reason (2004, 243).

Within disciplinary power, hegemonic norms and ideals operate on a hierarchical spectrum to characterise acceptable and unacceptable subjects and behaviour within society. As opposed to the sovereign structure of rule functioning through bodily harm to 'let live or make die', Biopower operates through the ability to 'make live or let die' according to the subject's ability to fulfil societal norms and ideals (Foucault, 2004, 241). The very existence of this spectrum of norms helps produce obedient subjects within society, as it represents the possibility of being socially alienated and exiled, or even allowed to die should they fail to live up to society's ideals. Once clearly divided into categories, the various components of society can be ordered to represent 'a whole range of degrees of normality indicating membership of a homogenous social body but also playing a part in classification, hierarchisation and rank' (Foucault, 1977, 184).

As John Tagg states: a decentralised 'constellation of institutions' (2004, 259) also functions within disciplinary society to mediate and help reproduce hegemonic norms

dynamically. Such institutions function primarily to submit the population to surveillance and a culture of auditing and documentation, in order to ensure the norms and ideals prescribed within society are enacted appropriately (Rouse, 2003, 109). As Foucault argues: 'discipline tries to rule a multiplicity of men to the extent that their multiplicity can and must be dissolved into individual bodies that can be kept under surveillance, trained, used and if need be, punished' (2003, 242).

Should norms fail to be enacted, corrective action is undertaken in disciplinary society. The sovereign form of punishment, which aimed to rule by fear by inflicting the maximum pain possible in a spectacular manner, is replaced by a 'gentler' mode of punishment, in which the criminal is denied access to societal privileges, shamed, and used as an example to other societal subjects (1977, 114). A central disciplinary institution characterising this new form of punishment is the modern prison: one of several institutions including hospitals, asylums and schools which were developed throughout the eighteenth century as 'a project of cure, correction or reform' (Cousins and Hussain, 1984, 100)¹⁸.

For Foucault the prison is an institution which maps disciplinary power particularly clearly (1977, 256). Indeed, as Foucault states: 'at the heart of all disciplinary systems functions a small penal mechanism' (1977, 177). The disciplinary logic of the modern prison is most clearly illustrated in Foucault's terms through the design of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon, a central tower within a circular prison structure holding individual cells for inmates, so that each inmate could be surveilled at any time, but would not know exactly when such observation was occurring. By structurally dividing cells and ordering inmates' bodies from a position of potentially absolute surveillance, the very architecture of the Panopticon made it possible to assess, judge and control the behaviour of each inmate at any given time. As Foucault states, 'it was a procedure, therefore, aimed at knowing, mastering and using. Discipline organises an analytical space' (1977, 143).

The onus on observation within Foucault's analysis of the Panopticon also highlights an important dynamic in the wider theory of disciplinary power, which surrounds the

¹⁸ In other cases, criminals were made to work visibly for the public good in early Biopower. As Foucault states, this means of punishment means 'the convict pays twice; by the labour he provides and by the signs that he produces. At the heart of society, on the public squares or highways, the convict is a focus of profit and signification. Visibly, he is serving everyone; but at the same time, he lets slip into the minds of all the crime-punishment sign: a secondary, purely moral, but much more real utility' (1977, 109).

relationship between visibility, power and knowledge, where a fear of being seen to deviate from the norm results in obedience. As Foucault states, 'the exercise of discipline presupposes a mechanism that coerces by means of observation; an apparatus in which the techniques that make it possible to see induce effects of power, and in which, conversely, the means of coercion make those on whom they are applied clearly visible' (1977, 171).

Indeed, for Foucault 'the perfect disciplinary apparatus would make it possible for a single gaze to see everything constantly... a perfect eye from which nothing would escape and a centre towards which all gazes would be turned' (1977, 173). Within this imagined absolute gaze, all members of society could be classified and audited on the societal spectrum of norms, and could therefore be controlled, something which imbues the very act of looking or making visible in Biopower with political momentum. As Louise Purbrick states, 'for Foucault, the act of viewing is premised on the assumption of power' (2001, 13).

This onus on visibility and surveillance is extended in Foucault's theory of the medical or clinical gaze. The clinical gaze refers to a specifically expert mode of looking in disciplinary practices of medicine, which is considered to both objectify and diagnose a patient, drawing out pathologised truths about their condition in an almost alchemical way. As Foucault states in *The Birth of the Clinic*: 'the clinician's gaze becomes the functional equivalent of fire in chemical combustion; it is through it that the essential purity of phenomena can emerge: it is the separating agent of truths... the clinical gaze is a gaze that burns things to their furthest truth...one can see now that the clinic no longer has to simply read the visible; it has to discover its secrets' (Foucault, 1973, 121). The medical or clinical gaze therefore not only records but constructs diagnostic truth through its continuous reading of the subject. In this way, the clinician's gaze can be understood to function in a performative manner, similar to Althusser's theory of interpellation.

The performative interpellation of the subject can also be found within the disciplinary structures of the Panopticon. As Foucault states, the Panopticon operates to 'arrange things so that surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action' (Foucault, 1977, 201). As a result of this constant potential surveillance, inmates

actually internalise and perform the power structures they are party to. The architectural structure of the Panopticon therefore does more than simply constraining the prisoner physically, and rather leads structurally to the control of inmates' behaviour. As Butler states, the Panopticon 'acts on the prisoner's body...by forcing the prisoner to approximate an ideal, a norm of behaviour, a model of obedience...it is as Foucault insists, the way in which "he becomes the principle of his own subjection"' (1997, 85). In this way, as Butler argues, 'the prison and its inmates represent the performative capacity to constitute the subject whom it names (1997, 97).

The prison is a particularly extreme example of disciplinary power, but reflects the same dynamic of disciplinary rule in wider society where a spectrum of norms is produced and maintained by the internalisation of ideals by the general population. It is for this reason that, as Foucault reminds us, in disciplinary society 'power exercised through networks and individuals do not simply circulate in those networks; they are in a position to both submit to and exercise this power. They are never the inert or consenting targets of power; they are always its relays. In other words, power passes through individuals, it is not applied to them' (2004, 29).

However, the decentralised framework of disciplinary power and its internalisation within societal subjects does not mean that sovereignty completely vanishes with the arrival of Biopower. In fact, in Foucault's conceptualisation of Biopower the principle of sovereignty remains essential to disciplinary society, though detached from a singular figure of sovereign rule. Rather like the speech act which needs to appropriate a framework of authority and convention in order to function (Butler, 1997, 51), the figure of the sovereign becomes a fluid and mobile symbol within society, embodied by subjects who concede to and mediate the social contract of norms and ideals structuring democracy, and by disciplinary institutions which condition and enforce societal norms.

As Foucault argues, this leads to a duality of power within disciplinary society, in which there exists:

On the one hand a legislation, a discourse, and an organisation of public right articulated around the principle of the sovereignty of the social body and the delegation of individual sovereignty to the state, and we also have a tight grid of

disciplinary coercions that actually guarantees the cohesion of the social body... a right of sovereignty and a mechanics of discipline (2004, 37).

The History of the Public Archive and Museum as Disciplinary Forms

The modern public archive and the public museum are clear examples of the constellation of disciplinary institutions operating within early Biopower. Indeed, the mechanics of disciplinary power are intricately reflected in the production and mediation of hegemonic cultural narratives through the nineteenth century public archive and exhibition. Not only do such archives and exhibitions mirror the structural and architectural operation of power within the panopticon through controlled, striated and hierarchized modes of visibility, but these cultural forms operate performatively to enact hegemonic disciplinary narratives. Mirroring the dual face of power operating between sovereignty and discipline, professional curators and archivists in early Biopower can be understood take on a sovereign role in the effective enactment of archival and exhibitionary narratives. Furthermore, visitors to public archives and museum exhibitions can be understood to take an active part in internalising, embodying and disseminating cultural norms to which they are exposed.

Before the inception of Biopower, archives had principally functioned as private repositories accessible only to ruling powers, or private collections of cultural material commissioned by the very wealthy. As Thomas Osborne states, 'the earliest archives were tied not to liberal but to sovereign forms of power... Before the invention of the modern notion of the public, archives nearly always take this sovereign, non-public form' (1999, 55)¹⁹. This dynamic of privacy reflects the absolute juridical power of sovereign rule. By shutting away the power to make law from the public, the absolute, punitive nature of juridical law was able to function effectively. Indeed, as Howard Caygill states, 'it is

¹⁹ Despite the fact that archival forms were primarily private and inaccessible before the French Revolution, the history of collecting is complex and contains caveats and exceptions, as described by Arthur Macgregor in his history of the early museum form: *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (2007). As Macgregor asserts, the musœum at Alexandria, from the Third Century BC, can be understood as an early public library, while the history of the Catholic Church to the Reformation included instances of the collection of both holy relics and secular objects for display within church buildings. Meanwhile, Curiosity Cabinets, a popular societal trend from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century kept in the private homes of wealthy and educated members of society, were occasionally opened up for public viewing. As Macgregor states, such cabinets aspired to collect order and display the entirety of worldly knowledge (2007, 1-13).

important to recall the origins of the archive in oligarchic rule, because it is characteristic of such regimes that the laws be public, but not available to all' (1999, 2).

Public forms of the archive began to develop from the 17th Century onwards (Millar, 2010, 28). However, it was after the French Revolution of 1789-94 and the subsequent rise of the nation state and formalisation of disciplinary rule that public archives became a societal norm (Milligan, 2005, 160). Indeed, the Archives Nationales in Paris were formed in 1789 from numerous dispersed closed official archives belonging to King, Court and Church²⁰, just two weeks after the storming of the Bastille and as a direct result of the French Revolution (Milligan, 2005, 159-60). Public art galleries were also formed at this time, the most politically significant example of which is the Louvre, decreed as a priority by the new revolutionary government just days after the attack on the Tuileries, and inaugurated in 1793 (McClellan, 1994, 91). The Louvre was formed from the king's art collection, an a private Princely Gallery which like many other royal collections during the sixteenth century, had sought to 'dazzle and overwhelm both foreign visitors and local dignitaries with the magnificence, luxury and might of the sovereign' (Duncan, 1995, 22). As Carol Duncan states: 'the French revolutionary government, seizing an opportunity to dramatize the creation of a new republican state, nationalised the king's art collection and declared the Louvre a public institution' (1995, 22).

By rendering official archival documents and cultural collections of information visible and accessible, public archives and museums helped to produce, perform and consolidate the spectrum of disciplinary norms and ideals which Biopower needed to function. As Sarah Milligan reminds us: 'the question of the archives became a question of control over the memory of the state's exercise of power over citizens; and of who had the power to mobilise or intervene in this memory to shape the body politic, to make as well as to write history' (2005, 160). This was particularly important at the inception of the nation state, when choices of what was accessioned, archived and made visible to the public had a direct and immediate impact on societal identity. As Richard Harvey Brown and Beth Davis Brown state: 'as depositories of national history and memory, modern archives,

²⁰ As Sarah Milligan asserts, 'the King had his *Trésor des Chartes* (the treasury of charters, a collection that contained treaties and other documents dating back to Dagobert and Charlemagne); each parish and monastery had its own charterhouse, with records of land holdings and registers; the courts held records of their proceedings' (Milligan, 2005, 159).

libraries and museums... helped to preserve a collective national memory and thence to constitute a collective national identity' (1998, 19). Indeed, the centrality of the public archive to the formation and mediation of discourses relating to the nation state was such that theorists such as Osborne have cited this as an essential node or 'obligatory passage-point' in the wider network of disciplinary power (1999, 52).

Through the selection process of material, choices made in the classification process, and through power over access, the archivist had a particularly central role in hegemonic knowledge production. As Joan Schwartz and Terry Cook remind us:

Archivists – as keepers of archives – wield power over those very records central to memory and identity formation through active management of records before they come to archives, their appraisal and selection as archives, and afterwards their constantly evolving description, preservation, and use (2002, 2).

Therefore, despite the democratisation and rendering public of the archive, the etymology of the word in concepts of law and government through the Greek 'arkheion' remains an accurate definition of the term in the post-revolutionary French context. Indeed, the first archivists at the Archives Nationales were lawyers by profession who took on the position as government functionaries 'elected by the National Assembly and responsible for following its directives and answering its requests for documents' (Milligan, 2005, 162). Following the dynamic of disciplinary rule as a 'delegation of individual sovereignty to the state' (Foucault, 2004, 37), the archivist was able to take on and embody the sovereign authority necessary to enact cultural norms in the new disciplinary society.

This recognition of the embodiment of sovereignty by the archivist also returns us to the relationship between performativity and archival knowledge production within Derrida's *Archive Fever* and Butler's analysis of the radical performative. As we have seen through Derrida's arguments around religious performativity in particular, the capacity to enact the performative effectively relies on convention, genealogy and repetition over time from a position of accepted authority. However, as Butler's theories around legal performativity confirm (1997, 51), the power to enact the performative is not located

within the individual, but rather exists through the capacity to embody an existing framework of authority and convention capable of rendering performance effective.

Just as the individual judge acts within the framework of authority afforded the figure of judge within society, the capacity to successfully enact the performative here relies on an inherited authority inherent to the word archive and the newly accepted convention within disciplinary power that delegates sovereignty to the state. Through this inherited and socially contracted sovereign right, the archivist is afforded a principle of authority and credibility which functions on several levels. As Osborne argues:

The status of such principles is at once epistemological and ethical: *epistemological* credibility because the archive is a site for particular kinds of knowledge, particular styles of reasoning that are associated with it; and *ethical* credibility because knowledge of the archive is a sign of status, of authority, of a certain right to speak, a certain kind of author function (1999, 54).

By functioning within the framework of established archival convention whilst submitting this to a new structuration in disciplinary rule, we might also say these public archives represent an example of the production of a radical archive of the future in Derrida's work. Here the convention and ritual necessary for archival truth-making is structurally retained. However, the performative power of the archive is redirected towards new public incarnations of cultural knowledge production.

It is not only the archivist who is awarded this privileged sovereign power, but also curators of the public museum as professional orators of archival material. If the archivist has the power to enact cultural narratives in society through the accessioning of objects in the new nation state, the museum curator has an equally intrinsic parallel role in the disciplinary schema relating to the ability to produce cultural narratives from accessioned objects, and to disseminate these to the wider public through exhibition and display. As Eilean Hooper Greenhill states, through the inculcation of public museums 'an intersecting "curatorial" gaze emerged that paralleled the contemporary medical gaze' (1992, 167). This is a particularly insightful juxtaposition given that the etymology of the word curator comes from the Latin *curare* "to care" (Marstine, 2006, 10), a term which can be interpreted either as 'caring for', or as 'curing' in the medical sense (Barnhart,

2000, 243). Just as the medical gaze was an expert mode of appearing capable of performing a diagnosis, so the curatorial gaze was capable of performing cultural truths.

As Hooper-Greenhill argues, the curator was positioned in early disciplinary institutions as a 'knowing subject with specialist expertise (who enables the knowing of others), newly poised as the source of public benefaction and liberation' (1992, 168). Hooper-Greenhill also suggests that the new role of the curator was based on the tradition of private monarchic art collections such as that which preceded the Louvre, and 'could not help but recall those older renditions of the Prince who represented the world, which centred himself, through the organisation of meaningful objects' (1992, 168). In this way, the curator, like the archivist, borrows from the lineage of sovereign authority and convention in display in order to enact and perform their new disciplinary role. As Marstine argues, 'the paradigm of the museum... depends on the institution's declaration of authority. Visitors believe they have a transformative experience because the director/curator is a connoisseur. The expertise of the "museum man" (the expert is always a patriarchal figure) gives an assurance that museum objects are "authentic" masterpieces that express universal truths in an established canon or standard of excellence' (2006, 9).

The public museum, like the archive, thus functioned to 'embody and shape public perceptions of what was valuable and important' (Schwartz and Cook, 2002, 8), becoming 'a paradigmatic institution and instance of social memory' after the French Revolution (Preziozi, 2004, 77). Cultural narratives were both formed and physically enacted for an audience in the museum space through exhibition and display. Through this means, as Steven C. Dubin states, museums become 'important venues in which a society can define itself and present itself publicly. Museums solidify culture, endow it with tangibility, in a way few other things do' (1999, 3). In Hilde Hein's terms, this rendering tangible of culture also enables museums to perform new cultural truths. As Hein argues, 'museums are rightly perceived as world makers and not simply as preservers and propagators of cultural values' (2000, 16).

It is within this context that the curator takes on a sovereign right to produce and perform cultural narratives in a manner similar to the archivist, positioning both parties in

a central disciplinary role within Biopower linking power and knowledge. As Carol Duncan states, 'to control a museum means precisely to control the representation of a community and its highest values and truths' (Duncan, 1995, 8). Indeed, early museums had a directly pedagogical function, aiming to pacify, discipline and inform citizens - both bourgeois and working class - in the new disciplinary system of Biopower, itself functioning within the socio-economic challenges of Industrial Capitalism and under the shadow of recent revolution. As Andrew McClellan argues: 'an explosion of urban populations teetering on the edge of poverty, immorality and anarchy prompted the need for new social controls and systematic education... Together with state schools and libraries, it was hoped that museums would contribute to the moral and intellectual refinement of "all classes of the community" and the formation of "common principles of taste"' (2003, 7-8). To this end, it was of essential importance that museums were clearly arranged and organised. As suggested by Thomas Greenwood in his 1888 publication *Museums and Art Galleries*: 'the usefulness of a museum does not depend entirely so much on the number or intrinsic value of its treasures as upon proper arrangement, classification, and naming of the various specimens in so clear a way that the uninitiated may grasp quickly the purpose and meaning of each particular specimen' (Greenwood, 7 in McClellan, 2003, 15).

Physical Architecture and Structuration of the Museum and Archive as Disciplinary Forms

Just as the space of the Panopticon in Foucault's work actively enables disciplinary power to function, the architecture and design of the early public archive and museum functioned to reflect and enact disciplinary norms. The physical space of the archive and exhibition can be understood in this way as a political framework designed for the housing and performance of cultural beliefs. This relates in an illuminating way to Derrida's argument in *Archive Fever* that 'the technical structure of the *archiving* archive also determines the structure of the *archivable* content even in its coming into existence and in relation to the future. The archivization produces as much as it records the event' (1995, 17).

In Foucault's terms, modern public archives also reflect a broader way of formulating knowledge in the world, which came into being at the turn of the nineteenth century and operated in conjunction with Biopower. This nineteenth century mode of knowledge production is defined by Foucault as the 'modern episteme'²¹ and is understood to have taken over from a preceding 'classical episteme', extending certain of its dynamics and overwriting others²². In Foucault's terms, the classical episteme had represented a 'project of a general science of order' (Foucault, 1970, 71) which aimed to produce universal knowledge of the world through taxonomic systems, but was motivated towards detailing this understanding in unchanging tables of representation operating in a 'homogenous and horizontal field' (McNay, 1994, 59). Around the turn of the nineteenth century, such classical tables of representation were overthrown and replaced by what Foucault terms 'the modern sciences of man' (Rouse, 2003, 97), a new epistemological schema which reflected the dynamics of disciplinary rule. This new form of knowledge extended the onus on taxonomy central to the classical episteme, and also aimed to produce a comprehensive, unified, rational and objective understanding of the world (Richards, 1993, 4). However, the modern sciences of man replaced the horizontal, homogenised framework of classical knowledge with 'a vertical ordering of things, preoccupied with origins and sources' (McNay, 1994, 59).

Through this means, the modern sciences worked within and helped consolidate Biopower's framework of norms and ideals, ordering seemingly objective facts in hierarchical and chronological structures, and therefore working to help produce disciplinary norms. Indeed, as Nélia Dias states, at this time: 'the role of science... was to make visible the laws of nature and the hierarchical order' (1998, 47). Many new

²¹ The term episteme would later be replaced by the macrocosmic notion of the Foucaultian archive though both terms refer to 'rules of formation which are constitutive of the diverse and heterogeneous discourses of a given period and which elude the consciousness of the practitioners of these different discourses' (McNay, 1994, 54). Foucault substitutes the term 'episteme' for the word 'archive' as a way of avoiding the potential for the episteme to be considered a 'reifying cultural totality' (McNay, 1994, 66). Indeed, as mentioned earlier, Foucault stresses that the term archive 'is composed of multiple and varying discourses; it is not a limiting or constraining formation but an enabling system of rules which is never entirely complete and which is, therefore, always open to change' (McNay, 1994, 66).

²² Foucault divides the development of Western knowledge from the Renaissance to the Modern Era into three 'distinct and discontinuous blocks' (McNay, 1994, 54). The first block of knowledge formation or 'episteme' is in existence until the end of the sixteenth century in Foucault's terms, and is considered to be ordered around the principle of resemblance. The second, 'classical episteme' of knowledge is understood to be 'ordered around an episteme of representation' (McNay, 1994, 57). Finally, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, this Classical Episteme of knowledge is overthrown by the modern episteme.

disciplinary areas based in the modern episteme also developed at this time, forming part of a wider compartmentalisation of fields of knowledge which, like the carving up of space and time into manageable units within the modern prison, presented 'objects as compounds, analysable into elements, (whose)... elements were domain specific' (Macdonald, 1998, 11). These new disciplines, including history and anthropology functioned under a 'cult of facts' (Dias, 1998, 40) seeking to organise knowledge in hierarchical and chronological ways, invariably placing modern western culture at the peak of historical progression (Bennett, 1995, 76).

Both the modern public archive and the public museum reflect this societal paradigm shift towards the modern episteme and disciplinary rule. Reflecting the tenets of the modern episteme, the modern public archive represents an ordered, objective division of artefacts which are classified as domain specific elements distinguished from one another in 'strict, rationally distinguished categories' (Van Alphen, 2009, 80). The architecture of the archive also reflects the wider logic of disciplinary space, and can similarly be said to reflect the physical design of the Panopticon. Like the Panopticon, the archive is divided 'into as many spaces as there are bodies to be distributed' (Foucault, 1977, 143), in order to produce an analytical space 'aimed at knowing, mastering and using' (Foucault, 1977, 143).

The societal production of modern archives within the nineteenth century was also intricately bound up with the inculcation of hierarchical norms and ideals within disciplinary society and reflective of the wider modern episteme. Indeed, the expeditious manner in which archives were being produced at this time - objectifying, taxonomising, classifying and dividing societal groups in a hierarchical way - can be understood as a structuring archival impulse underlying disciplinary rule itself (Sekula, 1986). One clear example of the disciplinary impulse within the archive can be seen in the production of extensive Imperial archives throughout the nineteenth century. Such archives aimed to order and control colonised territories by producing an 'empire united...by information' (Richards, 1993, 1), and showcased the archival information collated in museums both in Britain and its colonies (Longman and McAleer, 2012, 6). Vast photographic archives of known criminals were also produced at this time, utilising wider archival systems of

taxonomy and classification as part of their fundamental structuration in order to document and taxonomise 'deviant' members of society.

The first of these criminal archives, produced by the Parisian Police Officer Alphonse Bertillon, consisted of photographic mug-shots each with their own 'anthropometric description and highly standardised and abbreviated written notes'. These entries were then subsumed within a wider statistically based filing system based on bodily features and measurements (Sekula, 1986, 18). As Sekula states, 'the mastery of the criminal body necessitated a massive campaign of inscription, a transformation of the body's signs into a text, a text that pared verbal description down to a denotive shorthand, which was then linked to a numerical series' (1986, 33). Francis Galton, the English statistician and founder of eugenics, produced a system of composite portraiture during the nineteenth century in which he attempted to find evidence of a criminal type and other divergent societal groups through purely optical means (Sekula, 1986, 18). Galton classified individuals into types, linking physical characteristics to character traits, and through this means produced composites of criminals, sufferers of particular maladies and religious groups such as Jewish people (Sekula, 1986, 45).

In this way, strategies of archival taxonomy and classification played into the production of hierarchical, disciplinary cultural narratives and reflected the framework of knowledge production within the modern episteme. Taxonomies were backed up by pseudo-scientific theories such as phrenology and physiognomy, which also aimed to classify and divide individuals on various levels of a developing social hierarchy (Marstine, 2006, 15). As Michelle Henning states, phrenology and physiognomy were part of a 'vast attempt at deciphering the body in which the desire to classify bodies according to visual appearance is justified by the belief that the surface reveals hidden depths: in other words, that the outer surfaces of the body could be read as a series of signs or codes revealing or expressing inner character' (2004, 164). In particular, phrenology and physiognomy used pseudo-Darwinism to make direct correlations between particular physical features, negative societal characteristics and non-western races.

It is through examples such as these that the taxonomised and classified, hierarchical archive acts as a general metaphor for disciplinary rule under the modern episteme.

Indeed, as Sekula argues, the nineteenth century at large can be understood as the production of:

...a generalised, inclusive archive, a *shadow archive* that encompasses an entire social terrain while positioning individuals within that terrain... the general all-inclusive archive necessarily contains both the traces of each of the visible bodies of heroes, leaders, moral exemplars, celebrities, and those of the poor, the diseased, the insane, the criminal, the non-white, the female, and all other embodiments of the unworthy (1986, 10).

Public museum exhibitions also acted as disciplinary spaces reflecting the epistemological structure of the modern sciences, and embodying in particular its preoccupation with vertical taxonomies and origins reflected in the archival impulse. In the context of the museum exhibition, this manifested itself as a teleological, hierarchical and usually Eurocentric progression of ideas, identities and typologies from a perceived origin to the present. This phenomenon relates to what Stephen Bann defines as the emergence of the 'historic frame' (1984) within exhibits. The historic frame was a narrative scaffold mirroring the logic of history as a new profession based in the logic of the sciences of man, which aimed to rationally, empirically and objectively 'depict the development of peoples, states, and civilisations through time conceived as a progressive series of developmental stages' (Bennett, 1995, 76); aiming to generate a comprehensive and universal knowledge of the world.

As Donald Preziosi argues, chronological progression was central to the narratives of early public museum exhibitions. In Preziosi's terms, 'objects and artefacts were selected for their documentary value in staging a historical narrative or story that would lead to its inevitable culmination in the present – a present(ness) construed as an anamorphic point that made sense of history' (Preziosi, 2004, 75). Indeed, as Karsten Schubert suggests, the curatorial emphasis on chronology within the nineteenth century museum was such that it 'overruled all other considerations, and completeness of displays dominated to the point where perceived gaps in the collection would happily be filled with plaster casts' (Schubert, 2000, 25).

Curatorial interpretation within these early public museums also tended to be singular, homogenous and delivered as absolute truth in a grand narrative, thereby perpetuating positivist ideals of the eighteenth century (Hetherington, 1994, 67). As Parry argues, at this time the curatorial voice was law: 'the curators were in every sense the authors of their collections. And as author and authority, the tradition was that once a record had been entered, it remained largely inviolate' (2007, 107). Further, as Eilean Hooper-Greenhill states, the mode of classification and display in these early museums was inherently didactic. Displays functioned by 'excluding some ways of knowing while presenting others as "common-sensical"' (Hooper-Greenhill in Rice, 2003, 83). In this way, exhibitions were able to produce and communicate 'hegemonic cultural positions from "fragments"' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998, 18).

Case Study One: The Inauguration of the Louvre

One significant example of the way public museums helped develop and consolidate disciplinary ideals in early Biopower is the Louvre, an institution whose collections were organised according to the chronological modes of display central to the Modern Sciences of Man. The Louvre, as mentioned earlier, was inaugurated at the height of the French Revolution (McClellan, 2008, 159). A crucial symbol of the new republic, the museum was housed in 'a royal palace turned palace of the people; its collection of paintings, sculptures and drawings was the confiscated property of the Church, Crown and exiled aristocrats' (McClellan 2003, 5). By offering access to the palace and public display of these regal treasures, the museum symbolically handed over the riches of the French nation to its public, making 'tangible the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity for which the Revolution stood' (McClellan, 2008, 159). As James Sheehan states: 'art was transformed from an old-regime luxury, traditionally associated with conspicuous consumption and social privilege, into national property, a source of patriotic pride and an instrument of popular enlightenment' (Sheehan, 2000, 51).

The Louvre was directly pedagogical in its aims, and was 'explicitly organised for the political task of creating republican citizens out of former monarchical subjects' (2003, 84). Indeed, reflecting the directly political nature of the museum, the first two directors of the Louvre, Jean Marie Roland and Dominique Garat, were both government Interior

Ministers. These directors were followed by Dominique Vivant-Denon, directly elected by Napoleon Bonaparte (McClellan, 1994, 91, 94, 125). In the manner of Bennett's 'exhibitionary complex', a key role for these museum directors was to offer the new republican citizenry an attractive cultural narrative they would themselves embody and internalise. As McClellan argues:

Authority alone was not enough to direct a revolution: the citizenry had to be molded through direct and willing participation. The consent and participation of the people would be secured through a comprehensive system of public instruction... man had to learn to be free; he had to be taught to reject his old values and to place his faith in the future of the Republic (1994, 95-6).

A key part of this message of public instruction was democracy and equality, which was communicated in several ways. As McClellan states, the Louvre itself was opened on the first anniversary of the founding of the republic, during a day-long 'Festival of Unity' celebrating the republican ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity' (2008, 19). The museum was also freely available to all classes and 'shared enjoyment of the nation's new found artistic heritage aimed to cement the bonds of equality and citizenship' (McClellan, 2003, 5)²³. Importantly, the Louvre was also freely accessible to foreign visitors, something which ties in with a second key function of the ideological function of this museum, concerning its broader nationalistic connotations. Indeed, the riches on display at the Louvre sought to register France as a cultural leader and send a message out to the rest of the world that the new republican regime was successful, cultured and civilised. As Jean Marie Roland stated in a letter to Jacques Louis David:

This museum must demonstrate the nation's great riches... France must extend its glory through the ages and to all peoples: the national museum will embrace knowledge in all its manifold beauty and will be the admiration of the universe. By embodying these ideas, worthy of a free people... the museum... will become

²³ As McClellan states, free accessibility to the Louvre did not easily translate to class equality: 'Revolutionary rhetoric notwithstanding, the stratified publics of the ancient regime could not so easily be made one. "The lowest classes of the community" did come to the Louvre, but their physical appearance and inability to respond appropriately to the high art on view made them conspicuous' (2003, 5)

among the most powerful illustrations of the French Republic (Roland in McClellan, 1994, 92).

As McClellan argues, this was a particularly important task at the beginning of the republic, when many saw post-revolutionary France as 'an anarchic society governed by mob rule, summary justice and contempt for tradition' (2003, 5). Countering this, 'the Louvre presented itself as the supreme manifestation of aesthetic ideals shared by all civilised Europeans' (McClellan, 2003, 5). Producing this image of supreme civilisation took conscious effort and heavy curatorial work, termed a process of 'purification' by the Conservatoire. A process of censorship also took place within the collection, removing low cultural forms, and works of fine art which glorified the monarchy. As McClellan argues: 'the disdain for *objets de luxe*, porcelain and so on, was outright, but the criterion for what pictures should be banished from view was not so clear cut... Problems arose... in cases where indisputable masterpieces by canonical artists portrayed what since the Revolution had become sensitive subjects' (1994, 109). For instance, Rubens' Medici cycle, which was initially intended to praise the monarchy, was edited so that 'two of the less overtly royalist episodes from the series... were chosen' (McClellan, 1994, 109). Further, as McClellan continues: 'as an added precaution all "feudal signs" in the paintings were painted over' (1994, 111).

The Louvre also offers us a practical example of the inculcation of disciplinary modes of display based in Modern Sciences and the archival impulse towards taxonomy and classification. Despite an initial clash between proponents of traditional ahistorical, thematic modes of display and contemporary installation which was 'historical and characterised by a scientific taxonomy' (McClellan, 1994, 107), the Louvre maintained a mission towards the high arts and instruction in art history throughout its early history, a rationale which reached fruition in 1803 under the directorship of Vivant-Denon. This emphasis on art historical schools of thought meant the classification and analysis of cultural output into teleological narratives, which as Duncan states, were 'organised chronologically and in national categories along the museum's corridors' (1995, 27). In this way, the museum replicates the logic of disciplinary space as seen both within the modern archive and in wider society under the modern sciences, dividing up and classifying cultural information, while producing a hierarchical cultural narrative based in

a fascination with origins. As Duncan argues, the motivating cultural narrative behind such displays was progress and civilisation, whereby particular schools of art acted as an 'indicator of how far a people or epoch evolved toward civilisation in general' (Duncan, 1995, 25). Of course, as a revolutionary museum, the highest form of civilisation was here positioned as the French Nation State (Duncan, 1995, 26). Indeed, as McClellan argues, 'the chronological sequence of pictures culminating in the French school affirmed the principle of progress on which the Revolution was founded and made clear that the future of art belonged to France' (McClellan, 2008, 20).

These consciously curated and pedagogic displays represent a clear example of Bennett's Exhibitionary Complex, which as mentioned earlier 'sought rhetorically to incorporate people within the processes of the state' (1995, 87), helping consolidate disciplinary norms and disseminate these throughout society through their internalisation in the value system of the viewer. The Louvre replaced the sovereign with the state and the public both tangibly and symbolically, providing the visitor with 'a culture that unites him with other French citizens regardless of their individual social position' (Duncan, 1995, 26). Further, by offering up a cultural narrative charting the development of global civilisation to its climax in the French Revolutionary state, the museum invites self-recognition in the visitor through this teleology. As Duncan states, 'the ritual task of the Louvre visitor was to re-enact that history of genius, re-live its progress step by step and, thus enlightened, know himself as a citizen of history's most civilised and advanced nation state' (1995, 27). This process can be understood as a specifically performative and interpellative one, in which the curator, borrowing the historic ritualistic and sovereign power of the royal palace, and operating from a position of governmental power, helps consolidate a new set of biopolitical cultural norms, while helping enact the inauguration the cultural identity of post-revolutionary France.

Case Study Two: The World's Fair and the Production of Race

Another example of early public exhibitions which had a marked impact on the production and mediation of power within Biopower is the World's Fair, a highly popular phenomenon during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Europe and the United States. According to Robert Rydell, as many as 100 million people attended

World's Fairs between 1876 and 1916 (1984, 2). These fairs, which showcased culture and technology from countries around the world, were considered 'triumphs of hegemony as well as symbolic edifices' (Rydell, 1984, 2). In particular, World's Fairs served to consolidate racist discourses at the time which, as noted earlier in the chapter, were steeped in pseudo-scientific taxonomies, typologies and classifications, and placed whiteness and industrial capitalist forms of society at their apex. As Nicholas Mirzoeff states:

At events across Europe and the United States, new inventions, trade goods, and art displays mingled with recreations of colonised nations and their way of life, often with inhabitants of those countries displaying as living exhibits. These Fairs were at once the place in which the Western classifications of cultural and racial hierarchies of difference were made visible... and the model for Western visual constructions of their others (2003, 119).

The first ever World's Fair was the Great Exhibition of 1851, held in London's Hyde Park and containing over 100,000 exhibits (Purbrick, 2001, 3). The exhibition attracted 6 million visitors in the six months it was open and displayed industrial, technical and artisanal feats from around the world. However the cultural undertones of the exhibition were imperialist, and fundamentally placed the industrialised, capitalist western world in a higher binary relation to non-western areas, implicitly correlating industrial capitalism with civilisation, and colonised countries with the production of raw materials. As Purbrick argues:

The London Crystal Palace Exhibition was classically imperialist in conception and construction; on display was the material culture of an industrial, commercial empire, with an emphasis on manufactured goods derived from colonial raw materials... As a collective phenomenon the industrial exposition celebrated the ascension of civilised power over nature and the primitives. Exhibition technologies tended to represent those peoples as raw materials; within the regnant progressivist ideology they occupied the same category (2001, 17).

This depiction of non-western cultures as static, primitive or backward in relation to the production of Industrial Capitalism would go on to become a fundamental ideological

narrative of the World's Fair, in which 'a progressivist taxonomy for the classification of goods and manufacturing processes was laminated onto a crudely racist teleological conception of the relations between people and races, which culminated in the achievements of the metropolitan powers' (Bennett, 1995, 82). In fact, over time the very structural organisation of fairs altered to highlight precisely this ideological narrative. Where the Great Exhibition was organised around varying methods of production, with a lesser emphasis on national display areas for various countries, later fairs typically foregrounded the organisation of national display areas into progressivist global taxonomies. In these fairs, pavilions representing each participating country were positioned hierarchically with industrialised western cultures at their apex.

In this structuration, pavilions were zoned into racial groups with 'the Latin, Teutonic, Anglo-Saxon, American and Oriental being the most favoured classifications, with black peoples and aboriginal populations of conquered territories denied any space of their own, being represented as the subordinate adjuncts to the Imperial displays of the major powers' (Bennett, 1995, 82). In the 1889 Paris Exposition, a colonial city of 'Asian and African peoples in simulated "native" villages was produced' (Bennett, 1995, 83), while in American World's Fairs a lived demonstration of evolutionary theory was scaffolded, transforming the Midways into a "sliding scale of humanity" from the barbaric to the nearly civilised' (Bennett, 1995, 83-4). Julian Hawthorne, one contemporary commentator at the World's Columbian Exhibition of 1893 in Chicago, visited by over 27.5 million people in six months, stated that 'roughly speaking, you have the civilised, the half civilised and the savage worlds to choose from, or rather to take one after the other' (Hawthorne in Rydell, 1984, 64).

The motivation behind such exhibitions was also self-consciously pedagogical, particularly in relation to the working classes. As Kylie Message and Ewan Johnson state, the Great Exhibition operated at the intersection between two discourses of Imperialism and class reform (2008, 28). Indeed, of the 6 million visits to the Great Exhibition in 1851, the majority were on 'Shilling Days' (Purbrick, 2011, 2-3) when the working classes were invited to attend. The decision to develop Shilling Days highlights the pedagogical undertones of World's Fairs, and was related to the temperance movement (Purbrick, 2001, 131) aiming to promote local class harmony within the economic and social

challenges of the Industrial Revolution, itself occurring in a wider European climate blighted by civil unrest and revolution. As Bennett states, World's Fairs such as the Great Exhibition aimed to act as a 'counter-revolutionary measure, pacifying crowds, disciplining visitors as they take part in its display' (2005, 11).

Therefore, just as the Louvre acted to help inaugurate citizens into the new nation state by physically ushering them into the sovereign house of power, World's Fairs such as the Great Exhibition helped discipline visitors in relation to the mechanics of disciplinary rule, guided by the epistemological onus on hierarchical classification within the Modern Sciences of Man. Within the Great Exhibition, visitors were invited to analyse and classify other countries, but also to view and analyse their fellow visitors. As Message and Johnson argue, 'everyone was taught to look at everyone else' (2008, 28). Indeed, in Bennett's terms, the very architectural layout of the exhibition was 'an arrangement of relations between the public and exhibits so that while everyone could see, there were vantage points from which everyone could be seen, thus combining the functions of spectacle and surveillance' (Bennett, cited in Purbrick, 2001, 12). In this way, the viewing public were not only educated in narratives of racial hierarchy, but also offered the tools to continue actively producing the 'shadow archive' so essential to disciplinary rule.

The Great Exhibition was also organised by notable societal figures of authority: the inventor and lobbyist Henry Cole, a member of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce, which had been granted a Royal Charter in 1847, and Prince Albert himself (Rydell, 1985). This, twinned with the erection of the grand, highly contemporary and aptly named Crystal Palace to house the exhibition, suggests a certain repetition of convention and authority in order to help facilitate the performance of authoritative disciplinary norms within the World's Fair. Just as the Louvre was inaugurated in the house of the sovereign, here we see established sovereign and capitalist figures in society developing the Great Exhibition, and electing to title its venue with reference to sovereignty itself. Similarly, the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 was curated by Frederic Ward Putnam, a distinguished academic in anthropology: an archetypal new disciplinary area in the Modern Sciences of Man which indicates the

stratification of this particular fair and its midway²⁴. Having worked in governmental, military and academic positions across America, Putnam acted as Harvard Peabody Professor of American Archaeology from 1855 to 1909, as well as curator of the Peabody Museum (Harvard University Archive, <http://bit.ly/1HyxRXS>). It was from this respected and established academic position that Putnam acted as curator of the World's Columbian Exhibition, again fulfilling the necessity for accepted and established authority as a prerequisite for adequate performative functioning.

The Great Exhibition and wider World's Fairs thus offer a clear reflection of the disciplinary archival impulse to divide and classify information in order to ensure it can be controlled. Indeed, the division of races within these examples function in a similar way to the archive, showing that the architecture or structural forms of the World's Fairs helped enact these cultural norms. Filtered through the lens of the Modern Sciences of Man, where vertical classification is entwined with a search for origins, the fairs also helped produce a hierarchical spectrum of norms within Biopower, in this instance related most closely to the production of race as a disciplinary technology. Curated public exhibitions performatively enacted such cultural narratives, whilst engaging audiences in an active internalisation of disciplinary norms. This was an internalisation which occurred both through physical access in the content displayed and through the very procedure of exhibition looking, in terms of acquiring the ability to scrutinize others in relation to oneself.

For this reason, the nineteenth century has been defined by several theorists as an age fundamentally characterised by the museum form. The nineteenth century at large has been defined as a museological age of knowledge by historian of science John Pickstone (1994), while Timothy Mitchell suggests Western society itself was experienced as an exhibitionary form at this time, generating 'a place where the artificial, the model, and the plan were employed to generate an unprecedented effect of order and certainty' (2003, 496). This dynamic is described by Mitchell as an 'exhibitionary order', which 'set the

²⁴ The term 'Midway' originated at the World's Columbian Exhibition of 1893 and referred to an area of the Fair separated from formal public exhibits which was dedicated to amusements including balloon rides and belly dancers.

world up as a picture... an object on display to be investigated and experienced by the dominating European gaze' (2003, 498).

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to explicate the intricate relation between archives, exhibition-making and power within society throughout history. We can say that this relation - like Foucault's macrocosmic definition of the archive - reflects different forms of rule and power at various historical times. Indeed, case studies within this chapter have demonstrated ways in which early public exhibitions and museums reflected and helped mediate Foucaultian disciplinary rule. The Louvre provides a particularly clear example of this, mirroring the move from sovereignty to disciplinary power signalled by the French Revolution in the development of a public museum from the King's Art Collection. Similarly, as we have seen, the World's Fair produced a racial and cultural hierarchy with Western society at its apex, helping to produce and mediate disciplinary norms in early Biopower through this means. Like the Derridean archive, case studies have also been shown to operate performatively; inculcating a set of cultural laws, norms and ideals particular to early Biopower and operating through an authoritative framework in order to function effectively. Case studies also explored the link between the physical architecture of archives and exhibitions and the cultural knowledge they produce. This is also something which is highlighted by Derrida in *Archive Fever* and is a theme of ongoing significance throughout this thesis.

Another important focus of this chapter has been the role of the curator and archivist in disciplinary society as both gatekeeper and 'power-broker' (Miles, 1985, 32) in relation to cultural information. By collecting, ordering and rendering visible particular cultural narratives, archivists and curators helped produce and mediate the spectrum of norms and ideals through which disciplinary rule functions – a concern which can itself be called 'archival' in terms of its onus on classification, taxonomy and objectification. However, as we have seen, museum audiences do not occupy a passive position within this formulation. Rather, visitors are guided to internalise and actively play out the norms made visible within museum exhibitions, performatively embodying these norms and enacting them in everyday life, thus assisting the functioning of hegemonic power. This

recognition reflects Foucault's assertion that societal subjects have an active relationship to networked societal power (2004, 29). In the nineteenth century formulation of the public archive or museum, the archivist or curator can be seen as important nodes of power in an otherwise decentralised network of power, who are afforded a sovereign right to enact cultural norms, and through this means perpetuate dominant norms and cultural narratives within society, often marginalising or helping oppress particular societal subjects.

In Foucault's terms, the disciplinary power structure of early Biopower and the taxonomised, hierarchical Modern Sciences constitute fundamental aspects of the societal archive of the time: the 'rules of formation' which constitute all discourses in a given time period (McNay, 1994, 54). However, Foucault's archive is not a 'reifying cultural totality' (McNay, 1994, 66). Rather, as abovementioned, the archive in Foucault's terms consists of multiple and constantly shifting narratives which are never complete and thus open to change (McNay, 1994, 66). In this way, the macrocosmic archive in Foucault's work seemingly mirrors Derrida's notion of the archive, in that it contains both hegemonic cultural law and the potential for radical beginnings within it.

Crucially for this project however, in Derrida's terms it is democratisation of access to the archive which is said to offer the potential for radically new, counter-hegemonic socio-cultural forms to flourish. As Derrida argues, 'there is no political power without control of the archive, if not memory. Effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation' (1995, 4, n1). Therefore, in Derrida's terms, it is active involvement in the production and mediation of the archive which can lead to progressive politico-cultural production, something which can actually alter Foucault's macrocosmic archive itself. In this case, the centralised node of power in the sovereign role of the archivist or curator would itself be democratised, leading to the possibility of new histories and cultural narratives, autonomously created by a diverse range of societal subjects themselves. Unlike previous forms of phallogentric, universalised and professionalised cultural meaning making, this new archival constitution and curatorial interpretation would have the potential to empower and render visible a diverse set of cultural voices.

In recent years the possibility of such archival democratisation has been heralded through the rise of interactive digital media and crowdsourcing. In the crowdsourced cultural archive, members of the public are able to upload and display their own cultural materials, thus theoretically decentralising the sovereignty of the archivist and curator and the political power they have over cultural knowledge production. In order to explore the possibilities inherent in crowdsourcing in more detail, the next chapter will investigate the functioning of a range of current crowdsourced archival sites, analysing the impact such projects have on the production of archival and curatorial knowledge and their relationship to power in contemporary society.

Chapter Two: The Crowdsourced Archive in a Culture of New Capitalism

Chapter One explored the theory of the archive as a performative political phenomenon and described the development of the public archive and its relationship to political and social life during the nineteenth Century. As we have seen, the archivist and curator of the early public archive acted as important nodes in an otherwise decentralised network of power. These sovereign figures of cultural authority produced and mediated cultural norms, contributing to the development of hierarchical, chronological and universalised societal narratives. Such cultural norms aided the functioning of disciplinary rule within Biopower by producing a spectrum of ideals to live by: marginalising certain societal subjects and identities, and feeding into oppressive, patriarchal cultural narratives surrounding capitalism and imperialism.

As noted in the previous chapter, Derrida considers political power and the archive to be intertwined to such an extent that 'there is no political power without control of the archive' (1995, 4, n1). Correspondingly, in Derrida's terms, levels of societal democratisation are measurable precisely by 'participation in and access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation' (1995, 4, n1). With reference to these theories, participation in the production of the archive can be read as an effective and progressive way to challenge cultural hegemony in Biopower. If all citizens, including marginalised and oppressed minorities could be heard and have a role in the production of cultural truth itself, the spectrum of hierarchized ideals that disciplinary power rests upon might potentially be destabilised, and hegemonic power structures subverted.

In fact, the desire to democratise archival access and interpretation in museums and galleries has become increasingly widespread since the late 1980s. This move towards democratisation can be understood as a paradigm shift in museum practice towards what Peter Vergo calls 'the New Museology' (1989)²⁵. To combat the traditional hegemonic

²⁵ New Museology, also known as critical or new museum theory, was itself based in Institutional Critique during the 1960s and 1970s, undertaken by artists such as Daniel Buren, Hans Haacke, Andrea Fraser, Fred Wilson and Mark Dion (Rice, 2003, 81, Marstine, 2006, 7). Practitioners of Institutional Critique believed that all representation was inherently political and demanded greater influence in how their work was curatorially displayed and interpreted, as well as fighting for greater inclusivity and diversity in the arts (Marstine, 2006, 5). These artists also recognised the cultural specificity of curatorial cultural narratives, and

dynamic of cultural knowledge production, new museological theory and practice aims to function in a self-reflexive, horizontal and inclusive manner, responding actively to visitor needs and the interests of subjects represented by museums and galleries, often through collaborative exhibition making and consultation with audiences²⁶ (Ross, 2004, 84, Marstine, 2006, 5). As Marstine states, 'new museum theory is about decolonising, giving those represented control of their own cultural heritage. It is about real cross cultural exchange. New museum theory is not, however, monolithic; it embraces many viewpoints' (2006, 4). Through new museological practices, the singular hegemonic voice of the curator in early Biopower is challenged and fragmented. Indeed, as Hilde Hein states, new museum theory 'repudiates the existence of universal and absolute value and embraces local affirmations of power and desire in place of the quest for monolithic truth' (2000, 99).

This trend towards inclusivity and horizontality can be understood to reflect a broader epistemological shift within western society from modernism to postmodernism (Reeve and Woollard, 2006, 5). The very way cultural narratives have traditionally been produced has been challenged since the 1970s in line with postmodern theory, understood as part of a wider postcolonial, feminist and Marxist project within the humanities which disputes the singular, often Eurocentric and patriarchal voice of the traditional cultural knowledge producer. Consequently as Eilean Hooper-Greenhill argues, 'histories are being rewritten from new perspectives and the past is being rememored to privilege different events. Formerly silent voices are being heard and new cultural identities are being forged from the remains of the past' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2012, 523).

This shift in knowledge production also subverts the way cultural messages are framed and communicated by museums and galleries. Rather than functioning in a linear and

the way in which institutional interpretation has often historically been 'maldistributive' for this reason, functioning to produce absolute cultural narratives which marginalise certain members of society (Hein, 2000).

²⁶ Interestingly, this inclusive and pedagogical focus within museological thought has also developed alongside burgeoning socially engaged and participatory arts practices, where, as Claire Bishop argues, 'the emphasis is on collaboration, and the collective dimension of social experience' (2006, 10). Indeed, as Bishop suggests, since the 1990s the artist has been 'conceived less as an individual producer of discrete objects than as a collaborator and producer of situations; the work of art as a finite, portable, commodifiable product is reconceived as an ongoing or long-term project with an unclear beginning and end; while the audience, previously conceived as a 'viewer' or 'beholder', is now repositioned as a co-producer or participant (2012, 2).

objective way 'from an authoritative source to an uninformed receiver' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2012, 520), cultural knowledge is conceived of as a multiple, fragmented set of narratives specific to a particular context and time, and to subjective interpretation. It is acknowledged that a plethora of voices and different interpretations of cultural content within the museum should be heard. As Hooper-Greenhill asserts:

The curator has been decentred and instead of one point of view many voices are encouraged to speak... the potential audience is encouraged to contribute to the display techniques and the subject matter. At the same time a curatorial consciousness has emerged which highlights those audiences that have been omitted in the past (1992, 210).

It is this dynamic which Marstine defines as the 'Post Museum': a space which encourages active participation with source communities and audiences, seeking to share curatorial power and respond sensitively to the needs of diverse groups, directly aiming to redress social inequalities (Marstine, 2006, 19)²⁷. The aim of the Post Museum is not to produce linear and universalised narratives, but rather to celebrate heterogeneity; 'even irreconcilability, to network, to hybridise, and to live together in the gaze and memory of the spectator' (Marstine, 2006, 19). The curatorial role is that of the facilitator here, who 'takes responsibility for representation as he or she engages in critical inquiry' (Marstine, 2006, 19).

The Role of Digital Media in New Museology

The development of the Post Museum has incorporated a shift towards the use of new technologies and particularly social media to encourage active participation and diverse collaboration between various source communities and audiences (Russo et. al, 2008, 22). This process has been facilitated by the development of Information Technology within society, resulting in 'a global network of real time communication that would once have

²⁷ Indeed, in recent years there has been a tendency for museum spaces to help advocate for marginalised communities. Examples of such spaces include the Museum of Tolerance (MOT) inaugurated in 1993, and the Japanese American National Museum founded in 1992, both of which 'prioritise visitors entering into a dialogue with diverse histories that have resulted in contemporary prejudices' (Golding, 2013, 23). A more recent museum space of relevance here is the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), opened in Washington DC on 21 September 2004, which is said to operate within a culture of 'curatorial collaboration and polyvocality' (Golding, 2013, 18) in which artefacts of religious or ceremonial significance 'are only to be displayed or published with the permission of the source community' (Marstine, 2006, 20-1).

been impossible to imagine' (Frieling et. al, 2009, 14). The history of Information Technology also includes a strong element of participatory counterculture dating back to the 1960s (Van Dijk, 2013, 9-10). Further, the invention of the Internet in 1991 was based in an aim for interactive, decentralised, networked communication, a motivation which was realised with the advent of web 2.0²⁸ in 2001 (O'Reilly, 2012, 32, Van Dijk, 2013, 5). At this time, as Jan van Dijk states, online services became 'interactive, two-way vehicles for networked sociality' (Van Dijk, 2013, 5).

Tropes of interactivity and participation are fundamental to the functionality of web 2.0, making it an ideal technological trend for new museology and the post-museum to seize upon. As Van Dijk states, 'words like "interactivity" and "participatory" described web 2.0's potential to "talk back" and send messages instantly, where previous media had wielded power over their one way publishing or broadcasting channels' (2013, 10). In this way, it became possible for the first time for multiple users to interact in real time with one another. As Drotner and Schrøder state, web 2.0 technologies challenge traditional media communication by privileging 'user-led, two-way, many to many communication rather than mass mediated, one way, one to many communication' (2013, 2).

In this way, through participatory web 2.0 technologies, users become 'explicitly active participants in cultural production' (Schäfer, 2011, 10) and are able to produce publicly visible cultural and political content at little cost. This capacity for public production of cultural narratives is considered to have radical potential. As Schäfer states, 'the emerging participatory culture describes a profound transformation of cultural production. On many levels it provides exciting opportunities to actively participate in political discussion, collective production, and to interact and communicate in global networks' (2011, 164).

Cultural commentators such as Clay Shirky hold a particularly utopian belief about the revolutionary potential of web 2.0 technologies. In Shirky's terms, electronic networks are capable of challenging the hierarchical status quo of knowledge production and distribution within society by 'enabling the creation of collaborative groups that are larger and more distributed than at any time in history' (Shirky, 2009, 48). This means

²⁸ The term web 2.0 was first used by journalist Tim O'Reilly in 2005 (Schäfer, 2011, 10)

participation is able to generate more impact than ever before, at dramatically reduced cost. As Shirky argues:

More value can be gotten out of voluntary participation than anyone previously imagined... the dramatically reduced cost of public address, and the dramatically increased size of the population wired together, means that we can now turn massive aggregates of small contributions into things of lasting value (Shirky, 2010, 163).

However, the rise of participatory networked technology has provoked squarely negative responses from other cultural commentators, including fears about the erosion of professional knowledge and the rise of mob rule in cultural knowledge production. Andrew Keen is one such outspoken critic of participatory web technologies. In his 2007 publication *The Cult of the Amateur*, Keen asks 'what happens... when ignorance meets bad taste meets egoism meets mob rule? The monkeys take over. Say goodbye to the experts and cultural gatekeepers... In today's cult of the amateur, the monkeys are running the show' (2007, 9).

Academic commentators have also expressed concerns around the level of democratic visibility actually attained through participatory technologies. In his publication *The Myth of Digital Democracy* (2009), Matthew Hindman suggests a new hierarchy is being formed online through the commercial filtering of information by search engines. For Hindman, this means the 'visibility of political content on the Internet follows winner-takes-all-patterns, with profound implications for political voice' (2009, 6). Hindman also expresses concern about informal hierarchies relating to blog readership, based in existing cultural discursive formulations. As Hindman states, despite being formally open platforms, blogs tend to offer most visibility to contributors who are 'better educated, more frequently male, and less ethnically diverse' (Hindman, 2009, 133). Hindman's concerns are mirrored in the work of Robert Putnam, who asserts the dangers of "cyberapartheid" and "cyberbalkanisation" in his 2000 publication *Bowling Alone* (177-9).

Similarly polarised attitudes exist in museological responses to the potentiality of participatory networked media, particularly in relation to digital archiving and exhibition-making. For theorists such as Ross Parry, networked technologies could revolutionise the

production of museological cultural knowledge by enabling active participation in the production and mediation of multiple, fluid cultural narratives by audiences and source communities; all of which could be written in real-time using multiple layers.

As Parry states:

In contrast to the highly personalised, closed narratives and fixed records of the traditional manual curatorial systems... on the digital network, all users could suddenly become authors. This instantaneous, user-generated content of the Web, the new social software, suddenly gave all visitors a microphone, the opportunity to rewrite the script, reposition the camera and to rearrange the props (2007, 108).

Building on this perspective, Angelina Russo et al. suggest participatory media might facilitate a productive subversion of traditional museum practice in line with the ideals of New Museology, destabilising the traditional role of the curator and archivist in order to democratise the production of archival and exhibitionary narratives. As Russo et al. state, participatory media 'hint at how audiences and communities could work in partnership with museums to extend both the knowledge situated around the collection record and the reach of that information' (2008, 25).

On the other hand, reflecting critique in wider commentaries surrounding interactive media, the museum sector has historically expressed concern that participatory technologies could lead to a mass amateurisation of cultural knowledge production and an erosion of the museum's cultural authority perpetuated through a lack of professional curatorial control over museum narratives (Besser, 1997, Trant, 1998). As Alexandra Eveleigh argues:

Crowdsourcing initiatives in archives, as in related professional fields, are... haunted and constrained by the fear that a contributor might be wrong, or that descriptive data might be pulled out of archival context, and that researchers using collaboratively authored resources might somehow swallow all of this without question or substantiation (2014, 238).

There has also been concern in cultural institutions that the fluidity of digitally formed cultural narratives could fundamentally undermine museological principles of authenticity

and facticity. As Parry argues, the web is a medium which is 'if not anomic (or normless) then at least in a state of fluidity where some essential principles for the museum related to trust, accuracy and artifice remain difficult to fix' (Parry, 2013, 18). For this reason, as Parry continues, 'the web still vexes the academy on how (if at all) it can harbour something called the authentic – a non-trivial point for an institution such as the museum for which the framing of authenticity has been essential' (Parry, 2013, 21).

For Parry, one way to tackle these latter concerns would be to embrace the historic role of fiction and performance in museum narratives, thus challenging the tradition of unchanging facticity as a precondition for authenticity within the museum rather than writing out the potentiality of digital media itself (2003). Similarly nuanced responses have also been cited in relation to fears about de-professionalisation of cultural narratives through digital media. For example, Angelica Russo and Jerry Watkins respond to fears around mass amateurisation by reimagining the curatorial role itself in new media projects. As Russo and Watkins state:

As curatorial practices develop, curators are providing resources to enable audiences to engage in the co-creation of content. This does not mean the primary role of the curator as agent between technology and content, patrimony and program, will cease. Indeed, this role could be strengthened by an audience focused approach as it will move beyond inclusive policy and provide models of collaboration which allow multiple points of view to exist (2007, 153).

For Russo and Watkins, participatory technologies offer an opportunity to develop the curatorial role, something which might itself lead to a progressive incarnation of New Museology's interests in horizontality and collaboration. Indeed, for Angelica Russo, Jerry Watkins, Lynda Kelly and Sebastian Chan (2008), it is precisely the formulation of complex and multifarious narratives in collaboration with the museum audience which extend the authority and authenticity of the museum. As Russo et al. state: '...the notion of authenticity as provided by the museum organises collections of narratives into recognisable and authoritative histories, mediating the relationship between visitors and objects. Social media extend this authenticity by enabling the museum to maintain a cultural dialogue with its audiences in real time' (2008, 22). In these theorists' terms,

participatory media actually offers museums 'the potential for retaining and extending authority by providing audiences with a voice, allowing them to participate in cultural debate' (Russo et. al, 2008, 22).

But even given this nuanced view of the progressive possibilities inherent in digital media, it remains essential to critically analyse participatory digital cultural initiatives, carefully considering how democratic and empowering, meaningful and critical projects really are. As Mirko Tobias Schäfer states, 'there is an intellectual shortcut that far too readily perceives an increased user activity as a fundamental shift in power relations within the cultural industries. In consequence, many accounts of user participation romanticise user activities and overestimate the user's capacity for action' (Schäfer, 2011, 13). In Schäfer's terms, 'defining participatory culture merely within a morally determined framework and associating participation only with positive connotations, is highly problematic' (2011, 13).

Bearing these assertions in mind, the next section of this chapter will offer a critical overview of participatory digital archival projects within museums, galleries and wider cultural organisations, exploring the extent cultural knowledge production is currently democratised through these means. The chapter will specifically focus on recent 'crowdsourced' archival projects, broadly defined as initiatives 'obtaining information or services by soliciting input from a large number of people' (Ridge, 2013, 435). In this particular context, crowdsourcing refers to digital archival projects and exhibitions produced at least partially through the contributions of museum audiences using participatory media technologies.

Recent Examples of Crowdsourcing in Cultural Institutions

As the field currently exists, there are various ways crowdsourcing is used in museums, galleries and cultural institutions. Projects range from superficial, administrative initiatives to entrenched methods of co-creation attempting to produce the layered, multiple narratives advocated by theorists such as Parry and Hooper-Greenhill. Each participatory form also has a distinct bearing on the traditional relation between the professional curator or archivist and the museum audience. There is not currently any single agreed theoretical formulation of crowdsourcing techniques. However, various

models for defining current practice have been put forward, each using its own schema to account for the current span of crowdsourced practice from administrative to complex tasks.

Definitions of crowdsourcing by Johan Oomen and Lora Aroyo include correction and transcription, classification, contextualisation, complementing collections and co-curation (2011, 140). For Mia Ridge, the categories are similar, including debunking, socially tagging items with metadata, categorising artefacts, documenting personal experiences in relation to archival artefacts, linking artefacts together, stating preferences and finally personal responses (Ridge, 2011). For Dunn and Hedges, crowdsourcing tasks can be 'mechanical, configurational, editorial, synthetic, investigative and creative' (2014, 260). Here 'mechanical tasks involve the processing of small or individual amounts of information' (2014, 260) while creative tasks involve the most entrenched participation, empowering participants to produce their own archival content (2014, 260). For Eveleigh, there exist four overlapping frames, any or all of which might be in place in a given crowdsourced museum project. These frames are defined as 'Transcription Machines', 'Archival Commons', 'Outreach and Engagement', and 'Collaborative Communities' (2014). Frames relate to aspects of crowdsourced practice from superficial and administrative transcription projects, to outreach projects enabling complex collaboration in clearly delineated amateur fields, to the radical theoretical ideal of completely egalitarian, distributed and integrated archival commons (2014, 241), and finally the redesign of archival and curatorial knowledge production in collaborative communities. Here, in Eveleigh's terms, 'a thoroughgoing remodelling of archival practice is sought which aims to break down, or at least redraw, the boundaries between archivists and participants' (2014, 244).

For the sake of clarity, I will focus principally here on definitions of crowdsourced practice delineated by Oomen and Aroyo, exploring various examples of crowdsourced museum practice in turn relating to 'correction and transcription', 'classification', 'contextualisation', 'complementing collections' and 'co-curation' (2011, 140)²⁹. However,

²⁹ Oomen and Aroyo also include a sixth term within their work: crowdfunding. Crowdfunding will not be explored in detail here as the primary focus for this chapter is the creation of content through crowdsourcing rather than the financial viability and sustainability of sites and projects, although funding forms an important consideration for cultural initiatives.

Eveleigh's assertions relating to collaborative communities and the archival commons will also remain pertinent when discussing co-curated projects in this chapter and later sections of this thesis.

Correction and transcription are used widely in current cultural crowdsourced projects. Initiatives include *Old Weather* (oldweather.org³⁰), an established *Zooniverse*³¹ project, *Transcribe Bentham*³² (ucl.ac.uk/transcribe-bentham), a double award winning project from University College London (UCL), and an ongoing crowdsourcing initiative at the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) which has enlisted public support in cropping 140,000 digitised images from the museum's archival collections. The V&A project is a relatively straightforward example of crowdsourcing. Here, images from the museum collection have been digitised and uploaded to a publicly visible archive automatically, meaning some are not cropped in the clearest or most aesthetically pleasing way (collections.vam.ac.uk/crowdsourcing/) (fig 1). Users choose from a series of pre-selected crops to find the most fitting version (<http://bit.ly/1dBFZLG>) (fig 2). If no crop is appropriate, it is possible to skip the image. It is also possible to read archival and curatorial information on the piece to make an informed decision about the crop chosen. Participants are therefore assigned a simple common sense judgement in this project. The site offers the potential to learn about archival artefacts through professionalised interpretations. However, user participation cannot impact on the sealed contents of collections or their existing curatorial interpretations. There are also authoritative structures written into the very framework of the project. The same images are displayed multiple times to different users, and the most regularly chosen 'best fit' options are

³⁰ All URLs cited within this text were checked and found to be accurate on 27.12.15. Although in standard Harvard referencing specific URLs would not be cited within the text, the decision has been made here to include specific references in text where a direct link to a specific webpage can be provided. This is because of the density of digital projects cited and the specificity of citations to the argumentation within this thesis. Where possible, figures are also made available to offer visual representation of the digital material cited. For webpages which are no longer in use, figures are necessarily cited without a URL. If figures have been sourced from secondary resources on the web, a link to this source will be cited with the relevant figure in the Appendix. Figures can be found in Appendix Two.

³¹ *Zooniverse* is an umbrella organisation housing various crowdsourcing projects. These are described on the website as 'citizen science projects using the efforts and ability of volunteers to help scientists and researchers deal with the flood of data that confronts them' (zooniverse.org).

³² *Transcribe Bentham* was awarded Distinction in the Digital Communities category of the Prix Ars Electronica in 2011 and second place in the 2012 Knetworks competition organised by Oxford Institute. 8,000 manuscripts have been transcribed through this initiative at the time of writing.

those displayed in the final selection. In this way a series of safeguards are put in place through the very structuration of the crowdsourced project to ensure accuracy is maintained onsite.

Old Weather (oldweather.org) (fig 3) and *Transcribe Bentham* (bit.ly/1SIgn2) (fig 4) require users to digitise existing records in the National Maritime Museum and UCL archives respectively. Transcription undertaken within *Old Weather* is used by professional historians and scientists to track shipping movements and model climate change (Blaser, 2014, 74) (oldweather.org/transcribe) (fig 5). Bentham's transcribed texts, which include notes added by users, are used as the basis for professional editors to publish a set of Jeremy Bentham's works (Causer and Terras, 2014, 83) (bit.ly/1QWWmTX) (fig 6). In these transcription projects, participation is durational and more complex than the V&A's project, often requiring conversation between participants (Causer and Terras, 2014, 83, Blaser, 2014, 74). Indeed, in *Old Weather*, there is a dedicated discussion forum which, according to project leaders, has enriched historical research being undertaken by participants (Blaser, 2014, 74). Profiles are also 'gamified', meaning hierarchy and competition are used as an incentive for accurate and sustained site engagement. Participants begin as 'cadets', and work towards a role as 'Ship's Captain' through the number of documents transcribed.

However, in both *Old Weather* and *Transcribe Bentham*, the challenge remains for contributors to accurately emulate administrative curatorial and archival roles in relation to already existing institutional information. The imperative is to enact the traditional role of the museum professional rather than challenge or subvert it, rendering the amateur an expert in the established curatorial frame of the institution leading the project. Indeed, in both these projects, information crowdsourced by the public is re-filtered through the expert eyes of the professional historian, scientist or editor before being incorporated into cultural discourses. It is also notable that in these projects, which might lead to scholarly work or publication, work is undertaken for no remuneration, despite the fact that this labour leads either directly or indirectly to profit for an institution or individual. As we will see below, this raises pertinent questions around the relationship between digital labour, volunteerism and exploitation in current society.

As mentioned earlier, Oomen and Aroyo's second definition of crowdsourcing in museums and galleries is classification, a strategy for online participation used by institutions including the National Maritime Museum (bit.ly/1JaasLh) (fig 7) and the Museum of Art and Design in New York (bit.ly/1BSI80m) (fig 8). Within these projects, users are able to reclassify existing archival artefacts into their own personal collections. Reclassified collections can then be shared through institution websites: via social media and email in the case of the National Maritime Museum, and through a publicly visible section of the museum website at the Museum of Art and Design. However, on both sites public reclassification of archival artefacts operates in a clearly demarcated 'amateur' space, functioning separately from professional curatorial work. Further, contributors are unable to add curatorial interpretation to their reclassified material. Although such projects might help spread awareness of institutional collections, curatorial and archival processes are not directly challenged through this mode of public collaboration.

Other popular classification methods within crowdsourcing include 'social tagging'. As Jennifer Trant states, "'social tagging" refers to the practice of publicly labelling or categorizing resources in a shared, on-line environment' (2008, 1)³³. In the museum context the social tagging entails adding metadata to archival objects and using this information to search for artefacts in an online collection. Tagging is particularly significant in relation to New Museology and the Post-Museum, as it theoretically enables participants to alter the received meaning of objects and re-filter collections according to public rather than curatorial points of view. Therefore tagging is potentially capable of effectively democratising classification methodologies and museological narratives.

However, despite this potentiality, many cultural tagging projects function to ensure tags remain moderated and normalised according to mainstream classifications.

Steve.Museum, a 2005-11 tagging project between the collections of eight cultural institutions including the Indianapolis Museum of Art, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Guggenheim is one example of this (fig 9). During the *Steve.Museum* project, 88.2% of 36,981 recorded tags were identified as useful by museum staff. However, as Trant states, 'usefulness increased dramatically when terms were assigned more than

³³ The overall content of a tagging project is known as a 'folksonomy'. In Jennifer Trant's terms, a folksonomy is defined as a 'collective assemblage of tags assigned by many users' (2008, 4).

once' (2006, 19). Indeed, as Rob Stein, co-founder of *Steve.Museum* states, 'if more than one person uses the same word to describe the same object, probability of usefulness goes to 99%' (Interview with Stein, 2012, 24.45, See Appendix). As a result of these project findings, at least one participating institution - Indianapolis Museum of Art - now only publicly displays social tags which have been inputted to the digital archive of the institution twice or more (Interview with Stein, 2012, 24.45, See Appendix). Like the methodology employed in the V&A crowdsourcing project above, this organisational strategy aims to ensure tags are trustworthy through automated means. However, it also means unusual yet accurate object readings are structurally programmed not to be listed. Despite the intended openness of social tagging, dominant classifications are the sole object readings to attain public visibility.

A similar process of remediation and normalisation existed within Brooklyn Museum's popular tagging platform *Tag You're It* (fig 10). This 2008-14 crowdsourced project produced a total of 230,186 social tags from the public (Bernstein, 2014). Contributors included anonymous website visitors and registered members of the Brooklyn Museum community referred to as the 'posse', a term used to signify ownership over the collection (Cairns, 2013, 112). Participants were encouraged to contribute to the project through gamified profiles encouraging peer competition (Beaudoin, 2009), a 'tag-o-meter' measuring site engagement, and rewards offered to those producing the most site content (Cairns, 2013, 112). Finding accuracy amongst non-registered users markedly low, *Tag You're It* was supplemented by a second adjoined project in May 2009 entitled *Freeze Tag!* (Bernstein, 2009) (fig 11). This game enabled members of the posse to delete tags from other users, a task previously undertaken by site administrators. Here tags were only deleted if queried on multiple occasions. As Shelley Bernstein: Vice Director of Digital Engagement & Technology at Brooklyn Museum states, 'for any tag that is deleted, it takes another two pairs of Posse eyes to "agree" within *Freeze Tag!* before that tag's fate is sealed... if three Posse members within the game think the tag should be saved, it will be restored' (2009). Therefore, *Freeze Tag!* uses a similar mechanism to *Steve.Museum* in order to maintain accuracy onsite, but outsources the power to make such decisions to the public.

As noted above, Ooman and Aroyo's third and fourth set of crowdsourcing terms are 'contextualisation' and 'complementing the collection'. These modes of working point to potentially much higher levels of participation where contributors supplement exhibitions or archival information with their own knowledge or personal collections. These terms therefore also suggest a potentially more radical destabilisation of curatorial norms. However, in many cases the role of the curator or archivist as cultural gatekeeper again continues to be reinscribed by the crowdsourced project, helping consolidate professionalised knowledge within the museum space.

An example of public contextualisation of a digital archive can be found on the aforementioned National Maritime Museum website (rmg.co.uk/national-maritime-museum). Here public contributors are able to add notes and comments to collections, recontextualising archival artefacts through this means (bit.ly/1JuH45t) (fig 12). However, all comments are reviewed by institutional staff before becoming visible on the website. Therefore crowdsourced contextual information continues to be monitored by the professional gaze of the curatorial or archival gatekeeper, ensuring publicly sourced information is aligned with sanctioned methods of cultural knowledge production.

Another example of participatory supplementation of the digital archive is the *Europeana 1914-18* project (bit.ly/1s1RCzq). This initiative enables the public to add to *Europeana*, a networked digital platform launched in 2008 which collates archival material from cultural institutions across the European Union (europeana.eu). *Europeana 1914-18* is a particular project within *Europeana* which aims to collect both official and unofficial histories of the First World War. Many of these histories are sourced from partner institutions. However, members of the public are also able to upload their own material onsite (bit.ly/1lu4dPx) (fig 13). Like the National Maritime Museum, all public contributions are reviewed by staff at *Europeana* before featuring onsite. Filtering mechanisms also distinguish between public and institutional contributions. Further, all users must register with *Europeana* to contribute to the initiative. This means agreeing to the sites' terms and conditions and accepting that contravention of the terms of use will lead to content being removed or membership being terminated (bit.ly/1ShQTGz) (fig 14). The very architecture of this site, like that of the National Maritime Museum, therefore

includes structural and curatorial measures to ensure publicly produced knowledge is monitored, streamlined, demarcated and when necessary, removed.

Public contextualisation and supplementation of existing digital archival material is also present in *Lives of the First World War* - a second project concerning the First World War Centenary, initiated in 2012 by the Imperial War Museum. *Lives of the First World War* aims to explore life stories of some of the 8 million men and women across the Commonwealth who contributed to the First World War (livesofthefirstworldwar.org/) (fig 15). The platform invites members of the public to add information to official archival records at the Imperial War Museum through the production of 'life stories'. Public participants can add to life stories by connecting new evidence through searching genealogy records and adding external references (bit.ly/1RuINZq) (fig 16) or adding their own photographs or documents (bit.ly/1mm9hBE) (fig 17). It is also possible to join or produce communities of researchers on the platform. Participants are empowered both to complement and potentially recontextualise existing archival narratives within the Imperial War Museum's collection through the project.

Similarly to the *Europeana 1914-18* project, this site's terms and conditions make clear that while the project team reserve the right to remove content which is offensive, illegal or against site terms and conditions, site managers do not monitor content on the platform, leaving this entirely to the community to report (livesofthefirstworldwar.org/terms) (fig 18). In this way, users are empowered to act responsibly and take control of the accuracy and facticity of the archival records on display. In fact, this shift in leadership style is replicated the more deeply and creatively participative projects become.

However, the very structuration of this site means user submissions remain guided towards producing information in line with archival and curatorial traditions of knowledge production. Additions to content onsite must be undertaken by registered users, and are framed by a form designed by the project team which stipulates the information appropriate to the site. Users are instructed to upload factual, historical information backed up with references sufficient that others can also locate sources cited (bit.ly/119KxE0) (fig 19). To help ensure accuracy, the site search function is also linked to

Find My Past, a commercial genealogical archive and partner organisation for the site³⁴ (findmypast.co.uk/company). There are also directly pedagogical mechanisms onsite, such as a subsection entitled 'History' which functions to educate contributors about the First World War through articles written by Imperial War Museum curators (livesofthefirstworldwar.org/history) (fig 20). As project leader Luke Smith states: 'we have tried to bring in as much verification as possible. We are looking for academic levels of referencing, this is what we are trying to teach people to be – we are creating a cohort of citizen historians... All their work must be checkable' (Interview with Smith, 2012, 33.39, See Appendix).

Lives of the First World War has facilitated extensive participation from the public, with the collation of 6,961,287 life stories at the time of writing (fig 15, 23.03.15). However, this site cannot be said to subvert professionalised norms of cultural knowledge production. Rather, like *Europeana 1914-18*, *Lives of the First World War* acts as a pedagogical tool to extend the reach of traditional cultural knowledge production. Through the outsourcing of curatorial work, this platform produces a decentralised network of public curatorial assistants, recreating the work of the sovereign curator under traditional guidelines, constrained by the architectural design and framework of the platform itself.

Ooman and Aroyo's fifth definition of cultural crowdsourcing, 'co-curation', refers to the most entrenched level of public participation in digital projects, and can be compared to definitions of creative contributions to crowdsourcing projects as set out by Ridge, Dunn and Hedges, or 'Collaborative Communities' in Eveleigh's terms. For Oomen and Aroyo, co-curation is defined as using the 'inspiration/expertise of non-professional curators to create (web) exhibits' (2011, 140). In the co-curated initiatives explored here, a framework and set of project motivations or community guidelines is often set out for the public. Aside from this, overt leadership of sites tends to be extremely minimal, and members of the public are encouraged to populate the site as expressively as possible

³⁴ *Find My Past*, formerly *DC Thomson Family History* asks members to pay for premium membership to view certain records and use elements of the site such as the 'communities' page. This means rather than volunteering their time, users are actually paying to produce historical and cultural knowledge for the Imperial War Museum on this platform. This is something which has illuminating links to the concept of digital labour under contemporary capitalism, explored in more detail in relation to the work of Christian Fuchs later in this chapter.

within the loose framework provided, actively constituting new archives of cultural information.

At first glance, these projects represent an incarnation of crowdsourcing closest to the desires of theorists such as Hooper-Greenhill and Parry. This deeper form of collaboration has the potential to destabilise the traditional curatorial and archival role by empowering multiple voices to actually create and interpret new collections of cultural knowledge, often changing moment by moment as new contributions are submitted. Contributors are often set creative challenges by project leaders rather than carrying out a common sense or administrative tasks, or being asked to ape the conventional work of the curator in relation to factual information. In this way, rather than just one singular curatorial voice resounding throughout a project, sites are populated with multiple diverse perspectives. Indeed, co-curated projects tend to rely on diversity and multiplicity for their functioning. A singular, static narrative would not operate effectively in the context of co-curation, so the goal of cultural knowledge production itself changes.

Two Case Studies of Co-Curated Projects: *Cowbird* and *Historypin*

In order to explore co-curation in relation to curatorial leadership, I will analyse two projects in detail: *Cowbird* (Cowbird.com) and *Historypin* (Historypin.com)³⁵. *Cowbird* is a citizen storytelling project launched in 2011 by digital artist Jonathan Harris, which enables users around the world to upload stories of their life experience on any topic via a personal profile, to tag these stories, rendering them searchable in a publicly visible digital database, and to enable others to comment upon, 'love' or share these stories onsite or on social media (cowbird.com/stories) (fig 21). It is also possible for users to send private messages to one another onsite. At the time of writing, 85,466 stories have been uploaded to Cowbird by 59,745 authors from 185 countries (fig 22, 23.03.15).

Historypin is an ongoing initiative launched in 2010 by not-for-profit organisation *Shift*³⁶ in partnership with Google, which asks users to upload images, audio and video from their

³⁵ *Historypin* went through a substantial site upgrade in October 2015 which is described in the Postscript of this thesis and explored in a second interview with Rebekkah Abraham in Appendix I. As this chapter of the thesis was researched and written before the site upgrade, it refers to the previous iteration of *Historypin*, figures for which can be found in Appendix II.

³⁶ *Shift* was formerly known as *We Are What We Do*

own personal archives to a publicly searchable Google Map. Users can also produce publicly visible tours and collections of their content. Again, uploaded material is attached to a personal profile, and can be commented upon or marked as a favourite by other site members. *Historypin* has received several awards for digital innovation and education³⁷, and at the time of writing has collated material by '64408 users and 2,423 institutions' (fig 23, 23.03.15). In January 2013, *Historypin* launched an iPhone app, which includes geo-located data accessible through the mobile interface (bit.ly/1On8Bm9).

The respective motivations of these sites are delineated by project leaders. *Cowbird* aims to build a 'a public library of human experience... to gather and preserve exceptional stories of human life, so the insight and wisdom we accumulate as individuals can live on in the commons, as a resource for others to look to for guidance (cowbird.com/about/) (fig 22) while *Historypin* is described as a 'global community collaborating around history' (fig 23). However, aside from these framing instructions, it is noticeable that the leadership structure employed on both sites is horizontal, soft and coercive.

On *Historypin* for instance, the only criteria for submission is that uploaded content is an image, audio or video produced some time in the past. Content can be taken indoors or outdoors, and accompanied by any narrative or descriptive text (historypin.org/faq/#title6) (fig 24). As Operations Director Rebekkah Abraham states: 'we don't make any judgements about what is and isn't historical, so we don't censor content in this way' (Interview with Abraham, 2012, 11, See Appendix). On *Cowbird*, community guidelines and a list of twelve violations of this code of conduct are listed in a section of the site entitled 'etiquette'. However, these stipulations are extremely light touch. Community guidelines instruct users to be decent, legal, humble and ourselves, while violations surround threatening, explicit or profit-driven content (cowbird.com/etiquette/) (fig 25).

Both projects also empower users to take high levels of responsibility for site content, in terms of filtration and moderation. In terms of moderation, project leaders on both sites go so far as to state that they do not take responsibility for content uploaded, and rather

³⁷ Awards include Webby for Best Charitable Organisation/Not-for-Profit Website, Lovie Award for Best Education & Reference Website, American Association of School Librarians 2012 Best Website for Teaching and Learning and Family Tree Magazine: 101 best family history websites.

leave this to the users of the site themselves. Terms and Conditions on *Cowbird* declare that all content is provided as is: 'you, and not *Cowbird*, are entirely responsible for all Content that you upload, post, transmit or otherwise make available through the *Cowbird Services*' (cowbird.com/terms) (fig 26). The terms and conditions on *Historypin* are similar, stating: 'we will not have any liability arising from any reliance placed on site materials' (historypin.com/terms-and-conditions/#020) (fig 27). *Historypin* also directly delegates the moderation of site content to participants. When uploading site content, it is required to include a date and title, and a framework is set out by project leaders for participants to add a Creative Commons license to their material (fig 28).

On *Historypin*, users must agree to site terms and conditions before uploading content, and act according to copyright law. However, site leaders are under no legal obligation to regulate site content, and copyright is not a required field when uploading images. As is noted onsite, 'although we reserve our rights to do so, we do not monitor Contributed Content and therefore, since it is not ours and we do not check or verify it, we will not be responsible or liable for the content or accuracy of any Contributed Content' (historypin.org/terms-and-conditions/#020) (fig 29). The task of monitoring site content is left to the community: each uploaded image is displayed with the option to report inaccurate content, and suggest more accurate historical details (fig 30).

Search and filtration of site information is also user informed within these projects, functioning partly through preordained categories, but also through user-selected descriptors. For instance, *Cowbird* enables users to search using a wide and diverse range of categories pre-programmed into the site. These search categories include daily stories, most loved stories, stories with audio or stories by newcomers, (cowbird.com/stories/) (fig 31). Stories are also searchable by date, topic, place or profile, and by gender, age, role or location (cowbird.com/community/) (fig 32). However, it is the user who populates their stories with tagged metadata to build this myriad of search criteria.

Each profile onsite includes user-generated information about contributors, documenting the date they joined the site, their 'role' and their location (cowbird.com/elis-bradshaw/profile/) (fig 33). Contributors are also prompted to add metadata to uploaded content, including 'who' 'what' 'where' and 'when' a story relates to (fig 34). This leads to

a huge range of user-generated topics being available as search criteria, themselves listed in a subsection of the site (cowbird.com/topics/) (fig 35). Tagging is also used on *Historypin* in that each upload offers an option to tag the material with metadata, enabling submissions to be searched through these tags and other user generated content such as date and title of image through the main search function of this site within Google Maps (fig 36). Mobilising the process of social tagging in conjunction with a database of user generated information in this way empowers the participant to help drive the archival classification functions of these sites.

In both projects, gamified personal profiles also help produce peer meritocracies onsite, enabling the community to enact a key curatorial role in rendering visible particular cultural narratives. On *Historypin*, personal profiles, or 'channels' allow users to see how many views each community member's content has and how much material they have uploaded. It is also possible to filter site material according to popularity, in terms of the number of times it has been marked as a 'favourite' by the wider community (fig 37). *Cowbird* has similar functionality. Here it is possible to 'love' or 'retell' stories uploaded by other members of the community (bit.ly/1ZvHZY3) (fig 38) and join other members' audiences. It is also possible to search via 'most loved' or 'most viewed' stories - each story displaying the amount of 'loves', 'views' and retellings it has received (cowbird.com/elis-bradshaw/stories/) (fig 39). Additionally, each community member's personal profile delineates the number of stories they have uploaded, the size of their audience and the 'loves' their stories have earned (cowbird.com/elis-bradshaw/profile) (fig 33).

Site leaders on both *Cowbird* and *Historypin* also function as active project collaborators and remain publicly visible as members of the community, adding to the apparent horizontality of leadership onsite. *Cowbird* project leaders, known as 'curators' onsite, are key contributors to the platform, producing stories and interacting with other users, while producing some of the most loved and viewed material on the platform. At the time of writing, site leader Jonathan Harris has written 586 stories, awarded 'loves' to 1,769 contributor stories and received 6,073 loves (cowbird.com/community/curators/) (fig 40). Similarly, the *Historypin* project team have a curated channel of content (fig 41) and write a public blog onsite (blog.historypin.org) (fig 42). *Historypin* project leaders are also visible

online displaying a very human face of power through comical and contemporary portraits (fig 43).

However 'horizontal' they may appear, project leadership does still exist on these sites. As mentioned earlier, project leaders on both sites frame, position and publicise the motivations of projects, and produce a physical structuration and design for sites which to a large extent determines the level of interaction upon it. Project leaders also choose certain topics for the onsite community to engage with. In the case of *Historypin*, there are overarching project themes such as 'Hurricane Sandy' and 'Olympic Memories' (fig 44), as well as a 'Pin of the Day' featuring the material of a different user everyday (fig 23). *Cowbird* project leaders also set various overarching themes for content called 'Seeds' on topics ranging from 'First Loves' to 'Occupy' and 'Outsiders' (bit.ly/1JaUzYJ) (fig 45).

On both sites, collaborative partnerships are also brokered with external parties.

Historypin project leaders have encouraged libraries, archives and museums to create their own channels of content on *Historypin*, and also work on wider 'Local Projects' with schools and community groups to produce focused projects utilising the framework of *Historypin* in some way (historypin.org/community) (fig 46). Meanwhile *Cowbird* has worked with partners such as the *National Geographic*, Radio Diaries and Sandy Storyline³⁸ (cowbird.com/partners/) (fig 47). These projects borrow the frame and design of *Cowbird*, but are embedded into partner websites as part of wider projects.

Content considered particularly interesting is also highlighted by project leaders on both sites. *Historypin*'s homepage holds a 'pin of the day' and publicises a 'pin of the week' on the site blog (fig 23/48). Collections of material and tours of content by individuals and institutions are also featured onsite by the *Historypin* project team (fig 44). Meanwhile on *Cowbird*, it is possible to search via 'curated' stories – stories by curators who are part of the *Cowbird* team, or stories which have been featured by this team as 'daily stories'

³⁸ As it states onsite: 'Sandy Storyline is a participatory documentary that collects and shares stories about the impact of Hurricane Sandy on neighbourhoods, communities and lives... More than a dozen partners are involved in Sandy Storyline, including *Cowbird*, Occupy Sandy, Interoccupy.net, Housing is a Human Right and the MIT Center for Civic Media' (cowbird.com/partners/). Meanwhile, Radio Diaries is 'a non-profit organization which was founded by Joe Richman, produces documentaries for NPR's All Things Considered and the BBC World Service' (cowbird.com/partners/).

(cowbird.com/stories/daily-stories/) (fig 49), or stories from featured authors chosen by the team (cowbird.com/community/authors/featured/) (fig 50).

The homepage on *Cowbird* foregrounds all daily stories, and also incorporates a news section, including featured content onsite and featured authors (cowbird.com/) (fig 51). The Community page onsite also features particular collections, citizens and authors (cowbird.com/community/collections/) (fig 52). Collections of stories have also been produced by the *Cowbird* team such as 'The Best of *Cowbird*', which 'culled from nearly 50,000 submissions, stand out for their beauty, their depth and what they teach us about human life - and storytelling' (bit.ly/1Jcxa9) (fig 53). Although all twenty collections currently onsite have been produced by the *Cowbird* team, an updated recent feature enables 'citizens' of *Cowbird* – individuals who pay a monthly subscription - to produce these collections too. Citizens can also set story seeds: something which in previous incarnations of the site was available only to the project team. According to the citizenship page, citizens are also 'featured in areas of prominence around the site' (cowbird.com/citizenship/) (fig 54). By purchasing a membership to the site, citizens are afforded a hierarchical position in terms of both site allowances and visibility, in comparison to standard contributors.

We can conclude that, in defining the motivations of these sites, and building the participatory framework in which participants operate and interact, site leaders ultimately retain the sovereignty associated with the curatorial and archival role. In the final instance, project leaders also retain the sovereign power of punishment, should users stop working within the rules and regulations set out for them on site. The terms and conditions of both sites prohibit criminal or commercial activity and also make clear that project leaders retain ultimate authority over site content and usage, claiming the right to delete accounts and block users. *Historypin* states: 'we reserve the right to terminate or suspend your registration...where we have reason to believe or suspect that you are acting in breach of these (*Historypin's*) Terms and Conditions' (bit.ly/1lyZySZ) (fig 55), while *Cowbird* states that: 'violation of the *Cowbird* etiquette may result in termination of your rights to *Cowbird*' (cowbird.com/terms) (fig 56).

We can also conclude that project leadership does certainly exist in more deeply entrenched co-curated projects, through site structuring, curated projects and terms and conditions. However, once the user has conceded to act in concert with these requirements, they are free to upload a diverse range of content, and manage the visibility of this content both individually and through peer meritocracy. In fact, in *Cowbird* and *Historypin*, the audience is even actively empowered by the project leaders to produce, moderate and mediate their personal histories and accounts of cultural life. Indeed, even when directly leading projects such as 'Sagas' within *Cowbird*, or chosen project topics within *Historypin*, the curatorial process here actually functions to empower multiple voices around a single location or cultural event, sometimes actively highlighting marginal or controversial histories and ideological standpoints, such as 'California Pride', 'Occupy' or the 'Pine Ridge Community Project'.

Looking at the range of functionality across various crowdsourced projects, we can conclude that leadership certainly exists across all projects, and falls into two broad categories in terms of negotiating the difficult line between public participation and quality or accuracy of site content. Generally, the more superficial, administrative and safe to fail sites aim to fall back on a more traditional curatorial role, in which the curator retains power in a very direct way, and all contents is vetted either automatically or curatorially before reaching site audiences, or is otherwise clearly demarcated as amateur. Within more creative and deeply participative sites including tagging projects such as *Europeana 1914-18* and the Imperial War Museum's *Lives of the First World War*, and on co-curated sites such as *Historypin* and *Cowbird*, a new light-touch mode of leadership is noticeable. Indeed, as projects become progressively more participatory, this form of leadership tends to stabilise as the norm in crowdsourced sites.

A brief exploration of wider co-curated crowdsourced projects helps substantiate this claim. For instance, the Museum of Copenhagen's ongoing project *the WALL* (bit.ly/1K9psMh) which enables members of the public to upload images and videos about Copenhagen to an online database and exhibition space (fig 57), *Mapping Main Street* (bit.ly/1NJ2rzs), a collaborative documentary art project which asks contributors to document streets entitled 'Main Street' across the USA (fig 58), and *Make History* (localprojects.net/project/make-history/) a project developed by the 9/11 Memorial

Museum and digital developers Local Projects to crowdsource stories of their experience of the terrorist attacks of September 11th 2001 (fig 59), all utilise a similar leadership style. Like *Cowbird* and *Historypin*, this means a site being built by project leaders, and community guidelines being put in place as part of this process. However, in each case content is offered 'as is'. Although project leaders reserve the sovereign right to block and exclude users, the role of the project leader is absolved of the imperative to ensure accuracy onsite, and this responsibility is frequently placed with the contributing public community (fig 60/ 61/62) (mappingmainstreet.org/terms.html).

The curatorial role within co-curated sites therefore develops into a markedly horizontal mode of leadership. It is relevant to note that co-curated projects are often framed in a way which foregrounds experience-led and subjective content, meaning more freedom can be afforded users in terms of accuracy of content without sacrificing the quality of the project itself. This form of archival practice facilitates creative participation from users in producing and mediating site content, and might be understood in this way to approximate Eveleigh's concept of the Collaborative Community: that is, seeking to remodel archival practice and 'to break down, or at least redraw, the boundaries between archivists and participants' (2014, 244). Indeed, for Eveleigh, the collaborative community is marked by the idea of 'handing over some responsibility for the maintenance of community norms and standards, and for the direction and sustainability of the site of participation' (2014, 245) in order to 'move beyond a channelled exchange of supplementary descriptive information towards a deeper understanding of historical sources as genuinely new knowledge' (2014, 245)³⁹.

A new leadership model is clearly at stake here, outsourcing both power and responsibility to users, and trading on the active production of multiple diverse narratives rather than the hierarchical show and tell of traditional cultural knowledge production. In this way, co-curated projects also break away from the traditional dynamics of superficial crowdsourced projects where contributors carry out simple, administrative or safe to fail

³⁹ In Eveleigh's 2014 essay 'Crowding out the Archivist? Locating Crowdsourcing within the Broader Landscape of Participatory Archives', *Historypin* is used to exemplify 'Outreach and Engagement' rather than 'Collaborative Communities'. However, this is because Eveleigh is writing from the point of view of museums using *Historypin* as a third party outreach website rather than discussing the site structuration as a project in itself. Research undertaken around *Historypin* itself is therefore able to relocate the site within the auspices of the collaborative community.

tasks, filtered by a centralised body of curatorial and archival institutional staff before being displayed. Nevertheless, we can argue that it is exactly the new model of light-touch leadership, empowering horizontal distributed collaboration and peer meritocracy which throws these projects into a complex relationship with the status of power in the current manifestation of capitalism.

The Relationship between Co-Curated Projects and Contemporary Capitalism

Contemporary capitalism is variously termed New Capitalism, Network Capitalism and Information Capitalism. To theorists such as Richard Sennett (2006), Eran Fisher (2011) and Manuel Castells (2009), this form of capitalism is structurally distinct from the way Industrial Capitalism, or early Biopower, functioned during the nineteenth century. As Max Weber theorised (1905), Industrial Capitalism was based around a rigid pyramid-like structure of centralised and hierarchized rule. In contrast to this model, New Capitalism is understood to function around a networked structure (Castells, 2009, 23), and to have brought with it a mode of power based in decentred and horizontal rule rather than rigid hierarchy (Sennett, 2009, 29). This can be understood as a paradigm shift in the structuration of society from 'a Fordist discourse of class to a Post-Fordist discourse of networks' (Fisher, 2011, 6). However, we can also understand this form of capitalism as a continuation of the basic tenets of Biopower operating through discursive power formations based in digital technology rather than industrial production (Fisher, 2011, 18).

The underlying structuration of Network Power within New Capitalism has been explored in detail by Manuel Castells in his 2009 publication *Communication Power*. In this text, Network Power is understood to function under a binary logic of inclusion and exclusion, so that marginalisation from power occurs by its subject being excluded from the networks and thus rendered invisible (2009, 25). Meanwhile, inclusion within a given network is defined by a consensual mode of operation, produced through rules governing participation and shared aims which constitute its dominant values of operation (2009, 43). To Castells, the dominant 'ideas, visions, projects, frames' (2009, 46) of a network are set into play by 'programmers' who are able to constitute, programme and re-programme networks in terms of the shared goals which define them (2009, 46). Particularly powerful

networks also gain strength by cooperating with other networks which share common goals. In order to cooperate in this way, another key role comes into play in the power dynamic of the network, that of the 'switcher'. In Castells' terms, the switcher works at the nodes of connection between networks to 'ensure the cooperation of different networks by sharing common goals and combining resources, while fending off competition from other networks by setting up strategic cooperation' (2009, 45).

On a more practical level, the horizontal, networked structure of New Capitalism has given rise to new business strategies, described in idealised terms by some commentators as 'powerful new models of production based on community, collaboration and self-organisation rather than on hierarchy and control' (Tapscott, 2006, 1). These models of business are fundamentally more horizontal and participatory than previous incarnations of capitalism. As Schäfer argues: 'while old business models struggle with the explicit participation of users, new business models thrive on their implicit participation' (2011, 12). Indeed, these new models of production are not only participatory but can be understood as inherently inclusive. As Fisher proposes, post-Fordist production is based in 'a dehierarchised, cooperative, agreeable and inherently inclusive model of networks... the productive process becomes more democratic and collaborative and is geared towards personal fulfilment' (2011, 6-7).

Collaborative production strategies entail offering the consumer a more active role in the research and development of products (Bayazit, 2004). Since around 1960, there has been a shift in the way products were designed, towards democratic research processes including consumer participation and focus groups (Bayazit, 2004), which theorists such as Klaus Krippendorff (2006) consider to be fundamental to the networked societal structure of the Information Age. The popularity of this new way of working has become such that media theorist Axel Bruns coined the term 'produser' in 2008, referring to a new class of creators who are also users and distributors (2008, 2). More recently, the concept of the prosumer has been popularised through new organisational theories of collaborative capitalist production, including Eric Ries' 2011 *The Lean Start Up* which sets out an agile production model in which products are released in their early stages to

customers, enabling them to change direction, or 'pivot' with the desires of the consumers (103)⁴⁰.

The term 'crowdsourcing' also originally stems from this business model of mobilising the labour power of consumers, and is derived from the term 'outsourcing'. First coined in 2006 by *Wired* editor Jeff Howe in an article entitled 'The Rise of Crowdsourcing', the phenomenon was first defined as 'a new pool of cheap labour... everyday people using their spare cycles to create content, solve problems and even do corporate R&D' (<http://wrd.cm/1nkRGsc>)⁴¹. Later, defining the phenomenon in more detail, Howe declared that:

Simply defined, crowdsourcing represents the act of a company or institution taking a function once performed by employees and outsourcing it to an undefined (and generally large) network of people in the form of an open call. This can take the form of peer-production (when the job is performed collaboratively) but is also often undertaken by sole individuals. The crucial prerequisite is the use of the open call format and the large network of potential labourers (2006, <http://bit.ly/QwOkEh>).

Although collaborative production methods such as crowdsourcing might appear inclusive, democratic and participatory, they were first developed as a way to produce more profit for capitalist companies through the exploitation of a digital labour force. As the digital theorist Christian Fuchs states: 'management thinkers have recommended to

⁴⁰ Comparable agendas have been set by new capitalist organisational models such as Rachel Botsman's 'Collaborative Consumption' (2011), and the so-called 'Peers Incorporated' model put forward by Zipcar founder Robin Chase. Both these models mobilise peer-to-peer collaboration as a basis for capitalist business. Businesses produce and regulate platforms for participation between peers on a local level, and users populate these platforms to make transactions. Within Collaborative Consumption, businesses are often based in sharing resources rather than buying discrete products. Examples of such businesses include *Buzzcar* (www.buzzcar.com/en/), a car sharing company developed by Robin Chase, and *AirBnB* (www.airbnb.co.uk/), in which private property is rented out between individuals for short periods as an alternative to staying in hotels. However, other businesses based in the collaborative consumption model such as *Etsy* (www.etsy.com/uk), a digital marketplace where craftspeople, jewellers and artists can sell their products to other users of the site, are based in a more traditional incarnation of capitalist use and exchange value.

⁴¹ It is particularly pertinent that a *Wired* magazine editor coined this term. In his 2011 publication *Media and New Capitalism in the Digital Age: The Spirit of Networks*, Eran Fisher makes a detailed discourse analysis of *Wired* magazine as an institution instrumental in shaping and helping mediate dominant contemporary discourses of techno-capitalism and network power including de-hierarchised work environments, individualistic entrepreneurship and flexible work hours.

companies the outsourcing of labour to users and consumers in order to increase profits by decreasing labour costs' (2014b, 246). Indeed, many online crowdsourced projects outside the cultural sector are mobilised to entirely commercial ends⁴².

The relationship between digital labour and exploitation on participatory online sites has been explored in detail by Fuchs, particularly with reference to social media sites such as *Facebook*. For Fuchs, participants on sites such as *Facebook* are exploited in that they unwittingly generate profits for big business through unremunerated labour onsite (2014, 265-6). To use Marx's terms, the use value of *Facebook* users' digital work onsite is instrumentalised as labour because the use value this creates also engenders an exchange value for capitalist businesses. Further, as Fuchs argues, *Facebook* users are alienated from their labour, and are rendered 'politically poor' by the terms under which the site operates, which offers no ownership or control to participants; *Facebook* users do not own the platform they populate, and have no control over the wealth created onsite which is controlled by stockholders (Fuchs, 2014b, 256). Additionally, users do not have control over *Facebook* as a structural platform in itself. As Fuchs states, contributors:

...do not have the decision power to influence *Facebook's* rules and design, such as the content of the terms of use and the privacy policy, the privacy settings, the use of advertisements, which user data is sold for advertising purposes, the standard settings... required registration data, the placement of commercial and non-commercial content on screen and so on (2014b, 256).

For Fuchs, this mode of production is the lynchpin of contemporary digital labour (2013, 237). Termed 'play-labour', it is described as a new ideology of capitalism in which

⁴² For instance, *Crowdtap* (crowdtap.com), invites consumers to give feedback on products, take photographs of commodities which can be used, or host branded parties, for the lure of 'reward points' redeemable for represented products. This site is couched in rhetoric about empowerment, stating that 'on *Crowdtap*, it's about power to the people: take photos, upload videos, and get creative to showcase how you use the products & brands that fill your world' (home.crowdtap.com/contest). However, practically speaking the site can be understood to generate cheap labour, producing profit and visibility for big brands. Other crowdsourced sites function straightforwardly as market research for the benefit of big business. An example is the digital *Innovation Platform* developed by US company *General Mills* (gwin.force.com/). This platform invites customers to share in the innovation of new ingredients, packaging, processing, products, technologies or sustainability; or to 'submit their own novel proposal' (gwin.force.com/). The crowdsourced information on this platform therefore functions as a form of market research, enabling the company to expedite products to market and help ensure high sales. Undertaken without remuneration, this form of crowdsourcing also feeds into an increasing normalisation of labour for little or no return within the digital economy.

‘objectively alienated labour is presented as creativity, freedom and autonomy that is fun for workers’ (2014b, 267). In Fuchs’ terms, this form of exploitation is rendered more problematic through the idealising rhetoric which accompanies it, often concerning democracy, freely available resources and sharing (2014b, 258). In fact, for Fuchs, the term crowdsourcing expresses exactly the sort of ‘unchecked, unlimited exploitation’ that helps capital save labour costs’ (2014, 273).

Considering the fundamental onus on collaboration, participation and networked power in New Capitalism, we can see a clear similarity between the tenets of New Museology, the trend towards crowdsourcing in cultural projects, and wider contemporary society. Indeed, we might see crowdsourcing projects as a cultural manifestation of the wider economic and social reality of New Capitalism. *Cowbird* and *Historypin* are both non-commercial projects, and the voluntary digital work undertaken for them cannot in Marxist terms be considered exploitative digital labour or directly reproductive labour: unpaid work facilitating the production of profit for others (Fuchs, 2014b, 263). Unlike social media platforms such as *Facebook*, which exploit the production of use values onsite by translating these into exchange value for profit, the motivation of sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* can be understood to reside in the production of use values themselves.

However, it is exactly this non-commercial functionality which constitutes the hegemonic potential of crowdsourced cultural sites. Just as the nineteenth century museum or World’s Fair helped pedagogically instantiate and reinforce the socio-cultural norms of disciplinary power in the nineteenth century, sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* can be seen to reflect and help consolidate contemporary hegemonic cultural narratives and norms surrounding subjectivity, labour and power in the Network Society of New Capitalism.

Crowdsourced cultural archives such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* clearly reflect the fundamental onus on active participation between consumer and producer within New Capitalism. Moreover, such sites mirror the horizontal structure of leadership in contemporary capitalism, where formal hierarchies are replaced by decentred, networked rule. As we have seen, leadership within projects such as *Cowbird* and

Historypin is markedly light touch, with project leaders setting out the most lenient possible tenets for participation around legality and decency, actively contributing to sites alongside public participants, and acting to produce a skeletal framework for participation populated by site members, in a notably similar formulation to social media sites based in models of collaborative consumption such as *Facebook*. Crowdsourced digital archives such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* simultaneously reflect the dynamic of leadership particular to Network Power as described by Castells. In setting out site motivation and architecture, project leaders can be understood to function as 'programmers' in Castells' terms, who determine the content and structuration of networks, acting as important nodes in otherwise decentralised structures. In their role as programmers, project leaders also set out rules of inclusion to the site through legal terms and conditions, which function in a binary way to consensually include or absolutely exclude contributors, and also reflect Castells' theories of Network Power in this way.

Further, in a way similar to 'politically poor' contributors to social media sites such as *Facebook*, rights to programming or reprogramming crowdsourced sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* are not afforded their community of participants. Although these sites have been carefully produced to offer users maximum freedom in relation to adding content to these platforms, there is no way participants can collaborate on the production and mediation of project motivations, terms and conditions or the coding of site architecture. In this way, seemingly co-curated and strongly collaborative crowdsourcing sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* actually reflect the same leadership structure as less interactive crowdsourced projects enabling seemingly more superficial levels of interaction with the public such as the cropping of images or transcription of documents. In both cases, curatorial power over the project remains in essence absolute and centrally determined, while users merely contribute to the curatorial 'vision' by contributing content to a predesigned platform.

Therefore despite the seemingly collaborative nature of these projects, an absolute sovereign power remains in centralised operation here, comparable to the professionalised curatorial and archival role in earlier manifestations of cultural knowledge production during Fordist capitalism and early Biopower. In all cases, the technical structuration of the digital archive remains in the sovereign power of the project

leader, something which recalls Derrida's comments surrounding the need for democratisation of the archive, and the fact that 'the technical structure of the *archiving* archive also determines the structure of the *archivable* content even in its coming into existence and in relation to the future' (1995, 17).

The Crowdsourced Archive as an Indicator of Late Biopower and the Control Society

The active participation of contributors to sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* also specifically reflects New Capitalism as a form of Late Biopower, mirroring the functioning of disciplinary power within Post-Fordism. This is a symptom of contemporary capitalist society discussed in detail by Zygmunt Bauman in his 2013 book *Liquid Surveillance*, co-authored with David Lyon. Here Bauman suggests that contemporary society is fundamentally still a form of Biopower but argues the means by which such power is currently implemented has substantially altered. He argues that the structure of the Panopticon is still in existence: 'alive and well, armed in fact with (electronically enhanced, 'cyborgised') muscles so mighty that Bentham or even Foucault could not and would not have imagined them' (2013, 55). However, 'it has clearly stopped being the universal pattern or strategy of domination that both those authors believed it was in their times; it is no longer even the principal or most commonly practised pattern or strategy' (2013, 55).

In previous incarnations of Biopower, disciplinary rule, guided by the model of the Panopticon, produced clear and unambivalent classifications of space and subjectivity monitored and legislated upon by experts. However, David Lyon asserts, from the late twentieth century onwards, surveillance begins to function very differently and 'the modern project with its intellectual legislators and educators is seen to be in serious trouble' (Lyon, 2010, 328). Rather than functioning through expert mediation, self-surveillance operates as a cultural norm, and the population becomes responsible for monitoring and mediating its own actions and behaviour. As Bauman states, contemporary society is fundamentally characterised by 'a willing involvement of consumers in their own surveillance' (2013, 127) where 'servitude, along with surveillance of performance 24 hours a day is becoming fully and truly a DIY job for the subordinates' (2013, 59).

In line with these changes, the original disciplinary mode of societal functioning with its clearly designated categories is also said to become fragmented and liquefied, functioning in a fluid and three dimensional way to define and filter as many categories as possible, in order to ensure nothing is missed. As Lyon argues, society still aims for transparency and visibility in terms of surveilling the population, but societal classifications 'are permitted to multiply and morph so that the filters miss no possible category, just in case' (Lyon, 2010, 329). The Panopticon itself is also said to function in reverse within this schema, so that rather than working to specify and discipline those who do not fit in, surveillance aims to categorise and discipline those who do fit in, and simply exclude those who won't or can't (Lyon, 2010, 330).

In Deleuze's terms, this new functionality of surveillance within society can be understood as a symptom of a qualitative change in society, from disciplinary society to 'Control Society' (1992, 4)⁴³. As William Bogard states, this mode of surveillance represents a 'phase shift' in the history of the exercise of power, in the same sense that Foucault described the historical transformation from sovereign to disciplinary power' (2006, 62). In the Control Society, power is no longer so clearly centralised and hierarchically stratified as it was during early Biopower, when disciplinary rule was symbolised by the Panopticon. As Deleuze argues, the stratified and distinct enclosures of disciplinary rule transmute into ever-changing modulations 'like a sieve whose mesh will transmute from point to point' (1992, 4). In the Control Society, discipline is said to become inclusive and continuous, resembling ice turning into water. As Bogard states, 'discipline becomes liquid: it flows into every hole, fills every crack, and leaves nowhere to hide' (2006, 63).

Surveillance of individuals is said to be magnified in this form of society, operating in an all-encompassing manner on a myriad different levels, and functioning through profiling and data-mining strategies so elaborate that it becomes possible to eliminate problems

⁴³ Deleuze is speaking of a similar dynamic of phenomena surrounding surveillance and late Biopower to Bauman here. However, it is important to note the two theorists are writing here in substantially different cultural contexts 11 years apart. Although the phase of power the theorists refer to is the same, substantial cultural changes relating to modes of technical surveillance will therefore necessarily have occurred. Further, where Bauman and Lyon's primary agenda in *Liquid Surveillance* is to grapple with the role of technology in relation to power, Deleuze's text operates in more of an abstract and macrocosmic manner to sketch out the very framework of power in late Biopolitical Society. Nonetheless the two theories complement one another as a way of understanding the layered vicissitudes of power in contemporary society.

pre-emptively (Bogard, 2006, 60). However, rather than fixing identities through hierarchy and exclusion, power in Control Society stems from 'a proliferation... of multiple and hybrid identities' (Bogard, 2006, 64). This produces what Bogard calls 'a kind of fractal subjectivity, endlessly divisible, and upon which control can be exercised at will in any context and for any purpose' (2006, 72). Indeed, for this reason in Deleuze's terms the 'individual has become the *dividual*' in the society of control (1992, 5).

We can conclude that in Control Society both discipline and surveillance are magnified, but operate in new decentralised ways. Societal stratification through classification certainly also still exists in Control Society, perhaps in more entrenched ways than ever before. However the population is now far more actively involved in its own subjective classification, and is functioning to mediate and perform disciplinary classifications and hierarchies of their own volition. The shift from disciplinary to Control Society is therefore a change of degree rather than type, but nonetheless has resulted in new formulations and structurations of hegemonic power, often facilitated by developments in technology.

In Poster's terms, these new formulations of power operate through a 'Super-Panopticon', a database form which has overtaken the prison structure of the Panopticon as the fundamental signifier of disciplinary power in contemporary capitalism (1995, 85). To Poster, the database exemplifies the effortless and absolute surveillance of the individual across Control Society, as well as the willing involvement in the process of surveillance of the citizen. As Poster states, 'unlike the Panopticon...the Super-Panopticon effects its workings almost without effort. What Foucault notices as the "capillary" extension of power throughout the space of disciplinary society is much more perfected today' (1995, 87).

Crucially, for Poster it is exactly the archival disciplinary functions of classification and division which also provide the database with its power as a technology of control. Poster suggests databases constitute Foucaultian 'grids of specification', which act as high-tech classification devices through which items can be 'divided, contrasted, related, regrouped, classified, derived from one another as objects of... discourse' (1995, 88). Further, acting as a more intensive and absolute mode of classification than the

traditional archive, the computerised database is able to support the production and mediation of the 'dividual' in its multiple and decentred forms (1995, 88).

Just like the archival form, the database here is said to be a performative phenomenon, which interpellates subjects into existence. In Poster's terms, 'computerised databases are nothing but performative machines, engines for producing retrievable identities' (1995, 89). Like Bauman, Poster refers here to the active performance of identity by societal subjects. By adding personal information to computerised databases and websites, site users are understood to engage in 'a gigantic and sleek operation...whose political force of surveillance is occluded in the willing participation of the victim' (1995, 87). If the archive and the Panopticon were symbols par excellence of disciplinary rule in early Biopower, the computerised database and Super-Panopticon can be understood as key metaphors for the dynamics of power within the Society of Control.

The databases Poster discusses are those which are principally invisible within society, where 'interpellation by database is a complicated configuration of unconsciousness, indirection, automation, and absent-mindedness both on the part of the producer of the database and on the part of the individual subject being constituted by it' (1995, 90). However, we can say crowdsourced sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* constitute examples of the same dynamic of disciplinary power within Control Society, producing a Super-Panopticon of sorts, in which users willingly participate in their own surveillance and the performative construction of a fragmented and multiple self.

Both *Cowbird* and *Historypin* can be understood as digital versions of the Panopticon, something like the 'cyborgised Panopticon' discussed by Bauman in *Liquid Surveillance*. As with the Panopticon, these sites divide up space into knowable classificatory sections. Additionally, the sites embody aspects of disciplinary rule particular to Bauman's concept of 'liquid surveillance' and Poster's notion of the 'Super-Panopticon'. Rather than being mediated entirely through hierarchy and the legislation of experts, here we see a delegation of surveillance to members of the community themselves. Not only does this take the form of willing participation by site contributors in their own surveillance, but also peer-surveillance between site members, and the delegation of responsibility for such surveillance to community members rather than project leaders.

A further similarity to the Super-Panopticon and the Control Society stems from the classificatory mechanisms at play within sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin*. As we have seen, both sites use a mixture of pre-programmed and metadata based search criteria, producing a dizzying multiplicity of shifting classifications and categorisations attributed to content onsite. Similar to the archetypal 'dividual' of the Control Society, this architectural framework helps construct users as multiple, fragmented entities intersecting with other site contributors in multiple different formations; enabling the constant flux and exponential growth of possible connections between individuals through the development of new content and metadata tags each day. Meanwhile, just as Control Society aims to implement a pre-emptive architecture of control to evade threats to power, here both site design and terms and conditions frame the sort of content which can be uploaded onto the site, and ensure participation within the site functions consensually.

Crowdsourced sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* can also be understood to mirror Poster's Super-Panopticon in terms of functioning in an interpellative, performative way. In Poster's schema, the organisational database functions at least partly according to traditional rules surrounding the performative, in that it is developed by hegemonic institutions of authority and convention. Similarly, within crowdsourced sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin*, it seems project leaders take on a traditional curatorial and archival role of conventional authority which frames and structures the site, allowing it to function performatively. However, it is instructive that in Poster's Super-Panopticon and co-curated sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin*, the sovereign power to act performatively is also extended to members of the public.

As we have seen, in Butler's terms, the judge is viably able to speak the power of law when acting from within the sanctioned conventions of the court, and in Derridean theory the archivist is able to perform truth from within the established framework of the archive; in a parallel way, participants within these initiatives are afforded custody of the performative power of the curator or archivist, so long as they concede to follow the rules set for them by these professionalised, authoritative bodies of leadership. Indeed, in Butler's terms, this is a central characteristic of the principle of performative iterability: 'the subject as sovereign is presumed in the Austinian account of performativity: the

figure for the one who speaks and in speaking performs what she/he speaks as the judge or some other representative of the law' (1997, 49). Using the example of interpellating the individual in racial or gendered terms, Butler states that 'the power to "race" and the power to "gender", precedes the "one" who speaks such power, and yet the one who speaks nevertheless appears to have that power' (1997, 49). She continues:

Iterability or citationality is precisely the operation of that metalepsis by which the subject who "cites" the performative is temporarily produced as the belated and fictive origin of the performative itself... the subject achieves a temporary status in the citing of that utterance, in performing itself as the origin of that utterance (1997, 49-50).

The conceptualisation of the performative as a collectively accepted ritual actually corresponds to Castells' theories of the network, where all parties retain equal visibility and maintain the possibility of full participation as nodes within the network so long as they remain within its consensual programme of functioning. The framework of the network itself is therefore what determines the capacity for performance and visibility within this formulation, as something which facilitates the effective functioning of active participation as part of the mechanics of power within New Capitalism as a form of Late Biopower.

However, as we have seen from the work of theorists such as Andrew Keen, networked performativity remains a contested arena, particularly in relation to wider conventions and traditions of cultural truth-making. As discussed earlier, in many projects conventions of professionalised curatorial and archival truth-making remain rigorously enforced and guarded, either through the framing of projects in a 'safe to fail' manner in which public participation cannot impact on curatorial norms, or through automated fact checking procedures which prevent anomalous results from being produced through crowdsourced means. If this model of the crowdsourced project reflects more traditional curatorial control reflective of the striated hierarchies of Disciplinary Society, we can conclude that peer-moderated sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* represent models for power in the Control Society of Network Capitalism.

The Relationship between Co-Curated Projects and Contemporary Neoliberalism

The delegation of surveillance to the population can also be read as reflecting other facets of contemporary capitalism relating to the current dynamic of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is a mode of economic and societal functioning based, like nineteenth century Liberalism, on the Free Market and resultant prohibition of governmental intervention in economic affairs (Couldry, 2010, 25). A resulting form of Laissez Faire leadership entails that citizens are required to take on increased responsibility for their lives and wellbeing in the face of diminished and depleting public services. However, it is important to note that Laissez Faire neoliberal governmentality also be understood as an active form of governance in itself. As Foucault states: 'neoliberalism is not merely a rolling back of governmental power, but is a particular form of governing "for the market"' (Foucault, 1997b, 78). Indeed, as Tom Lemke states, in neoliberal government, 'the model of rational-economic action serves as a principle for justifying and limiting governmental action, in which context government itself becomes a sort of enterprise whose task it is to universalize competition and invent market-shaped systems of action for individuals, groups and institutions' (Lemke, 2001, 197).

The term neoliberalism was formulated after the Second World War in Germany by Friedrich August Von Hayek and his colleagues at the Mont Pelerin Society⁴⁴ (Steger and Roy, 2010, 14). Von Hayek's theories of neoliberalism would be of particular influence for Milton Friedman of the Chicago School of Economics, an influential advocate of free market economics from the 1950's to the 1990's (Steger and Roy, 2010, 17)⁴⁵. In the

⁴⁴ A society which aimed to challenge Keynesian principles with free market economic theories

⁴⁵ Von Hayek posited that the self-regulating free market was the fairest way the economy could function, and believed this form of operating was able to function as a self-regulating and knowledge generating force (Steger and Roy, 2010, 15). Indeed, within Von Hayek's model, the state was judged upon how well the market was functioning, and had to govern for the market, not just because of it. Enterprise, not government, became the formative power of society (Couldry, 2010, 25-26) and theorists such as Foucault would even say that the economy had a state-creating function (Foucault, 1997b, 78). Nonetheless, within Von Hayek's theory, social needs were not ruled out altogether, and the government still had an active role in mediating for public goods and overseeing the market, while civic values such as cooperation were also still seen to be positive and desirable societal attributes (Couldry, 2010, 27). These latter set of objectives were lacking in Milton Friedman's US school of neoliberalism. Where in Von Hayek's version the state still had an important mediating function on the workings of the free market, in Friedman's ideas, 'greater emphasis was put on freedom itself, freedom conceived against the state' (Couldry, 2010, 26).

United Kingdom and United States, neoliberalism was first implemented under the governments of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan; operating from 1979 and 1981 respectively. These governments represented a stark disallowance of state intervention into economic affairs, considering all governing of the free market a distortive coercion. This led to a greater emphasis on individualism and competition for profit, and increased marketization of nation and society, now seen 'as a device for aggregating individual wants' (Couldry, 2010, 26). During this first wave of neoliberalism, social goals were suspended, and rational choice theory, which assumes people aim purely for personal advantage and a greater number of goods (Friedman, 1953, 31) became the dominant driving discourse in society.

The second wave of United Kingdom and United States neoliberalism, during the 1990's, responded to societal disaffection with the previous generation of stark neoliberalism by rolling out new policies which placed a renewed focus on social values, whilst keeping a central role for the free market and individualism. Operating under the governments of Bill Clinton in the United States and Tony Blair in the United Kingdom, this led to a societal rhetoric of 'social advancement through individual achievement' (Steger and Roy, 2010, 50) and a broader rhetoric of social inclusion operating both nationally and internationally.

In the international context, this trend has been termed 'Inclusive Neoliberalism' (Craig and Porter, 2005) in that it aims to coerce traditionally excluded developing countries into the fold of neoliberalism through the Washington Consensus⁴⁶ and 'the softening of neoliberalism into social partnership initiatives' (Wickstrom, 2012, 6). Nationally, the same pattern of assimilation under the rhetoric of social inclusion and participation is understood to have occurred. The traditionally excluded are newly included within society, in order that they join the neoliberal ranks as self-sufficient consumers, no longer in need of the welfare state. As Bishop states: 'the social inclusion agenda is... less about repairing the social bond than a mission to enable all members of society to be self-administering, fully functioning consumers who do not rely on the welfare state and who

⁴⁶ The Washington Consensus refers to ten economic policies which were applied in 1989 to crisis-ridden developing countries as a reform package. The reforms in question were neoliberal in essence, and referred to the marketization of economies and their opening up to international trade.

can cope with a deregulated, privatised world' (2012, 14)⁴⁷. In this way, the rhetoric of participation and inclusion in contemporary neoliberalism veils a capitalist system as competitive and individualistic as ever before. As Ronaldo Munck states, in contemporary neoliberalism 'the emphasis on competitiveness at all levels... prevails utterly' (2005, 64).

Indeed, to theorists including Bourdieu, Richard Sennett, and Nick Couldry capitalism is becoming increasingly competitive because of fast changing, mobile and interconnected markets within the digitally aided Network Economy (Couldry, 2010, 30). For theorists such as Sennett and Bourdieu, mobility becomes a particularly highly valued commodity in the Network Economy, leading to what Sennett terms 'impatient capital' (2006, 24). This is a phenomenon where investors constantly compare the profitability of their investment in large corporations, and move money in and out of investments frequently, meaning managers orient increasingly towards investor interests for fear of losing assets. As Bourdieu states: 'subjected to this permanent threat, the corporations themselves have to adjust more and more rapidly to the exigencies of the markets, under penalty of "losing the market's confidence", as they say, as well as the support of their stockholders' (1998, 1).

As decisions are made purely for the sake of potential profit and therefore the satisfaction of investors, this also impacts on the hiring, wages and employment policies of companies. Jobs become much more precarious, with short term contracts and frequent corporate restructuring, as well as a heightened level of competition between individual employees, and a need for these employees to work longer, harder and more intensively than ever before in order to keep their jobs (Bourdieu, 1998). This trend of competition and overwork is intensified through increased globalisation of the job pool, and digital advances which lead to a blurring of boundaries between public and private spheres, and the world of work and non-work. This competitive dynamic leads to an increasing ideological norm of over-work, and an intensification of the level to which individuals must engage with their work. Individuals are expected to devote a potentially

⁴⁷ In Bishop's terms, the rhetoric around social inclusion within neoliberalism reached its most entrenched level yet through David Cameron's recent office in relation to the Big Society. For Bishop, the Big Society 'denotes a laissez- faire model of government dressed up as an appeal to foster a new culture of voluntarism, philanthropy, social action' (Bishop, 2012, 16). As Bishop states: 'it's a thinly opportunist mask: asking wageless volunteers to pick up where the government cuts back, all the while privatising those services that ensure equality of access to education, welfare and culture' (2012, 16).

infinite amount of time and personal investment to their work lives, prioritising their jobs by being flexible with their time and visibly investing in the ethos of the company in which they work in a method of deep acting (Couldry, 2008, 6).

This form of overwork and intensification of the individual's relationship to work is not directly prescribed, but becomes a logical and increasingly behavioural response to a society led by market ideals, individualism, competition and commercialism. In turn, this behaviour is conditioned via forms of governance within Late Biopower such as auditing and other forms of centralised and peer to peer surveillance, which are exaggerated by use of networked information technologies and 'intensify work pressures and work's cycles of accountability and reporting' (Couldry, 2010, 31). In the globalised world of the Network Economy then, the fundamental Neoliberal tenets of economic competitiveness, individualism, profit and market driven society remain the same. Indeed, to Carl Bobbitt, the Network Society form represents an even more saturated manifestation of neoliberal ideals in society: a third wave of neoliberalism where: 'post 2003 from the nation state to the market state, where economic competition was the sole desire of society' (Couldry, 2010, 51).

The distinction here is that within contemporary neoliberalism, competition takes place through the network form of society, which, as argued earlier, functions in a flat, dehierarchised and inherently collaborative form of active nodes in a system working consensually to shared ends. Therefore, individualism and competition must be fed through the logic of the network. This results in a power structure based on meritocracy, where hierarchy is ultimately re-established through ability, professionalism and capacity⁴⁸ (Fisher, 2011, 6). Indeed, in Fisher's terms, it is the shift from class to meritocracy as a structuring form of hierarchy which is considered to be fundamental to the movement from Fordism to Post-Fordism (2011, 6). It becomes necessary to function in an extremely individualistic way, whilst working ostensibly in collaboration with others. The most successful candidates self-brand themselves entrepreneurially, and are expected to work earnestly and with passion in the roles they are given. As Fisher states:

⁴⁸ This is an important distinction between Fordism and Post-Fordism, in that class is swapped for meritocracy within network society.

'the discourse of networks... associates power with the characteristics of autonomous nodes (i.e. power resulting from ingenuity and entrepreneurship)' (2011, 6).

The concept of social capital also becomes extremely important in the contemporary work environment and links with the idea of meritocracy complicating traditional definitions of class as explicated by Fisher. Social Capital was first defined by Bourdieu in his 1984 publication *Distinction* in which he argued that economic capital alone was not a complex enough theory to explicate contemporary class. Rather, social capital should be employed, defined as 'the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu, 1992, 119).

Labour within the Network Society of Post-Fordism also promises emancipation from the previous alienating strictures of Industrial labour within Fordism, and reframes the exploitative elements of New Capitalism as freedom, autonomy and creativity in this way. Where work within the Fordist production line was menial and repetitive, and functioned within a strict hierarchy, labour within the network economy is non-hierarchical and is pitched as enabling creativity, self-expression and authenticity: re-eroticising work as something which can be a vocation, a calling and a deep, personal creative expression of oneself, barely distinguishable from private life.

As Fisher states:

According to digital discourse, as the traditional world of work is integrated into network technology, the boundaries between work-life and personal life become indistinguishable; work space and work time are intermingled with their private, personal counterparts. These novelties allow workers to bring their personal, lifeworld qualities of creativity, intimate relationships, and deep personal engagement to bear on their work activities and re-eroticise the disenchanted world of (industrial) work (2011, 6).

These characteristics of Post-Fordist labour mask overwork, precarity, competition and individualism essential for the functioning of late neoliberalism. Placed in relation to

Fordism, they are depoliticised, and reframed as enjoyable opportunities for pleasure and self-expression. In turn, this blurring of creativity, individual expression and work can lead to an ever increasing saturation of time, resources and experiences into the commodified world of work, and so certainly functions in aid of hegemony; mobilising forces of production previously unexploited to this point, such as free time, fun, knowledge and expertise (Fisher, 2011, 141).

This dynamic of work returns us to Fuchs' notion of 'play- labour', considered the most dominant form of labour within the Post-Fordist digital economy. As Fuchs states:

The dominant capital accumulation model of contemporary corporate Internet platforms is based on the exploitation of users' unpaid labour, who engage in the creation of content and the use of blogs, social networking sites, wikis, microblogs, content sharing sites for fun and in these activities create value that is at the heart of profit generation (2013, 237).

Indeed, play-labour is part of a wider commodification of all aspects of existence in current society where 'play is largely commodified; there is no longer free time or spaces that are not exploited by capital. Play is today surplus-value-generating labour that is exploited by capital. All human activities and therefore all play, tends under the contemporary conditions to become subsumed under and exploited by capital' (Fuchs, 2014, 268). For Fisher too, 'network production makes possible the perfect *fusion* of the needs of personal emancipation with the system's needs of capitalism' (2011, 7). When our whole being becomes marketised however, there are fewer and fewer silos from which to escape neoliberalism. The whole world begins working in the service of neoliberalism, leading to a generalised depoliticisation of society.

It is this full marketization of human life which Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri explore in their three-part investigation of Post Fordist affective labour: *Empire* (2000), *Multitude* (2004) and *Commonwealth* (2009). The argument as put forward in these books concerns a new form of power in contemporary capitalism which commodifies all aspects of human life, but simultaneously takes a network form of power which encompasses a large number of nation states, corporations and institutions in hierarchical relation to one another. However, as Hardt and Negri state: 'despite their inequalities they must

cooperate to create and maintain the current global order with all its internal divisions and hierarchies' (2004, xiii). This functions on a microcosmic level also. Despite remaining fundamentally individualist, hierarchical and capitalist in nature, Hardt and Negri argue that:

Newly hegemonic forms of immaterial labour rely on communicative and collaborative networks that we share in common and that in turn produce new networks of intellectual, affective and social relationships. Such new forms of labour... present new mechanisms for economic self-management, since the mechanisms of cooperation necessary for production are contained in the labour itself (2004, 336).

Sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* reflect many aspects of contemporary neoliberalism as outlined above. As we have seen, the functionality of these crowdsourcing sites mirrors the fundamental rolling-back of leadership and intervention within the Laissez Faire Neoliberal system, delegating site management to participants in digital sites. We can also say that these sites embody the representative tension between individualism, competition, inclusion and collaboration within contemporary network society. Low barriers to entry, public accessibility and participation are fundamental components of both these sites. However, the sites are focused and built entirely around individual profiles and personalised uploads, which are then collated into archives of modular data sets. Further, in line with the inherent bent towards entrepreneurialism and meritocracy within neoliberal network societies, both these sites employ gamification within profiles, producing a hierarchy of visibility onsite determined by profiles and content afforded the most social capital through peer voting and popularity. Indeed, most actual peer-to-peer 'collaboration' on these sites occurs through the production of this meritocracy through voting, or, in the example of *Cowbird's* 'seeds', through the collation of various individual snapshots of experience into publicly visible classified groupings.

Dialogue and discussion to shared ends is also negligible on the mainframe architecture of both sites, being limited to commenting features and suggestions for more accurate content on individual submissions. It is possible on *Cowbird* to contact other members privately in order to strike up a conversation and to join the audiences of others.

However, it is apparent in the design of the site around individual memories, profiles and uploads that collective production of content itself is not the aim of the platform. Prominence onsite comes from producing publicly visible content as an individual which then competitively gathers votes from the surrounding community and project leaders. On *Historypin*, as Operations Director Rebekkah Abraham states, feedback from site users is encouraged through a Google Group and via consultation with stakeholders (Interview with Abraham, 2012, 12, See Appendix). Indeed, Abraham even suggests that in the future top contributors might have a say in the curatorial processes of the site (Interview with Abraham, 2012, 9, See Appendix). But despite these aims, *Historypin* currently retains a centralised sovereign structure where the power to take on project suggestions and ideas, or partner with external agencies, lies solely with the *Historypin* team. In this light, site consultation, and the existence of a Google Group can be understood as an extension of the outsourcing of responsibility to the site community while power remains centralised with site leaders and dialogic aspects of the site remain marginalised and out of view, thereby reflecting almost exactly the structure of Post-Fordist capitalist initiatives such as the abovementioned 'Lean Start-Up'.

Other key indicators of Post-Fordist labour are also reflected in these case studies. Just as Post-Fordism is considered to blur the boundaries of work and play, and to employ creativity, individual self-expression and work, these sites rely on the expression of the individual in order to function. Further, we can understand these sites as reflecting exactly the definition of immaterial labour proposed in Hardt and Negri's work, in terms of the production of communicative and collaborative networks shared in common, that in turn produce new networks of intellectual, affective and social relationships. The sites also reflect trends of immaterial and Post-Fordist labour in relation to the necessity of workers today to engage on a personal level with the work they undertake, and to re-eroticise work as a vocation, while commodifying the very notion of play.

As argued earlier, we cannot refer to *Cowbird* and *Historypin* as exploitative labour in the same way as we can define commercial social media platforms in such terms. However, we can say these sites extend and help consolidate dominant cultural and social narratives by acting to model some of the most salient features of Inclusive Neoliberalism, New Capitalism and Post-Fordism. Indeed, in the terms of Nick Couldry

neoliberalism is far more than an economic system, and rather constitutes an overarching societal discourse⁴⁹. Couldry argues that 'a particular discourse, neoliberalism, has come to dominate the contemporary world (formally, culturally, practically and imaginatively)' (2010, 2). Couldry also refers to neoliberal discourse as a manifestation of Antonio Gramsci's hegemony, and as a system which, as Couldry states, 'sustains as acceptable, unequal distributions of resources and power by foregrounding some things and excluding others entirely from view' (2010, 6). Eran Fisher also sees digital discourse as a hegemonic, strong Foucaultian discourse within New Capitalism. In Fisher's terms, network technology is a 'master fiction' (2011, 18), which has a constitutive role in the operation of society, and 'points to the dialectical relationship between the discourse on technology and the social practices which are part of a new social totality' (2011, 18). Continuing the traditional curatorial and archival role within early Biopower, where both the architectural form and content of exhibitions functioned pedagogically to reflect and consolidate disciplinary norms, so sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* function in a pedagogical manner to help mediate and consolidate neoliberal norms of labour and subjectivity within contemporary hegemonic digital discourse.

The way individual database archives such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* reflect the wider structuration of contemporary society is also reminiscent of Foucault's definition of the archive as a macrocosmic term for a particular cultural reality. Just as the hierarchical, classificatory and striated museum, exhibition and the archive were key symbolic structurations for the macrocosmic archive of disciplinary rule and the modern sciences of man in early Biopower, it seems the digital database archive might be an appropriate symbolic vehicle through which to understand the contemporary Foucaultian archive of networked power within New Capitalism. Indeed, in Mark Poster's work, as we have seen, the database form is said to have overtaken the prison structure of the Panopticon as the fundamental signifier of disciplinary power in contemporary capitalism⁵⁰.

⁴⁹ Here discourse is referred to in the Foucaultian terms defined in Chapter One.

⁵⁰ Similarly, in the work of Lev Manovich the database is considered the most important cultural form in the age of New Media and is considered to be visible in all new media objects (2001). In Manovich's seminal text: *The Language of New Media*, the database is considered to have taken the place of narrative as the cultural form which determined the previous cultural age of modernism, and can be defined by the fact that it is modular and requires active participation from an audience, rather than being linear, and functioning to

Co-Curated Projects, Participatory Visibility and the Curtailment of Politics

As argued earlier, late Biopower relies on the willing participation of citizens in their own surveillance, something which is driven in Bauman's terms by a fear of exclusion or eviction from society (2013, 24). Indeed, the ability to be able to constitute oneself and to choose one's identity within late Biopower is understood by Bauman as a symbol of freedom and autonomy, representative of inhabiting the correct side of the social division 'between choice and the lack of choice, between the capacity for self-constitution and the denial of such capacity, between autonomously conceived self-definitions and imposed categorizations experienced as constraining and incapacitating' (1992, 198). Crucially, in Bauman's terms, the primary distinction between exclusion and inclusion within this system is willing participation in the dominant neoliberal system of consumerism (1987, 168).

However, according to theorists such as Jacques Rancière, visibility does not necessarily mean a lack of exclusion in the current system. In Rancière's terms, contemporary capitalism functions under a form of rule defined as 'Consensus Democracy', a form of post-democracy which aims to render all societal subjects visible, either through self-determined or governmental strategies, and entails that, as far as possible, each subject is afforded a place, a name and a subject position (1999, 103). This is not to say societal marginalisation no longer occurs. Rather, as Rancière's argues, the class barrier between visibly included subjects and invisible excluded subjects has been removed, and 'replaced by a continuum of positions, starting at the top and going all the way to the bottom, mimicking basic school grading' (1999, 116). Those who cannot be subjectified through the categories available are 'countable only in the aggregate of those present: the aggregate of those who not only lack work, resources and housing, but also lack "identity" and "social ties"' (1999, 116)⁵¹.

act didactically in relation to a given audience, something like the previous cultural narratives at work in early museums.

⁵¹ If we accept the idea that contemporary societal subjects can be both visible and excluded, it is possible to reconcile the apparent disjuncture between the theories of Rancière and Bauman here. A similar process of interpretation is helpful to take account of Manuel Castells' abovementioned binary theory of Network Power in this context. If exclusion and visibility are not seen to be mutually exclusive, exclusion from one visible network would result in inclusion to another lesser set of visible networks, conceivably reflecting Rancière's Consensus Democracy by operating as a saturated, hierarchized 'continuum of positions' (1999,

In line with theories on Inclusive Neoliberalism and the Big Society, Rancière suggests Consensus Democracy offers visibility and identity to subjects in lieu of security and stability provided by the state, a sense of subjectivity which is itself mobilised to individualistic, neoliberal ends (1999, 117). Furthermore, this dynamic of saturated visibility is understood to structurally prevent the possibility of effective political action within society. In Rancière's terms, effective political action occurs precisely through the rendering visible of the excluded on the socio-political stage, or 'Distribution of the Sensible'⁵². This form of political appearance, defined as dissensus, is no longer possible within the complete visibility of Consensus Democracy, implying that politics as defined by Rancière also becomes impossible. As Rancière states, within Consensus Democracy there is a 'presupposition of the inclusion of all parties and their problems that prohibits the political subjectification of a part of those who have no part, of a count of the uncounted' (1999, 116).

Indeed, contemporary attempts to perform dissensus often simply act to deepen the existing societal saturation of visible identities in Consensus Democracy, and to add to its strength and versatility in this way (Rancière 1999, 136). Further, all decisions made within Consensus Democracy's current system operate in reference to its hegemonic framework, itself enframed by 'experts in power' (Rancière 2000, 123). Consequently, Consensus Democracy is able to operate under the logic that there is nothing outside its system⁵³.

With political action incapacitated by the saturated visibility of Consensus Democracy, society is managed and mediated solely by 'police' power, defined by Rancière as 'the set of procedures whereby the aggregation and consent of collectivities is achieved, the organisation of powers, the distribution of places and roles, and the systems for legitimising this distribution' (1999, 28). In Rancière's terms, the police is the implicit law,

116). Viewed in this way, the theories of Rancière, Castells and Bauman can be understood to inflect one another in helpful ways and offer a multi-faceted understanding of contemporary power despite their individual intricacies.

⁵² In Rancière's terms, the Distribution of the Sensible is defined as 'the system of self-evident facts of sense perception that simultaneously discloses the existence of something in common and the delimitations that define the respective parts and positions within it' (2004, 12).

⁵³ The idea there is nothing outside the system is considered a flawed logic, although the assimilation of dissensus and marginal identities into the exponential visibility of Consensus Democracy does render effective criticality extremely difficult to affect. For this reason a key focus of Chapter Two of this thesis in particular is to find ways effective dissensus can operate within structures of contemporary power.

which is 'an order of the visible and the sayable that sees that a particular activity as visible and another is not, that this speech is understood as discourse and another as noise' (1999, 29). In this way, Rancière's definition of the police has a performative element to it, as we have seen replicated in other forms of power including legality and the archive⁵⁴.

The relation between visibility and the disabling of political criticality within contemporary capitalist society has been explored in detail by theorists of Identity Politics such as Nancy Fraser and Wendy Brown. In Fraser's terms, 'an identity politics that displaces redistribution and reifies group differences is deeply flawed' (2000, 22). Cultural and social recognition of marginalised groups without economic redistribution or a recognition of the wider context which produces marginalisation is considered highly problematic, because the subject is recognised in a way which is divorced from the larger social systems of power which enframe them (Fraser, 2008, 1-23). In Fraser's terms, this potentially leads to a situation in which the cultural superstructure of society alters without impacting on the economic base of society, which remains reliant on inequality (2008, 1-23). Fraser does believe that a politics of recognition 'is politically useful and indeed morally required' (2000, 23). However, she argues this must be employed critically as a way to deinstitutionalise value hierarchies, and must be employed in combination with strategies of redistribution: aiming to replace neoliberal economics with democratic socialism or social democracy' (2000, 22).

Wendy Brown also offers a pertinent critique of Identity Politics, tolerance and depoliticisation in contemporary neoliberalism. In a manner which is reminiscent of Rancière's comparison between Consensus Democracy and school grading schema of identity in society, Brown suggests tolerance of diverse identities is itself an operation of hegemonic power which implicitly holds the oppressive basis under which group identities are formed within it. As Brown states: tolerance as a political discourse involves

⁵⁴ Interestingly, Rancière does also speak of power in a similar manner to Derrida using the vehicle of the *arkhe* as commencement and commandment. In a 2011 interview with Paul Bowman, Rancière refers to the *arkhe* as that which exercises power through 'an already active superiority that precedes it, and which in return it confirms' (2011b, 238). In Rancière's terms, politics begins when power is in the hands of those 'who have no particular entitlement to wield it' (2011b, 239). Politics in Rancière's sense is therefore described as being literally an-archic in terms of awarding power to people in a truly democratic way (2011b, 239).

‘the marking of subjects of tolerance as inferior, deviant, or marginal *vis-à-vis* those practising tolerance; and a justification for sometimes dire and even deadly action when the limits of tolerance are considered breached’ (2006, 13). Although the concept of tolerance has been depoliticised, in Brown’s terms, it is an example of Foucaultian governmentality⁵⁵ operational in contemporary society (2006, 5, 9). In this way, tolerance can be understood as an example of ‘ostensibly emancipatory or democratic political projects... (that) problematically mirror the mechanisms and configurations of power of which they are an effect and which they purport to oppose’ (Brown, 1995, 3).

Given this appraisal of the vicissitudes of visibility and self-surveillance within contemporary society, it seems clear that opportunities for self-expression in crowdsourced sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* are not in themselves radical. In fact, ‘collaborative communities’ such as these can be understood to be contributing to the vast database of information which serves both to aid surveillance within society, and to add to the saturation of visible identities delineated in Rancière’s theories of Consensus Democracy. In a world which depends on absolute visibility in order to rule, sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* can be understood as functioning directly in service of hegemony: modelling and helping consolidate power relations in wider society through culture. By encouraging diversity of access and opinion, functioning through personal profiles and mapping community participation spatially and over time, these sites aid the dynamics of Consensus Democracy, as well as helping consolidate the ideological myth that visibility represents choice, self-constitution, autonomy and the ability to self-define, when identity is actually offered in lieu of societal stability.

Cowbird in particular offers a helpful case study to map the relationship between visibility, identity and the curtailment of politics in wider society. As argued earlier, this site is structured around diversity and identity, and facilitates the production of complex, multi-faceted identities by contributors through the addition of metadata to individual member profiles and uploaded content to the platform. New recruits to the site are even asked to describe themselves using numerous adjectives, enabling a kaleidoscopic

⁵⁵ Governmentality is a Foucaultian term which refers to the biopolitical way in which ‘the modern sovereign state and the modern autonomous individual co-determine each other’s emergence’ (Lemke, 2000, 3).

method of identification to take place and develop a huge three-dimensional archive of self-classification. Indeed, searching via these 'roles' onsite brings up a dizzying number of self-proclaimed identities (cowbird.com/community/roles/) (fig 35).

Cowbird's collections of stories and narrative 'Seeds' also give an insight into the intricate relationship between power, politics and identity in contemporary capitalism. Many collections of material onsite are produced around politically unproblematic topics such as 'Nature' or 'Summer'. However, there is also a collection of stories curated by *Cowbird* project leaders entitled 'LGBTQ' (cowbird.com/community/collections/) (fig 63), a Seed prompting users to write around Occupy Wall Street, and another aiming to document the experience of 'being, embracing or observing an outsider' (cowbird.com/seeds/oldest/) (fig 45). In these instances, *Cowbird* directly addresses topics surrounding traditionally marginalised identities and controversial or political subject areas.

The pressing issue with such content in the context of this site is that *Cowbird* seeks simply to 'produce a library of human experience'. The site asks individuals to act decently in a humble way, and to share their experience of life in a heartfelt manner (cowbird.com/etiquette/) (fig 25) rather than aiming to function politically. Therefore, personal and subjective testimonies operating in relation to marginalisation can easily fall into the trap defined by Nancy Fraser of fostering recognition without redistribution. Further, we might say that this sort of purposefully diverse yet critically undirected content functions within the norms of Consensus Democracy which deny the possibility of political dissensus, by rendering all subject identities visible and thus preventing political appearance. If we are to take Wendy Brown's points around the repressive and disciplinary function of tolerance in society, we might also see this uncritical self-nomination of marginalised subjectivity as a vehicle for the depoliticisation and continued oppression of such identities.

Without careful, critical framing capable of recontextualising marginalisation and suffering in relation to the wider socio-political context from which they stem, the danger - particularly on a site whose primary aim is to document heartfelt human experience - is that these experiences become naturalised, personalised and culturalised, rather than

being politicised. Lacking direct and rigorous politicisation, these discourses are likely to remain within Brown's rhetorical zone of tolerance, subtly trapping subjects in the marginalised cultural position they occupy; mapped onto a hierarchized societal structure something like the 'basic school grading' system in Rancière's explanation of Consensus Democracy (1999, 116). Project leaders act here like the 'police' defined by Rancière as determining the limits of tolerance, and excluding those who refuse to function according to these limits (1999, 28). The danger of depoliticisation is also further consolidated by the positioning of *Cowbird* on the web as a relatively closed cultural network, whose visibility is generally restricted to contributors to the site itself.

An example of this difficulty can be seen in the *Cowbird* collection LGBTQ, which contains twenty-one stories curated by *Cowbird* project team members. These stories are certainly heartfelt, and touch on many political issues such as the bullying of LGBTQ children at school (bit.ly/1avsUSi) (fig 64/65) the assault and abandonment of gay people by their families (bit.ly/1DhXMMW) (fig 66/67) and the legality of same sex marriage (bit.ly/1LQS1dD) (fig 68/69). However, overall the stories read like a series of diary entries or letters to loved ones, and are intensely personal, concerning subjective emotions, experiences and memories. The political content within these narratives is shrouded and buried, structurally redirected towards subjective ends by the architecture of the site itself, with no outlet enabling contributions to provoke contextual tension within the wider society to which they relate. Rather, stories reflect upon one another within the relatively closed platform on which they are placed. In this way, it is very difficult for these snapshots to do anything more than add to a saturated database of identities, or act as a palliative in place of empowered freedom.

In a society whose hegemonic currency stems precisely from the visibility of a diverse multiplicity of identity (Rancière 1999, 136) and the willing participation of the population in their own surveillance (Bauman, 2013, 127), the crowdsourced cultural archive must position itself extremely carefully and critically in relation to cultural events if it is to have any hope of functioning to destabilise or challenge hegemonic norms. If the public crowdsourced archive functions without such a critical and self-reflexive framing it will remain profoundly at risk of being assimilated into the hegemonic system and acting in

the interests of dominant power: simply adding to an ever expanding database of hierarchized identities within Consensus Democracy (Rancière 1999, 116).

In the binary world of late Biopower, one is either included and assimilated within the dominant system, or excluded from it entirely. Affecting a successful political challenge to hegemonic Network Power is a complex operation which must function with self-reflexivity and rigour in relation to specific cultural questions, and aim to critically intervene into the 'Distribution of the Sensible', to use Rancière's term, rather than simply functioning in a reflective or documentary manner. Should they fail to enact a specifically critical intervention into hegemonic power, sites such as *Cowbird* can be understood not only to be reflecting, but unwittingly reproducing cultural norms which oil the wheels of Network Society, New Capitalism and Inclusive Neoliberalism. As Jan Van Dijk states, 'it is a common fallacy to think of platforms as merely facilitating networking activities; instead, the construction of platforms and social practices is mutually constitutive' (2013, 6).

The Possibility of Effective Criticality and Collaboration in *Cowbird* and *Historypin*

Despite the proximity of both *Cowbird* and *Historypin* to dominant power structures in contemporary society, both sites do offer insights into potential successful modes of collaboration and criticality for future crowdsourced projects. However, it is crucial to note that in both instances, these slivers of potentiality exist in collaborative projects undertaken outside the main architecture and centralised regulations of the sites. For instance, one of the most illuminating features of *Historypin* is its collaborative involvement with wider 'Local Projects' where site content is gathered offline through durational face-to-face projects and workshops undertaken with arts organisations, artists, filmmakers, and museums (bit.ly/1PL7VJK) (fig 70).

Projects here include a year-long initiative in 2011 with Reading Museum in the UK, in which residents of Reading worked together to tell the history of the city through photos, stories and memories and an intergenerational project in London, in collaboration with Sundial Community Centre and the intergenerational arts organisation Magic Me, where younger and older participants shared photographs and stories, uploading material onto *Historypin* (bit.ly/1Rdj9rx). *Historypin* has also been used as a resource in wider projects

such as 'Past Present', an intergenerational project run by the Lighthouse media organisation in Brighton, UK, in which local schools worked in partnership with artists and filmmakers, aiming to 'create a computer game and a city-based augmented reality app about life on the home front during World War II' (bit.ly/1LM5o2Y). As part of this project, young people collected images from Brighton's local history library and Queens Park Archives to explore life on the Home Front, and added the photographs along with creative writing about the history of the image to both *Historypin*, and the *Historypin* app, which, as discussed earlier, enables collections to be viewed in a geo-located manner.

Crucially, as Rebekkah Abraham states, local projects operating in collaboration with *Historypin* 'are often co-designed with key stakeholders and members of the communities involved' (Interview with Abraham, 2012, 12, See Appendix). Such local projects also function through face-to-face meetings, offering the opportunity for discussion and dialogue capable of breaking through the strictures of individualist neoliberal co-working. However, in order to be visible on *Historypin* currently, the output from local projects is necessarily re-filtered through the centrally mediated and organised individualist architecture of the site.

Cowbird's collaborative projects also escape the limitations of its mainframe architecture, and as a result at least one project affiliated to the platform navigates contemporary power effectively enough to approach effective criticality. This is *Cowbird's* 'Pine Ridge Community Project', which was specifically put together to empower the voices of the Sioux community, and was created as a corollary to a wider documentary photography project surrounding the Pine Ridge Community by photographer Aaron Huey (bit.ly/1k8xxmP) (fig 71). This wider project was a *National Geographic* cover story in August 2012 entitled 'In the Spirit of Crazy Horse: Rebirth of a Sioux Nation' (dailym.ai/1fgahDY) (fig 72). The *National Geographic* article title is a direct reference to Peter Matthiessen's 1983 publication of the same name, which explored a controversial 1975 shoot-out on Pine Ridge and subsequent arrest and life imprisonment of American Indian activist Leonard Peltier. An extended piece of journalism by Alexandra Fuller gives a critical and politicised account of life of Pine Ridge as related principally by two residents: 60 year old Ogala Lakota activist Alex White Plume and 38 year old Olowan Thunder Hawk Martinez, a youth leader. The article does not shy away from the social

difficulties historically surrounding life at Pine Ridge, and rather highlights the defiance and independence of the community there, and the way in which decades of activism within the American Indian community has given birth to a resurgence of traditional Sioux cultural life at Pine Ridge. As Martinez states, 'we're in dire distress, but we don't need anyone to come and save the Indian. When we honour our customs, and when we perform ceremonies, and when we listen to our ancestors, then we have everything we need to heal ourselves within ourselves' (Martinez in Fuller, 2012).

Aaron Huey takes a similarly self-reflexive stance in his work as a photographer at Pine Ridge, referring to the Pine Ridge community as a 'Prisoner of War Camp', and explaining the complications of his relationship to the Lakota Sioux community self-reflexively from his position as a white American. His photography of the reservation, developed over 7 years, aims to fairly represent the complexities of life at Pine Ridge: the abject poverty facing residents set against the community's beautiful natural surroundings, the importance of tradition and ritual within the reservation as well as problems faced by the community such as alcoholism and vandalism.

The Pine Ridge Community Storytelling Project, in partnership with *Cowbird* and the *National Geographic*, began after high school students at the Red Cloud Indian School asked Huey to show a more positive side to life on the reservation, following an initial photo story he undertook in 2009 (bit.ly/1k8xxmP) (fig 71). The aim was specifically to enable residents to tell their own story in their own words, and resulted in a multifaceted range of different commentaries. These include stories such as 'Laughter' by Fern Chase Alone (bit.ly/1GloLVu) (fig 73/74): a short personal reflection on the author's mother, 'Faces I do Not Worship' by Marisa Snider (bit.ly/1K99RwS) (fig 75/76), which depicts an image of Mount Rushmore alongside audio explaining how the Black Hills⁵⁶ had been taken from the Native American population, and are currently being used to generate profit around hegemonic colonial histories of within the United States, and Willi White's appeal for funding of a music video about Water Pollution for an Ogala Lakota Rock Band: Scatter Their Own (bit.ly/1nucvIZ) (fig 77/78). The stories can be viewed via the *National Geographic* host site, or through *Cowbird* itself.

⁵⁶ The Black Hills here refer to a territory under dispute Native Americans of the Sioux Nation and the United States government

The Pine Ridge Community Project, though arguably still ambivalent in its relation to identity politics and hegemonic cultural narratives around Native American subjectivity, seems to be able to approach the possibility of effective critique in contemporary capitalism for several reasons. First, these stories are not only told within the closed network of *Cowbird*, where the driving motivations of submissions are self-expression and transfer of wisdom. Rather, through the partnership with *National Geographic* and powerful nodes of communication represented by this publication, a cover story article by Alexandra Fuller and accompanying photography project by Aaron Huey; the voices of Pine Ridge Inhabitants are heard by a wider and more diverse audience. This means Aaron Huey is acting as what Castells would call a 'switcher' for the *Cowbird* Network, enabling the site to generate more power and political visibility through the joining of *Cowbird* with a large mainstream media network such as *National Geographic*.

The Pine Ridge Community project also succeeds in directing collaboration to critical ends, both resisting ideological assimilation into the hierarchical identity database of Consensus Democracy and evading exclusion from the binary system of Network Power. Although the Pine Ridge Community Project takes place on the *Cowbird* platform, the specific framing of this project enables this difficult critical tightrope to be walked. Rather than *Cowbird's* project leaders framing the project as a simple instance of self-expression, here the project is framed by Alexandra Fuller in critical and historical terms which highlight the symbolic value of Pine Ridge. Crucially, Fuller's account focuses particularly on the refusal of the Pine Ridge Community to be rescued or assimilated, or to forget the history and injustices the Native American people have lived through. The article also documents the fact that the people of Pine Ridge have a sovereign status as an independent people, but that this sovereignty is in fact limited, and does not allow violation of federal laws.

This specific framing, which refuses to be assimilated or silenced whilst playing on tropes of hegemonic inclusivity, sets up the potential to prise open the zero-sum logic of New Capitalism where one is either excluded or completely assimilated into the dominant system. Moving past the sentimental documentation and archiving of identity and experience in the wider *Cowbird* platform, this framing, twinned with the insertion of Pine Ridge Community narratives into the powerful network of hegemonic communication

provided by the *National Geographic*, and by Alexandra Fuller and Aaron Huey themselves, enables the project to approach an intervention capable of disrupting the 'Distribution of the Sensible' within Consensus Democracy. In this way, dissensus can be performed. The project finds a way to convey the complexity of a people who refuse to honour the rules of consensus within contemporary capitalism, and yet still demand rights, and who refuse to be assimilated, but also refuse to take their place at the bottom of the graded school register as put forward by Rancière, or to forget the colonial and subsequent neoliberal system which placed them there.

In this way, the project approaches a mode of criticality put forward by Michel de Certeau in his seminal text *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984). Here de Certeau suggests the tactical subversion of hegemonic frameworks and motivations can result in effective models of criticality; a concept we will return to in detail in the next chapter. However, it is also important to recognise that even where criticality is successfully positioned in contemporary projects, its efficacy might be short-lived, again because of the structuration of New Capitalism. This is something Boltanski and Chiapello discuss in their publication *The New Spirit of Capitalism*. Here Boltanski and Chiapello argue that capitalism actually thrives on critique as a fundamental part of its healthy functioning as a consensual system.

In Boltanski and Chiapello's terms, although the bare economic bones of capitalism are insatiable and immoral (2007, 486), the system itself is based in freedom and could not function effectively as forced labour (2007, 485/6). For this reason, capitalism needs a moral and boundaried spirit, which coerces people into investing in and engaging with the system, even though this spirit is in fact radically split from the economic base. As Boltanski and Chiapello state, 'to be capable of mobilising people, the spirit of capitalism must have a moral dimension' (2007, 486). This dynamic of functionality means capitalism does need to alter when faced with effective critique, in order that it can continue to function consensually; effective critique of capitalism in the form of 'tests' functioning either through voice (public protest) or competition (the implementation of better systems) are essential to capitalism's functioning (2007, 490/1). However, capitalism also grows and changes to accommodate these critiques in a process of 'displacement' over time, to aid its insatiable and amoral economic base. Critique also warns capitalism about

the dangers threatening it (2007, 514), and allows for changes to be made to the spirit of society without impacting on the core amoral conditions of its economic base. Finally, anachronistic critique based in an earlier capitalist system can actually help to oil the wheels of a newer form of capitalism which has already reacted and displaced this critique.

Therefore, critique most often results in a strengthening of the capitalist system at large over time. Indeed, one clear example of this dynamic can be seen in the development of New Capitalism itself, which can be understood to have developed from previous 'tests' directed to previous forms of Fordist Capitalism during the late 1960s and 1970s. As Boltanski and Chiapello argue, this critique attacked the alienation of workers within the Fordist model, its bureaucracy and uniformity, and through this means helped produce the horizontal and networked dynamic of New Capitalism, which appeals to creativity, authenticity and self-expression, and might also be tied to the parallel cultural developments of postmodern theory and New Museology. However, due to 'displacements' over time, this critique has been thoroughly reassimilated into the economic base of capitalism, and is now being used in its favour.

Boltanski and Chiapello do suggest particularly seismic critiques of capitalism could potentially displace the dominant form of capitalism itself and even change aspects of the economic base (2007, 491). However, the fundamental dynamic of societal assimilation of critique within capitalism makes it extremely challenging to implement critique in contemporary society without unwittingly strengthening the system one sets out to subvert. For this reason, it becomes absolutely essential that attempts at criticality remain self-reflexive, and act with as much integrity as possible.

Conclusion

In light of these explorations, it seems that Derrida's assertion that 'effective democratization can always be measured by... the participation in and access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation' (1995, 4, n1) is complicated in multifaceted ways by the rise of New Capitalism and Network Power. Indeed, horizontality, collaboration and active participation in Foucault's macrocosmic 'archive' has become an essential means through which contemporary hegemonic power

functions, enabling surveillance and wider Consensus Democracy to take place. Individual crowdsourced archives such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* may redraw curatorial and archival roles and act as collaborative communities of sorts, but in so doing, they intricately reflect the structuration and dynamic of contemporary power. Here, participatory access to the archive and its interpretation can broadly be understood to condition neoliberal capitalist power, rather than pointing to a radical democratisation of cultural knowledge production.

Given the fundamental ambivalence between collaboration and hegemonic power, and the essential tension between politics, criticality and assimilation within New Capitalism, it is clear that simply facilitating networked collaboration in the construction of archives of cultural knowledge does not equate to a radical intervention within hegemonic power structures, or constitute the sort of 'radical beginning' of new cultural knowledge which Derrida suggests the archive is capable of producing. Rather, uncritical digital collaboration risks replicating and reconsolidating the structure and dynamic of New Capitalism, while unwittingly facilitating the surveillance and mapping of marginalised subject groups within Control Society and Consensus Democracy. While co-creative sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* initially appear to destabilise the traditional role of the curator and archivist, and function collaboratively to produce new and counter-hegemonic cultural narratives through collaboration between diverse sets of people, hegemonic cultural narratives often remain the result of such initiatives. Further, it is clear project leaders retain the sovereign power of the traditional archivist and curator to structure sites and exclude users, while outsourcing responsibility for monitoring site activity to users⁵⁷.

If Derrida's underlying aim in calling for the democratisation of access to and participation in the archive is to decentralise hegemonic curatorial and archival narratives, uncritical forms of collaboration alone will not suffice. However, as argued earlier, the slippery

⁵⁷ Collaborative projects employing less flexible and horizontal leadership structures also retain a sovereign role for the curator and archivist, but in an anachronistic form more akin to previous forms of hierarchical leadership in Industrial Fordist Capitalism. The question of sovereignty in leadership within cultural knowledge projects seemingly represents a difference of degree rather than type. Indeed, all forms of collaborative digital work explored here can be understood to follow the same basic formulation of Biopower visible in earlier nineteenth century projects, where the framework of norms and ideals are enframed by a centralised sovereign body, and then internalised and played out by a set of participants in these norms.

vicissitudes of New Capitalism, which mobilise previously radical tropes of empowerment and liberty such as collaboration, self-expression and creativity against themselves to hegemonic ends, also make it particularly difficult to make critical interventions effectively. In particular, within current Capitalism an important distinction is emerging between being visible, and being heard critically and politically; in terms of working progressively against the dominant or hegemonic ideologies of one's time. Indeed, as we have seen, uncritical visibility may unwittingly both replicate and reinforce neoliberal subjectivities unless being utilised to specifically political and critical ends.

We have begun to touch upon the potential for successful counter-hegemonic forms of criticality and collaboration by looking at collaborative projects which escape the mainframe of site architecture and regulation within *Cowbird* and *Historypin*. The next two chapters of the thesis will explore these concerns in greater detail and in specific relation to the design and operation of future crowdsourced sites. Chapter Three will focus on exploring the potentiality for criticality in future crowdsourced archives, investigating recent and contemporary tropes of cultural and digital activism and paying particular attention to the way successful projects function in relation to the dynamic of New Capitalism. This will help discern some of the tactics and techniques which are being used to produce effective critical interventions in today's society, and the way digital media might most productively be used in future projects. Chapter Four will return to Eveleigh's theoretical ideal of an archival commons (2014), exploring the relationship between collaboration and contemporary power in further detail, and investigating potential radical practical structures for collaboration and leadership in future practical crowdsourced projects drawn from Free and Open Software, New Media and Net Art.

Chapter Three: Critical Visibility, Performance and the Radical Digital Archive

The previous chapter looked at the intricate relationship between crowdsourcing and power in contemporary society, and the way active participation is both fundamental to current hegemonic power and complicit in the production and mediation of dominant cultural norms and narratives. The chapter also argued that the production of crowdsourced digital archives is not in itself a radical gesture capable of destabilising hegemonic curatorial and archival power. Rather, in many cases cultural crowdsourced projects can be understood to help mediate and consolidate dominant power relations in contemporary society, extending and reinterpreting the traditional role of the archivist and curator in correlation with the dynamics of Network Capitalism. Further, the dynamic of contemporary capitalist power is such that even direct attempts at criticality are extremely difficult to effectively enact. As we have seen, within current society critical gestures tend to either be reassimilated into the dominant structure or else completely excluded via police force.

This chapter will explore some of the tactics and techniques used by directly critical groups working digitally within the realm of cultural activism, to investigate modes of working developed specifically to counter hegemonic power in contemporary capitalist society. The chapter begins by investigating two examples of counter-hegemonic crowdsourced digital archives: *Actipedia* and the *Marxists Internet Archive*. An appraisal of these platforms is made in relation to findings in the previous chapter, particularly in relation to issues of visibility and assimilation.

The chapter then goes on to explore four approaches to digital cultural activism drawn from Tactical Media and Hacktivism related to various incarnations of the digital archive. Case studies are selected for their subjects' ability to effectively challenge specific aspects of contemporary capitalism whilst effectively resisting unproblematic reassimilation into hegemonic power. In broader critical terms, each of these approaches can be understood as a digital incarnation of Situationist *détournement*⁵⁸ a process where hegemonic power

⁵⁸ The Situationist International was an artistic and political movement in operation between 1957 and 1972. Self-consciously difficult to define, and determined not to be drawn into academic theory, the

structures are productively subverted and new meanings are performed, challenging hegemonic cultural narratives.

Findings drawn from Tactical Media and Hacktivism enable certain critical tactics and tropes particularly effective in combatting current capitalism to be isolated. However, within Tactical Media and Hacktivist projects such tropes tend to function in a transient rather than a durational way, something which presents an issue for the digital archival cultural form. Therefore, the final part of this chapter explores an example of a digital archival project which succeeds in employing self-reflexive critical tactics to durational cultural forms: *Wikileaks*.

The Radical Digital Archive: *Actipedia* and the *Marxists Internet Archive*

Actipedia and the *Marxists Internet Archive* are collaboratively produced digital archives which differ from *Cowbird* and *Historypin* in that they function according to directly counter-hegemonic motivations. *Actipedia* is described as 'an open access, user generated database of creative activism' which aims to provide a place to 'share, read about, and comment upon experiences and examples of how activists and artists are using creative tactics and strategies to challenge power and offer visions of a better society' (actipedia.org) (fig 79). First launched in 2012, the site is a collaborative initiative between the Centre for Artistic Activism and the Yes Lab, a radical consultation initiative headed up by activist duo the Yes Men. The *Marxists Internet Archive* (marxists.org) (fig 80) is a well-established site first launched in 1990, and is run by a team of around 62 volunteers from 33 different countries. At its last publicised update from 2007, the site carried the work of 592 Marxist theorists, 'representing a complete spectrum of political, philosophical, and scientific thought' in 45 different languages' (bit.ly/1IE4bsQ) (fig 81). It is possible for members of the public to volunteer on the site, in transcribing and publishing texts, translating texts into other languages, proofreading contributions and researching for the Encyclopaedia of Marxism (bit.ly/1V6ETbX) (fig 82). This site aims to

Situationists aimed to be 'the last avant-garde, overturning current practices of history, theory, politics, art, architecture and everyday life' (Sadler, 1999, 2). As Sadie Plant states, *détournement* 'is a turning around and a reclamation of a lost meaning... its tactics are those of the 'reversal of perspective', a challenge to meaning aimed at the context in which it arises' (1992, 86).

facilitate visibility around Marxist writings, and thereby increase public knowledge and understanding of Marxism (bit.ly/1IE4bsQ) (fig 81).

Rather than considering collaboration a necessarily radical or progressive end in itself then, both *Actipedia* and the *Marxists Internet Archive* mobilise participation to specifically critical cultural ends. This characteristic distinguishes participation in the service of hegemony from the possibility of a counter-hegemonic form of collaboration in a networked form of capitalism. The structuration of digital communications networks such as *Actipedia* and the *Marxists Internet Archive* also reflect the conception of networks of counterpower as put forward by Castells, who argues that: 'the process of social change requires the reprogramming of the communications networks in terms of their cultural codes and in terms of the implicit social and political values they convey' (2009, 302). If mainstream and uncritical cultural communications networks are producing hegemonically programmed archives of cultural knowledge throughout society, radical digital projects détourn this dynamic by using the same techniques and technologies to produce other more radically coded archives. By producing critically programmed digital archival forms, such projects might help rebalance cultural narratives: rendering visible a counter-hegemonic point of view to a public network of readers and contributors.

Actipedia in particular can also be understood to reflect and détourn the architecture of mainstream sites such as *Cowbird* in more specific ways. This site follows *Cowbird* in encouraging individualistic snapshots of information and gamification to enable competitive rating of submissions. Comments on user contributions are also filtered in a hierarchical manner on this site via the partner platform 'Disqus' (disqus.com), which enables users to search comments via most recommended content, and by 'Top Contributors' to the site. Like *Cowbird*, *Actipedia* also advertises a set of popular topics chosen by site leaders, and project administrators retain power to edit any post submitted to the site, as stated on the project submission page. However, in the case of this site, neoliberal and individualistic design tropes are mobilised subversively to radical ends.

The *Marxists Internet Archive* operates through a more straightforward interface without gamification or competition, with participants adopting a consensual networked manner according to an agreed charter of behaviour and site guidelines in order to produce individual submissions to the site. In this way, the site also shares structural similarities to hegemonic sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin*, and functions operationally according to Castells' theorisation of Network Power and networked counter-power.

However, radical digital archives such as these which operate in a durational manner also risk fatally compromising their critical efficacy as a result of their exponential public visibility. Indeed, as explored in the previous chapter, current capitalism understood in relation to Rancière's concept of Consensus Democracy uses visibility to foreclose political potentiality. As Rancière states, within Consensus Democracy: 'the community is continually presented to itself....They are entirely caught in a structure of the visible where everything is on show and where there is thus no longer any place for appearance' (1999, 103). Within these terms a visible set of strategies, tactics and case studies surrounding contemporary activism fits perfectly with the structuration of hegemonic power, enabling it to box, survey and monitor activist interventions as they occur, thus foreclosing the real possibility of political appearances.

The binary nature of Network Power as set out by Castells (2009, 25) and Bauman (2013) also means that by remaining visible and open to surveillance, counter-hegemonic crowdsourced sites risk two equally depoliticising outcomes. According to binary theories of Network Power, should sites begin to cause a real threat to the dominant order, they will face total exclusion and be shut down. Indeed, projects such as the alternative news network Indymedia, whose servers have been confiscated by both the FBI and the UK police (www.indymedia.org/) seemingly corroborate this. This is the threat Critical Art Ensemble refers to when they state that 'a large, very visible group that is on the radical fringe, which works to change national policy and which has reasonably good access to resources will also receive stiff counter resistance from the state, thereby neutralising its political power' (1996, 27). By this logic, sites such as *Actipedia* and the *Marxists Internet Archive* cannot currently pose any real threat to the dominant order, and might in fact be tolerated precisely because they feed directly into the saturated mapping of identity and subjectivity within Rancière's Consensus Democracy.

Durational and participatory sites such as *Actipedia* and the *Marxists Internet Archive* also risk facing a different issue in that their critical and radical motivations could lead to the circulation of content amongst a silo of like-minded individuals rather than leading to a moment of disruption in relation to dominant power structures and cultural narratives. This is a concern explored in detail by Dean in relation to theories of contemporary 'Communicative Capitalism' (2008). For Dean, contemporary capitalism is defined by a proliferation of circulating opinion on digital networks. However, in Dean's terms, this cacophony implies that unless resistant voices are contextualised effectively, they will become mere 'contributions to circulating content – not actions to elicit responses' (2008, 107). As Dean argues:

Specific or singular acts of resistance, statements of opinion, or instances of transgression are not political in and of themselves. Rather they have to be politicised, that is articulated together with other struggles, resistances and ideals in the course or context of opposition to a shared enemy or opponent (2008, 106).

It is therefore essential that critical messages not only circulate within society, but operate in ways which directly intervene and disrupt the flows of hegemonic ideology, highlighting injustices and producing progressive cultural narratives which actively resist reassimilation into capitalist norms and ideals. For Rancière, this would mean using visibility defensively, functioning to 'make visible that which is not perceivable, that which, under the optics of a given perceptive field, did not possess a *raison d'être*, that which did not have a name' (2000, 124). Borrowing Castells' terminology, this would mean not only producing a network of counterpower programmed in a manner opposed to hegemonic networked forces, but actively intervening in those hegemonic networks, in order to re-programme these constellations of power themselves. Sites such as *Actipedia* or the *Marxists Internet Archive*, which do not serve an agenda beyond the production and public display of a digital archive of radical information, might face exactly this problem - becoming a silo of information for the already-converted, which simply circulates without eliciting a response or a dialogue.

One area where the necessity for radical intervention into hegemonic networks of power, and the related threat of assimilation, exclusion and surveillance in New Capitalism has

been explored extensively is Tactical Media and Hacktivism. The next section of this chapter will therefore explore these critical digital media forms, investigating methods used by these practices to self-reflexively evade the foreclosure of political dissensus within New Capitalism.

Tactical Media and Hacktivism as Methods of Digital *Détournement*

Tactical Media first developed in the 1990s, and can be understood as a form of radical digital media practice which, as Rita Raley states, 'emerged out of, and in direct response to, both the postindustrial society and neoliberal globalisation' (2009, 7). Tactics are defined here in relation to de Certeau's aforementioned 1984 text *The Practice of Everyday Life*, which offers a set of techniques to intervene into disciplinary power, the reach of which is considered by de Certeau as 'everywhere becoming clearer and more extensive' (1984, xiv). In de Certeau's terms, one way of working against disciplinary power is to reterritorialize or resignify disciplinary spaces in order to disrupt hegemonic cultural narratives (1984, xiv). This process of radical or illicit reterritorialization is defined as tactical by De Certeau, and operates in contradistinction to hegemonic societal 'strategies' which take place in consensual and sanctioned frameworks. As de Certeau states, strategy refers to 'a place that can be circumscribed as *proper (propre)* and thus serves as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it' (1984, xix), while tactics delineate the appropriation of such a formally recognised, proper, institutional space. In the terms of de Certeau, 'a tactic... cannot count on a "proper" (a spatial or institutional localisation), nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality. The place of the tactic belongs to the other' (1984, xix).

The notion of a creative reterritorialization or resignification of space is particularly relevant within current capitalism, which as we have seen from Rancière's theories on Consensus Democracy, disables political action through the enforced saturation of identities within society; something which prevents the political appearance of marginalised concepts or subjectivities. By reterritorializing space in an illicit and tactical manner, the myth of saturation, considered here as a strategy of Consensus Democracy, is refused and subverted, and the production of new cultural truth is rendered possible. De Certeau's definition of strategy and tactics also resonates in illuminating ways with

Castells' definition of the network society. We can understand hegemonic networks to be programmed to achieve certain 'strategic aims', which might be productively subverted through illicit procedures of tactical reprogramming.

De Certeau's definition of tactics and strategy also resonates in insightful ways with assertions by Scott Lash around effective criticality in networked power (2002). Lash contrasts the rigid, formalised, centrally programmed structure of networked power with the spider's web: a flexible and agile structuration capable of performatively altering the programmed architecture of the rigid institutional structure it relates to⁵⁹. In Lash's terms, 'networks stabilise, creating another set of walls, each another set of boundaries, between those with and without access to the means of information ... networks need walls. Webs go round the walls, up the walls, hide in the nooks and crannies and corners of where the walls meet' (2002, 127).

As Alessandra Renzi notes, Tactical Media can take the form of DIY websites, social software or organised events (2008, 77). However, approaches to Tactical Media projects themselves are highly diverse, and are characterised by the very fact that they resist absolute definition. Indeed, Tactical Media initiatives are transient, fluid and self-reflexive cultural forms. As Renzi states, projects tend to be diverse, centreless and fleeting digital events which aim towards the creative reterritorialization of space (Renzi, 2008, 77).

Tactical Media can also be understood as a performative mode of working, which often leaves little material trace of actions undertaken, and rather relies on the memory and experience of those who experience interventions for lasting impact (Raley, 2009, 13). As Garcia and Lovink state, Tactical Media projects are 'never perfect, always in becoming, performative and pragmatic, involved in a continual process of questioning the premises of the channels they work with' (1997). Diverse in their content and approach, Tactical Media techniques cannot be seen as a homogenous movement within a network. Rather,

⁵⁹ In Lash's theorisation, the figure of the spider's web is drawn from the work of Henri Lefebvre, in which the spider is considered to performatively produce its own world through mimesis. As Lash explicates: 'the model Lefebvre uses for the orientation and production of all space is the spider... who produces space to gain its orientation, who produces space operating through a principle of mimesis. Through mimesis, through mirroring and imaging its own body, the organism, in this case the spider – extends its body through space, through a series of what he calls 'symmetries and dissymmetries', Lefebvre's spider is a body orientating itself in the world, through extending itself in the world. Through the production of space, a body extends itself in the world through copying itself, symmetrically and disymmetrically, in its web and occupying space' (2002, 117)

as Alessandra Renzi states, they are 'networked spaces' – discursive spaces where resistance discourses and subjectivities are constantly produced and dropped once they become redundant' (2008, 76).

The characteristics of Tactical Media are particularly effective as a critical technique in relation to Information or Network Capitalism. As Renzi states, the fluid and transient characteristics of Tactical Media and its refusal of essentialised identity 'are fundamental for a constant reinvention of the tactics that expose cracks in the system where action can take place' (2008, 72). Indeed, in a societal power structure where visibility can lead to surveillance, reassimilation or absolute exclusion from the political field, the notion of being constantly in flux, shape-shifting and critically visible is a logical way to produce effective critique. The lack of homogenised identity which accompanies Tactical Media interventions also mean it is characterised by a decentralised nature, another tactic appropriate to subverting contemporary power structures. As Garcia states: 'as with other cultures of exile and migration, practitioners of tactical media have studied the techniques by which the weak become stronger than their oppressors by becoming centreless, by moving fast across the physical and virtual landscapes. The hunter must discover ways to become the hunter' (Garcia, VCB, 2002). By remaining decentralised, transient and undecidable, Tactical Media can evade being captured or defused in its power more effectively.

The decentralised nature of Tactical Media is also particularly effective in relation to the nomadic dynamic of power in contemporary Network Capitalism. As Tactical Media collective Critical Art Ensemble have argued, power has shifted away from physical architectural locations over the past 20 years and become situated in abstract, networked flows of information (1996, 7). To theorists such as Lash, the abstract nature of informational power has also impacted on the way criticality functions, leading to 'a politics of struggle around not accumulation but circulation' (2002, 112). However, as Critical Art Ensemble point out, it is difficult to locate this form of nomadic power, which, when faced with resistance, will simply move to another physical space as needed (1996, 13). Indeed, to Critical Art Ensemble the efficacy of a critical gesture is often visible only in the response it garners for this reason. As the collective state: 'certain indicators must be used to determine what is of value to power, or to find the (non)location of power. The

assumption here is that key indicators of power-value are the extent to which a location or community is defended, and the extent to which trespassers are punished' (1996, 12).

Critical activity in the Information Society therefore becomes something of a game of cat and mouse, where critical gestures function in a manner similar to guerrilla warfare, striking at a point in the saturated system of liquid power where power is symbolically saturated at that moment. The agility and decentralisation of Tactical Media is perhaps a necessary response to information power in this way, involving the appropriation of abstraction and circulation to subversive ends: attempting to locate power in its temporary positionality and register a momentary challenge to hegemony through this means. In Rita Raley's terms, this can be defined as the 'systempunkt', that is, the area in the contemporary system of power which will 'collapse the target system if it is destroyed' (2009, 11).

A subdivision of Tactical Media particularly pertinent to us here is Hacktivism. Hacktivism also developed in response to specific aspects of contemporary capitalism, and represents an electronic version of forms of previous forms of civil disobedience (Jordan and Taylor, 2004, 3). Hacking cultures, developed since the 1960s, can be defined as 'the imaginative reappropriation of technology's potential' (Jordan and Taylor, 2004, 5). As Otto von Busch and Karl Palmås state, hacking is a process of 'modifying something beyond the predefined design field of original intentions and customisation' (2006, 29), therefore reflecting the wider practice of Tactical Media as a creative resignification of space. Hacking started out in 'countercultural and oppositional communities' (Jordan and Taylor, 2004, 5) but later developed in ambivalent ways, necessitating the development of the concept of the hacktivist in distinction to other criminal or apolitical forms of the hack⁶⁰.

The relation of hacking and Hacktivism to broader Information Capitalism is discussed in detail by McKenzie Wark in his book *A Hacker Manifesto* (2004). Wark suggests that the hacker is a figure of central importance to contemporary Information Capitalism, which

⁶⁰ Criminal hacking, or 'cracking' is considered to differ from the hack in that it takes a purely destructive form. As Eric Raymond states, 'hackers build things, crackers break them' (2001). Further, unlike hackers, crackers attack individuals rather than individuals. . As Critical Art Ensemble put it, 'the computer criminal seeks profit from actions that damage an individual, the person involved in electronic resistance only attacks institutions' (1996, 17).

revolves around the privatisation and commodification of information and ideas along certain vectors, and is led by those in control of these information vectors, known as the vectoralist class. For Wark, the vectoralist class relies on the continuous modification, or hacking of commodified concepts in order for Information Capitalism to function (2004, 037). In order to successfully modify an existing concept, hackers must find surplus potential meaning in a seemingly saturated piece of information. In Wark's terms, this means acting to produce new meaning, rather than merely representing an already existing concept. Hackers must therefore performatively create new meaning from old. As Wark states: 'to hack is to refuse representation, to make matters otherwise.... to trouble the object or the subject, by transforming in some way the very process of production by which objects and subjects come into being and recognise each other by their representations' (2004, 222).

Hacking is therefore essential to the smooth functioning of hegemonic power. However, in Wark's terms the hacker's performative potentiality to produce new meaning also represents a unique capacity for effective counter-hegemonic action within Information Capitalism. This potential for performative criticality is defined in Wark's terms as 'Expressive Politics', a form of criticality which seeks fundamentally 'to permeate existing states with a new state of existence' (Wark, 2004, 257). For Wark, if hackers self-reflexively recognised themselves as part of a political 'hacker class', it would be possible to begin harnessing the radical power of Expressive Politics inherent in hacking. In turn, this could lead to structural societal changes freeing privatised information from commodification and facilitating the development of new cultural narratives based in 'collective and democratic development... as a process of collective becoming' (2004, 340).

The notion of producing a radical surplus from a seemingly saturated set of capitalist norms again mirrors the fundamental dynamic of tactics within Tactical Media as an illicit and subversive resignification of space, and re-confirms the imperative for finding cracks in the saturated system of Rancière's Consensus Democracy in order to enact effective contemporary critical interventions. Nonetheless, it is important to note that this form of critical politics would not take the same form as traditional Rancierian disagreement, where individuals appear from a position of invisibility onto the political stage in a

dialectical process of becoming. Rather, in the saturated flows of Information Capitalism, Hacktivism is understood to produce new political visibility through the re-direction of flows and vectors of information. In line with Wark's argumentation, von Busch also reiterates the point that hacking is a distinctly performative mode of critique, tangibly altering what Rancière refers to as the Distribution of the Sensible. As he states: 'to hack is to orchestrate... change, recreating meaning and performing new scenarios. It is dialogue: a negotiation with flows and vectors, manoeuvring through turbulence and codified circuitry' (2006, 60). Von Busch and Palmås also concur with Wark's argument in relation to the idea hacktivists are engaged in a modified class struggle working against the ruling class in Information Society: the vectoralists, who aim to commodify and privatise information. As von Busch and Palmås state, hacktivists 'are heretics in the eyes of the vectoralists and the system of power' (2006, 39).

Through their tactical resignification and reterritorialization of strategic hegemonic power, Tactical Media and Hacktivism can be understood as forms of digital *détournement* within contemporary capitalism. But despite their self-reflexivity and relevance to current forms of Network Power, Tactical Media and Hacktivism have been criticised in terms of their ability to produce lasting change. These cultural forms defend themselves against reassimilation within New Capitalism and work in an agile way to challenge liquid nomadic power within Information Society through transience and undecidability. However, it is precisely this defining characteristic of Tactical Media which has also been referred to as a key weakness which prevents it from enacting change. As Geert Lovink and Ned Rossiter state, this is because the transience of Tactical Media interventions, however momentarily disruptive they might be, do not last in a durational enough manner to challenge capitalism in a robust way, and thus often cannot be considered critically effective. As Lovink and Rossiter state:

Disruptive as their actions may be, Tactical Media corroborate the temporal mode of Post-Fordist capital: short-termism... This is why Tactical Media are treated with a sort of benign tolerance. There is a neurotic tendency to disappear. Anything that solidifies is lost in the system. The ideal is to be little more than a temporary glitch, brief insistence of noise or interference. Tactical Media set themselves up for exploitation in the same manner that "modders" do in the game industry: both dispense with their

knowledge of loop holes in the system for free. They point out the problem, and then run away. Capital is delighted, and thanks the Tactical Media outfit or nerd modder for the home improvement (2005).

In the following exploration of case studies and examples, this issue of transience is raised in relation to the digital archive as a traditionally durational form. The aim here is to find ways in which space can be reterritorialized in a meaningful and ongoing performative way, learning from the techniques of Tactical Media and Hacktivism, while subsuming these into more durational structures.

Tactic One: Blocking Information Flows to Hegemonic Archives

One mode of Hacktivist Tactical Media is the Distributed Denial of Service, or 'Ddos' attack, also known as the 'virtual sit-in'. This tactic means blocking access to an important archive or database of information online, and is based in traditional activist forms of trespass and blockage within Civil Disobedience (Critical Art Ensemble, 1996, 18).

According to groups such as Critical Art Ensemble (CAE), the Ddos attack responds precisely to the nomadic and liquid forms of power within Information Society, which, as discussed earlier, has 'retreated into cyberspace where it can nomadically wander the globe, always absent to counterforces, always present wherever and whenever opportunity knocks' (1996, 29). In response to this new dynamic of power, Electronic Civil Disobedience in the form of the Ddos attack functions to 'block the flow of information rather than the flow of personnel' (Critical Art Ensemble, 1996, 9).

As Sandor Vegh argues, the Ddos attack or "virtual sit-in" is 'achieved by directing an overwhelming ammount of coordinated data stream at the target server, which then radically slows down or crashes under traffic' (2003, 85). In so doing, the Ddos attack constitutes a 'brief critical intervention in the hegemonic status quo, "owning" or "rerouting" a symbolic gateway in the hegemonic establishment of a dominant power' (Vegh, 2003, 85-6). As Tim Jordan and Paul Taylor state, the Ddos attack therefore enables a diverse range of individuals with a low level of technical knowledge to participate in digital protest. For a successful Ddos attack, all that is needed is 'the ability to run a browser on the World Wide Web combined with a request for large numbers to participate' (1993, 73). The Ddos attack is not illegal in itself, however, as Vegh states,

'any direct action that results in disrupting the operation of such servers may, in fact, constitute a legally actionable activity, leaving this tactic in a grey area with relation to the law (2003, 76).

Some of the most well-known and notable examples of the Ddos attack stem from the work of Electronic Disturbance Theater (EDT), a collective of 'four artist-hacker-activists' formed in 1998 (Jordan and Taylor, 2004, 69). EDT members Carmin Karasic and Brett Stalbaum produced *Floodnet*, a Java applet which improved the efficacy of the Ddos attack by functioning automatically to 'reload a targeted web page several times per minute' (Stalbaum, thing.net, bit.ly/1KfR5RR). Following the multi-disciplinary basis of the collective's functioning, *Floodnet* also had a second performance based functioning, in which conceptual-artistic messages were delivered to targeted organisations, displayed as a server error log (bit.ly/1Sjy2v0) (fig 83).

Most famously, *Floodnet* was used to produce a strike against the Mexican government in support of Zapatista rebels residing in Chiapas, Mexico in 1994⁶¹. This uprising was 'provoked by an urgent need to fight together against the extreme poverty that had deterred the social and economic development of indigenous communities in Mexico' (Garrido and Hallavais, 2003, 165). After forty men, women and children were killed by a paramilitary squad funded by the Mexican government, and were not brought to justice in a legal process, Electronic Disturbance Theater launched a series of *Floodnet* attacks, targeted both towards the Mexican President's website and the Pentagon (Jordan and Taylor, 2004, 72). Meanwhile later actions targeted wider anti-Zapatista organisations such as financial institutions in Mexico City (Vegh, 2003, 76). Server error log messages within these protests variously named victims of the uprising or questioned human rights in Mexico. For instance, as Ricardo Dominguez states in conversation with Coco Fusco: *Floodnet* might ask 'President Zedillo's server or the Pentagon's web server 'Where is the human rights in your server?'. The server then responds 'human rights are not found on this server' (Fusco, 1999, 261).

⁶¹ 'On January 1 1994, an army of about three thousand indigenous peasants united under the banner of Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) took up arms and occupied several towns in Chiapas (Schulz, 1998 in Garrido and Halavais, 2003, 166). As Garrido and Halavais state: 'what makes the Zapatista movement unique from a historical perspective and what makes it a model of participatory efforts toward social change is its extensive use of the internet as a tool for global mobilisation' (2003, 166).

If the efficacy of a critical project in the binary system of Network Capitalism is measured by the vehemence of hegemonic society's response to it, *Floodnet* can be understood as a successful activist technique. During a strike against the Mexican Government in 1998, a programmed counter-measure was installed on the targeted website, causing *Floodnet* to crash. Similarly, in an attack on the Pentagon website in the same year, a Java applet called "hostile applet" caused hackers' computers to crash (thing.net). According to thing.net, *Floodnet* has evolved to defend itself against these attacks. However, the fact that this form of attack garnered defensive responses from powerful targets suggests the Ddos attack is well positioned as an expressive hacker intervention in Information Society.

Floodnet is available to the public and has been used for a variety of Ddos attacks by groups and individuals outside Critical Art Ensemble (Vegh, 2003, 76). More broadly, the Ddos strategy has also been adopted by different Hacker groups. For instance, the 'Electrohippies' or 'ehippies' used Ddos attacks to target the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 1999 as part of wider anti-globalisation protests. The virtual attacks here mirrored action on the streets of Seattle which aimed to block streets with physical bodies (Jordan and Taylor, 2004, 75). This action was considered particularly effective in that it slowed the WTO conference networks and brought them to a halt on two occasions as a result of '450,000 people (or technically computers) participating over 5 days (Jordan and Taylor, 2004, 75).

More recently, Ddos attacks have been used by the decentralised and leaderless activist group Anonymous: 'a loose, leaderless, memberless and constantly shifting transnational collective of around ten thousand hackers' (Chadwick, 2013, 107). In this context, Ddos has been used both as an act of solidarity and as an attack against capitalist organisations whose ideals or actions they refute. In December 2010, 'Operation Avenge Assange' was launched by *Anonops*, a faction of Anonymous known as 'one of the collective's more militant and prolific nodes' (Coleman, 2013, 3). As Gabriella Coleman states, this Ddos action was directed against financial institutions that had refused to process donations to *WikiLeaks*, including Paypal and Mastercard' (2013, 3). The attacks cost Paypal a total of 3.5 million pounds, and resulted in the sentencing of two British members of Anonymous to six and seven month jail sentences in January 2013 (Turner, 2013). A third, younger

member of the group who was sixteen at the time was sentenced to a rehabilitation order and community service later in the year (Halliday, 2013). Anonymous have also launched Ddos attacks on the Church of Scientology (Coleman, 2013, 5) in order to remove their websites from the internet (Coleman, 2013, 58) and launched an avalanche of Ddos attacks on pro-copyright organisations including the Motion Picture Association of America and the Recording Industry Association of America (Coleman, 2013, 98).

Within the Ddos attacks strategy, the tactic employed is to collectively block information flows to important databases of information in the Network Society: undermining the functioning of hegemonic archives of information by preventing their visibility. By disrupting flows of information in this way, the Ddos attack is particularly appropriate to the functioning of contemporary power, which - as we have seen from the work of Critical Art Ensemble, Castells and Wark - relies on the ability for information to flow and remain visible within and between hegemonic vectors and networks. In fact, as Jordan and Taylor state, by blocking such information, the Ddos attack is 'almost wilfully contrary to the nature of cyberspace' (2004, 73), and derives its power precisely from this fact.

By functioning prohibitively to block the visibility of powerful information networks, the Ddos attack also operates to undermine the imperative for visibility within Consensus Democracy, while satisfying Dean's call for uses of social media which not only circulate but function with a political purpose and target (2008, 109). *Floodnet* arguably goes one step further than this, operating according to Wark's conception of Expressive Politics by actively reprogramming powerful networks with counter-hegemonic messages. In Wark's terms, this means *Floodnet* successfully activates the potential surplus available in vectors of information through a hacktivist intervention. This mode of functioning, a form of digital *détournement*, can also be understood in Rancièrian terms as productively challenging the Distribution of the Sensible, by refusing the saturated networks of information which constitute Consensus Democracy and subverting them in ways which refute and problematize the smooth functioning of hegemonic ideology. *Floodnet* thus seeks the systempunkt of a targeted network where power is symbolically concentrated and then simultaneously blocks this while *détournant* the platform's visibility by making it speak in the voice of those it oppresses. In this way, as Dominguez argues, 'the *Floodnet* gesture allows the social flow of command and control to be seen directly - the

communities themselves can see the flow of power in a highly transparent manner' (Dominguez in Fusco, 1999b).

Ddos attacks and *Floodnet* in particular can be understood to have successfully located the systempunkt of liquid power they targeted, as is clear in the counter-attacks launched upon them by institutions of hegemonic power. But despite the tactical success of the Ddos attacks, their transience represents a key weakness. Transience safeguards Ddos attacks from the threat of unproblematic reassimilation into Network Power. However, it also means the Ddos attack can only make a momentary disruption in the Distribution of the Sensible.

Tactic Two: Using a False Archive to Access Hegemonic Networks of Power

Another method of intervention demonstrated by Tactical Media practitioners involves infiltrating and disrupting powerful networks is the work of internet based activists the Yes Men, known as Igor Vamos and Jacques Servin⁶². The Yes Men are activist artists who first collaborated together in 1996. Servin had orchestrated a hack on a video war game called *Simcopter*, secretly creating 'an army of men wearing nothing but swimsuits, who from time to time popped up and showered each other and the player with kisses' (Servin and Vamos, 2004, 12). Servin had also developed *RTMark*, an 'anonymous website featuring a "sabotage stock exchange" on which activist pranks were listed, discussed and (allegedly) funded' (Servin and Vamos, 2004, 12-13). Meanwhile, Vamos had been working on an activist project known as the *Barbie Liberation Organisation* (BLO) since 1993, in which the voice boxes of Barbies and Action Men were swapped and returned to US stores through a process of 'reverse shoplifting' (McLeod, 2014, 268).

It is unclear if any funding from *RTMark* reached the *Barbie Liberation Organisation*. However, Servin contacted Vamos after the *Barbie Liberation Organisation* action and they agreed to publicise the action as such, beginning their work as the Yes Men (Servin and Vamos, 2004, 13). Continuing from a history of anonymous collaboration under pseudonyms, the Yes Men use the names Andreas Bichlbaum and Mike Bonanno in their

⁶² Even the names Jacques Servin and Igor Vamos seem likely to be pseudonyms themselves, in that both could be interpreted as having a double meaning. Jacques Servin could be translated as 'serving Jack' or 'giving nothing away', while Igor Vamos could be interpreted as 'I go vamos' or 'I go away'.

work as well as a host of other fictional identities. Although Servin and Vamos are the public face of the Yes Men, the group is said to consist of a 'genderless, loose-knit association of some 300 impostors worldwide' (Servin and Vamos, 2006, 173).

Servin and Vamos first collaborated in 1999 to produce a fake version of George W. Bush's website, aiming to function as 'identity correction' where the positive political rhetoric surrounding Bush onsite was replaced by more sceptical and critical writing. The action generated marked interest from the mass media, and prompted a response from George Bush himself on live television (Servin and Vamos, 2004, 15). As Servin and Vamos state, Bush's campaign also 'threatened us with legal action for copyright infringement, complained to the Federal Elections Committee, and spent over \$4,000 buying up names like *Georgebushblows.com*, *BushSucks.com* and so on' (2004, 14, author's italics).

This action led to a second spoof website 6 months later, produced as part of the abovementioned anti-globalisation protests in Seattle, and this time directing its identity correction towards the World Trade Organisation (WTO) through a site entitled *GATT.org* (fig 84)⁶³. In response to the website, the WTO published a press release stating it 'deplored' the *GATT.org* site as something which created confusion and undermined the transparency of the WTO (Servin and Vamos, 2004, 17). The copy on *GATT.org* is clearly satirical, including articles carrying headlines such as 'WTO Announces Formalized Slavery Market for Africa' (fig 84). But despite such content many organisations have considered *GATT.org* genuine, leading to Servin and Vamos being invited to speak as representatives of the WTO at international conferences in Vienna and Finland, representing the WTO for a CNBC recording during the G8 summit in Genoa, speaking in front of 300 university students at the State University of New York at Plattsburgh, and to the Certified Practicing Accountants Association of Australia in Sydney. Many of these actions have been recorded by the Yes Men in films including the 2009 documentary *The Yes Men Fix the World* produced by Arte France and Renegade Pictures and *The Yes Men*, (2003) produced by Free Speech LLC.

Interventions by the Yes Men aimed to 'represent the WTO more honestly than they represent themselves' (*New York Times*, July 1st 2001, 18). Speeches by Servin under a

⁶³ At the time of writing, *GATT.org* is no longer accessible on the web. Some pages have been archived via the Yes Lab's Museum of Fake Websites: www.yeslab.org/museum.

variety of pseudonyms have ranged from advocating the buying of votes in Austria, to suggesting the administration of electric shocks to workers whilst wearing a gold leotard including a three foot phallic attachment, to finally announcing the disbandment of the WTO into an organisation fighting for the rights of people over businesses in Australia (fig 85). Incredibly, apart from a concerned email exchange from a delegate to the conference in Salzburg representing the Centre for International Legal Studies, none of the Yes Men's early conference performances were directly questioned by their audience except the presentation at the State University of New York, undertaken in 2002. Only then, on suggesting directly that markets and money should be valued more than feeding those without enough to live, did students begin directly critiquing the Yes Men, and even pelting the speakers with blow up props handed out to the audience during the talk (Vamos and Servin, 2004, 146-7)⁶⁴.

On December 3rd 2004 the Yes Men targeted Dow Chemical. This corporation had assumed the assets of Union Carbide, the company responsible for an industrial gas leak in Bhopal, India in 1984. As a result of the Bhopal incident, 'hundreds of thousands of people were exposed, thousands died immediately, and the long-term effects on the population were disastrous' (Mcleod, 2014, 269). Dow Chemical assumed Union Carbide's assets as a result of the disaster. However it 'rejected responsibility for the disaster and has made minimal efforts to compensate the thousands of victims' (Holmes, 2007, 282). Servin and Vamos produced a false website for Dow Chemical: *DowEthics.org* and later received an invitation to speak on the Bhopal disaster from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Servin, acting as Dow Chemical Executive 'Jude Finistera' appeared live on the BBC World News and suggested Dow Chemical would award a total of \$12 billion compensation to families affected by the tragedy (Vamos, 2012, 318) (fig 86). According to a report by news-channel CNN at the time, the hoax made a significant though temporary impact on Dow Chemical's share price in Frankfurt at the time. As the report states:

⁶⁴ Given the nature of Yes Men interventions as based on performance and prankster behaviour, it has been important to fact-check the documentation of interventions undertaken by the duo. The student reaction to the Yes Men's 2002 State University of New York presentation was recorded and can be found online at this address: bit.ly/1OklyBL.

In Frankfurt, Dow's share price fell 4.24 percent in 23 minutes, wiping \$2 billion off its market value. The shares rebounded in Frankfurt after the BBC issued an on-air correction and apology. In New York, Dow Chemical's stock was little changed in early trading (<http://cnn.it/1NSU7MK>).

To the Yes Men, this action functioned effectively because it put Dow Chemical in a 'decision dilemma' where any reaction to the intervention would force Dow to respond, and would 'draw further attention to their inaction on the issue' (Vamos, 2012, 319). In fact, Dow's response to the intervention was to reject all claims (Holmes, 2007, 282). Meanwhile, mainstream media's angle on the Dow Chemical intervention was broadly one of disdain, considering the actions of the Yes Men cruel to those already suffering. For instance, speaking to Jacques Servin on BBC news about the hoax, broadcaster Jon Snow refers to the hoax as a 'cruel trick to play on the people of Bhopal' and asks Servin if he was 'thinking about the people of Bhopal' when he decided to peddle this stunt' (Servin and Vamos, 2009, 1.24-1.25). Meanwhile, *The Times* ran an article by Sean O'Neill with the headline 'Cruel \$12 billion hoax on Bhopal victims and BBC', suggesting the hoax had raised false hopes in Bhopal about compensation after so many years (December 4th 2004).

In response to this negative press, the Yes Men travelled to Bhopal and spoke with families and organisations impacted by the Bhopal disaster about their reactions to the hoax, capturing this in the 2009 documentary *The Yes Men Fix the World*. Here Servin and Vamos travel to various locations including the Sambhavna Trust Clinic, initially set up to treat the gas victims of the Bhopal Disaster who have suffered disability and early menopause. The Managing Director of the clinic, Sathyu Sarangi is recorded stating that although he initially cried with joy at the revelation that Bhopal would pay compensation, he was not angry on discovering this was a hoax. Indeed, Sarangi asserts that the prank was 'totally worth it' because it helped highlight the conduct of DOW Chemical (Servin and Vamos, 2009, 31.22).

The tactics used by the Yes Men thus entail the production of falsified archives of information such as GATT.org or Dowethics.org, capable of granting them access to important networks of communication power. The Yes Men speak in the voices of those

they target, and acting like moles, viruses or double agents, they infiltrate and subvert an organisation by manipulating its own communications network. Through this means the duo is able to gain access to flows of information power, and enact a digital *détournement* of the programmed networks they infiltrate. Indeed, as Kembrew Mcleod states: 'the Yes Men owe a great debt to the Situationists' (2014, 270). By functioning in an illicit way to hijack powerful hegemonic networks, the Yes Men are also able to bypass the binary nature of inclusion which characterises Network Power.

In Wark's terms, this sort of intervention can also be understood as Expressive Politics, in that it actively disrupts the hegemonic, depoliticised ideologies within powerful organisations and brings new cultural narratives into public visibility. In this way, the Yes Men refuse to accept the saturation of meaning within Consensus Democracy, and rather employ Wark's analysis of the hack to critical and self-reflexive ends, finding the surplus in given cultural narratives to alter perspectives on the organisations they target. The Yes Men also function to use visibility extremely self-defensively, both through the use of pseudonyms and fictional characters, and through the production of false websites. Again, this is seemingly a particularly self-reflexive mode of functioning within a system of Consensus Democracy or New Capitalism, where visibility leads so often to surveillance and reassimilation.

This form of action can also be understood to share elements of Tactical Media as defined by Garcia, in terms of reterritorializing and resignifying space. However, as identified above, interventions by the Yes Men have often gone unrecognised in the moment at conferences and events. It is for this reason that the second archival instantiation in the work of the Yes Men becomes essential, in the production of documentary films and publications recording events which have taken place. This is an activist tactic defined by Servin as 'playing to the audience that isn't there' (Servin, 2012, 160). The aim of such a tactic is to 'use the immediate audience as unwitting actors in a theater piece that is being performed for a secondary audience' (Servin, 2012, 160). Having a secondary audience in this way enables the Yes Men to produce and contextualise incendiary critical cultural material, and disseminate this through chosen channels and communications networks.

In the work of the Yes Men, a hoax archive is first produced and used instrumentally as a tool to enable tactical inclusion to a given hegemonic network, while a second archival instantiation documenting the action functions to disseminate the activist's performance to the world. Indeed, Servin explicitly defines the work of the Yes Men as contributing to the production of a counter-hegemonic archive, both through activist interventions and their documentation (Servin, 2012b). As Servin states: 'everything that we do...is mobilising, where you are adding to the cultural archive or telling alternative stories' (Interview with Servin, 2013, 7.17, See Appendix).

The tactic of producing falsified archives in order to gain access to hegemonic networks of power has also been used in wider creative and cultural Tactical Media projects. For instance, *Newstweek*, a 2011 project undertaken by Julian Oliver and Daniil Vasiliev, is freely available to the public, and enables participants to build and install a simple plug in device capable of hijacking and editing news websites read by other visitors to wireless public hotspots (newstweek.com/) (fig 87). *Newstweek* offers a very direct example of the hijacking of hegemonic networks, or cultural archives, and empowers members of the public to literally influence the programming of powerful communications networks in society.

A more directly museological approach to this infiltration and subversion of digital archives can be seen in *Uncomfortable Proximity*, a project undertaken by Graham Harwood at Tate Britain throughout the year 2000 (bit.ly/1e97pla) (fig 88). For this project, Harwood digitally hijacked and détourned Tate Britain's website, so every third visitor to the site was offered a 'mongrelised' version of the image they wished to view. Harwood's grotesquely remixed fine art portraits appeared on what appeared to be an exact replica of the Tate website, accompanied by dense and critical text. The project, which intended to explore 'art's role as medicine and the use of aesthetics to negotiate social positioning, race, national identity and economic forces' (Harwood, 2000, 375) therefore used the technique of hijacking and falsifying archival information to throw doubt on the veracity, neutrality and cultural position of hegemonic archival information; which in this case belonged to the Tate Britain. Again, this project entailed the infiltration of a powerful network by a rogue element, which functioned to produce a counter-

archive capable of performing new cultural narratives by problematizing the dominant cultural narratives set out by Tate's collection.

Similar to the work of the Yes Men, both *Uncomfortable Proximity* and *NewsTweek* represent an example of Wark's Expressive Politics. A surplus is extracted from the received representative meaning of a hegemonic cultural archive, and the meaning of this archive is productively challenged and re-signified, if momentarily, through a hacking of its initial use and contents. Through these interventions, a critical visibility is expressively rendered apparent in place of normalised and dominant representations of history and culture. This perhaps constitutes an example of what Derrida refers to as the archive as beginning: the radical potentiality of the archive which consists in questioning or suspending belief in the laws of the past, in order to reimagine knowledge in the future. In Derrida's terms, this would be an archival form capable of making 'an allusion to... the gaping of the future in which the very possibility of knowledge remained conditional' (Derrida, 1995, 70).

Tactic Three: Producing an Illicit Archive in Order to Challenge Hegemonic Power Networks

Ztohoven are a collective of around twelve artists who operate anonymously, using pseudonyms such as 'Roman Tyc', the name used by Ztohoven member David Brudňák (Ciripová, 2011, 387). Ztohoven's first public intervention took place in June 2007, and was entitled *Media Reality*. This project involved hacking into the Czech national television channel CT2⁶⁵ and 'inserting an illusion of a nuclear explosion in the Krkonoše mountains into panoramic shots of Czech ski resorts—this was seen by about 50,000 viewers' (Ciripová, 2011, 387). As Ztohoven state on their website:

On June 17th 2007, our group invaded the media and television, intruding upon it and casting doubt upon its accuracy and its credibility. We pointed out the possible confusion existing between the image of our world in the media and the real one. Is

⁶⁵ CT2 was developed in 1993 as one of 3 state produced channels. *Media Reality* ties into a history of censorship and protest related to Czech Television Broadcasting between 2000-1, where channels were jammed in industrial action by TV reporters (Lízala and Kočenda, 2001, 156)

everything that can be found on a daily basis in our media, such as newspapers, the television, and the internet, the real truth and reality? (Ztohoven.com).

Following Servin's assertion that mainstream media networks constitute a dominant cultural archive, *Media Reality* can therefore be understood as a tactical intervention throwing the credibility of this dominant media archive and its narratives into question. Conversely, in Castells' terms, the intervention can be read as a critical reprogramming of the hegemonic cultural archive. A clear example of hacking, this intervention can also be seen as an instantiation of Wark's Expressive Politics. Operating as an 'imaginative reappropriation of technology's potential' (Jordan and Taylor, 2004, 5), *Media Reality* represents the momentary opening up of a surplus of possible meaning in the vector of communication which is CT2, and the radical and performative *détournement* of this cultural archive.

Another Ztohoven project particularly relevant to our investigation of the digital archive and the network is *The Moral Reform*, a 2012 intervention which functioned in two parts. For the first intervention members of Ztohoven - working in conjunction with a hacker collective - gained access to the mobile phone numbers of government ministers including the President of the Czech Republic⁶⁶. On June 5th, 2012, during the 40th Meeting of the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of Czech Republic, Ztohoven sent a total of 585 text messages between Czech MPs, members of Czech Government, members of The Office of The President of the Czech Republic, the President and various journalists, appealing for moral reform within the government. As the government meeting was publicly broadcast, Ztohoven were able to monitor the responses of politicians as they received the text messages; despite the fact they were stationed remotely in Slovakia for the intervention, fearing reprisals (Interview with Leskovjan, 19/12/13, 08.01, See Appendix).

The text messages sent by Ztohoven during this intervention were traced by the collective and archived on a timeline, which can be found on a dedicated page on Ztohoven's website (bit.ly/1JbDszc) (fig 89). Here the action is described as a theatrical production

⁶⁶ Vaclav Klaus: a centre right wing politician whose term from 2003-13 was marked by controversies sparked by strong views including Euroscepticism, denial of global warming, hostility towards Ukraine and support of the Far Right in Europe.

performed by its unwitting actants: 'A parliamentary drama of 223 persons and 585 lines' (bit.ly/1ISGtWj). According to Ztohoven member Juraj Bedná, the Czech media covered this intervention in terms of the threat of a security breach through the hacking of phones. As Bedná states on Ztohoven's website, the MPs are said not to have disapproved of the project, although there was no official press release from the government responding to the project (www.ztohoven.com).

The second part of *The Moral Reform* project elicited a much stronger response from politicians, the public and the press. This action took place in the Modern Art Centre DOX in Prague, and involved installing a mobile phone within the exhibition space, next to a panel explaining the work and publicly listing the mobile phone numbers of members of parliament used in the first part of the action. Members of the public could therefore send messages directly to members of the parliament by participating in the piece (www.ztohoven.com). According to Ztohoven member Martin Leskovjan, the public, media and government response to the piece was overwhelmingly negative. As Leskovjan states:

It was like hell – like media hell! You are absolutely hated. It was one week when we were on the main news for websites and television and so on. It was the first project when we were totally not accepted by the whole society. That intervention was considered a bad thing (Interview with Leskovjan, 2013, 43.05, See Appendix).

As Prague media station CT24 reports, the intervention was also roundly condemned by the Chamber of Deputies of the Czechoslovakian Republic, and investigated by the police (CT24, November 22, 2012). However, for exactly this reason, Ztohoven feel the project was particularly effective. As Martin Leskovjan states: 'I realised that it was a great point for the action that we did something that the society refused and which provoked these emotional reactions and so on. And I consider it as one of the best things that we did' (Interview with Leskovjan, 2013, 45.05, See Appendix).

Indeed, as Leskovjan argues, it is exactly this process of staging of a media event which is then taken on and acted out by the public which defines Ztohoven's working process. This process is defined by Ztohoven as the development of a 'media object' (Interview with Leskovjan, 2013, 32.01, See Appendix), described by the collective as an open-ended

intervention which aims to spark an active reaction reverberating out from the spaces and individuals it connects with. As Leskovjan states: 'We are not searching for a thing at the end, we are interested in producing something 'un-closed', where if you hit in the right place, then the reaction is the important thing' (Interview with Leskovjan, 2013, 32.01 See Appendix).

The Moral Reform project therefore relies on the production and critical exhibition of an illicit archive of personal contact information, which is used to hijack powerful political communications networks, enabling members of Ztohoven and the public to send messages directly to the Czech government. As 'media objects', these actions seemingly entail looking for the systempunkt in a given political system, aiming to render visible the mechanics of power underlying Czech democracy with the greatest possible impact. Indeed, following Critical Art Ensemble's view that within Information Capitalism, 'key indicators of power-value are the extent to which a location or community is defended, and the extent to which trespassers are punished' (1996, 12). Although the hackers were not punished in this instance, the extreme public and media reaction to the second half of this project suggests it succeeded in locating this space of cultural resonance and reverberation.

In locating this space, the project can be understood, like *Media Reality*, to challenge the consensual ideology within hegemonic communications networks, temporarily re-programming these networks to reflect new ideals and truths. The impact of this re-programming is amplified by the contextual framing and application of the action, which questions morality in a parliamentary hearing concerning the malpractice of Czech MP David Rath, who had been 'arrested and charged with receiving bribes in May 2012' (Bedná, 2013) questions democracy by enabling direct communication to take place between citizens and MPs. The action can also be seen as a clear example of Hacktivism, in that it uses technology to new, subversive ends, something which also recommends this action as an example of digital *détournement*. The action can also be seen very clearly as a performance, a moment of dramaturgy in which the media object sets itself up in relation to a series of unwitting actants, and watches a scene play out, functioning also as a performative by eliciting a response from these participants. Indeed, as noted above,

the first part of *The Moral Reform* is directly referred to as a performance by Ztohoven. This also recommends the action as an example of Expressive Politics in Wark's terms.

The second part of *The Moral Reform* project also appears to approach criticality in Dean's terms particularly effectively. In Dean's terms, the production of critical content which only circulates within limited networks lacks the imperative for a response necessary to coalesce into an actual political debate. As Dean states:

Specific or singular acts of resistance, statements of opinion, or instances of transgression are not political in and of themselves. Rather they have to be politicised, that is articulated together with other struggles, resistances and ideals in the course or context of opposition to a shared enemy or opponent (2008, 106).

The second part of *The Moral Reform* seemingly achieves this politicisation, precisely through its representation in the mass media and the fierce public debate it generated. Conversely, although the first part of *The Moral Reform* certainly articulated itself in relation to a shared opponent, it did not achieve mass media coverage. Consequently, the extent to which this first action could enter the political realm as a subversive statement was arguably also restricted.

Tactic Four: Critical Mapping as the Production of Counter Archives

The final tactic I will explore here in relation to online activism and archives of cultural information is 'maptivism', or critical mapping used to activist ends. An example of activist mapping is *Sukey*, a 2011 project launched in London by two computer engineers: Sam Gaus and Sam Carlisle (bit.ly/1FHJA3H) (fig 90). The project was developed during the 2011 G20 protests and aimed to prevent protestors being kettled⁶⁷ by the police by providing up-to-date crowdsourced information on police movements (Aitchison, 2011, 437). To avoid being contained by authorities, Gaus and Carlisle coded a map of the protests which was updated in real-time. The map also included an SMS warning service and *Twitter* feed, as well as a location feature on GPS enabled smartphones allowing

⁶⁷ O'Rourke states: 'in 2011 the tactics adopted by the police during the G20 protests in London included containment areas, where protestors were enclosed by police lines and prevented from moving or leaving. These tactics are referred to as "kettling" and have resulted in public debate regarding their actual or perceived lawfulness' (2011, 50)

protestors to see which roads were blocked, passable or difficult to access via a colour coded system (Kingsley, 2011). As Simon O'Rourke states, a core team of protestors were also physically located at the team's headquarters, mediating and validating data on the ground before transmission to ensure accuracy (2011, 50).

Sukey also uses encryption to ensure anonymity. Duncan Geere states: 'the app's been carefully designed such that any identifiable information isn't stored or processed, and it also employs heavy encryption to make sure that request data can't be accessed. The creators claim that Ddos protection has been built in too' (2011). The application is also superimposed on top of a Google map, and uses GPS functionality within *Google Latitude* to enable activists to navigate their environment in real time (fig 91). In this way, *Sukey* can also be understood to détourn a hegemonic application to activist ends.

Sukey therefore functions as a crowdsourced archive of counter-surveillance, which enables protestors to achieve a key aim of Tactical Media as defined earlier by acting as hunters whilst occupying the position of the hunted (Garcia, VCB, 2002). Similar to Ddos attacks discussed earlier, the site also reinterprets civil disobedience within the dynamic of contemporary power: forming a liquid network of counterpower in real time, mirroring the nomadic power of hegemonic institutions but using this against itself. It could be argued that *Sukey* represents a form of expressive rather than representative politics in Wark's terms, in that it actually performs to produce a change in the fortunes of protestors, and tangibly impacts the outcome of protests in this way. By preventing kettling, arrests are averted and protests can build and produce a more effective impact. The use of anonymity here is also relevant as a tactic functioning in relation to Consensus Democracy. Like the Yes Men's use of pseudonyms, the anonymity of members of Ztohoven and contributors to *RTMark*, and the fundamental use of secrecy in groups such as Anonymous, this enables groups to temporarily avoid the threat of surveillance or reassimilation which comes with an imperative for absolute visibility in hegemonic forms of power within Consensus Democracy and New Capitalism. Although the framework, design and potentiality of the archive is durational, this archive is, following recurrent methodological tropes of Tactical Media as explored above, momentary and instrumental, functioning transiently in response to a given problem, and ensuring identifiable information is not stored and processed.

A second example of critical mapping is the *Transborder Immigrant Tool* (fig 92). This 2009 project was developed by Ricardo Dominguez and Brett Stalbaum of Electronic Disturbance Theater, which also developed the *FloodNet* project discussed earlier. The *Transborder Immigrant Tool* is part of Electronic Disturbance Theater 2.0, a later instantiation of the collective's activities⁶⁸. The project was developed from 2007-10 as part of an Arts and Humanities Council Transborder Grant at the University of California at San Diego's b.a.n.g lab, where Dominguez was Principal Investigator at the time and held tenure. The tool is a hacked GPS installed mobile phone, which facilitates safe border crossing for Mexican Immigrants to the US by mapping water supplies left by organisations such as Border Angels, distances from highways, help centres and local border controls. This was an urgent need given the dangerous route had claimed over 2,000 lives between 1998 and 2004, numbers which showed no signs of decreasing in subsequent years (Dominguez et al. 2009, 2).

Dominguez hacked and recoded aspects of the Motorola i455 mobile phone to produce the *Transborder Immigrant Tool*, choosing this model for its simplicity and the fact it was inexpensive to buy at around forty dollars (Guertin, 2012, 19). To make the tool accessible to different nationalities and literacy levels, linguistic features were also kept to a minimum on the hacked interface. As Caroline Guertin states, 'the interface was designed to resemble a compass, and is more pictorial or iconic than textual. The tool is also a virtual divining rod, vibrating when it approaches water or safety beacons, and alerting the user when she nears a road' (2012, 19). The project uses an algorithm developed by Stalbaum himself as part of a previous digital project for hikers to enable new safer and more aesthetic trails to be marked for particular times, days and hours (Amoore and Hall, 2010, 305). The site also includes poetry and other images as a way of welcoming immigrants to the USA. According to Dominguez, phones were bought by the team and reprogrammed, before being handed out at the border and sold at a reduced price in local shops nearby.

⁶⁸ The work of Electronic Disturbance Theater also ties directly into a broader history of digital performance art. As Steve Dixon states, since the 1990's, digital technology has been used in a variety of diverse ways in dance, performance and theatre, 'not only as an immense database, but as a performance collaboration and distribution medium' (Dixon, 2007, 3). Aspects of digital performance art will be explored in Chapter Four through an investigation into Net Art and Cyberperformance.

As a result of the *Transborder Immigrant Tool*, and later Ddos attacks against the University of California at San Diego President Mark Yudof to protest student fee rises and changes to the curriculum, Dominguez and his team faced three separate investigations, by the University of California at San Diego (UCSD) and the FBI Office of Cybercrimes. The investigations at UCSD were called for by three unnamed Republican Congressmen in San Diego County. However, as Dominguez had been hired to carry out research into artistic forms of activism, there were no grounds for the charges, which were eventually dropped. As Dominguez states: 'they were all seeking to find a way to stop TBT (*Transborder Immigrant Tool*) and to de-tenure me for doing the very work I was hired to do and tenured for, so the irony was lost to no one, not even the FBI' (Dominguez in Nadir, 2012). Members of the Electronic Disturbance Theater were also recipients of hate mail related to the *Transborder Immigrant Tool*, after mainstream news outlets such as Fox News covered the story in a negative way (Electronic Disturbance Theater).

Dominguez and Stalbaum discuss the policing of the US-Mexico border as an archival phenomenon: something which has 'allowed a deep archive of suspect movement across this border to be traced and tagged' (thing.net, post.thing.net/node/1642). Under these terms, the *Transborder Immigrant Tool* can be understood as a radical counter-archive, which functions performatively as an instance of spatial hacking, a way of 'remaking maps to tell us what is actually going on in our proximity, but hidden from view' (von Busch and Palmås, 2006, 33). Dominguez also discusses the *Transborder Immigrant Tool* in relation to performativity, suggesting the application approaches what Christian Nold calls 'performative technology', capable of 'deflecting the attention paid to the border crosser' (Dominguez et. al, 2009, 2) and compares the application to Brett Stalbaum's notion of 'paradigmatic performance' in which 'data and database is central to the performativity of a piece' (Dominguez et. al, 2009, 2).

In this way, the site can be understood to operate performatively, producing a hack capable of functioning in accordance with Wark's notion of Expressive Politics. A hegemonic vector of information is occupied here to new expressive ends, by subverting hegemonic uses both of GPS and wider communications networks (Amoore and Hall, 2010, 305). Indeed, as Dominguez states, the aim of the project was to 'have a conversation on the front page of culture' (Interview with Dominguez, 2014, 49.42, See

Appendix) to enable critical theory to 'hit the streets' (Interview with Dominguez, 2014, 49.02, See Appendix).

The efficacy of this gesture is a result of careful positioning and contextualisation, which enables the project to act as a catalyst for real change in the lives of immigrants making the crossing to the United States, whilst disrupting hegemonic strategies of border policing and simultaneously problematizing wider cultural narratives surrounding legality, immigration and borders themselves. Achieving this multi-faceted set of reverberations entails using the potentiality of communications networks tactically both within the platform itself, but also in relation to wider hegemonic communications networks. Indeed, Electronic Disturbance Theater refer to these layers of reverberation as a wider 'performative matrix' which 'activate and take a measure of the current conditions and intensities of power/s, communities, and their anxieties or resistances' (Electronic Disturbance Theater, <http://bit.ly/1fVxtDq>). In this way, any reaction to the project, including negative reactions or investigations, add meaningfully to the radical performance of the *Transborder Immigrant Tool*⁶⁹.

Projects such as *Sukey* and the *Transborder Immigrant Tool* thus use the database or archival form not only as methods of representation, but as vehicles for Expressive Politics themselves, acting performatively and therefore perhaps representing one potential way in which radical beginnings might be produced within a durational archival form. However, in both cases the radical moment of performance itself remains transient and undocumented. Visibility and anonymity are therefore used critically and self-defensively in both these examples in order to enable projects to function effectively without immediate surveillance or reassimilation.

Indeed, in each of these examples, Tactical Media concerns a transitory act. Tactical Media interventions entail performing an action in order to momentarily express a new set of potentialities, and projects tend to intercept and disrupt the smooth flows of

⁶⁹ Ricardo Dominguez even sees the *Transborder Immigrant Tool* as an example of the next wave of Tactical Media, defined as Tactical Biopolitics, which directly impact people's lives rather than simply affording wider access to technologies (2009, 3). Caroline Guertin shares this view of locative media projects in general, stating that: 'locative media are everything that net.art was not and that tactical media wanted to be. Locative media are flexible, versatile, embodied, and portable. They are designed to find alternative approaches, to reimagine old spaces or problems, and to invent new viruses or other organisms to do a better job' (2012, 18-19).

information within Consensus Democracy and the Network Society by working within the logic of the network in acts of refusal, *détournement* and counterpower. In order to evade capture, projects tend to function in a decentralised way, becoming visible in carefully contextualised and timed moments, before disappearing from view once more. For this reason, Critical Art Ensemble has referred to individual Tactical Media projects as a constellation of 'anarchist cells' (1996, 23), each sharing a political aim, and aiming to locate a systempunkt, which can constitute effective resistance to the wider system; but utilising diverse skillsets and tactics focused on a range of distinct targets.

In each of these projects, the archive takes on a different role, either as a hegemonic assortment of information to be blocked in the case of Ddos attacks, a means of gaining access to a hegemonic network of power in the work of the Yes Men, Graham Harwood or *Newstweek* or a framework to *détourn* and subvert in the context of critical mapping projects such as the *Transborder Immigrant Tool* or *Sukey*. In the work of the Yes Men a second tactical use of archiving is also undertaken through the documentation of transient tactical performance after interventions themselves. But while the archive plays an important functional role within these interventions, it tends to be used at tactical junctures within projects, rather than constituting the radical performative moment of the project itself. Here, the centralised digital archive functions either as a sitting target for more agile intervention, as a false friend which tricks hegemonic power into its embrace, or as the architectural basis for radical performances occurring in real-time.

However, as described in the above analysis of visibility within contemporary power, radical digital archives that are visible in a durational way run the risk of surveillance, prohibition or reassimilation. Given these issues with visibility and the radical digital archive, it is pertinent to question what form a truly performative and critical durational digital archive might take. In relation to theories of Tactical Media, this question of duration can be related to the distinction between Tactics and Strategy as put forward by de Certeau, where strategy refers to 'a place that can be circumscribed as *proper* (*propre*) and thus serves as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it' (1984, xix), while tactics delineate the appropriation of such a formally recognised, proper, institutional space. The production of a visible and durational counter-archive will always run the risk of becoming *proper*. This would mean being reassimilated into the

exponentially visible and vociferously audited realm of Consensus Democracy, in Rancière's terms, or falling prey to what Wark would view as representation rather than expression. In order for the durational radical digital archive to successfully evade the threat of assimilation via strategy, it seems it must attempt to act tactically, perhaps by directly employing some of the tactics explored above.

To the Carbon Defence League, a durational radical form of the digital archive is considered to be possible. This group state that both short term and durational tactics are at work in Tactical Media. Tactical Media is considered here through the metaphor of the parasite, which hijacks the functioning of dominant power structures to its own ends (Martin, 2003). For Carbon Defence League member Nathan Martin, this 'parasitic media' can take two forms: the incidental and the generative. Incidental, momentary forms of parasitic media are said to take advantage of a 'host's vulnerability to hijack' (Martin, 2003) something which can be seen in each of the above projects. Meanwhile, in Martin's terms, durational 'generative parasites must adapt and grow with their host system. This growth creates an allowance for greater sustainability of backdoors or hijacks' (Martin, 2003).

On a macrocosmic level, Tactical Media at large seemingly constitute a counterhegemonic archive functioning as a generative form of parasitic media. As argued earlier, the transience of Tactical Media ensure that they are 'treated with a sort of benign tolerance' (Rossiter and Lovink, 2005). However, as a constellation of 'anarchist cells' (Critical Art Ensemble, 1996, 23) these projects form what could be understood as a decentralised counter-archive which is durational in itself even if the interventions it puts into place are momentary. In this way, it could be argued that the global collective of Tactical Media Practitioners, functions rhizomatically as an ongoing decentralised movement, visible only at carefully devised, framed and contextualised moments, but present at all times, held together by a shared overarching political aim to subvert and undermine hegemonic power within neoliberalism. In this way, although for Lovink and Rossiter the benign tolerance afforded Tactical Media signals a weakness in its efficacy, it might in fact be essential to the ongoing lifecycle of the generative parasitic media form itself.

However, there do seem to be certain digital archival forms which succeed in attaining a durational, critical mode of visibility, where the archiving of material itself constitutes a radical and expressive gesture and which satisfy Dean's appeal for ongoing critical gestures which elicit a response and a dialogue.

One project which seems to capture this potentiality particularly clearly is *WikiLeaks*. As a substantial, internationally renowned project whose antecedents lie as much in Alternative Media as Tactical Media, *Wikileaks* may initially appear to depart from the logic of the transient and sometimes marginal case studies previously explored within this chapter. However, as Andrew Chadwick states, this undecidable project is actually as much 'a transnational, distributed online network of hackers' (2013, 89) as it is a publishing business. *Wikileaks* also represents an example of effective tactical visibility and critical impact within the vicissitudes of Network Power; which operates in a durational archival form. Indeed, the project can be seen as an application of some of the expressive and performative techniques of Tactical Media explored above, distilled into the model of the digital archive.

***WikiLeaks* as a Successful Radical Digital Archival Architecture**

WikiLeaks (wikileaks.org) was first launched in 2007 as a non-profit news organisation, and remains operational today (<https://wikileaks.org/About.html>) (fig 93). During this time, the site has made a range of sensitive political information publicly available, with recent leaks including half a million cables from the Saudi Foreign Ministry (<https://wikileaks.org/saudi-cables/press>) and US intelligence documents implicating North America in spying activities on the French and German governments (*Guardian*, June 30th 2015, *New York Times*, July 8th 2015). However, perhaps the most renowned and impactful content made available on *Wikileaks* to date has been the 2010 'War Logs', documenting war crimes in Afghanistan, Iraq and at the USA's Guantanamo detention camp. Material here was drawn from over a million documents including logs detailing every US military incident in Afghanistan and Iraq (Leigh and Harding, 2011, 108). As Chadwick states, in July 2010:

In alliance with Britain's *Guardian*, America's *New York Times* and Germany's *Der Spiegel*, *WikiLeaks* released around seventy-five thousand documents related to US

Military incidents in the war in Afghanistan. These documents contained detailed reports of all the major events of the conflict, including casualty members. Up until that point, the US Military had said that statistics on civilian casualty members were not recorded (2013, 90).

Later, in October 2010, *WikiLeaks* and its press partners released 'around four hundred thousand confidential Iraq War field reports (Chadwick, 2013, 90). Reports documented torture by the Iraq army which had gone unpunished by the US authorities, and also 'made it possible to identify at least 66,081 civilian deaths that had occurred as a result of the war in Iraq between 2004 and 2009' (Chadwick, 2013, 90). Meanwhile, a third leak in November 2010 saw the release of 251,287 internal state department communiqués, written by 280 embassies and consulates in 180 different countries, released by *WikiLeaks* to five newspapers: *Guardian*, *Der Spiegel*, *The New York Times*, *Le Monde* and *El Pais* (Leigh and Harding, 2011, 224). As Chadwick states, 'during the first day of what would turn out to be months of coverage of the cables, the *Guardian's* website attracted 4.1 million unique users – its highest ever daily audience' (2013, 91).

Considering Critical Art Ensemble's assertions that the efficacy of a given activist gesture is apparent through 'the extent to which a location or community is defended, and the extent to which trespassers are punished' (1996, 12), *WikiLeaks* does indeed appear successful. *WikiLeaks'* co-founder and editor in chief, Julian Assange, has been at siege in the Ecuadorian Embassy since 2012 in order to evade extradition to Sweden on charges of sexual assault unrelated to *WikiLeaks*, and also risks espionage charges from the US (Leigh and Harding, 2011, 109). Meanwhile Chelsea Manning, the source of what is 'the largest leak of military and diplomatic secrets in US history' (Leigh and Harding, 2011, 35) who was arrested and charged following a tip off to the CIA by hacker Damien Lamo, has been imprisoned on a 35 year jail term (Amnesty International, 2014).

WikiLeaks states that it does not seek stories, but accepts and publishes reliable leaks which are offered to the organisation (<https://wikileaks.org/About.html>) (fig 93). On the website itself, the motivations of the initiative are documented as being based on: 'the defence of freedom of speech and media publishing, the improvement of our common historical record and the support of the rights of all people to create new history',

something which is said to be derived from the Declaration of Human Rights (wikileaks.org/About.html) (fig 93). The site operates under a policy of strict anonymity of sources, which is verified through a highly encrypted electronic drop box⁷⁰ (wikileaks.org/About.html) (fig 93), and is 'underpinned by a multiplicity of convergent networks reliant on dozens of servers dispersed around the globe' (Allen, 2013, 146). In this way, according to Leigh and Harding, Assange and his fellow hackers have 'made *WikiLeaks* virtually indestructible and thus beyond legal or cyber-attack from any one jurisdiction or source' (2011, 2).

In order to protect innocent people cited within leaked information, the stories which are displayed on *WikiLeaks* are reviewed and redacted by *WikiLeaks* employees, in order to protect the names and identities of those within the text. This is a feature which was first demanded by the *Guardian*, when working in collaboration with *WikiLeaks* to publish the Afghan and Iraqi war files (Allen, 2013, 150). However, it is now central to the working of *WikiLeaks* as an organisation. As the site states: 'When information comes in, our journalists analyse the material, verify it and write a news piece about it describing its significance to society. We then publish both the news story and the original material in order to enable readers to analyse the story in the context of the original source material themselves' (wikileaks.org/About.html).

Although anyone can act as a *WikiLeaks* source, and there is a discussion feature attached to published articles in the manner of *Wikipedia*, stories themselves cannot be freely edited by members of the public. As Stuart Allen states, this was the initial hope for the site, recalling that 'the 'wiki' in its name was introduced due to the initial intention to adopt an operational model similar to that of *Wikipedia*... this model... was quickly abandoned by *WikiLeaks*' organisers, however, in favour of a safer, more restrictive approach reliant upon volunteers to select and research submissions' (2013, 146). Within this structure, Assange is the central editorial figure within the organisation of *WikiLeaks*.

⁷⁰ According to Leigh and Harding, 'Assange and co have said they use OpenSSL (an open source secure site connection system, like that used by online retailers such as Amazon), FreeNet (a peer-to-peer method of storing files among hundreds or thousands of computers without revealing where they originated or who owns them), and PGP (the open source cryptographic system abbreviated from the jocular name "Pretty Good Privacy"). But their main anonymity protection device is known as Tor. *WikiLeaks* advertises that "We keep no records as to where you uploaded from, your time zone, browser or even as to when your submission was made' (2011, 64)

As Chadwick states, '*WikiLeaks*' organisational structure is... best seen as an array of overlapping circles of constantly changing size, in the middle of which is Assange as "editor in chief", surrounded by his "core team"' (2013, 97). Therefore, the site seemingly functions under sovereign and centralised editorial rule in order to function effectively.

Assange's behaviour as the leader of *Wikileaks* also mirror's the site's tactical and defensive conduct in relation to liquid power. Just as *WikiLeaks* uses mobility and source anonymity to evade capture or closure itself, so did Assange, until threat of extradition to Sweden, and further fears of being flown to the US on espionage charges left him holed up in the Ecuadorian Embassy (Leigh and Harding, 2011, 173). As a free man, Assange was known as a shape-shifter both in his personality and movements. Compared variously to a publishing agent, a PR representative and an Agent Provocateur, Assange is described by *Guardian* editor Alan Rusbridger as 'someone who bedevils the journalists who work with him because he refuses to conform to any of the roles they expect him to play... he's a wily shape-shifter who won't sit still' (Rusbridger in Chadwick, 2013, 89). Indeed, these characteristics have caused Assange's professional relationships to become tense, seeing him offer content around the Afghan War Logs to media competitors of the *Guardian* and *The New York Times* such as Channel 4 and Al Jazeera as well as freelance journalist Stephen Grey, operating behind the backs of organisations and individuals with whom fundamental alliances had been built up (Leigh and Harding, 2011, 123).

Assange also utilised stringent counter-surveillance techniques to evade capture by the dominant powers he targets, including working from multiple temporary email accounts and mobile phones, using cover websites, operating under pseudonyms and even using physical disguises in order to avoid being recognised (Leigh and Harding, 2011, 25).

Operating covertly within the flows of the neoliberal digital economy, Assange is also said to spend around 18 hours a day on his laptop, paying little attention to the timezone he inhabits and sometimes working up to 48 hours in one sitting (Leigh and Harding, 2011, 28).

As mentioned earlier, *WikiLeaks* has also been described as an entity which 'eludes straightforward definition' (Allen, 2013, 146), an undecidable hybrid media form operating between genres including website, lobby group, activist social movement,

hacker network and investigative online news magazine (Chadwick, 2013, 89). Amongst these definitions however, *WikiLeaks* can certainly be considered a durational digital archive of sorts, which documents radical information and exhibits this information in an expressive and performative manner, rendering new information visible in the political realm. Judging by the penal and juridical reactions to both Assange and Manning, we can say *WikiLeaks* has also been critically successful in locating and targeting a systempunkt (Raley, 2009, 11) of contemporary power.

In a 2014 *Guardian* article, Slavoj Žižek asks rhetorically:

Is *WikiLeaks* pursuing an impossible dream? Definitely not, and the proof is that the world has already changed since its revelations.

Not only have we learned a lot about the illegal activities of the US and other great powers. Not only have the *WikiLeaks* revelations put secret services on the defensive and set in motion legislative acts to better control them. *WikiLeaks* has achieved much more: millions of ordinary people have become aware of the society in which they live. Something that until now we silently tolerated as unproblematic is rendered problematic.

WikiLeaks' successful targeting of a systempunkt of contemporary power stems from a careful and self-reflexive mixture of tactical positioning, architectural structuration and counter-hegemonic content. The specific combination of these elements within *WikiLeaks* enables the site to evade the vicissitudes both of assimilation and exclusion which so often foreclose the potentiality of critical gestures in contemporary capitalism. The use of multiple servers between geographical locations makes *WikiLeaks* almost impossible to exclude from view or disable: a particularly effective tactic for critical, dissensual projects operating in the binary system of Network Power (Castells, 2009). Concurrently, the site renders highly secretive and illegal governmental and military activities publicly visible, a particularly politically contentious gesture both in Castells' consensual system of Network Power, and Rancièrian Consensus Democracy, which, as noted earlier, operates under an imperative for visibility. Public disclosure of government secrets also resonates powerfully with Boltanski and Chiapello's assertions about the consensual nature of Capitalism. Being based in free choice rather than forced labour, this requires a 'spirit' consensually

acceptable to the public (2007, 485-6). Disclosures on *WikiLeaks* which involve culturally unacceptable activity such as systematic torture and abuse, or high numbers of civilian casualties during military interventions are particularly threatening for hegemonic power, and difficult to unproblematically reassimilate into society's consensually accepted cultural norms and ideals.

The site also utilises anonymity and visibility tactically in other ways, protecting its sources from the fate suffered by Chelsea Manning, and only publicly exhibiting findings once these have been redacted. This defensive use of visibility helps encourage submissions to the platform, whilst ensuring information made public is accurate and does not represent a danger to innocent civilians, thus contributing to the perceived status of the site as trustworthy. Crucially, as described above, *WikiLeaks* also collaborates with mainstream press organisations such as the *Guardian*. This ensures the site intervenes meaningfully in hegemonic communications networks rather than contributing to what Dean identifies as a meaningless circulation of information within contemporary capitalism. It also enables *WikiLeaks* to hijack the power and visibility which these networks provide, whilst functioning as a 'switcher' in Castells' terms, linking powerful hubs of communication together (2009, 43-6). However, perhaps most importantly, partnerships with respected mainstream media outlets mean the content on *WikiLeaks*, is both redacted and taken seriously as accurate and meaningful data.

Overall then, it can be argued that that because of its tactical, defensive and critical play on visibility and invisibility, consensual inclusion to mainstream media networks and autonomy outside of these, *WikiLeaks* has so far been able to gain prominent status and viability as an alternative news source, without losing its efficacy as a critical organisation. By positioning itself in a space between exclusion and inclusion, carefully dodging the complexities of Network Power through its critical positioning within the system it is able to be durational, public, tactical and critical. Through this functionality, *WikiLeaks* also operates as a clear example of the archive performing radical beginnings rather than merely representing existing hegemonic narratives.

Through this site's operation, new, radical cultural knowledge can be produced, thus catalysing the potential for societal change. In this way, we might conceptualise *Wikileaks*

as the future oriented archival form Derrida puts forward in *Archive Fever*. Just as Derrida theorises, the architecture of the archive here determines its functionality. However, rather than constraining meaning to a retrospective or passive form, here the archival structure enables new expressive meaning to be performed in direct relation to a particular cultural question. In this way, we might also say *WikiLeaks* approaches the meaningful and politicised application of the digital network as advocated by Jodi Dean (2008, 115).

WikiLeaks also mirrors the aims of Tactical Media as set out by Critical Art Ensemble and Wark by subverting hegemonic vectors of information, and borrows tactics from the more transient projects cited above by targeting and infiltrating dominant communications networks in the manner of *Newstweek* and the Yes Men, and operating as a radical database similar to Maptivist projects. However, this project is particularly pertinent as it represents the inculcation of Tactical Media in a durational digital archival form, capable of continuously operating in a radical performative manner. *WikiLeaks* also shares a certain parasitic nature with Tactical Media initiatives, perhaps only partially hidden, but living off the powerful media and communications networks it attacks, unable to be evacuated entirely, and able to grow and continue to be critically and culturally productive as a radical and defensive counter-archive.

Assange is a symbolically appropriate director for such an organisation: an undecidable shape-shifting anti-hero, constantly changing the terms of the deal and acting in the shadows as abovementioned. The fact that Assange is now holed up in a physical institution of power is perhaps particularly symbolic in relation to Critical Art Ensemble's theories on the streets as dead capital (1996, 11). He is able to continue working despite his house arrest, courtesy of the nomadic nature of information power. Assange's lifestyle, working between time-zones, precarious, flexible and continuous, is also an archetypal imprint of the neoliberal worker in the digital economy, a sort of double *détournement* of the assimilated hacker in Wark's text who is appropriated by the dominant system (2004, 344). Here, the hacker takes on the critical and self-reflexive stance Wark calls for, appropriating this from the vectoralist class to autonomous and critical ends.

Conclusion

The radical digital archive which is durational, expressive and capable of performing new and progressive truths does arguably exist, but must function in a tactical manner in relation to New Capitalism in order to retain efficacy. This is to say, the digital archival project must self-reflexively and critically negotiate hegemonic tropes of contemporary power, including anonymity, visibility, flux and networked power as delineated in the example of *WikiLeaks*. Such an archive might also helpfully function in an agile and rhizomatic manner to be continuously present, but only occasionally visible. This is a trait shared both by *WikiLeaks* and Tactical Media as a general movement if we interpret the myriad individual Tactical Media projects occurring over time as a continuous distributed network rather than analysing each individual intervention in isolation from the next. It is this sort of self-reflexive and tactical durational archive which begins to approximate Derrida's archive of the future, capable of performatively enacting radical beginnings.

The above exploration therefore gives us an insight into the kind of criticality a digital archive might require in contemporary society in order to function effectively. However, we have not yet directly approached Derrida's assertions around democratisation and participation within the archive, in particular the claim that 'effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation' (1995, 4, n1). Furthermore, critical digital archival case studies within this chapter have employed a wide range of tactics surrounding leadership and participation. In *WikiLeaks*, as we have seen, Assange takes on the role of a sovereign editor-leader both in relation to his core team, and to anonymous sources who engage with the site. Meanwhile, as argued above, Tactical Media can be understood to operate as a series of anarchist cells, each employing diverse leadership tactics. We might then ask what the continued role and relevance of crowdsourcing and participation might be in critical digital archival gestures, and what form of collaboration might best facilitate this. The final chapter will investigate this question, and consider findings in relation to the development and design of new critical crowdsourced projects.

Chapter Four: Collaboration, FLOSS and the Multitude: Towards a Critical Recursive Public

The previous chapter explored some of the ways future crowdsourced projects might remain critically effective within the constraints of contemporary neoliberalism, particularly in relation to the tendency of New Capitalism to negate, subsume or re-appropriate critical gestures into the saturated and surveilled set of identities which constitute society in late Biopower. Particularly given the profoundly ambivalent manifestations of horizontality and collaboration within New Capitalism, it was suggested crowdsourced projects aiming to evade replicating or consolidating dominant power dynamics and cultural narratives must be positioned and designed carefully and critically; ensuring collaboration is truly employed to progressive ends.

In relation to Derridean thought then, the previous chapter considered how a digital archive might serve to subvert the etymology of the archive as law and facilitate the enactment of radical beginnings through the archive, performing progressive counter-hegemonic cultural narratives. However, we have not yet fully investigated Derrida's argument that 'effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation' (1995, 4, n1). Particularly within New Capitalism, where collaboration and participation are fundamental to hegemonic power, this chapter therefore explores modes of effective democratisation operating within collaborative projects, aiming to evaluate the continued importance of participation to future radical digital archives, and to investigate potential modes of site structuration and leadership functioning to both democratic and critical ends.

To make this investigation, the chapter returns to the work of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri as introduced in Chapter Two. In particular, this chapter focuses on the fact that within Hardt and Negri's work the collaborative, networked nature of contemporary capitalism actually provides a unique opportunity for its own defeat. Indeed, in the terms of these theorists, contemporary capitalism or 'Empire' can only be conquered through the inculcation of a specific form of collective defined as the 'Multitude'. This chapter will explore concepts of Empire and Multitude as put forward by Hardt and Negri, before

investigating in detail the kind of collaboration an enacted Multitude might practically involve. Hardt and Negri's theorisation around the Multitude has been widely critiqued for being abstract and non-specific, but does present certain potential practical incarnations of the Multitude in passing. One example particularly relevant to us here is Free and Open Source Software (FLOSS), a phenomenon this chapter takes as a case study for the potential practical implementation of the Multitude. Exploring collaboration within FLOSS technologies in relation to theories of radical democracy, performance and pedagogy as well as models of collaboration in previously investigated Tactical Media and Hacktivist projects, this chapter aims to analyse ways collaboration within FLOSS might translate to future critical crowdsourced projects.

To help inform this conceptualisation, two examples of crowdsourced and collaborative digital practice are investigated from the history of Net Art, itself described as a creative translation of FLOSS principles (Paul, 2006, 99). The projects in question, *VisitorsStudio* and *Upstage*, act as practical case studies delineating how FLOSS structuration has been used in existing critical collaborative initiatives, and therefore offer a conceptual toolbox for the modelling of future critical crowdsourced cultural sites.

Hardt and Negri's Empire as a Theorisation of New Capitalism

Hardt and Negri's concept of Empire is a theorisation of Post-Fordism (Negri, 2003, 1) which echoes aspects of New or Network Capitalism, Consensus Democracy, Inclusive Neoliberalism and Information or Communicative Capitalism as explored in the previous two chapters. Labour within Empire is understood to function as a form of advanced Biopower (Hardt and Negri, 2005, 308), which functions in line with Deleuze's notion of the Control Society (Poster, 2006, 58). In Negri's terms, Empire is also considered to be a truly globalised and all-encompassing form of capitalism: 'the idea of globalisation raised to the concept' (Negri, 2003, 1). Empire also reflects theories of Information Capitalism, in terms of the fact it has no physical centre of power. Indeed, in Hardt and Negri's terms, Empire functions as 'a decentred and deterritorialising apparatus of rule that progressively incorporates the entire global realm within its open, expanding frontiers' (Hardt and Negri, 2001, xii).

Similar to theories of New and Network Capitalism, Empire is considered to function as a new political ontology facilitated at least in part by communications networks, and in particular globally networked computers (Dean, 2004, Poster, 2006, 55). The structuration of Empire also resembles theories of Network and New Capitalism, being described as comprising superstructural, horizontal, decentred networks of communication. Importantly, these networks are understood to function through cooperation and collaboration in a fundamental way. As Hardt and Negri state, Empire consists of 'new circuits of cooperation and collaboration that stretch across nations and continents and allow an unlimited number of encounters' (2005, xiii).

Following theories of Post-Fordism, immaterial, biopolitical labour is also considered an essential component of Empire. Indeed, to Hardt and Negri, Empire can be conceptualised as 'an expansive, inclusive biopolitical system' (2005, 335) which fundamentally relies on the 'production of knowledges, affect, communication - in short, the production of common forms of social life' (Hardt and Negri, 2005, 308). However, as imperial society also simultaneously functions as a form of advanced neoliberalism these immaterial labour forms are submitted to voraciously individualist and competitive market-oriented ends.

The global span of Empire points to a seemingly unlimited sovereign power. As Negri argues, 'imperial sovereignty is unlimited externally insofar as, in a certain sense, it envelops the entire globe. Imperial sovereignty has no outside' (2003, 50). However, equally, sovereignty within Empire is always also conditional on consent from the ruled. In Negri's terms, 'sovereignty remains (and must always remain) limited internally by the relationship between the ruler and the ruled. Sovereignty is in this sense always double-faced; it is, necessarily, a dual system of power' (2003, 50). Indeed, for Negri, without an external enemy, Imperial sovereignty must constantly resolve 'a multitude of internal, omnilateral and diffuse tensions' (Negri, 2003, 56) in order to maintain hegemonic power.

Reflecting theories of Consensus Democracy and Inclusive Neoliberalism, this means Empire needs to operate inclusively and aim to garner consensus from the population in order to function effectively. As Negri argues, 'exclusion of any population from the processes of biopolitical production tends to become a self-defeating act for Empire. No

group is “disposable” because global society functions together as a complex, integrated whole. Imperial sovereignty thus cannot avoid or displace its necessary relationship with the unlimited global Multitude’ (2003, 335-6). Nonetheless, as a societal form based in late Biopower, this mode of inclusivity has governance, hierarchy and control at its core. Operating as a form of late Biopower described very much like Consensus Democracy, this means imperial power functions by utilising diversity as a way of dividing and controlling the population. As Finn Bowring asserts, for Hardt and Negri ‘the divisions that derive from...differences are then managed as a means of hierarchising and controlling labour power, as well as of diversifying and multiplying global markets’ (2004, 121).

When inclusivity fails and tensions inevitably arise within Empire, direct action is taken. However, this direct action can never completely destroy moments of rebellion in an all-encompassing global system. As Dean argues, ‘intervention is... unbounded. It can hit anything, anytime, anyplace. But it cannot hit everything, all the time, every place. There is “always a surplus”’ (2004, 278). It is for this reason that Negri states: ‘sovereign power is never absolute. It constantly seeks to establish and reproduce its hegemony over the ruled. The one who obeys us thus is no less essential to the conception and functioning of sovereignty than the one who commands’ (2003, 49).

Empire and the Concept of the Multitude

To Hardt and Negri, following Foucault, capitalism is fundamentally reliant on the collective and creative power of those working under its auspices; capital unceasingly generates and harvests this creative and collaborative power, but then directs it to individualistic and commercial ends (2005, 115-7). This implies that the possibility of a truly egalitarian and horizontal democracy is always inherent in capitalist forms of disciplinary Biopower. As Jeremy Gilbert argues: ‘the real possibility and the real danger of a free circulation of ideas and collaborative practices was always implicit in the specific forms which the governmental and regulatory institutions of modern societies took’ (2013, 18). However, the structuration of creative and collective forms has thus far ensured centralised sovereign control of collective and communicative societal characteristics, partly through prohibitive design channelling communication in individualistic ways. As Gilbert asserts, the ‘prevention of lateral communication between

the constituent elements of the collectivity and its perpetual disaggregation into individual units are the basic mechanics of the disciplinary inhibition of this potential power which we can only call 'democratic' (2013, 19).

It is this prevention of lateral communication which Hardt and Negri understand as radically displaced within Empire; cooperation in horizontal networks is actually a fundamental building block of the political ontology of Empire, while labour, being both biopolitical and immaterial, is based on building forms of the commons: of social and cultural life, and of forming networks between diverse sets of people in this way. As Hardt and Negri argue, Empire's reliance on cooperation means 'the entire global population tends to become necessary to sovereign power not only as producers but also as consumers, or as users or participants in the interactive circuits of the network' (2005, 335).

The fundamental onus on creative and collaborative work within contemporary capitalism means citizens within the system become increasingly autonomous, and need the sovereign structure of Empire less and less (Hardt and Negri, 2005, 335). In this way, for the very first time, hegemonic power actually produces the resources for its own undoing whilst setting up the conditions for autonomous and egalitarian societal forms. As Hardt and Negri assert, 'rulers become ever more parasitical and that sovereignty becomes increasingly unnecessary. Correspondingly, the ruled become increasingly autonomous, capable of forming society on their own' (2005, 336).

This potentiality for resistance and autonomy is termed the 'Multitude' by Hardt and Negri, and operates as the exact inverse of power's functioning within Empire. As Dean points out:

Empire and Multitude suggest two aspects of the same phenomenon, two ways of seeing the informisation of everyday life and the reconfiguring of communication through capitalism. The same conditions that reinforce imperial power, informisation, decentralisation, deterritorialisation, and spectacle also empower the Multitude (2004, 276).

In this way Hardt and Negri's theories on the Multitude offer us a way to view previously explored theories of Post- Politics such as Rancière's notion of Consensus Democracy, Mauyra Wickstrom's reading of Inclusive Neoliberalism and Boltanski and Chiapello's theories surrounding New Capitalism in a manner seemingly more optimistic in relation to the potential for effective critique and resultant societal change.

Traits of the Multitude mirror the horizontal, collective and networked yet individualistic structuration of Empire as a form of neoliberal Biopower operating on a global scale. Indeed, the primary feature of the Multitude is its functionality as a set of 'cooperating singularities' (Dean, 2004, 282) tied together by difference itself rather than unity. As Hardt and Negri argue: 'the Multitude is composed of innumerable internal differences that can never be reduced to a unity or a single identity' (Hardt and Negri, 2005, xiv). In this way, the Multitude can be understood to reorientate fundamental traits of individualism and collectivity within Empire towards a non-capitalist incarnation of the commons (Dahlberg, 2011, 863).

The emphasis on singularity and difference within the Multitude also holds the potential for radical inclusivity. This differentiates the Multitude from previously identified collective forms such as 'the people', 'the masses' or 'the working class', which to Hardt and Negri are by turns unitary, indifferent or exclusive (Hardt and Negri, 2005, xiv)⁷¹. Indeed, the Multitude is 'composed potentially of all the diverse figures of social production' (Hardt and Negri, 2005, xv). It is this combination of differentiated inclusion and horizontal collaboration in the production of common life which to Hardt and Negri represents the potentiality for true democracy, producing a global collective theoretically capable of functioning autonomously without sovereignty.

Indeed, the Multitude is understood to absolutely resist unity either as a bounded form of civil society, or as a formal organisation. The Multitude is considered to function as an

⁷¹ The term Multitude was in fact first used by the Dutch philosopher Spinoza and 'designated the "common people" who were a majority in the cities of the Ancien Régime and deprived of participation in political power (reserved for the monarch and the aristocracy), economic power (reserved for property owners of feudal ancestry or for the nascent financial bourgeoisie, both urban and rural—including the rich peasants), and social power (reserved for the Church and its clerics)' (Amin, 2014, 25). This 'Multitude' was prone to violent insurrection before the French Revolution, and constituted an third facet of revolt against the Ancien Régime and the bourgeoisie. As Samir Amin asserts, for a short while in 1793 the plebeian group were known as the Mountain, though this revolt, like all others led by the plebeian Multitude, were eventually quashed (2014, 26).

'always open relationship that the singularities set in motion' (Hardt and Negri, 2005, 378). The structure of the Multitude then, like Post-Fordist Empire, is a decentralised, ad hoc network which is open and in flux. As Nicholas Brown and Imre Szeman suggest in conversation with Hardt and Negri, 'the mode of organization indigenous to the Multitude is that of a distributed network... more or less spontaneous and temporary alliances coordinating different agendas without a central command' (2005, 377). Indeed, for Hardt and Negri, this distributed network form is understood to function something like 'a swarm of ants or bees' (2004, 57).

The Multitude also resists unity in relation to notions of consensus within collectivity. In fact disagreement is essential to the functioning of the Multitude. As Hardt and Negri state, 'there is never in the Multitude... any obligation in principle to power. On the contrary, in the Multitude the right to disobedience and the right to difference are fundamental' (2005, 340). The key challenge of the current era is to develop ways in which the highly differentiated Multitude can effectively act and make decisions together: 'for a social multiplicity to manage to communicate and act in common while remaining internally different' (Hardt and Negri, 2005, xiv). This is considered to be no less than the 'invention of a new science of democracy for the Multitude' (Hardt and Negri, 2005, 312), and departs fundamentally from the issues of Consensus Democracy through this means. Only one important aspect of unity remains within the Multitude: the recovery of a shared political passion for construction of new and better forms of society, based in the recuperation of a non-romantic, non-individualist form of love. As Hardt and Negri assert: 'love serves as the basis for our political projects in common and the construction of a new society' (2005, 352).

Approaching a Realised Manifestation of the Multitude

A realised Multitude would be an absolute, society-wide phenomenon. In Hardt and Negri's terms, 'Multitude would endlessly reproduce itself as part of a fundamental, structural and continuous democratic form, rather than being something which - like direct democracy - means taking time out of real life to engage in' (2004, 350). However, a strong critique regularly levelled at these theorists surrounds the lack of guidance and information they offer in relation to the task of manifesting a practical future incarnation

of the Multitude, including the sort of networked structure this might entail, and how this might evade the equal and opposite power of Empire⁷² (Brown and Szeman, 2005, Poster, 2006, Virno, 1996, Mudu, 2009, 233, Dean, 2004).

Hardt and Negri assert that *Multitude* is 'a philosophical book' and readers should not expect it to 'answer the question "What is to be done?" Or propose a concrete program of action' (2005, xvi). But despite its overall reticence, this text does point to at least one possible practical incarnation of the Multitude helpful to us here; based in the functioning of the Internet, and more particularly of Open Source Software. The Internet at large is understood to offer a helpful initial model for the operation of the Multitude as a distributed network of differentiated nodes which are open so 'new relationships can always be added' (Hardt and Negri, 2005, xv). Meanwhile, Open Source Software is used as an existing metaphor for the democracy of the Multitude itself. For Hardt and Negri: 'one approach to understanding the democracy of the Multitude... is as an open source society, that is, a society whose source code is revealed so that we can all work collaboratively to solve its bugs and create new, better social programs (2005, 340).

Within *Multitude*, Hardt and Negri also cite Napster as an historic open source platform where the free sharing of mp3 files produced a successful commons (2005, 181) and gesture towards 'innumerable other examples on the web of texts, information, images and other immaterial forms of private property that are illegally made freely accessible and reproducible' (2005, 181). Hardt and Negri also allude to the relation between copyright and open source, suggesting that 'the privatisation of the electronic

⁷² Theoretical critique has also been levelled at the concept of Empire. For instance, in the terms of Finn Bowring (2004), the abstract space of capital as delineated by Empire is Eurocentric and does not take into account real concentrations of power in certain global areas. Hardt and Negri's theories of resistance are also read by Bowring as inconsistent, seeking to evacuate places of power, but at the same time suggesting there is no place of power in Empire; and suggesting exodus via the Multitude is possible, but also suggesting Empire is all consuming. This thesis accepts the limitations of the theory of Empire with respect to Eurocentrism and power concentration whilst still finding the framework of this theory helpful to the argument here, particularly when read in conjunction with other theories of Network and New Capitalism. Questions surrounding resistance are also duly noted, but found to be endemic to the contradictory and ambivalent nature of contemporary power, as explored in the previous chapter particularly. As discussed, the difficulty with critique in contemporary capitalism is precisely the fact that power is mobile and assimilates critical gestures attempting to promulgate a myth of absolute saturation into hegemonic power. For this reason, as this thesis argues, any attempt to form a critical multitude must be agile, tactical and defensive as well as embodying the coordinates of the multitude in its structure. Further, it must work actively to intervene within and expressively challenge the norms of the system, rather than merely seeking exodus from it.

"commons" has become an obstacle to further innovation' (2005, 185) and highlighting the fact that open source projects including the Creative Commons offer a potentially radical alternative to the capitalist privatisation of commons resources for profit (2005, 302).

However, true to the philosophical style of argumentation within *Multitude*, the potentiality of open source as a model for the Multitude remains abstract. As Mark Poster states: 'Hardt and Negri's example of open-source software moves in the right direction for an analysis of the relation of new media to the Multitude but clearly does not go far enough in exploring the radical potentials of the Internet as a locus of resistance to Empire' (2006, 66). In Poster's terms, Hardt and Negri's 'understanding of Empire continually verges on an analysis of new media but splits into an identification of the Internet with Empire and a utopian attribution of cyberspace to the Multitude' (2006, 65).

Approaching Hardt and Negri's arguments from another direction, Pierpaolo Mudu suggests Hardt and Negri's understanding of the distributed network and network theory is overly simplified, and does not take account of the 'real clusters of power' (2009, 232) in networked activity on the Internet. Mudu does not disregard the concept of the Multitude completely, but does suggest a great deal more research needs to be done into the practical and specific manifestations of the Multitude, particularly in relation to improving our understanding of the structuring of digital networks, in order that new experimental network forms can be produced (2009, 239). Mudu thus follows Paolo Virno in responding to Hardt and Negri's Multitude as a challenge. As Virno states:

When we speak of "Multitude," we run up against a complex problem: we must confront a concept without a history, without a lexicon, whereas the concept of "people" is a completely codified concept for which we have appropriate words and nuances of every sort...With regard to the Multitude, we are left, instead, with the absolute lack of codification, with the absence of a clear conceptual vocabulary. But this is a wonderful challenge for philosophers and sociologists, above all for doing research in the field (2003, 43-4).

In response to Poster, Mudu and Virno's assertions around the relation between Free and Open Source Software (FLOSS) and Hardt and Negri's Multitude, the next section will undertake a more detailed exploration of FLOSS as a potential practical model for the formation of the Multitude, considering its applicability in relation to the more abstract frames and formulations set out by Hardt and Negri. In particular, Christopher Kelty's analysis of Free and Open Source Software as a 'Recursive Public', as expounded in *Two Bits* (2008) will be used to help orient this investigation.

FLOSS initiatives as a Practical Incarnation of the Multitude

Free and Open Source Software (FLOSS) is defined as software which is both 'public and non-proprietary' (Weber, 2005, 179). Indeed, as Kelty argues, freedom in the context of FLOSS points to: 'software whose source code has been rendered both freely accessible and free of charge' (2008, 1). This accessibility means a diverse group of developers can work together to produce software. As Weber contends: 'projects are driven forward by contributions from many, and in a few cases thousands of developers, who work around the world in seemingly unorganised fashion and receive neither direct pay nor other compensation for their contributions' (2005, 180). These FLOSS projects and communities are understood to operate as a 'commons', which as Berry states, are 'brought into existence through a clever legal hack' (2008, 114). This hack was first developed by Richard Stallman, an early pioneer of Open Source Software, and termed the General Public License (GPL) or 'copyleft'. As Stallman argues: 'copyleft uses copyright law, but flips it over to serve the opposite of its usual purpose: instead of a means of privatising software, it becomes a means of keeping software free' (1999, 59).

In his 2008 publication *Two Bits*, Christopher Kelty develops a detailed argument around the characteristic functioning of FLOSS as a self-generating and self-regulating 'Recursive Public'. In Kelty's terms, a community operating as a Recursive Public is 'concerned with the ability to build, control, modify, and maintain the infrastructure that allows them to come into being in the first place and which, in turn, constitutes their everyday practical commitments and the identities of the participants as creative and autonomous individuals' (2008, 7). For Kelty, this self-regulation includes production, manipulation and maintenance of both the framing discourses and technical infrastructures within FLOSS

projects (2008, 50). Recursive Publics are therefore self-grounding both in a traditional discursive manner: 'through discourse in the conventional sense of speech, writing and assembly' (2008, 8) and through a second design based characteristic pertaining to 'layers of technical and legal infrastructure which are necessary for, say, the Internet to exist as the infrastructure of a public' (2008, 8).

This extended definition of FLOSS projects embodies several key characteristics of the Multitude as put forward by Hardt and Negri. The first of these traits surrounds the very nature of FLOSS initiatives as a decentralised mode of collective working, enabling many developers to function together in seemingly unorganised fashion, producing a recursive system which enables autonomous individuals to build, control and modify their own collective infrastructure. This is seemingly a practical incarnation of the Multitude as a set of 'cooperating singularities' (Dean, 2004, 282) operating 'without central command' (Brown and Szeman, 2005, 377). Indeed, in this way the FLOSS structure also seems to go some way to answering Hardt and Negri's call for a new science of democracy for the Multitude' (2005, 312) capable of communicating and acting in common while remaining internally different (Hardt and Negri, 2005, xiv).

Kelty's notion of the Recursive Public also offers us more specific insights into the functioning of a system which enables the decentralised cooperation of distinct singularities. Central to this mode of cooperation is the fact that all contributors to the FLOSS system are also able to alter this system, both in terms of content and technical architecture. This trait of the Recursive Public fundamentally distinguishes the operation of FLOSS projects from crowdsourced projects such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* where sovereign power remains centralised with project leaders despite the outsourcing of responsibility to public contributors. While centralised power in *Cowbird* and *Historypin* reflects sovereignty in wider capitalist society, the decentralised cooperation in FLOSS projects reflects the potentiality of really-existing democracy where, as noted above, power is distributed evenly amongst members of a collective or society (Gilbert, 2013, 19). By producing a system in which the power to enact change is afforded to all contributors; the Recursive Public in FLOSS initiatives operates under a truly distributed system of sovereignty. This re-establishes the possibility of 'lateral communication between the constituent elements of the collectivity' (Gilbert, 2013, 19), and thus

subverts the structuration of contemporary capitalism, bringing the potential for the Multitude to life. The technical and conceptual self-reflexivity of the Recursive Public here enables all members of a given collective to contribute in an egalitarian and horizontal manner, something which, in principle, balances power between various players and helps keep a group autonomous.

The crucial importance of distributed sovereignty within collective working is also reflected in wider theories of the commons such as Elinor Ostrom's *Governing the Commons* (1990). Working against Garrett Hardin's 1968 text *The Tragedy of the Commons* which suggests any group uncontrolled by a centralised authority will selfishly pillage resources intended for the wider population (1990, 2), Ostrom suggests the successful pursuit of collective welfare is indeed possible, and posits a total of eight design principles of successful collective working in relation to this, drawn from research undertaken into Common Pool Resources (CPRs) involving the governing of natural resources⁷³. Included in these principles is the fundamental premise that those impacted by operational rules within a collective should be able to modify these rules, and that all members of a given group should be mutually responsible for cooperating with regulations put in place (1990, 93). Within her analysis, Ostrom also argues that all members of a group should be able to devise their own institutions without being 'challenged by external governmental authorities' (1990, 101), something which mirrors the autonomous production and mediation of collectivity within Kelty's definition of the Recursive Public⁷⁴.

⁷³ Case studies in Ostrom's work include pasture management in Africa and irrigation systems management in Nepal.

⁷⁴ Ostrom's remaining principles are as follows. The first principle is defined as 'clearly defined boundaries' and refers to the idea that the first step in collective organisation must be clear and transparent definitions of those included in a group and the allowances afforded each party (1990, 90). Another way of defining this is to set out shared motivations and regulations which can bond the group together. The second principle extends this logic, discussing the need for diverse and project specific rules around key areas of activity and distribution within the group (1990, 92). The fourth and fifth principles are based around monitoring and graduated sanctions. Ostrom states monitoring should be carried out by members of the group who 'actively audit CPR conditions and appropriator behaviour, are accountable to the appropriators or are the appropriators' (1990, 92) and graduated sanctions which mean members of the group who 'violate operational rules are likely to be assessed graduated sanctions... by other appropriators' (1990, 94). Following on from this are necessary conflict resolution mechanisms, as Ostrom states: 'rapid access to low cost local arenas to resolve conflicts among appropriators or between appropriators and officials' (1990, 100).

The importance of distributed sovereignty in collective working is also reiterated by Freeman in her 1970 essay 'The Tyranny of Structurelessness'. In the context of collective working, Freeman argues that 'for everyone to have the opportunity to be involved in a given group and to participate in its activities the structure must be explicit, not implicit' (2013, 233). Crucially, this can only happen if the group is formalised. As Freeman suggests 'the rules of decision-making must be open and available to everyone, and this can only happen if they are formalised' (1970, 232). Indeed, for Freeman, the only formulation of collectivity considered to be a fallacy is the ideal of a completely structureless group, which is considered to produce hierarchies based on popularity rather than ability, or a lack of structuration which ultimately impacts the effectiveness of the collective itself.

In Castells' terms, the idea of diffuse sovereignty can be understood as pointing to an egalitarian manifestation of Network Power, in which the programmed structure of a digital network itself becomes its own governing force (2009, 46); something which also reflects the Recursive Public within FLOSS as described by Kelty. As Kelty argues, FLOSS practitioners 'wish to devise ways to give the playing field a kind of agency, effected through the agency of many different humans, but checked by its technical and legal structure and openness' (2008, 10). Indeed, this characteristic is something which also highlights the potentiality of specific design features of online networks as relevant to the production of the Multitude, as distributed horizontal networks where 'various nodes all remain different but are all connected in the Web' (Hardt and Negri, 2005, xv). This recognition also returns us to Derrida's assertion that 'the technical structure of the archiving archive also determines the structure of the archivable content even in its coming into existence and in relation to the future' (1995, 17). As Mitch Kapor asserted in 1991, speaking of software design: 'architecture is politics (Bollier, 2008, 78).

Another fundamental trait of the Recursive Public which embodies characteristics of the Multitude is disagreement and dialogue within FLOSS initiatives. Just as Hardt and Negri state that: 'in the Multitude the right to disobedience and the right to difference are fundamental' (2005, 340), FLOSS initiatives, operating through continuous self-reflexive experimentation by individuals rather than predetermined organisational goals, are oriented towards adaptability and critique rather than consensus. As Kelty argues: 'goals

and planning are the subject of negotiation and consensus; adaptability is the province of critique' (2008, 222). In fact, to Kelty this emphasis on adaptability and critique also brings Free and Open Source Software into line with the political rather than inhabiting the province of governance. As Kelty notes: 'whereas controlled design and hierarchical planning represent the domain of governance... adaptability privileges politics, properly speaking, the ability to critique existing design and to propose alternatives without restriction' (2008, 236).

This focus on disagreement as a key part of the FLOSS process is also highlighted by Steven Weber: 'conflict is common, even customary in a sense. It is not the lack of conflict in the open source process but rather the successful management of substantial conflict that needs to be explained' (2005, 199). Weber also concurs with Kelty in relation to the idea that such conflict represents a political economy of its own. He argues:

The management of conflict is politics and indeed there is a political organisation at work here, with the standard accoutrements of power, interests, rules, behavioural norms, decision-making processes. But it is not a political organisation that looks familiar to the logic of industrial era political economy (2005, 179).

This assertion of the centrality of disagreement to FLOSS initiatives helps explicate the mechanics of diffuse sovereignty and decentralised project leadership as outlined above. The role of disagreement here also highlights the fact that within a true democracy where all contributors have equal power, politics in the form of Rancièrian dissensus becomes central to the workings of the political economy: operating in contradistinction to the enforced consensus of contemporary neoliberal capitalism. The centrality of disagreement, experiment and critique in FLOSS political economies also reflects theories of radical democracy including Chantal Mouffe's notion of 'Agonistic Democracy'. Writing against notions of deliberative democracy put forward by theorists such as Jürgen Habermas, which suggest it is possible to produce from rational and moral consensus drawn from individual sovereignty, Mouffe suggests it is impossible to eradicate dispute, emotion and passions from the democratic process (2000, 4).

In place of the Habermasian schema, Mouffe puts forward a theory of Agonistic Democracy, where the individual is understood to be produced coincidentally with social,

cultural, emotional and political forces which constitute society. In Mouffe's terms, these forces are not rational and so can never be placed neatly into a consensus model. Rather, being based in a pluralism of values, politics and democracy will always have antagonism at its centre, while power will always be an unavoidable and constitutive part of societal functioning (2000, 24). Under these terms, no society can hope to achieve full transparency and harmony (2000, 24). Rather, we must work from the premise that the political refers precisely to the agonistic, and that the primary task of democratic politics is not to eliminate passions in order to make consensus possible, but rather to ignite these individual passions towards democratic designs.

Despite the emphasis here on disagreement and conflict here, it is important to recognise that agonism also relies fundamentally on a search for shared consensual ethico-political principles and a shared commitment to democratic ends (Mouffe, 2000, 26). Further, that the word 'agonism' refers to respectful dialogue between equal adversaries 'whose ideas we combat but whose right to defend those ideas we do not put into question' (Mouffe, 2000, 25). This respectful commitment to shared ends seems to be an essential counterbalance to dissensus within a practical incarnation of the Multitude as a set of cooperating singularities, enabling autonomy and shared ends to function together within a collective. This distinction might help enable the Multitude 'to communicate and act in common while remaining internally different' (Hardt and Negri, 2005, xiv). Indeed, despite the fact that the Multitude should absolutely not constitute a unity, Hardt and Negri do suggest a crucial bonding factor must be at play in this form of collectivity: a shared passion for political projects in common and the construction of a new society' (2005, 352).

Again, FLOSS projects serve as a practical incarnation of these tenets, balancing further the practical implications of individualism and cooperation in a recursive and agonistic collectivity resembling the core characteristics of the Multitude. As Kelty puts it, a shared 'social imaginary' is essential to FLOSS projects. For Kelty, 'without such a shared imagination, a public sphere is otherwise nothing more than a cacophony of voices and information, nothing more than a stream of data, structured and formatted by and for machines, whether paper or electronic' (2008, 38). This combination of individualistic contribution and shared aims also results in a primary focus on dialogue within the FLOSS

community, a culture 'full of discussion and argument about the practices that make up free software: sharing source code, conceiving of openness, writing licenses and coordinating collaborations' (Kelty, 2008, 98). However, it is important to note that consensual values which stem from this shared imagination will always be provisional, precisely because of the continuous self-reflexivity at the root of the Recursive Public. Indeed, in Kelty's terms this fundamental openness to flux and transience is another essential feature of FLOSS projects which enables them to remain effective without centralised control. As he states: 'commitment to adaptability (or modifiability) over against planning and hierarchy... resolves the tension between individual virtuosity and the need for collective control' (2008, 15).

Relevance of the Recursive Public to Broader Modes of Radical Cultural Collectivity

We can also see traits of the Recursive Public mirrored in radical modes of collectivity within pedagogy, performance and digital activist groups. This is something which lends credibility to the idea of FLOSS structuration as potentially radical forms of the commons capable of successfully enacting the Multitude. Discussion and dialogue amongst a diverse group of equal individuals who explore common material but share no centrally controlled end point is also a crucial tactic employed in radical collective forms of pedagogy and performance. For instance, Jacques Rancière's *Ignorant Schoolmaster* (1991), Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1996) and Augusto Boal's *Theatre of the Oppressed* (2000) all share a similar dynamic in which a group of equals employ their individuality to actively negotiate common ends, and enact new cultural knowledge in relation to these ends through collective discussion. In this way, these theories help illuminate the notion of a radical commons and suggest possible models for a practical incarnation of the Multitude⁷⁵.

⁷⁵ It is important to note that Freire and Boal developed their theories in 1960's and 70's Brazil and Argentina respectively, while Rancière is here writing in the French context about a historic figure, Joseph Jacotot, who worked as a lecturer in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, although these theorists were working at very different times and writing in specific cultural contexts there are clear similarities which can be drawn from their conceptions of collective working.

In the *Ignorant Schoolmaster* (1991)⁷⁶, Jacques Rancière advocates for a radical form of pedagogy where students and teachers are considered equal, and collectively engage on a common educational journey rather than the teacher imparting knowledge to their class. In Rancière's terms, this journey will be negotiated in distinct ways according to diverse individual intellectual types within the group, each of which will be considered equal. However, the collective will be commonly bound by an active will to learn, and by a shared topic or: 'thing in common' (1981, 2). Similarly, in Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1996), a dynamic of collaborative and egalitarian exploration exists. Here, the very term teacher and student is dissolved and replaced with 'teacher-student' and 'student-teacher' (1996, 53). As Freire states: 'the students - no longer docile listeners - are now critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher' (1996, 54). In this schema again, a shared educational topic will be chosen, defined by Freire as a 'generative theme' important to the group in relation to their social and cultural context (1996, 66). However, this topic will be posed as a problem, and discussion and dialogue between individuals within the group will be the fundamental tool enabling the pedagogical process will take place (1966, 67). Indeed, for Freire, it is this process of dialogue between equals which constitutes revolutionary action within the world (1966, 67).

Augusto Boal's *Theatre of the Oppressed* (2000), based on Freire's work, breaks down the hierarchy between actors and spectators, producing a space where the audience can actually take the stage and alter the action in specific performances. As Boal states: 'I Augusto Boal, want the Spectator to take on the role of the Actor and invade the Character and the stage. I want him to occupy his own space and offer solutions' (2000, preface, xxi). In Boal's Forum Theatre, the action onstage will concern a shared socio-political issue relevant to the assembled group and pose a question in relation to this. The scene will be performed twice, enabling the audience to intervene into the action the second time around, suggesting alterations to the narrative (Boal, 1992, 20). In this way, controlled, centralised power over the production of truth within a collective gives way to

⁷⁶ *The Ignorant Schoolmaster* recounts the tale of Joseph Jacotot, a University Lecturer in eighteenth century France at the University of Louvain. In 1818, Jacotot embarked on an 'intellectual adventure' (1991, 1). Teaching to a group of Flemish speakers, Jacotot could not speak the language, and asked his students to study their chosen text: *Telemaque* in French with the help of a Flemish translation. Students were able to use their fundamental intelligence to deduce enough understanding of the French language to formulate their responses in French, with no prior explication of the language.

an experimental, adaptable mode of performing, in which all individuals present have a chance to actively contribute to the outcome of the action. Again, in this case shared material holds the collective together, but does not lead to centralised power in relation to those able to influence the outcomes of collective action.

Aspects of the Multitude and the Recursive Public also fundamentally structure the functioning of certain collectives underlying transient Tactical Media and Hacktivist interventions cited within the previous chapter. In interviews with Ricardo Dominguez, Founder Member of the Electronic Disturbance Theatre and Critical Art Ensemble, Martin Lezkovjan, Founder Member of Ztohoven and Jacques Servin, Founder Member of activist group the Yes Men, many of the characteristics of the Recursive Public were central to successful leadership and collaboration.

Reflecting both Kelty's Recursive Public and Hardt and Negri's Multitude, each interview respondent agreed the collectives they worked within struck a balance between shared collective aims and individual interdisciplinarity, which was essential to the functioning of the projects in which they worked. Ricardo Dominguez states that both Critical Art Ensemble and Electronic Disturbance Theater are fundamentally dependent on the existence of a shared 'conceptual lure' (Interview with Dominguez, 2014, 15.01, See Appendix) which keeps groups working together as a horizontally functioning collective even on lengthy projects. Similarly, Martin Lezkovjan states that Ztohoven's projects are based on 'some shared passion' (Interview with Leskovjan, 2013, 15.28, See Appendix) and that 'it is usually the issues or themes we are solving which keep it together' (Interview with Leskovjan, 2013, 27.42, See Appendix). For Jacques Servin also, projects stem from an idea shared by core members of a group who are already engaged with the field (Interview with Servin, 2013, 9.33, See Appendix).

But despite the fact that all respondents placed central emphasis on the importance of shared values and mutual engagement in particular projects, a fundamental focus on individuality and the need for interdisciplinarity and diverse skills was also marked in each case. In their early projects, the Yes Men reached out to wider friends in their informal network to fill skills gaps such as costume making and graphic design, while in larger, later projects in collaboration with charities and activist organisations, the group have hired

individuals with specific skillsets such as acting or graphic design where necessary (Interview with Servin, 2013, 29.25, See Appendix). Ztohoven also rely on diverse individual skillsets and often collaborate with wider collectivities such as hacking communities. As Leskovjan states, 'we realise that the basic principle which can push us ahead is interdisciplinarity and interdisciplinary cooperation' (Interview with Leskovjan, 2013, 15.28, See Appendix). Similarly, for Dominguez, an essential part of a successful and sustainable collaborative process is to 'work with individuals who have unique interests and strengths that you don't have' (Interview with Dominguez, 2014, 12.11, See Appendix).

Indeed, for Dominguez, this diversity of skills within a shared project is important precisely because it facilitates transdisciplinary discussion and skills-sharing. As Dominguez states, 'all of us had antagonistic strengths... which allowed us to enter into a critical transdisciplinary dialogue. But at the same time that antagonism meant that we understood the aesthetic history of its forms and expressions that the others didn't' (Interview with Dominguez, 2014, 12.11, See Appendix). Similar to the role of agonism in the Recursive Public, discussion is also central to the work of Ztohoven. For Leskovjan this mode of working can be volatile in that it involves a group of strong individuals coming together. As Leskovjan states:

The discussions are pretty wild and crazy and so on... the way we work is, we are all strong individuals, hard headed, and it is part of our creation and our creative process. It is a very individual thing and every artist is used to working on his own and put to it his own idea (sic)...the process of finding one solution is very painful sometimes. The one who is the one who is strongest is usually the one who wins. It is very physical!' (Interview with Leskovjan, 2013, 5.03, See Appendix).

Each of these modes of working therefore approaches collective functioning in a similar way, reflecting fundamental traits of both the Recursive Public and the Multitude. Pedagogical, performative and digital activist examples cited here not only foreground horizontal collaboration around shared topics of interest by diverse individuals, but also emphasise the importance of egalitarian debate and dialogue as a means to achieve shared ends.

The Continued Ambivalence of FLOSS projects in relation to Hegemonic Power

This chapter has analysed ways in which FLOSS initiatives operate as a practical manifestation of the Multitude: a set of cooperating singularities capable of functioning together while remaining internally different. FLOSS initiatives are able to achieve this by writing into the very programming of their shared values not only the ability but the responsibility to recursively question, debate and alter both the content and structuration of the platform they collectively produce. This recursive functionality enables FLOSS initiatives to function adaptably and experimentally as a political economy of their own, in which all voices have truly democratic power to engage with the system. We have also seen these traits mirrored in theories of the commons, radical collective action and democratic theory, as well as wider impactful critical and collective digital groups. This is something which lends credence to the operation of FLOSS initiatives as radical collaborative forms capable of successfully enacting the Multitude.

It can also be argued that the recursive structuration of FLOSS projects acts as a potentially radical form of political economy where intellectual property is shared, value is sustainably created and governance is truly horizontal (Weber, 2005, 178). Indeed, in FLOSS projects, as Kelty states, programmers are 'reconstituting the relationship between liberty and knowledge in a technically and historically specific context (2008, 10), something Berry relates specifically as the 'production of *technologies of the commons*' (2008, 99, author's italics). However, despite this seemingly radical basis for FLOSS projects, a closer look at their history and functionality exposes a profoundly ambivalent relationship to Empire, which again underscores the necessity of positioning projects critically and self-reflexively in order that they fall on the side of an egalitarian Multitude rather than slipping into modes of collaboration operating to further Post-Fordist Capitalist ends within Empire.

As Bruce Perens argues, 'Free Software as a *political* idea has been popularised by Richard Stallman since 1984... Stallman's premise is that people should have more freedom, and should appreciate their freedom' (1999, 172). In its early days, software development had occurred in university environments where collaboration was both practical and part of the academic culture. As Siva Vaidhyanathan states, until the 1970s open access to source

code was 'the default way of doing things' (2012, 24) within Information Technology. Indeed, as Berry recalls: 'in the early days of computer research at Stanford, Berkeley, MIT and other university institutes, and due to the small number of participants involved, it made sense to freely share the software they wrote' (2008, 105). This meant using collegial methods of working across academia, namely 'sharing information, peer review, debate and criticism, the principles of academic freedom and the research ethic, sometimes subsumed under the phrase 'hacker ethic'' (2008, 111).

However, as digital culture gained traction and popularity, capitalist industries began to find ways to commercialise software production, which meant privatising access to code and software. Large companies such as AT&T and Digital and Microsoft began to develop proprietary software models, catalysing a broad wave of privatisation and the 'fencing off' of source code as intellectual property for commercial gain (Vaidhyanathan, 2012, 24). In Berry's terms: 'as software increased in value and it became a key profit source for corporations, procedures and processes were introduced to protect the leakage or loss of commercially sensitive information' (2008, 108). It was this move towards the rendering commercial and proprietorial of software which prompted Stallman and others like him to push back against the commodification of software. Indeed, in Berry's terms:

The anti-corporate and anti-managerial feeling of much of the free software and open source movement discourse can be traced back to these early freedoms and to the experimental practices of the first software coders being contained and blocked by employers (2008, 105-6).

In order to formalise his condemnation of the capitalist appropriation of software production, Stallman, then a computer scientist at MIT, founded the Free Software Foundation (FSF), aiming to 'liberate' software, and to 'prove that good tools and technologies could emerge from a community of concerned creators' (Vaidhyanathan, 2012, 26). His views were based in an ideological discomfort with the notion of proprietary software itself: terming this 'hoarding' and being motivated by information freedom and liberty (Kelty, 2008, 110). Stallman set up the FSF in October 1985, and

launched the GNU⁷⁷ project which would develop the General Public License (GPL) (Berry, 2008, 112). As Dibona et al. state: 'the GNU project's goal was, simply put, to make it so that no one would ever have to pay for software' (1999, 2), while the GPL cleverly inverted copyright law to prevent restriction or sharing of content. As Dibona et al. state: the GPL 'basically says that you may copy and distribute the software licensed under the GPL at will, provided you do not inhibit others from doing the same either by charging them for the software itself or by restricting them through further licensing' (1999, 2). As Weber clarifies:

The central idea of GPL is to prevent cooperatively developed software or any part of that software from being turned into proprietary software. Users are permitted to run the program, copy the program, modify the program through its source code, and distribute modified versions to others. What they may *not* do is add restrictions of their own (2005, 187, author's italics).

Stallman's desire to restrict the privatisation of software is based in a hacker ethic, premised on a fundamental belief that information is a public good and should be able to remain freely available for all. Indeed, as Berry states: 'Stallman was among the last of the 'true hackers' ...He had a history in the open-shared-programming environments that were the norm in early computer science labs, where he began to envisage a computer system that was not held in proprietary hands' (2008, 111). For Berry:

These early experiences by programmers and developers tended to reinforce the notion that software was a public 'informational' good, that should be freely shared, and indeed the concept of property or ownership of software was anathema to the ethics of the early hackers who proved their skills precisely by *showing* and sharing how cleverly they could program (2008, 105).

The history of Free and Open Source Technology is also more complicated than a simple binary between capitalist proprietorial and freely available forms of software. True to the ambivalence of Post-Fordist Empire in relation to cooperation, immaterial labour and biopolitical production, open source technology itself has been monetarised in recent

⁷⁷ As Stallman states, 'the name GNU was chosen, following a hacker tradition, as a recursive acronym for "GNU's Not Unix."' (gnu.org/gnu/thegnuproject.en.html)

years. Where Free Software refers to the ideals of absolute free access set out by Stallman, Open Source Software operates in relation to tenets more aligned with proprietary software. As Stallman states: ““Free Software” and “Open Source” describe the same category of software, more or less, but say different things about the software and about values (1999b, 70). Kelty echoes this when he argues that, ‘Free Software and Open Source share practices first, and ideologies second’ (2008, 113).

While as Stallman notes, the GNU license ‘continues to use the term “free software”, to express the idea that freedom, not just technology, is important’ (1999b, 70), the open source definition refers to the use of sharing code as a purely practical phenomenon (Stallman, 1999b, 69). Indeed, proponents of the open source definition ‘were concerned that the Free Software Foundation’s anti-business message was keeping the world from really appreciating the power of free software’ (Dibona et al, 1999, 3) and developed the open source definition to allow ‘greater promiscuity when mixing proprietary and open-source software’ (Dibona et al, 1999 3). Indeed, proponents of open source such as the Libertarian businessman Eric Raymond approached its merits precisely from the point of view of capitalism, suggesting the Free Software model was capable of bringing in mass revenue, and aiming to ‘cash in on the rising tide of the Internet economy by turning the creation of Free Software into something that made more sense to investors, venture capitalists and the stock-buying public’ (Kelty, 2008, 109). As Kelty states, ‘To Raymond, Stallman and the Free Software Foundation represented not freedom or liberty, but a kind of dogmatic, impossible communism (2008, 109).

This form of pro-capitalist, or at least acritical production is also prevalent in the development of many successful Free Software projects including Linux. Linux developer Linus Torvalds aptly titled his semi-autobiographical reflection on the project ‘*Just for Fun: The Story of An Accidental Revolutionary*’ and openly stated that Linux was produced as a: ““fun” project (which) had no goals’ (Kelty, 2008, 218). Built on ‘a culture of “fun” “joy” or interest’ (Kelty, 2008, 213), Linux was simply based in a desire to create new projects, tools and code that were ‘not dictated by existing rules and ideas’ (Kelty, 2008, 213). As Kelty argues, ‘much of this activity occurred without the benefit of any explicit theorisation, with the possible exception of the discourse of “community” (2008, 213). Indeed, Torvalds was inherently against political or ideological motivations for his work,

rather framing Linux as working against existing Open Source and Free Software models, towards a commercialised version of software sharing (Kelty, 2008, 213). As Stallman notes, 'the "Linux" magazines are a clear example of this – they are filled with advertisements for proprietary software that works with GNU/Linux' (1999b, 70).

This forking of the ideology of Free and Open Source Software between political and hegemonic forms highlights the fact that commons based production in the digital sphere is not necessarily radical. Indeed, as Berry argues:

The common is a polysemous concept and within the communities active in commons-based production the concept is given little critical thought... it would be very difficult to reach any kind of consensus on a definition which members could agree on. More particularly, members come from across the political spectrum, from right wing libertarians to left wing Marxists' (2008, 101).

As Kelty states in relation to open source projects: 'Recursive Publics are just as concerned with the moral order of markets as they are with that of the commons; they are not anti-commercial or anti-government. They exist independent of, and as a check on constituted forms of power, which include markets and corporations' (2008, 28). Particularly within the slippery vicissitudes of power within Empire, it seems essential that projects aiming to operate as part of a Multitude function self-reflexively to retain a commitment to egalitarian ideals as well as functioning in a recursive manner. Like crowdsourced projects and other forms of cooperation in contemporary society, collective work is ambivalent and can represent hegemony as much as egalitarianism, depending on its motivations and its ends.

On a more specific level, leadership models and motivations for collaboration within FLOSS projects are also diverse and profoundly ambivalent. On the one hand, as Berry states, FLOSS projects challenge the traditional capitalist notion that innovation can only take place within hierarchies (2008, 99). In certain cases, FLOSS collaborators share knowledge freely in order to extend research and understanding in their field, continuing the initial motivations of academic open source working in this way. As Dibona et al. assert: 'many programmers, rightly, consider themselves to be scientists. Scientists aren't

supposed to hoard profits from their inventions, they are supposed to publish and share their inventions for all to benefit from' (1999, 13).

In other cases however, participation in FLOSS initiatives is undertaken to vociferously capitalist ends, based in individualism, competition and ultimately a desire for personal gains. In these cases, participation in FLOSS initiatives is undertaken in order to attain social and monetary capital⁷⁸ as an individual developer. For Dibona et al., open source programming has individualistic concerns attached to it, because it is how programmers 'define their intellect' (1999, 13). Further, recognition for intellectual achievement is directly linked to financial remuneration within the economic landscape of FLOSS. As Weber argues:

Ego gratification for solving difficult programming problems is important as it stems from peer recognition. Peer recognition is important because it creates a reputation. And a reputation as a great programmer is monetizable – in the form of job offers, privileged access to venture capital, and the like (2005, 184).

It is true that many capitalist industries initially shied away from open source projects. As Dibona et al. state: 'maintaining control of an active open source project can be difficult. This fear of losing control prevents some individuals and many companies from active participation' (1999, 11). However, capitalism has developed various means of combatting this concern whilst harnessing the potential profit of FLOSS initiatives. In many cases, this means reintroducing fairly conservative hierarchies into the leadership of open source projects. Despite the radically horizontal and collaborative potential of recursive leadership in FLOSS initiatives, the reality of existing, and flourishing open source projects often involves hierarchical formations of participation and leadership.

Indeed, across open source projects, certain norms of leadership and authority have developed, which resemble biopolitical forms of hierarchy based on meritocracy. As Weber argues, 'a prevalent norm assigns decision-making authority within the community. The key element of this norm is that *authority follows and derives from*

⁷⁸ Social Capital is defined by Pierre Bourdieu as 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group' (1986, 243).

responsibility. The more an individual contributes to a project and takes responsibility for pieces of software, the more decision-making authority that individual is granted by the community (2005, 194). A second norm of authority within projects cited by Weber stems from seniority: 'there is an additional auxiliary norm that gets called into play: *'Seniority rules... if two groups of contributors have a dispute, and the dispute cannot be resolved objectively, and neither owns the territory of the dispute, the side that has put the most work into the project as a whole wins'* (2005, 194).

There are also sanctioned forms of prohibition and punishment within many open source projects, which again resemble biopolitical structures of discipline and control. As Weber notes: 'the sanctioning mechanisms that are visibly practiced within the open source community are two: "flaming" and "shunning" (Raymond, 1998, 129). Flaming is "public" condemnation (usually over email lists) of people who violate norms. "Flamefests" can be quite fierce in language and intensity but tend ultimately to be self-limiting' (2005, 196). In this way, Flaming seemingly resembles discipline in its early biopolitical forms, which as aforementioned often meant carrying out publicly visible community service as a means of punishment, thus serving society, but also functioning as a pedagogical sign to the wider public, something Foucault cites as a 'secondary, purely moral, but much more real utility' (1977, 109).

The fact that flaming takes place within a peer group also reflects the more horizontal disciplinarity of late Biopower, where the fully entrenched disciplinary role is outsourced to the wider community, rather than being implemented from above. Shunning also reflects disciplinary strategies of rule, and is particularly related to theories of New or Network Capitalism where, as aforementioned, those who do not follow the consensual pattern of power are exiled completely from the network in which they participate (Bauman, 1987, 168, Castells, 2009, 25). As Weber states, 'shunning is the functionally more important sanction. To shun someone – refusing to cooperate with them after they have broken a norm – cuts them off from the benefits that the community offers' (2005, 196).

Models of leadership also varied wildly in the history of FLOSS projects. As Kelty reports, 'some projects had autocratic leaders, while others experimented with everything from

representative democracy to anarchism' (2008, 214). For instance, *Apache* functions through a decision-making committee based on rotating leadership. As Weber notes,

Apache... takes in contributions from a wider swathe of developers who rely on a decision-making committee that is constituted according to formal rules, a de facto constitution. The Perl scripting language relies on a "rotating dictatorship" where control of the core software is passed from one member to another inside an inner circle of key developers (2005, 198).

Conversely, Linux is based on a striated, hierarchical formation, where Torvalds, at least symbolically, acts as a 'benign dictator' (Dibona et al., 1999, 12) overseeing all changes to the site. As Kelty states, Linux 'includes a hierarchy of contributors, maintainers, and "trusted Lieutenants" and a sophisticated, informal and intuitive sense of "good taste" gained through reading and incorporating the work of co-developers' (2008, 219). Interestingly, of all the contributors associated with Linux 'only 10% developers are credited with 70% of the platform's code'⁷⁹ (2005, 190).

Linux also operates through what Weber calls a 'clear hierarchy of decision-making authority, where a decision pyramid leads from the dispersed developer base up through the trusted lieutenants who have authority over particular parts of the code, and ultimately to Linus Torvalds, whose decisions are in a sense "final" (2005, 197). Torvalds' authority is said to have developed partly because of his status as the progenitor of Linux over time and the respect he derives from this, and partly because of his personality. Weber argues that this is partly because Torvalds 'goes to great lengths to document and justify his decisions about controversial matters. He makes admissions that he was wrong. It is a kind of charisma that has to be continually re-created through consistent patterns of behaviour (2005, 200). Although Torvalds sits at the top of the Linux hierarchy, he is reported as never having used this position to steer the development of the project, rather acting as a nominal, silent leader. Kelty asserts that 'Torvalds would oversee Linux, but he would incorporate as many different features as users wanted to or would

⁷⁹ Weber argues that is a common phenomenon 'in both the Free Software Foundation and Linux circles, as in most open source communities, there exist a large number of moderately committed individuals who contribute relatively modest amounts of work and participate irregularly, as well as a much more highly committed group that forms an informal core' (2005, 189).

incorporate... what makes the story of Linux so interesting to observers is that it appears Torvalds made no decision: he accepted almost everything' (2008, 219).

An Overview of Findings: the Potentiality and Pitfalls of FLOSS as a Model for the Multitude

The profound ambivalence of both motivation and leadership structure within FLOSS initiatives reflects the slippery status of collaboration within Empire, which in turn forms the basis of Hardt and Negri's Multitude. In some ways, even within the most radical incarnations of FLOSS projects, this ambivalence is impossible to avoid because of the very nature of contemporary society. As Dean argues: 'almost like Wittgenstein's duck-rabbit, Empire and Multitude suggest two aspects of the same phenomenon... The same conditions that reinforce imperial power, informisation, decentralisation, deterritorialisation, and spectacle also empower the Multitude' (2004, 276).

FLOSS projects have the potential to practically embody many of the characteristics of the Multitude, by developing a sustainable framework for truly horizontal and democratic collaboration online. However, it is also clear the potentially radical history of FLOSS has often been appropriated towards capitalist hegemonic ends. This re-appropriation reflects Wark's theories in relation to the figure of the hacker, where New Capitalism is understood to thrive on the creative potential of the hack for profit-making ends (2004, 037). The same tendency also offers a clear example of Capitalism's fundamental appropriative structure as discussed by Boltanski and Chiapello, who argue that successful critical 'tests' of capitalism's functioning, which might lead to temporary progressive changes in society, are almost always subject to displacement over time in aid of capitalist political and economic agendas. This leads to fundamental changes in the workings of capitalism, without necessarily displacing its 'insatiable and immoral' economic base (2005, 486). Indeed, the commercialisation of FLOSS can be understood as part of the most recent societal shift in Boltanski and Chiapello's terms to the 'connexionist, networked world' of Post-Fordism (2005, 522).

Part of this re-appropriation has led to an acritical development of different strategies for leadership and collaboration within FLOSS projects, which often embody individualist, competitive or hierarchical norms, and can lead to a diversion of FLOSS functionality to

hegemonic ends. Indeed, leadership within certain projects such as Linux, operating under a principally symbolic hierarchy, seemingly forfeit the radical potential of the Recursive Public as self-generating both conceptually and technically. By replicating bureaucratic and sovereign power through the production of a symbolic hierarchy of leadership rather than producing a distributed network of power, the potentially radical ends of the Recursive Public are defused. What becomes clear is that in contemporary capitalism, where collaboration is a battlefield in which techniques and tactics are borrowed and subverted to both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic ends, it is crucial to ensure the shared motivations of particular projects and initiatives are directed to critical ends towards the production of an Information Commons. FLOSS projects operating without this sense of criticality: even those employing aspects of Kelty's Recursive Public, are in danger of replicating and reconsolidating hegemonic modes of collaboration and leadership within New Capitalism.

When underwritten by a shared desire for horizontality, democracy and the Information Commons, the structuration of the Recursive Public acts as a catalyst enabling the truly radical potential of collaboration within FLOSS as an incarnation of the Multitude to be enacted. Just as hackers in Wark's *A Hacker Manifesto* must combat reassimilation into capitalism by becoming conscious as an anti-capitalist class in themselves (2004, 340), it seems FLOSS communities must become aware of their own potential as counter-hegemonic collectivities if this movement is to embody the 'new science of democracy' to which Hardt and Negri refer (2005, 312).

Diversity in the production and mediation of FLOSS projects is of course not necessarily a unilaterally negative phenomenon. Indeed, the self-reflexive questioning endemic to the functioning of the Recursive Public lends itself to individual questioning and experimentation, and therefore does not limit the possible incarnations of leadership and participation in future projects. Some of those projects might borrow from and subvert traditionally hierarchical or competitive modes of leadership, while détourning these to radical ends. There is certainly no one way of organising collectivity, and diversity and experimentation are to be encouraged. The crucial thing about the critical Recursive Public oriented towards the Multitude is that it enables individual experimentation to occur truly democratically within the framework of shared counter-hegemonic and

progressive ends, both in relation to the content and architecture of a site. It therefore produces a framework for radical and sustainable experimentation for wider collective projects.

Models for Recursive Leadership in Critical Collaborative Projects

For Freeman, democratic principles of working often involve a reinterpretation of hierarchy, and should be open to this as part of an experimental collaborative process (1970). In Freeman's terms, collectivities should function in a differentiated and self-reflexive manner specific to their unique formulation and set of goals, something which may mean either rejecting or carrying forth traditional forms of organisation. As Freeman argues, each collectivity should:

...be free to develop those forms of organisation best suited to its healthy functioning. This does not mean that we should go to the other extreme and blindly imitate the traditional forms of organisation. But neither should we blindly reject them all. Some traditional techniques will prove useful, albeit not perfect; some will give us insights into what we should not do to obtain certain ends with minimal costs to the individuals in the movement. Mostly, we will have to experiment with different kinds of structuring and develop a variety of techniques to use for different situations (1970, 244).

Democratic principles cited by Freeman include 'delegation of specific authority to specific individuals for specific tasks by democratic procedures' and allocation of tasks according to 'ability, interest and responsibility' (1970, 244). Therefore, aspects of leadership and power in disciplinary meritocracy, in commercial versions of FLOSS initiatives, are considered to remain useful. However, these characteristics are tempered and détourned by other principles, more aligned with theories of the commons and radical notions of democracy. In Freeman's terms, equal importance should also be placed on distribution of authority to as many individuals as possible, rotation of this authority, and equal access to resources and information; a balance can potentially be struck between hierarchy and horizontality, equality of access and quality of output.

Freeman's assertions around leadership also correlate closely with collaborative methods utilised by Tactical Media and Hacktivist projects explored earlier in this thesis. Leadership in each of these collectives operates through selective hierarchy and is based in a collaboratively agreed meritocracy within the group. In these cases, there is often more than one leadership role within a given project, or else leadership rotates between different projects. The Yes Men reach out to friends and even hire individuals to fill skills-gaps as required by individual projects (Interview with Servin, 2013, 31.04 See Appendix). Meanwhile, for Dominguez, over time all members of Critical Art Ensemble and Electronic Disturbance Theatre had equal say in the collective, and a background in theatre led to 'an understanding of what is useful in limited hierarchies. Dominguez also asserts that an understanding of how collaboration can happen both on a horizontal and vertical level' (Interview with Dominguez, 2014, 2.14, See Appendix). Members of the group had:

...shared access and were able to reconfigure, comment, add, contest the conceptual trajectory of a given gesture.... All of us were able to develop the work and share the work on a horizontal level. There was no leader who would say this is the way it should go. It was durational (Interview with Dominguez, 2014, 2.14, See Appendix).

However, within the workings of individual projects, a meritocracy occurred in which 'the artist in the collective who had the most experience... would be the vertical decider who would put the final stamp on the project' (Interview with Dominguez, 2014, 2.14).

Ztohoven also functions according to distributed authority and rotating leadership within particular projects. As Lezkovjan states, 'project to project there are different approaches, there are different themes, issues and structures of projects.... so we need some other different people, some different interests, and also skills' (Interview with Lezkovjan, 2013, 2.48, See Appendix). The fiery discursiveness of Ztohoven's collaborative process suggests there are many strong voices equally as able to join in the forum of debate around projects. However, to Ztohoven, this does not preclude more introverted collaborators from having an equal say in their projects. Lezkovjan notes that:

There are always people who are more closed and think about things and do not speak too much. Their benefits come in different ways, like they do great visual

side, or they have great different ideas. There are others who are more discursive and want to create the vision and so on. So it is natural, but there is not any leadership as such' (Interview with Leskovjan, 2013, 58.00, See Appendix).

The idea of selective hierarchy as a means of developing the content of specific collaborative projects is also apparent in Boal's abovementioned Forum Theatre, which can itself be seen as a critical incarnation of the Recursive Public. Within Forum Theatre, actors and spectators work together in a horizontal, dialogic way to contemplate a shared social or cultural issue, each bringing their own specific skillset and experience to bear on a particular problem (2006, 50). Further, dialogue within Forum Theatre functions agonistically rather than consensually, experimenting with questions and ideas which alter the play's narrative and structure. However, unlike the manifestation of the Recursive Public within FLOSS projects, leadership within this form of theatre remains critical, even while selectively utilising formulations of hierarchy.

The key to this criticality stems in a large part from the presence of a complex figure within Forum Theatre: the Joker. In Boal's work, the Joker is simultaneously an omniscient and polyvalent commentator and narrator of action onstage, and a figure who aims to act in an egalitarian relation to the spectator, as 'a contemporary and neighbour' (Boal, 2000, 152). He or she both 'facilitates the creative collaboration of a group' (Bogad, 2006, 49), and aims to 'obscure easy answers and to discourage fixed identities' (Schutzman, 2006, 134). In this way, the Joker has been described as a 'difficultator', one who can 'jump in and out of any role in the play at any time' (Schutzman, 2006, 133). As Schutzman argues: 'the Joker, *curinga* in Portuguese, has a polyvalent role as director, master of ceremonies, interviewer, and exegete, representing a character who knows story, plot development, and outcome as no individual character can. Through all his roles, the *curinga* was responsible for performing a commentary on the performance within the performance' (Schutzman, 2006, 133). Crucially, in later forms of the Theatre of the Oppressed, the role of the Joker can be taken on by any spectator, meaning the quasi-leadership role it represents is a roving formulation within a given group (2000, 134).

In this way, the Joker oversees the action of the play, and mediates certain aspects of the plot development, almost standing at one remove from the performance in an omniscient

authorship role. At the same time, it is essential for the Joker to remain neutral, avoiding analysis of events or any other manipulation of the audience, and leaving all possible conclusions up for debate (Boal, 2000, 261). Although this particular figure within Forum Theatre has the potential for omniscient power and hierarchical leadership, that power is utilised to maintain open and horizontal debate about the shared aims of the performance, and thus facilitates the continued production of a critical Recursive Public within the framework of Forum Theatre. Another of Boal's key roles for the Joker is to spell out the rules of the game, but to do so 'in complete acceptance from the outset that the audience may alter them, if it is deemed necessary for the study of the proposed subject' (2000, 261). The Joker aims to relay doubts back to the audience, but does so in order to encourage debate between participants 'so it is they who make the decisions' (2000, 261). Finally, the Joker aims to highlight 'magic' or inadequate solutions to the audience not as a means of 'ruling that it is magic, but rather asking the audience to decide' (Boal, 2000, 261). As in Ostrom's theories, sovereignty within Forum Theatre remains diffuse, and shared amongst the participants, despite the Joker being a leadership figure. The kind of leadership embodied by the Joker acts to safeguard horizontality and debate, rather than to take on a centralised and hierarchical sovereignty seeking to shut lateral communication down.

A critical incarnation of Kelty's Recursive Public capable of producing an effective practical future model for the Multitude might therefore employ certain characteristics for leadership drawn from the example of the Joker. Employing a selective and rotating hierarchy would enable horizontal communication to occur between diverse individuals bound together by common interests, and would encourage the retention of direction and a critical shape to the project at hand; facilitating diffuse sovereignty, recursive experimentation and solutions operating with integrity in relation to shared values. This form of leadership would of course fundamentally contrast with leadership in current crowdsourced projects such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin*, where, as analysed in Chapter Two, project leaders set fixed rules and regulations for the upload of site content, operating in a static site architecture which encourages individualistic snapshots of information to be uploaded rather than facilitating dialogue and discussion around shared cultural material.

Translation of FLOSS Principles to Modelling of Future Crowdsourced Projects

Should the principles of the Recursive Public be enacted critically within the framework of FLOSS initiatives, a viable and sustainable incarnation of the Multitude does seem possible. Within such an incarnation, positioned somewhere between Eveleigh's conceptualisation of collaborative communities and archival commons (2014), the potentiality of true democracy would be realised through the recursive production of project architecture and content. Members of the collective would have equal visibility on the political stage and ability to experimentally alter the project to which they were contributing, as well as rules of engagement tying the platform together. Simultaneously, shared critical ends within the project would help gel the collective as a movement. Leadership and regulation within such a project may even utilise certain hegemonic principles. However, it would be imperative for such tactics to function self-reflexively as a critical subversion or *détournement* of dominant power, rather than being employed in an acritical manner, or to commercial ends.

Principles drawn from the Recursive Public could in fact revolutionise the structuration of future crowdsourced projects, enabling project content and architecture to be oriented to critical cultural ends through the collaborative process. Rather than operating through a pre-programmed website, which enables users to add content according to centralised rules and regulations set out by project leaders, such a site would follow the characteristics of the Recursive Public in enabling all contributors to have equal say in the production of site architecture, content and regulation, which would lead to increased experimentation and agility in site structuration, as well as developing the capacity for truly horizontal and lateral communication through the production of distributed sovereignty. Further, instead of foregrounding individualist snapshots of information uploaded by contributors - which are produced in an asynchronous manner, before being competitively up-voted within a gamified peer meritocracy - sites would encourage extended agonistic dialogue and debate, and would accommodate a site structuration which would facilitate this form of functionality in real time.

Site leadership within such projects would be imperative, in order to help projects negotiate collaborative practice within the profoundly ambivalent vagaries of Empire.

Operating as a form of curatorial practice, this network mediation would need to strike a balance between horizontality and criticality, focused content and inclusive participation, self-reflexive positioning and experimentation. Such leadership would not recreate traditional hierarchical leadership blindly. Rather, drawing from the logic of the Recursive Public and wider theories of radical collectivity, the collective operating on-site might work together to devise a leadership strategy. Such leadership might follow the Tactical Media and Hacktivist collectives whose work has been discussed in this thesis, and operate as a selective or rotating hierarchy based on particular skills, or enact Freeman's theories by functioning as a distributed form of leadership throughout the group.

Ultimately, the fundamental characteristic of collaboration which enables democracy to take place is the existence of a Recursive Public functioning to critical ends. It is this core structuration of self-reflexive and inclusive networked collaboration which facilitates the production of experimental collectivities to be enacted over time and in flux, with democratic ideals at their core. As with existing FLOSS initiatives, a key aim in future recursive crowdsourced projects would be that responsibility for site material would be shared, and invested in jointly by the group, rather than operating individualistically to upload information related solely to oneself for public appreciation. This deceptively simple shift would lead to truly shared sovereignty within the development of given projects, rather than outsourced sovereignty capable of performing only within the strictures of a centrally produced and mediated site structure. Such shared sovereignty would give agency for performativity by all contributors to a project, enabling radical new cultural knowledge to be enacted in the public sphere.

Net Art as a Model for the Structuration of Future Critical Crowdsourced Projects

Net Art offers a particularly rich history to draw from in terms of modelling a co-creative Recursive Public in the form of a crowdsourced digital archive. Indeed, as Christiane Paul states, Net Art has even been described as a translation of FLOSS principles to creative collaborative ends (Paul, 2006, 99). In operation since the late 1990s, Net Art is a subgenre of New Media Art, itself a form of Socially Engaged Practice and therefore a

fundamentally discursive and interactive mode of working (2010, 215)⁸⁰. Indeed, as Paul states, 'when it comes to online art, a collaborative process is almost a necessity and naturally affects the roles of the curator, artist, audience and institution' (2006, 84). The role of the artist within New Media is to produce processual, dynamic interactions, acting as a 'cultural content provider' who 'establishes configurations into which she invites others (Scholz, 2006, 189). Similarly, the role of the curator also alters in the field of New Media Art, acting to facilitate engagement with a 'participative system' (Cook and Graham, 2010, 124).

Curating in the field of New Media Art is theorised in ways which relate to the Recursive Public. For Trebor Scholz, effective collaborative practice in New Media is dependent on the production of an 'extreme sharing network' based on 'commonalities' and 'shared ethics' (2006, 200), and reliant on horizontal, lateral cooperation between equals rather than a power hierarchy. However, as Scholz notes: 'an *extreme sharing network* will only succeed if networkers understand themselves as free agents and not as followers' (2006, 202, author's italics). Individuality and diverse skillsets are also essential in this formulation. In Scholz's terms, 'everybody is an expert at something and can contribute to the mix in meaningful ways' (2006, 201). Dialogue between equals is also considered essential to Cook and Graham, who use conversation as a metaphor for good practice in participatory New Media projects. For Cook and Graham, such projects should aim to create 'a satisfying conversation between equals, where each person develops the other's responses in creative ways' (2010, 117). The notion of distributed authority is also

⁸⁰Socially Engaged Practice itself has a long and established history, stemming from interactive and participatory art, as well as counter-hegemonic collaborative creativity dating back to the early Twentieth Century, when, as Blake Stimson and Gregory Sholette note, Modernist Collectivism became 'the first real effort to develop a sustained alternative to commodified social life by cultural means' (2007, 5). Participation between artist and audience also has a long and rich history in Fine Art, beginning in the 1910s and 1920s with theatrical public spectacles of Dadaism and developing further in the 1960s as a result of 'new technologies and the breakdown of medium-specific art' (Bishop, 2006, 10). There is also a rich history of collectively based organisational art activism, including the work of the Situationists, the Art Workers Coalition and the Art and Language groups of the 1960s, and activist art groups post-1968 including Group Material and Gran Fury, as well as 'North American, British, European, and Russian community art and collectivist activist practices of the 1970s and 1980s' (Goriunova, 2012, 8-9). Broadly speaking it is this history of interactive, participatory and collective arts practices from which Socially Engaged Practice stemmed in the 1990s, proliferating to include the work of artists such as Rikrit Tirivaniya, Thomas Hirschorn and Jeremy Deller, and theoretical work such as Nicholas Bourriaud's Relational Aesthetics (Bishop, 2006, 10-11). Meanwhile, recent work productively criticising and repositioning these theories in relation to current capitalism has also been undertaken by thinkers such as Claire Bishop, Jacques Rancière and Hal Foster.

advocated by Scholz, who encourages the notion of 'a rotating set of facilitators' as a leadership model (2006, 202).

To help conceptualise the relationship between Net Art, the Recursive Public and the crowdsourced archive, I will explore two apposite examples of New Media Art which take the form of participatory digital platforms: *VisitorsStudio* (visitorsstudio.org) and *Upstage* (upstage.co.nz). These sites are particularly helpful to us as they embody aspects of the Recursive Public as well as being influenced by open source technology, and operate to critical cultural ends. *Upstage* is a completely open source project, while *VisitorsStudio* translates the vision of open source technology into its structuration. The projects reflect Paul's assertions that:

Distributed open source curation could be considered either in a metaphorical way, where exhibition concept and selection become expandable by the audience; or in a narrower sense, where curation unfolds with the assistance of open-source software that can be further developed by a community of interest (2006, 99)⁸¹.

Case Study One: *VisitorsStudio*

VisitorsStudio is a crowdsourced art platform for co-creation developed in 2003 by Marc Garrett, Ruth Catlow and Neil Jenkins at Furtherfield Gallery in London⁸² (visitorsstudio.org) (fig 94/95). Furtherfield itself is a networked organisation for the arts, technology and social change which operates in a recursive manner in relation to collaborative working. Indeed, for Furtherfield Director Ruth Catlow, the three key ingredients for successful collective working are diversity, disagreement and egalitarian collaboration to shared ends (Interview with Catlow, 2013, 49.36, See Appendix).

⁸¹ These sites also follow Goriunova's definition of digital art platforms as participatory digital cultural sites 'dealing with creative production, experimenting politically with governance methods of different sorts, self-organisation and formulations of autonomy (2012, 7). Following Goriunova's description, both sites also 'emphasise collective and preferably anonymous work, encourage inclusivity and the dissolution of amateur versus professional or high-brow versus low-brow registers of work' (2012, 8). Like Goriunova's art platforms, the sites also 'centre around a database, structured in a variety of ways, that users can upload to... download from, or browse through' (2012, 9) and can be described as 'assemblages for specific kinds of aesthetic practice to come into being, publics around a set of problems and works that are artistic, or not quite, and inseparably techno-political' (2012, 97). They are 'grey zones of culture, busy with practices below the artistic radar, doing something that is not quite yet art but becomes such' (Goriunova, 2012, 100).

⁸² A pioneering site in the field, *VisitorsStudio* won the Machida Grand Net Art Prize in 2009.

Meanwhile Co-Director Marc Garrett - whose background is in FLOSS projects - suggests that the unique efficacy of Furtherfield stems from the fact work is fundamentally developed out of the interests of the community itself, something which produces a co-creative economy of functioning understood as a counter-cultural 'heterarchy' (Interview with Garrett, 2015, 11.11, See Appendix). Similar to the Recursive Public, Garrett also asserts the importance of both experimentation and critique in the production of effective, engaging and rigorous collaborative work (Interview with Garrett, 2015, 12.32, 16.12, See Appendix). Similar in some ways to Boal's Joker, Garrett sees his Directorial role as a facilitator who listens to the needs of the community and ensures projects happen (Interview with Garrett, 2015, 12.32, See Appendix), but also as a sort of defensive 'gatekeeper', who protects the community and its co-creative values from hegemonic neoliberalism (Interview with Garrett, 2015, 19.36, 20.41, See Appendix).

Given the structuration of Furtherfield, it is perhaps not surprising that *VisitorsStudio* also operates in a way which resonates strongly with the Recursive Public. This site was technically produced by Neil Jenkins through a process of hacking Flash, 'the only kind of software that could work on the server and make the live interaction happen with a multitude of people at the same time' (Interview with Garrett, 2015, 33.17 See Appendix)⁸³. The resulting platform offered a 'group mode' of functionality, which enables multiple, diverse individual users to upload audio-visual material to a shared, forum-like screen onsite, and work together in real-time to produce publicly visible artworks. The site also enables discussion and dialogue through Instant Relay Chat, therefore encouraging lateral communication between members. Although there is an archive onsite and each user has a simple 'ID Card', there are currently no gamified features included around the popularity of certain works or programmes. Perhaps most radically, any content uploaded to the site operates under a Creative Commons Share and Share Alike License, meaning content can be reused or remixed by site contributors without prior notification.

⁸³ *VisitorsStudio* is a second iteration of a previous site *FurtherStudio* a platform which enabled solo digital artists to engage in residencies online, work and have their practice evaluated by independent curators online in real time (Interview with Garrett, 2015, 33.17, See Appendix).

In this way, *VisitorsStudio* contrasts starkly to the individualist structuration and modes of gamified collaboration in 'co-curated' crowdsourced projects such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin*. Rather than uploading and rating individual snapshots of information, here crowdsourced content is shared and remixed between members of a group as it would be within Ostrom's definition of the commons. Although individual contributions are facilitated through personal profiles, it is the group which works together to produce and discuss content, and who are free to shape this content through practical experimentation and agonistic debate. Further, given the license to remix content, it is possible to access the archived work of others and make alterations to it, meaning that no work is actually completed by a particular individual – all will operate in flux and alter dynamically over time. In this way, the project functions as a translation of the values of the FLOSS dynamic as a Recursive Public. It enables the continuous, collective critique and reinvention of site content through agonistic lateral discussion and experimental practice, where responsibility for the production of content is shared by a collective, but produced by individuals. Furthermore, unlike sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin*, there are no centralised instructions or curatorial features onsite. This means the framework of *VisitorsStudio* can be picked up and used in a great number of diverse ways by different groups and collectives, functioning like a virtual toolbox. Although the site is not technologically open source, it functions as a translation of open source, recursive principles in relation to the architecture of content production.

VisitorsStudio generally foregrounds play and experimentation onsite, rather than producing work which is developed through formalised goals or planning in advance. However, certain projects undertaken on *VisitorsStudio* have functioned more critically and curatorially in the past. One such example is the 'Dissention Convention', which took place in 2004 in response to the Republican National Congress. This intervention followed Furtherfield's wider working strategy by being suggested by members of the community on Furtherfield's long running email list *Netbehaviour*⁸⁴, and developed through conversation with the Furtherfield community (Interview with Garrett, 2015, 50.16,

⁸⁴ *Netbehaviour* is an email list first developed by Furtherfield in 2002, which continues to function to this day. As Garrett notes, the list is 'just left to run on its own, and everyone is quite happy, and it's not moderated. So people can just do what they want on this' (Interview with Garrett, 2015, 11.11, See Appendix).

52.34, See Appendix). The intervention featured twenty internationally located artists, and was broadcast live from the Postmasters Gallery in New York and on screens in local bars and shop-windows during a protest march (Interview with Garrett, 2015, 50.16, 52.34, See Appendix). Unlike the standard working of *VisitorsStudio* as a sort of toolbox to be picked up and used freely by any interested party, this 30 hour event was collectively curated and positioned as a 'new collaborative art-polemic with a focus on how Bush and the US Republicans negatively influence every locality around the world' (<http://bit.ly/1QLulvk>). As Garrett states, the intervention was so popular that it had to be screened on proxy web-pages as well as on *VisitorsStudio*, something which developed an extended network around the event (Interview with Garrett, 2015, 52.34, See Appendix).

Case Study Two: *Upstage*

Upstage is a cyber-performance site which functions in an open source manner both technologically and in terms of its content production (fig 96/97). The site was launched by the global networked performance troupe Avatar Body Collision and has been in development since 2003 (net-art.org/node/255). *Upstage* is described as 'a purpose-built online environment for real-time collaborative performance: remote players combine images, animations, audio, web cams, text and drawing in real time for an online audience' (Varley Jamieson et al. 2014, 104). Similar to *VisitorsStudio*, collaborators here work together to produce participatory online performances using specially produced digital material, and operate within a forum-like shared digital space where online audience members are able to 'interact with each other and with the performance via a text chat tool' (Varley Jamieson et. al. 2014, 104).

Like *VisitorsStudio*, *Upstage* functions as a virtual toolbox taken up by various collectives to produce digital performances. A recent example is 'We Have a Situation' a project running between venues in France, the Netherlands, the UK and Austria, between March and May 2013; led by artist and project curator Helen Varley Jamieson. Using *Upstage*, cyber-performances - or 'Situations' - were devised around social and cultural issues pertinent across Europe, and enacted in hybrid performances at each of the four locations. Situations were devised by collectives made up of interested students, artists, curators and local residents from the geographical location surrounding each

performance, and were accessible to the public online and in the physical gallery space. As Varley Jamieson notes, 'after each performance, the audience - both online and at physical venues - participated in a discussion that imagined creative solutions to the situation. This process engaged all of the participants in a creative and discursive exploration of topical issues' (Varley Jamieson, 2013, 3).

The London Situation within this project was held at Furtherfield Gallery, and concerned the question of e-waste. The process of collaboration here involved all participants and was highly discursive, requiring each contributor to research particular aspects of the topic and take on specific roles within the final cyber-performance itself including graphics creators, sound operators, lighting designers, avatar operators, script editors and documenters. As Freeman suggests, both authority and responsibility within the project were disseminated throughout the collective involved. However, as lead artist, Varley Jamieson acted something like Cook and Graham's 'gracious host', or Boal's Joker, choreographing the organisation of the research, performance and discussion, as well as keeping collaborators focussed and on track. Indeed, in published findings from this project, Varley Jamieson suggests that as a lead artist or curator it is essential to 'beware of tangential research' and that 'depending on the personalities within the group, it may be necessary to impose a research deadline, or give someone a new task to draw them back' (Varley Jamieson, 2013a, 3).

Crucially - and unlike Local Projects within *Historypin*, where potentially lateral communication and diffuse sovereignty developed during face-to-face meetings was re-filtered back into individualist design onsite - the architecture of *Upstage* upholds and further develops the collaborative process. The site therefore resembles an incarnation of the Recursive Public as a platform that is open source in its technology, and continuously developing in terms of its architecture. Similar to *VisitorsStudio*, the site also acts as a virtual toolbox, whose governance is creatively reimaged over time and during each performance. The structuration of performances such as 'We Have a Situation' also develops through open and creative discussion and experimentation between groups of equals in a forum-like space where controversy is encouraged (Varley Jamieson, 2013a, 3). Indeed, even within the performance, and in a manner similar to Boal's Forum

Theatre, the audience is empowered to speak to actors and challenge the action online through Instant Relay Chat.

As in Hardt and Negri's conception of the Multitude, collaborators are diverse sets of individuals bound together by mutual interests:

Participants do not need to be artists or have any particular technical skills, they only need to have an interest in the topic and enthusiasm for the project. It's good to have a mix of artists and non-artists from the local community, as they will bring different perspectives on the situation (Varley Jamieson, 2013a, 3).

Conclusion

VisitorsStudio and *Upstage* both offer interesting practical examples of crowdsourced and collaborative digital projects which follow the logic of the Recursive Public. Departing from the centralised structuration, governance and leadership of sites such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin*, and their individualistic structuration and gamification, these sites operate as forums foregrounding lateral communication and horizontal dialogue, and enable experimental modes of governance and creation to be defined on a project by project basis. In this way, the sites mirror characteristics of the Multitude in that they function as a 'collective notion of innovation based on the network rather than the individual genius' (Hardt and Negri, 2005, 338) where diverse individuals are able to collaborate together to shared ends. The sites also appear to support Derrida's argument that 'the technical structure of the *archiving* archive also determines the structure of the *archivable* content even in its coming into existence and in relation to the future. The archivization produces as much as it records the event' (1995, 17).

As confirmed by our exploration of the history of FLOSS, even structurally recursive collectivity is not sufficient to enact the Multitude, and can readily function in the service of Empire if not extremely carefully and tactically positioned. *VisitorsStudio* and *Upstage* are both examples of projects which aim for criticality by exploring socio-political subject matter in interventions such as the 'Dissention Convention' and 'We Have a Situation'. However, of the two projects it seems only the 'Dissention Convention' manages to function tactically enough to approach a successful intervention in the flows of

hegemonic Network Power. 'We Have a Situation' certainly posed critical cultural questions in a co-creative way, but functioned in a relatively closed and consensual network rather than infiltrating, blocking or challenging hegemonic networks in the manner of Tactical Media and Hactivist projects explored in Chapter Three. Despite its recursive, critical nature then, this project may still be understood to contribute to a foreclosure of politics through the continuous circulation of digital material, rather than tactically and expressively challenging the contemporary Distribution of the Sensible. In some respects, the Dissention Convention risks this same pitfall in its circulation of critical material to existing digital arts networks. However, this project does make a crucial step towards effective tactical functioning by projecting performances in local bars and shop windows during a protest march. By allowing critical content to spill out beyond closed cultural networks and into everyday life and operating in direct opposition to a high profile political event, the project is theoretically able to capitalise on public visibility of political communications networks and begin a process of disrupting and reappropriating territories, narratives and vectors.

Overall, this chapter has shown that successful lateral collectivity seemingly functions through the fundamental principles of horizontality, dialogue and disagreement, shared aims and diversity of input. These characteristics have been shown to constitute essential building blocks of a variety of different collective projects drawn from performance, pedagogy, sociology and Tactical Media. However, it is also important to reiterate that there is no universal formula for collective working and that many potential structurations and modes of leadership will exist in future crowdsourced Recursive Publics. Indeed, projects must be developed in unique and individual ways according to the needs of particular collectives and topics of interest.

The challenge for future critical crowdsourced projects will be to take the building blocks of the Recursive Public, and manifest these characteristics in a rigorous tactical and critical way particular to the unique site in question. This might mean borrowing tactics and techniques from a wide variety of existing projects, drawn from diverse subject areas including New Media Art and Tactical Media. However, all such projects would have in common a self-conscious desire to collaborate against Empire as defined by Hardt and Negri, thereby creating some form of critical Recursive Public functioning tactically to

produce an incarnation of the Multitude. In this way, Marc Garrett's notion of the defensive gatekeeper preventing projects from being reappropriated by hegemonic neoliberal power could be a particularly helpful role to include in future sites.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored the performative relationship which inherently exists between the archive and power; both in its private and public forms, and within contemporary crowdsourcing projects. Derrida suggests the democratisation of the archive relates to effective democracy itself, that 'effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation' (1995, 4, n1). However, having explored the logic of power within New Capitalism, it seems the relationship between participation and democratisation is more complicated than this. Indeed, participatory structures within existing crowdsourced archives actually reflect the horizontal collaborative functioning of hegemonic power within contemporary capitalist society.

As demonstrated through case studies such as *Cowbird* and *Historypin* within this thesis, hegemonic power is reflected in crowdsourced archival projects in complex and deep-seated ways, operating at various levels in terms of ideological project motivations, modes of interaction and leadership, and programmed technical architecture and design. Reflecting contemporary neoliberalism, patterns of interaction are generally profoundly individualistic and leadership ultimately relies on a centralised sovereign power structure, despite being implemented according to a largely Laissez Faire model of governance, notably by outsourcing hegemonic power to consensual individuals within a given network.

The directionless circulation of cultural content produced by many current crowdsourced projects mirrors Dean's theories around Communicative Capitalism, in which the circulation of aimless networked information contributes to a foreclosure of the cultural tension necessary for politics. Correlatively, as we have seen, the exponential visibility of diverse identities and subject positions produced by such digital networks contributes to the saturation of visible cultural identities, central to Jacques Rancière's Consensus Democracy and the structural exclusion of political dissensus in contemporary capitalism. Peer and self-led mediation of user-generated content also mirrors and helps perpetuate aspects of surveillance and control in late Biopower, as highlighted by theorists such as Bauman.

Interaction design within existing crowdsourced sites can also be understood to reflect and consolidate links to contemporary capitalist power. Gamified features hinging on the accumulation of social capital reflect a fundamental neoliberal focus on individualist competition and entrepreneurial self-branding, as well as linking to an emerging reliance on immaterial labour within contemporary society. The structure of visibility perpetuated by gamification, itself based on popularity, also orients projects to consensual ends and in this way reflects the imperative for consensus to the hegemonic system within contemporary neoliberalism, which, as Castells argues, is based on a binary model of inclusion and exclusion (2009, 25). In these ways, existing crowdsourced digital archival forms continue to performatively consolidate, mediate and reproduce hegemonic norms and ideals, or cultural 'laws': replicating the precise functioning of previous archival incarnations. Accordingly, participation within these sites can be seen as a way of consolidating and reproducing hegemonic neoliberal norms in an active and self-directed way as part of late Biopower.

The fundamental socio-political impact of site design and the intricacies with which this functions is a particularly instructive finding that reflects both Derrida's assertions that 'the technical structure of the *archiving* archive also determines the structure of the *archivable* content even in its coming into existence and in relation to the future (1995, 17), and also Foucault's original model of Biopower within the Panopticon, in which the architecture of the biopolitical prison itself determines the kind of behaviours which will be performed within it (1977, 143). Through its reflection and re-enactment of hegemonic societal power structures, the crowdsourced individual micro-archive also arguably reflects what Foucault calls the archive of society – the macro-level of all ideas, narratives and concepts in a given society at any given time, as 'the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events... the general system of the formation and transformation of statements' (2002, 146).

In the search for a truly democratised version of the archive, we are searching for an archive which embodies both its etymological functions, translated in Derrida's terms as both law and beginning (1995, 1). This is to say that we are looking for an archival form able not only to performatively enact its authority as 'law-maker' but also to act as a moment of radical beginning, in which new critically effective and counter-hegemonic

cultural narratives can be effectively enunciated and brought into being, not by professionalised cultural gatekeepers such as archivists and curators, but by diverse publics expressing their lived experience in a given time and space. However, as argued in Chapter Two, this form of criticality is extraordinarily difficult to effect within New Capitalism, which tends to either completely exclude or defuse attempts at critique by assimilating them back into the wider hegemonic system. Should critical interventions remain visible within New Capitalism, another risk is that they operate as material for surveillance within late Biopower, helping constitute and consolidate a saturated hierarchical map of exponentially visible societal subjects, including traditionally disenfranchised or marginalised societal demographics (Rancière, 1999). Rancière argues that in this form of society, subjects 'are entirely caught in a structure of the visible where everything is on show and where there is thus no longer any place for appearance' (1999, 103).

As a response to the structural foreclosure of politics within New Capitalism, digital archival projects in Hacktivism, Tactical and Locative Media have developed complex and reflexive modes for tackling the complexities of power in contemporary capitalism. As discussed in Chapter Three, tactics used to intervene critically within Network Power specifically include infiltrating and subverting, or blocking powerful hegemonic stores of information, building counter-hegemonic archives and using fabricated archives to access powerful information and communication networks. Such projects seek to break apart the seamless ideology by which New Capitalism functions and perform new modes of cultural truth. However, to help prevent surveillance and reassimilation into hegemonic power, these projects also employ tropes such as visibility, transparency and anonymity defensively. Interventions tend to function through tropes of transience and undecidability, thereby provoking disruption and offering a set of new possibilities, but then receding from view. In this way, critical tactics employed here can be compared both to Rancièrian Dissensus and to Wark's notion of Expressive Politics, whilst being enacted in a transient way to something like Hakim Bey's Temporary Autonomous Zone (TAZ), which aims to produce a time-limited microcosm of the "anarchist dream" of a free culture (2003, 117).

Tensions between visibility, assimilation, duration and the transient are thrown into relief when discussing the potential of effective contemporary criticality in relation to the archive: a cultural form which structurally depends on collecting and retaining information over time, and which relies on public visibility - particularly within the crowdsourced form. Nonetheless, this thesis located examples of possibilities for durational archives capable of functioning expressively to produce effective, publicly visible criticality.

One particularly strong example of a durational and critically effective archive is *Wikileaks*. Despite complex difficulties faced in relation to leadership and ethics, this platform retains an archival, interventionist and exhibitionary structure capable of existing in a durational manner and successfully performing new dissensual cultural narratives. As discussed in Chapter Three, *Wikileaks* uses visibility critically and functions through anonymity, whilst cleverly preventing exclusion from Network Power through collaboration with hegemonic communications networks including the *Guardian* and *The New York Times*. *Wikileaks'* radical architecture, twinned with a powerful critical cultural positioning and enframing, enables the project to function as a durational critical archive, acting not only as a collection representing information, but as an exhibition of this information capable of performing productive dissensus. As argued in Chapter Three, the discipline of Tactical Media itself can also be understood as an illuminating example of durational criticality, functioning as a networked, defensively visible continuum performing multiple, momentary, international interventions over time.

Having explored the potentiality for criticality in digital museological projects, Chapter Four investigated the continued value of collaboration within such projects, and explored structural models for site architecture capable of treading the tightrope between critical focus and inclusive participation in future counter-hegemonic crowdsourced cultural sites. The ongoing usefulness of crowdsourcing was underscored with reference to Hardt and Negri's theories of the Multitude (2005), which suggest that the particular joint centrality of horizontal participation and autonomous individualism in New Capitalism enacts a mode of subjectivity capable of overthrowing hegemonic sovereign modes of power, based equally in individuality and collective action.

Hardt and Negri suggest Free and Open Source (FLOSS) projects provide an example of how the Multitude might be practically enacted: a contention which was explored in detail within Chapter Four in relation to the design of current crowdsourced projects. Design differences between crowdsourced projects and FLOSS initiatives are seemingly subtle, yet have fundamental consequences for the kind of knowledge produced by projects. As Chapter Four argued, centralised and hierarchical sovereignty in crowdsourced projects is replaced in FLOSS initiatives by a truly distributed network and mode of sovereignty, not only in relation to content production, but also for the technical design of sites and the rules and regulations by which any given project is bound. The culture of consensus to centralised regulations and pre-planned project focus in crowdsourced sites also gives way in FLOSS projects to an environment based in agonistic discussion and experimentation. Perhaps most importantly of all, participation based in individualistic, atomised snapshots of information is replaced by a shared negotiation of one single piece of cultural information within the commons, which requires collaboration towards a shared end in the form of cultural co-creation, rather than continuously uploaded and circulating data.

The structuration of FLOSS collaboration, defined as the production of a Recursive Public (Kelty, 2008), reflects radical modes of collective working drawn from theories of pedagogy and performance as well as Tactical Media and Hacktivist collectives, and therefore seemingly models an excellent framework for future crowdsourced projects aiming to operate to counter-hegemonic ends such as those delineated within Hardt and Negri's Multitude. However, even FLOSS structuration has been appropriated by capitalist projects to commercial ends. Findings in Chapter Four therefore underscore the extent to which collaboration can be reassimilated into dominant power structures, and highlight the essential continued importance of critical and tactical structuration in all aspects of the structuration, motivation and curatorial leadership of future critical crowdsourced sites.

Translation to Future Projects Aiming to Utilise Collaboration to Counter-Hegemonic Ends

Taking these findings into account, it can be argued that future crowdsourced projects, though individually specific and unique, could helpfully share certain altered characteristics in order to reach radical, counter-hegemonic and progressive ends, and function as experiments in the production of the Multitude. Rather than reflecting neoliberal subjectivity through individualistic participation in platforms without shared impetus, sites would be designed to function as forums for debate on shared issues and cultural questions, looking for productive ways to isolate and tackle shared ideas and experiences. Agonistic discussion would also take the place of the production of personalised archives of information and interaction based merely on popularity and commentary. In this way, the archive as collection would function more as an archive as commons, and the endless circulation of data outlined by Dean in relation to Communicative Capitalism (2008) would be replaced by critical digital networks along the lines of those called for by Lovink: sites able to 'facilitate and coordinate collaborative work on cultural, political and educational projects' (2011, 167).

The logic of future projects might also be reoriented towards a capacity for participation by all members of a collective, in terms of motivations, regulations and technical design. Centralised sovereignty could thus be replaced by a truly diffuse Recursive Public, embodying the ideals of collaboration as set out by Kelty in relation to FLOSS projects, and Ostrom in relation to successfully negotiating common resources. Importantly, this mode of working would necessarily imply a focus on transdisciplinarity within collectives, with members of groups able to take on various tasks in the production and maintenance of a site as required. Through this means, the crowdsourced archive might be best redefined as 'co-created', given the equal impetus of all members of a group to produce and mediate a project for their own delineated and flexible ends.

Nonetheless, clear critical and tactical positioning of projects would be crucial and fundamental to overcome the ambivalence of collaboration in wider society. In this way, sites would require clear critical leadership, perhaps inspired by Boal's figure of the Joker as a neutral 'difficultator', by the concept of rotating and selective hierarchy within

Freeman's work, or through Castells' notion of the collective programming of a given network determining its nodal function. The critical positioning of a given project would ultimately aim to affect Rancière's Dissensus within society, aiming to performatively alter the current Distribution of the Sensible. This would mean operating through an understanding of the vicissitudes of power within current capitalism, working within and against some of the dominant tropes within this form of societal rule, such as visibility, transparency, anonymity, Network Power and the vector.

In order to be able to maintain an element of duration without being reassimilated into dominant ideological narratives, future projects would need to remain hidden from public view in some respects, working against the imperative for visibility within New Capitalism. A project might only become publicly visible for the moments in which it performs a particular dissensual intervention or gesture, though an archive would exist before and after such an intervention. Otherwise, like *Wikileaks*, an archive might become publicly visible after a moment of intervention as evidence of the project itself, and as documentation then offered in a forum for public debate. Such defensive uses of visibility could lead to radical digital archives functioning rhizomatically rather than operating with full public visibility, and operating in a curatorial manner in relation to the exhibition of information.

Specific Relation of Findings to the Archive and Curatorial Practice

This project began by considering the archive and curatorial practice as performative means by which hegemonic cultural norms are produced and mediated within society, a phenomenon which continues to operate through contemporary crowdsourced cultural sites. I have argued that it is possible for crowdsourced archival and curatorial practice to operate in progressive, counter-hegemonic ways, expressing new cultural truths and thus embodying what Derrida refers to as the archive as radical 'beginning' (1995, 70). However, this form of crowdsourced archival practice would fundamentally challenge the structuration and use of the traditional archive and curated exhibition.

I have concluded that the established structuration of the archive, employed both in physical and crowdsourced forms, both reflects and helps consolidate forms of cultural hegemonic power, much like Foucault's Panopticon. Recognising the ongoing and

inherent political quality of archival design, I have argued that future crowdsourced archival projects might helpfully function to incorporate a more a forum-like structure for real-time collaboration as part of their architecture, détourning individual snapshots of reified information to discursive and collaborative ends. A strong example of a crowdsourced archival project operating in this way is VisitorsStudio, explored in Chapter Four. This project functions to produce an archive which mobilises potentially individualistic design features such as personal archival collections to collaborative and co-creative ends.

Findings focused upon effective contemporary criticality also present challenges to crowdsourced public archives surrounding the exponential visibility and uncritical circulation of cultural collections material. Given the ambivalence of dominant tropes of collaboration and visibility within New Capitalism, it appears that cultural projects attempting to perform critically must frame themselves defensively and strategically. This imperative for critical and tactical positioning of projects attempting counter-hegemonic ends has concrete implications for both archival structuration and the curatorial management of material. Sites might follow *Wikileaks* by operating with self-defensive visibility, so archival information is collected out of public sight and the subsequent exhibition of this information is what represents a performative dissensual event. Otherwise, like *Cowbird's* Pine Ridge Community project, sites might reposition hegemonically structured archives in such a way that they cannot be either reassimilated or excluded from the dominant system. In every case, however, it will be essential that projects operate with a self-reflexive understanding of Network Power, Consensus Democracy and Inclusive Neoliberalism. For this reason, projects might benefit from including a role something like Garrett's notion of the defensive gatekeeper, who protects the community and its co-creative values from neoliberal values and ideas (Interview with Garrett, 2015, 19.36, 20.41, See Appendix), détourning the traditional, hegemonic curatorial or archival gatekeeping role in this way.

As far as leadership of such collaborative, critical projects is concerned, the role of the curator, or project leader of critical crowdsourced projects, would also fundamentally shift. As noted in Chapter Four, a balance would need to be found within crowdsourced projects between critical, tactical and self-reflexive action, and egalitarian, horizontal and

co-creative collaboration. Making a unilateral move away from the historically sovereign and didactic role of the traditional curator, this would mean the production of selective hierarchies, rotating or distributed leadership from a collective, and a recursive process of dialogue within the group. The role of the curator itself would therefore become a part of the distributed sovereignty of a truly collaborative project, rather than being centralised on one particular group or individual.

These findings do not discount the use of the co-created digital archival form for radical action, but suggest that effective design, positioning and use of the archive is tied in a definitive way to critical and radical curating and exhibition of content. Indeed, it is seemingly this critical enframing and recursive leadership towards productive dissensus which might enable the archive to take on its potential performative role as 'radical beginning' (Derrida, 1995, 70) rather than simply acting as a conservative reiteration of an established law.

Contribution to Knowledge

Overall, this thesis aimed to produce a contribution to knowledge relevant to the fields of Museum Studies, Digital Humanities, Design Studies and Cultural Studies, which can in turn be grouped into five discrete findings.

First, the thesis argues that existing crowdsourced digital archival projects remain true to the etymological archival form as 'law' by reflecting hegemonic power structures, helping to produce and consolidate the dynamics of power and subjectivity in contemporary neoliberal capitalism. This finding can also be framed with reference to Foucault's theory of the archive, in that the micro-archive in society reflects the societal macro-archive at any given time.

A second linked finding complicates Derrida's assertion that 'effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation' (1995, 4, n1). Although participation in creation and interpretation of the archive is central to the democratised archive in New Capitalism, widening participation alone does not guarantee democratisation. Rather, participation now holds a dominant hegemonic position in hegemonic biopolitical rule. In

order to promote true forms of democracy, this participation must be undertaken under carefully considered frameworks of design and motivation.

A third finding problematizes the very concept of crowdsourcing as a term referring to archival and exhibitionary practice functioning against hegemonic power and towards fundamentally collaborative and democratised practice. Crowdsourcing, as a term derived from the business term 'outsourcing', currently relates to the outsourcing of individualistic labour, while truly democratised collaborative archival and exhibitionary practice might be better defined as co-creation, suggesting a use of the archive as commons to be mutually shared and interpreted to critically relevant cultural ends, rather than as an individualistic collection as an end in itself.

Fourth, the thesis addresses both Geert Lovink and Jodi Dean's calls for critical digital networks capable of departing from the perils of endless data circulation within Communicative Capitalism, as well as responding to calls for practical experimentation in relation to Hardt and Negri's theories of the Multitude. Research within this thesis has found that critical digital networks approaching the Multitude could indeed be developed through the production of critical and recursive crowdsourced digital archives and platforms for exhibition.

Finally, analysis of current crowdsourced projects and theory around crowdsourcing within this thesis has led me to a fifth research finding. This finding suggests that future collaborative digital projects should be addressed seriously as political entities which cannot help but either reproduce or subvert hegemonic cultural narratives and subjectivities. This finding works against current dominant attitudes to the design and production of existing cultural crowdsourced sites which often falsely equate a semblance of collaboration with liberation, equality and democracy. It also points towards the necessity of transdisciplinary collaboration in the future production of sites to ensure the theoretical, curatorial, archival and technical integrity of what is produced.

Postscript

Given the nature of the digital as a mode of production which is continuously iterated and upgraded, many of the case studies within this thesis will not remain static over time. On the 22nd October 2015, *Historypin* underwent a substantial site upgrade and certain aspects of the platform were redesigned. As a result of the upgrade site facilities now enables searching for individual pins. Approximate locations can also be pinned onsite, rendering the process of uploading and searching for pins easier and more flexible. Meanwhile, site profiles have been simplified to allow for clearer organisation and sorting of information and a split-screen design helps users with visual navigation of particular areas (bit.ly/1VmWsDI) (fig 98). Of particular relevance to the argumentation within this thesis is the fact this site upgrade also rendered all existing collections onsite open and collaborative, as well as adding a discussion forum as a central feature of the new platform design (community.historypin.org/) (fig 99).

These latter developments seemingly displace *Historypin's* previous reliance on individualistic snapshots of information and develop the site towards more lateral communication between site participators and the *Historypin* team. In this way, the site appears to be moving towards certain design traits advocated within the argumentation of this thesis, and away from the curtailment of collaboration through design encouraging individualistic communication methods. Site participants can now add material to previously private collections and share their insights and queries publicly within a centrally placed forum: which also provides a direct, public and clearly signposted communications link to site leaders.

It is also important to note that many of these site alterations derived from suggestions from the *Historypin* community. As Abraham asserts, one of the most important drivers of changes to *Historypin* has been 'responding to the needs and feedback from our community of librarians, archivists, museum curators, teachers, students, local historians, community heritage organisers, civic groups, individuals and community leaders who are

using *Historypin*' (Interview with Abraham, 2015, 4, See Appendix)⁸⁵. So long as suggestions from the community function in line with the motivations and technical needs of *Historypin*, feedback from site users also factors in relation to broader motivations for site improvements. Abraham suggests it is essential to 'address what the *Historypin* community want to do' and to 'solve usability problems the community report' (Interview with Abraham, 2015, 4, See Appendix) as part of any alterations to the functioning of *Historypin*. *Historypin*'s design process also functions to prioritise making changes to the site according to commonly cited problems by the community, so long as these concerns also advance *Historypin*'s strategic goals. As Abraham states, user feedback is integrated into the technical redesign process at various stages of site testing and their comments taken into account in later iterations (Interview with Abraham, 2015, 5, See Appendix).

However, despite these user-informed design processes and the onus on openness and collaboration currently onsite, it is interesting to note that in terms of the legal Terms and Conditions of *Historypin*, power still ultimately resides in a centralised way with the project team, who set out regulations for site use, and retain the legal right to block or terminate accounts (about.historypin.org/terms/). Further, although the views of users are taken into account, site changes are ultimately prioritised, curated and inaugurated by project leaders and developers alone. Further, as noted above, the interests of users are only taken into consideration as far as they correspond to *Historypin*'s stated goals and priorities; and site users cannot alter the design or regulations of the site in any way.

Therefore, we might argue that despite its renewed onus on collaboration and openness, this new iteration of *Historypin* remains a sovereign form of power, as not all operations are available to all site users. This is particularly interesting in relation to Boltanski and Chiapello's assertions about the assimilation of radical gestures within New Capitalism (2007), and suggests the ambivalence in crowdsourced sites is perhaps more marked as projects develop. Conversely, we might say the acceptance of, and desire for more entrenched modes of participation within mainstream crowdsourced projects offers critical cultural practitioners an increasing opportunity to work towards practical and

⁸⁵ Cited in addition to several other factors including making the site more open and collaborative, local and responsive (Interview with Abraham, 2015, 4, See Appendix).

effective incarnations of the Multitude. Collaboration will seemingly always be a cultural battlefield in Post-Fordist Capitalism, and must therefore continue to be approached in a tactical and rigorous way.

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Interview Transcripts Available in Project Appendix I

- Luke Smith, Imperial War Museum, Digital Lead, *Faces of the First World War*
- Rob Stein, Deputy Director, Dallas Museum of Art, Project Leader, *Steve.Museum*
- Rebekkah Abraham, Operations Director, *Historypin*
- Ricardo Dominguez, Founding Member, Electronic Disturbance Theatre and Critical Art Ensemble
- Jacques Servin, Founding Member, The Yes Men
- Martin Leskovjan, Founding Member, Ztohoven
- Ruth Catlow, Director, Furtherfield Gallery, Co-Founder, *VisitorsStudio*

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Appendix I: Interviews

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⁸⁶ Interviews are transcribed from audio in all cases except *Historypin*, where interviews with Rebekkah Abraham were undertaken via email. 'Intelligent Transcription' has been undertaken here: largely direct transcription where sentences are only altered for clarity whilst retaining meaning. For instance, by removing repeated words or pauses including phrases such as 'hmm' or 'umm'.

Interview with Luke Smith, Digital Lead, *Faces of the First World War*, Imperial War Museum (18/04/2012)

(01.56) AR: I just wanted to begin by asking how this project was conceived?

(02.02) LS: You are particularly interested in *Faces of the First World War*.... So it's probably worth telling you a bit about the genesis of that, because the centenary starts in 2014, so it's still over 2 years away and then when it starts it will go on for four years. So there is no point in starting to shout now – we need to concentrate on being ready. However we thought let's do a few small things. Armistice Day is a sort of marketing gift for us in terms of the First World War. There is a lot of media attention around the 11th November. The museum was founded in 1917, when the war was still going on, so we are very linked to that moment in history, and our collections are very strong in this way. In about October 1918, the museum put a notice in the first nationwide ration books and the notice was an appeal for stuff. It said: 'send us your photos, letters, diaries, personal mementos even if they be of trifling character'. This was a uniquely savvy piece of marketing for the time because it was very difficult to communicate with every household in the country before mass media. As a result of that appeal we acquired a lot of stuff, including a collection of 16,000 portraits, of people who lived and died during the First World War. Typically studio prints of a young soldier in uniform. We refer to that as the 'bond of sacrifice' internally. But they are First World War portraits. We thought it would be great to do something with them and we were planning a big social media project. They were not all digitised so we couldn't do everything we wanted to do at that time. So we thought, 'OK let's just do something simple'. We thought we have got the Centenary to launch the Centenary brand, so let's do something fairly lightweight that points the way in terms of public engagement and finding life stories. So let's take 100 of those images, put them up on *Flickr* commons and make a commitment to putting one more up per day until the Centenary in 2014. In the first 3 days, we had 1.7 million page views, which was amazing, but was obviously due to a lot of press pickup.

(04.57) AR: I was going to ask how you went about marketing it right at the beginning?

(05.30) LS: Right at the beginning the press team did a lot of good work and there is always a lot of interest at that time. It was a very simple story for the press to tell, and they could use the images. It was on BBC TV, it was on the BBC website, it was on all the major newspapers and had almost 100 bits of press internationally and blogs regionally. So that is why it got such high numbers. Since then it has got a dedicated following, every single portrait has some sort kind of biographical information.

(06.09) AR: Yes I noticed, it is interesting that there is consistently useful information being uploaded on each image, which is rare on such projects.

(06.34) LS: Yes there are a small number of people who are really into it and have really taken it on. There are lots of people out there in the world who do this all the time, thousands, tens of thousands. Some of them have latched onto this and are doing it all the time.

(06.48) AR: It does seem there is a core community of people interested in almost every image - I suppose as a daily upload it is not overwhelming.

(07.02) LS: Exactly, so it is easy to get involved. We publicise them on *Twitter* and *Facebook*. We don't have huge followings there and nor would we expect to. We have got 2,700 followers on *Facebook* and 1,500 on *Twitter*. It is useful for us as it is fresh content we can put up every day to engage with our audience. If you look on our *Facebook* page, you will see engagement around those portraits. It's not all happening on *Flickr*, it is also happening on *Twitter* and *Facebook*. The lesson there is that you need to find people where they are.

(07.50) AR: Yes, different platforms for different things. Because I was going to ask whether you are noticing if there is a specific demographic for this sort of project? And whether this is different to the wider demographic of the museum?

(07.58) LS: Yes, I would say that the initial viewers were very much general public intersecting with our current audience. Those who are active on *Faces of the First World War* are deep enthusiasts. One of the guys works for the MOD [Ministry of Defence] and so he has access to files plenty of them are dedicated family historians - we know that because they have *ancestry.com* accounts, or *findmypast* accounts.

(08.32) AR: So they are already literate in this sort of language...

(08.34) LS: Also they are willing to pay the sort of 100 or 200 pounds a year that it costs for those accounts. We don't expect anything more than this to come from the project, although it does give us information on what works and what does not and what sort of things people come up with.

(09.05) AR: How do you gauge the demographic in a practical way?

(09.07) LS: Well we don't survey them or anything. We have got raw numbers from *Flickr* and that's all and then we have views and comments of course. In terms of comments we do directly engage with some of the regular contributors and that's how we know a bit more about them. You can tell from the sources they use whether they have access to some of the premium accounts. Also when they talk about researching men from particular areas and regiments, then you know that they have made an intellectual investment in that area.

(09.49) AR: That's the other thing I think it seems really interesting - what makes intellectual investment happen, but also from the point of view of a project leader - do you have to censor the information, do you have to check its accuracy?

(10.09) LS: We have a web editor and she produces the podcasts, and she monitors all social media activity and uploads images, but we have had very little trouble. I have removed one comment and asked people to calm down. Occasionally there is a correction or we ask people to adjust their tone, but we tend to step in as little as possible.

(10.33) AR: What was your decision to ask *Flickr* to host and do you stick with their community guidelines?

(10.45) LS: Yeah, pretty much. We stick with their guidelines. I mean, we ask people not to be defamatory, or insulting and to keep the tone positive, but we don't check all the facts – we let the community do that.

(11.07) AR: So peer correction is something that can occur?

(11.09) LS: Yeah we are not too precious about it because *Flickr* comments is not the ideal place to do this obviously. I don't know if you remember but in the presentation we talked about our future plans: *Lives of the First World War* or *Lives of the Great War* as we called it then. And that's a more structured way of doing the same thing. This is simply a trial. It is a way of us dipping our toe in that. We don't want a huge audience yet, so we are happy with this project as it is.

(11.50) AR: Some of the projects I have been looking at have really tried to curate people's responses and respondents themselves, sometimes even as an invite only service. Also I've noticed a lot of incentive schemes - I suppose using *Flickr* there is already an incentive scheme within this - but how about the second phase?

(12.54) LS: For us it is important to show some activity and that is about it. It was a big success at the beginning and it ticks over fine. This is all that we want from it. With *Lives of the First World War*, it's a big, complex project. It will have all the standard kind of gaming mechanics and incentivisation such as kudos, targets, challenges and badges. It will have all those things in some form. Because the people in the trial phase are dedicated -adding something in *Flickr* comments is not that easy - and it's not very structured.

(13.55) AR: And I suppose because of this it is less likely to reach out to people who are not part of that community already?

(13.59) LS: Exactly. We would be aiming to make the second phase much easier to manage, so participants can access data sources that current users are just finding for themselves. Through *Lives of the First World War*, you will be able to access things like the Commonwealth War Graves digitised books.

(14.26) AR: The architecture will be set so that people will use the proper channels then?

(14.33) LS: Yes, so some of the verification will be built in. I can show you some wire frames, or actually, I can show you a short film which explains the project at large.

..... (Film running 3 mins approx.)

(19.09) AR: It is interesting how the new site architecture makes things easier to access and navigate - how long will the site be funded?

(19.16) LS: Yes, obviously it is a big project and it will adapt and change...We make a commitment as part of the museum to fund the project, but a time will come, towards the end of the centenary, when there are less and less contributions. It can never be finished - if somebody finds a box of military records in an attic for example. But it will ramp down and it may become a kind of monumental resource as opposed to an active resource. This is a long way off and we are probably talking a number of decades.

(20.30) AR: So I suppose you also have to write into a resource like this the capacity for real expansion?

(20.35) LS: Yes, it has got to be designed for scale because we are doing. For instance, a big partnership with the BBC - there will be something like 300 radio programs around this. There will probably be a big event organised for the BBC, which will bring many people to the site for a day and it will have to cope with this.

(21.00) AR: Then I suppose once all the networks come together - the media and cultural and social media networks - the project can explode overnight...

(21.10) LS: Yeah, so it has got to be architected to scale in terms of users and also in terms of the quantity of information that people put into it.

(21.27) AR: And so is there a team already set up?

(21.29) LS: No, we are still at the planning stages really - we have articulated a vision and it will be built with partners as it is too big to do by yourself... In terms of online, this is a big project which the museum does not have the resources to do internally, so it will be done with partners.

(22.23) AR: I suppose this is probably a nice way to collaborate in any case, with other organisations and groups?

(22.27) LS: Yes, there are lots of different kinds: some are data providers, some are technology partners who actually build sites, some are in place and some are being

manoeuvred into place. When I say the project will wind down, I don't mean this is the end of the story - what I mean is, we will do other things. A lot of the things we will be doing online and in the new gallery space, will aim to tell the story of the First World War from the eyes of those who lived it. So that is in our DNA and we want to do more of it.

(23.52) AR: Will this just be factual or will there also be other more personal testimonies?

(24.09) LS: Well personal testimony is interesting right, because no-one is alive, so you are talking about memories of memories. Which are, to be honest, very unreliable. It's personal but it has been modified through a person's own experience. If I say I remember my Granddad talking about the first day of the Somme, it is not verifiable or checkable so it is not history, and we are trying to build a cohort of citizen historians. However that said there needs to be an outlet for that stuff. So there will be what we call 'comments' which don't need moderating aside from the usual stuff about defamation. There are guidelines about what constitutes historical fact. So for instance here is a mock-up of a life-story page, and down here there are comments. So we do feel it is prudent to have an outlet for this stuff. Or it could be something unverifiable: 'he may have died on the 3rd - going to the National Archives to check'. So it is not yet established as a fact - there is no source, no primary source to confirm some things. But when it is, then it can be added to the main page. Certain things need to be checked - is the name the same, the service number, the place of birth?

(26.58) AR: So it is written into the site architecture - in a way the curatorial work is done before?

(27.07) LS: Yes precisely, exactly. Obviously people can lie, but here is a structured transcription page - you have to make sure the name matches and the service number. So parish records tell me he was a member of this church - if it was W. Tickle, there might only be a few dozen people with this name. If it was L. Smith there may be several thousand. But it is possible to verify and check this information. This will then go into a queue to be verified at random by other crowdsourcers, in a structure. In this way, our team only has to deal with the challenges, like where somebody disputes something. We have lots of experience dealing with volunteers, and disputes can often be handled by top level volunteers. We will really only deal with stuff those guys can't deal with - perhaps

blocking a person - to say look this is too contentious. So there are two things going on here. One is verifying that you have found the right person - that is really important and the link will be in a queue ready to be checked by another peer volunteer who wants to do this. It is an easy crowdsourcing task. The other part is transcription, which can be challenged. So here you can say, 'look, you have mis-transcribed this' so you can either improve or challenge this sort of information. We'll try to push people towards improving and emphasising the positive, but if it is just wrong it can be challenged, and points will be taken away.

(29.49) AR: How do you know the volunteers are really checking? In *Wikipedia* - they become higher level the more correct information they input - as a sort of meritocracy.

(30.02) LS: Yes well just like in *Wikipedia*, we recruit by looking at people who have been active in the community - so family history societies and forums. Initially of course, nobody will be active on this particular site, so we will go through other related sites where World War One is being spoken about and recruit them to our network - we'll aim to have about 1,000 volunteers.

(30.27) AR: Ok, so it will be quite a targeted thing...

(30.29) LS: Yes initially, but then later on we will look just for people who have been really active and ask if they want to be an admin. Again, anyone can do this checking of the first phase link, this will just be assigned randomly in a queue to stop people 'gaming' it. So we are trying to structure it so it can be done by the crowd as much as possible.

(31.07) AR: Do you think there is a limit to how much influence a user can have?

(31.09) LS: In terms of the structure of the system or the data and the stories coming out?

(31.11) AR: Well I suppose both really, I was thinking first about rules and regulations - what is acceptable to upload?

(31.37) LS: Well I think you have to start somewhere, and then we will test that, and then adapt it based on that testing. After we go live it won't be finished, it will be an agile process and so it will change over its lifetime. It is open in terms of how any big website

works they listen to their users in all kinds of ways, through metrics and by asking them. But eventually decisions have to be made and those decisions reside here in the project.

(32. 32) AR: Ah this is interesting, so how would you conceptualise your role as leader in a project like this?

(32.37) LS: In terms of the architecture of the system it is about best practice. It is about coming up with something, but also being open to refining as you go along. In terms of what the users do with it, I want to see what people do. I am fairly confident people will do things we can't even dream of. So how people write the stories, and how they use those stories, we don't yet know, and we are open to finding out. So that side of it is very much with the crowd, and we will adapt to their needs. The architecture of the system is with us and with the site.

(33. 30) AR: It's interesting because it is certainly very different to the traditional 'one-to-many' relation between curator and crowd; but there are also inevitably new power relationships which form between users and the institution and within peer groups.

(33.39) LS: Yes, and I think one of the challenges for the museum in this context is it challenges the curatorial role because lots of these people will know more about the individual than our historians will. Our historians have a broad sweep of knowledge, but I know a guy who has researched 14,000 soldiers related to Wiltshire. Nobody will know more about them than he will and it is a challenge for the museum to accept that. This is why we have tried to build in so much verification and 'checkability'. We are looking for academic levels of referencing; this is what we are looking for. We are trying to teach people to be - we are creating a cohort of citizen historians - who without us banging on about academic levels of referencability naturally do that. All their work must be checkable.

(34.37) AR: So rather than standards going down – making everything mediocre so everyone can have a go, it is about finding experts out there and offering them a community of practice and a set of standards to work to?

(35.07) LS: Yes and also putting a framework in place that allows them to get involved, we shouldn't have to invite them. I mean initially we have to, but in time they will invite

themselves. Like all those people on *Flickr*, we didn't invite them, they found themselves- we won't be a closed shop. Obviously some of the challenges will be very simple - like you have a list of people who died and you have to marry it up with something else. This is a relatively simple task, which a school child could do, while transcribing information from a battalion war diary is quite difficult. So ultimately, anybody can try these things and we will create different types of challenge - so let the market decide.

(35.58) AR: This is the other thing, because often it is assumed that everyone in a collaborative project will have the time and capacity for equal involvement.

(36.04) LS: No, so for instance let me just take you through a very quick presentation which might help answer some of these questions. So what the film does is it explains the project but it does not really unpack it, in terms of 'what else is there'. This presentation asks what is going to draw people into this? To unpack it and show there are many ways into this, we created a persona – a fictional person, and how she might interact with this over a period of time. She is not an amateur expert, but also not a 16 year old boy who does not care. She is busy and has a lot of calls on her time and has a vague interest in the First World War, she liked *Birdsong*, but she has not contributed to similar projects before. So she sees a post on *Facebook*, and her mum says she enjoys a BBC radio series about WW1, where a character got married in the same church as she did. So we looked at the spark that motivates people. Here it was not the web platform at all, but rather a radio series. But that life story is also on the web platform. So this makes an emotional connection. Her daughter sees the story shared by her family and clicks through to the BBC page - so still not our turf - and sees *Lives of the First World War* page for the BBC. She taps in a postcode for her hometown and finds life stories connected to this, including women, which she is surprised to see. So she is still on the BBC turf, and has found stories that matter to her, and now it is about her own personal identity, gender and origins. You know things which will draw people in. So she finds a life story of a reasonably well documented person, but she could add more if she knew more. But at this stage she is still a browser, and she is learning and exploring. So she is building on her latent interest. Later on she is talking to her mum about this and asks what happened to her family during the First World War. She finds out about her Great Uncle William and visiting his page realises not much has been done for him. There will be a lot of pages like

this at the beginning. Her mum gives her a picture of him which she digitises and she says 'Ok I know this image is accurate because it is first hand'. She might also add more information from the National Archives because she is building his memorial and renewing a family connection. Obviously this is a great moment for social sharing and brings other people in. The site will be produced with mobile functionality, where it will be much more about browsing and being on the move. So she finds this experience satisfying and wants to take on more challenges – not directly related to her family member, but to her interests this time. So here is a linking challenge and a transcribing one. There are basically 3 types of challenge, linking, indexing and transcribing, but you could have thousands of them, you could be transcribing a roll of honour, or a diary or whatever. And so she joins a challenge, and this is where you find targets and statistics on how many people have taken part, about feedback and rewards and kudos and all that stuff becomes important.

(42.37) AR: Yes this is really interesting. So what would you say the overarching motivations are for the project – is it a case that the museum simply cannot have the manpower to carry out this work themselves?

(42.41) LS: Our motivations are to engage people with the First World War. The old ways, like the webpage for the Somme, act as a resource - you know that dread word! That is really outdated. *Wikipedia* is there so why would you bother. It's there and people will look at it, but it is never going to be big. Also it is stagnant, compared to coming to the museum and seeing the things. We want to do something which you can only do online, and we want to engage people deeply, and this is the way we have come up with doing it. We also want to create a cohort of citizen historians. So if you look at the *Zooniverse* project, they have got a group of participants doing real astronomy and we take a lot of inspiration from them; astronomy is a niche interest compared to family history and the First World War. And I do that with my seven year old daughter - you don't need to have special skills. So they created a cohort of citizen scientists - that is what they are about. We created a cohort of citizen historians.

(44.09) AR: Does this say something about the role of the museum as a pedagogical tool towards active participation?

(44.22) LS: Yes. It is hard for the museum. I was brought in to make things like this happen. Some people are on board and others find it challenging. It must happen otherwise the museum will stagnate. There is a general move towards engagement and active participation and people don't want to just passively read, they want to do. Learning by doing, which is much more satisfactory. So let's hide the learning aspects, because learning will just happen by the by. Only a small minority will do this, but this is still large in numbers. We are talking tens of thousands of possible participants because it goes all across the Commonwealth. A small percentage of tens of thousands of people is still lots of people. And I think what gives it legitimacy is the fact you could contribute even if you don't. This is what gives *Wikipedia* legitimacy, because you could contribute, even if you don't. In *Wikipedia*, most people don't contribute because it is so hard technically.

(46.10) AR: There are also sometimes social barriers to contribution.

(46.15) LS: Yes, so you lower the barriers by inviting people, saying this is what you want them to do, making it easy, user interface - make it beautiful, simple and easy with social rewards and gaming, all that sort of stuff.

(46.45) AR: So is it kind of learning by stealth, or as fun?

(47.57) LS: It's about getting away from distinctions between learning, leisure and work. It is about production, it's about doing. The vast amount of people won't be producing, but the potential that they could and also the fact that it came from others gives it legitimacy. People will be far more interested in this than they would be in a static resource.

(47.54) AR: Critiques are often around lack of remuneration and people doing things without payment.

(47.40) LS: Yes, but we are not telling people to do this, you know, we want people to want to do it. If you look at *Zooniverse*, they have done lots of research on this and the biggest single motivator is being part of science. That chimes with my own personal experience – as I said, my daughter did a presentation for school and it was really long. I said, 'if you could just say one thing about this what would it be'? She said, 'well I can work with scientists. I don't need to go to a science museum, I don't need to go to an

observatory, and I can help science and be a part of it'. This is the thing - this is to be part of history. Some people will be motivated by that and the learning that goes with it. Other people will be motivated by getting involved with others and creating social capital and that sort of thing, and also some people are motivated by a moral obligation to remember. We are partly a memorial, we don't foreground that as we have all these other things as well, but for some people that is an important motivator. They will be potentially focussing on local memorials, identifying all the lives and turning those names carved in stone into recognisable people. So we have got an added motivator, which is the fact that this is permanent.

(50.11) AR: Thank you so much, I just have one more question for you. What are your views on outreach? Because for some there is the idea that collaboration has become a sort of imperative – you know, the 'collaborate or die' sort of thing. I wondered what your views were on this?

(50.39) LS: We are different from an academic project like *Zooniverse*, which has had lots of media successes and celebrity *Twitter* endorsements and all that has helped, but essentially it finds its own audience. We are a public facing organisation and the same way we market our organisation, we will be marketing this on BBC programmes, but not adverts on the tube. Radio programmes will be available about the lives and this will be a way to find out more.

(51.30) AR: So it is more offering the opportunity for everyone to be involved and making it accessible and visible to people.

(51.34) LS: Yes. We would like everyone to have a look, but we know everyone won't crowdsource, so we make that distinction. Liking it on *Facebook* is kind of the lowest level of engagement. Well actually looking at the page is the lowest level of engagement, but the lowest level of action is 'liking' it on *Facebook*. At the other extreme, I would expect people to write PhDs on this. We would like to 'bake in' academic reflection.

Interview with Rob Stein: Deputy Director, Dallas Museum of Art, Co-Founder, *Steve.Museum* (26/04/2012)

(02.51) AR: I thought a good place to start is to ask about the development of the project.

(02.57) RS: The history of *Steve* as a project starts in New York at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. One of the directors Susan was running a series of workshops and discussions inside the Museum. One of these workshops was called 'Cataloguing by the Crowd', and that was back in early 2005. Those discussions resulted in people sitting around and saying well we ought to try to build some tools to research this, to really examine it in detail. We started to do that, this was about the same time *Flickr* had become popular and *Delicious* and social tagging people were beginning to see that the way social tagging was used in *Delicious*, how it gave some extra value in terms of - in this case - finding web pages. Some of the thinking was: is it possible to do the same sort of thing for collections of objects? We noticed the scholarly language or curatorial language that museums use to describe objects was a little jargonistic, and was different to the language of the public that visitors would use. Some of those terms were technical and unfamiliar. They are very precise but they are not descriptive for the general museum audience. Subject cataloguing in museums is a time-intensive process so not really done in much depth by many museums, but is perhaps the most valuable field for a novice viewer in interpreting objects. So in 2006, I came on the scene and started helping with the project. We had proposed a grant for the US institute for Library Services to do a research project where we would have some experimental set ups. There were a number of significant findings from that. In late 2006 Susan left the Metropolitan project and I took over as project leader on the grant and all the software developments ran from Indianapolis. We ran that until 2008. Then from 2008, we completed the research and found some things, we thought it was pretty valuable to do social tagging. Our first research question was - is it a good idea? The answer is that, yes in certain circumstances it is a very good idea, while in other circumstances it did not work quite so well. In 2008 we submitted a grant called '*Steve in Action*'. We really wanted museums to use these web tools, so we received another grant which was a 2 year grant to look at that, and to

build the tools that you see online today. So the tagger, the website is using those kinds of tools. That was a 3 year grant which wrapped up in 2011.

..... Break in Interview.....

(10.20) AR: Another thing I wanted to ask you about was around the team – what are the different roles and sets of expertise and in what proportion?

(10.44) RS: Actually that is a great question because it was pretty unique in the museum community. It was one of the first collaborative research projects in museums, at least in the modern era. There were 8 museums officially on the research grant with one museum as the lead - that started as the Metropolitan and moved early on to Indianapolis. Each museum agreed to do a certain part of the work. For the research grant it was to collect the images and metadata of objects. Then submit them to the project to participate in the development of testing scenarios and collect the tags for those objects. The bulk of the work was that when you received tags on objects from your collection, you as the museum would review the tags and annotate them in some way that would indicate how good you thought they were. There was a data set of 36,000 tags for 250 works of art and we hand reviewed all 36,000 tags as a group of 20 individuals.

(12.44) AR: Incredible - so was this something you would do daily?

(12.48) RS: No - we reviewed them all at one time. What was surprising to us is that it was really quite a lot of fun to review other people's tags. We didn't anticipate that would be likely but it might have been the most fun we had on the project. As a team makeup though it was really unique in that there were researchers who were studying experimental design and data analysis, software developers who were creating the instrument for collecting this as a web based thing, museum administrators, collections managers and registrars, educators in museums, and curatorial interpreters. So it was a really diverse team.

(13.43) AR: It must have been challenging in itself to work in such a multi-disciplinary team? Although perhaps this is the only way to carry out digital interpretations of culture rigorously - I imagine it required a certain amount of translation between disciplines?

(14.36) RS: It was not easy - there were a lot of very difficult conversations. But I think what came out of it is that we were really forced to reconcile either poor communication or differences in priority between those disciplines, to really understand each other and what we felt was important. There were difficult conversations, but I think it was really a good experience for the non-technical staff to understand some of the technical underpinnings of how things work; also for the technical staff to really understand the mission-driven reasons of why they were building software. That was really a fruitful sort of collaboration in the best way. Because while the conversations were hard, everyone had a mutual respect there that everyone was selected as an expert in their particular area. So they were not bringing an opinion that was, you know, worthless or marginal, that person was regarded in the field as an expert in what they do - so you know - how do you work that out?

(16.13) AR: Yes and the idea of expertise is an interesting one in relation to the crowdsourced project in general. I wondered how you would conceptualise the role of the project team in relationship to those who were producing the social tags? I am very interested in the role expertise plays in such projects and how it challenges the role of the professional curator.

(16.39) RS: Because it was at that time really primary basic research, we tried to be quite hands off with selecting an audience that would do the tagging. We talked about recruiting taggers, and we tried to do that in a very diverse way so we were not going to bias the population in one way or another. We were trying to get at - what does a general audience member do? We would use posting on mailing lists, we would send emails and we would post on the web. Because it is all related to people that we know already - that probably skews towards museum people - people who are part of a museum community anyway and less so towards the average guy on the street. But we tried - we posted on *Craigslist* and in local newspapers - so we tried to be pretty generic. I think one of the things we began to understand is that the motivation of the tagger is really critical in the quality of the result. I don't think that really shows up empirically in the data, but at least anecdotally that was a finding, we didn't really have the data to back it up. You were talking about expert taggers or enthusiast communities so you might take the example of an Asian art core of docents in a museum who could contribute to tags in a museum.

Then the relative value of these tags should be higher, perhaps, maybe those tags might urge towards curatorial language. For the Indianapolis Museum of Art we also used a service which sources its taggers from *Amazon's 'Mechanical Turk'* so those taggers were very representative of the general public. So the bulk of the tags on Indianapolis Museum of Art's collection are from these mechanical turkers who have submitted descriptive tags for our collection.

(19.51) AR: Did you have metrics to help recognise demographics of taggers?

(20.14) RS: Yes in those research data sets - those 36,000 tags - we have user profile data. You were required to register an account and provide demographic information. You were also allowed not to - so there was a small set of people who actually did provide this.

(21.30) AR: What criteria were you using to evaluate the level of the tag?

(21.34) RS: So we did it in 3 ways. The first way was to see whether or not that information was present in any of the documentation already possessed by the museum. That we could automate. So we would match the tag of short phrases to the title textual descriptions from the museums. If that word or phrase appeared in whole or in part in the existing documents we would mark or record it. What we found is that about 65% of tags were new to the documentation in museums - so whether or not the tag was good it was certainly new - so it was a word which had not been used yet in museum documentation. So if someone was going to use the tag to search the collection they would have not got the result on this object. The second way was this manual review where we asked staff of each museum to review tags for the objects in their own collections. They would simply mark the tag as simply useful or not useful. When they did that it meant it was useful to describe or find an object in the future. So does the museum staff think this word is useful for finding the object at some time in the future? Then there were a number of other classifiers we put out there. Was it factually incorrect, profanity, misspelling or foreign language? Or was it 'very personal meaning' so was it a tag which was likely to be understood by other people? We classified all of those for the whole of the dataset.

(24.26) AR: I suppose there are elements of that process which might be difficult to automate in the future, where there will need to be a curatorial moment of decision making. What about when tags are just wrong?

(24.45) RS: Yes, so this was probably the most practical finding of the research and it was that for any tag in the dataset, 88% of them were marked as useful by the museum. Furthermore we looked at tag frequency. So if more than one person uses the same word to describe the same object, probability of usefulness goes to 99%. So 99% of the time, if a tag occurs more than once for the same object, it is useful. So in fact what we do in Indianapolis Museum is that we only display tags which occur more than once, and we say we are willing to accept 1% error.

(26.00) AR: So you are almost writing in the curatorial process to the site architecture so you can guarantee a level of accuracy?

(26.21) RS: Yes, so the result is that you don't have to do manual review of tags in the future. You can create a heuristic based on things that have already happened.

(26.35) AR: How does the museum use the metadata at the moment?

(27.12) RS: There are 3 ways we use them right now. One, we do include tags in the online search, so when you search the collection you are searching against both the formal language of the museum and the social language of the tags. The second way is through docents, who use and review tags on objects. So if they are set to give a tour on a set of objects they will sometimes go and look up those objects in the tagger to see how the general audience is reviewing those objects. Then the third way is in identifying misconceptions. One thing that is very clear in Indianapolis is that the public has a hard time telling the difference between the culture of Asian objects – whether an object is Japanese, Chinese or Indonesian for example. Those are - we call them 'useful misconceptions' - because they are just commonly held. It might recur 4 or 5 times, and so it will help identify which areas need more curatorial interpretation.

(29.40) AR: I see, so you can use this information as the basis for a curatorial project, and even perhaps as a way of making a case for potential funding? I actually did also want to ask you about funding. I suppose many project researchers within *Steve.Museum* are

already situated within the museum industry. Therefore how reliant is this project on funding, and will it continue to rely on grants?

(29.56) RS: So the basic research itself definitely needed to be funded as this was a whole lot of work which might not turn out to be anything. Time was managed as a part of this project budgeting and was either paid for by the grant or was a part of cost matching for the grant. This was the case with the research - same deal with the follow on grants. Not that those have finished - we have talked a lot about tagging and it has penetrated the thinking of museums. And we have created tools which any museum can use for free - which are pretty reasonably easy. But we are turning it loose now and the museums which are going to use tagging have all the tools and background information they need to do that. If they want to submit individual grants to support their own work they can, but we have got to a point where tagging is an established thing which does not need grant funding any more – it's like blogging – you don't ask for grant support to do blogging.

(32.10) AR: So it has kind of achieved its objective. Are there any other areas which you would like to look at as a result of the project, other questions which came out of the project surrounding crowdsourcing?

(32.13) RS: Absolutely, we could go on and on, but there are a couple of extra spin-off grants now that are looking at concept formation. It is very hard to browse large collections of objects because there is no implicit hierarchy there. It is not like *amazon.com* where you can drill down a gazillion products to buy. Museum collections are not really built that way. So, could you use social tags to build that hierarchy using concepts or link them automatically to taxonomies that already exist? There is some of that work which is out there. We have thought of tagging not just as human language but as behaviour and information in a general sense, so we have an eye-tracking grant that is going on right now where you could consider how people look at a work of art as data attached to that object. So maybe your tag would be a stream of gaze information and if you study the patterns that 100 people use to look at this work of art can you learn some things? For instance we ran a short experiment where we asked people to click on the first thing to catch their attention. That 'click' results in a coordinate which is a tag on the

object. You do that a bunch, then make a heat map and you see what people are noticing right away. Then more importantly you also see what they are missing. What are the important things in the object that people are not seeing at first glance and how can you draw their attention to it?

(34.31) AR: That's really interesting, and I suppose shows another way the technical and curatorial team might work together. How about the *T3* project - I was interested in the trust element here as it seems so central to working in a collective.

(35.01) RS: So *T3* was 'Text, Tags and Trust'. The trust component was supposed to be about expert taggers and how communities of expert taggers affiliate and is that better than the general population. The professor we worked with unfortunately did not do the work, so that part of the project really was a flop. The other parts were seeing if we could use techniques in computational linguistics to make matches between text corpora and social tags. So we found that 20% of the tags in the system were multi-word phrases, not just one word but a variety of combinations – adverbs, verbs, lots of crazy things. So take an idiom like 'New England', which if you just separate one word does not work, you have to keep the words together. So how do you know in an automated way if you are talking about 'pretty sweater' or 'New England'. So with 'pretty sweater' you could get rid of pretty for indexing but in 'New England' both need to be kept together. So language processing was what that grant was working on, particularly in relation to multi-word phrases.

(37.23) AR: It is a shame the side of the project around expert taggers didn't work out as I am particularly interested in the building of communities. Also what is at stake in incentivising people to get involved, as well as the links contributors have to one another.

(37.59) RS: Yes, this seems like a really fruitful area of research and it has not been well studied. We all have a gut feeling that it would pay off but it has not been studied in an empirical way. Shelley Mannion is at the British Museum and runs the Samsung Centre there. Shelley did some really interesting work around social tagging in Tibetan Community, where particularly she was collecting tags from older Tibetans and younger Tibetans about art from their culture - and then comparing those two things.

..... Break in Interview

(40.00) AR: So I just have a few more questions I wanted to ask. One thing I was hoping to clarify was if there were any specific incentives used for *Steve.Museum*? I was also hoping to ask your view on gamification in projects and points based systems or rewards and awards?

(40.28) RS: We tried some of those. There is actually something going on right now – San Francisco MOMA is launching a tagging game and Tim Spinonias and Erica Gangsey are running the game lab at SFMOMA have a tagging game. The work that Indianapolis Museum of Art did with Mechanical Turks was paid, so Turkers on Amazon are paid some small amount of money for work they complete. Brooklyn Museum also did a points based thing and have written about it on their blog and might have published about it in another place.

(41.51) AR: How about the comments side of things? I know this was something you had at Indianapolis? Again there is this question about how far users can be involved usefully and how far control needs to be retained in the organisation. You have spoken a bit about how it is possible to write in control through the architecture of a site and so avoid that arduous need to manually check. But with comments it must be harder to automate?

(42.32) RS: We did not have a very good experience of comments. We allowed them on object pages for a period of probably about 2.5 years. We received an extremely low volume of comments and of those that we received very few of them were valuable. The degree of spam to true value was really high. In 2.5 years I would be surprised if we received any more than 18-20 valuable comments on a collection of 50,000 objects. So we turned that off, we don't currently support that. It probably can succeed but an open-ended comment is not the way to do it. It probably needs to be a directed question rather than an open feature.

(43.54) AR: So it is a curatorial process in itself?

(43.57) RS: Yes.

(44.06) AR: Is this why you choose not to use an already existing platform? I know certain museum projects use third party sites?

(44.40) RS: Part of it was that we needed some experimental tools to be able to get at session length and user demographics, those kinds of things. We wanted to be able to study how many tags a user contributes and if there is any context on the ordering of those tags. Also, what is the distribution of people who tag on certain kinds of objects? Do Western objects receive more attention than Non-Western objects or representational objects tag more than abstract ones? All of those questions, you really could not get from *Flickr* for instance. *Flickr* is probably the only one we could use, but our collections are technically against *Flickr*'s terms of service, to post artworks. *Flickr* has not really done anything to stop it at this point, but we felt that as we were taking money from the Federal Government for the project, we ought to obey protocol.

(46.37) AR: Was obsolescence something you had to factor in? How did you account for large levels of traffic?

(47.27) RS: Traffic was not really that much of a concern, just a technology problem and more computational power could be thrown at it. In terms of scale, we wanted to make sure we could scale to millions of objects and millions of tags so we designed the software to do that, but this was a pretty straightforward computer science problem so not too hard.

(48.32) AR: Great - well I think that is pretty much everything I had hoped to ask you. Thanks very much for your time.

(48.34) RS: OK no problem at all.

Interview with Rebekkah Abraham, Operations Director, *Historypin* (Interview via email 09/05/12)

(1) AR: How did you come up with the idea for this project and how has it evolved so far?

RA: *Historypin* came about through We Are What We Do's work around the growing intergenerational divide. Through our research we found that sharing photos and stories was a really powerful way of bringing people together and to make the time they spent together more enjoyable. We created *Historypin* as a tool that was fun and exciting to use, and that brought people from different generations and cultures together to share, explore and preserve their shared histories.

(2) AR: Has your team grown since the inception of this project? In what ways?

RA: Our team has grown since the start of the team, mainly through the development of a Community Team that works on our Local Projects and a Content Team that supports archives sharing collections on *Historypin*. But our focus is ensuring that *Historypin* is a free, easy to use tool that anyone can use with their family, community, school or institution to share and explore history.

(3) AR: How is your project funded and how sustainable do you think this funding is?

RA: *Historypin* is funded through a combination of traditional philanthropy, grants from Trusts and Foundations and *We Are What We Do* which reinvests its profits in its community and education work. *Historypin* is fully committed to being a non-commercial project run by a not-for profit organisation. Our basic tools will always be free to use, content will never go behind a pay wall and we will never sell advertising. However, to help fund the project we will offer opt-in bespoke services and tools.

(4) AR: How do you see this project developing in the future? To what extent is planning for future development possible?

RA: Our key aim is that *Historypin* brings people together in meaningful ways, so this will always drive our development of more collaborative tools and the ability for people to

use *Historypin* with their own communities. Planning is certainly possible, and our focus is on developing versatile tools that people can then use in their own communities.

(5) AR: What factors do you feel are essential to successful community building? How do online and offline community building relate?

RA: Key for community building are shared spaces, online and offline, for people to share and exchange. Also for tools to be fun, engaging and easy to use. The relationship between online and offline is sometimes tricky, but can be done. *Historypin* Local Projects have developed lots of ways of bringing these worlds together.

(6) AR: Why do you think people get involved in this project?

RA: People get involved for lots of reasons, but some of the main ones are:

- Individuals or groups who wish to share their history with a local and global audience and to preserve histories which might otherwise be lost
- Institutions and organisations who want to share their collections with new and larger audiences, make their collections available for people to engage with and to learn more about them from the public
- To meet others, online and offline, with similar interests and passions
- To create a shared history and archive with people around the world
- To bring communities and people together to achieve social outcomes including increasing positive intergenerational contact, 'bridging' social capital and reducing social isolation

(7) AR: How do you incentivise people to get involved in the project? Which incentives do you feel work the best?

RA: People have generally come to *Historypin* quite naturally for the reasons listed above. But we have found that making things easy to do helps, as does making it fun – lots of people who perhaps had not been interested in History enjoy the engaging way it is presented through things like *Street View* overlays and the smartphone app.

(8) AR: Who do you see as your principal audience, and how do you measure engagement?

RA: We want *Historypin* to be something that all audiences can enjoy using and contributing to. We measure engagement in a number of ways including how many people are using the site, social media engagement, schools and community groups using the site, archives participating and evaluation of our own projects like 'Pinning Reading's History'.

(9) AR: How would you conceptualise the role of the project leader or team in a crowdsourced project?

RA: The role of the team is to develop tools that facilitate meaningful and effective crowd contributions, and help to organise those contributions so that the best rise to the top. At times the team can also curate and highlight particularly high quality contributions. But in time, this curatorial role can be extended to top contributors so that the community itself can play a role managing the project. Their roles are also to maintain the direction and ethos of the overall project.

(10) AR: How would you conceptualise the role of the site user in a crowdsourced project?

RA: A user is there to enjoy browsing and sharing the project with others; contributing to it by adding their own content or story; help ensure content is accurate by reporting mistakes or sharing information about it; engage with other users' content to make interesting connections and insights; highlighting high quality content for others to enjoy.

(11) AR: Is there a need to monitor, mediate or censor crowdsourced site information? If so, how do you negotiate this?

RA: We don't make any judgements about what is and isn't historical, so we don't censor content in this way. We only take down content which is advertising, defamatory, obscene, vulgar or indecent or that does not comply with our requirements that content be an unedited, primary source. We have a moderation team who check that there is no inappropriate content and we also rely on the *Historypin* community to report unsuitable

content. As the site grows, we will continue to have community moderation and a robust flagging policy and system to help ensure the site is free from inappropriate content and inaccurate information can be improved.

(12) AR: Is it possible for users to influence aspects of the running and management of the project such as community guidelines or new projects undertaken? Are there necessary limitations to this influence?

RA: We are always happy to hear from users and do our best to take their ideas and suggestions on board – we have a *Google* 'Group' where users can feedback to our team. We partner on lots of projects, so if there is a good fit we can work with other people. Our team and resources do limit us with what we can take on, but we are working to create flexible and open tools so that people can use them in their own projects. We undertake a wide range of consultation with all stakeholders including partners and users to inform the development of both our tools and the projects. In particular our Local Projects are often co-designed with key stakeholders and members of the communities involved.

(13) AR: What key concerns did you have in mind when designing the current site and its user interface?

RA: Our main focus is on making the site attractive, easy and simple to use.

(14) AR: How do you plan to handle the growth of site community and content? Do you envisage a point when the current site will need redesigning to cater for larger amounts of material effectively?

RA: We are constantly iterating and developing our systems which will continue to have more sophisticated filters and mechanisms to deal with increasing amounts of content effectively.

(15) AR: How do you currently handle copyright?

RA: We do not take copyright of contributed content and require that people own the copyright or have permission before they upload. We have a copyright infringement

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process in place should anyone report that their content has been uploaded without their permission.

(16) AR: Has it been important to make space for new technology in the future? How will you handle the possible issue of obsolescence?

RA: We are constantly developing and improving the site and smartphone app so the site and content will grow and develop as the technology does.

Interview II with Rebekkah Abraham, Operations Director, Historypin (Interview via email 27/11/2015)

(1) AR: What is the rationale behind the new search facilities within *Historypin*?

RA: Better search was something that we always wanted on *Historypin* to enable:

- Search by theme / keyword to match titles and descriptions
- Search across pins, tours and collections

In the new design, we have re-designed collections. Previously only you could add pins to your collection, now they are open for anyone to add to making them shared, collaborative spaces. Tours continue to offer a way for people to tell stories through pins, creating a story for people to follow.

Pins are now the building blocks for Collections and Tours. This is why we have made it easier to search them (together with their popularity and the common request from our community to make it easier to find them). We surface them all in the same interface so that people can see everything that is going on in a local area, be it a single pin of a photo, a local group collecting material in a collection or a Tour that someone has created about that place. Each offer people a different way to find out more or contribute to local history.

We used a split screen design (map and gallery of images) because it was clear from feedback that visual navigation was particularly important - it's an image that catches a browser's attention, not a pin on the map. We wanted to enable exploration by emotion, where people were drawn to the item, not just exploration by context (ie. where or when it was). A gallery view also helped visualise scans of documents like diaries and letters, helping to bring them to life.

(2) AR: What are the driving factors surrounding the increased focus on creating open and collaborative spaces around pins?

RA: *Historypin* is about connecting people through local history. It's not possible to truly explore, share and create local history without connecting with other people as everyone

has something to share and a story to tell about their area. There are already many groups or passionate community heritage leaders running activities and we wanted to make it easier for them to use *Historypin* to collect material and share what they were doing. Through running activities and hearing what our community was doing and how *Historypin* could help them, it was evident that the ability for multiple people to manage online collections and anyone to contribute to them would be useful.

Historypin is also about opening up collections, from those held by cultural institutions to those in people's personal collections or community archives. We want to help people access and use them, and enable people to create new community archives that can continue to grow and evolve. Opening up community archiving through open collections helps to do this, by enabling more people to participate and contribute.

(3) AR: Why did the team decide to place the forum more centrally on the site? Has there been a noticeable change in forum use since the launch of the new beta platform?

RA: We introduced the forum to provide a space for people who were using *Historypin* and running local activities to connect with one another inspire and help one another by sharing ideas and examples of what they had done. *Historypin.org*, as a repository of historical materials, showcased the wonderful stories and items that people were finding or sharing, but did not make it easy to see or connect with the people running activities. The forum is the behind the scenes space, where the many people working on projects can exchange ideas, ask questions and solve problems - with each other and with the *Historypin* team. Currently we are running a few specific pilots with local groups working on the First World War, to better understand how we can refine the forum to enable a mutually supportive community of local heritage activists and citizen historians to grow.

(4) AR: How did the team come up with these new features and decide to implement these?

RA: As a general principle, the changes to the *Historypin* site have been driven by:

- Responding to the needs and feedback from our community of librarians, archivists, museum curators, teachers, students, local historians, community

heritage organisers, civic groups, individuals and community leaders who are using *Historypin* with their communities

- Making *Historypin* more open and collaborative so that groups of people can work together on local history projects
- Making *Historypin* more local, surfacing activity and historical contributions at a neighbourhood level so that people can see what is happening in their areas
- Integrating responsive design principles so that *Historypin.org* works better on tablets and mobile phones

There are always more things that we would like to build or improve than we are able to, and fall broadly into these categories:

- Social impact - ensuring that *Historypin* inspires and supports people to come together around local history, creating community archives that are valuable local resources but also make new, more diverse and stronger connections between people
- Solving the “problems” our community are addressing - ensuring that *Historypin* helps address what our community wants to do. For examples: to create walking tours around their neighbourhood or work with groups of people to create shared archives
- Solving the usability problems that our community report. This results in improving the features and design of *Historypin*, for example making it easier to search, browse material visually, upload images via a web URL (rather than a file)
- Technical needs - ensuring that *Historypin* is a stable, scalable platform and keeping up with technology. For example: responsive design for mobile devices

Our first job is to understand the problem and what a person is trying to achieve on the site, and then iterate a series of designs to enable that. This results in a large list of potential features and usability improvements which we have to prioritise! We look at each potential problem or feature, foregrounding those which:

- Have a critical mass of people who would benefit from it/have cited it as a common problem

- Advance our strategic goals of helping to bring communities together through local history and democratise the process of sharing, participating in and creating community archives
- Support the sustainability of our technical platform

(5) AR: What is the importance of design to the new site, and how have the updated design features been formulated?

RA: Design is critical to any web product to ensure that the site is useable and enjoyable so that people want to use it on an ongoing basis. But is always an evolving process of continual improvement. With the autumn 2015 update to *Historypin*, there were two main threads:

- New features which addressed new problems/goals. For example: creating open collaborative collections
- Improving the site by reducing usability barriers that we knew from community feedback e.g. making search more comprehensive

We always started with the problem or the goal the person was trying to achieve (For example: a person had a photo but they only knew that it was from London, not the exact street address) and then followed a cycle of design and iteration, usually:

- Identify the problem/goal
- Wireframe: Sketch 2-3 alternative solutions (layout, user journey)
- Discuss, show to team to evaluate which direction is best
- User Interface: Design the layout and user interface
- Discuss, show to the team (sometimes users) to refine and improve
- Prototype/build: Depending on the feature, we might build it fully or prototype it
- Test: test it with the team and users
- Iterate: make any changes needed
- Set live: put it live, gather more feedback now that there are more people using it
- Iterate: make more adjustments if needed

Interview with Ricardo Dominguez: Co-Founder Critical Art Ensemble and Electronic Disturbance Theatre (16/01/2014)

(1.51) AR: The first thing I wanted to ask you was around the role of the leader in the various collectives you have worked in, and how you have conceptualised that role. Is leadership a taboo in collective work? Is it quite naturally occurring? Are there similarities between the collectives and groups you have worked in?

(2.14) RD: I think my background in theatre which is often around ensembles - working with a large group of people to develop a full work - was really an important early training in collaboration, and to a certain degree, an understanding of what is useful in limited hierarchies. It was an understanding of how collaboration can happen both on a horizontal and vertical level. But in terms of the work that came afterwards, I think the process we established with Critical Art Ensemble in the 80s in Tallahassee Florida, really has been a continuing platform. The way we established the collaborative process with Critical Art Ensemble was that all of us had shared access and were able to reconfigure, comment, add and contest the conceptual trajectory of a given gesture. Let us say Electronic Civil Disobedience is a conceptual matrix. All of us were able to develop the work and share the work on a horizontal level. There was no leader who would say this is the way it should go. It was durational. Most of the projects that Critical Art Ensemble did that I continue to do, were about ten years in process, so it is I think a deep horizontal understanding of the project, and one can call it a commonism, a communism around that shared conceptual idea. Then what occurs is that there may be a moment where we need to materialise some quality of that conceptual horizon. A series of photographs, a video - which were the predominant types of material aesthetics we had in the 80s. So each of us would then have to conceive of what would be the best expression of that moment's conceptual representation - say if we were going to do a gesture in the streets or in an alternative space. Say that we decided that the best expression of this idea, given where it was going to be embedded, was photography. Therefore the artist in the collective who had the most experience around the history, process and profession of photography, would be the vertical decider who would put the final stamp on the project.

If it was performance, it would be me. So there you have a horizontal platform of long term dialogue, critique, reconfiguration and feedback of the conceptual project: Electronic Civil Disobedience. Then you would have vertical moments of material expression that would be different and thus different members of the group who had the aesthetic history, the interest and wherewithal to really develop the project in that direction would put the final formal structure. We would just agree that they were the individual artist on a vertical scale. If it was text, it might be Hope Kurtz, who was a poet in Critical Art Ensemble who would say 'this is the way the final text should be'. That has continued with Electronic Disturbance Theatre 1.0 and 2.0. So that is about as clear as I can state the issue of the collaborative process.

(7.35) AR: It's really interesting. It sounds as if trust must be an important part of working in this way and over such a long period of time as well.

(7.48) RD: Well I think that is a necessary component, in which one establishes almost a familial and joyful and hectic life that is not just about a single project, or a single moment of dialogue. While I think there are benefits of perhaps doing parachute collaboration, it is not what I would recommend for the kind of work that I am interested in, that is again: durational, because I have a strong sense and experienced a deeper ability to navigate the Scylla and Charybdis of social and institutional response to a project that is, as the disturbance gardeners focus is, put under the social microscope of critique. If one did not have a sense of working together over the long term, one can't improvise to the degree that we can as groups when facing unexpected encounters, unexpected outcomes, unexpected developments in terms of critical and social response.

(9.41) AR: It sounds as if the durational gives you a certain sense of resilience to really know each other in this familial way. What is the role of disagreement in the groups you have worked with?

(10.10) RD: Well I do think that dialogue allows conversations to enter into critical internal criticism of the conceptual projects over the long term. But I do have to say that it has been my experience that the intimacy of collective processes really has disallowed the kind of high volatility that perhaps arises in other collectives. I would say that you often see greater volatility when the collective or the group have similar strengths of

expression. That is they are all painters, they are all photographers, they are all digitally based. Because then there is a sense in which the aesthetic formality and its expression really become a site of whose vision is the clearest, the strongest or what have you.

(11.43) AR: Yes both the people I'm thinking of were in quite monolithic groups - either working as visual artists or within digital media. Is this one of the reasons you chose to work in a transdisciplinary way? I read an interesting interview where you were discussing Critical Art Ensemble, and stated that everybody stemmed from a discipline they had shunned...

(12.11) RD: I do think one of the qualities that historically I have encountered and been attached to as a process of collaborative long term process is to work with individuals who have unique interests and strengths that you don't have. With Critical Art Ensemble, we had Dorian who was a photographer - she did not like photography. All of us had strengths and were antagonistic to that strength and allowed us then to enter into a critical transdisciplinary dialogue. But at the same time that antagonism meant that we understood the aesthetic history of its forms and expressions that the others didn't. That is, I didn't know about the aesthetics and history and politics of photography enough to hate it. That make sense? So I think that really cuts down on the sense of volatility, in terms of what might occur if you are all poets and you are fighting over a line. I mean there are great groups who do that - say Gran Fury, who established, you know so much of the important qualities and aesthetic forms for ACT UP - Aids Coalition to Unleash Power. They were all painters and designers, so if you went to one of their meetings, they might spend a week just arguing about a colour. What is the pink we really want to put there? So at least for me the really contestational space was not then an internal to the collaborative process, but was often the collaborative process navigating the outside entities - the FBI or whoever - who became the subject of the heated debate.

(14.12) AR: That is really interesting - so what would you say it is that holds these collectives together for such long periods of time?

(15.01) RD: What holds things together? You know I think there is an affective effective intimacy of enjoying each other's company. Of hanging out with one another is pleasurable. You look forward to it, whether it is online or offline - hanging out together

as a group. There is an intimacy of love that is not bound to normative components. So it is sort of an expanded alter-kinship and love which is also very much bound to the seduction of a conceptual project. So it is sort of like having an orgy, but the lubricant and the heat is this kind of conceptual lure. Have you ever seen Woody Allen's [film], the one about the future, and there is this ball that people have at parties, and it gets them all erotically happy – and they are just touching this ball and sharing with one another. So you might think of Electronic Civil Disobedience, or the *Transborder Immigrant Tool*, or Particle Capitalism or any of these gestures as this lure which is intimate, orgiastic and stems from an altered kinship which goes beyond the formal qualities of an ideological allegiance or a familial allegiance or a normative relational one, whether this is queer or what have you. It just becomes an alter-space which allows one this kind of long-term charge that might not be available in other forms of kinship diagram.

(17.57) AR: So it is kind of like a libidinal charge, but of shared motivations, which are not just an intellectual interest in something, but go beyond that?

(18.13) RD: Yeah it is like a really good party you don't want to leave!

(18.19) AR: Yes, I've just been reading *Common Ground*, a text around collectivity in an age of individualism. In this text, the author talks about the idea of the meeting as something which is usually considered bureaucratic, frustrating and boring for this reason, but suggests collective working does not need to be like this - it can be something much more like a party... not just about rational ideology, but about affect and being with others too.

(19.17) RD: Yeah, well I do think this is the difference between a political party or this notion that there is this sort of rational ideological reason behind the dialogues and processes. It's not that it is irrational but it might be non-rational. Say Electronic Disturbance Theater 1.0. I never met any of these individuals face to face for a really long time. So the question was how does one, you know, develop these intimacies and desires of working together and I think one can express affective effect diagrams across even a data body/real body divide.

(20.19) AR: So what was the process you went through to generate these modes of working together?

(20.37) RD: Well, you know I've been extremely lucky as an artist to literally stumble into people in alleyways, at bars, at bookstores online, weird sites. This was in the 90s – there wasn't anything like *4chan*, but there were certainly these kind of odd communities that would occur. So for instance in Tallahassee Florida I worked in a lesbian bookstore called Rubyfruit Books after Rita Mae Brown's *Rubyfruit Jungle* and so I met lots of not just lesbian community or gay male community, but what I would call queer community, that was just interested in exploring new aesthetic conceptual critical spaces - and I just ended up at parties. People would be discussing certain ideas and so these connections would arise. When I got to Williamsburg in the early 90s in New York, literally in alleyways - hanging out after perhaps you had one too many beers and you are just yakking away with a group of people or an individual. Certain questions and connections, for me, just blossomed. Online, the same thing I would be online at *thing.net* where I was assistant administrator in the 90s and I would see an interesting site and I would discover this person was an artist. So I'd think well I'd like to interview them. So I had my first kind of erotic email encounter - which I'd never had before - I'd never had email. So here I am having these kind of erotically charged emails with somebody I have never met. I'm not sure if they are really a woman or a dog or a man. So out of these both coordinated and odd loops, say like the Zapatistas were a coordinated system, right, where they were instantly integrated into a New York, Zapatista movement, and this got integrated to this kind of other loop of pleasure and care and unexpected encounters. I suppose I just had not what I would call a Gaydar but a Playdar, and I was able to connect in terms of interests and processes and emerging new media. My interest in Zapatismo and my interest in establishing platforms for Electronic Civil Disobedience are all in a very vital assemblage. Other than the conceptual lure, when I went to New York and said I am going to work to create Electronic Civil Disobedience as an artwork, I could not have said in '94 that the Zapatistas would arrive, or that I would run into Carmen Karasic online. Or that I would meet Brett Stallbaum or Stefan Wray, or that I would randomly end up in Tallahassee Florida and meet Steve Barnes. There is no amount of drugs and foretelling that would allow me to conceive of that. So again a conceptual lure that then allowed

conversations to open, seductive speculations and deployments, and just a lot of really good parties!

(25.20) AR: So it sounds quite organic the way things developed, but the thing which strung them together would be the conceptual lure?

(25.41) RD: Well yes I think the conceptual lure needed to be there. There would not be a performative matrix of recombinant theatre without that lure. That speculative deployment which was the thing that drove me and which I emphasise with all my students. That first there has to be a speculative matrix. So I often say come up with 3 words that create friction, frission and disturbance. Then you see where that lure takes you. For instance the *Transborder Immigrant Tool* – what was it, how did it function?

(26.32) AR: Yes, what was the moment that you came up with this idea? It seems like such a powerful thing which opens up important questions in the real world.

(26.51) RD: Well again I was very lucky to be having coffee with my long-time collaborator artist Brett Stallbaum, who just so happened also to be a professor at the university I ended up teaching at: UCSD [University of California at San Diego]. Which again, if you had told me in the 90s I would become a tenured professor of Hacktivism, I would have said hey whatever drugs you are on give me some because that's really amazing - I don't believe that to be at all true. But for whatever reason, we were enjoying having coffee in front of California Information Technology Two - CALIT2 - the hybrid research area where I have my lab. Brett and his partner, Paula Poole, also an artist are both individuals who really love nature. They spend days out in the desert crossing dangerous territory for pleasure. But they have one problem, they are really directionally disabled - they get lost going home. So the real problem for them was how do we continue to pursue our pleasure of very risky long walks in Death Valley let us say, and still are able to find our way home. So they developed this artificial intelligence unit called the *Virtual Hitchhiker*, which enabled them to prefabricate dangerous walks based on aesthetics they were interested in. I never really liked a lot of the locative media arts projects, which I always thought were very urban based. I found their technique really quite moving and interesting not only because I knew them but because I felt it really created what I call dislocative media. So in conversation with him in 2007 having coffee, we are there on the

San Diego-Tijuana border and it is well known the dangers of crossing, the hardships that 'Operation Gatekeeper' had established. So we quickly began to have a conversation. Well what would happen if we were to develop a ubiquitous inexpensive tool that functioned like the *Virtual Hitchhiker* and created a sort of safe passage for the undocumented immigrant community. I thought this was a very resonant idea and had already had as part of my agenda in the Lab border disturbance technologies as a trajectory, although I was not really quite clear of what this meant in 2004, other than I wanted to follow the long history of border art disturbances here in the area. I quickly wrote that night the *Transborder Immigrant Tool*. I thought it was a phrase that had both ambiguity and specificity and created a very seductive lure for me. I sent it to Brett, and he liked the sense of the 3 words and we began to develop. I have always been deeply obsessed with the power of the poetic, poetry, art and it was really a way to rupture some of the solidifying qualities of activism and political ideology. This is not to say that these things are not necessary and that we as activists can't learn a great deal from them - and could not do anything we do without those kind of spaces of investigation. But I do think artists bring to the table this 'alter' way of being and thinking around issues that others might consider activist based or ideologically based. So one of the things I wrote into the original idea was that internal to the *Transborder Immigrant Tool* would be poetry. Experimental poetry and this again was a way to move away from Global Positioning Systems to Geopoetic systems. The power of Electronic Civil Disobedience the way we established it was within the framework of an aesthetics of a performative matrix. Often people fetishise the electronic, or fetishise the disturbance, but they forget theatre. They forget the performativity, performance and poetics at play. So I don't know I think maybe I'm going off the trajectory that you are asking for.

(32.37) AR: So there is a different kind of resonance opened up by activist gestures. Would you always place yourself in that space between activism and art?

(33.49) RD: Yes and with a priority of aesthetics as the core of production and process. It is at least for me the difference and what resonates in the work, and also at the same time what allows us to have conversations with institutions of power that are antagonistic. They end up having to read poetry, having conversations about things they really don't want to have conversations about. They don't want to have conversations

about Duchamp. But eventually that is what they end up having to do. They want to say that this is about technology. This is about cracking into systems, or whatever it is that they have established laws about. They end up having to participate in a dialogue around what the aesthetics of the border are. That is that it is an aesthetic project of grand scale between two fictional entities called nation states. They are responding as Republicans or as my own institution to our work because of the kind of queer technologies that we are developing. So suddenly their cell phones become sites of queer activity that they become trans-individuals in the Cronenbergian sense that different orifices are opening in their bodies by having conversations with us about these works. So they are feeling disturbed not because of laws they imagine are broken, but because of their own internal senses of being seduced by a new orifice which is beginning to blossom within them. This is the orifice of aesthetic transgression. So anyway they just become oddly dislocated. Even my own lawyers end up thinking quite differently about themselves and their relationship to the nature of the law, when they start to conceive of the law itself as an aesthetic project. It is a performativity which is part of the project that seduces us into collaborating and also allows unexpected collaborations from entities like congress, the FBI or the DoD [Department of Defence]. They become performers with this dialogue, so it is much more difficult for them to respond in a hyper-antagonistic manner. One of the great things about Anonymous – they do such unique work and I am extremely happy they are becoming politicised about something beyond code, which I never imagined would happen – but I think what is difficult for them is that it is very easy for the law to anchor them, target them and jail them because they function within the kind of coordinates of what the law imagines as having been broken.

(37.58) AR: Yes I can see that if you are working in this way it is easier to get prosecuted.

(38.10) RD: Well, we called it aesthetic confusion back in the 80s – and this allows us to have a different conversation about the Zapatistas, undocumented immigrants, drones or whatever issues we are investigating.

(38.30) AR: It sounds as if it is about moving past the rational critique to work on a deeper level which is dealing with the very fabric of the narratives we inhabit as a culture? Is this

idea of dislocation or aesthetic confusion important to what constitutes a successful intervention to you?

(39.05) RD: Yes I think so, with the exception of Stefan Wray, everyone I have ever worked with has named themselves - called themselves - an 'artist', from Critical Art Ensemble to Electronic Disturbance Theatre 2.0. So again we are as interested in having a co-equal conversation with post-contemporary art, as we are in amplifying issues of critical social concern and we gain so much from the ability to work with activists who give everything to a project. Like *Water Station Inc.*, who leave water out of the political area, that we could not have created the *Transborder Immigrant Tool* without. Activists for good reason do not have time to fiddle around with aesthetic projects or let us say poetry. Not that they don't love and some of them enjoy art and poetry, but activism is very difficult, very rigorous - you have to go to meetings every week and it's a type of deep commitment and ideology is necessary in terms of really formalising larger scale understanding of whether you agree with one ideology or another. I think it is really important to have a grasp of the political epistemologies at play. But I think as artists - especially artists who are bound to the rights of citizenship of Empire as I am, it does allow us a kind of open space of improvisation, play and blind probing, which others may not have time for.

(41.28) AR: What about the role of critical theory in your work? It seems as if through your career there has been a great interest in critical theory. I wondered how this manifests itself in terms of the positioning of projects or the tactics you employ. Is knowledge of the political epistemology in the time in which you are living a conscious process?

(42.09) RD: I do think that I especially grew up as a young artist in the 70s and 80s amidst the blossoming of post-structuralism and being a bookseller in a lesbian bookstore, you know I was ordering a lot of continental philosophy - you know - Baudrillard. As a young theatre actor I was in love with Genet and others. So kind of atmospherics of critical theory is not unusual in the history of 20th century art production. Whether it is the Dadaists, Surrealists or Futurists or any other collective process was an encounter with currents of philosophical interest and political interest. In my time, it just happened to be

Deleuze and Guattari, Baudrillard, Virilio, Cixous, Kristeva. Whoever was the site of really taking the contemporary moment and thinking about it as deeply as possible, or at least so we imagined, right. So we were deeply influenced. It wasn't that we would say oh we thoroughly understand this, but what we would do is we produced the tactics of what we called utopian plagiarism. We would just randomly take bits of Adorno and every time he said Cultural Industry, we would say Digital Capitalism. So we had a whole book and process. It was not that we were, how shall I say, answerable in interpreting critical theory in the best manner. But we wanted to have theory hit the ground and we felt that our art practice along with the Situationists and others were an attempt to use aesthetics as a way to have theory hit the ground. So you know, again, critical theory was really the drug at the parties. This was the stuff we were shooting up. It was the thing that these volumes were hanging about our beds. It was a shared emerging site of not a common language, but a sort of incommensurable dynamic and shared need to have these things that we were encountering as readers or thinkers and asking ourselves how can we have these hit the ground? How can we have these theories hit the streets? We felt that art, in a collaborative way, was the most unique way we could interpret these critical atmospherics, and that continues to this day in one way or another.

(45.47) AR: How do you know when you have found an idea that hits the ground in this way?

(46.04) RD: Well sometimes again it is unexpected – for instance the notion of 'transborder'. I was thinking about transmedia at the time, theorising new modalities of story and plot that were in conversation. I was thinking of course of the nature of transnational qualities of the economy. Then out of the conversation came the notion and notion of trans-subjectivity and literally what it meant to be a trans-individual. To go through transition. It just so happened that one of the artists who worked with me who was an MFA, Micha Cardenas, who at that time was transitioning from male to female. Even though I was not specifically thinking of Micha, or that Micha would end up working with us, only in these notions of the liminal space between queer technologies and trans-technologies could we begin to imagine the undocumented flow as the improvisation of a new type of global body: a trans-body. So the undocumented were really the largest flowing nation state on the globe at any second. All the borders. So what would trans-

bodies call for? Trans-global rights, trans-global education, trans-global unification. And I began to read via Micha a lot of theory around the trans-real and reading about the experiences of trans-individuals. So again: unexpected sources and ways to think about it. The poetry that Amy Sara Carroll created, allowed us to begin to think about the nature of really wide ranging aesthetics, to think about the border as an aesthetic project. I began to read a lot about geo-philosophy, traumas of the earth, lots of Reza Negarestani and Cyclonopedia. Again it is these kinds of encounters that are unexpected but are kernels in the very terms of the project.

(49.20) AR: So in terms of the audience – this project was very well documented in terms of the media – who were you thinking of when developing the project?

(49.42) RD: Well I mean going back to the 90s Tactical Media that we were part of: *RT Mark*, *etoy* and later on the Yes Men and others, really imagined that the audience we were speaking to were the digital global networks. They were alter-networks but we did not need galleries, we didn't need museums - the whole globe was our audience. So there is always an expectation in the histories of Tactical Media that still continue with the projects we do that an artist project like the *Transborder Immigrant Tool* wants to have a conversation on the front page of culture. Why should only politicians and lawyers have a right to speak on the front page? Why should artists and architects and technology only really exist on the back pages, the special pages? I mean art only really appears on the front page if Van Gogh sold for qua billion dollars. Which is important but not really the kind of audience that we want. We do expect in our projects to have access to entering into the fray of what are socially critical moments in the post-contemporary - the question of the border, the undocumented, the use of technology. What is the nature of art? Art is as important as whatever else is happening. We have the right through what we do to write an opinion page, alongside the senator, which is not usually offered to artists. So it is a way to think about art in an expanded modality to an expanded audience. That really comes from this 90s history of Tactical Media using and thinking as a performative matrix the networks that were now global. So there is that expectation.

(52.23) AR: Is this one reason to remain transparent in terms of identity so you could be answerable to the gestures that you enact, and then put them forward more publicly? What was the reasoning behind that choice?

(52.39) RD: That was really a difficult decision which occurred with EDT 1.0. When we decided to really start moving forward on establishing the year-long performance of 1998 of virtual sit-ins, in response to the Acteal massacre of December 22nd in Chiapas, the mood in the 90s was that the power of the internet was that nobody knew you were a dog - those were ads right? So the freedom of anonymity, which of course does offer a great deal of freedom. But one of the things was that I was reading Gandhi, and thinking about the history of Thoreau and civil disobedience, and there was always this quality of the history of putting one's body on the line. People might beat it, arrest it, drag it away or what have you. For Gandhi, this moment of the body and soul at Satyagraha was the power of non-violent protest. So, we have to think, what would be the equivalent of that within a digital space to some degree. That was to suture together and bring together the data body and the real body through a radical transparency. That was to tell everyone, the FBI what have you – this is Brett Stallbaum, Stefan Ray, Carmen Karasic, Ricardo Dominguez, I live in Williamsburg this is my address, you can contact me if there is a problem. It was a hint, an allegation towards which we could then take the aesthetics of the Satyagrahan moment on this kind of performative matrix. It was just something we continued to keep as an important element. So now we really have a conversation. Now that governments have taken on the fetish of transparency, should we move towards the opaque? That is often the theory at the moment. I understand why the opaque would be a response to the aggressive fetishisation of transparency by corporations and governments; and we really started to think about the nature of the aesthetics of translucency. As a response to not falling into a complete radical transparency, which obviously we still carry with us; and not completely giving in to opacity, which is the way secrets function. Of course, I speak as someone with the rights at the heart of Empire. If I were a young Filipino community fighting against police violence, I certainly would not be transparent. So I do think there are places where transparency is useful and I do think they are useful for us, but at this moment I think this kind of aesthetics of confusion we are interested in is this notion of translucency.

(56.41) AR: This idea of translucency is very interesting. I've been thinking a lot about the politics of visibility and the way in which visibility is used for surveillance. But then anonymity is usually only used for parachuting in momentary interventions within Tactical Media. I've wondered how a long term set of strategies or changes could be put in place whilst being anonymous and was thinking that translucency, as a sort of strategic visibility, could be an answer to this.

(57.46) RD: I think this is part of our thinking around the nature of translucency. Translucency offers us a poetics of visibility yet at the same time a sort of mystery of being able to see it clearly. You often use that in areas where one bathes - sometimes you see sliding glass doors or curtains - one can see the figure, but it is rather almost impressionistic - pixelated if you will. This then allows one to navigate when one wants to vertically appear in a radical transparency or when one wants to slide into opacity. I think it does allow then a performative matrix with more than one tactical possibility. It may be useful at certain moments within a project to indeed fall into the opacity - and then suddenly like the Vietnamese in Vietnam pop up in full visibility unexpectedly.

(59.15) AR: I always like the way the Yes Men work in such a complex way with visibility, impersonating others, but often becoming visible eventually later in their projects, or at least being visibly on a different level of transparency within the logic of a project.

(59.39) RD: I think it is a useful exploit and again it falls into this performative matrix of recombinant theatre. One sees the actor on stage, one knows that the actor is playing a part, and yet there is this mystery at the same time - the opaqueness which allows this to happen. You may know that this is Hamlet and this is a famous actor playing Hamlet, but yet there is something mysterious about the very nature of being in a theatre of repeating this. So for instance, often when I have been under duress and officials come and want to arrest you, I often say - well the NSA let us say in the 90s, when we did a performance for them, they said, why can't we arrest you? We say, well you are sort of like country bumpkins - you are moved when Hamlet kills Polonius, and then you believe it is real and you want to run on stage and arrest Hamlet. Well you really can't because Hamlet is killing Polonius every night of the week, so the reason you want to arrest us is that we have moved you into this trans-real space, but there is nothing to arrest. So there you fall

between these 3 spaces – the radical transparency, the translucency and opacity. One of the things about the 21st century, it is about performance and performativity. In the 90s you saw this is all the Tactical Media work, not just *RTMark* which became Yes Men, but EDT, *etoy* - the list is endless in the way that code became performativity. You could just hit view source and look at our code, nothing is hidden. So it is sort of like doing a performance in front of a curtain that is closed. People believe there is something behind the curtain. So that curtain acts as this kind of opacity, that allows this translucent enactment to take place, and yet at the same time it is happening right in front of you. You know who these people are and know what they are doing.

(1.02.35) AR: It sounds like it gives you a certain freedom as well, to act in way which might otherwise lead to arrest.

(1.02.43) RD: Yes, that is what is useful about the term trans-real - translucent yet really visible, right. This is one of the things that as performers, hacktivists and activists - when we speak of the exploit, it is not just the technological - the code. As the Zapatistas say, 'we do not dream at the speed of technology, but at the speed of dreams'.

(1.03.16) AR: I just have one more question I wanted to ask, which is around the experience of working critically in the Higher Education Institution. I know you have had some issues in terms of being investigated, but I wondered how working in the Higher Education Institution compares to working outside in your view and what the benefits or challenges might have been?

01.03.45 RD: I'll be right back I have to plug in my computer.... As I said earlier on, it was really unexpected for me to be hired as a professor. I never expected as an autonomous artist in New York or Tallahassee Florida that any of this would lead to institutional interpellation. Then in 2004 I was offered to open a lab at CALIT2, a hybrid entity at the University of San Diego, I wanted access to nano-technology equipment because since the mid-80s I have been trying to make interventions into particle capitalisms and nano-toxicities. So when I was offered the position, they said I had to do a job talk where I would establish milestones and research areas. I had never been in a university - I'd never been someone who runs a lab or any of that. So I did a job talk and as I mentioned before, I said: well it will be a 10 year project. I will focus on 3 areas of research. 1: Electronic

Disturbance Theatre and Hacktivism, theory and practice. 2: border disturbance technologies because of the long histories of border art and my interest in technology. 3: areas surrounding nano-toxicology and nano-poetics. How will the research be objectively evaluated? Well with Electronic Civil Disobedience and Hacktivism. It might also scale down to the other work - I already have a sense and we have a sense of what the outside world thinks about these sorts of aesthetic gestures. So the real interest then - and research - would be what will the world think when we use University of California super computer systems for Electronic Civil Disobedience and Hacktivist purposes? That will be an interesting series of research. Not only will you see the French government complaining that we are doing virtual sit-ins against them in support of students, but what will the institution say when we use their own infrastructure against them? That will be the most interesting area of my research and will be the objective evaluator. What will be the responses to the actual research on border disturbance technology, nano-poetics and nano-toxicology? At the beginning I was naïve, but I wanted to know what it would mean to have this kind of work interpolated into an institution – would it be neutered, would it be shuffled off somewhere into a dark closet? So I just impulsively thought that stating that the very qualities of disturbance - specifically disturbance to the institution in and of itself - that the institution itself would become the site of my aesthetic research, would then allow me for the next 10 years to do work that might be interesting.

(1.09.37) AR: Yes I can see you'd be setting up a tension right away.

(1.09.39) RD: Yes. I achieved that and received tenure in 2010. As you probably know here at the University of California there is this kind of unknown organisation called the CAB, which is made up of professors who do not know or care about you, and may not agree with you at all and so they objectively decide whether you have met your research milestones and whether you have done what you said you would do - which I did. So of course they get very angry. They have gone after us and attempted to de-tenure me - all that sort of stuff. But in the end what it came down to on all levels was that I was hired to do these things and I accomplished the task of doing them as my research.

(1.10.44) AR: And every time they come after you they are adding to your research!

(1.10.46) RD: Exactly - making it stronger and more robust. That is what I learned from Berthold Brecht: that the audience itself is onstage and needs to contemplate its positionality in relation to the performance. So the UC system, UCSD, the Nation State, the state of California, the border, are all put in a position as being actants within the performance. Each response helps me to aggregate a more resonant meeting of a milestone. So when I hand in my tenure file, you can see I have letters from Congressmen, Republicans, the FBI, the President of the University of California system. Then I can analyse these things and say well here is the performative matrix of call and response, among these actors.

(1.10.10) AR: Do you seek to change their minds?

(1.10.11) RD: I do think there are subtle shifts – for instance, just amongst my own lawyers, who did not believe that what I did was art, by the end of the series of encounters they began to think about art beyond sculpture and painting and orchestras, to begin to think about the question of New Media as perhaps a site of art production, technology as a site of art production. That there is art which can be involved in social practice that is also art. If my own lawyers who were aesthetic disbelievers can by the end *believe*, then that is a shift.

(1.13.15) AR: Yes a massive shift, and it sounds like it must have been a fascinating tenure to have been able to explore all of these things over such an extended period of time. I'm aware I have taken up a great deal of your time, but thank you so much for a fascinating conversation.

Interview with Jacques Servin, Co-Founder of the Yes Men (18/12/2013)

(0.00) AR: Ok, the first question I wanted to ask you about was about the development of tactics and working processes in the Yes Men over time. I wondered if the initial plan was always to use the hoax websites as a way to physically intervene into conferences and broadcasting events, or if it was something which just happened serendipitously and became a working practice over time?

(0.33) JS: No it happened serendipitously. I'm trying to find - there is stuff written about this - I'm not sure where I've put it. I set up a fake website for the World Trade Organisation at *GATT.org* and intended it as you know, just as a parody. People started emailing accidentally and then we were invited to conferences. So it happened entirely serendipitously. The intention of it really was that I was just playing around with websites, it was like 1999 and websites were kind of new. I started making fake websites in '98 I think and it just happened.

(1.44) AR: It seemed to become a very successful, or effective way of working - as you continued to use those same strategies - but I wondered what it was about identity correction through impersonation which you found particularly interesting in relation to today's society? What was it about that form of intervention that you felt was going to make the impact you wanted?

(2.14) JS: It wasn't really the way we were thinking at all. We were trying to make an impact and get media attention for things, and we stumbled on a way to get media attention using this, cos it is a funny story and people write about it. There was nothing special about it, that was relevant or anything, or interesting in any way except it was really fun for us to do which seemed super important, and the media liked it, so people wrote about it. That is the bottom line, for the kind of stuff we do. It is not that it is the most important thing to do either, it is just what we kind of figured out how to do. To go to crowdsourcing for a moment, we have this thing we are developing now, *Action Switchboard*, which is an extension of *the Yes Lab*. It is actually very similar to this other

thing we were doing when we were just starting out, this bulletin board *RTMark*, there were these projects on it, asking people to do things. This is sort of like that except we think there is a good chance it will actually work, because it includes a whole human interaction element, where people will be monitoring everything, offering feedback. It is like a portal, through which to access people to help you develop projects. It will also have a component where we help people organise meet ups and do basic brainstorms about what we can do.

(4.36) AR: So similar in some senses to the *Yes Lab*, but a site where anyone can get involved in making and facilitating projects? I noticed with the *Yes Lab*, there are some quite specific things that you can expect to get out of working with the *Yes Lab*, which will tend to centre laughtivism – but is this less specific?

(5.13) JS: Yes, anyone who wants to use the *Action Switchboard* can use it and develop a project. We do brainstorms and can help people with brainstorming ideas, but this sort of work is pretty much about giving journalists excuses to write about important things. It's about spreading the word and publicising things. Thus maybe mobilising people through the media or through social media, which we have been doing in a few, maybe 3-4 projects using social media. It is all about mobilising people who already basically share our opinions. Making them aware of something and then with the switchboard hopefully getting them involved more, so mobilising.

(6.15) AR: So what makes a successful intervention for you?

(6.22) JS: Well for us we just measure it in really stupid ways, like through media attention, or through number of views in a video. We just guess that this means information is coming across and stories are getting told to a lot of people and that maybe that makes a difference. If those stories get told then maybe people will take action.

(6.55) AR: I saw a really interesting video up online, where you were talking about how journalism creates a sort of archive and these interventions can go some way towards producing a counter archive - a set of other stories which can become part of cultural ideology.

(7.17) JS: Yeah that sounds good, so it becomes part of the cultural ideology. Ultimately, I mean if you look at all of activism, and different things activists do, you can split it into mobilising and organising, which are very different things. Everything that we do and anyone we know almost does is mobilising, where you are adding to the cultural archive or telling alternative stories or whatever. You can have a mystical feeling, like maybe that changes people's minds in some way and makes a difference. But really the only thing you know it does is appeal to people who are already on your side, and set off maybe something in their heart where they get more active. When you say 'you've really got to get active about this thing you care about - here's why and here is why it makes sense to do so, because it is fun'. That is mobilising. The other side is what labour organisers do, and what people who go door to door - not even door to door - that is mobilising too, but people who really change people's minds, like turn people from being reactionary assholes to being progressives. Like there are people who do that and they have their ways to do that.

(8.47) AR: But it is a different project. That is interesting as well, because when I was looking at the Yes Men and the Yes Lab and wider projects you have been involved with, it seemed as if there is an already existing network that you are drawing from. Even with the early Yes Men projects, you were working with costume makers to get those projects off the ground. So I guess collaboration was important right through.

(9.33) JS: Well those were people we knew. When I talk about the value of what we do or mobilising I mean the broad audiences, so what we might hope to expect from reaching lots of people through the media or social media. That is maybe hopefully motivating people to get more active than they are. But the people we work with are already pretty active probably, and this is important because it is only a small number who work on these projects. It is like between 2-10 people.

(10.40) AR: So that is just friends of yours you are able to reach out to and get involved with. Would you say it would usually be an idea that you and Mike have and then you will be leading that and others just helping you?

(10.45) JS: That is the way it used to be, but in the last few years it has been more like – we work with activists with the *Yes Lab* to come up with ideas and these ideas can come

from me or one of the people in the group or who knows. They just happen, and that part is kind of easy, the ideas part. It is not hard to come up with good ideas. Then they carry it out, we help them carry it out, I help them carry it out. We have a little tiny staff of people who help them carry it out. It used to be though that we used to think 'here is an interesting thing to do, let's do this thing' and that would be that.

(11.34) AR: So with something like the *ShellFAIL* project what was the working process there - did Greenpeace come to you?

(11.49) JS: That started in Alaska, when I visited the Greenpeace ship docked in New York. A communications guy happened to be on the boat and we started talking and he said 'Wow you know I've been wanting to talk to the Yes Men for a while about something. Basically Shell is going to the Arctic to drill for oil now, because the Arctic is melting, so the oil companies are jumping at the melt opportunity in order to go and get more oil – more of what is causing the melt'. 'We, Greenpeace are in a bit of a conundrum and can't actually do anything about it, because a judge has ruled that we can't go anywhere near the rigs or it will be a felony: we'll do hard jail time. So our hands are tied'. I was thinking 'Oh, you guys get attention for things without actually going close to them, so maybe we could think of something'. And it just instantly hit me, what we need to do. 'You just said, they are going to the Arctic to drill for more oil now that the Arctic is melting. All we have to do is promote that project for them. You know just make an advertising campaign for Arctic drilling, you know as if we were them. Let's just full on say that we are Shell and we really believe in this and come up with all the reasons. It is impossible to make it sound good. So all we have to do is do it'. I'll Skype you the website we made. It's changed since then. This whole website, plus the *ShellFAIL* action we did. This just combined - it's a very long story - there is a *Storify* page where you can see how it worked. For crowdsourcing, that is maybe the most successful example of crowdsourcing. The other one is this one - the Chevron project, that was really effective.

(14.53) AR: So it is the fact that most of the time these things are not visible, and that by making them visible in themselves that is all you need to do. How does this fit in with the interest in anonymity the Yes Men have themselves?

(15.14) JS: Oh there is no reason. When we were doing *RTMark* this other project it kind of depended on being cloak and dagger. We were trying to create the illusion of a bulletin board for sabotage projects, so it would have to be all secret and sinister. So we had fake names and never revealed who we were. Then when we began the Yes Men, going to these conferences, we just kinda kept doing that. For no reason – there was not really a good reason for that.

(16.06) AR: But does it make a difference now that you are much more well-known? Do you find it more difficult to infiltrate these gatherings? Does it matter really if you get found out straight away?

(16.13) JS: It has happened that we get found out straight away, but it does not matter.

(16.20) AR: Is this where the documentation becomes important, in terms of playing to the audience that is not there? So you tend to document things and then even if you do get found out the story will be interesting whatever happens.

(16.47) JS: Exactly, you got it. Even if you get found out it does not matter, because the story will still be told. So a couple of things like if you saw the second movie where Exxon actually drag us from the stage. They did figure it out but it was because somebody recognised me from the audience. We made it look in the film as if they were appalled and they dragged us out, but actually somebody recognised me and texted the conference organisers. But it obviously made for good video when they go up and take us down, so playing to the audience that is not there is exactly right.

(17.20) AR: I also wondered how important it is for you to have solidarity between movements, as you are saying, you are already within network already and it is building those networks through the interventions, helping mobilise things. But in terms of longer term aims I'm trying to get my head around the relationship between momentary interventions and long term consequences which could come from this.

(18.18) JS: Solidarity within the movement, or between specific interest groups?

(18.30) AR: I guess between different networks within a movement. I mean, do you find that you have close contact with other groups working in different ways? Someone like

Not an Alternative or the Rebel Clown Army? Is it something that people do share information or are part of one another's networks personally?

(18.50) JS: Yeah there is a network thing – they know what we are doing, we know what they are doing – maybe we ask them for help. I mean a lot of the time, what we do is completely independent, we have to build our own things. We can't really rely on other groups. We can rely on Occupy to help tweet things, like with the *ShellFAIL* video. That was a really good example of collaboration - we had a fake Occupy infiltrator, who happened to be a real Occupy person but he was like playing an infiltrator at this event and then he wrote about it and tweeted it and then the whole Occupy network, who was in on the joke then tweeted it out. We also worked with a comedian who tweeted it out as well. Everybody saw this crappy video of this disaster and then spread it like wildfire, so that is the kind of collaboration that happens. The other kind is like with the Chamber of Commerce, where we were focused on climate activism, and were talking with climate activists, so we were interested in doing a high profile action to get people seeing this damned film we had worked so hard on, and they said let's do something around the Chamber, we can set up a press conference. We'll make an announcement. They were super organised, super together, super methodical - so that was an amazing collaboration. Basically the last 3 years everything we have done has been that way - working with organisations which are super organised. The things that have worked really well. It sort of has to be that way.

(21.04) AR: So it is an informal network, but the projects have to be incredibly organised. You say that it is just really fun and something you care about and that is how projects develop. So do you not really think about the tactical critical positioning of things and in really hyper-rigorous terms? Because I'm from a theory background, and I find the more I read and the more depressed I become about what is possible in terms of this theory, but when I speak to people who are actually doing it, there seem to be loads of projects aiming to make practical solutions to practical problems.

(21.45) JS: Not even always that. It is just that for one reason or another people want to do these things. Sometimes the motivation is just to have fun and having a political point can add to the fun. It is also having a faith that we don't know everything and we don't

know why things change. You can have all the theory in the world and it is not going to tell you anything. Like, nobody predicted the fall of the Soviet Union, you know. I mean it just doesn't work. You can't really think these things through, you can't know why. Like if I was looking 3 years ago and thinking I'm going to do a bunch of projects over the next 3 years with people, and I was asked, how many of these struggles will actually succeed, I would say, well maybe one of them will, and that is good enough. But recently looking back, it is like 8 of them, out of 10. You do not need theory for that, you just need statistics. You look back and you say, oh, a bunch of people were fighting around that and look, they won. It's not always because of the activists directly, but you don't know how much of it is because of the action. Like why has Obama not approved the Keystone pipeline outright? You never know the answer – you can theorise, but you never know. What you can do is say, well Keystone is stalled and Monsanto is not producing corn in Mexico. Shell did not manage to go drill in the Arctic. But people just have this faith, even in the face of total failure over a long time, this faith that things will change and it that has to change. Also it is just obvious that there are a lot of things in our society that we think are pretty good. Like the 8 hour day versus the 12 hour day, you know having a minimum age for labour, having a minimum wage, social security, healthcare equal rights for women, at least on paper. All of that was achieved through activist work. There is no need for theory, like all that happened.

(24.26) AR: Is there any such thing as a bad intervention though? Is there a space, maybe not for high theory, but for practical tool kits like *Beautiful Trouble*? Is that perhaps the best place to put resources?

(24.55) JS: Yeah like *Beautiful Trouble* is the most practical example I know. I mean yes it is theory - you are learning what seems to be true of a bunch of actions, here is an idea - it is a bunch of people opinionating on how actions work, and that can be useful I think. Like you cited 'speak to the audience that is not there' and like that is important because for us, like many many people have said, 'well you don't change their opinions in the audiences. When you went to these conferences, did anyone's opinion change? No'. So we have to say 'yeah but that is not really talking to, we are talking to the people who will see the film'. It is just nice to have that written down so that is done. It's like 'here, go

read this'. Yeah it is great, it is part of education, part of becoming an effective activist, figuring out things you want to do.

(26.16) AR: And it sounds like you have really come to those recognitions through trial and error and sort of participation action?

(26.34) JS: Yeah I think that is pretty universal. I mean there may be activists who set out to really do something with a clear strategy of the effect which will happen. But everybody I know, even revolutionaries who have toppled governments - they set out to topple the government but they do it in a way which does not work - and they expect the revolution but it does not happen. So they try something else. They do it with a sense of fun. They want to do a specific thing to topple the government because it is fun. They choose to do that thing rather than something else because it is more fun than the other thing. That is actually a good principle I think activist wise: to have fun. If you are having fun then the people hearing about it are going to have fun.

(28.19) AR: There were just a couple of other questions I wanted to cover. I was really interested in the place of leadership in *Yes Lab* projects and the division of labour in these projects. I wondered if you could say a bit more about the Greenpeace project particularly. Because you have a quite technological background, so was that your role in the building of the site?

(29.25) JS: It is also - it just happens. Like in that case you know I had the original idea of making the campaign for Shell and the communications guy also thought this was awesome, and really his agenda was not only to do this action but also to change the culture of Greenpeace to be more creative and to try new things and embrace other stuff that was more effective. So we employed a programmer for the site, the rest of the labour was undertaken communally. There was a big event there and the producing fell a lot to the people at Greenpeace. We did some of it too, and we employed someone to do the coaching of the actors involved.

(31.07) AR: It sounds like it is all quite ad hoc, so when you need something you will just go and get it and use it with the smallest possible expenditure of resources – so quite organic in that way – able to grow as it needs to and use as few resources as possible.

(31.26) JS: Yes.

(31.27) AR: Who are the Sherpas in the Yes Lab?

(31. 43) JS: The people who have already done a project, and who want to. But they are people who know about how to do it and have done it before. Like this guy Sean from Vancouver, or there's two people Megan and Mary at NYU who do.

(31.29) AR: Is that a voluntary thing? Because I notice there is a little fee for people who go through the Yes Lab.

(32. 24) JS: When someone really helps a project and makes it happen, there is money involved. So when Greenpeace did their project they funded that. So there was money for people to do their thing. We try to pay people as much as possible.

(32.52) AR: I guess it is good, as it makes the project more sustainable in this way. Have you noticed there has been a sort of increase in the amount of different sites like this - toolboxes and websites practically showing you models for intervention?

(33.25) JS: I guess so yeah, I guess there are more.... I have to run but do follow up with any questions....

Interview with Martin Leskovjan, Member of Ztohoven and Participant in *the Moral Reform* (19/12/2013)

(2.20) AR: I've put together 10 questions I'd like to ask you. The first is that I am interested to hear how Ztohoven formed and how the core members knew each other.

(2.48) ML: How they knew each other, and how they met? OK it's a process, we say it is not like an organised group. The group is not geared for operating itself. The collective is more like project to project and gathers different people, different members. Of course, there are like core members in the number about 3-4 who participate on almost every project but it differs, because project to project there are different approaches, there are different themes, issues and structures of projects. It's all very like this, sometimes we need some other different people, some different interests, and also skills. That is why for example the last project which was based on the technology of digital security, we worked with hackers or internet security experts, who started to cooperate with us and they influenced the group a lot. This is one example of how it works. It was like coincidental meeting. They are not from Czech Republic, they are from Slovakia and we met on some conference, in some sort of meeting of people sharing ideas and so on. They showed us this technology and we became fascinated with their ways of working and they were fascinated with the ways we work. So it's like beneficial for both sides.

(4.55) AR: So it is like you are already in an informal network of people with shared interests?

(5.03) ML: Yes, yes definitely. Also it is always based on personal contacts and you meet other people you want to make involved. You have to feel that they share your energy, and your way of working, which is very wild, because we have realised our group is almost only males, guys - there is just one girl - and I recently talked about this with one other member. We are able to accept her, but the only way we can accept her and work with her is that we consider her to be an equal man. Because we tend to be quite aggressive and sometimes shout at each other and the discussions are pretty wild and crazy and so on, so it wouldn't work if we handled the girl a different way just because of her sex. This is like a strange thing maybe, it does not mean we are against her because of

her sex, we are not feral, but the way we work is, we are all strong individuals, hard headed, and it is part of our creation and our creative process. It is a very individual thing and every artist is used to working on his own and put to it his own idea [sic]...the process of finding one solution is very painful sometimes. The one who is the one who is strongest is usually the one who wins. It is very physical!

(7.42) AR: That is interesting, so you would encourage disagreement and would not shy away from hurting one another's feelings if you have a strong point of view? You would usually have quite a fiery conversation about things?

(8.00) ML: Yes, of course we are able to converse in a normal way - but I guess when the core of a new project is set, everybody feels it is going to move forward in that moment, that the shape and the conception is being shaped at that moment and everybody has the feeling that the creative process must be held with their hands and they must input their vision and so on. So that's it. But otherwise it is an open platform. We always say the group is an open platform.

.....Break in Recording.....

(07.50) AR: Can you tell me a little more about *the Moral Reform* and working on digital interventions as a collective?

(8.01) ML: It was during the second part of *the Moral Reform* that we got really interested in the specifics, like what are the options of the internet and operating with this action. Because it was based on this quite complicated programme which allowed us to send all the messages in one moment, so we had to cooperate and search for some ways it could work. This opened us up to a new view about things which are happening around us, especially on the internet. So things like Bitcoin, Tor Project and all the Dark Internet sort of stuff. These are things which we are fascinated with until now. Because we think the Internet is the basic space where the fight for freedom is happening. Perhaps this is a bigger issue for you in England than it is for us in the Czech Republic, because you know about the restrictions as well. So these were issues that we really were addressing on both sides. We started to talk about it and meet each other and then we began this process of making this special project. The hackers became very involved and very

interested in it. Finally, because they are safety experts, they gave us all the recommendations about how to do it, without later being able to prove any one individual person was involved. Because we never know what will happen after the projects: what it will cause and what will be the reaction of some officials and so on. Sometimes you are heading for an investigation and sometimes it is nothing - like in this case. There are usually no cases of similar things happening before, so we did not know how it would be accepted and whether it would be considered to be against the law. So this was the process and then finally we went to Slovakia to realise the project, because they had all the equipment there and it was safer for us to leave the country and so on.

There was a really funny moment, because we left without mobile phones after the project in 2007 where all the guys were revealed just because they had their mobile phones, they had been tracked. This was one of the proofs that they really did it and it was part of the trial. So we left our mobile phones and went with two cars, and said we would meet at a restaurant in the highway about 30km from Prague. I was in the first car, and we went ahead first, but when we got to the restaurant we had a huge argument and were asked to leave the restaurant. We had an argument about what art is about and it was so noisy that we were asked to leave. After that we were waiting and waiting, but the others did not have mobile phones either as they probably left theirs at home... and we did not have any plan B. So we were waiting for 2 hours in fading light and we did not have a plan B! It made us realise how much we need mobile phones and are lost without them. It is just a small episode, not important.

Yeah but we went to Slovakia and did all the project, and now since the project we cooperate with these guys. For example, we will be attending the Hamburg Chaos Computer Club Congress to give a presentation because we now have friends in Germany who are interested in our activities and so invite us to these congresses. It is an open community which really wants to share the ideas and so on. It's interesting, but for them our work is also hack activity because they consider it to be hacking in public space and they see behind it a similar approach, because most hackers are not like assholes, who are trying to steal money from your account. They want to show the weakness of security systems and to show you that there is no privacy and so on, so they are more like internet

activists. They consider our activity very similar to their approaches and this is why, I think, they are close relations.

(15.00) AR: So would these hackers now constitute the wider group of Ztohoven in terms of your membership expanding or contracting with each project? Would the hackers support members of the group for the duration of the project?

(15.28) ML: We realise that the basic principle which can push us ahead is interdisciplinarity and interdisciplinary cooperation. That really empowers a lot. If you are just an artist collective there are significant limitations, because you don't have many fields represented in the group. Lots of things are not really very deep because you don't really understand well what politics is about or what technology is about and so on. This kind of cooperation is a great principle which empowers knowledge, what the story is about and what is behind it. It makes the thought behind it more powerful. This is why we want to cooperate and why we want to continue this. Now we planned some other projects which will need a totally different kind of cooperation, but it is still the same - we are searching for people where we find fascination on both sides - some shared passion.

(17.05) AR: What are some of the difficulties of interdisciplinary working?

(17.07) ML: It is surprising, but for us it is easier than to cooperate amongst each other sometimes, because people from different fields respect each other much more than in the field. You can see this when we meet with the hackers. They are able to argue within their group endlessly, but when they speak to us they are very open. So I think it is an advantage. I don't think it is a difficulty. It is easier communication because there is more respect.

(17.58) AR: Would you say that in your group specifically, are there an agreed set of shared motivations which drive your practice? Is that a conversation that you have ever had?

(18.48) ML: It is the same - one brings an idea and puts it on the table. We discuss it and when the issue has perspective we repeat discussions about it. Sometimes we openly and immediately say 'this will be the next project'. Sometimes it will be some issue or theme, which you are solving for a longer time, and something grows from it. We have just

recently been dealing a lot with Bitcoin and are considering allowing donation to the website in this currency. I wrote some text which you would like, encouraging people who are interested in our activities to know more about Bitcoin and try to use Bitcoin as a currency. In our point of view, projects like Bitcoin are changing the game and we want people to be watching and discussing this. Because in my opinion, it is almost like a media issue, but there is not any serious discussion about it in public – considering how it can change the future and so on. So this is one of the issues - an example of a theme that we are exploring. Maybe something will grow from that or maybe not. Or sometimes there is some special idea, some technological possibility where we think, 'oh great, this super thing, let's think about how to make a project'. Sometimes, there is some political question, which is upsetting us about our country. This provides us a tool, to think about how to creatively intervene and how to make it public and bring some discussion.

(21.34) AR: So it sounds like there is no one overarching motivation for Ztohoven, rather projects develop from cultural issues at a given time. But would you say that looking back over your projects there is something which ties all those interventions together? Is there a continuous impulse or desire behind the interventions?

(22.05) ML: It is like a chain, because every project defines a little bit the next one, and if you put them each next to another, you can see consequences. If you follow it like a story you get, you can see it. For example the first project was the question mark above the castle, and the collective intervention was very spontaneous. The next one was the changing of the city lights in the subway, and some improvised opening evening in one station. So it was like dealing in a little bit more opened and a structured way - lots of artists had an opportunity to engage in this. Then we got our first big reflection from media, so media started to be a big issue and theme for us. So the next action in 2007 was a natural consequence. Then there was the trial and after that a big controversy of art and at the same time investigation. So this brought on concerns about identity and so on. If you think about the consequences, you can see this chain. It's linking and I think some of the parts of the last project will definitely imprint into the others. So you can say it is not like the group defining the project, but it is the opposite - that the project defining the group.

(24.43) AR: Yes, I have found that actually there is a lot of experimentation in projects from different groups and that a practice grows out quite naturally from those experiments or actions. I'm interested also in the time between actions which Ztohoven make, because there is often quite a long time between actions. Is that something you do quite consciously? Or what is the reasoning behind this?

(25.28) ML: It is like every project is very exhausting for us. It is surely not visible but the preparations for the last project were one year, or 10 months that we are talking about it and arguing and so on. There was the first part and then the second part and it was a really long time that we were involved in this issue. We dealt with the media attention and so on. So the space and the time between actions is sometimes quite long, but we need to find other issues and discuss it. Sometimes it can be 3 years, sometimes half a year. Last year there were a lot of things, so we started to meet much more than in the past. So now we are more of an organised collective, which has its own dark side, because it is tough to organise so many people. But times are changing and things are developing so it is not so punk and coincidental as before. It also means changes in the way we are working.

(27.23) AR: It does sound as if it is exhausting, and there is quite a lot at stake in some of the projects, such as the risk of being arrested. There is also a great deal of work in a lot of the projects. What is it that motivates you personally to continue to working in this way?

(27.42) ML: I think for most of them it is like some platform space or opportunity to make real things that you would not otherwise be able to do. This is a very big energy in the collective. It gives you opportunities to do something much bigger than you would be able to do on your own. Then it is usually the issues or themes we are solving which keep it together. If someone is simply not interested in a particular project, they simply do not take part or engage, and then maybe come the next project they will never come back, but that is how it works, we are not sentimental about things like that.

(29.00) AR: So it is sort of self-selecting?

(29.02) ML: Yes, definitely.

(29.09) AR: I'm also really interested in the relationship between a momentary intervention and long or longer term consequences of different interventions. Is that something you consider as a group?

(29.45) ML: Yes we are always heading to these questions. For some people it is really important to differentiate our practice from activist activities. We see behind our work a very specific creative moment, which is not always easy to understand for other people. But we do not care about this. We also do not care very much if we are considered as artists or activists, we simply feel like this. There was an art historian who once said 'all good art should be activist art'. So yeah that's the main motivation. We do not have any long term goals or structure of the issues we want to work towards in the future. It just sort of comes. It is hard to somehow describe or explain it.

(31.50) AR: I understand, it is almost like there is no way of being able to have an overarching plan, because it is just not the way this work functions.

(32.01) ML: There is a much more important creative process, which we call the media object. This is like media in a much wider sense of the word, when you include social media, or any other kind of communication. The object may be paraphrased like this. If you say 'media image', it refers to something 2D which you simply receive passively. But we call it 'media object', because when you as a viewer approach it, you participate and make some sort of feedback and participate in the creation of how the media image develops. Then it gives a third space, and this is why we call it a media object. Because at the beginning there is an interaction, and we get some viewers. But we search for ways people could participate and continue. We consider everything which happens around it to be a continuation of it. This is very important for us. It is one of these things where you don't finish it, but you open new questions and wait for people's reaction and then you deal with this. Some people consider it as us not being able to think to the end about what should happen. But it is not like this, it is our principle of the way we work. We are not searching for a thing at the end, we are interested in producing something 'un-closed', where if you hit in the right place, then the reaction is the important thing.

(34.29) AR: So how do you find the right place, to keep the project reverberating? That is about the positioning of a project I suppose, how is it going to hit a nerve which is actually going to send out these ripples?

(34.55) ML: Sometimes it is not related to any special site, but when it is we then always work with symbolic spaces, where there is some meaning of the place which empowers the context behind it. It is just a tool to bring it to the viewers and make it public. We do not think about it unless it is bound to some specific symbolic place, like Prague Castle, or the subway. But sometimes it is not related to space.

(36.10) AR: Is this a moment when politics and the interdisciplinary nature of what you do becomes important, to make these interventions as effective as they can be? To understand the social and economic and political context in which you are working? Some people are really anti-reading theory and political texts before acting.

(37.14) ML: Actually, I'm still thinking about the last question. There is a simple schematic which explains better what you were asking for I think. It is interesting that you ask about location, you know, where it takes place, where it is happening. The idea of where an action takes place is something which everyone understands in a different way, so I would like to show you how we understand it. The biggest circle in this structure is public space. Then there are 3 circles inside the biggest circle: institutional space, media space and physical public space (streets and so on). We consider all of this to be public space - not only the physical space outside, but also the media and institutional space. Every sharing institution is kind of public, because it is politics. It is something where everybody should be engaged and somehow express his or herself, opinions and so on. Also the media space is something shared, or should be in working societies. So this is like our definition of where we participate. It is interesting to watch interference points on these circles, maybe where institutional space and public space intersect. So on the borders of institutional space and physical public space are fine arts and then the media object; and this is where the media object is. If you think about it a little bit, you can understand where you would place design, fine art, and the media object is in the middle. The point is that media objects always deal with all these spaces. It is happening sometimes more and sometimes less, but it is always in the institutional space and issues, it always deals with

media and always relates or somehow imprints into physical public space. So intervention using mobile phones is also doing something physical in the space of the parliament. You intervene - not physically as in you put something somewhere, or that you physically come there, but physically in the sense that you make the people try and understand what is happening. The last project was like theatre for us - every message was like one line, one click which related to another. Each one taught each other. This is how we deal with space.

(43.03) AR: When did you come up with this structure?

(43.05) ML: We were invited to Tate Modern to make some presentations there. This was just after we had made MP phone numbers public in the exhibition space for the second part of *the Moral Reform*. After that it was like hell – like media hell! You are absolutely hated. It was one week when we were on the main news and so on. It was the first project when we were totally not accepted by the whole society. That intervention was considered a bad thing.

(43.47) AR: How did you respond to the media and society demonising you?

(44.00) ML: They all thought that we would really regret it and think it was not a good idea and so on. But we said 'not at all'! They did not get it at all. Because when the numbers were made public some of the politicians, some of the messages, were very hateful. The media were asking – did you really want this? We were like 'no not at all, we just opened something, and it is out of our hands' and they did not get that at all. It was the first time that we did something and it was really absolutely not accepted at all. I was really not sure about it, how should I consider it, but the possibility to present it in another country gives us great feedback. I realised that it was a great point for the action that we did something that the society refused and which provoked these emotional reactions and so on. I consider it as one of the best things that we did. But it was a really strong impulse for us, and at that time we were thinking about what happened and what we are doing, and we needed somehow to articulate it - this is why this graph was produced. We simply needed to give it some name and so on. It was accepted at Tate because we were presenting it in front of curators, theoreticians and so on, who were like

'you are bringing in theory - this is not your deal!' It had already been articulated before by others, but this was our vision.

(46.50) AR: It is interesting as it shows the media object as a sort of catalyst. It is activating all these different dynamics which are already there but under the surface. Just by opening this box, then the media go crazy, the society go crazy and politicians have to respond to it. Perhaps this is what you mean when you talk about the right point at which to intervene. Even if people react really strongly to it, that in itself tells you so much about the public and how people feel about power in society. This is just a really small question, but I was interested in why you chose to document the first part of *the Moral Reform* on the web.

(48.39) ML: We really wanted to share the feeling we had - that was why it was a timeline and how it really happened. The timelines helped show the time at which messages were sent. The application purpose is simulation, and an opportunity to show the texts. We wanted people to see the texts that we sent. Otherwise, we would not be able to share this so we simply stored the texts and put them into an interactive presentation. Also, we didn't know if it would draw any media attention. We thought probably yes it will, but you are never sure and for us it was a kind of conservation of what happened.

(49.57) AR: In terms of producing a successful intervention to you, is drawing media attention quite important for you?

(50.13) ML: After a project is finished, we say we don't have to care about it because it is always shared. But before it you are always nervous whether it will be picked up and interest somebody. So we always think about this and also learn a lot from every project we do. And it develops a lot. For example, now we know it is not a good idea to answer every media interview and go on every strange programme. Next time we want to just make one press conference on one day at one time, where you can ask some questions. Because often you are simply put into a position where you do not want to be and they often publish just what they want to say. They are creating their own media reality. They write the points they consider to be interesting for reading pleasure, so they do not write about the context and so on, just the most controversial things in the project. They turn it

a bit more controversial in their thing. So we try to deal with it with a purpose and the press conference seems to be the best way to do this.

(53.00) AR: So it becomes quite strategic – you manage your own identity as a group quite strategically? I just have one final question about the experience of working on *the Moral Reform* at the time. Because the interactive site for this project is all very clear and ordered. But I wondered what the experience of working on the project at the time of sending the messages itself was. How did you divide up tasks? Was it orchestrated very clearly? What could you see, as I know it was televised.

(54.06) ML: Yes, we saw it live, because there was a live broadcast, during the sending of the messages. There was one MP who had been accused of corruption, and the meeting was to decide if he would be covered or if procedure would be followed. So it was very emotional and he had a 2 hour speech. During the speech, we could see the reactions of the people. We also have our own footage because we had our own camera guy. We were sending him messages, being like ‘take a look at this part - and now this part’. They were calling out! Yes they were really confused and didn’t know what was happening. We had the chance to watch it even though we were in Slovakia and really point it.

(56.01) AR: Were the messages in a particular order?

(56.10) ML: No. When it was getting closer we hired an office where we were all day and night long, and we spent almost 3 weeks together. Everyone went to work, but we lived just closed in this office. There were no interruptions - it was just a process, and everybody did what they could. We would work 10 hours there, then 8 hours at our jobs, then back, slept a little bit and continued. During the time, other people continued. So during all the days sometimes someone was sleeping in the corridor, others working. It was really crazy. We were like some agency, working on a big campaign.

(57.49) AR: Was there one person who was leading on that project particularly?

(57.51) ML: There are always people who are more closed and think about things and do not speak too much. Their benefits come in different ways, like they do great visual side, or they have great different ideas. There are others who are more discursive and want to create the vision and so on. So it is natural but there is not any leadership as such.

A. Reynolds

(58.26) AR: Amazing, thank you so much for your time, I think that was all I had hoped to ask today.

Interview with Ruth Catlow, Director of Furtherfield Gallery, Co-Founder of VisitorsStudio (12/12/2013)

(0.00) AR: So I'm hoping to explore leadership and the collective and also the idea of critical positioning of work, in terms of work which is aiming to function against hegemonic or institutional norms in the broadest sense; and has a clear set of motivations to this end. I am interested in how that manifests itself in different projects and initiatives.

(1.21) RC: I strongly recommend you also speak to Marc, because we will say different complimentary and sometimes contradictory things. Because we come from quite different places, so we will inevitably say very different things – this will help you to get the breadth.

(2.02) AR: I knew Furtherfield had initially developed as a reaction to the restrictions of YBA [Young British Artists] culture, but I wondered how the guiding motivations, which feel quite strong, developed initially and have grown over time; and whether that is something you revisit periodically?

(2.27) RC: I'd say we started off, for the first 5-6 years of what we were doing, just reacting and experimenting with whatever infrastructures, channels, networks we could find, that we felt we had a shared affinity with. From that we built our own context and it was very organic. Then as time has gone on we have definitely become more strategic – which is important especially if you are not very well resourced. The things we are very well resourced in is people and their imaginative, experimental and creative input. That is Furtherfield's strongest resource, and the fact that from the early days what we always seem to be able to find a way to encourage people to share. It is that openness and experimental process which meant we all gained a lot without losing anything.

(4.08) AR: So in terms of building that collective resource of people - how did you go about doing that? I suppose you were already within the art world and within certain networks?

(4.24) RC: I'll tell you exactly how it happened. Marc and I had been working in a community arts set of studios which had been built in one of the old rag trade buildings out in Bow - called Bow Arts. The studios themselves had already been set up by a group of artists and we went there second wave to expand on the studios. I led on the development of a community education resource. We made connections with several local schools and made a series of really good outreach and participatory programmes that involved pupils from schools with really diverse backgrounds to come and remediate the artworks we were showing in the gallery. Marc and I were involved in setting up the gallery which is now the Nunnery Gallery, so that is where Marc and I first really worked together. I was a sculptor, his background was in Pirate Radio and street art and early bulletin boards. For me, where my sculptures went presented me with a problem. There was the funky YBA art world and the slightly more genteel art world. Neither of these felt particularly rigorous. With YBA there were a whole lot of things you could talk about or couldn't do, and that was to do with a sort of star system and just a system that did not speak to me. So it was all about feeling like none of the spaces available felt like the right sort of place for the things I was doing. Marc and I were doing a couple of exhibitions of physical stuff and working with artists in that sort of setting. Anyway, just over time we became more and more aware of the kind of tendency within the artist culture we were involved in in London towards people becoming more protective of their contacts and their gateways into galleries, and all of these things. It felt like there was a real closing down going on. At the same time, I was acting as host at Backspace, a really early cyber lounge, and that space was a completely open one, with really no remit. It had some computers in it – software and computers which were kind of borrowed from Lateral, an advertising company upstairs, and we borrowed bandwidth.

(7.50) AR: I suppose it was all really expensive back then too to have access to the technology?

(7.51) RC: Yes, so having access to 528k, or ISDN lines would have just been really expensive to have privately. This space basically just was inhabited by an itinerant group of artist-designers, musicians, tramps, business people and then people came and visited. There were a lot of people who I only later realised were actually kind of big figures in philosophy or in art. I was trying to work out why the internet was interesting because as

a sculptor it seemed a really uninteresting, thin medium, and it took 3 minutes to download an image that appeared as 3 inches on a screen and that kind of thing. But we started exploring, we experimented with putting some of Marc's poetry in jam jars in the streets and then building an online map for them. So we took a photograph of these, and it was called *Concrete Mirth*, and then we made an online map. You could click on an image on the map to see a picture of the jam jar. I started putting my sculptures out in the public, so basically I emptied my studio and gifted all my sculptures to the public, and left them in the middle of highways, in roundabouts, in parks. I just left them there with notes to people that they could email me.

(9.56) AR: Did you find people did get in contact?

(9.57) RC: Very occasionally, I think about 2 people got in contact, but just the photographing of it was in a way for me a way to think about what art meant in the public. There is a big billboard Agit-Art project that Marc and I refer to quite a lot, by Heath Bunting, which is *Most Art Means Nothing to Most People*. We were all sort of toying with this idea, like really, is art an elite activity – who is it for?

(10.35) AR: And did you find those were conversations which were happening within the wider networks you were part of at the time? Was there a clear counteraction to the YBA culture at this stage?

(10.50) RC: No, it was just that we were doing something else, and having different conversations.

(10.57) AR: It is interesting hearing you talk, because it sounds like there was a hybrid online and offline nature to what you were doing and an educational impetus quite early on.

(11.11) RC: It was more exploratory than educational, so it was exploratory and we all found out stuff together. So in that time at Backspace, I learnt how to build webpages – anyone could do this, it was very easy. So Furtherfield started with a combination of some of these physical to digital things, which were just explorations of what we could do with the stuff that we had to hand; inspired by a sense of unease that we had with the existing art context. Some of it was our stuff, and then we reviewed things that we liked, that

were not getting the attention we thought they deserved, so we would post photographs of them, with a small review, onto a web page. Then we just started circulating these on mailing lists, like *syndicate*, *rhizome*, *nettime* and *spectre*, and through that we suddenly found ourselves part of a conversation of people around the world, in Eastern Europe, North America, and Europe and South America and Australia, who were really keen to have conversations about art in the social context and political issues. Although we were not talking about what art means – we were not asking that question literally, it was in everything.

(12.48) AR: At that point had you decided to produce Furtherfield as an organisation? Had you come up with the name?

(12.57) RC: We toyed with a number of other names, but Furtherfield came out. What we liked about the idea of Furtherfield was that it would go to places that other places would not go, so it was the idea of leftfield, so something coming off from an odd angle, from somewhere you would not expect, but further!

(13.29) AR: Yes, that is how I've read it myself. And now that Furtherfield has grown into this really established organisation with 2 spaces, online and offline communities, how do you conceptualise your role in relationship to the organisation and collective? It feels as if you and Marc are still driving forces within the organisation and have been throughout, but how do you conceptualise that role?

(14.05) RC: Without sounding too cheesy, just one of enormous privilege, really because for whatever reason we have been able to maintain a space where people have chosen to come and help build with us. This means that we continued over the last 16 or 17 years to be part of the most amazing conversation, which has taken place in this, feels kind of odd to call it a territory, but it is a territory which we have all grown up with it together and made it together. Marc and I have really different roles which are really important, and the rest of the core Furtherfield team, like Ale and Olga, also have really important roles, without which none of this runs, and then we have a number of writers and people who are advisers and supporters of all kinds of aspects of the work. And then lots of people who do a few things occasionally are also really, really important in that they create a kind of broader ecology of the culture.

(15.27) AR: Are those roles things that have also grown quite organically, in terms of the growth of the organisation? Were these roles which presented themselves as a need?

(15.45) RC: We have become more strategic as time has gone on, because we have had to. Otherwise you continually accumulate and you can't look after everything, so you do have to prioritise. I'm not sure it has ever been a question of need, I think it is more a question of exuberance.

(16.22) AR: That might be better though?

(16.25) RC: I'm not sure if it is better - I think to be honest it obviously satisfies some need in enough people for it to justify some resources and attention.

(16.40) AR: How do you go about audience development? Do you actively have strategies to build audiences and exhibition programmes? When you say you are more strategic, is this what you mean?

(17.00) RC: We come at it completely from both angles, because we have to. But there seems to be a core Furtherfield trait and if you don't have this then you are probably in the wrong place. This is a strong drive to engage with really diverse people. It is both an aesthetic and artistic drive towards feeling life is more fun and more beautiful when there is more variety. This is also a feature of nature - that a broad ecology is rich with life. And it is just what we are all like.

(17.52) AR: I am really interested in the way that shared aims function in relation to a collective. This is such an open collective, in terms of being accessible and experimental, but at the same time there is something which holds it together. I'm fascinated by that balance between a structure, architecture or set of motivations that give an organisation its identity, and that set of motivations being in themselves something which is about being open and accessible. Furtherfield has a really interesting balance in terms of that.

(18.40) RC: What we tend to have to do is to remediate what is the case in terms of art bureaucracy and funding bureaucracy - we have to reflect and describe how we instinctively and now habitually do things, through the prism of other people's agendas. Basically, we don't have the flexibility to do things other than the way we are artistically

put together to do things, so I think it works in both ways. It is kind of like a self-selecting principle in that we select ourselves out from lots of opportunities because we just can't do that. Then also because of our artistic programme, which has a strong identity although it is difficult to define, people self-select in. Openness does not mean we will do anything, it means we will only do things which have a core of openness at their core. Most things don't, which is what allows us to work.

(20.11) AR: So maybe although not formally written down, if you were to pull it apart there are some very clear guiding motivations?

(20.23) RC: We have got much clearer about it. We basically did stuff for about 10 years before we started to really analyse what we were doing or contextualise it theoretically - we are all interested in that stuff, but we were all really in it for a long time. When we really started trying to work out what were the characteristics of what we were doing, there were ideas which hold true for much of what we do, which are an interest in openness as a philosophy, not just as a fluffy 'we want to share everything with everyone' but as a principle of what we do and also what we want to promote. Also, understanding that we are inspired by the tools, structures and metaphors of networks, because it is still a relatively new set of ways to think about thinking and being in the world - although really everyone has an intrinsic understanding of it because we all use these devices all the time which connect us to a network which connects us to the world, and this wasn't the case 20 years ago. Then that is tied to a sense of distribution, and then the umbrella thing, which we know now, is around ideas of emancipation; so for more people to have access to tools, infrastructures and approaches that enhance the freedoms of as many people as possible.

(22.18) AR: It is interesting that you say you were 'in it' for a long time and not critiquing things so much. Was that sense of becoming strategic to do with funding issues, or did it stem from somewhere else?

(22.34) RC: It was also just to do with as the field emerged. It also stemmed from me - Marc would probably just disagree with all this and be shouting and waving his fist at me! But I felt like I needed to up my game and be able to converse with people whose work I respected. Also I had a really growing understanding of the politics of the network that

meant that a kind of fluffy utopianism just wasn't good enough anymore, so I just needed to get more distinctions into what we were doing.

(23.14) AR: So that you know you're orientated towards something really truly progressive?

(23.16) RC: Yes exactly.

(23.20) AR: This is something I have also always been interested in. Related to that, I was also very interested in the rhetoric around Furtherfield, which holds a real emphasis on playfulness, but also on criticality and polemic. I wonder how you balance those two things - again I suppose it is a question of the relation between openness and criticality?

(23.50) RC: It's Situationism that is the closest nice category, which has criticality and playfulness. I've been listening to an audio-book of Simone De Beauvoir's *Ethics of Ambiguity*, and she has a long running critique of the Serious Man. Because the Serious Man is someone who is important according to the human structures and institutions, so he takes his status and authority from these external things, but these structures may be dead.

(24.35) AR: But within that potentially obsolete architecture he is still the serious man?

(24.40) RC: Yes, it may be completely irrelevant.

(24.41) AR: So with the idea of playfulness and criticality, how does curating work in relation to upcoming shows? How is work chosen?

(25.20) RC: There is a really good 10 step guide to being a good art student by John Cage, where he says 'separate the creativity from the critical analysis'. So basically we do that, and we do this constant oscillation, so stuff starts always from the artistic perspective, so it is things we are responding to for reasons we don't know. Good art is often really complex. If you look at an image and ask 100 people what it is about they will all tell you something very different. So it is not as if you can apply a set of written criteria to it. I can't go on Google and ask for playful critical art – its going to give me horrible shit! So there is a whole load of things and you increase your chance of finding stuff that you like

by being as deep in a network and as informed and generous as you can. Then you take that and look at how these things speak to other people.

(26.55) AR: So really the collective in terms of people within the network is still really central to how the whole thing runs and develops. Have you found that the collective surrounding Furtherfield has continued to grow steadily over the years?

(27.16) RC: This is one of the difficulties of openness - and being human. If you have a group of people who form and come together and do stuff. They get to know each other and become inevitably more exclusive, because it is quite hard to enter a social grouping when people already know each other. So moving to the park was really good. It was one of the reasons why it was so important to move to the park, because we knew that what we wanted to do was to bring all of this stuff that had been hot housed, with the spirit of openness but in quite a closed network, into the public domain. So really since 2012 we have put most of our effort into really working hard to make sure all the interpretation that surrounds exhibitions, especially onsite, means that a mother with a 4 year old can come into the space and feel like there is something for her; and there is something for her that is as rich someone who has come from Berlin because they want to see a particular artist in the show whose work they have been following for 5 years. We need to do that - it is really doing the work of openness.

(28.44) AR: It is putting openness into practice on another level?

(28.55) RC: Exactly, and we are also running these projects like the *Play Your Place* project, and like a whole set of outreach that we do, which is really deliberately working with people who we would not ordinarily encounter because of where we are now. That then informs the network, and also taking the way the network is changing and the way people behave with the network to then form new structures for interaction or participation, like we are doing with *Play Your Place*.

(29.35) AR: And how did the Furtherfield Commons come about, was this an extension of this same impulse?

(29.42) RC: Absolutely. Our original space, when we first had a public space was HTTP which was an exhibition space, but also an office and a lab space. It was a residency

space, where people could work informally for months on end and muck about and do brilliant stuff. We missed the lack of a maker space. Only having a show space felt like only having half a body in our network - because the network is experimental and productive so you need a space to experiment. That is what this space is about. This is a place to meet people you would not normally meet and encounter new ideas and processes and then work out what there is to make and why you would make it and have discussions about context, while the gallery is more of a presentation space.

(30.41) AR: So there is a distinction between process and product – would you say both are equally as important?

(30.43) RC: Yeah. We had someone in this morning who was giving us some mentoring on promotion and marketing, and we were getting told off for being unclear and doing too many things, and not providing one thing on our website... Is it a gallery? A magazine? A discussion forum? A community group? A maker space? It is for residencies? In our mind it just makes total sense that it is an ecology of these things. This is where your question about whether we are having to become more strategic comes in, because I do think we all have a strong sense of responsibility now. We know the riches that our networks contain, and it feels like it is really important that this stuff is shared in a way which can be accessed by more people.

(32.03) AR: So that sense of showcasing work becomes more important the stronger the network becomes... It is always a bugbear in critical discussion, perhaps it does not apply here, but whether process is overvalued in collaborative work and whether product is undervalued. It sort of went from all product to all process, and now there is another reshuffling happening.

(32.32) RC: Yes, it is especially confusing in the contemporary context where the marketization of everything tries to turn everything into a product, and then the artist being contrarian will often push against that anyway. So then you have this kind of yanking.

(33.02) AR: One thing I wanted to ask you about was around the idea of disagreement being a good thing in Furtherfield rather than aiming for straightforward consensus.

(33.48) RC: Again it started out as an everyday practical experience. Marc and I come from really quite different backgrounds. I think it is a lot to do with class, we just inevitably clash on pretty much everything. But it is kind of a nuclear reaction, it is very energetic. That is one thing which lets me think this is something productive. We were involved in NODE London in 2006. It stood for Networked Open Distributed Events and was a kind of experiment in open media arts production, distributed across 80 venues and organised by a bijjilion people, on a hierarchy-less, consensual basis. It was amazing and a complete nightmare. The thing I realised through, or the thing I learned through this smacking anvil of pain, was that it was painful because everyone wanted something to be a success and it was painful because everyone was really committed to it, but somehow we could not make it work. There were a couple of things I realised. One was that when you bring together communities from different disciplines - so arts, activism and software engineering - you are separated by a common language and you all mean a different thing by openness. So you all think you are working towards the same thing and then they mean something completely different and they actually really look down on you for the way you look at it. You end up with all these horrible misunderstandings and disappointments. The other thing is that when you remove the structures of hierarchy - these hierarchies of control - there are many horrible things about them and hierarchical structures of dominance have got a lot to answer for, religion, governments and colonial power embody awful things which need looking at and critiquing - but actually, if we are getting things done, we are all used to it apart from anything else. We understand the process and we have been brought up with it through school and religions and all these sorts of things, we all really understand it. So that is a well understood common process by which things get done. Hierarchy is a kind of machine we can all take part in. For NODE London, because we were operating without hierarchy, it meant we were running into problems we did not know how to solve. I would summarise it as: everyone wanted attention and glory and no one wants responsibility.

(37.26) AR: So you were trying to build a new system of working at the same time as trying to work within that system!

(37.39) RC: Exactly! So we did a lot of reflection while we were in the process of working out why it was so difficult, and what things were not working. Loads of people had

nervous breakdowns in the middle and left loads of massive things – it was all very melodramatic! We returned to the essay ‘The Tyranny of Structurelessness’ [a 1970 essay by Jo Freeman] and that really helped us to understand what was going on. So you remove hierarchy, and instead what happens is you get these new informal hierarchies of charisma, articulacy and so these new personalities rise to the top and they are not horrid, it is just that they find themselves enabled to facilitate. Then, because we are all so used to hierarchy, we kind of flock to them, with a kind of ‘oh thank god for that someone has finally taken control’. So we end up with these really interesting sorts of balances. So what happened was that we ended up with an amazing, diverse season of events, attended by people who had all sorts of critical kind of materials, and we all know each other really, really well. We have seen each other for best and worst, and have gossiped about each other and there are all these open documents and minutes which document all the fall outs, so we all really know each other. Where London used to be very hard to get a sense of disparate activity, because it is so huge and noisy...

(39.39) AR: So at the end of the process, did you borrow any lessons from that experience for your role at Furtherfield? It must be quite strange as a position to be in the role of the facilitator and progenitor of the project, but also having ideals of horizontality.

(40.06) RC: I was brought up Catholic which means I have long training in dealing with contradiction. I just don’t worry about it too much! I recently read a book called *FLOSS and Art*, and the last chapter is by Rob Myers, an artist who we’ve commissioned and who we’ve worked with quite a lot and is now on our advisory board - a very fine man. But his essay is about Art and Freedom, and he gives a list of do’s and don’ts. And he says don’t confuse the structure with the content. So he is basically advising people not to try to embody every aspect of Free and Open Source in order to promote free and open source. Be pragmatic, because if you look at all the development of free and open source software, they are incredibly controlled, very hierarchical systems. People don’t just let anything in.

(41.31) AR: It is like *Linux*, where Linus Torvalds is yaying and naying all input to the system...

(41.34) RC: So they are open in terms of anyone can have a go at contributing and if someone comes up with something that the person who owns thinks it will serve the agenda of whatever the project is then it will get in. There are gerjillion people out there who might like to be involved in that project who do not have a hope in hell of having a chance, because they don't have the education or the privilege, capacity or skills to ever be a part of that.

(42.10) AR: So it is almost a payoff between quality of the outcome and accessibility.

(42.29) RC: The minute you want to achieve something in particular. It is just about acknowledging that as soon as you want to achieve something, there is a certain context and a set of objectives; and that there are limits on everything. You have to immediately impose a whole lot of limits on it.

(42.49) AR: But I suppose that doesn't mean that the whole project in itself has to be as specific as that – so in certain instances, you need a certain skill set and rules which mean it is pragmatic and will work in a way which is worthwhile for the people involved, but then there could be other areas which are devoted to other goals; and require a whole new skillset.

(43.16) RC: Exactly. Paula Graham, who runs the FLOSSI conference, says 'if you aim for diversity, you get it'. It is just about knowing when to aim for diversity - when and how to aim for openness. That you have to be strategic about, you do have to be strategic about that.

(43.53) AR: Do you find there is reticence about the idea of being strategic?

(44.00) RC: I was really resistant to it for a really long time. It just felt like what ugly business people do, it felt like what all the kinds of people that I did not want to be associated with would use. But now, it is a way to amplify the impact of good stuff, is to be strategic, so you need it.

(44.26) AR: As long as your aims are good, the outcome can also be good.

(44.29) RC: Yes. Marc and I also wrote a couple of essays about NODE London, which might be useful to you. 'Getting Organised Openly?' And there was one called 'States of

Interdependence'. The one which is called 'Getting Organised Openly' is one of the real cry of pain, the first one was really utopian and full of love. The first one was just in process before everything had really gone bad, or hard. The second one was a real cry of pain about the difficulties of trying to make a second one work. There was so much amazing learning.

(45.33) AR: Actually, I wanted to ask you, where do you see the future of Furtherfield?

(45.52) RC: I think there are a couple of things. We are now admitting that we are being more strategic. We are interested in programmes which really do enhance the freedoms of more and more diverse people through access to experimental and imaginative practices. So just paying attention to that on the one hand. The other is that this new context here, where we have 2 footholds in a brilliant public space, surrounded with really multiculturally and ethnically diverse people, and so we have got that which is a pot of riches. Then we have this online network of techies, activists, thinkers, again people whose attentions are dedicated to these emerging cultures on the net. I think the focus now will be creating an interface between these two things, and thinking about how we creak that open - all that world, and how we bring useful stuff out of that into this world and can ask people how it is useful and what its value is. How can it contribute to people's lives and enlarge their freedoms as well.

(47.38) AR: It is interesting, as it does feel that the online side of things is very much a community in itself, even in terms of finding sites and projects. But I suppose having these physical spaces must allow traffic to go through.

(48.01) RC: Yes, but there is still a door there, and I am really interested in cracking open that door, and it is not only one door – there are many doors to open. Things like the *Play Your Place* project: that is one of those moments to look at doing that. So next year, if we can get the resources together we will be running *Play Finsbury Park* which is really looking with how we can work with local people to get a load of open data expressing assumptions about what it is like to live here. Then to push back at it and create their own data about the place: while finding ways to help make that data shape the place. I think my next 10 years' endeavour is to look at interventions in this locality and to see how these insights can be distributed to other locations internationally. And there is

something possible in a way that isn't colonial. That people really can take away and make their own, on their own terms.

(49.18) AR: Finally, I wanted to ask you, if you could pick 3 ingredients for collective working, what they would be.

(49.36) RC: Endless supply of cups of tea, agreed foundation of respect for divergence, permission to cause offence has to be there. I think one thing I am really aware of, is there have been many, many times when we have said we are doing one thing and actually we are doing another, and sometimes that is deliberate, and sometimes it isn't. The real difficulty is knowing if you are really working on the same thing. Sometimes people join a collective to get a whole load of other things - it is not a deliberate deception, but they are there for very different reasons.

(51.00) AR: That is interesting, I joined a collective recently and one of the main things they said in the first meeting was: 'we don't want people to come here to study us'. I was conflicted about this, as I am interested in the content, but it is also related to my research, so I had to be clear about that.

(51.41) RC: So I think that the cup of tea stands for 'conviviality' really. It is really important in a collective that people are made to feel comfortable and welcome and that their contribution is worth as much as anybody else's.

(52.30) AR: Do you find people have come into Furtherfield as a collective who have expressed opinions that offend, or have shifted the way Furtherfield functions?

(52.26) RC: All the time, that is like a daily occurrence which we would encourage. Anyone who enters it shapes it. If they don't shape it they will usually bugger off, because that is what it is there for. The thing I just don't know and that you would have to ask someone else, is how dominant Marc and I are. Because it's not something I have much of an insight into. It's a hard thing to get an insight into. I'm fairly sure that we'd be quite dominant.

(53.10) AR: But I suppose that if everyone is able to have a standpoint, then you don't have to be reticent about having strong opinions and wanting to shape things - and that is what is nice - when it's not everyone tiptoeing around.

(53.23) RC: Being afraid of getting it wrong. You really have to be prepared to get it wrong. It is like any sort of artistic process, or in a brainstorming process - you just have to be prepared to kind of [be proved wrong] at least for part of the process.

(53.40) AR: And I suppose that in itself says something about the way the group has to be formed.

(53.44) RC: I mean if you look at Marc, he lives online a lot more than I do, so what tends to happen is that Marc is a fairly maximal communicator. We'll all interject a little bit but he is mainly the voice on *Twitter* and he holds the *Netbehaviour* discussion. But if you look at his communication, when things kick off, he is always actually really patient, and actually a real mediator between people. If people have said something which makes them look like a fool, he does not encourage people to go for them. There is a lot of making space for people to look silly. It's fine to look silly.

(54.46) AR: Mediating in that way is a complex skill set in itself.

(54.51) RC: It is very un-institutional, because you can't do that and try to maintain a consistent brand.

(54.59) AR: Actually, that was the final question I wanted to ask you about - how you would see the distinction between Furtherfield and a traditional institution?

(55.13) RC: The brand problem is why we have not been able to institutionalise, because we can't maintain a consistent brand. It is really not in the nature of the thing. It is an unsolved thing. We really do not know if we will be here in a year's time, unless we find a way. It is partly a strategic reason as to why I am wondering if we can distribute things into other spaces, because we need to look at new economic bases for what we do. Our failure to attract 3 brand sponsors and do those things which, if Marc and I opted out of Furtherfield and allowed someone to take it over and to turn it, it could probably be institutionalised very successfully. That is quite interesting, because there is such a rich

archive of stuff. But whether you would just see a mass outflow of all the people who make it what it is, I don't know.

(56.30) AR: I think maybe you would...

(56.32) RC: I don't know if that makes the whole venture really dubious, but it is really interesting.

(56.38) AR: It is, it seems to come back to the unspoken clauses in this shared motivation, that people would not want it to be a homogenous brand... It would go against everything wouldn't it!

(57.01) RC: Yes, I don't know if you have read Tim Jackson's *Prosperity Without Growth*. It is real Social Science and Ecology. What he is proposing is what we are, which is something which says there are many things human beings depend on – and these are not all packageable and not all profitable, and they can't all be encapsulated and then exploited. These are actually the things which give us resilience, and that will actually feed this ecology. And then he gives this whole technical argument for it. So I am just saying read Tim Jackson, and that is why we are here. It is one area where, if we go back to the question of use or need, that I am fairly confident we are doing something useful and addressing a need.

(58.33) AR: It's not a modelling because it is actually happening, but it is almost like a Temporary Autonomous Zone?

(58.38) RC: Yes, we have been described as a 'Semi-Permanent Autonomous Zone'! Perhaps we should end things there?

(58.57) AR: Yes I think time is up! Thank you so much.

Interview with Marc Garrett, Co-Director of Furtherfield (11/12/2015)

(7.38) AR: In your experience at Furtherfield what would you say is the relationship of leadership to successful collaboration?

(8.46) MG: I would say a successful approach would be to listen to your community and not to dictate to the community the artwork, or software you are making. What you do is to listen to their needs and concerns and their critique. One of the biggest problems in other organisations which are working much more top down is that they may pay lip service to the notion of a rhizomatic context, but in reality they don't actually live what they say: they don't do what they say. This approach gives you more respect from the community as well. You don't make promises to them and then do something else completely different, because then you are exploiting them. Also the other thing is that the community you work with should not only have a voice in terms of collaboratively building new platforms, but also in relation the organisation's economy. Then it becomes a decentralised economy where you have got co-workers and you are not earning more than they are.

(10.47) AR: Yes, this is something that has come out in my research. To be able to influence an organisation's economy is extremely unusual. It seems a lot of organisations outsource the responsibility for cultural knowledge production but retain ultimate power over it. So it's really interesting you say that.

(11.11) MG: Ultimately I suppose it is like a heterarchy. But its functioning depends on particular platforms as well and the needs of the community in terms of what they are asking for. So for example the email list *Netbehaviour*. That's just left to run on its own, and everyone is quite happy, it's not moderated. So people can just do what they want on this.

(11.48) AR: Yes, this list does seem to sort of self-regulate, like its own ecosystem. I suppose everybody is engaged in the questions being thrown around?

(12.00) MG: Well all the decisions about the list come from the list, so it becomes its own neighbourhood, or community in its own right; and it decides its own fate.

(12.23) AR: That's really interesting. Something else actually also struck me in what you mentioned earlier about the role of critique in the collective - I was wondering, what would you say the role of disagreement and debate has in relation to these decentralised, collaborative economies?

(12.32) MG: I'd say if academic critique and practical work functions in about a 50/50 ratio, you get much closer to the shape of what you are after, rather than just practice on its own or just theory on its own. So obviously we have got theorists and techies and all kinds of people who are kind of arguing or debating what they feel is important. By the end – a good example is with DIWO [Do it With Others] projects, you get a kind of collective example of how it works, because it is decentralised. What happens is that the hurdles are already dealt with once the community is engaged in what is essentially a peer-to-peer relationship. Our role is to make sure it happens.

(13.54) AR: So as a Director it is sort of facilitating those interdisciplinary links and allowing disparate voices to be able to come together? It strikes me that this is something quite reminiscent of FLOSS [Free and Open Source Software] cultures, is that a deliberate move?

(14.08) MG: Well I come myself from a Free and Open Source Culture from the late 80's and early 90's. I was using *Red Hat*, which was an Open Source operating system in 1990 and comes from a tradition of creating your own artistic context, on your own terms. So this was a deliberate act of emancipation. And therefore it is about not allowing other people to give you the context, because all they are doing is giving you their context. So I worked in Pirate Radio and so on. The demands [for new modes of collaboration] are usually always already there, but it's just that people don't tend to listen to them. Or they are just not interested in doing anything themselves - they have lost the power to help themselves.

(15.28) AR: And sometimes I suppose it is a feeling of helplessness, of not knowing how to become an active player in things as well. Maybe it is learned helplessness more than

anything else, where someone might fit into a pre-existing framework rather than creating something completely different. So it seems a shift in mindset would actually be essential to effecting broader cultural change.

On another note I've noticed that play and experimentation - which seems essential in FLOSS projects - is also very important to the collaborative work that happens at Furtherfield? I wondered if you could say a bit about this?

(16.12) MG: I think the role of play is very much related to freedom. You need play to make space so you can explore without the everyday confines, protocols and restrictions. If you are making a work of art, it is the same spirit - or if you are with someone you love. It is real freedom. But then if you want to present that freedom to the world, you have to re-present it in a way that is comprehensible. That is where the critique comes in. I think play is a good process to loosen up restrictions of what society is imposing on you at the time. Then you can come back in to society with what you have learned while you've been playing and present something interesting, that other people can take on in turn and play with.

(17.42) AR: I see, so there is something like a framework there, which you are pulling apart and saying 'right now I've got all these building blocks, and I am going to build them up in a different way and represent them to society', so then it really seems to be a sort of process of *détournement* in a way?

(18.00) MG: It is Situationist, yes, definitely. I think what's interesting is that not many organisations function like this. That is the difference. I mean there is no Situationist organisation - there is no such thing - but somehow we are! Also, there is no other organisation I know of that will work with theories in practice. So say for instance that we decided we liked Donna Haraway's *Cyborg Manifesto*, Judith Butler's critique around gender, and Katherine Hayles' ideas around Mary Shelley and Frankenstein, and where they are coming from in a feminist perspective around technology. We will incorporate that into our processes of working with the community and also in exhibitions we show. So there are a whole lot of influences that create that kind of essence of what Furtherfield is.

(19.23) AR: Yes, and I suppose that comes back again to this heterarchy where there are many different influences in conversation: something which allows a translation of theory into practice and vice versa.

(19.36) MG: What makes it a heterarchy is that we are dominant in the respect that we don't allow corruption from other hierarchies. So we are protecting the community by not allowing neoliberalism to exploit it. That's our job.

(20.04) AR: This is something which really resonates with my PhD research actually. I've argued that because current forms of neoliberalism are functioning within a sort of pseudo-collaborative framework, collaboration can be an incredibly ambivalent and slippery process. It becomes extremely difficult to put forward a new critical way of being, that does not get sucked back in to the dominant ideology. It does therefore seem very important to have some sort of defence in place, not so much a traditional gatekeeper role, but...

(20.41) MG: It's a very different form of gatekeeping in a way, because it is not gatekeeping in order to maintain canons or hierarchies, or History of Art. It is gatekeeping to protect the community and their values. But those values have been decided collectively. That is the thing. We have not decided all those values ourselves, they have been discussed throughout the years. Next year will be our twenty year anniversary at Furtherfield. So it is a success and has succeeded this far. The community is changing all the time of course, but they seem to keep coming along and enjoying what it is. It's like they have joined some kind of anarchist collective and they are accepted as they are, on their own terms. So it doesn't matter to us whether they have been to university or what class they are or whether they have been to some Biennale and shown next to Jeff Koons or Damien Hurst. To us that's irrelevant - and that is the difference.

.....Break in recording.....

(26.44) AR: I guess we are kind of talking about this already, but my next question surrounds the organisational structure of Furtherfield in relation to the idea of the collective. As we are talking it is reminding me of Elinor Ostrom's text *Governing the Commons* – am I thinking along the right lines here?

(27.17) MG: I think you are, but I think every de-centralised community, or assembled community has its own set of values and motives and individuals and groups of people who define its purpose and existence. There is a really good text by Jo Freeman which you probably have read called the *Tyranny of Structurelessness*, which is a really good example of how it does not work - and we are really aware of that. I think it depends who it is that is doing it actually. It depends on the values of the people who are actually running the group or collective. I have been in several groups in the past that have all been ruined by nastiness. You know, guru types who are really trying to propose their supposed genius.

We have been lucky to have worked with lots of women for instance - who have got a much more calming effect, and much less about the aggression - and just easier to work with. It's not just a coincidence there are so many women working in the arts - administrating it - and not many men doing that. I think it is an interesting factor which probably needs more investigation. We find we have a lot of men and women online, but that's different to the people who work in the physical space. Online it is a mixture and it is quite even. But in our physical space, it is generally a lot of women. I think Furtherfield is based on generosity rather than competition and that makes a difference straight away, regarding the roles that people can play within that context. A lot of macho men will just not want to touch that. The typical alpha male will run a mile from that because they have got nowhere to go with it. Also, part of the dialogue is not attractive because the role of Furtherfield is partly to critique the Patriarch. That means we are critiquing society at the same time, and our society is submissive in general to the Patriarch. They won't find that attractive because that challenges their own behaviour.

(31.26) AR: All the more reason to do it though!

(31.29) MG: Oh yeah - it's part of our default.

(31.38) AR: It reminds me of something Ruth said in our previous interview about collaboration in Furtherfield being self-selecting. Ruth was saying the organisational values of Furtherfield in terms of working against competition and towards generosity means people will come and stay if it suits them, but will move on if they are not interested in challenging dominant culture in this way.

(32.03) MG: I think what is so unique about Furtherfield is that we are a very effective force. For such a liberal organisation to be so dynamic is quite unique. Traditionally they are probably all getting stoned in the corner somewhere, or just not getting stuff done.

(32.44) AR: Yes, that is really what struck me about Furtherfield - the balance which is struck between collaboration and organisation which enables stuff to get done. It seems a very unique model, and one which I know is fluid in itself.

I think actually my other questions are more about *VisitorsStudio*. My first question was about the design process for the site – how the concept for the site came about and what the process of development was.

(33.17) MG: Well the design process was a kind of mash up where we worked with Neil Jenkins. In a way he hacked Flash, which at the time was the only software that could work on the server and make the live interaction happen with a multitude of people at the same time. With Perl scripting, and actually hacking Flash, we created a whole new platform for the community to work on. It originally started as *FurtherStudio* which you probably know already. This was another platform which was much more about how individuals can have real time residencies at home on their computers, where curators or other people could in real time critique their practice. *FurtherStudio* was the first time anyone has ever done that. It was a real breakthrough for art culture, let alone anything else. You could theoretically have someone from the Whitney Museum critiquing in real-time the work of a woman with 3 kids in a wheelchair and what they are making on the screen. Both *VisitorsStudio* and *FurtherStudio* operated with the ethos of building the needs around the people themselves, rather than the other way around.

(35.29) AR: And *FurtherStudio* was before the whole boom in apps even began – so it sort of leapfrogged the whole useless circulation of digital material through apps and produced something which was focussed, addressing a need, and using technology to critical ends. It seems to have been doing all the things that people are calling for now - even Geert Lovink's call for org nets!

(35.54) MG: We've actually done all the stuff that Lovink called for in that respect. It's just that we are not institutional in the same way so it is often not recognised.

.....Break in recording.....

(40.00) AR: What was the decision behind synchronous production onsite with *VisitorsStudio*, so that people had the space to actually interact in real time?

(40.18) MG: I suppose the idea comes from the notion that people can reflect on other people's practice in real time and it came from the *FurtherStudio* idea. We thought why not have lots of people acknowledging one another's practice at once, if you can have one person being acknowledged. The difference is that the interface in *FurtherStudio* was very much linked to just one person's computer. With *VisitorsStudio*, it was linked to people's interaction on the server, so there are two different functions of work there. You could not do that remote linking to someone's computer unless it had the same tools to work with.

.....Break in recording.....

(49.18) MG: What also exists in *VisitorsStudio* is an assemblage of a collective. It exists online, but it is also a small part of a larger kind of neighbourhood: a group of people who are exploring those ideas in reality.

(49.52) AR: Actually I wanted to ask you – in terms of the wider assemblage and the way people come together using *VisitorsStudio* as a platform I was really interested in the 'Dissention Convention' in 2004. I wondered if you could tell me a bit about how that came about and what your experience was of producing *VisitorsStudio* in that way.

(50.16) MG: The idea again was suggested by people within the Furtherfield community on email lists. I think the email list has been going since 2002 anyway. So some of the people who were talking around that time about the war and how America was creating a kind of crusade and a real black and white version of events, exploiting people and killing everyone and using that to get oil. And everyone knew just what was going on except for the media for some reason. We decided to do a protest art project around the subject, and do it through *VisitorsStudio*, where people can use the audio-visual tools within the studio to create demonstrations.

(51.31) AR: So you were present all together in the art gallery?

(51.40) MG: Some of the work was being projected in real-time where there was a protest march - because it was a response to the Republican Convention in 2004 by the Bush Presidency at the time, and both were based in New York. So we used that as a chance to share critique as artists across different cultures.

(52.30) AR: And did you know all the artists who participated personally or did you send out a call?

(52.34) MG: It kind of quite naturally came together. Some of the artists we got to know around that time, and some we knew before, so it was a mixture of artists. It all started through conversation really, and then they contacted other people that might be interested. The work was presented at the Postmaster's Gallery in New York as well in real time. The other thing about that is that it was not just shown on *VisitorsStudio*, but also on other websites at the same time. Because there were so many people that wanted to watch it, not all could view it on *VisitorsStudio*. We had to share the live broadcast of it in real time on different websites around the world.

(54.28) AR: I guess the network is then expanded out exponentially then – every time you add a new screen you get a new network around it.

(54.38) MG: Yes, so it became part of a larger network. Does that answer your question?

(54.57) AR: It does answer the question! In fact, I think I have all the information I need. Thanks very much for your time.

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- Ztohoven *The Moral Reform* http://www.ztohoven.com/?page_id=360&lang=en
(accessed 28.12.15)

Web Resources

- 4chan www.4chan.org
- Action Switchboard <https://actionswitchboard.net/>
- Amazon www.amazon.com
- Bitcoin <https://bitcoin.org/>
- Dissention Convention www.furtherfield.org/dissentionconvention/
- Delicious <https://delicious.com/>
- Etoy www.etoys.com
- Facebook www.facebook.com
- Flickr www.flickr.com
- Furtherfield www.furtherfield.org
- Historypin www.historypin.com
- Lives of the First World War www.livesofthefirstworldwar.org/
- Linux <https://www.linux.com/>
- Netbehaviour www.netbehaviour.org/
- Nettime www.nettime.org/
- Not an Alternative www.notanalternative.com/
- Play Your Place <http://furtherfield.org/projects/play-your-place>
- Red Hat www.redhat.com/en
- Rhizome www.rhizome.net
- Shell Fail www.yeslab.org/shellfail
- Shift (Formerly We Are What We Do) www.shiftdesign.org.uk/
- Spectre www.monoskop.org/Spectre
- Syndicate monoskop.org/Syndicate
- Storify <https://storify.com/>
- Thing.net www.thing.net
- Twitter www.twitter.com
- VisitorsStudio www.visitorsstudio.org


- *Water Stations* www.waterstations.org
- *Wikipedia* www.wikipedia.org
- *Yes Lab* www.yeslab.org/
- *Zooniverse* www.zooniverse.org

Crowdsourcing, Curating and Network Power: Towards a Critical Crowdsourced Cultural Archive

Appendix II: Project Images

All URLs checked and verified 29/12/15

Fig 1: Victoria & Albert Crowdsourcing Homepage
<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/crowdsourcing/>



BETA
CROWDSOURCING
Search the Collections

Help us improve Search the Collections

The new version of Search the Collections contains over 140,000 images. The images are selected automatically and as a result some of them may not be the best view of the object to display on the homepage of Search the Collections. We are using crowdsourcing to help us find the best crops (or views).

How to join in

You will need to register so that we can make sure you do not get shown the same objects repeatedly. To get started, [register or login here](#)

The Task

For Search the Collections, photographs have been cropped into a square format to fit on the homepage of Search the Collections. The task is to improve those crops. Because the images are always square it may not be possible to achieve a useful crop showing the whole object, but we can make them display more interesting details so that users get the best possible experience.

What is Crowdsourcing?

Crowdsourcing is a way of using a lot of people to help complete a task or solve a problem on the web. By working with the group, or crowd, the Museum gains insight into its users' views and preferences.

before

after

before

after

Our progress

79029

120072

objects processedtotal objects

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Fig 2: Victoria & Albert Crowdsourcing Example
<http://bit.ly/1dBFZLG>

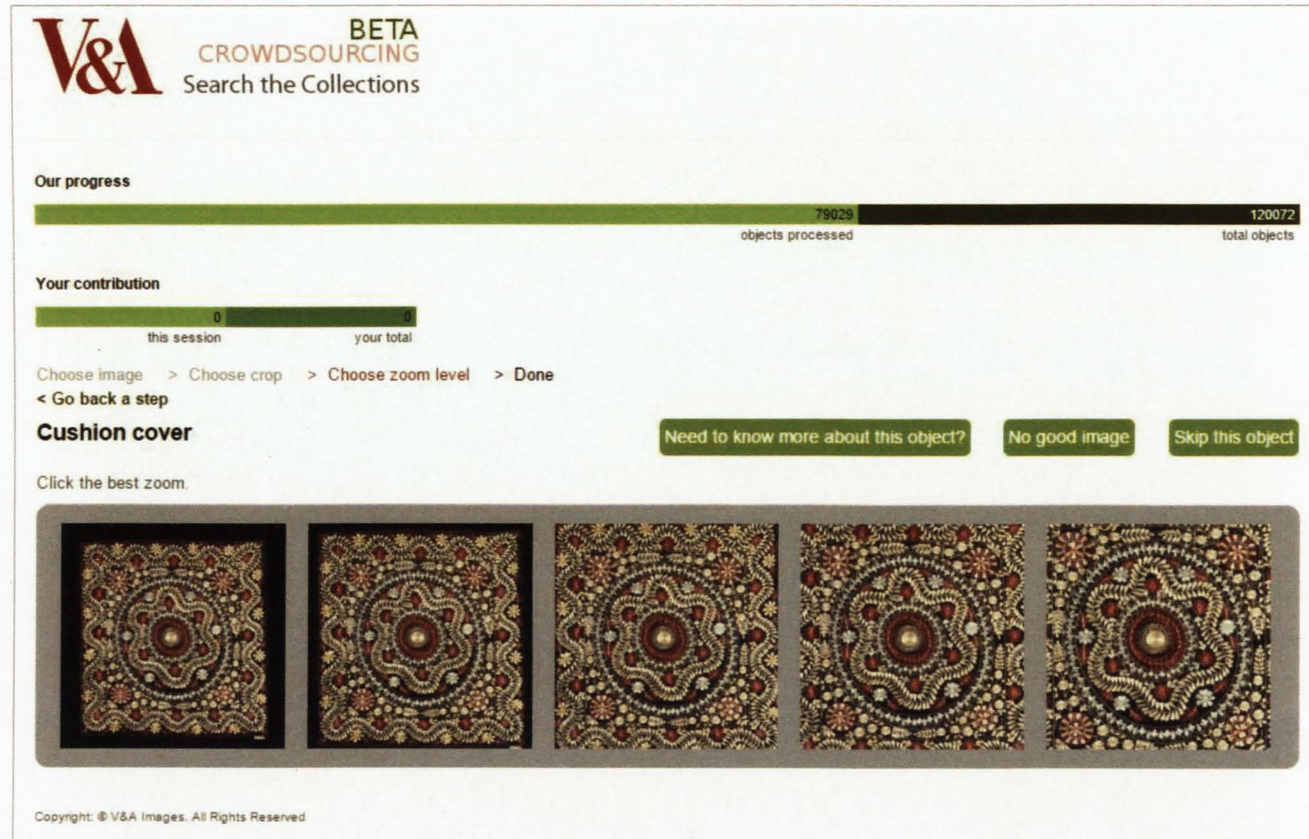


Fig 3: *Old Weather* Homepage
www.oldweather.org/

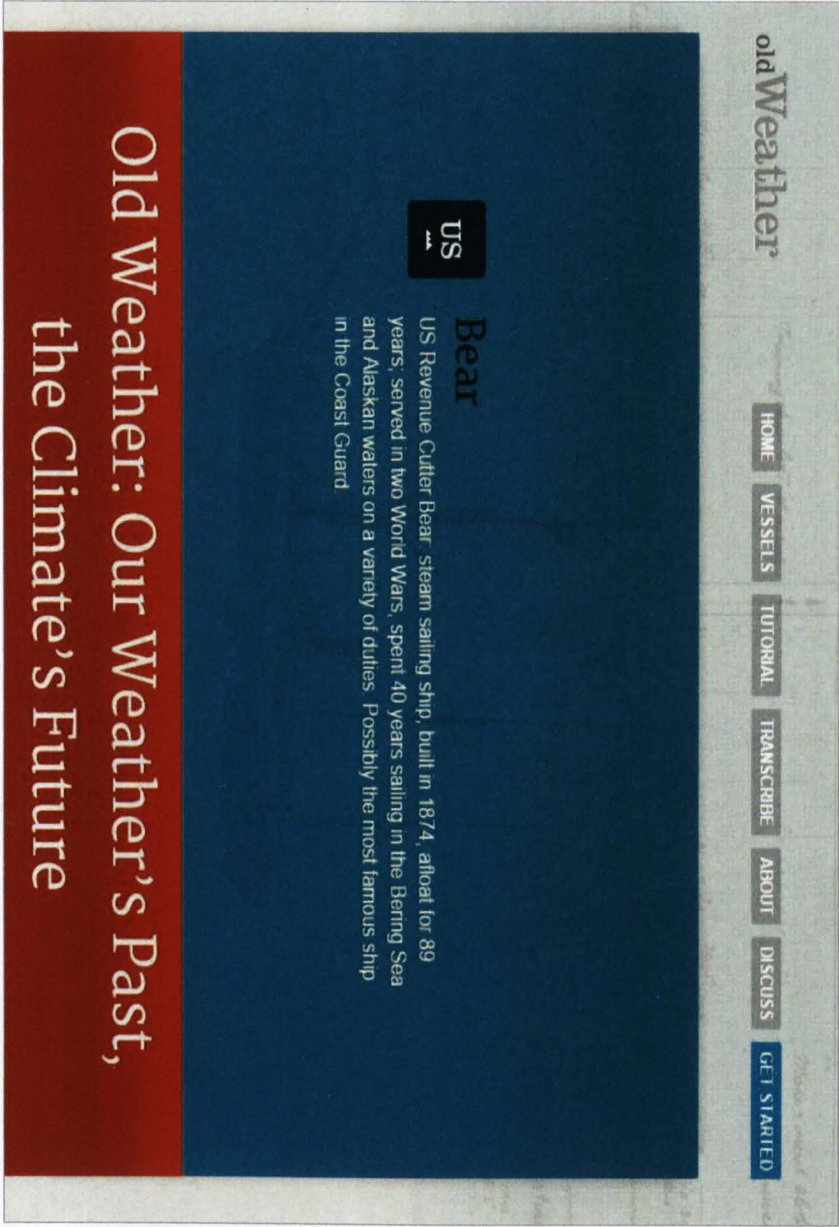


Fig 4: *Transcribe Bentham* Homepage
www.ucl.ac.uk/transcribe-bentham

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A PARTICIPATORY INITIATIVE

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Welcome to Transcribe Bentham

By Tim Causer, on 27 March 2013

Jeremy Bentham

and philosophical material.

This is an exciting opportunity to make a genuine difference to research and scholarship by contributing to the production of the new edition of *The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham*, and to help create for posterity a vast digital repository of Bentham's writings. We warmly invite you to take part in this endeavour: no special skills are required, you do not require approval to participate, and every contribution—no matter how small—is of great value to *Transcribe Bentham*.

'Many hands make light work. Many hands together make merry work', wrote the philosopher and reformer, Jeremy Bentham (1748 – 1832) in 1793. In this spirit, we cordially welcome you to *Transcribe Bentham*, a double award-winning collaborative transcription initiative, which is digitising and making available digital images of Bentham's unpublished manuscripts through a platform known as the 'Transcription Desk'. There, you can access the material and—just as importantly—transcribe the material, to help the work of UCL's Bentham Project, and further improve access to, and searchability of, this enormously important collection of historical

Transcribe Bentham

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Fig 5: *Old Weather*, Transcription Page

www.oldweather.org/transcribe



Fig 6: Transcribe Bentham, Transcription Page
<http://bit.ly/1QWWmTX>

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★ Welcome to the upgraded Transcription Desk: please visit our guide to using the transcription interface. Second batch of British Library Bentham papers, featuring Bentham family correspondence and more, now available to transcribe! List of un-transcribed material now available. Our FAQ contains a list of common questions. Congratulations to all TB volunteers: you have now transcribed over 10,000 Bentham manuscripts!

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B 1 [] CRIMES in general Ch. 1st Of the several tasks performable &c.

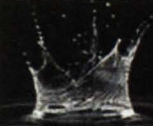
The word Offences carries a reference to some Law whereby the act so denominated is supposed to be forbidden under a penalty. It is plain therefore that every act whatever may be an offence.

The word Crime where it means refers to any thing more than the writer's own feelings or opinion carries a reference to the general disapprobation of the Society. By the Society in this case is most commonly meant that Political State (i.e. portion of Society, being usually that of which he is a member, which the writer keeps principally in view during his discourse, or it may mean Mankind at large; i.e. the majority of Political States which of these two meanings it be, must be determinable only by the context: it is very often the case, that the distinction has not occurred to the writer himself: the idea of his own particular Society, swallowing up, as it is apt, that of every other, supposed to be bestowed on the act in question, which disapprobation is further supposed to exist in an intense degree.

In general, its strictest & most usual ordinary acceptance it supposes the act of which it is predicated to be also an Offence — & thus it is we say, that Murder is a crime — in a Rhetorical & abusive improper acceptance this supposition is sometimes omitted. & thus it is we say, that Ingratitude is a crime: not meaning thereby that by Law for an act of that sort there is any penalty by Laws.

In general, the act to which this latter denomination is attributed, is supposed to be wrong, & very wrong: &c. whatever be the standard or criterion

Fig 7: National Maritime Museum, Personal Collections
<http://collections.rmg.co.uk/mycollections>

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MUSEUMS
GREENWICH

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The Collections

My collections

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Name	Artist / Maker	Date made	ID	
<u>Calendar</u>	Powell, John	1760	AST0657	<u>Remove</u>
<div><div></div><div>Calendar - single year</div></div>				

Fig 8: Museum of Art and Design, My Collections

<http://collections.madmuseum.org/code/emuseum.asp>

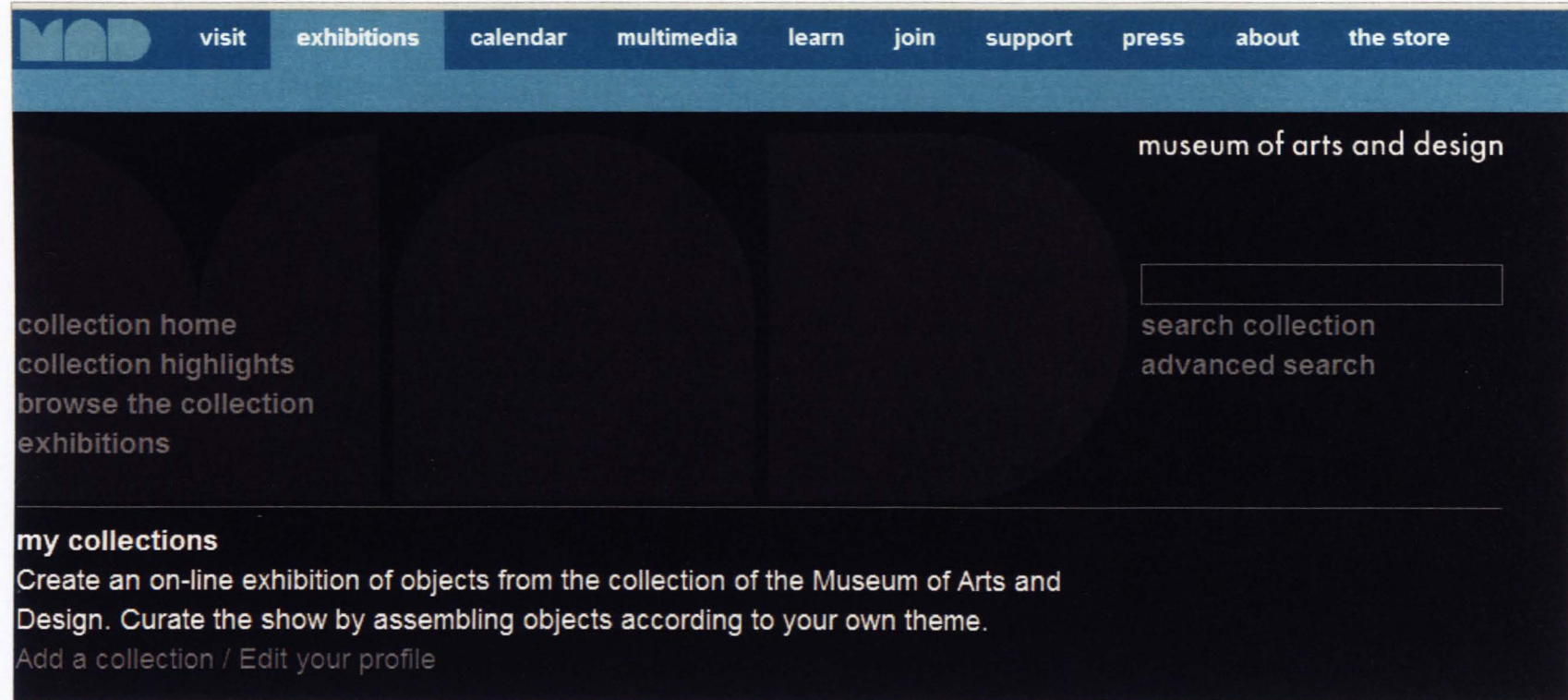
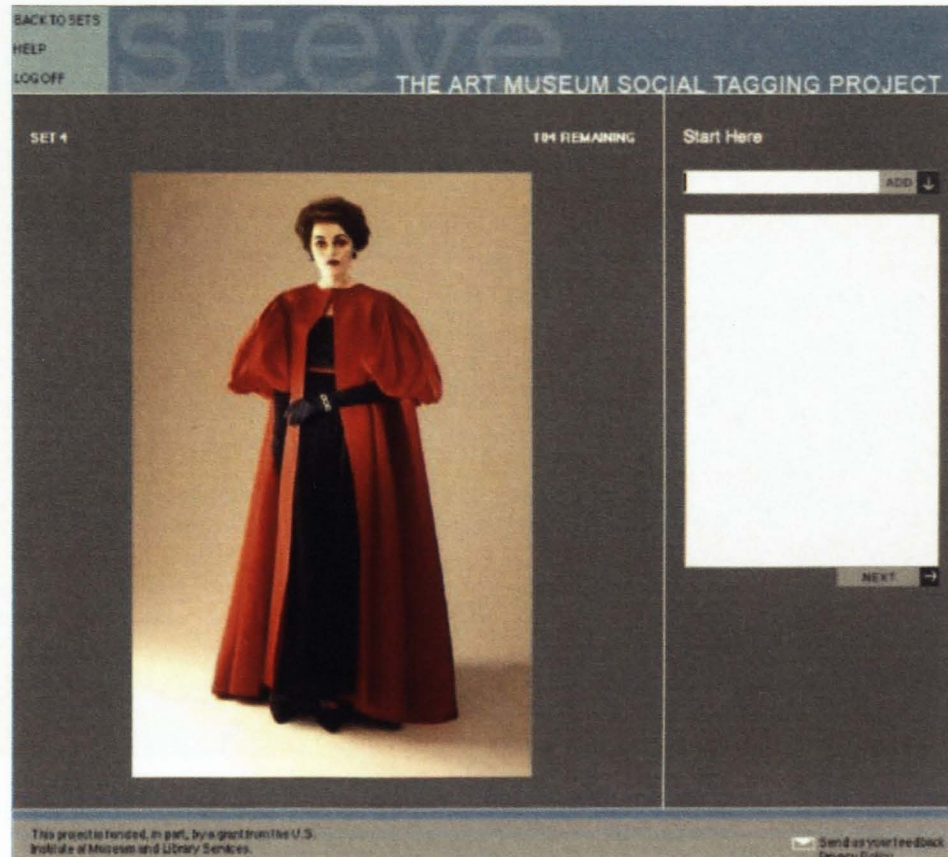


Fig 9: *Steve.Museum* Example Tagging Page

<http://bit.ly/1R1WUIU>



A. Reynolds

Fig 10: Brooklyn Museum, *Tag You're It*
<http://bit.ly/1LFUMTy>

Brooklyn Museum

Collections: Photography: America (Snoop Dogg)

Collections

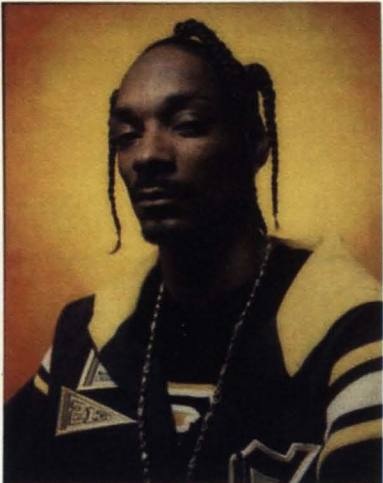
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Fig 11: Brooklyn Museum, *Freeze Tag*

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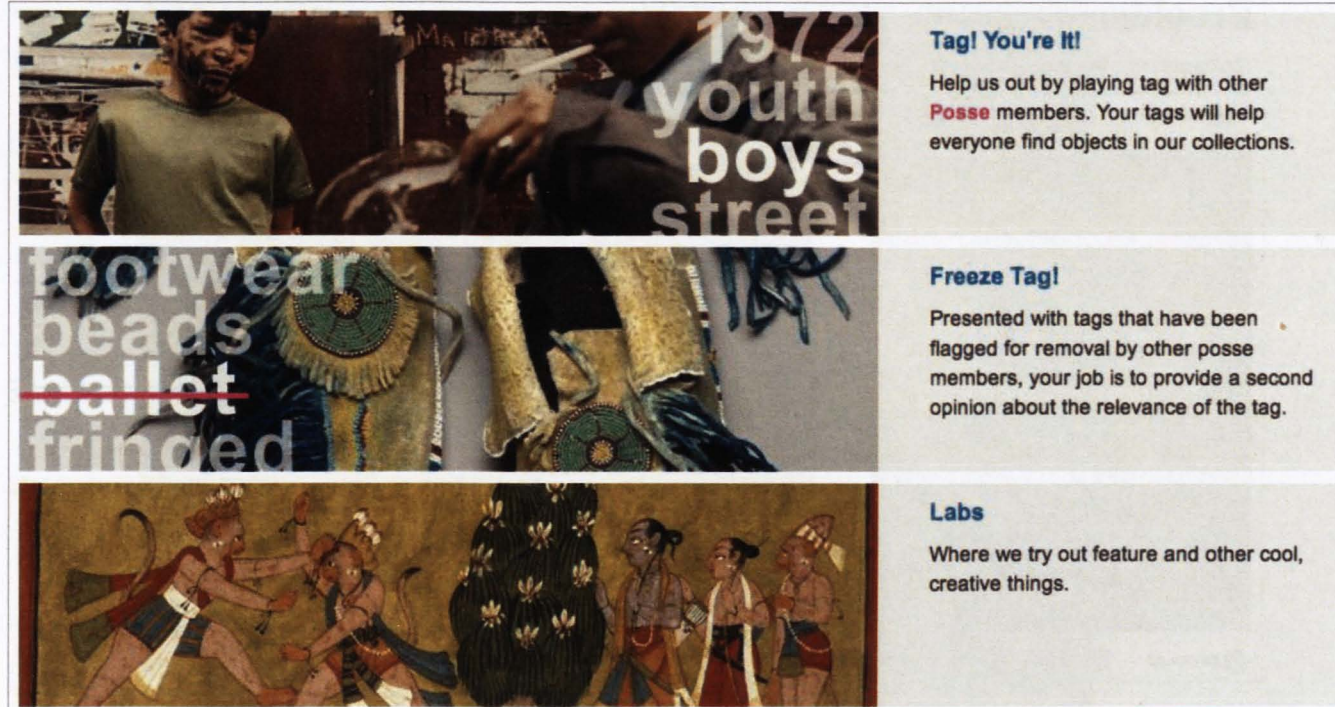


Fig 12: National Maritime Museum, Adding to Collection

<http://bit.ly/1JuH45t>



Object details:		Object connections:	
Object ID	MDL0006	Collection	Architectural models
Description	Wooden model for the scaffolding used to erect Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square in 1843. It was transferred to the National Maritime Museum from the Royal Naval Museum, Greenwich, in 1936. It is in its original glass case with black-painted wooden frame and brass fittings, and has its Royal Naval Museum metal label. For online access text please see the 'Notebook' icon.	Gallery location	Not on display
Date made	circa 1843	People	Provenance: Royal Naval Museum, Portsmouth
Artist/Maker	Unknown		
Credit	National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London		
Materials	glass; wood		
Measurements	Overall: 1480 x 780 x 600 mm		
Parts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Model scaffolding (MDL0006) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Model scaffolding case (MDL0006.1) Label (MDL0006.2) 		
Help us	<p>Do you know more about this?</p> <p>Share your knowledge </p>		

Fig 13: Europeana 1914-18 Add Your Story

<http://bit.ly/1lu4dPx>

**europeana**
1914-1918

[Sign in](#) [Register](#) [Select a language ▼](#)

[Home](#) [Add your story](#) [Browse](#)

Add your story!

Please [Sign in](#) or [Register](#) to be able to add your objects and stories to Europeana 1914-1918.

Help

The 'Europeana 1914-1918' project aims to collect material that relates to the Great War (1914-1918) and those involved in or affected by it. In the current phase we are collecting material and stories from Britain, Germany, Slovenia, Luxembourg, Ireland, etc. More information about the project and the kind of material we are collecting can be found on the [About](#) page.

- [Adding your story to Europeana 1914-1918](#) – See below
- [Privacy Policy](#) - Separate page
- [Takedown Policy](#) - Separate page
- [Europeana Terms for User Contributions](#) - Separate page
- [About Europeana 1914-1918 project](#) - Separate page

Adding your story to Europeana 1914-1918

You can add your story to Europeana 1914-1918 by using the online collection form on this website. You simply type in some information about your contribution, saying what it is (a postcard sent from XX, a diary, etc) and add any story that you want to share (for example about the person in the photograph, how you got it, what you know about the object). You can then attach a digital version of the object, for example a scanned or photographed copy of the picture, diary, uniform or whatever it is you are sharing. Once your contribution has been submitted it will be reviewed by an expert and become available for others.

Fig 14: Europeana Terms and Conditions

<http://bit.ly/1ShQTGz>

 **europa**
collections

Home Collections ▾ Browse ▾ Exhibitions ▾ Blog ▾

The User indemnifies Europeana against Third-Party claims that are based on the statement that Content or Metadata placed by the User with the help of the Service in some way infringes the rights of Third Parties and/or is unlawful in any other way. Without being required to give notice or without being liable for compensation, and without prejudice to Europeana's right to take further legal action, Europeana reserves the right to remove Content or Metadata or to close an Account if it considers there are grounds for doing so, in particular in, but not limited to, cases in which, in Europeana's opinion, the User breaches the provisions of this Article 7 or any other provision of these Terms of Use.

If the User is of the opinion that Content or Metadata distributed with the help of the Service is unlawful, he/she can Report this. Such a Report to Europeana can be made by emailing notice@europeana.eu

Fig 15: Imperial War Museum: *Lives of the First World War*
<https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/>

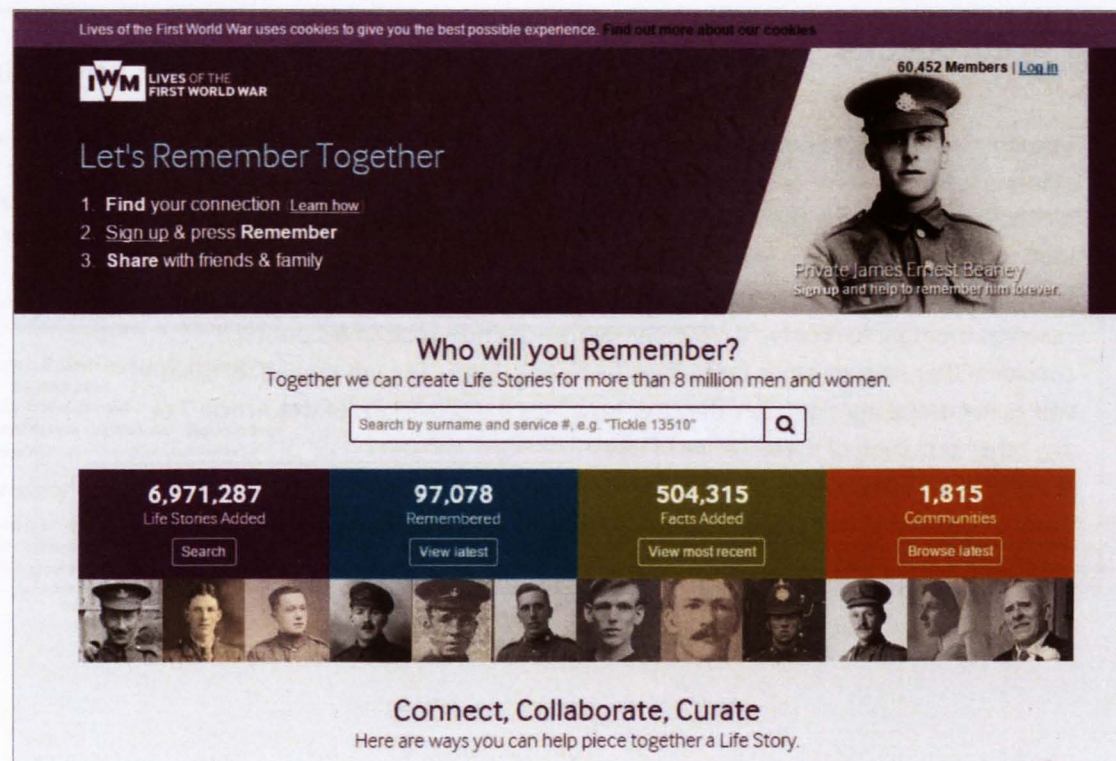



Fig 16: *Lives of the First World War* Record Search

<http://bit.ly/1RuINZq>

You're looking for records about:



Private John Melean
05/08/1881 - 22/02/1919
British Army, Army Service Corps, Service #T2/12239.

Who

☒ name variants ☐ name variants

When optional
Born

Where optional

e.g. Ypres, Arras, or Scarborough

Narrow your search results

Category

☐ Armed Forces & Conflict

☒ Census, Land & Surveys

☐ Education & Work

☐ Life Events (BMDs)

Parish

Your search returned 6 results

Order by

Who		When				Where
Last name	First name	Born	Died	Event	Category	Location
Melean	John	1848	—	1801	Census	Willesden, Hendon, Middlesex.

Fig 17: *Lives of the First World War* Image Upload

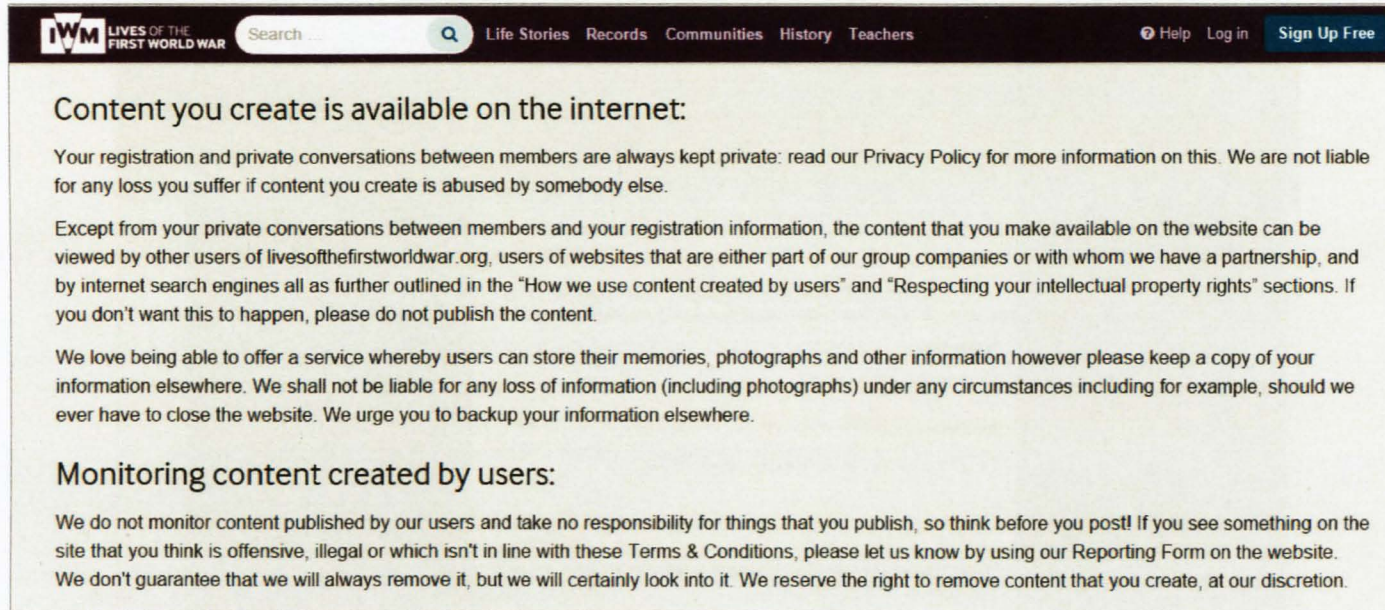
<http://bit.ly/1mm9hBE>

The screenshot shows the 'Lives of the First World War' website with a modal window titled 'Upload an Image' open. The modal contains the following fields and options:

- Upload an Image** (modal title)
- Click to upload image, or drag and drop it here. Maximum size 20MB.** (instructions)
- By uploading this image you are confirming that you have the relevant permissions and that the content meets the conditions set out in the terms and conditions.** (terms notice)
- Image caption: Required** (text input field)
- Describe this image: Required** (text area with example: 'e.g. In uniform at the rock of Gibraltar. He served there with the Royal Garrison Artillery')
- When did the events shown take place?** (date picker with 'DD' and 'Choose...' options, and a 'YYYY' year input field)
- What evidence connects this to John Melean? Required** (radio button options: 'Where this item came from (e.g. a family collection)', 'Written on the rear or supplied with the item', 'Name or other information in the image', 'Other')
- Anything else to add?** (text area with example: 'e.g. This is my great grandfather. This photo is in a family collection and was given to me by my mother. His name is written on the back')

The background shows the user's profile for 'John Melean' with a 'Private' status and a 'Timeline' view. The 'Images' section shows a photo of John Melean in uniform. The 'Previous Life Story' button is visible.

Fig 18: *Lives of the First World War* Terms and Conditions
<http://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/terms>



IWM LIVES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR Search ... Life Stories Records Communities History Teachers Help Log in Sign Up Free

Content you create is available on the internet:

Your registration and private conversations between members are always kept private: read our Privacy Policy for more information on this. We are not liable for any loss you suffer if content you create is abused by somebody else.

Except from your private conversations between members and your registration information, the content that you make available on the website can be viewed by other users of livesofthefirstworldwar.org, users of websites that are either part of our group companies or with whom we have a partnership, and by internet search engines all as further outlined in the "How we use content created by users" and "Respecting your intellectual property rights" sections. If you don't want this to happen, please do not publish the content.

We love being able to offer a service whereby users can store their memories, photographs and other information however please keep a copy of your information elsewhere. We shall not be liable for any loss of information (including photographs) under any circumstances including for example, should we ever have to close the website. We urge you to backup your information elsewhere.

Monitoring content created by users:

We do not monitor content published by our users and take no responsibility for things that you publish, so think before you post! If you see something on the site that you think is offensive, illegal or which isn't in line with these Terms & Conditions, please let us know by using our Reporting Form on the website. We don't guarantee that we will always remove it, but we will certainly look into it. We reserve the right to remove content that you create, at our discretion.

<http://bit.ly/1I9KxEO>

A. Reynolds

Fig 20: *Lives of the First World War* History Page
www.livesofthefirstworldwar/history

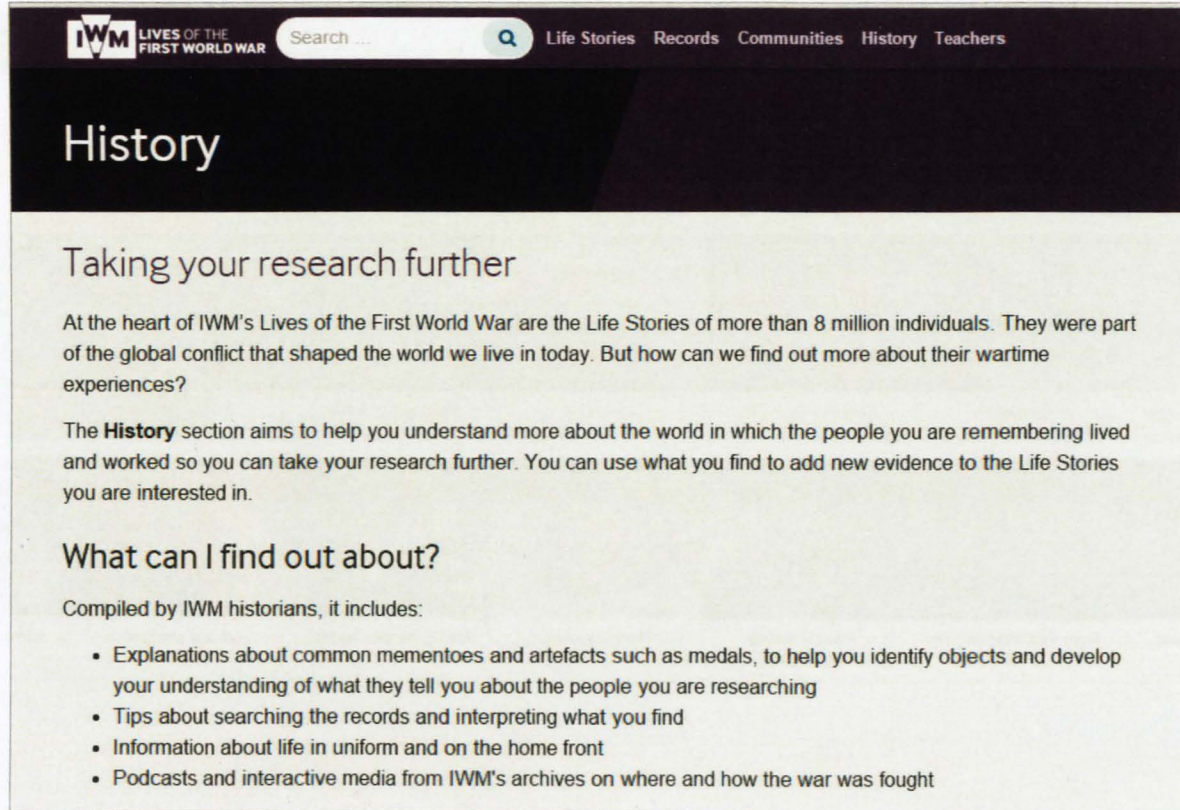
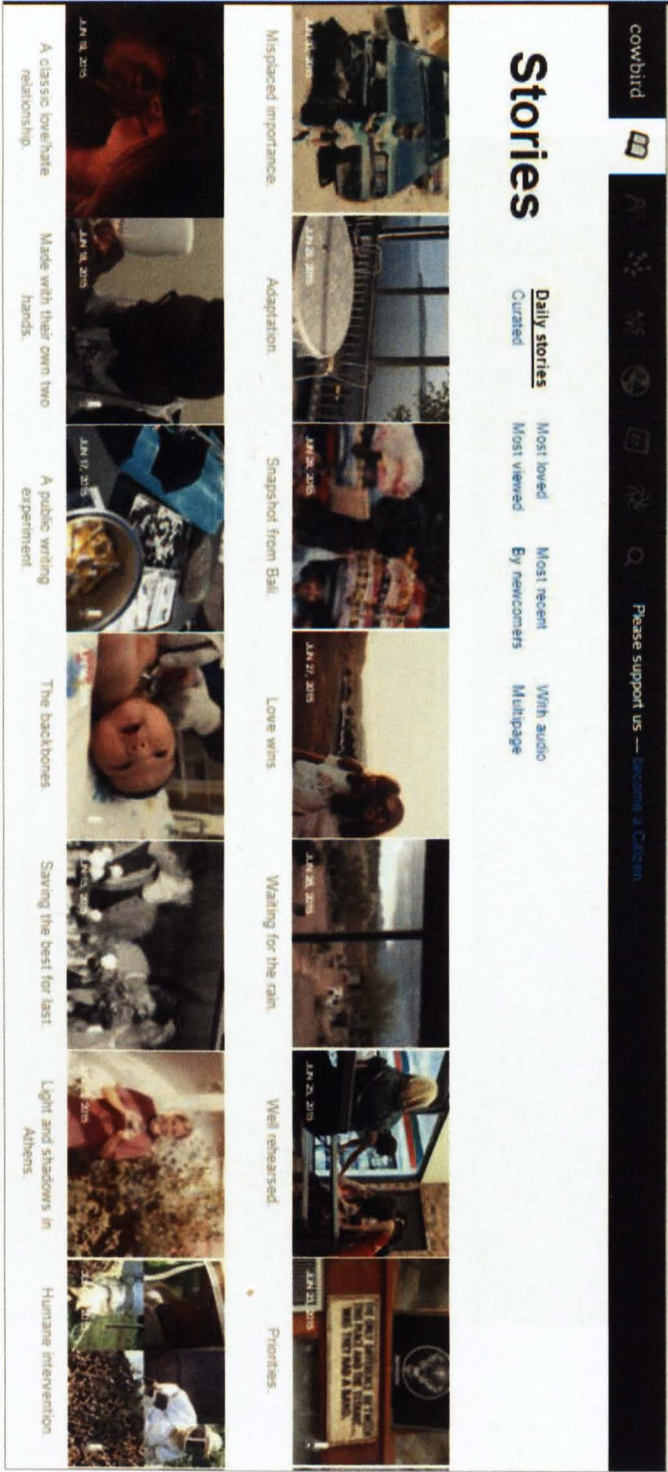


Fig 21: Cowbird
www.cowbird.com/stories



A. Reynolds

Fig 22: Cowbird Site Introduction
www.cowbird.com/about/

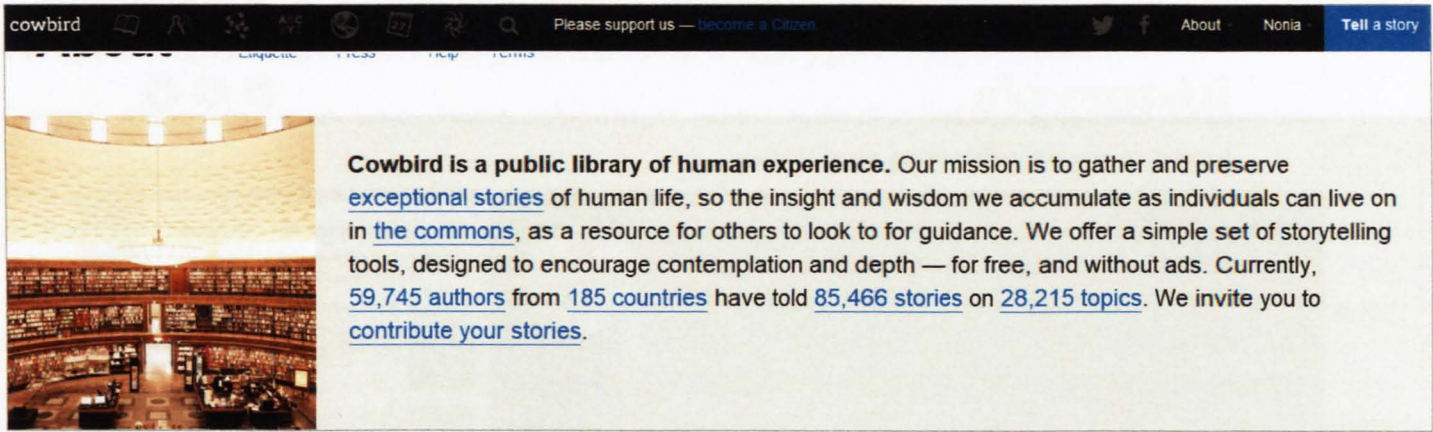


Fig 23: *Historypin* Homepage
Webpage no longer available



Fig 24: *Historypin* Content Regulation

www.historypin.org/faq/#title6

What kind of content can I add to Historypin?

Currently, Historypin is made up of photographic images, videos, audio clips and descriptive and narrative text.

Photographic images can be pinned directly to the Historypin map by users. These images can be of any location - outdoors or indoors - at any time in the past.

Some of these images, if they are taken outdoors, at street level and at certain angles, will be able to be layered onto Street View (this is a bonus, not a requirement).

Audio and video content can be pinned to the map by users. These should be pinned to the location and date where they were recorded.

Any kind of descriptive or narrative text can be added to images, audio or video.

Fig 25: Cowbird Etiquette

www.cowbird.com/etiquette

Be decent.

Cowbird is a global community of people from different cultures and backgrounds, often raised with different beliefs and social norms. This diversity can sometimes lead to awkward situations. Like a traveler in a foreign land, please be gracious, respectful, and courteous to those you meet along the way. Authors who insist on being hateful, libelous, or repeatedly rude will be asked to leave our community.

Be humble.

Cowbird is a space for self-reflection, not self-promotion. Please don't use Cowbird to promote your company, brand, organization, product, or yourself. It is fine to include a "call to action" at the end of a story, but please make sure that the story stands on its own as a story, and that it doesn't feel like an ad.

Be yourself.

Cowbird is a place for sharing your experience of life, not for sharing links to stuff you like (there are [many other places for that](#)). Please don't post pop songs, stock photos, clip art, screenshots, or other recycled stuff. If you're uploading audio, please make sure it's original, and that you either wrote it, performed it, or own the copyright. This will go a long way towards making Cowbird feel authentic, refreshing, and human. As for pen names — they are totally fine. Many authors wish to tell stories anonymously, and you're certainly free to do that.

Be legal.

Cowbird is committed to building a public library of human experience, and human experience is not always pretty. It can be ugly, messy, violent, and lewd. But there is a balance to strike, and we have to abide by the law. Please don't post copyrighted material, pornography, hate speech, or other illegal content.

Fig 26: Cowbird Terms and Conditions
www.cowbird.com/terms

4. Content.

All information, data, text, software, music, sound, photographs, images, graphics, videos, messages, tags, or other materials ("Content"), submitted by users are the sole responsibility of the person submitting the Content for use in Cowbird. This means that you, and not Cowbird, are entirely responsible for all Content that you upload, post, transmit or otherwise make available through the Cowbird Services.


Fig 27: *Historypin* Terms and Conditions

www.historypin.com/terms-and-conditions/#020

2. Reliance on Information

Commentary and other materials posted via our Services are not intended to amount to advice. We will not have any liability arising from any reliance placed on such materials by any visitor to or user of our Services, or by anyone who may be informed of any of its contents. Please check with an expert before seeking any reliance on any such content.

Fig 28: *Historypin* Framework for Upload
Webpage no longer available

Current item


Title required field

Remaining characters: 100
Description 0

Tags

Remaining characters: 500
Language

Licence
We suggest adding a Creative Commons license to your pin so that it can be shared and enjoyed. [Learn more](#) about Creative Commons licenses and what they mean.

Fig 29: *Historypin* Monitoring of Content
www.historypin.org/terms-and-conditions/#020

Although we reserve our rights to do so, we do not monitor Contributed Content and therefore, since it is not ours and we do not check or verify it, we will not be responsible or liable for the content or accuracy of any Contributed Content.

Fig 30: *Historypin* Option to Report Inappropriate Content
Webpage no longer available

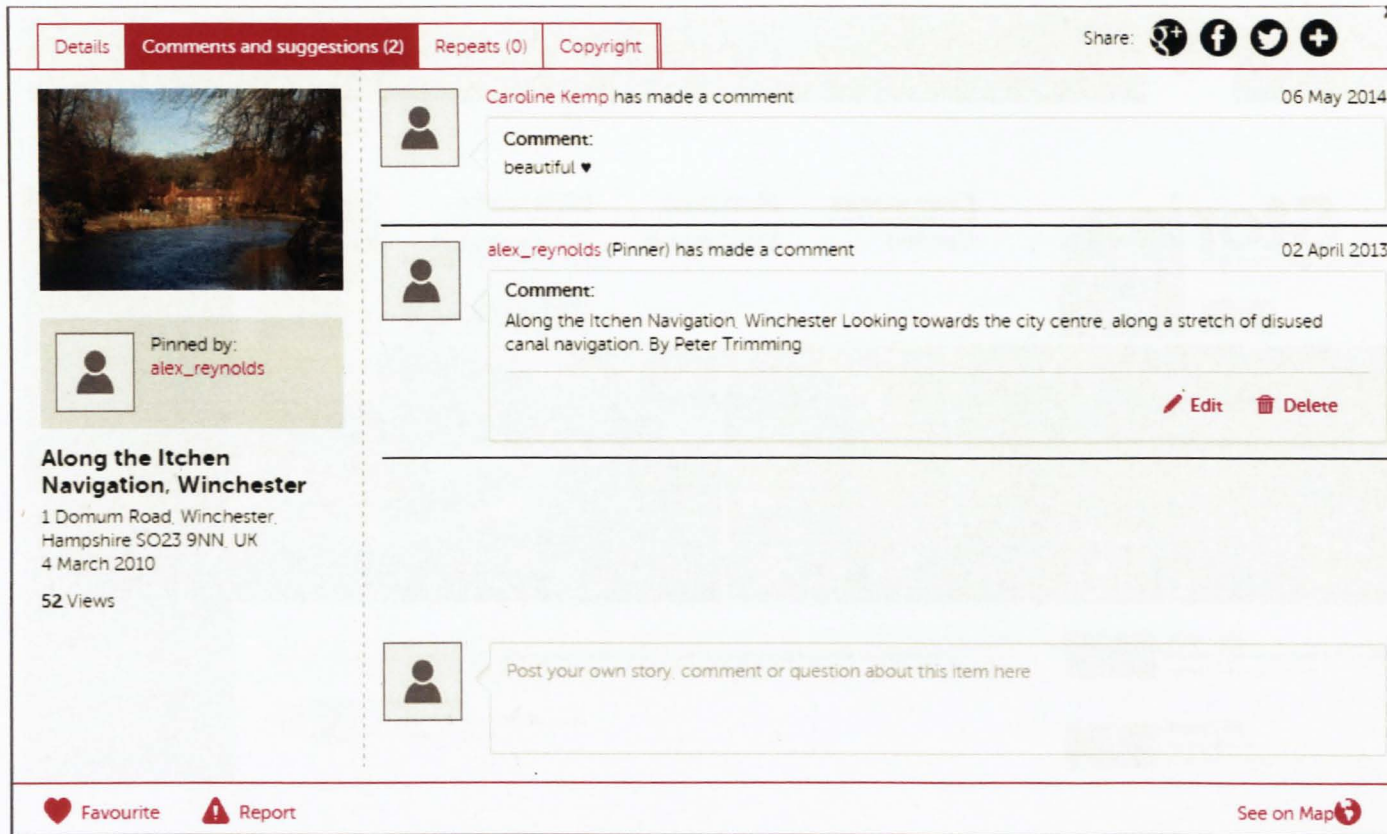


Fig 31: Cowbird Daily Stories
www.cowbird.com/stories

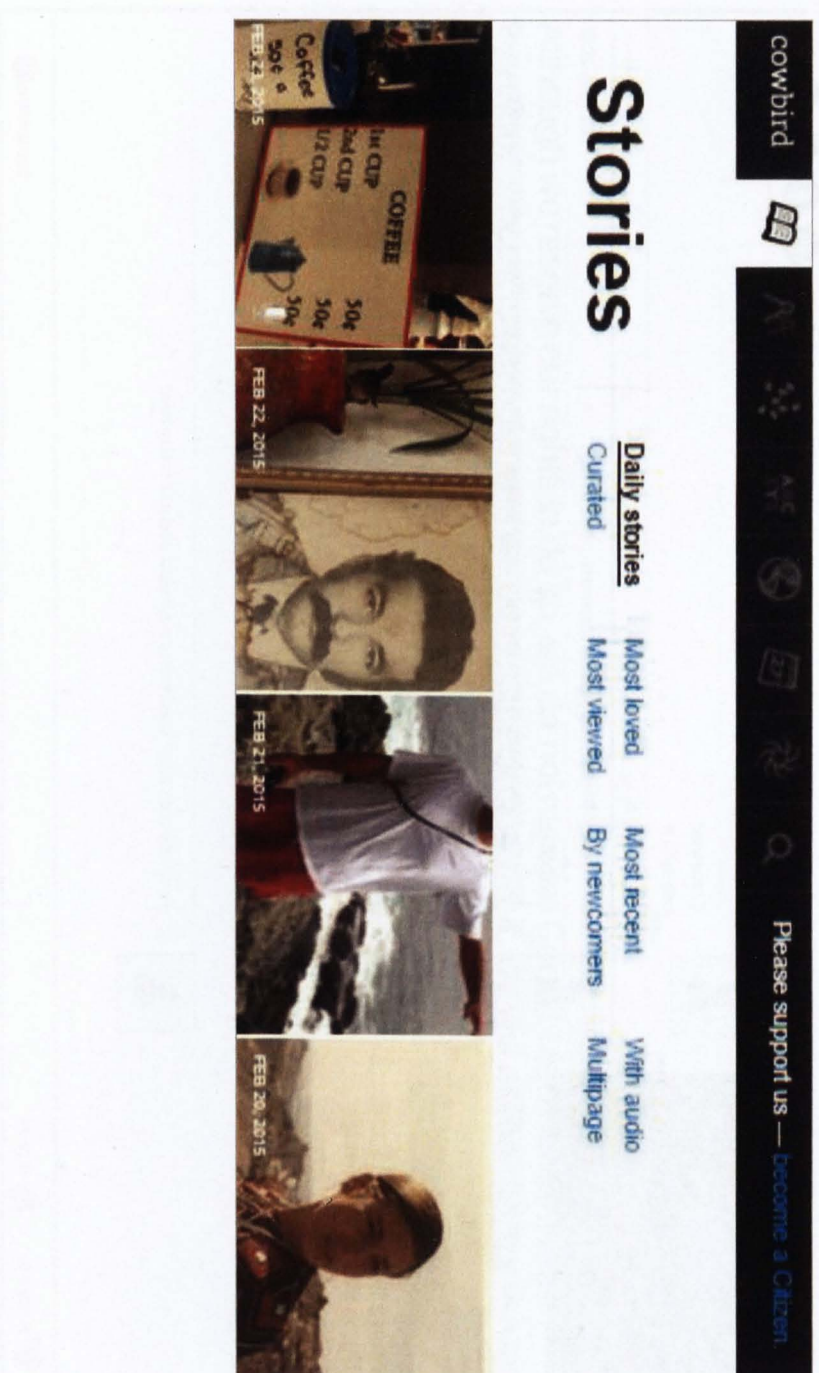


Fig 32: Cowbird Community
www.cowbird.com/community/

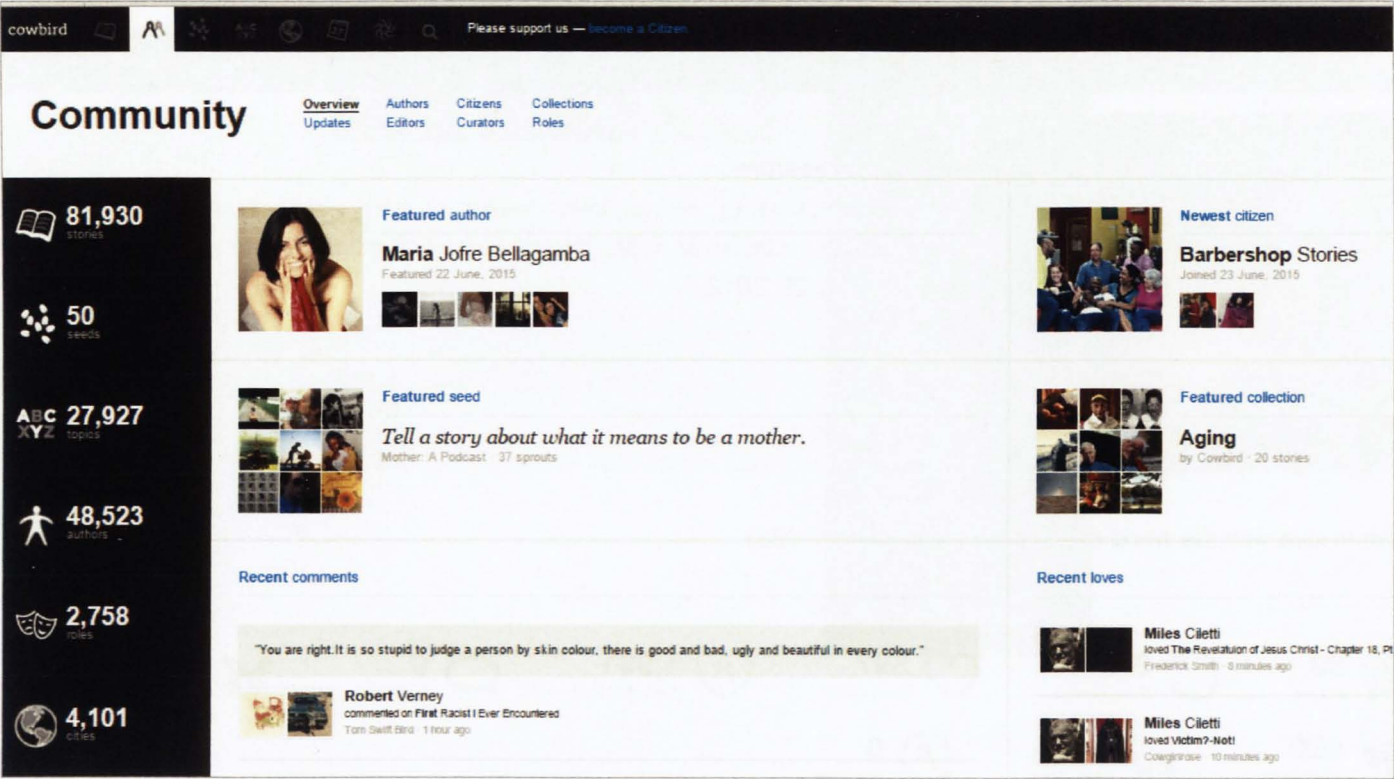



Fig 33: Cowbird User Profile
www.cowbird.com/elis-bradshaw/profile

cowbird

Please support us — [become a Citizen](#)


About · Nonia · T





My name is Elis Bradshaw.


I am a friend, human, laughier, learner, lover, maker, traveler, wanderer, and writer. I was born in 1981. I live in Oakland, California, USA. You can also find me [here](#). I've told 69 stories. I joined Cowbird on February 29, 2012.


"I'm in love with the world through the eyes of a girl" (ES)


 **69**
stories


 **0**
stories retold


 **597**
loves given

 **1,961**
loves received

 **0**
comments

 **50**
audiences

 **160**
in audience

 **0**
dedications


 **0**
mentions

Fig 34: Cowbird Prompt to add Metadata
Requires account to view webpage



Fig 35: Cowbird Metadata
www.cowbird.com/topics

Topics

Most stories

A-Z

Z-A

27,510 topics

Love 6,498

Life 3,398

Family 3,277

Travel 1,915

Art 1,833

Poetry 1,746

Friendship 1,716

Music 1,684

Death 1,619

Joy 1,501

Nature 1,455

Peace 1,455

Meditation 1,415

Passion 1,415

Freedom 1,368

Memory 1,363

Faith 1,312

Prose 1,220

Writers 1,212

Writing 1,208

Memories 1,148

Unity 1,074

Summer 1,068

Home 1,059

Epiphany 1,037

Work 988

Childhood 986

Beauty 982

Hope 980

Human Angst 978

Friends 962

Children 940

Exploration 910

Fear 898

Sacrifice 878

Occupy 880

Poem 845

Dreams 838

Responsibility 828

Photography 813

Depression 776

Happiness 769

Time 769

Artist 743

Musician 735

Mother 731

Change 728

Relationships 728

Adventure 703

Food 702

Curiosity 682

Americana 681

Christianity 679

Jesus 675

Frustration 670

Prayer 666

Fun 662

Health 647

Tolerance 643

Light 638

Winter 608

Heart 602

Growing Up 596

Healing 592

Bible 585

Loss 587

Father 545

Storytelling 542

Community 538

Humor 533

Remember 529

History 508

Repentance 495

First Love 486

Catholicism 485

Story 480

Marriage 474

First Memory 473

Confusion 471

Water 451

Learning 450

Gratitude 447

New York City 442

People 442

Islam 441

Unconditional Love 432

Ocean 431

Judaism 426

Mystery 426

Creativity 425

Poets 425

Childhood Memories 422

Pain 418

Painting 417

Sermons 413

Cowbird 411

Stories 409

War 407

Revolution 404

Inspiration 398

Life Lesson 395

Sadness 394

Beach 390

Spring 387

Youth 385

Miracles 381

Night 379

Rain 377

School 375

Sea 374

Spirituality 368

Exercise 364

Snow 358

Women 358

Maine 347

Thoughts 347

Loneliness 342

Fig 36: *Historypin* Map Search
Webpage no longer available



Fig 37: Historypin Example Profile
Webpage no longer available

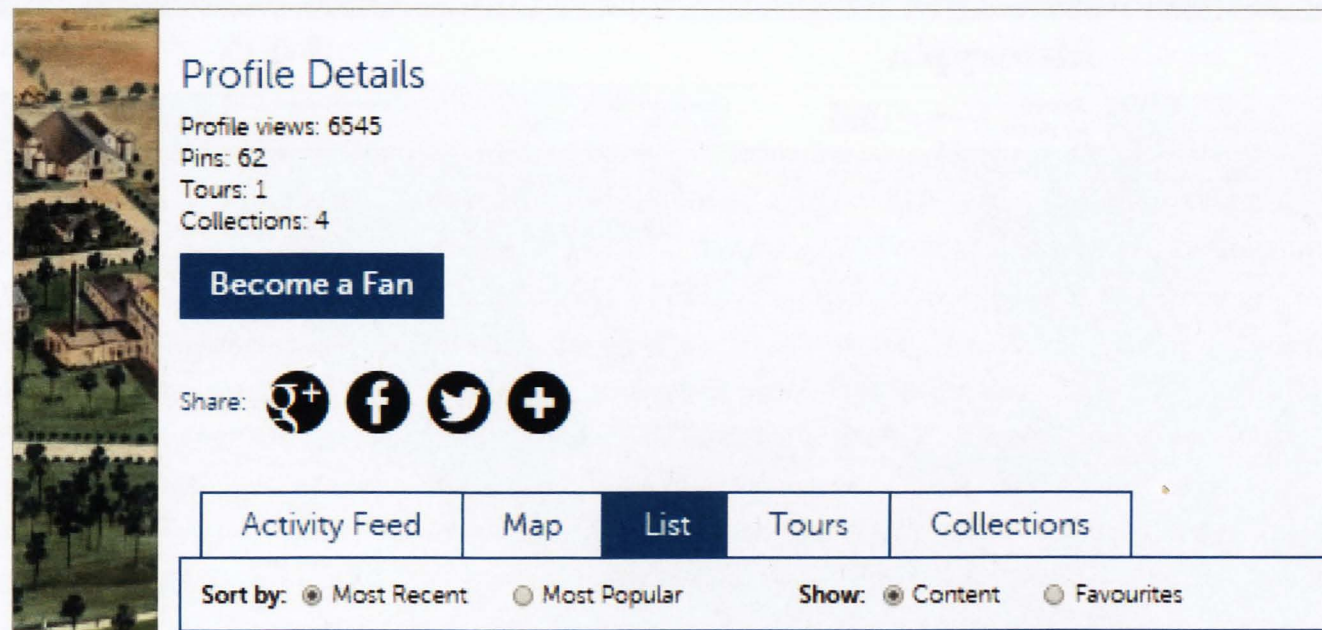


Fig 38: *Cowbird* Gamification

<http://bit.ly/1ZvHZY3>

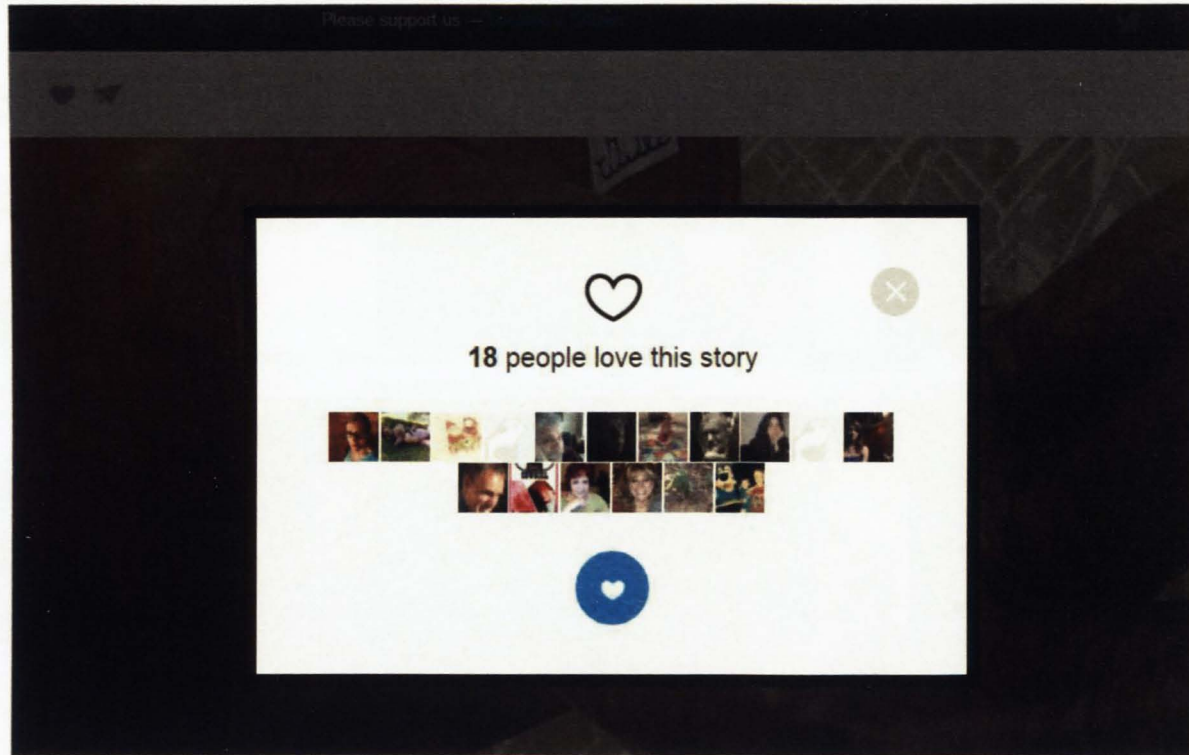


Fig 39: Cowbird Most Loved

www.cowbird.com/elis-bradshaw/stories/

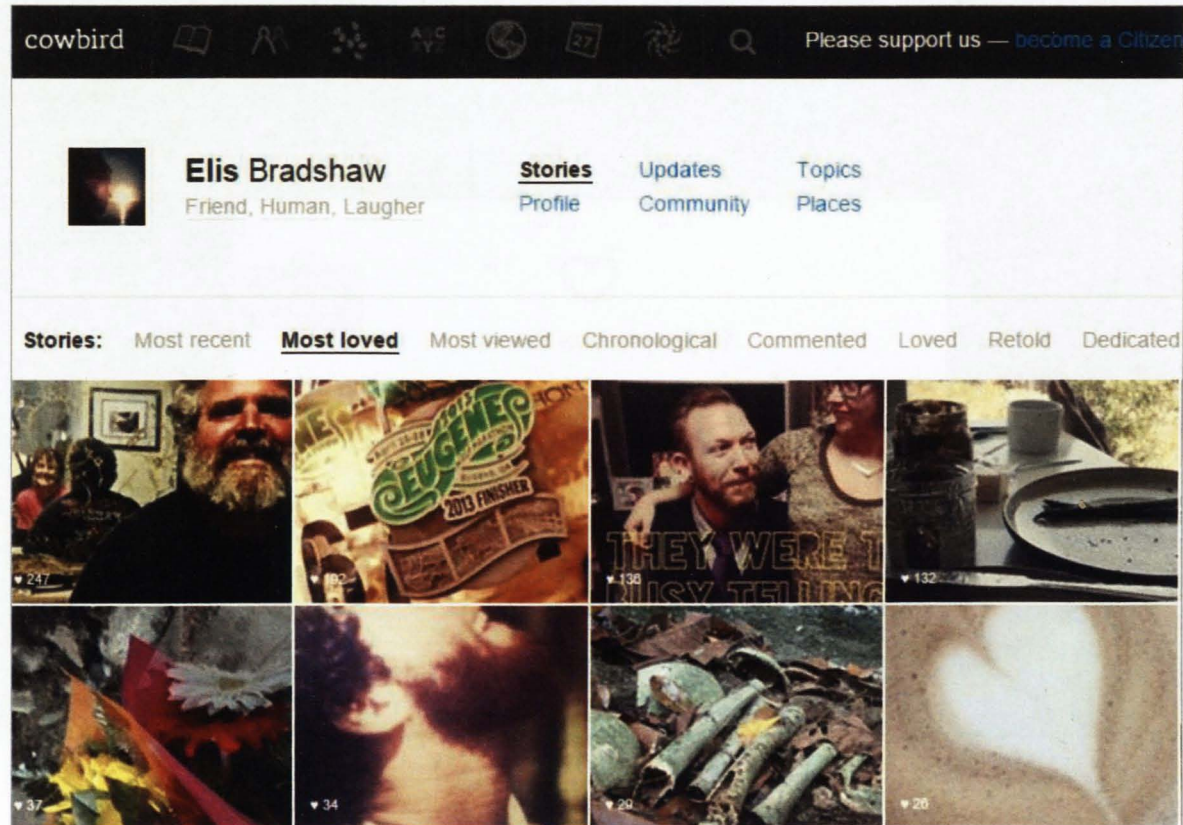







Fig 40: Cowbird Curators


www.cowbird.com/community/curators/

cowbird   Please support us — [become a Citizen](#)   [About](#) [Sign in](#) [Join Cowbird](#)


Geoffrey Gevalt Digital Educator, Dreamer
37 stories · 1,190 loves given · 2,462 loves received




Bianca Giaever Middlebury, Vermont, USA
26 stories · 29 loves given · 314 loves received




Karen Duffin Public Radio Producer
1 story · 53 loves given · 15 loves received




Cowbird Library, Listener
7 stories · 201 loves given · 67 loves received



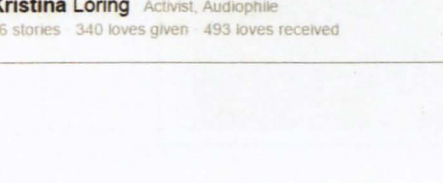
Sara Curtis Documentarian, Food Lover
92 stories · 1,080 loves given · 3,498 loves received



Dylan Hollingsworth Father, Photographer
118 stories · 680 loves given · 5,303 loves received



Kristina Loring Activist, Audiophile
16 stories · 340 loves given · 493 loves received



Jonathan Harris Artist, Brother
586 stories · 1,800 loves given · 6,125 loves received




Fig 41: *Historypin* Team Profile
Webpage no longer available



Fig 42: *Historypin* Blog
www.blog.historypin.org

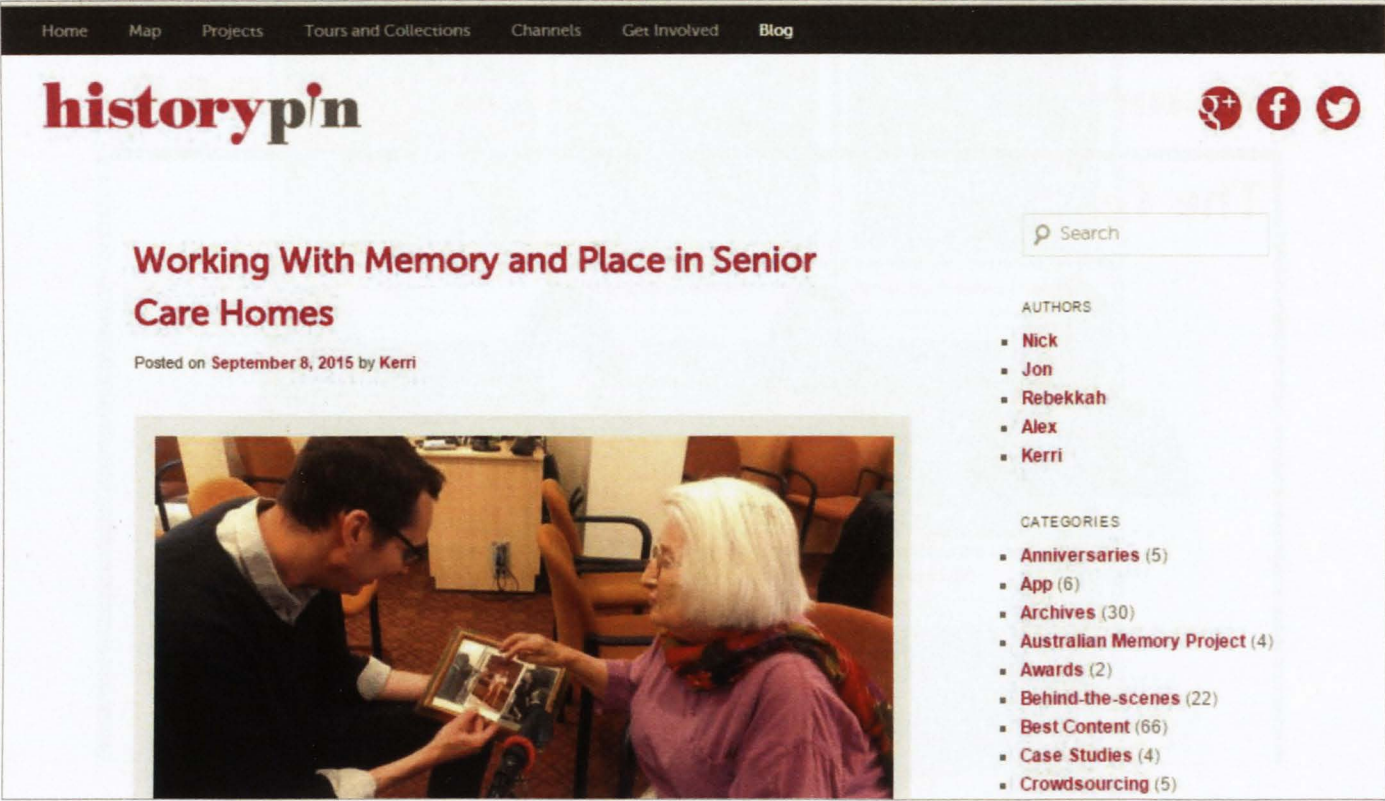


Fig 43: Historypin Team
Webpage no longer available



Fig 44: *Historypin* Projects
Webpage no longer available



Fig 45: Cowbird Seeds

<http://bit.ly/1JaUzYJ>

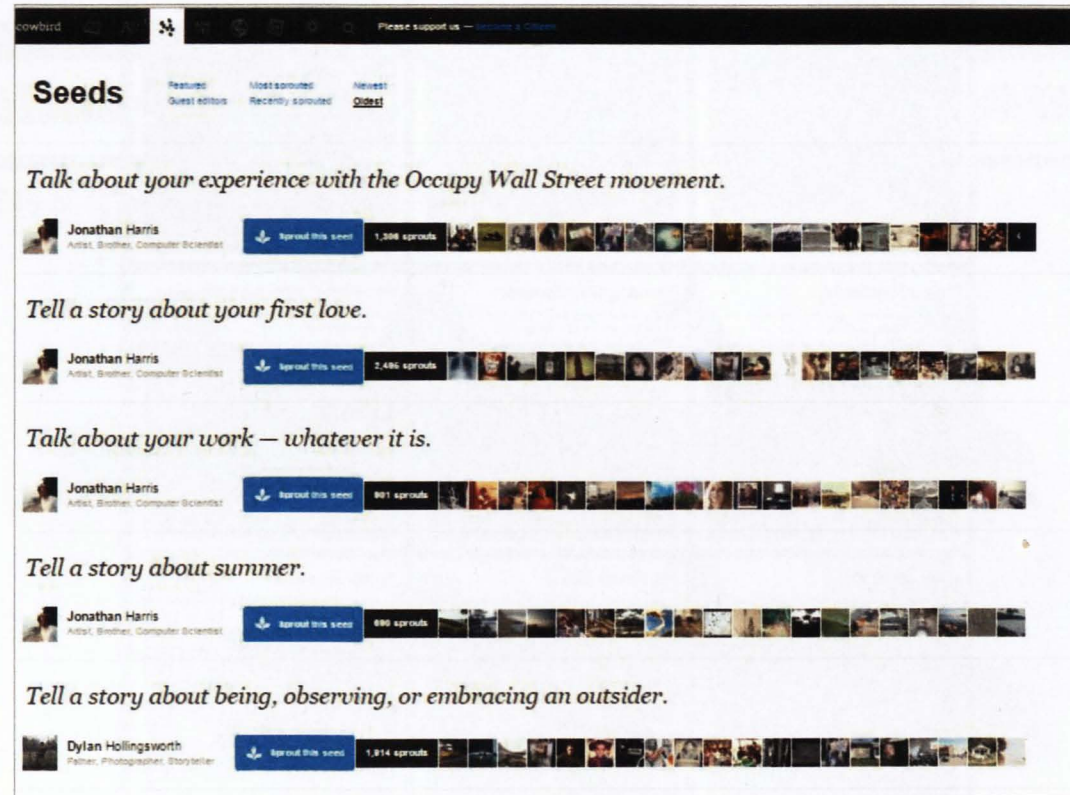


Fig 46: *Historypin* Local Projects
www.historypin.org/community

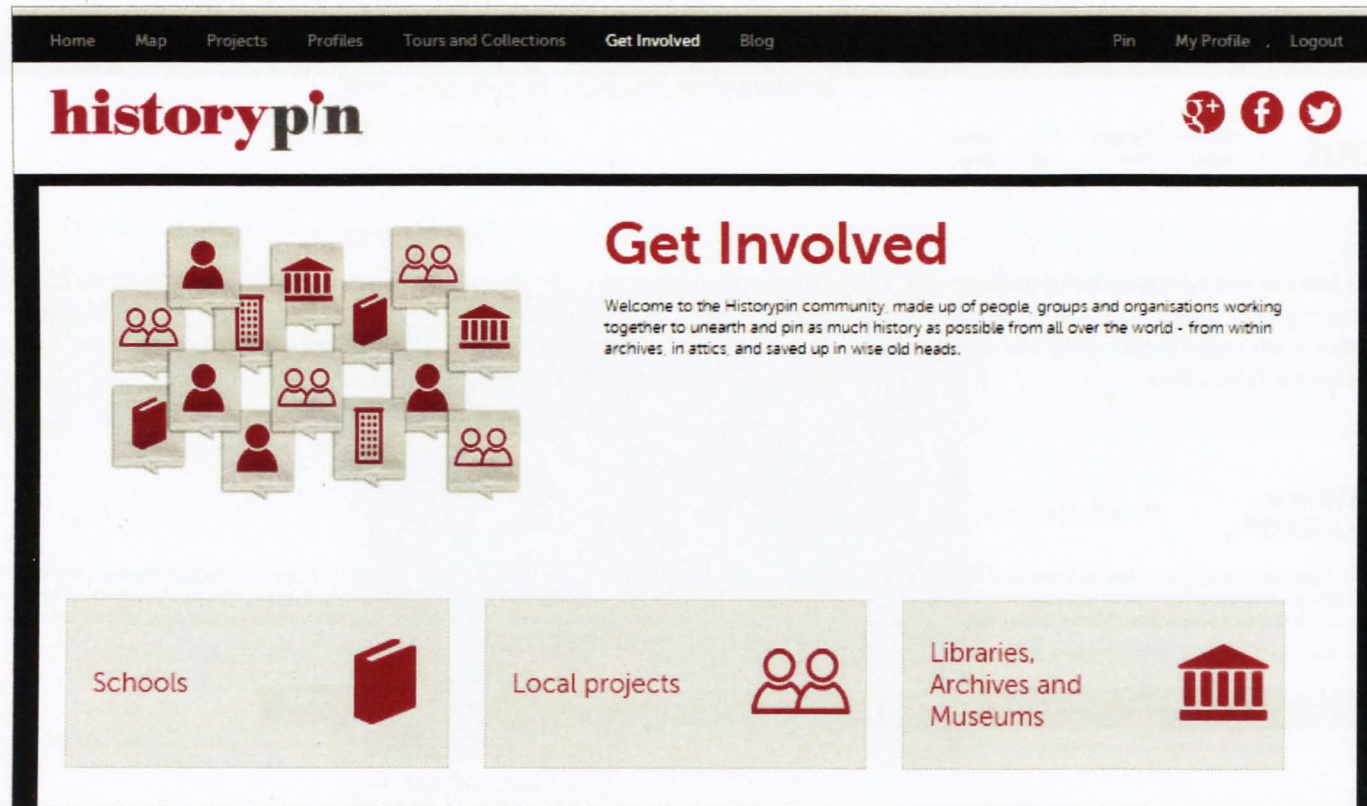


Fig 47: Cowbird Partners
www.cowbird.com/partners

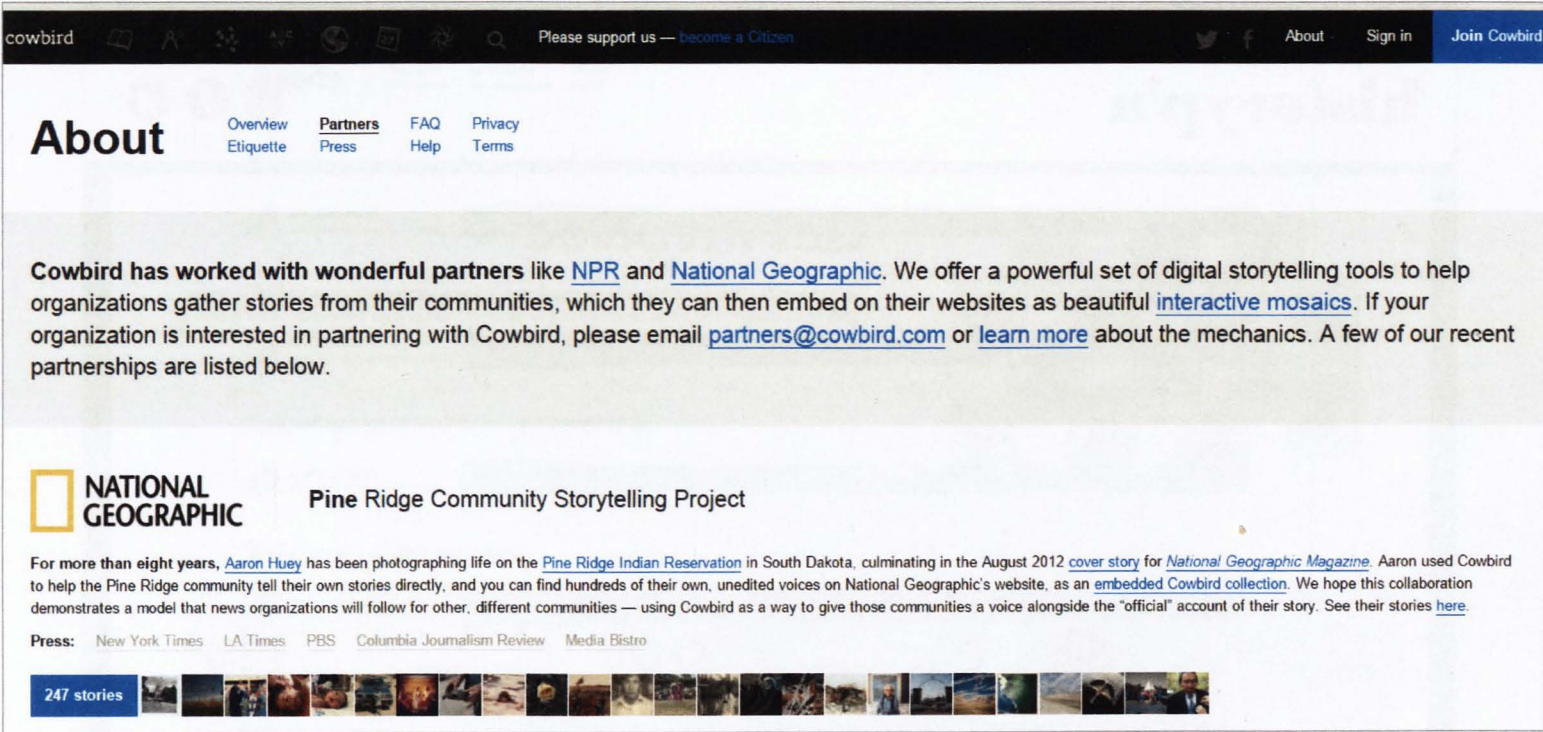


Fig 48: *Historypin* Pin of the Week
Webpage no longer available

**A fish auction, New South Wales through
the ages and an obscure hotel with a
glamorous past.**

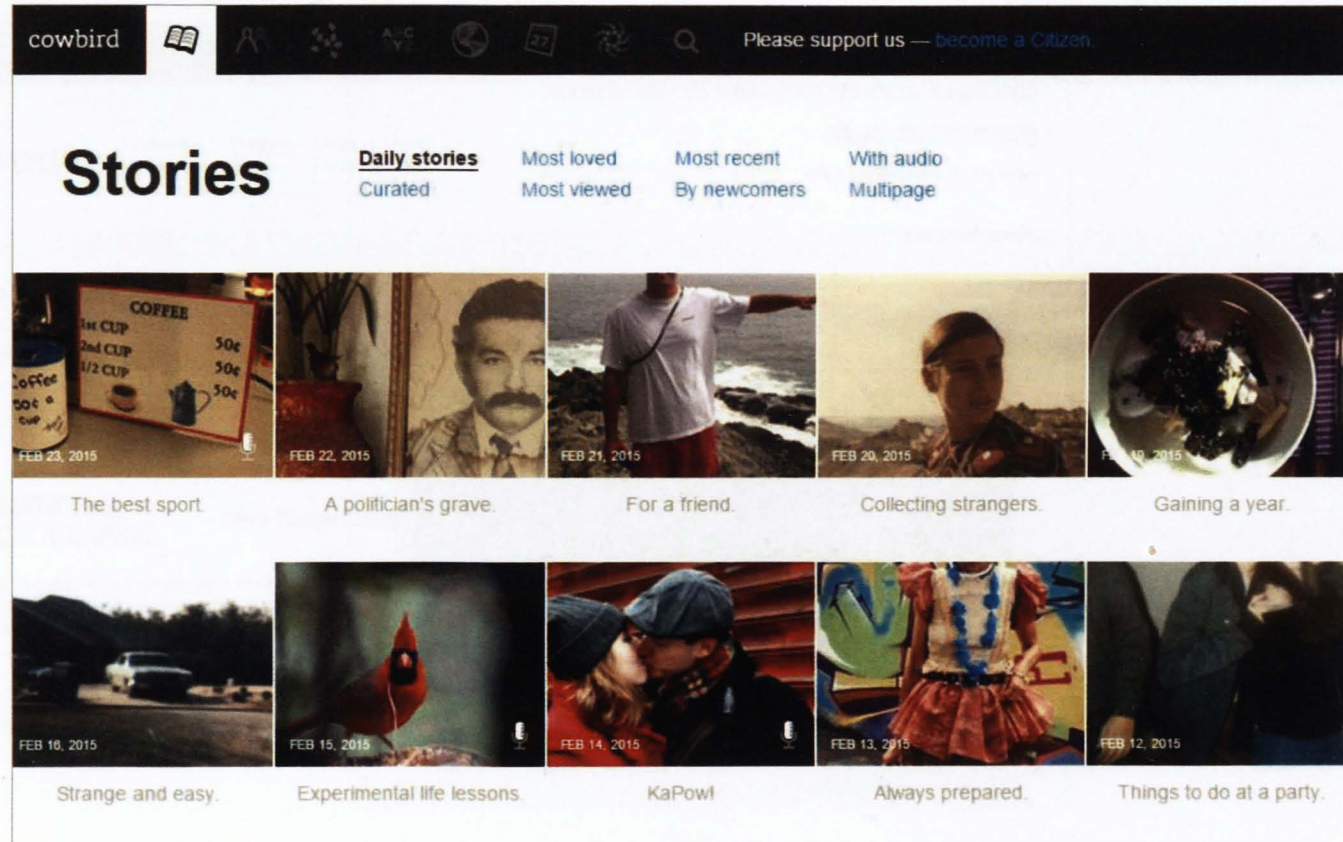
Posted on October 5, 2012 by Freddie

Pin Of The Week



— A Fish Auction in Westerdale, 1905

Fig 49: Cowbird Daily Stories
www.cowbird.com/stories/daily-stories/



A. Reynolds

Fig 50: Cowbird Featured Stories
www.cowbird.com/community/authors/featured/

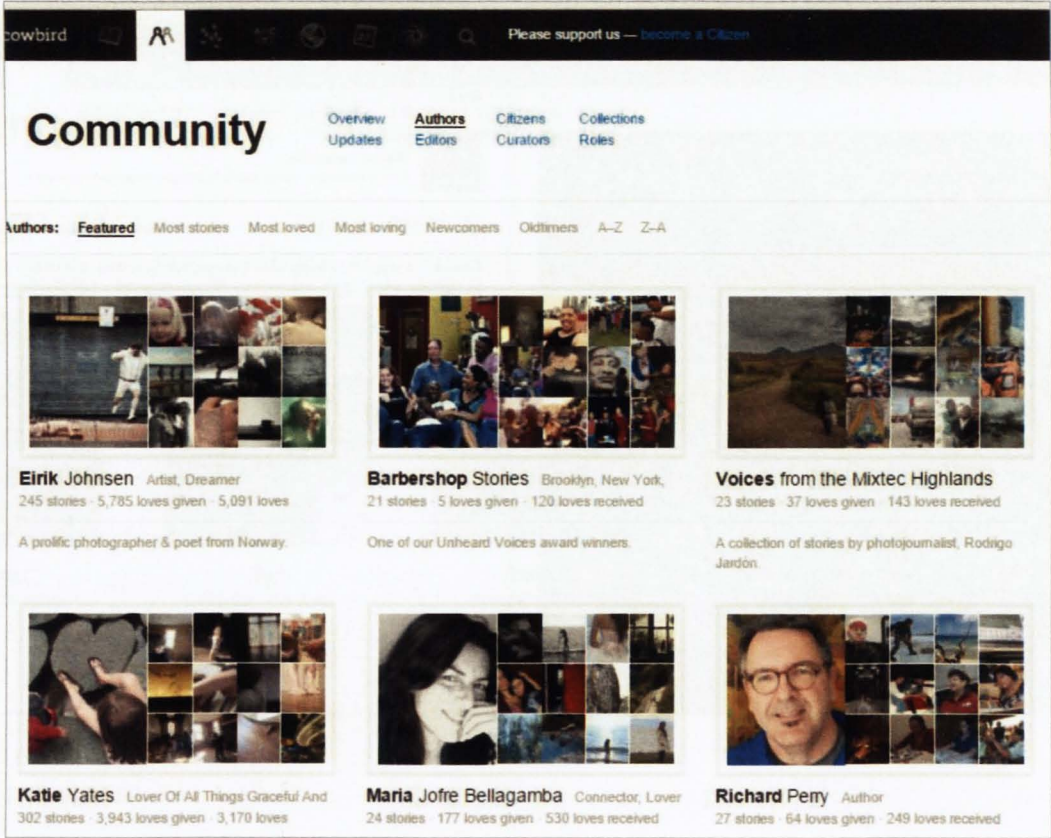


Fig 51: Cowbird Homepage
www.cowbird.com

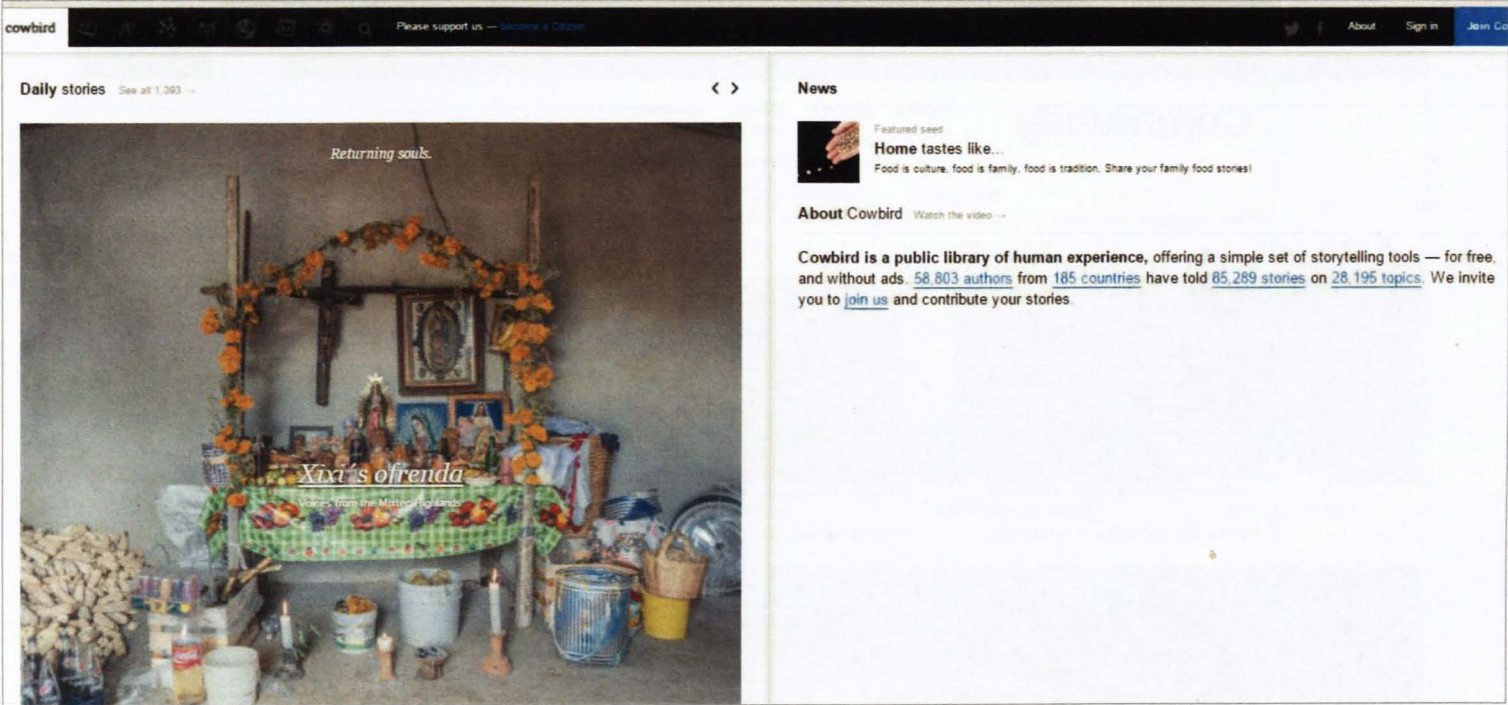


Fig 52: Cowbird Featured Collections
www.cowbird.com/community/collections

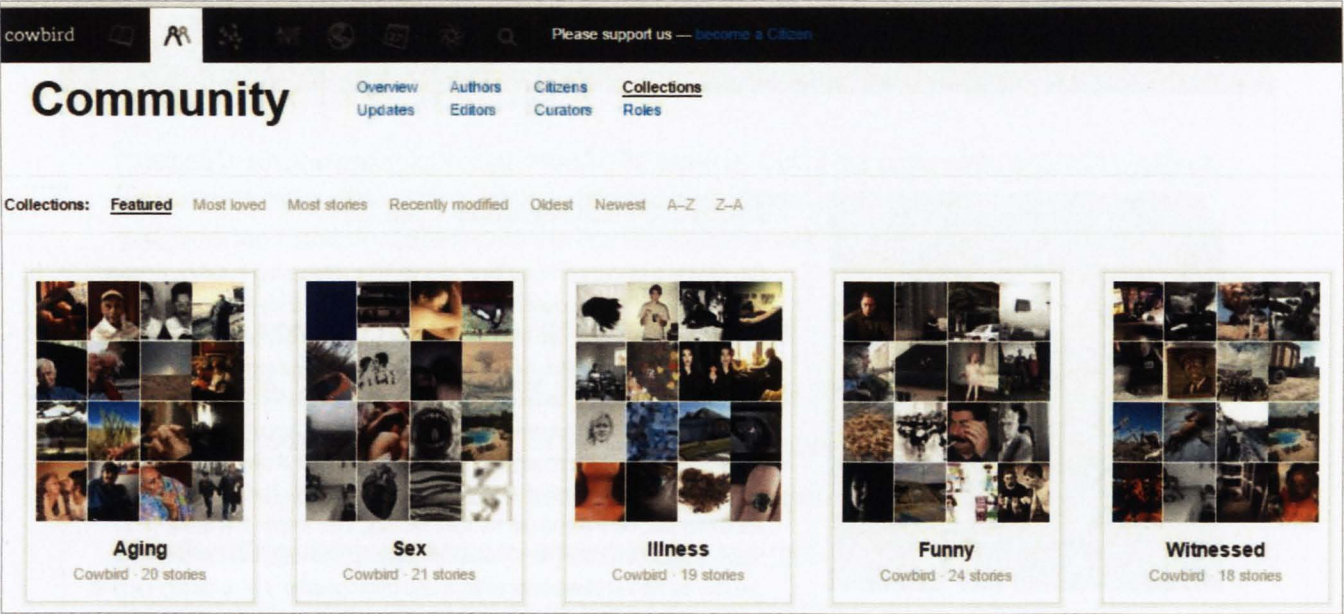





Fig 53: Best of *Cowbird*

<http://bit.ly/1Jcxa9>

 Search About



Best of Cowbird

 25 stories

Cowbird is a global community of storytellers, interested in telling deeper, longer-lasting, more nourishing stories than you're likely to find anywhere else on the Web. We are building a public library of human experience, so the knowledge and wisdom we accumulate as individuals may live on as part of the commons, available for this and future generations to look to for guidance. Cowbird was created over two years by [Jonathan Harris](#), and first launched in December, 2011. These 25 stories represent the very best of Cowbird during our first year of life. Culled from nearly 50,000 submissions, they stand out for their beauty, their depth and what they teach us about human life — and storytelling. With few exceptions, they are told by non-professional writers and photographers — ordinary people communicating their experience of life through words, images, and sound.

[View project](#)

Fig 54: *Cowbird* citizenship
www.cowbird.com/citizenship/

About citizenship

Cowbird is ad-free and totally supported by its citizens. Out of our community of [59,637 authors](#), we currently have [489 citizens](#), whose monthly contributions allow Cowbird to exist. As a thank you, Cowbird citizens get access to our best storytelling tools, as outlined below.

Seeds Citizens can plant [seeds](#) to initiate storytelling calls.

Collections Citizens can assemble stories into [shareable collections](#).

Multipage stories Citizens can tell stories with [multiple pages](#).

Colored pages Citizens can tell stories with [colored pages](#).

Handwriting Citizens can turn their handwriting [into a font](#).

Nicknames Citizens can choose a nickname and get the Cowbird URL to match.

Attention Citizens are featured in positions of prominence around the site.

Fig 55: *Historypin* Terms and Conditions

<http://bit.ly/1lyZySZ>

11. Termination and Cancellation

You can terminate your registration at any time by contacting us at hello@historypin.org.

We reserve the right to terminate or suspend your registration where:

- we have reason to believe or suspect that you are acting in breach of these Terms and Conditions; or
- otherwise, where required to do so by law, regulatory body or our licensors or whilst investigating any complaint about you or your activity via or use of the Services.
- at any time on not less than 1 day's notice to you.

Fig 56: *Cowbird* Terms and Conditions

www.cowbird.com/terms

5. User Guidelines.

You agree not to use Cowbird in any way that is in breach of the [Cowbird Etiquette](#). Violation of the [Cowbird Etiquette](#) may result in termination of your rights to Cowbird.

Fig 57: Museum of Copenhagen *The Wall*

<http://bit.ly/1K9psMh>



Fig 58: Mapping Main Street

<http://bit.ly/1NJ2rzs>

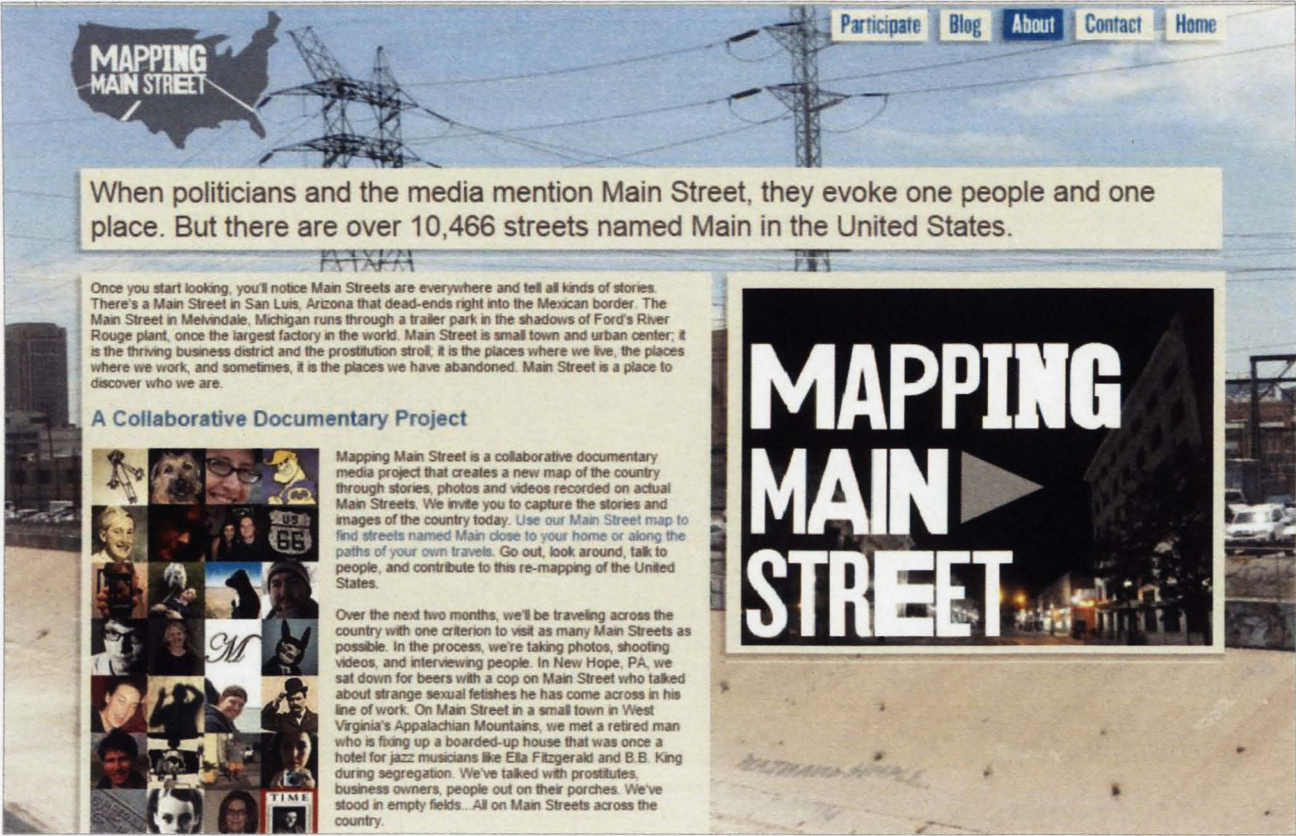


Fig 59: 9/11 Memorial Museum, *Make History*
localprojects.net/project/make-history/



Fig 60: *The Wall* Terms of Membership

Requires personal login to access

Membership

Anyone who would like to be a member of the network surrounding the WALL is welcome. Members are to conduct themselves with propriety and behave appropriately – in short: be sure to treat others, as you yourself would like to be treated. While discussion, provocation and debate are allowed on the WALL, the Museum of Copenhagen reserves the right to exclude members who use the WALL to bully, abuse, exclude, harass or expose others. Similarly, the WALL is not to be used to spread racism, sexism, pornography or illegal content. Finally, one is not permitted to present oneself as someone other than oneself. Naturally, one is not allowed to hack into, or in any other way attempt to undermine the website in order to damage the WALL or the computers of its users.

The Museum of Copenhagen can terminate your membership, and if necessary hand the case over to the authorities, should you break one or more of these terms and conditions while active on the WALL.

While a member, you are responsible for all actions that are carried out on the WALL in your (membership)

Fig 61: *Make History* Terms of Use
Webpage no longer available

9/11
MEMORIAL
MUSEUM

MAKE HISTORY

Search Full Archive

Street View

Add Your

About Make History

This site was designed and developed by Local Projects for the National September 11 Memorial and Museum. Please see our community guidelines to learn more about how to use Make History.

9/11
MEMORIAL
MUSEUM

LOCAL
PROJECTS

Accuracy Notice

Make History is a collection of stories, videos, and photos submitted by people who experienced 9/11. While the National September 11 Memorial and Museum regularly reviews submissions, we cannot verify the accuracy of all submitted content. If you have questions about a submission on this site, please contact the museum at info@sept11mm.org

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The Foundation respects the intellectual property rights of others and reserves the right, at its sole discretion, to block and/or terminate access to this site from those that infringe on the rights of others. Pursuant to Section 512(c)(2) of the U.S. Copyright Act, as enacted through the Digital Millennium Copyright Act of 1998, the Foundation has designated an agent to receive notifications of claimed infringement, as described in our Copyright Policy.

Fig 62: Mapping Main Street Terms and Conditions
www.mappingmainstreet.org/terms.html

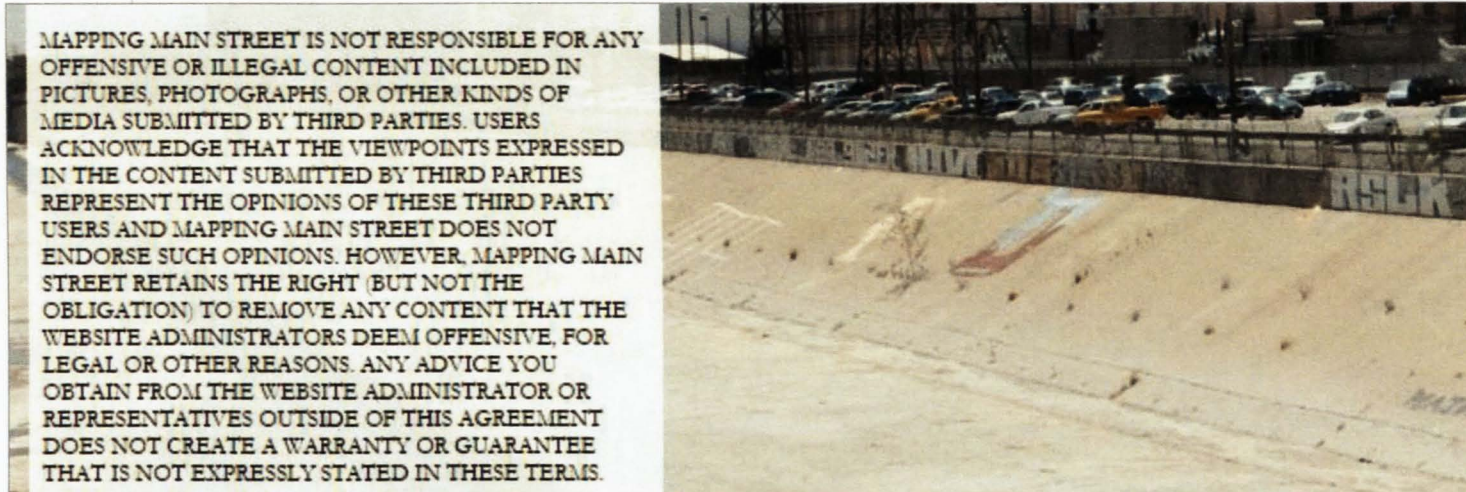


Fig 63: *Cowbird* Themed Collections

www.cowbird.com/community/collections/

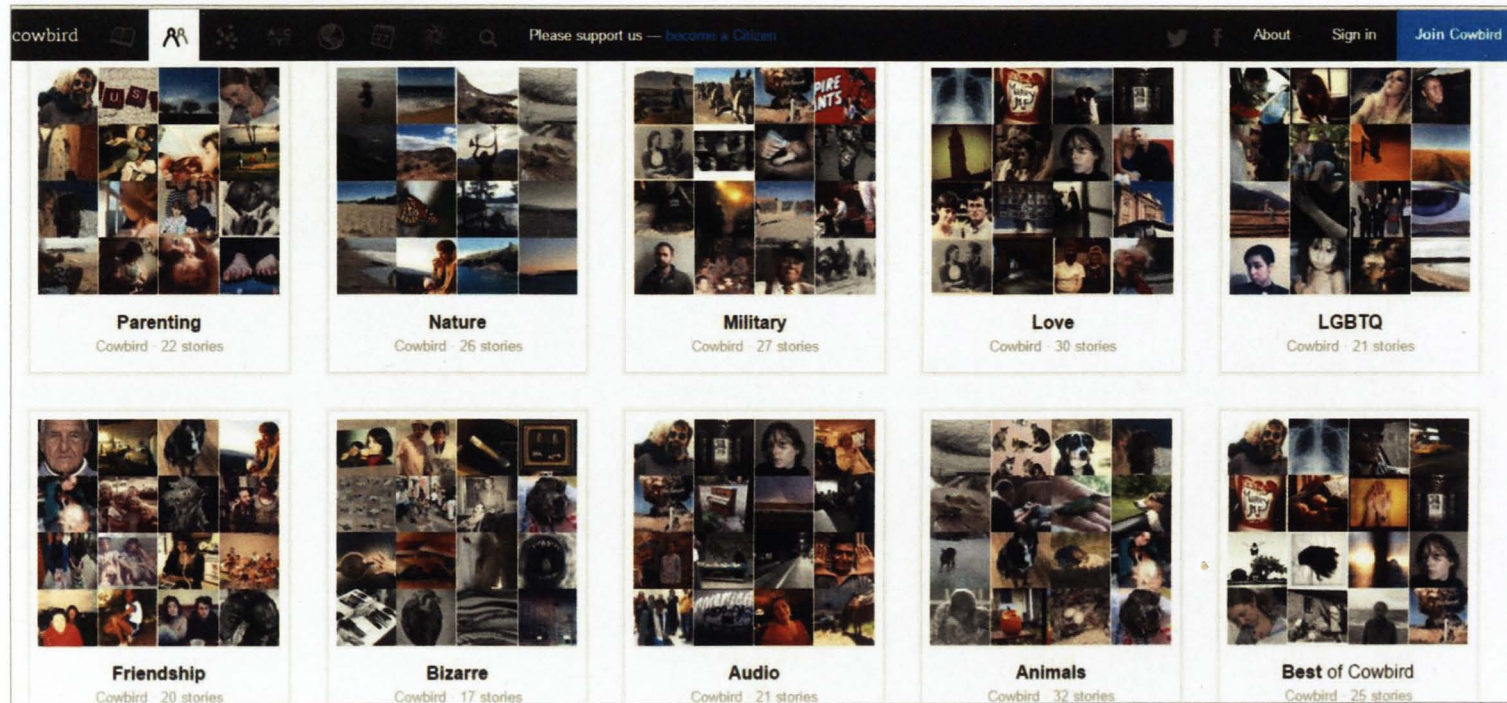


Fig 64: Cowbird 'My Road To Happiness'
<http://bit.ly/1avsUSi>

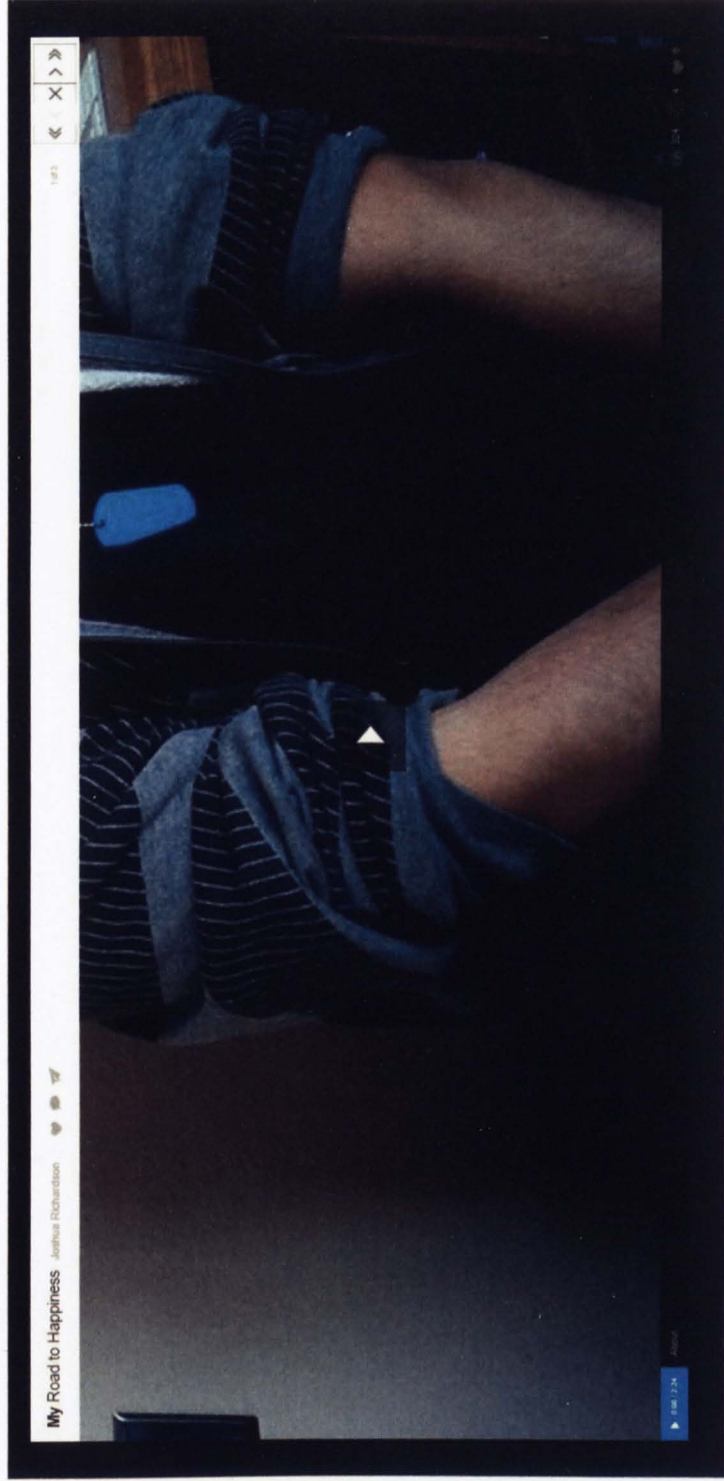


Fig 65: *Cowbird* 'My Road To Happiness'

<http://bit.ly/1avsUSi>

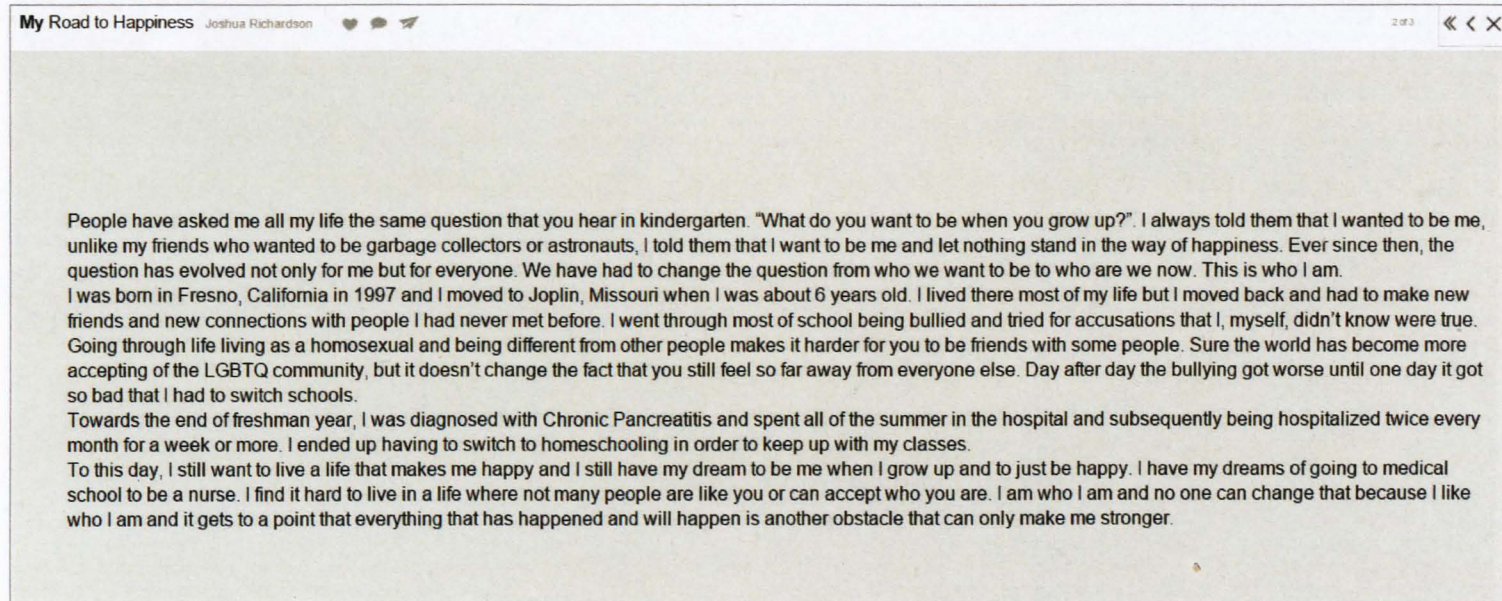


Fig 66: Cowbird, 'Ray'
<http://bit.ly/1DhXMMW>



A. Reynolds

Fig 67: *Cowbird, 'Ray'*
<http://bit.ly/1DhXMMW>

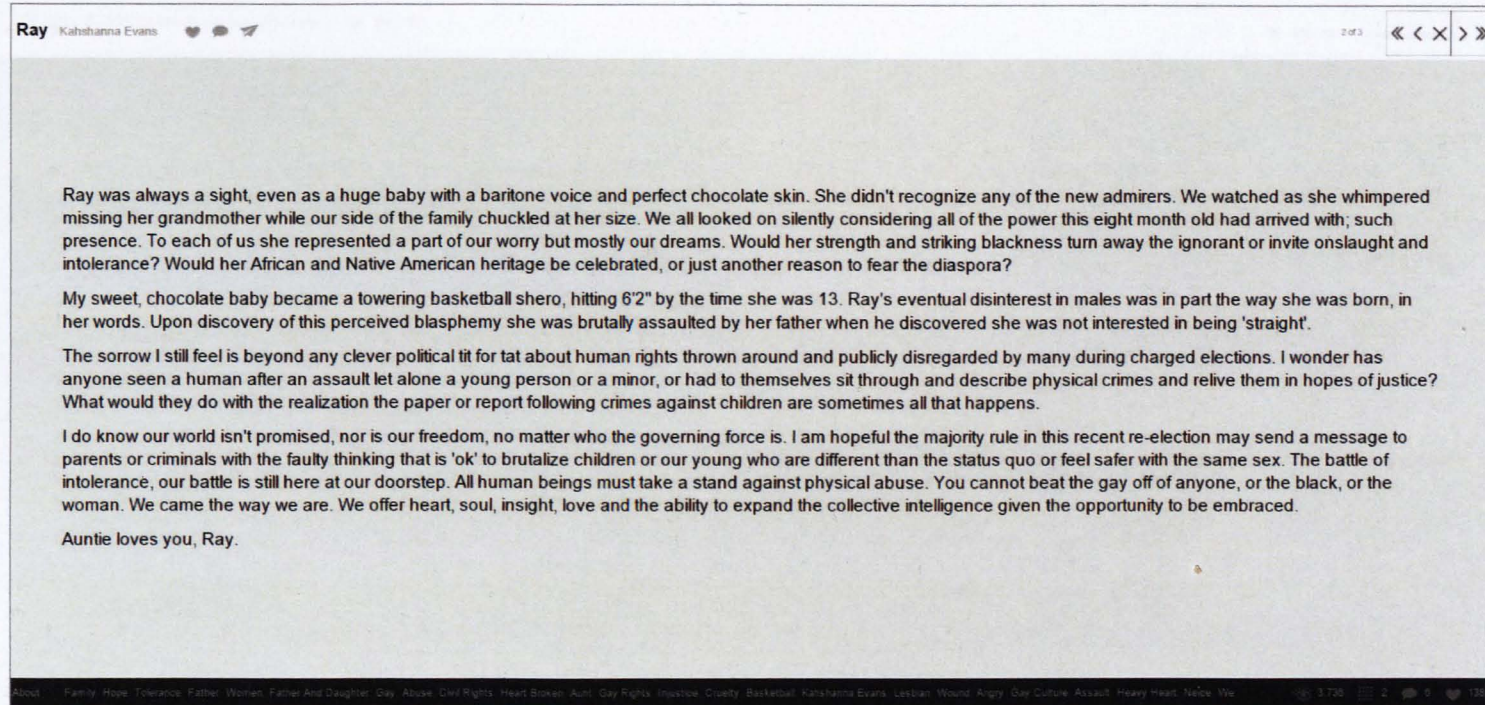


Fig 68: Cowbird, 'Joyful'
<http://bit.ly/1LQS1dD>



Fig 69: *Cowbird*, 'Joyful'
<http://bit.ly/1LQS1dD>

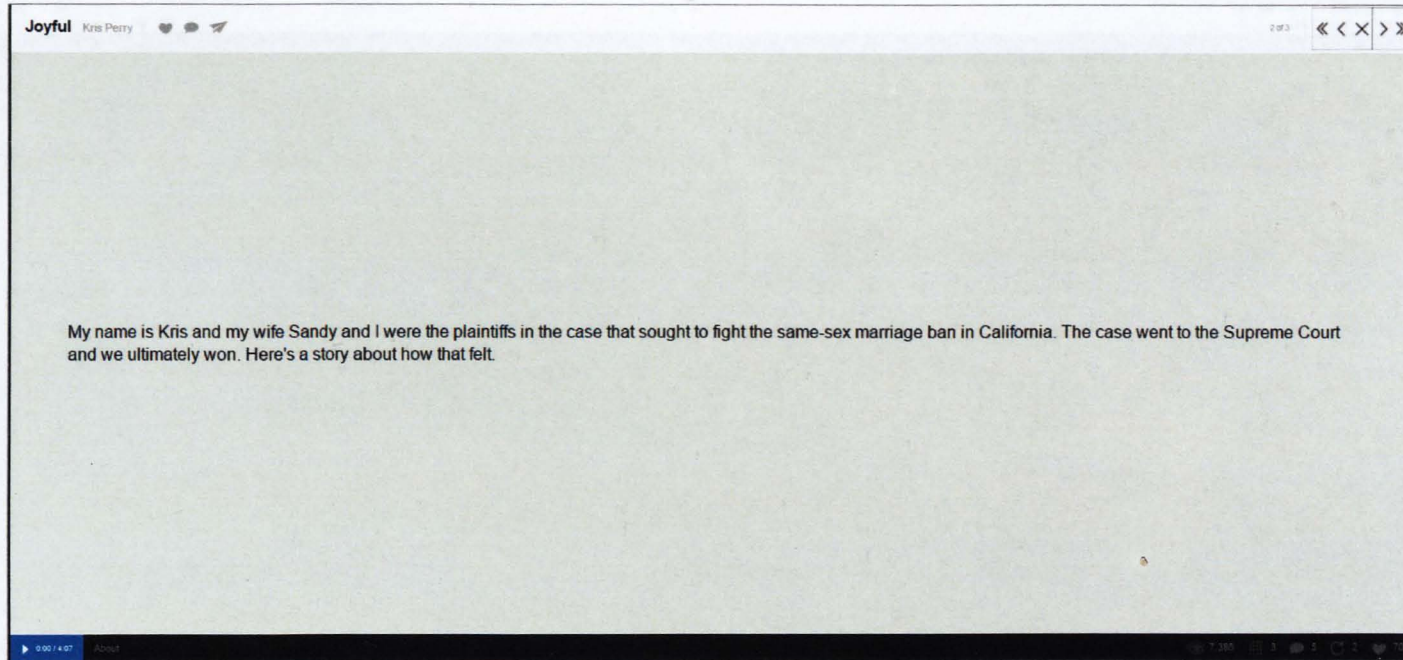



Fig 70 Historypin Local Projects
<http://bit.ly/1PL7VJK>

Community » Local Projects Case Studies

Local Projects Case Studies


There are loads of sessions, events and projects taking place all over the world. Here are some case studies of just a few to inspire you.

Magic Me, Tower Hamlets, London, UK




A set of inter-generational workshop sessions held at the Sundial Community Centre and in the streets around the area, run in partnership with the UK's leading provider of intergenerational arts activities.

Reading, Berkshire, UK




A huge community project involving Reading Museum, local schools, care homes, community groups and societies, mapping the history of an entire town.

San Francisco, USA



A special exhibition of photos from the San Francisco Transit Authority Archive at the Market Street Railway Museum and bus shelters around the city, allowing for amazing real-life then-and-now comparisons.

Lighthouse, Brighton, UK



An inter-generational project bringing together school students and older residents of Brighton alive during World War 2. Films, an exhibition and Collections on Historypin were created.

Community Homepage

Lots of news, ideas, and info for Historypinners round the world

Schools Homepage

Want to run a Historypin session or event in your school?

Local Projects Homepage

Want to run a Historypin session or event with your group?

Libraries, Archives and Museums Homepage

Want to get your institution involved?

Libraries, Archives and Museums Involved

Find out the institutions that are already sharing their history on Historypin.

How To Guides

Fig 71: *National Geographic*, 'Pine Ridge Storytelling Project'
<http://bit.ly/1k8xxmP>

Pine Ridge Community Storytelling Project

A partnership with Cowbird

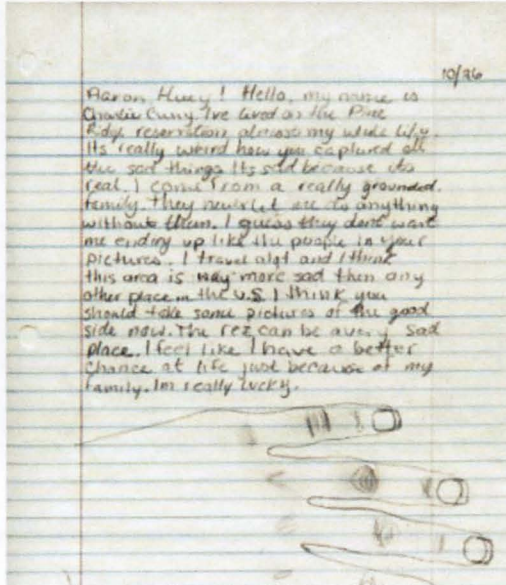
This collection tells the story of life on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, told by the people of Pine Ridge in their own unedited words. Click here to explore their stories.

About the Project

by Aaron Huey


It all started when an envelope full of letters arrived in my mailbox. They came from high school students at the Red Cloud Indian School after they had seen a photo story of mine on Pine Ridge in 2009. Their letters challenged me to see a different side of the Reservation.

As a photojournalist who has been working on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation for the past 7 years, I've always struggled with how to share the incredibly complex story of this community. I've never been able to tell all the stories that I want to tell on Pine Ridge, and I've come to realize that even if I could, I can't tell them the way the people want them told.



Aaron Huey! Hello, my name is Aaron Huey. I've lived on the Pine Ridge reservation, please my whole life. It's really weird how you captured all the sad things. It's sad because it's real. I come from a really grounded family. They never let me do anything without them. I guess they don't want me ending up like the people in your pictures. I travel alot and I think this area is way more sad then any other place in the U.S. I think you should take some pictures of the good side now. The rez can be a very sad place. I feel like I have a better chance at life just because of my family. Im really lucky.

10/26



Explore Their Stories

Voices of Pine Ridge

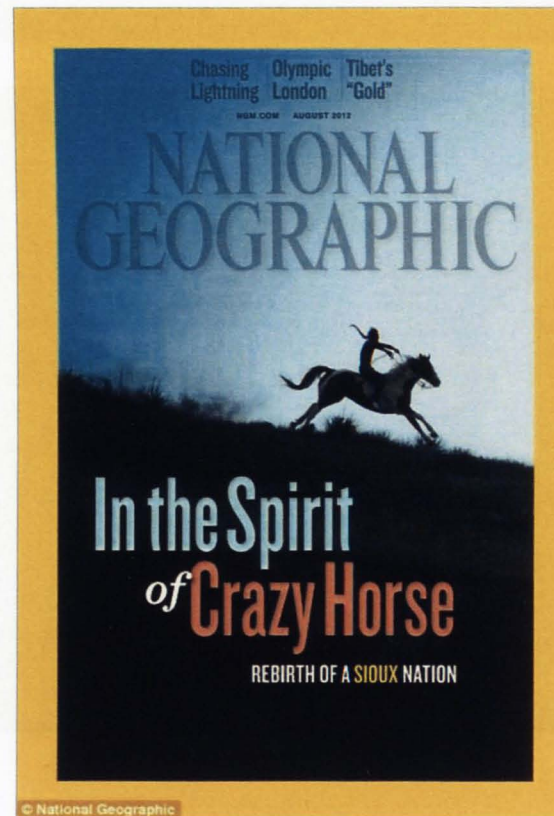
Listen to audio interviews recorded by Aaron Huey.

Feature Article

Read the feature article from *National Geographic*.

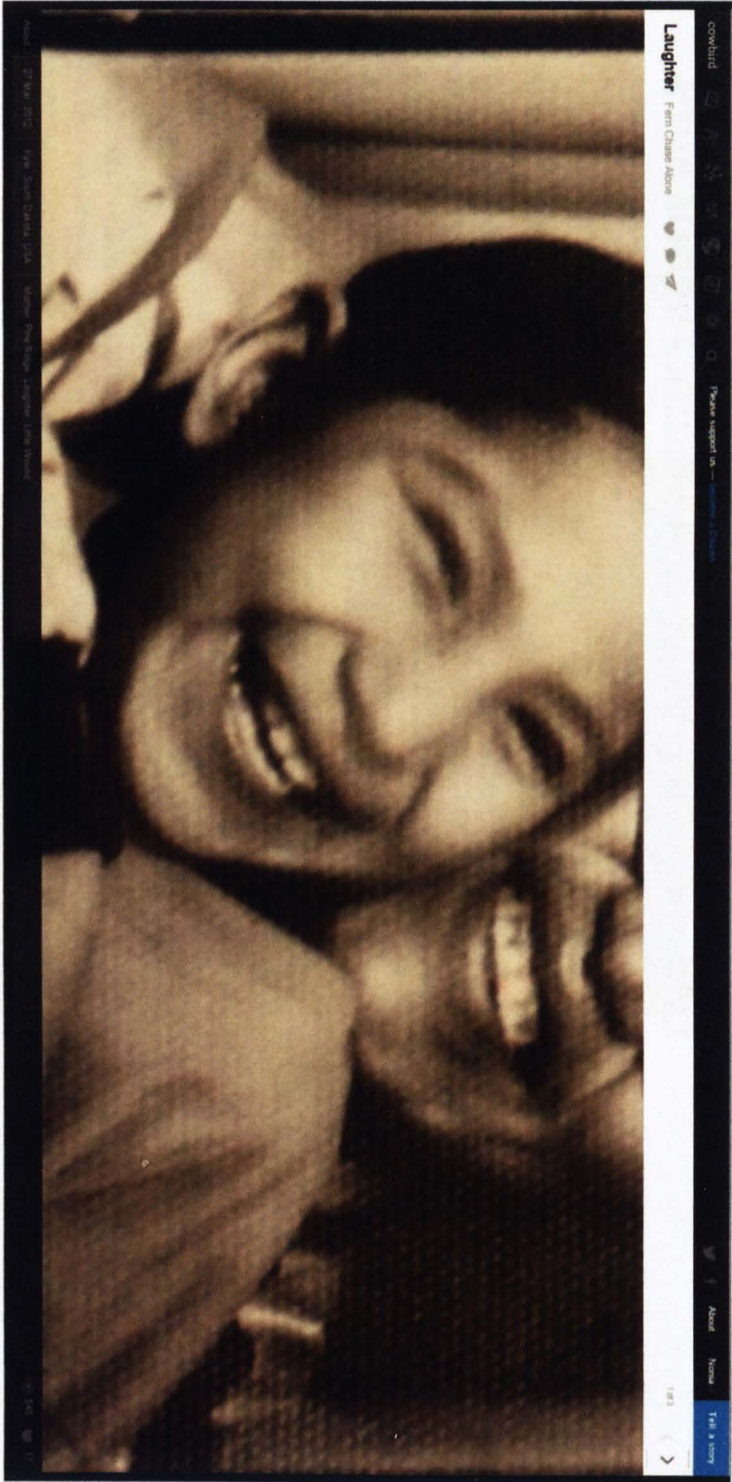
The Moment

Fig 72: *National Geographic*, 'In the Spirit of Crazy Horse'
<http://dailym.ai/1fgahDY>



A. Reynolds

Fig 73: Cowbird, 'Laughter'
<http://bit.ly/1GIolVu>



A. Reynolds

Fig 74: Cowbird 'Laughter'
<http://bit.ly/1GloLVu>

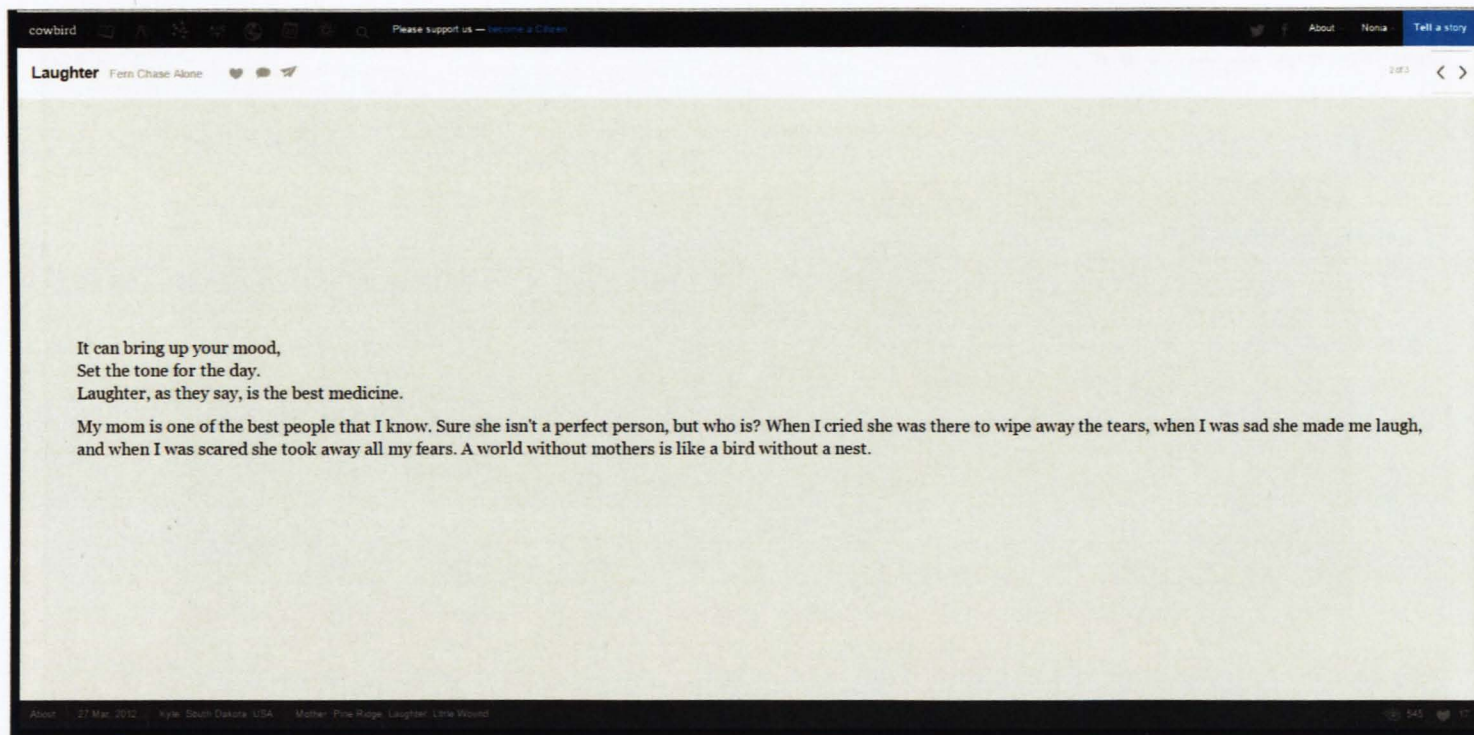
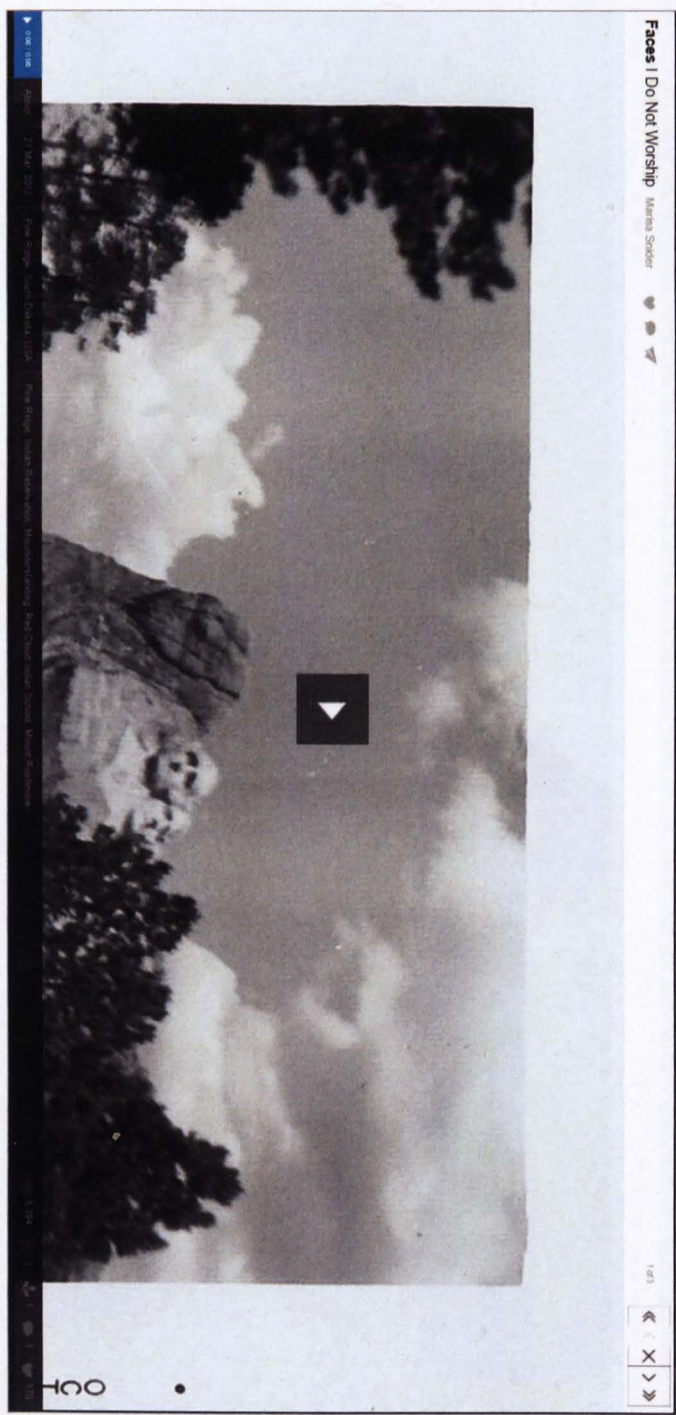
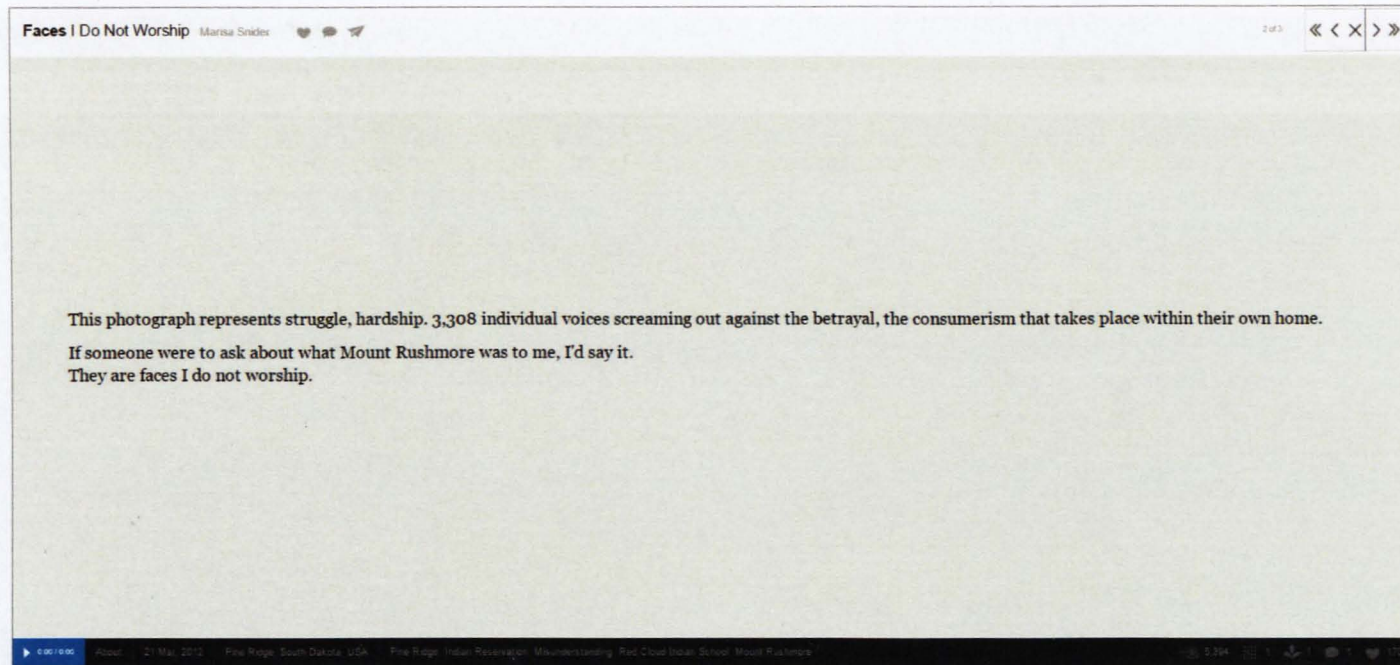


Fig 75: Cowbird, 'Faces I Do Not Worship'
<http://bit.ly/1R3SoHH>



A. Reynolds

Fig 76: *Cowbird*, 'Faces I Do Not Worship'
<http://bit.ly/1R3SoHH>





IMAGING SERVICES NORTH

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www.bl.uk

PAGE IS AS ORIGINAL

Fig 77: *Cowbird*, 'Ogala Lakota Alter-Native Rock Band'
<http://bit.ly/1nucvIZ>

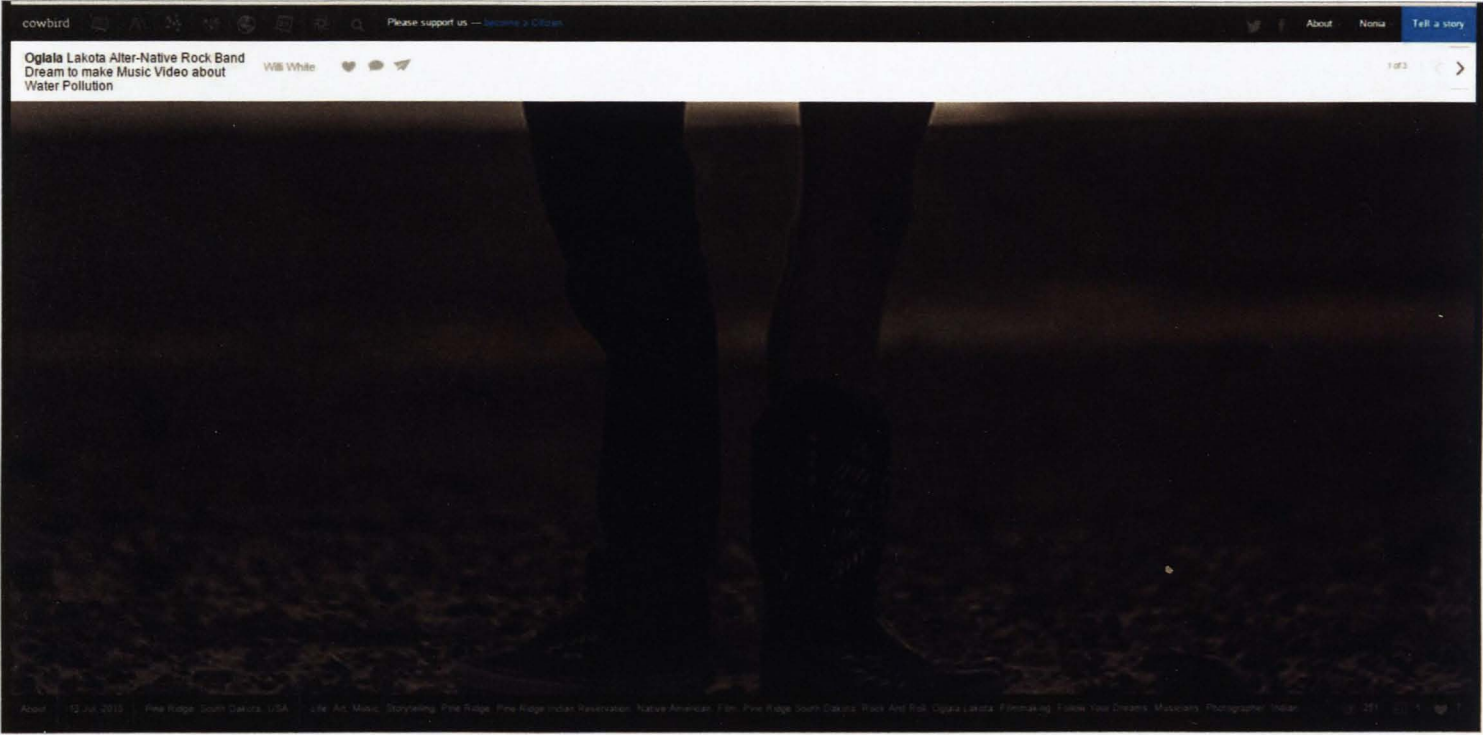


Fig 78: *Cowbird*, 'Ogala Lakota Alter-Native Rock Band'
<http://bit.ly/1nucvIz>

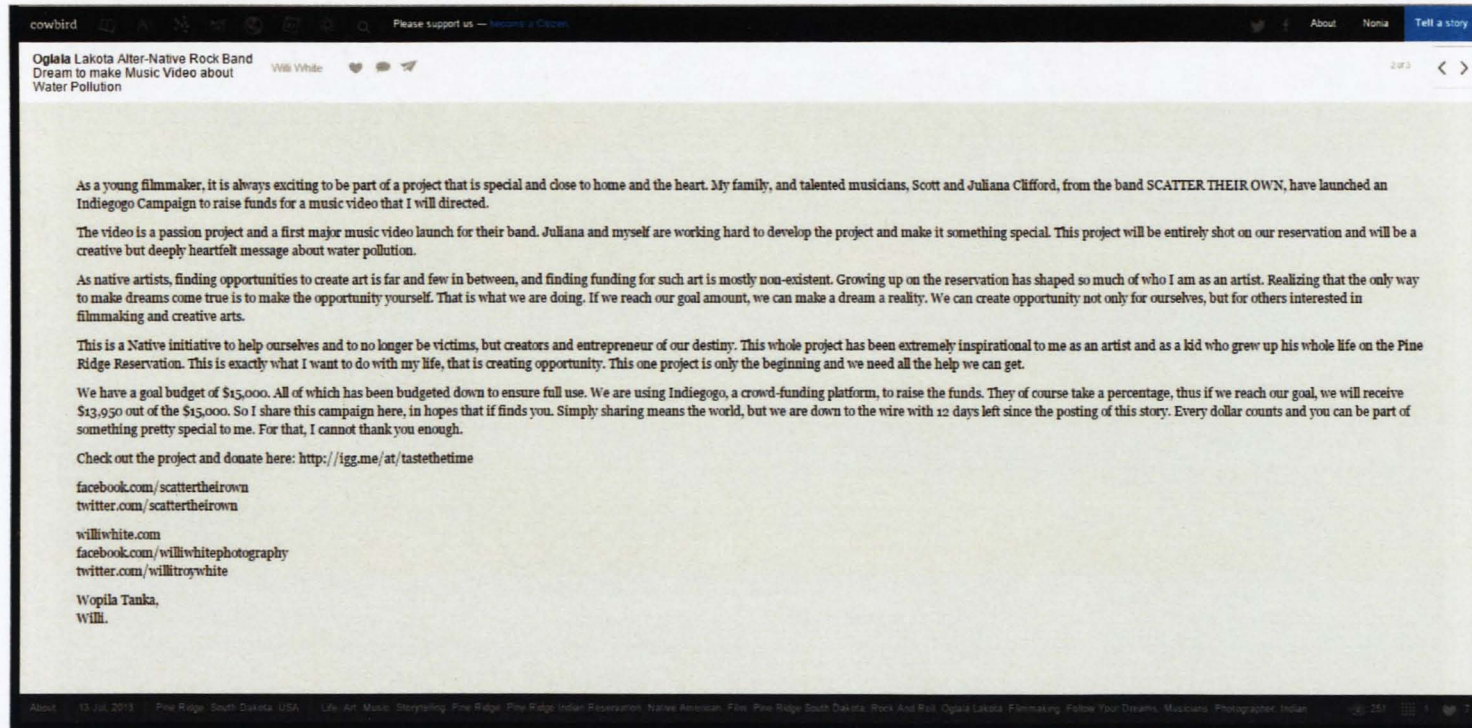


Fig 79: Actipedia
www.actipedia.org

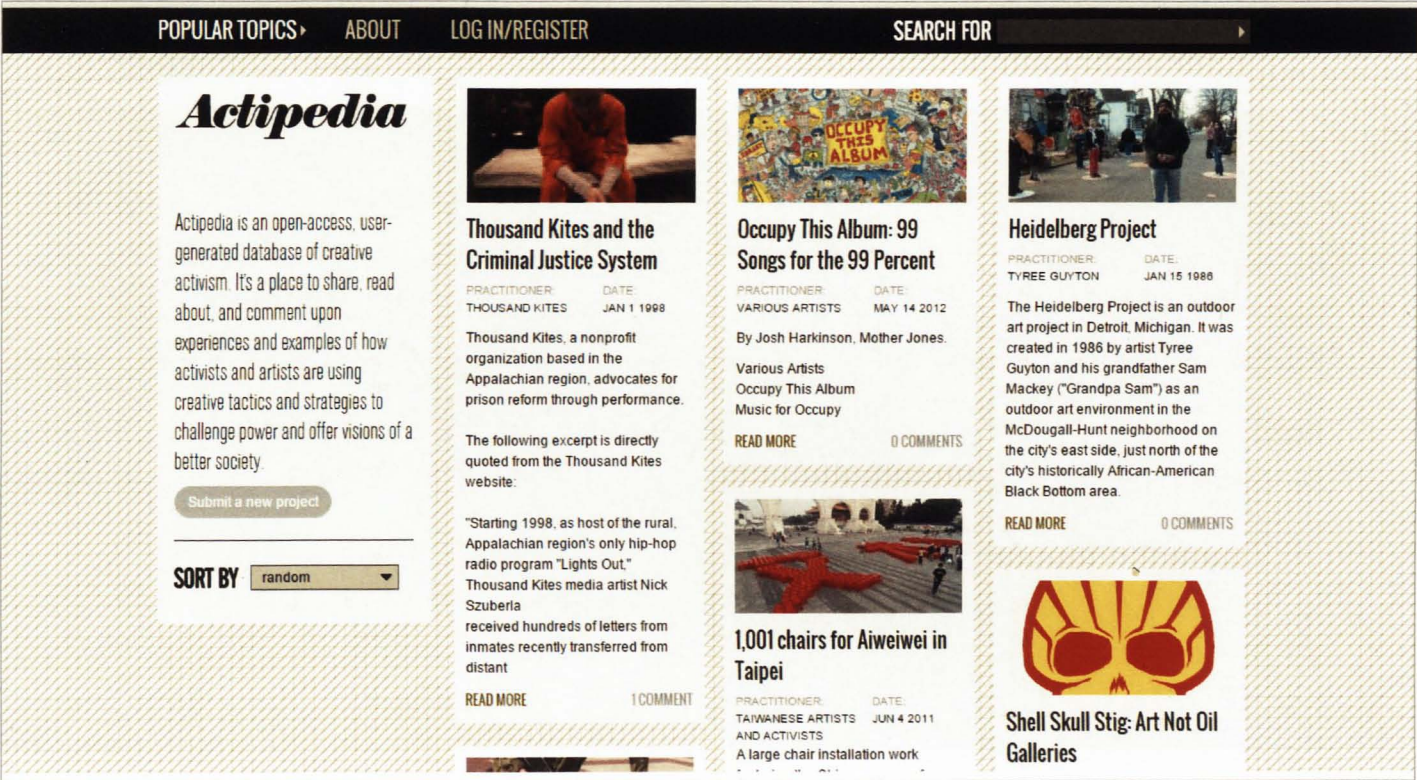


Fig 80: Marxists Internet Archive
www.marxists.org

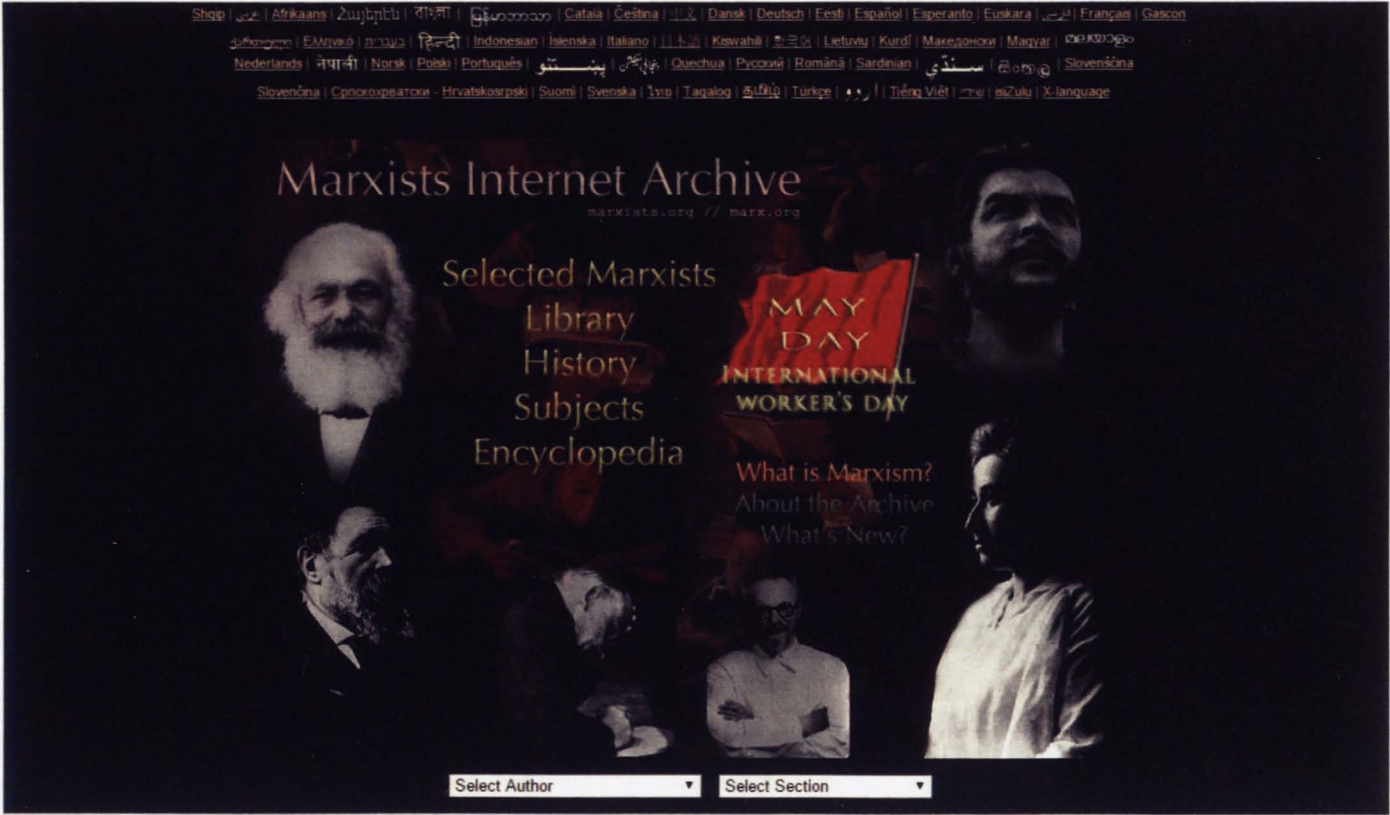


Fig 81: Marxists Internet Archive Introduction
bit.ly/1IE4bsQ

INTRODUCTION

MARXISTS INTERNET ARCHIVE

The Marxists Internet Archive (MIA, <http://www.marxists.org/>) is an all-volunteer, non-profit public library, started more than 20 years ago in 1990. In 2006, MIA averaged 1.1 million visitors per month, downloading 15.5 million files per month. This represents a 25% increase in visitors since 2005, and a 380% increase in visitors since 2000.

In 2007, MIA has [62 active volunteers](#) from [33 different countries](#). MIA contains the writings of 592 authors representing a complete spectrum of political, philosophical, and scientific thought, generally spanning the past 200 years. MIA contains these writings in [45 different languages](#), comprising a total size of over 53,000 documents and 29 GB of data, all created through the work of volunteers around the world.

Fig 82: Marxist Internet Archive Volunteer Roles

bit.ly/1V6ETbX

1. Transcribing/Publishing either Marxist, Reference, or Historical information. This requires a scanner, OCR software (that converts scanned images into text), a cautious eye for catching OCR mistakes, and the book itself. Choose material that interests you! (if you are unsure about the copyright status of a work, read our [copyrights](#) page to find out). Not sure how to scan text? We have an outline of [how to transcribe](#). After that, read about our suggested [HTML formatting](#) and other [Hints for Volunteers](#)

2. Translating texts into other languages. Many works that are legal for us to publish in their original language, were translated into different languages and copyrighted. Also, some languages have sporadic translations of Marxist material, and need works translated. Translation work is greatly appreciated to help spread Marxist ideas throughout the world.

3. Proof-reading for the archive is tremendously helpful. Proof-reading can work in two ways: you can focus on material already in the archive (which likely have mistakes in it), or, you can team up with someone doing scanning and help proof-read their text before it goes online. On the specifics of which books, or authors – that is really up to you. Pick something that is interesting for you, or, if you'd like, we can make some helpful suggestions on places to start. [Let us know](#), and we'll help you get started! There are many ways to proofread, for example you open the html file in Word or Open Office, and use track changes or simply using bold can help identify the changes. Alternatively, just send us an email with the filename, paragraph beginning ... and XXXX should be YYYY, one line for each error.

4. Researching for the Encyclopedia of Marxism. There are many events in our history, much to research and explain about politics, economics, civil society, etc; many workers organizations, political parties, and so much more that we need to research, critically address and factually detail, for the benefit of workers around the world. See our [Writing guidelines for the Encyclopedia](#)

Fig 83: FloodNet Screenshot
<http://bit.ly/1Sjy2v0>

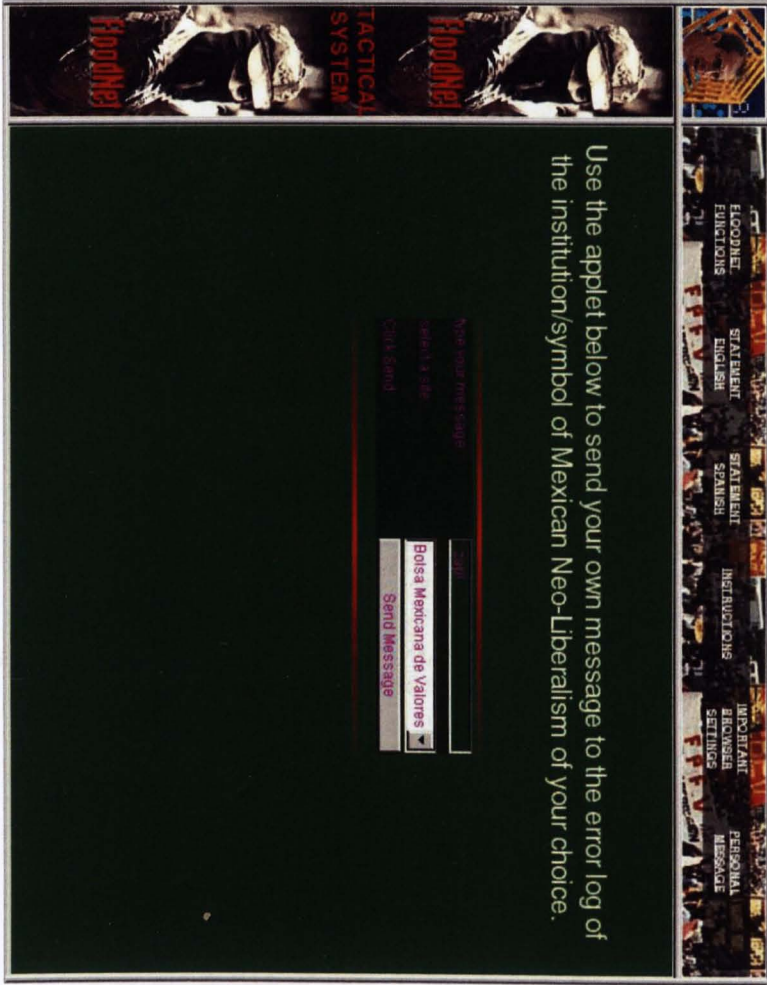


Fig 84: The Yes Men, *GATT.org*
www.yeslab.org/museum

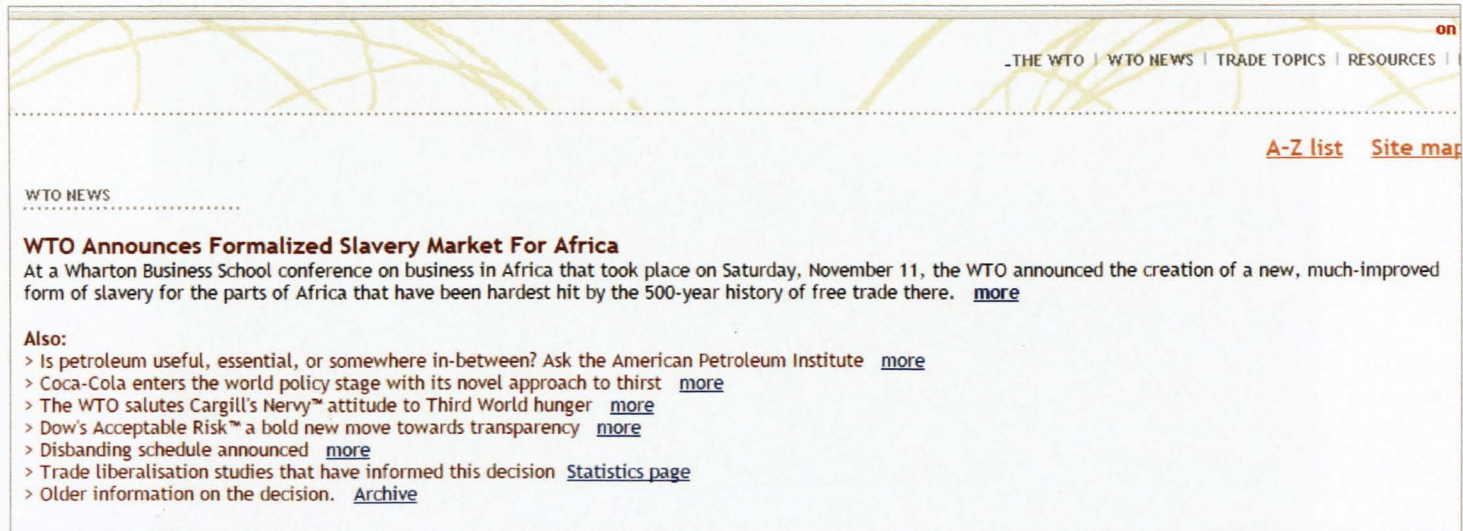


Fig 85: The Yes Men 'Textiles of the Future' Conference
www.theyesmen.org/finland/givinglecture.jpg

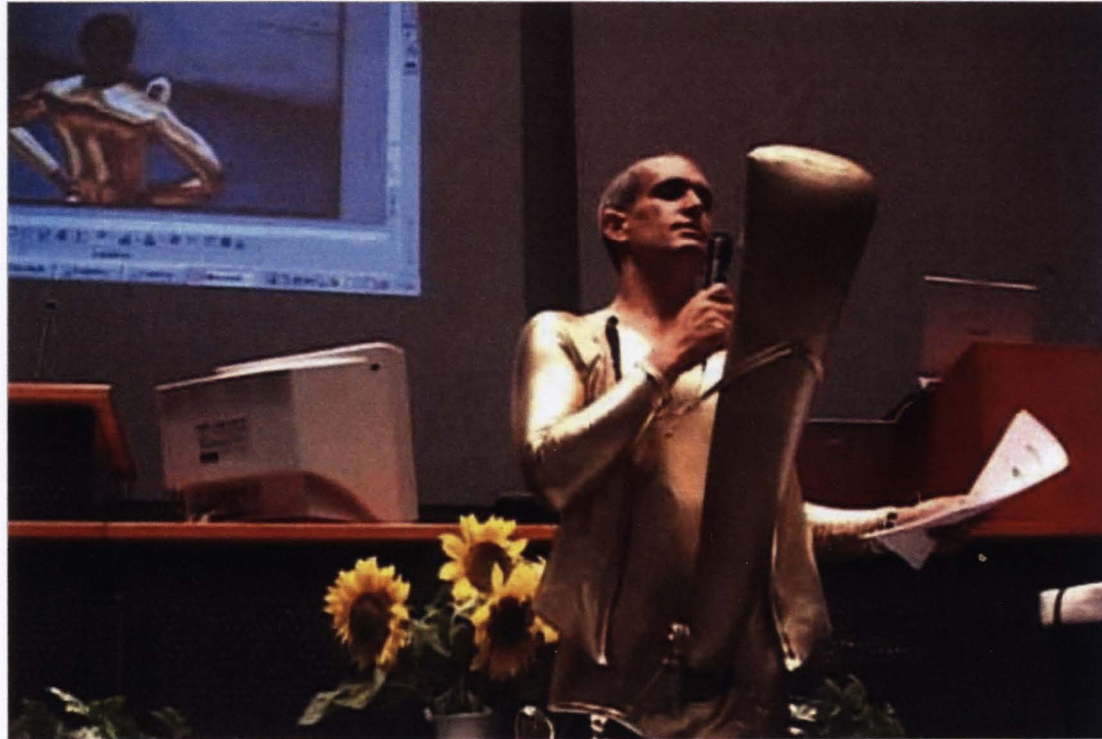
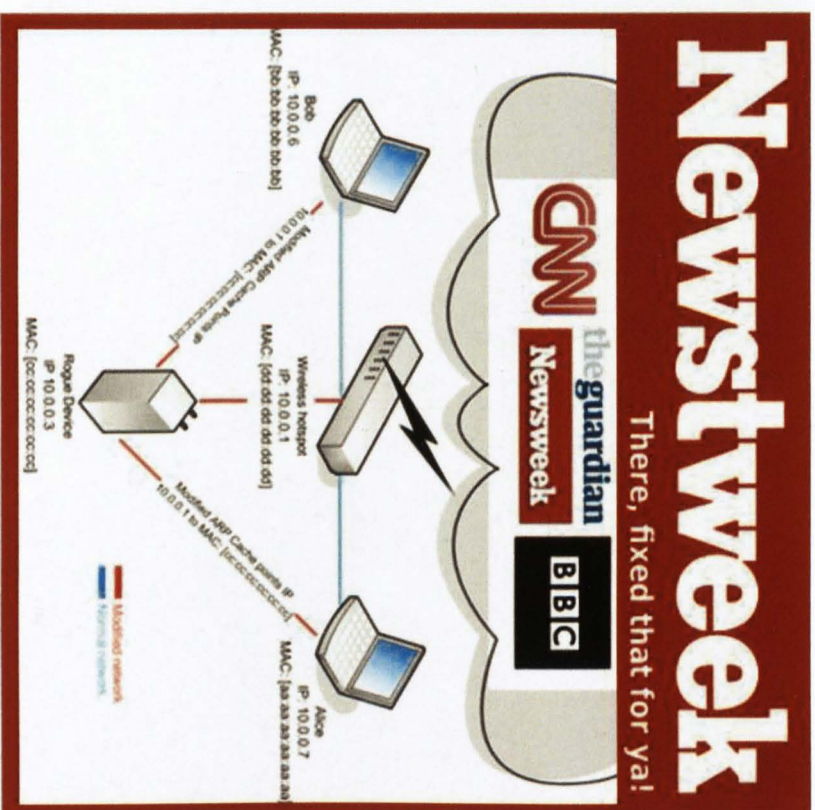


Fig 86: The Yes Men, DOW Chemical Hoax
<http://theyesmen.org/hijinks/bbcbhopal>



Fig 87: *Newstweek*
<http://bit.ly/1TmXIP1>



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Fig 88: Graham Harwood, *Uncomfortable Proximity*
<http://bit.ly/1e97pla>



Fig 89: Ztohoven, *The Moral Reform*
<http://bit.ly/1JbDsZc>

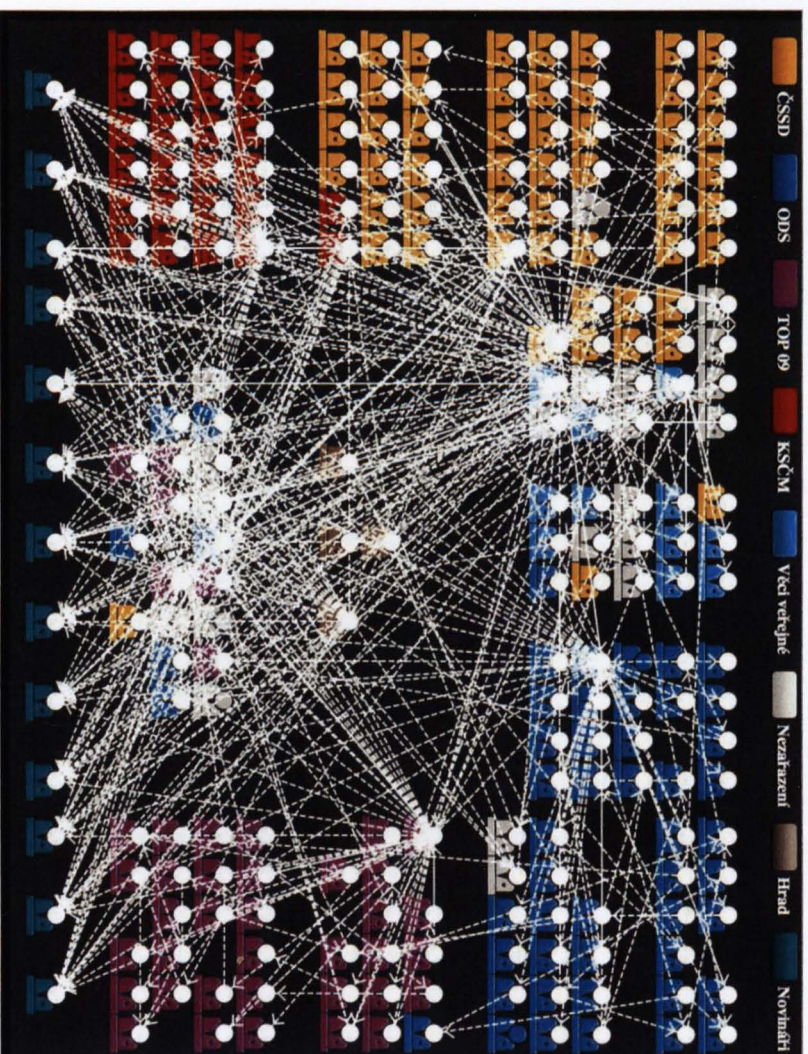


Fig 90: Sukey Anti Kettling App
<http://bit.ly/1FHJA3H>



Fig 91: *Sukey* Protest Map
<http://bit.ly/1LNMPsB>

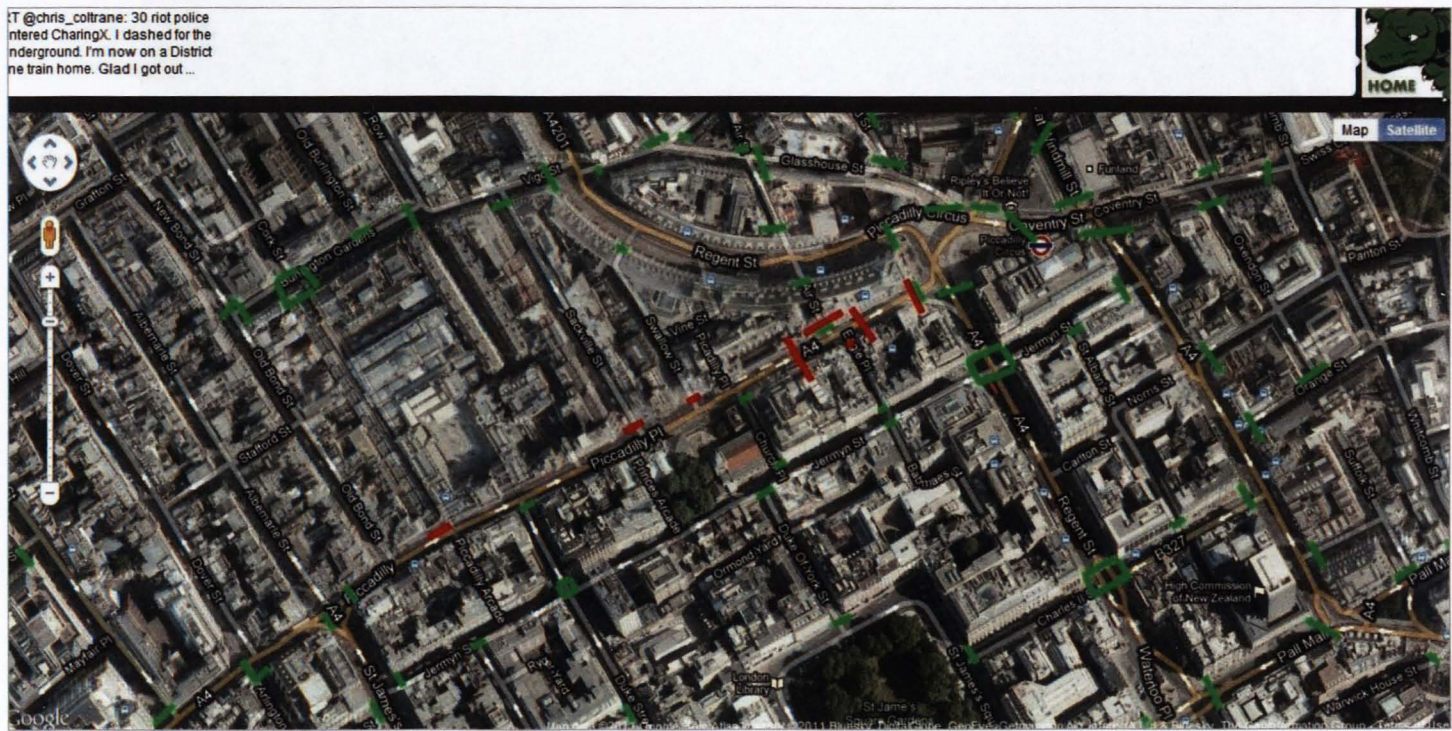


Fig 92: Electronic Disturbance Theatre,
Transborder Immigrant Tool
<http://bit.ly/1R4gxhi>

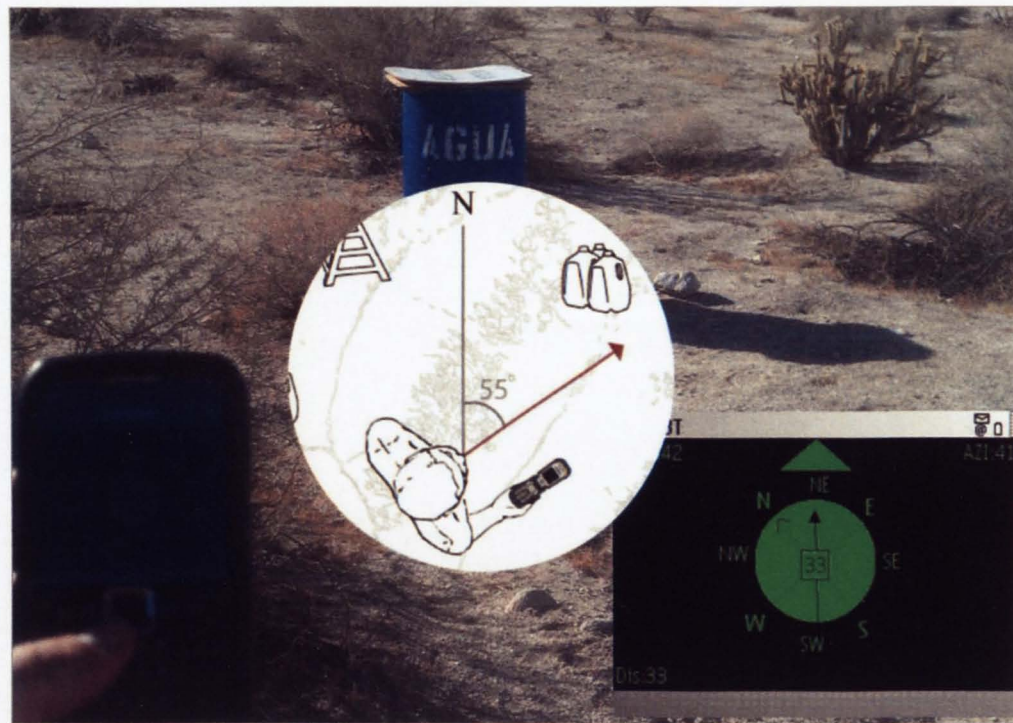


Fig 93: Wikileaks Introduction

<https://wikileaks.org/About.htm>

What is Wikileaks ?



WikiLeaks is a not-for-profit media organisation. Our goal is to bring important news and information to the public. We provide an innovative, secure and anonymous way for sources to leak information to our journalists (our electronic drop box). One of our most important activities is to publish original source material alongside our news stories so readers and historians alike can see evidence of the truth. We are a young organisation that has grown very quickly, relying on a network of dedicated volunteers around the globe. Since 2007, when the organisation was officially launched, WikiLeaks has worked to report on and publish important information. We also develop and adapt technologies to support these activities.

WikiLeaks has sustained and triumphed against legal and political attacks designed to silence our publishing organisation, our journalists and our anonymous sources. The broader principles on which our work is based are the defence of freedom of speech and media publishing, the improvement of our common historical record and the support of the rights of all people to create new history. We derive these principles from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In particular, Article 19 inspires the work of our journalists and other volunteers. It states that everyone has the right to

freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. We agree, and we seek to uphold this and the other Articles of the Declaration.

1.2 How WikiLeaks works

WikiLeaks has combined high-end security technologies with journalism and ethical principles. Like other media outlets conducting investigative journalism, we accept (but do not solicit) anonymous sources of information. Unlike other outlets, we provide a high security anonymous drop box fortified by cutting-edge cryptographic information technologies. This provides maximum protection to our sources. We are fearless in our efforts to get the unvarnished truth out to the public. When information comes in, our journalists analyse the material, verify it and write a news piece about it describing its significance to society. We then publish both the news story and the original material in order to enable readers to analyse the story in the context of the original source material themselves. Our news stories are in the comfortable presentation style of Wikipedia, although the two organisations are not otherwise related. Unlike Wikipedia, random readers can not edit our source documents.

As the media organisation has grown and developed, WikiLeaks been developing and improving a harm minimisation procedure. We do not censor our news, but from time to time we may remove or significantly delay the publication of some identifying details from original documents to protect life and limb of innocent people.

We accept leaked material in person and via postal drops as alternative methods, although we recommend the anonymous electronic drop box as the preferred method of submitting any material. We do not ask for material, but we make sure that if material is going to be submitted it is done securely and that the source is well protected. Because we receive so much information, and we have limited resources, it may take time to review a source's submission.

Fig 94: *VisitorsStudio*
www.visitorsstudio.org

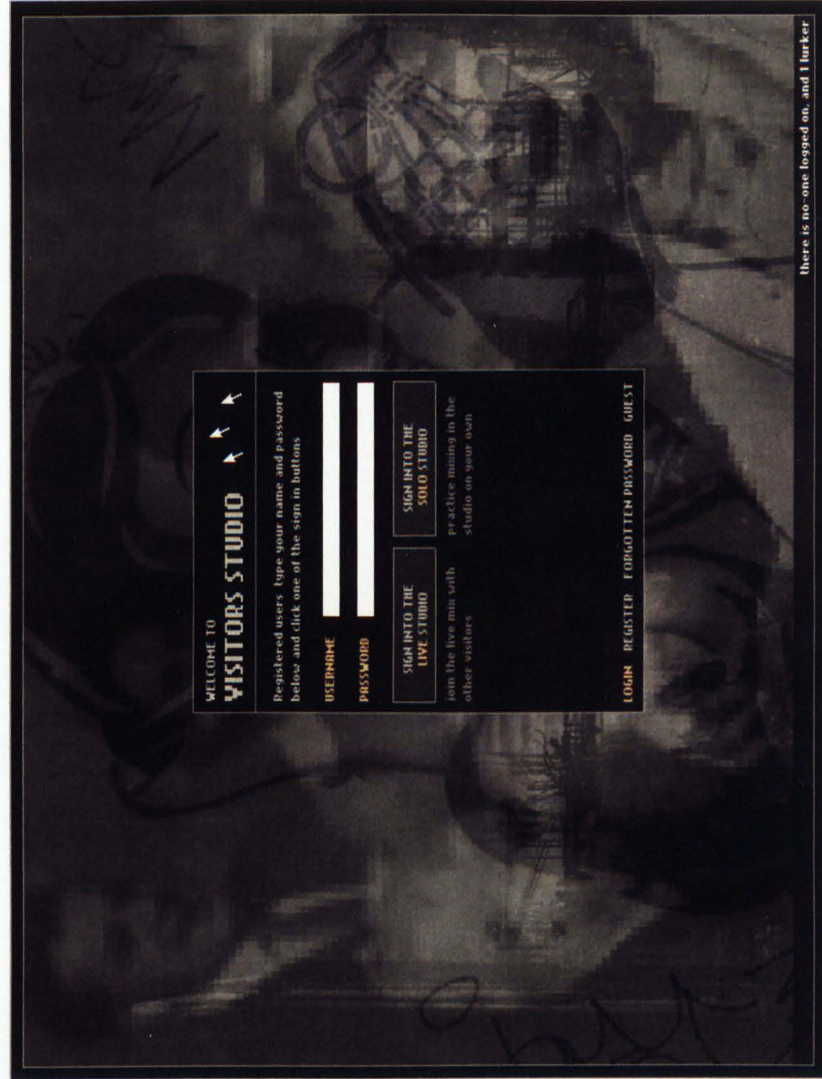
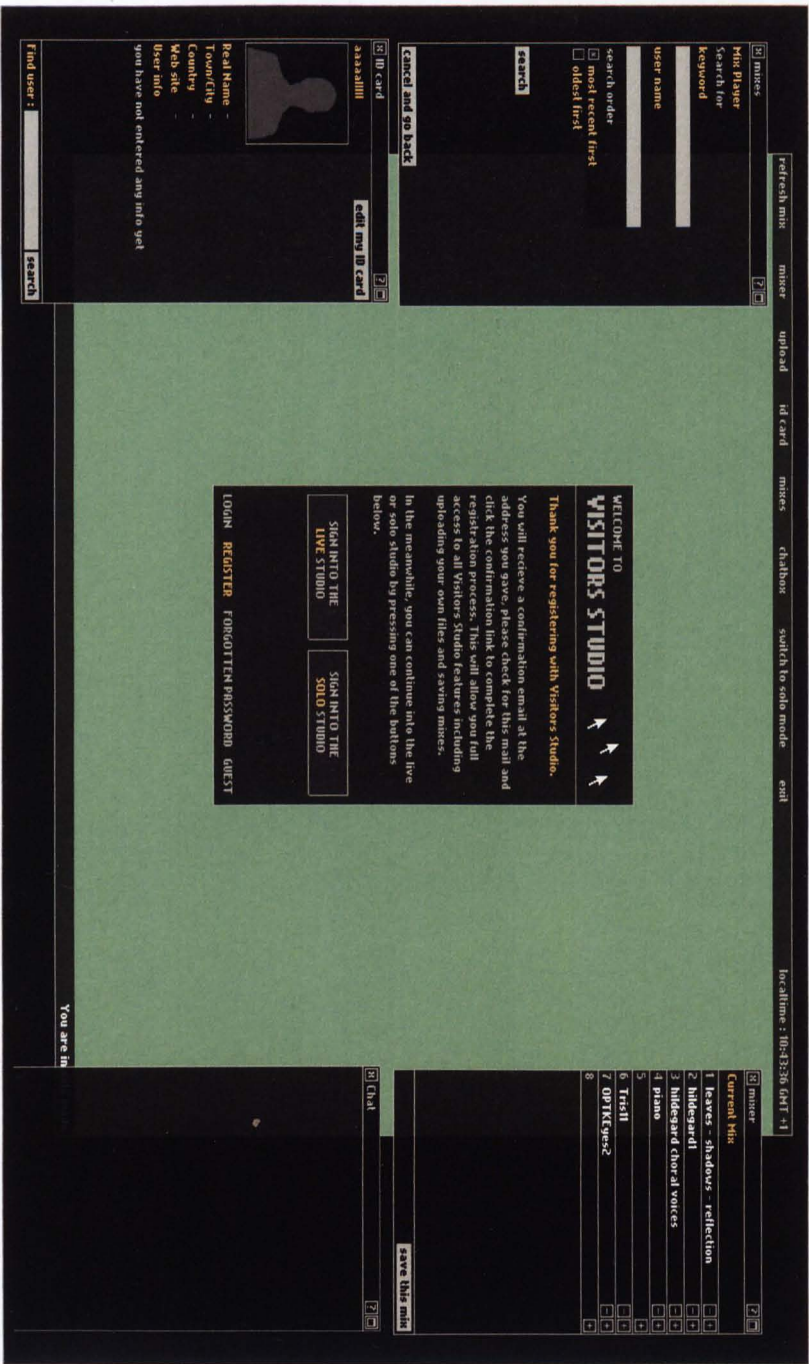


Fig 95: *VisitorsStudio* Co-Creation Space
www.visitorsstudio.org



A. Reynolds

Fig 96: *Upstage* 'We Have a Situation'

<http://bit.ly/1gO91lx>



Fig 97: Upstage 'We Have a Situation'
<http://bit.ly/1ROOfxu>

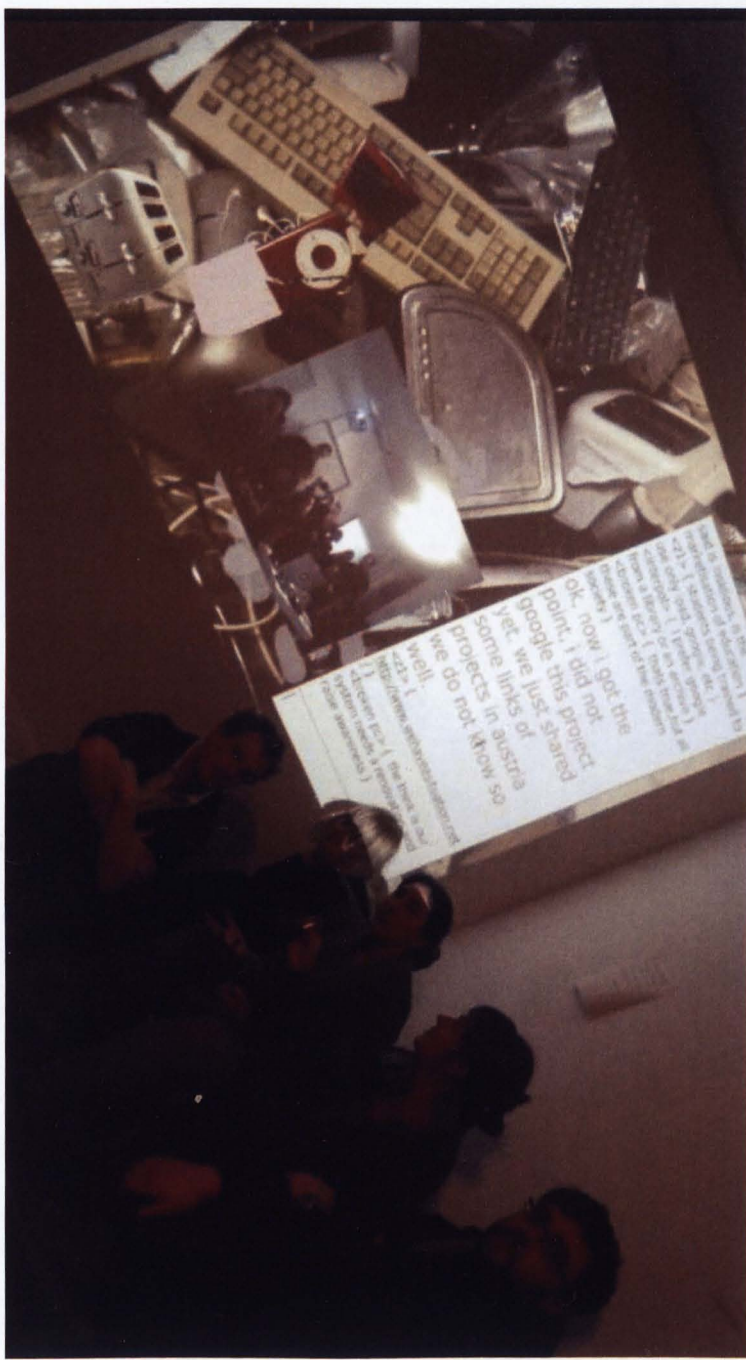


Fig 98: *Historypin* Split-Screen Redesign
<http://bit.ly/1VmWsDI>

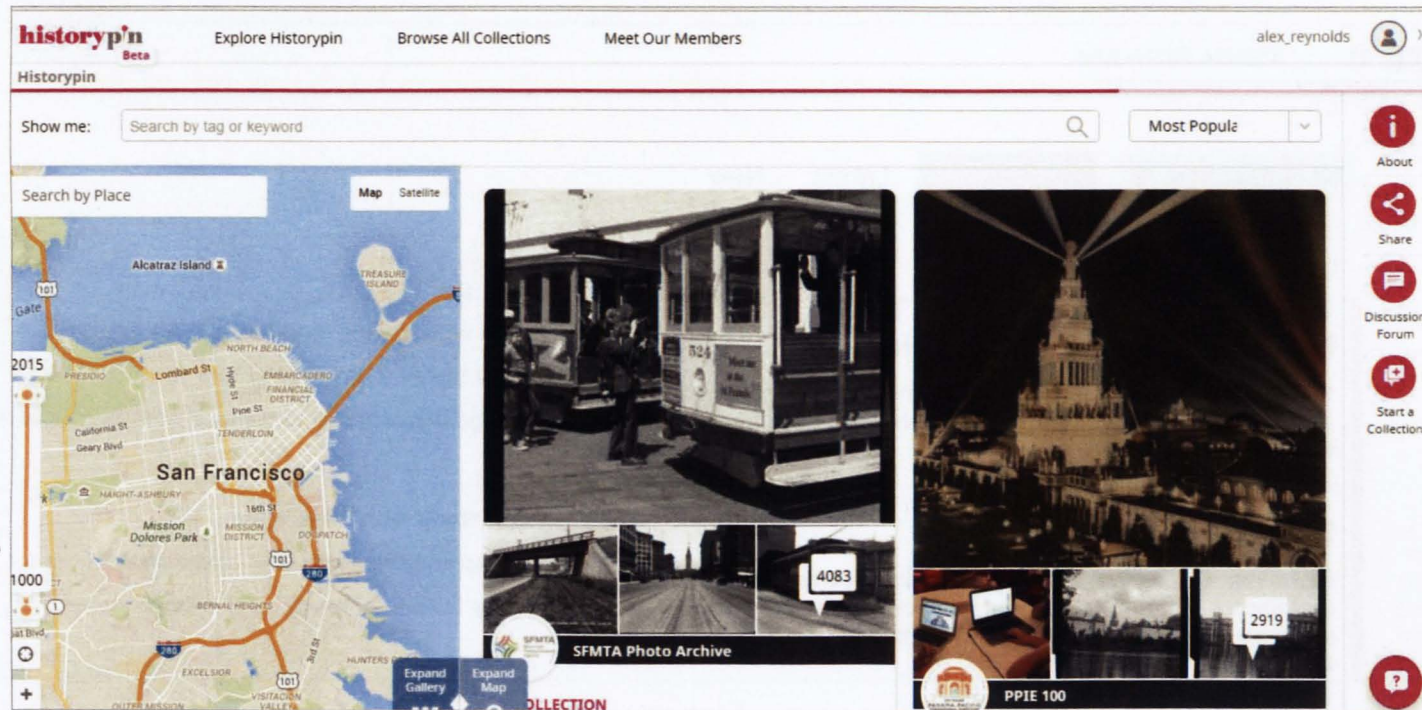


Fig 99: *Historypin* Discussion Forum
<https://community.historypin.org/>

historypin Explore Historypin
Forum

all categories ▸

Categories

Latest

New

Category	Latest
Help Us Improve Historypin If you're stuck or have difficulties using the site, share them here. Also, help us improve Historypin by sharing ideas for what you'd like to see on our site.	Issue with sharing pins on Facebook 21d Black Spirals / Black dots Nov 26 Map getting locked into just one collection Nov 26
Historypin Collections Historypin Collections are groups of pins put together by Historypin members gathering pins about a place, theme or event. This category is where you can find collections that are being discussed and join the conversation.	First World War Conscription 13d 8 simple questions to your adobo story! Oct 5 Brady Island Nebraska Local History Oct 25