

2 Critique of the Political Economy of Informational Capitalism and Social Media

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2.1 INTRODUCTION

The conference “Critique, Democracy and Philosophy in 21st Century Information Society” (Uppsala University, May 2–4, 2012, <http://www.icts-and-society.net/events/uppsala2012/>; see also Fuchs 2012c) that took place at the University of Uppsala has shown that there is a big interest in critical studies of digital media and the information society. And by critical studies, the majority of the participants at the conference actually mean Marxist studies of digital media and the information society. The term “Marxist studies of digital media and the information society” for me encompasses several dimensions, namely that digital media and information, communication, and media in society are analysed in respect to:

- a) processes of capital accumulation (including the analysis of capital, markets, commodity logic, competition, exchange value, the antagonisms of the mode of production, productive forces, crises, advertising, etc.),
- b) class relations (with a focus on work, labour, the mode of the exploitation of surplus value, etc.),
- c) domination in general (based on the insight that in capitalism forms of domination—such as racism or patriarchy—are always connected to exploitation, i.e. class),
- d) ideology (both in academia and everyday life), as well as the analysis of and engagement in
- e) struggles against the dominant order, which includes the analysis and advancement of
- f) social movement struggles and
- g) social movement media that
- h) aim at the establishment of a democratic socialist society that is based on communication commons as part of structures of commonly-owned means of production.

Since the start of the global economic crisis in 2008, there has been a surging interest in the analysis of capitalism and the works of Karl

Marx (Fuchs and Mosco 2012). At the same time, the actual rise of inequality in most Western societies has resulted in a certain return of the public discussion of class and exploitation. So for example the self-description of the Occupy movement as a movement that fights “back against the richest 1% of people that are writing the rules of an unfair global economy that is foreclosing on our future” shows a focus on class and class struggle.¹ In a survey published in July 2012, 65 per cent of the US respondents (N=2,508) said that in the past ten years the income gap between the rich and the poor has gotten larger.² In January 2012, 66 per cent of the US respondents said in a survey (N=2,048) that there are strong or very strong conflicts between the rich and the poor in comparison to 47 per cent in 2009 (N=1,701).³ One can infer from these data that although the Occupy movement has been evicted from Wall Street by the US government and the police, one of its big successes was that it has helped to raise public awareness of class divisions.

2.2 FRANKFURT SCHOOL AND CRITICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

Two of the main schools that have studied the media, communication and culture critically are Frankfurt School Critical Theory (see Wiggershaus 1995) and Critical Political Economy of the Media (see Mosco 2009). For Horkheimer and his colleagues, critical theory “was a camouflage label for ‘Marxist theory’” (Wiggershaus 1995, 5) when they were in exile from the Nazis in the USA, where they were concerned about being exposed as Marxist thinkers. Representatives of Critical Political Economy have considered their approach as being Marxist in character (e.g. Murdock and Golding 2005, 61; Smythe 1981, xvi–xviii; 1994, 258). Besides the grounding in Marx’s works, both approaches also share the focus on commodity exchange as a crucial starting point or grounding category of analysis (Adorno 2000, 32; Smythe 1994, 259). Marx said in respect to the analysis of modern society that the commodity is the cell form of capitalism (Marx 1867, 125), so both Critical Theory and Critical Political Economy of the Media have a genuinely Marxian approach.

A common prejudice against both approaches, especially formulated by cultural studies scholars, is that there is no or little focus on agency, that no alternatives to capitalist media are seen and that audiences are seen as passive (e.g. Grossberg 1995, Hall 1986, 1988). These views are short-sighted because they neglect the fact that scholars like Smythe stressed the potentials of resistance to capitalism (Smythe 1981, 270) and the potentials for and need of alternatives (see Fuchs 2012b for a detailed discussion). For example, both Adorno (2005) and Smythe (1994, 230–244) imagined an alternative system of television. Adorno (1977, 680) also

stressed the positive role that TV could play in anti-fascist education in Germany after Auschwitz.

Both approaches have given attention to the analysis of the commodity form of the media and ideology critique, although to different extents (Fuchs 2012b). A difference between Critical Political Economy of the Media and Critical Theory is that the first is strongly rooted in economic theory and the second in philosophy and social theory. There has been a stronger focus on ideology critique in the Frankfurt School approach for historical reasons: in order to understand German fascism, an explanation was needed as to why the revolutionary German working class followed Hitler, which brought up the interest in the analysis of the authoritarian personality and media propaganda.

The Marxist analysis of media and communication is grounded in a double-understanding of what Lukács (1923) termed reification, Horkheimer (1947, 2002) called instrumental reason and Marcuse (1964) termed technological rationality: capitalism a) reduces humans to the status of being instruments for capital accumulation in the form of their role as wage workers and consumers and b) tries to make them believe in the feasibility of the overall system by using ideology as an (attempted) silencing instrument.

2.3 INFORMATION SOCIETY OR CAPITALISM?

The fundamental question of a theory of contemporary society is: in what kind of society do we live today and what are the main tendencies in the development of contemporary society (Fuchs 2012a)? A classification of information society theories can be achieved by combining the degree of novelty and the kind of sociological theorizing as distinguishing criteria. The information society theory discourse can then be theoretically categorised by distinguishing two axes: the first axis distinguishes aspects of societal change, the second one the informational qualities of these changes. There are theories that conceive the transformations of past decades as constituting radical societal change. These are discontinuous theories. Other theories stress the continuities of modern society. Subjective information society theories stress the importance of human knowledge (thought, mental activities) in contemporary society, whereas objective information society theories emphasise the role of information technologies such as the mass media, the computer, the Internet, or the mobile phone (Fuchs 2012a). Figure 2.1 shows a typology of information society theories.

If one applies a dialectical methodology, one can argue that knowledge in contemporary society has both objective and subjective aspects that are mutually constitutive, they transform the means of production and the relations of production (Fuchs 2012a). The search of capital for

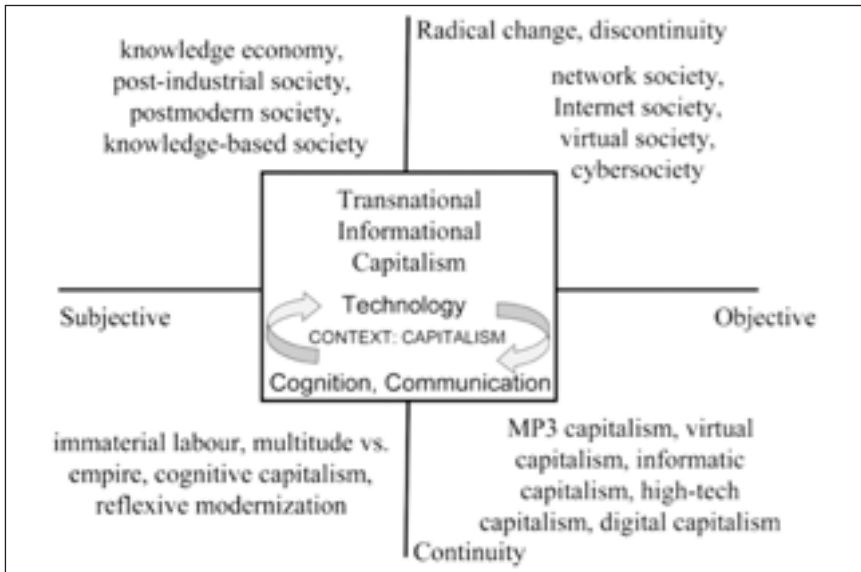


Figure 2.1 A typology of information society theories.

new strategies and forms of capital accumulation transforms labour in such a way that cognitive, communicative and co-operative labour forms a significant amount of overall labour time (a development enforced by the rise of the ideology of self-discipline of “participatory management”), but at the same time this labour is heavily mediated by information technologies and produces to a certain extent tangible informational goods (as well as intangible informational services). There is a subject-object-dialectic that allows conceptualizing contemporary capitalism based on the rise of cognitive, communicative and co-operative labour that is interconnected with the rise of technologies of and goods that objectify human cognition, communication and co-operation. There is a dialectical interconnection of subjective knowledge and knowledge objectified in information.

Transnational informational capitalism is the result of the dialectic of continuity and discontinuity that shapes capitalist development (Fuchs 2012a). Surplus value, exchange value, capital, commodities and competition are basic aspects of capitalism, how such forms are exactly produced, objectified, accumulated, and circulated is contingent and historical. They manifest themselves differently in different capitalist modes of development. In the informational mode of capitalist development, surplus value production and capital accumulation manifest themselves increasingly in symbolic, “immaterial”, informational commodities and cognitive, communicative, and co-operative labour.

Informational capitalism is a tendency of and relative degree in the development of contemporary capitalism. This does not mean that it is the only or the dominant tendency.. Capitalism is many things at the same time, it is to a certain degree informational, but at the same time it is also to a certain degree finance capitalism, imperialistic capitalism, hyperindustrial capitalism, etc. We have many capitalisms today existing within one overall capitalist mode of organising society. Capitalism is at the same time a general mode of production and exploitation and a specific realisation, co-existence and interaction of different types and forms of capitalist production and exploitation.

In 1968, Theodor W. Adorno (1968/2003) gave an introductory keynote talk on the topic of “Late capitalism or industrial society?” at the annual meeting of the German Sociological Association. He said that the “fundamental question of the present structure of society” is “about the alternatives: late capitalism or industrial society” (1968/2003, 111). We can reformulate this question today and say that the fundamental question about the present structure of society is about the alternatives: capitalism or information society (Fuchs 2012a). The answer to this question can be given, by paraphrasing and transforming Adorno’s (1968/2003, 117) answer to his question: In terms of critical, dialectical theory, contemporary society is an information society according to the state of its *forces* of production. In contrast, however, contemporary society is capitalist in its *relations* of production. People are still what they were in Marx’s analysis in the middle of the nineteenth century. Production takes place today, as then, for the sake of profit and for achieving this end it, to a certain extent, makes use of knowledge and information technology in production.

2.4 COMMUNICATION POWER AND PARTICIPATORY CULTURE: MANUEL CASTELLS AND HENRY JENKINS

Two particularly popular approaches in the study of digital media and the Internet in the information society have been advanced by Manuel Castells and Henry Jenkins.

Castells (2009) argues in his book *Communication Power* that social media are tools of communication power and network-making power that would be the central form of power in what he terms the network society (for a detailed discussion and critique of this book, see Fuchs 2009). In his book *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*, Castells (2012) applies the idea of communication power to contemporary social movements: he argues with the help of examples from Tunisia, Iceland, Egypt, Spain and the USA that contemporary social movements’ use of the Internet has facilitated the creation of occupied spaces, that the Internet allows movements to communicate the emotions of outrage and hope that are needed for switching from collective emotions to

collective action and that contemporary social movements are online and offline socially networked movements, for which social media are of crucial importance, and that these movements were born on, conveyed by and are based on the Internet (for a detailed discussion and critique of this book, see Fuchs 2012e).

Claims about social media that are similar to the ones made by Castells have been present in popular political discourses, e.g. when activists argue that the Egyptian revolution was due to Twitter and Facebook, a “revolution 2.0” (Wael Ghonim),⁴ when conservative bloggers claim that “the revolution will be twittered” (Andrew Sullivan),⁵ or when tabloids simplify reality by writing that the 2011 UK riots were Twitter and Facebook mobs.⁶ Such claims focus on technology without taking into account its embeddedness into power structures. They are expression of what Vincent Mosco terms the digital sublime, in which the Internet is “praised for its epochal and transcendent characteristics and demonized for the depth of the evil it can conjure” (Mosco 2004, 24).

When asked who the main theorist is in their field, quite some scholars in the fields of Internet Studies and Information Society Studies will answer: Manuel Castells. But Castells’s approach is not a social theory because such a theory starts from giving systematic answers to questions like: What is a society? What is the role of humans in society? What is the role of structure and agency in society? How can we explain the dynamics and historicity of society? Based these models, one can apply them to answering the same questions, first for a) modern society and then for b) contemporary society, which then gives a foundation for the study of digital media in contemporary society. Castells’ does not advance from the abstract to the concrete, has no sense for the philosophical grounding of sociological analysis and does not engage with the history and meanings of concepts (such as power, see Fuchs 2009).

Henry Jenkins argues that increasingly “the Web has become a site of consumer participation” (2008, 137) and that fans are “preparing the way for a more meaningful public culture” online and offline (2008, 239). Then he describes the emergence of what he terms “participatory culture”.

The Internet is not only a space of commercialism, everyday communication, and relatively progressive communication (WikiLeaks, Indymedia, Democracy Now!, Alternet, OpenDemocracy, etc.), it is also a space of online fascism. So for example the forum ultras.ws provides a discussion board for soccer fans. Fascism is an everyday phenomenon in this forum. For example when the German soccer team Hallescher FC had to pay a fine because its fans shouted anti-Semitic paroles in a match, 56 per cent answered to a survey conducted on ultras.ws that they thought this fine was unjust.⁷ Fascist jokes are also part of the everyday life on these forums. For example, “How do you get 30 Jews into a Trabi [small car produced in the former GDR]? 2 in the front, 3 in the back, and the rest in the ash-tray. I forgot that one does not make jokes about Jews? But Wehrmacht

[in German “wer macht” is translated who makes, and it sounds similar to Wehrmacht, the armed forces of Nazi Germany] something like this?”⁸ Right-wing extremism is especially on the rise since the start of the new world economic crisis, which likely intensifies and extends online fascism. Is online fascism “preparing the way for a more meaningful public culture” and expression of a “participatory culture”? Participation is not only an analytical, but also a normative term that implies that the analysed phenomenon is developing in a democratic manner. One should not assume that fan culture (online and offline) is always progressive and an expression of participation, but rather view its expressions critically.

Manuel Castells and Henry Jenkins have advanced uncritical and administrative studies of social media and the Internet. It is time to discard their approaches and to focus on Marxist studies of communication, digital media and the information society instead.

2.5 MARXIST STUDIES OF THE INTERNET AND SOCIAL MEDIA

A Marxist analysis of the Internet and social media starts with the analysis of exploitation, class, and commodification on the Internet and generates based on this analysis insights about the actual and potential role of the Internet in social struggles and the establishment of alternatives (Fuchs 2008, 2011a, 2014).

Dallas Smythe (1977; 1981, 22–51) suggests that in the case of media advertisement models, the audience is sold as a commodity to advertisers (audience commodity). In the case of social media, users are much more active and to a certain degree create user-generated content. It is therefore feasible to speak in the case of commercial online media like Facebook and Google, which use targeted advertising as their business model, not of audience commodification as the specific model of commodification, but rather of Internet prosumer commodification (Fuchs 2010, 2012b). Users’ digital labour generates value that is appropriated by capital: online work time is time that generates profile data, social network data and browsing behaviour data. Facebook, Google and similar companies sell this user-generated data as a commodity to advertising clients that present targeted advertisements to users.

The time that users spend on commercial social media platforms for generating social, cultural and symbolic capital is in the process of prosumer commodification transformed into economic capital. Labour time on commercial social media is the conversion of Bourdieuan social, cultural and symbolic capital into Marxian value and economic capital. Users work without pay and produce content, communications, social relations, and transaction data that become part of data commodities (collection of individuals with specific user demographics) that are sold to advertisers. Targeted advertising is a process, in which advertisers pay money to ad-serving

companies (like Facebook and Google) and thereby get access to specific user groups that have certain demographic features and interests.

Most commercial social media services are free to use. They are not commodities.

User data and the users form the social media commodity. The exploitation of digital labour involves three elements:

- * **Coercion:** Users are ideologically coerced to use commercial platforms in order to be able to engage in communication, sharing, and the creation and maintenance of social relations, without which their lives would be less meaningful.
- * **Alienation:** companies, not the users, own the platforms and the created profit.
- * **Expropriation:** The value (work time) of data commodities is turned into money that is privately owned by corporations.

Surveillance of users' interest and activities is a crucial process in social media commodification. It is subsumed to political economy and involves the surveillance of personal profile data, produced content, browsing and clicking behaviour, social relations and networks and communication. Surveillance on social media is targeted, highly rationalised (it is not an estimation, but an exact observation of online behaviour on certain platforms), it works in real time and makes use of a convergence of social roles (for example between private, professional and public roles that converge in one profile) and social activities (the convergence of information, communication, community-maintenance, and collaboration in one space) that these platforms mediate.

According to Marx, the law of value says that "the greater the labour-time necessary to produce an article, [...] the greater its value" (Marx 1867, 131). Some authors claim that we are experiencing an end of the law of value due to the rise of the social worker (value is not only produced by wage workers, but also by non-wage workers, including users of commercial Internet websites) and knowledge work. Hardt and Negri formulate this assumption by saying that "biopolitical production is [...] immeasurable, because it cannot be quantified in fixed units of time [...] This is why we have to revise Marx's notion of the relation between labor and value in capitalist production" (2004, 146). The more time a user spends on commercial social media, the more data about her/his interests and activities are available and the more advertisements are presented to her/him. Value as the average number of hours humans spend to produce a commodity is measurable as long as capitalism exists, although due to rising productivity the amount of value of a commodity tends to decrease historically and phenomena like the rise of the social worker, financialization, and branding create differences between the value and price of commodities, which increases the crisis-proneness of capitalism.

Sut Jhally (1987) has argued that due to the rise of the audience commodity, the living room has become a factory. Mario Tronti (cited in Cleaver 1992, 137) has taken this idea one step further by arguing that society has become a social factory and that the boundaries of the factory extend beyond the traditional factory that is the space of the exploitation of wage labour. Nick Dyer-Witheford (2010, 485) speaks in this context of the emergence of the “factory planet”. The exploitation of user labour on commercial Internet platforms like Facebook and Google is indicative for a phase of capitalism, in which we find an all-ubiquitous factory that is a space of the exploitation of labour. Social media and the mobile Internet make the audience commodity ubiquitous and the factory no longer limited to your living room and your work place—the factory and work place surveillance are also in all the in-between spaces. Almost the entire planet and all of its spaces today form capitalist factories.

Internet user commodification is part of the tendency of the commodification of everything that has resulted in the generalisation of the factory and of exploitation. Neoliberal capitalism has largely widened the boundaries of what is treated as a commodity.

Internet labour and its surveillance are based on the surveillance, blood and sweat of super-exploited labour in developing countries. Stories about the highly precarious, non-unionised hardware producers in the Foxconn factories, who face working conditions so terrible that some of them commit suicide, and African slave workers, who extract “conflict minerals” that are needed for producing ICTs, show how the Western use of ICTs is based on what Alain Lipietz (1995) termed “bloody Taylorism”, which is a contemporary capital accumulation regime that is coupled to two other accumulation regimes (peripheral Fordism, post-Fordism). “To the traditional oppression of women, this strategy adds all the modern weapons of anti-labour repression (official unions, absence of civil rights, imprisonment and torture of opponents)” (Lipietz 1995, 11). Taylorism has not been replaced, we do not live in an age of post-Taylorism, rather we are experiencing an extension and intensification of Taylorism that is complemented by new ideological forms of workforce control. The emergence of work/play places is a tendency in contemporary capitalism that interacts with established forms of work, play, and toil. The corporate Internet requires for its existence the exploitation of the labour that exists under bloody Taylorist conditions. On top of this foundation, we find various work/play places on the Internet, where users work without payment and deterritorialise the boundaries between play and work. iPhones, iPads, iMacs, Nokia phones, etc. are also “blood phones”, “blood pads”, and “blood Macs”. Many smartphones, laptops, digital cameras, mp3 players, etc. are made out of minerals (e.g. cassiterite, wolframite, coltan, gold, tungsten, tantalum, tin) that are extracted from mines in the Democratic Republic of Congo and other countries under slave-like conditions.

The existence of the Internet in its current dominant capitalist form is based on various forms of labour: the relatively highly paid wage work of software engineers and low-paid proletarianised workers in Internet companies, the unpaid labour of users, the highly exploited bloody Taylorist work and slave work in developing countries producing hardware and extracting “conflict minerals”. There is a class conflict between capital and labour that is constituted through exploitation. The rate of exploitation varies depending on the type and location of activity. In the case of the salaried knowledge workers that are employed by companies like Google in Western countries, capital pays relatively high wages in order to try to gain their hegemonic consensus, whereas low-paid knowledge workers, users, hardware and software producers, and mineral extractors are facing precarious working conditions and varying degrees and forms of slavery and exploitation that as a whole help to advance the profits of capital by minimizing the wage costs. Free-labouring Internet users and the workers in conflict mines have in common that they are unpaid—the difference is that the first gain pleasure through their exploitation, whereas the latter suffer pain and die through their exploitation and enable the pleasure of the first. The main benefit from this situation is monetary and goes to companies like Google, Apple and Facebook that are contemporary slaveholders and slave masters.

Different forms of control are needed for exploiting digital labour. Self-control and play labour (playbour) that feels like fun, but creates parts of the value, is only one part of the labour process that has its foundation in a racist mode of production and exploitation of workers in developing countries. The exploitation of play workers in the West is based on the pain, sweat, blood and death of workers in developing countries. The corporate Internet needs for its existence both playbour and toil, fun and misery, biopolitical power and disciplinary power, self-control and surveillance. The example of the Foxconn factories and Congolese conflict minerals shows that the exploitation of Internet playbour needs as a precondition and is coupled to the bloody Taylorist exploitation of workers in the developing world.

Based on the exploitation of slaves and Taylorist workers in developing countries, a new regime of play labour has developed in Western countries. The boundaries between work time and playtime tend to blur, alienation feels like play, play takes on characteristics of work. The Fordist separation between the Eros (pleasure) associated with free time and the pain associated with work time (Marcuse 1955) is sublated, in play labour time (like on commercial social media) surplus value generation appears to be pleasure-like, but serves the logic of private ownership of capital. In play labour, joy and play become toil and work, and toil and work appear to be joy and play. Leisure time becomes work time and work time leisure time.

One can conduct some easy empirical tests that show that commercial social media do not constitute a public sphere and a participatory web:

the top results for the search keyword “political news” on Google are mainly corporate media channels; the most popular Facebook groups are related to games, entertainment, and pop stars; the most viewed videos of all time on YouTube are music videos, for which the rights are owned by global multimedia corporations; the top trends on Twitter are much more related to sports and entertainment than to politics; and most blogs are covering mundane everyday activities, not politics. Social media are mainly commercial and mundane spaces—politics is the exception from the rule. Certainly those moments, where social media become tools that support politics, are interesting, but commercial social media’s democratic and political potentials should not be overestimated. Not technologies, but people living under certain social conditions and power relations make rebellions and revolutions.

But what about the potential for an alternative Internet? Wikipedia advances the common character of knowledge, co-operative knowledge production, voluntary work with a common purpose, and is a non-profit organisation. It is facing the contradiction that only highly educated people with enough free time contribute and that its knowledge can be commodified and sold, which shows the difficulties and contradictions of trying to operate based on alternative principles within a stratified world. WikiLeaks is an alternative whistleblowing medium that provides knowledge to the public that shall make power transparent. It is mainly a government watchdog that has a rather liberal self-understanding and lacks focus on corporate crime and corporate irresponsibility (Fuchs 2011b). Anonymous is a complex and dynamic form of hacktivism that has a strong liberal bias (it stresses freedom of speech and assembly and not so much inequality) that is to a certain extent contradicted by socialist orientations that supported the Occupy movement, not only because it wants to advance freedom of assembly and speech, but also because it wants to show solidarity with people that protest against socio-economic inequality. Both WikiLeaks and Anonymous affirm liberal values, but also constitute an immanent critique of these values by showing how liberal institutions violate the liberal values of the system that they represent. Anonymous and WikiLeaks see themselves as today’s enlightenment, but are in fact the immanent dialectic of the contemporary enlightenment. They should be advocates of socialist enlightenment, which means that they have the potential to act as socialist movements.

The Occupy movement is a new socialist movement because it fights against socio-economic inequality in the world and perceives capitalism as the source of this inequality. It is connected to the new capitalist crisis and makes use of social media for co-ordinating occupations and communicating to the public. On the one hand it employs corporate social media (such as Facebook, Twitter and Tumblr), which entails the risk of censorship and police surveillance. Given that they are part of the 1 per cent, why should social media capitalists like Mark Zuckerberg, Dick Costolo and

Jack Dorsey be friends of the Occupy movement? The Occupy movement's use of corporate social media furthermore stands in the context of capital accumulation with the help of targeted advertising, which helps the 1 per cent to get richer by exploiting the digital labour of the 99 per cent. But the Occupy movement has also advanced the creation and growth of new alternative social media, such as the social networking sites *occupii.org* and *N-1*, as well as alternative online news sites, such as the Occupy News Network, the Occupied Times, the Occupied Wall Street Journal, *occupy.com* or *Occupied Stories*.

2.6 CONCLUSION: THE NEED FOR ALTERNATIVES AND STRUGGLES

Marxist Studies of the media, the Internet, and technology are not just interested in analysing how class structures, power structures, and domination are embedded into and manifested on the Internet, they are also interested in helping to create an alternative, just and participatory world and in creating and supporting media that participate in struggles for such a society.

Communism is “not a state of affairs which is to be established, an ideal to which reality [will] have to adjust itself”, but rather “the real movement which abolishes the present state of things” (Marx and Engels 1844, 57). Communism needs spaces for materialising itself as movement. The contemporary names of these spaces for the movement of communism are not Facebook, YouTube or Twitter, but rather Tahrir Square, Syntagma Square, Puerta del Sol, Plaça Catalunya, or Zuccotti Park.

Raymond Williams (1983) stressed the connection of commons—communism—communication. To communicate means to make something “common to many” (Williams 1983, 72). Communication is part of the commons of society.

Denying humans to communicate is like denying them to breathe fresh air; it undermines the conditions of their survival. Therefore the communicative commons of society should be available for free (without payment or other access requirements) for all and should not be privately owned or controlled by a class.

The commons of society are needed for all humans to exist. They involve communication, nature, welfare, health care, education, knowledge, arts and culture, food, and housing. Basing the commons on the logic of markets, commodities, competition, exchange and profit results in fundamental inequalities of access to the commons.

For strengthening the communication commons, we need commons-based media and a commons-based Internet in a commons-based participatory society. Commons-based media have common access for all and common ownership, they are common spaces of communication, common

spaces for the creation of shared meanings and knowledge, common spaces of co-operation, common spaces for political debate, common spaces for co-forming collective values and identities, and common spaces for struggles against the colonisation and commodification of the world.

Another Internet is possible. Another Internet is needed. Another society is possible. Another society is needed. Both require another communism. Another communism is possible.

NOTES

1. "About Us," Occupy Wall Street, accessed May 11, 2012, <http://occupywallst.org/about/>.
2. "Pew Research Poll Database" Pew Research Center, accessed May 11, 2012, <http://www.pewresearch.org>.
3. Ibid.
4. TEDTalks, *Wael Ghonim: Inside the Egyptian revolution*, March 5, 2011, accessed accessed July 23, 2013, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SWvJxasiSZ8>.
5. The Daily Dish, "The Revolution Will Be Twittered," June 13, 2009, accessed accessed July 23, 2013, <http://www.theatlantic.com/daily-dish/archive/2009/06/the-revolution-will-be-tweeted/200478/>.
6. "Roll up and loot: Rioting thugs use Twitter to boost their numbers in thieving store raids," *The Sun*, August 8, 2011; "How technology fuelled Britain's first 21st century riot," *The Telegraph*, August 8, 2011; For an analysis of social media in the UK riots, see Fuchs 2012d.
7. "Ultras.ws Forum," accessed accessed July 23, 2013, <http://www.ultras.ws/umfrage-juden-jena-rufe-und-die-strafe-t4414.html>.
8. Translation from German: "Wie passen 30 Juden in einen Trabi? 2 Vorne, 3 Hinten und der Rest im Aschenbecher. Ich vergaß man macht keine Judenwitze Aber Wehrmacht denn auch so etwas?" (<http://www.ultras.ws/viewtopic.php?t=9436&start=104&postdays=0&postorder=asc&highlight>).

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