

Pathways Through Reality: Integration of New Media Formats into Documentary Research

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Documentary theory has responded to several significant shifts in documentary style and content over the years, most noticeably the development of notable movements such as *cinema verite*, experimentation with documentary and the rhetorical political statements of Michael Moore. Each of these changes have emerged from the content and style of production rather than any development in distribution format or audience

The emergence of internet access to video images profoundly affects the context in which theories of documentary can be considered. Methods of distribution and audience interactivity and participation have now become important factors in the way documentary functions in contemporary society. The ways documentary film has been assessed and evaluated have been developed in response to production and distribution practices that are no longer the standard, and will in all likelihood be largely displaced by online distribution technologies.

This change necessitates a revision of the way documentary is theorised, in particular the way in which audiences select, view and interpret documentary content. The audience is becoming increasingly engaged in a more interactive selection and construction process that involves a journey through multiple short documentary fragments. This is in contrast to the more conventional forms of documentary where the selection and construction of content is entirely the domain of the documentary filmmaker. A consideration of several forms of Internet documentary distribution casts some light on the processes that the audience are required to engage in while taking the online documentary journey.

The reliance of documentary on television and cinema outlets to reach its audience has already been partially superseded by the many alternative distribution opportunities that have emerged with the expansion of online video technologies. One such example is SnagFilms,¹ a venture started by Ted Leonsis of AOL in conjunction with AOL founder Steve Case and venture capitalist Miles Gilburne² to enable free access to documentary content online. Professionally produced documentaries are submitted and selected for inclusion on the site, which offers the documentary makers 50% of advertising revenue.

This alternative distribution option is only one of many ways in which documentary is being affected by Internet distribution. SnagFilms is a distribution outlet, and yet the influence of the Internet on documentary formats and theory goes much further than this. The very act of viewing internet video content that we grant the status of “documentary” has been blurred by the ready availability of content which is not necessarily embedded in conventional documentary format. Images which are documentary in nature, yet are not formally included in documentary programs, are now forming the basis of a new way for user/viewers to engage with documentary content.

This does not necessarily require that they view a singular structured documentary program. Peer to peer video sites such as YouTube or Vimeo allow for shorter snippets of documentary content to be accessed in a more splintered, fragmentary method of selecting and observing information. Other internet distribution methods also challenge conventional notions of documentary as a singular continuous format, opting instead for a fragmented interactive delivery mode.

Some notable examples of such methods include the BBC project *Capture Wales*,³ in which the BBC uses its own website to provide distribution for multiple autobiographical documentary clips, each an independent portion of the overall project which can be selected and viewed interactively by its audience.

Another is *Goa Hippy Tribe*,⁴ a documentary by Darius Devas in which he interviews Goa Beach Hippy movement veterans as they reunite in their Indian meeting place. This project is specifically distributed *via* the Facebook social media site, and once again the audience are able to select and view independent clips in any order they choose.

YouTube video has enabled the ready public availability of two previously rare forms of documentary: firstly, personal experiential and autobiographical documentary, the type of video that deals with seemingly insignificant personal comments and opinions. These clips are usually filmed in a private environment and provide statements on social issues, domestic attitudes or cultural “novelty” items. Such content should not be underestimated in an anthropological context, in that these snippets of personal worlds will in the future provide an invaluable sociological window into the cultures that engendered them. The main concern of this paper is, however, another context of internet images

Notions of objectivity and veracity, two values by which documentary has often been defined and assessed, have in some circumstances become less relevant in a broader, more personalised world of auto biographical and experiential social media, but have gained new significance as actualities, in the sense of evidence of political events particularly with relevance to human rights abuses. Low resolution observational filming of events is becoming more freely available as documentary evidence. Such clips are often shot with mobile phones and handycams, and are concerned with providing evidence of events, often moments of political significance. Such a function of domestic video has existed for some time, as was seen in the case of the notorious Rodney King video of police violence in the USA in 1991. The difference that is emerging now is that social media such as Facebook has enabled the highly targeted distribution of specific YouTube videos, or of embedded video clips within Facebook. Evidential video can now be distributed through social media to many thousands and sometimes millions of viewers by utilizing networks of people with similar political or social interests. Areas which have historically been the realm of observational documentary and investigative journalism have now found a new pathway, in which the authorial function of the documentary maker is in some senses superseded by the comparatively direct camera to viewer communication enabled by social media.

These two types of You Tube video, personal/autobiographical and evidential actualities function according to different paradigms of social memory, one which is disposable and temporary, the other of socio-political importance and becoming progressively more recognised as a valuable historical archive of significant events. Pessach (2008) puts forward a theory of social memory in which personal or domestic content is threatened by privatization of social memory through corporate ownership practices:

*Digitization and networked communication platforms involve two conflicting layers of transformations in the political economy of social remembering. The first layer is one of prospects and hopes that are signified by the transformation from a control paradigm of tangible cultural preservation to a paradigm of digital distribution and redundancy. At least potentially, digitization can decentralize and democratize memory institutions and social remembering practices. This somewhat Utopian vision, however, takes a turn once the second layer of transformations, dealing with the gradual privatization of networked memory institutions, are identified. Commercialization and unequal participation are two elements that characterize the privatization of memory institutions and that may conflict with a democratic vision of social remembering.*⁵

Pessach's prediction raises the possibility of the potential diminishing of the value and permanence of digital archiving and distribution processes. The corporate powers that control YouTube and Facebook, along with many other Internet companies, are under no legal obligation to maintain availability of any content, which they may deem to be inappropriate or detrimental to their own interests.

The very redundancy and disposable nature of social media has proven to be its strength, in that information can flow through social networks at a pace and scale previously unknown in human history. The massive transfer of actualities between individuals has proven to be a powerful force in swaying social opinion and creating immediate response. Politically persuasive images have slipped 'under the radar' of dictators and despots as populations in the Middle East have been able to freely witness brutalities and human rights abuses *via* such domestic clips.

The veracity of mobile phone images capturing events of social significance, such as the recent unrest in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Syria, provide a globally available link to specific, individual experiences. These images represent events in a relatively unmediated, direct transferral of visual actualities between the camera bearing participant and the audience. More traditional documentary formats involve a considerable process of directorial control, including commentary, placement of such clips within a carefully considered context in a linear arrangement, and finally approval by distribution networks.

The immediacy of social media communication and YouTube distribution enables a freedom of direct communication to an extent that was previously unachievable on the scale which now occurs. The sheer quantities of views that occur via YouTube are generally well beyond previous cinema and television viewing figures.⁶

Such clips, which now abound on YouTube, provide the raw material for documentary in the traditional sense. The selection and combination of clips in conventional film and television documentary have placed the viewer in the position of a passive observer, creating interpretations of the documentary as it is presented in its immutable linear form.

The role of the viewer in the social networking / new media context has evolved to take on the function of a viewer/user complex, in which viewing the clip is often combined with resultant acts of distribution, comment, discussion or response. Inevitably this flow-on action generates an impetus of community opinion surrounding topics or political positions which is networked through many individual responses to either dissipate or grow to greater proportions until reaching a critical mass at which time it can emerge as a social movement, often in the political arena

The political power of a multiplicity of individual voices has been evident in the recent Facebook driven Middle East revolutions. The absence of, or at the very least, reduction of directorial mediation in this context has served to enhance the veracity of documentary images. The apparent direct evidential function of the images has left little room for accusations of political bias or any skewing of the selection of source footage. The format of one clip, one event, little or no editing, has forced a return to some of the arguments put forward by the early proponents of *Cinema Verite*. Viewers are less inclined to suspect any controlling point of view from a documentary film maker when the film making process involves no more than pointing a mobile phone or handcam at an event and uploading that image to an internet server.

The acceptance of hand-held YouTube images as evidential has been a major factor in the Middle East revolutions of 2011. The origins of the Egyptian revolution of January-March 2011 bear a remarkable resemblance to the events surrounding the notorious Rodney King video. An Egyptian man, Khaled Said, was beaten to death by police for being in possession of a video revealing police selling illegal drugs. A photograph of his injured face was posted on a facebook page titled *We are all Khaled Said*.⁷ The creator of the page began writing on behalf of the dead Khaled

Said, voicing complaints against the injustices of the Mubarak regime. The events that followed created world news as the population of Egypt rallied in response to an invitation to a Facebook event

Egypt's then-nameless revolutionaries had created a Facebook "event" for January 25, like those for birthday parties or dinner gatherings. They gave it an ominous name: "The Day of the Revolution Against Torture, Poverty, Corruption and Unemployment." More than 80,000 people clicked "yes" on the invite, indicating they would attend, according to Ahmed Saleh, one of the five administrators of the Facebook page.⁸

History now tells us that the majority of those 80,000 responses were genuine, and the Cairo riots continued throughout the following weeks, culminating in the overthrow of the Mubarak government.

The notable elements of this social upheaval were the implementation of Facebook pages and YouTube video that created a snowballing effect as the movement, fed by the ready and instant availability of images, gathered momentum. The video content was posted on YouTube and links from Facebook pages ensured that a visual record of the riots, the police brutality and intimidation of a peacefully demonstrating population, were distributed extremely rapidly and to a broad national, and international audience. These images were not highly crafted or edited, but were in most cases posted in their raw, unaltered form. With each successive day of demonstrations further evidential video was added to the pages, creating a greater social response, resulting in a larger real world participation in the revolution.

The impetus of social engagement was driven not by the powerful rhetoric of the documentary construction, but on the contrary, the simple, unmediated observational images that acted as evidence of events that the government had attempted to stifle. Video recording of the riots created a powerful looping self generation of public support and promotion of the cause. With each event, the ensuing video images, when uploaded to social media sites, created a new wave of public support, bringing about further events, which were then recorded, and so the loop continued.⁹

The sheer quantity of documentary images generated by this process is remarkable, and is being compiled into a more traditional documentary project:

Egyptian filmmaker Amr Salama is creating a documentary about the Egyptian revolution featuring video sent to him in response to a call on Twitter for footage, underscoring the role of cell phone video and social networks in documenting social upheaval. Salama received over 300 gigabytes of video, much of it recorded by cell phone-using protesters, providing a ground-level view of the turmoil. He is including some of it in a three-part documentary he's making with two other filmmakers called "Tahrir Square: The Good, The Bad, The Politician." ...

*Videos created by demonstrators have often been the only record of the often-violent clashes between protesters and security forces that have marked the Arab Spring. In some cases, demonstrators reportedly hand-delivered the videos to Arab news networks, especially when threatened authoritarian regimes shut down the Internet to prevent the spread of information.*¹⁰

Salama's documentary project is an attempt to repackaging the unstructured spontaneous social media documentary content into a finite, structured format that can be viewed through conventional documentary distribution pathways. This highlights the absence of a means of limiting and controlling the production and distribution of social media documentary images, and the need for theory to encompass this change in documentary context. The original, raw clips have functioned as documentary images prior to their inclusion in the traditional documentary format.

The consideration of this particular evolution away from traditional conventions of expository and interactive modes of documentary toward a direct, unmediated observational approach demands a reappraisal of documentary theory. The experience of multiple, diverse and dispersed clips, as opposed to extended documentaries suggests a more inclusive model for documentary research. Such a model would take account of documentary as a collective of interlaced observations to be understood as a group commentary on society and culture, rather than as an authorial statement by the few select documentary makers who are able to gain funding and distribution within existing mass media networks.

The role of the user/viewer has also increased in significance, in that the directorial function is now largely undertaken by the receiver of the communication, who selects, constructs and interprets the information in an individual act of documentary editing that takes place within the forum of social media, YouTube and other such internet video sites.

In fact the concept of an audience has shifted considerably, in that a mass audience no longer shares an identical viewing experience, but can individually control the delivery and content of the online documentary experience according to personal decisions and preferences. In addition, the act of further distributing such content engages the viewer in an act of collusion with the sentiments of the creators of the video clips and brings the role of audience to a heightened function of gatekeeper and accomplice. As Hinegardner points out:

*Making and distributing human rights videos are political actions in their own right, and provide opportunities for individuals to militar and become active participants. In doing so, they form a political community. This witnessing public is not made up of an audience of observers who come to feel some personal responsibility for abuses ... but is made up of a community of actively producing and distributing collaborators.*¹¹

The role of audience is considerably impacted by the ability to form alliances by selecting, combining and sharing clips in an ongoing act of involvement with the causes driving such media. Whereas the act of viewing and that of any ensuing response in a social arena was formerly defined by a clear delineation between viewing and responding, social media have now collapsed these two processes into a combined [viewing + distributing + supporting] complex. The audience becomes a participant in the creation of the documentary, supports the ideals or activism behind the project, and also engages with the distribution process.

Social networking media have proven to be a most effective means by which video clips can be appropriated and utilized as documentary evidence for political activism and more general engagement and participation in socio-political change. Localized interests can be specifically targeted, and community groups enrolled in documentary projects by utilizing the highly effective organic communication processes offered by social media. Helen De Michiel in her documentary *The Gender Chip Project* (2008), found that the use of social networking enabled her to both target an audience, and form alliances with supporting social networks:

*Our new and swiftly evolving social-networking technologies are forcing us to look not only toward the future, but also give fresh attention to past and current mediamaking practices that are already rooted in real face-to-face community building. By rethinking their meaning and renewing or linking to practices media artists have developed in localized community settings, we can influence and help strengthen public and alternative spaces within the digital media landscape. Community media collaborations ... will once again become a powerful differentiator for giving a boost to the public commons of which media is such an integral part.*¹²

She found that the level of community participation in the underlying cause of the documentary was considerably enhanced by the social networking activities of the participants, and generated a broad support base as a direct result of the social networking surrounding the project.

The changing context of audience has launched the role of social networking in the political arena into a new significance that has caught the attention of the world. A technology that was thought of in terms of groups of friends and relatives sharing photographs, peer group chatter and high school reunions, has been suddenly catapulted into a world of high political stakes, now being credited as the means by which governments have been toppled and revolutions ignited. Kang and Shapira (2011) point out that this has brought about a situation where the availability and freedom of social networks may be threatened by their own effectiveness:

*The recent unrest in Egypt and Tunisia is forcing Facebook officials to grapple with the prospect that other governments will grow more cautious of permitting the company to operate in their countries without restrictions or close monitoring.*¹³

The combination of documentary video images, social networking and community activism has created an enormously powerful combination which has the potential to alter the shape of media and political history. Mass changes of political opinion supplemented by evidential video images, enable a democratic awakening of social awareness in nations where freedom of information is limited by militaristic governments.

Documentary video content has escaped the restraints of government regulation through the new pathways of communication enabled by social networking. Media control has previously been relatively easy to achieve under regimes where television broadcast and cinema distribution are the only means of media communication. The role of documentary in such a framework has evolved to channel through the only openings available, and the very fragmentation of the documentary as a unit into a multiplicity of elements has enabled the flow of media to become a social force that would have been far more difficult to achieve, and subject to government and military intervention and censorship with larger format feature length or television episode documentaries.

This model reflects the notion of micropolitics as defined by Deleuze and Guattari, in which “the notion of mass is a molecular notion operating according to a type of segmentation irreducible to the molar segmentarity of class.”¹⁴ Mass movement in a social networking documentary context consists of the movement of components indicating and creating many small changes in society and culture, rather than large, global statements of change. This approach enables a consideration of fragments that combine to make up the whole, rather than conceiving of documentary as a singular statement.

The flow of small video fragments indicates a substantial shift in the way in which media are used as a means of communicating social attitudes and intentions. This is social change on a massive scale through the extensive transfer of many small units of documentary media. Ironically, this format is in its design similar to the internet itself, with the enormous quantity of small data packets being the factor that drives the transfer of information through countless multiple pathways.

The experience of the individual viewer/collaborator/distributor also brings to mind another of Deleuze and Guattari's models, that of the "line of flight".

*Territorialities, then, are shot through with lines of flight testifying to the presence within them of movements of deterritorialization and reterritorialization.*¹⁵

According to this theoretical construct the viewer/user embarks on a line of flight through the territories of websites, Facebook pages, YouTube video and journalistic reporting creating their own subjective position regarding the topics at hand, effectively bringing about a reterritorialization at the micro level. When this micro reterritorialization is applied to a multiplicity of viewer/users, a molar reterritorialization occurs. In this particular case the reterritorialization in Egypt took the form of a revolution and change of government.

The experience of such a model can be considered from two viewpoints, firstly the subjective experience of the 'viewer' of internet documentary content, who accesses a range of fragmentary media clips to create a global understanding of issues constructed from the combined data of the fragments. Secondly, the functioning of the 'user' of interactive social media, who controls the technologies used to select from, and share paths of navigation through the pool of documentary images, creating new territorialities among the multiplicity.

Social networking sites take on a significant role in constructing the individual combinations of media fragments that comprise the viewer/user experience. Certain media are given priority through the technology itself, and social media can also function to provide multiple branching pathways by which user/viewers navigate the almost infinite range of documentary content available on the internet. The selection from the pool by the user/viewer applies an individual preference which creates a continuous tension between the individual's selection criteria and the means of influencing other individuals in their line of flight through the pool of available media.

Within this context the question of the intent of the viewer should also be considered. Is the viewer actively and consciously constructing a documentary production-like stream of consecutive video clips in order to create a logical and coherent flow of information, or is the viewer simply following a path of coincidental encounters with video content according to the order of “clicks” on an internet site? To limit the viewer to one or the other methodology of experiencing internet video content would be to misunderstand the variable and random nature of the medium, and of viewer/user behaviour when engaging with the medium.

There are occurrences of both approaches in the experience of this viewer/user, and inevitably in all who surf the net for different purposes at different times. The selection and construction of content is not always the result of intent, (although this can be the case,) rather it is a post-viewing assimilation of the content into a cognitive order and deriving meaning from that ordering of information. The line of flight can consist of an intentional selection of content or a coincidental encounter with video content through the traversal of the internet landscape.

The deinstitutionalization of distribution formats has also created a far greater diversity of content, and a broader range of “realities” from which these videos emerge. Removal of the intervention of networks and funding bodies opens up a far wider range of possibilities for both content and distribution. Potential audiences become far more random, and more likely to select specific areas of interest that engage their attention. Subject matter becomes far more diverse, as the imperative for mass audience no longer influences the production of the media. The driving force behind production now becomes affect, enthusiasm, passion and engagement with the cause. Deleuze and Guattari once again explain this uncontrolled flow of affect generated images:

*From the viewpoint of micropolitics, a society is defined by its lines of flight, which are molecular. There is always something that flows or flees, that escapes the binary organizations, the resonance apparatus and the overcoding machines: things that are attributed to a “change in values.”*¹⁶

Documentary is evolving from a structured, linear and defined singular entity toward a segmented assemblage of fragments through which an audience can take lines of flight, contribute to the pool of information, sample and share experiences and participate in flows of cultural, social or political momentum.

One significant question to be considered here is whether this particular context can be described as documentary. Perhaps not in the traditional sense of the word, as a film or television based project that is a pre-constructed narrative edited into a linear format. But there is a strong argument that the function being fulfilled by the combination of text, photograph and video images provided by the Facebook YouTube combination provides an experience that cannot, and should not be easily distinguished from documentary apart from the fact that it is communicated via different media.

Does this occurrence of documentary ‘clips’ in isolation amount to a documentary in the conventional sense, when mentally combined by the audience on their interactive line of flight? This brings into question the notion of boundaries, and at what point images cross an arbitrary line and cease to be defined as documentary. Is there indeed such an arbitrary boundary that can be applied to either the form of documentary or the images that are described as documentary in their function?

A useful metaphor in understanding this problem is to consider the process of cartography. A political map shows the boundaries between territories, established by arbitrary decisions that often reflect geographical features, but are actually agreed lines of differentiation between the territories of nationalities. The topographic map on the other hand represents exactly the same geographical features in a different way. The rise and fall of the land, the water lines, the escarpments, plains and valleys are considered in place of the political boundaries. If an image is considered to exist on a “map” between the territories of, say observational documentary and journalistic reportage, and one applies the model of the political, boundary oriented map, there is a need to apply a definition of territory, a contrast of “one or the other.”

A distinct boundary must be decided on and applied. If we apply the concept of the topographic map, there is no need to come to such a definition, as the image can exist somewhere on a gradient between two territories, perhaps exhibiting elements of both, without the necessity to come to a strict definition of documentary or journalism. When we add the notion of a line of flight, there is no need to define a single delineation in which the image need be defined, as it occurs as an event in a larger continuum experienced through the range of information encountered by the audience

It is important to recognise the existing research into citizen journalism¹⁷ that has been conducted in relation to video activism. It is not, however, the intention of this paper to research the role of the citizens who engaged in activism through uploading and posting such documentary video content, but rather, to explore the interpretive processes and engagement of the viewer/user of such content. The boundary between journalism and documentary is the result of interpretive activities that apply preconceptions of the content of a particular genre of program or film, according to its intended placement within the cultural understanding of the role of “news,” “current affairs,” or “documentary.” A fragment of video could equally be included in any of these sorts of programs and be defined differently as journalism or documentary according to the context it appears within. The contention of this paper is that video content stands outside these boundaries when distributed in the social media and internet environment, and that it is the viewer who decides and categorises the content, interpreting its context according to a different set of assumptions

Using this model we can understand the process of the mobile audience experiencing documentary images, text and sounds rather than defining the images text and sounds themselves as documentary. Just as a documentary maker gathers and compiles fragments of information in the process of constructing a documentary film, so the audience can be understood to gather fragments of information on their interactive journey. Although political boundaries may be crossed and intersected on this journey, the topographical, or “line of flight” view is not concerned with such crossings.

It is also important to remember that the term ‘documentary’ is a descriptive term rather than a definition. Just as it can be applied to film, television or radio, so can it equally be applied to the journey of discovery taken by an audience on an interactive platform. Reality is no less relevant in this scenario; only the methods of representing and understanding reality have changed. Cinema Verite is alive and well in social media, but existing in tiny fragments awaiting the audience that will construct the documentary.

Mass movement in a social network documentary context consists of the movement of many small components indicating changes in society and culture, rather than large, global statements of change. Through the sheer quantity of documentary images reality is both represented and altered. Social media enable the documentary audience to participate in, and contribute to the process of constructing reality as they navigate their pathways through reality.

End Notes

¹ <http://www.snagfilms.com/> viewed 30/5/2011

² Jefferson Graham (2008), 'Documentaries go free online', *USA Today*; 07/17/2008.

³ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/arts/yourvideo/queries/capturewales.shtml> Viewed 30/6/2011

⁴ http://www.facebook.com/goahippytribe?sk=photos#!/goahippytribe?sk=app_2392950137 viewed 30/6/2011

⁵ Pessach, G, 2008, ' [Networked] Memory Institutions: Social Remembering, Privatization And Its Discontents', *Cardozo Arts & Entertainment*, Vol. 26 pp.71 – 149.

⁶ <http://www.website-monitoring.com/blog/2011/06/> Viewed 29/6/2011 Facebook hits 43,484,194 and Youtube views 36,507,878 in the month of May 2011.

⁷ <http://www.facebook.com/home.php#!/elshaheed.co.uk> viewed 29.6.2011

⁸ Sutter, J, 'The faces of Egypt's 'Revolution 2.0' ', CNN 21.2.2011,
<http://edition.cnn.com/2011/TECH/innovation/02/21/egypt.internet.revolution/index.html> viewed 29/6/2011.

⁹ Some examples can be viewed at Facebook – Egyption Revolution page

Jan 28, 2011 9:01pm

Added by Ezdine Naili

<http://www.facebook.com/index.php?lh=49e266e57dbcca969aa881a4e4d8c4ae&#!/video/video.php?v=104776049600183&oid=181836788523145&comments&set=o.181836788523145&type=1> viewed 1/7/2011

Feb 6, 2011 11:36pm

Added by Faouzi Benothmane

http://www.facebook.com/Egyptian1.Revolution?sk=app_2392950137#!/video/video.php?v=1677511030670&oid=181836788523145&comments&set=o.181836788523145&type=1 viewed 1/7/2011

Egyptian Riots- Alexandria 2011 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fi81DMDHf_M viewed 29/6/2011

Tamer Shaaban uploaded 27/1/2011 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ThvBJMzmSZI&feature=related> viewed 29/6/2011.

¹⁰ Ferenczi, P, Wed Jun 15, 2011 <http://www.mobiledia.com/news/93916.html> viewed 30.6.2011

¹¹ Hinegardner, L, 2009, 'Action, Organization, and Documentary Film: Beyond a Communications Model of Human Rights Videos', *Visual Anthropology Review*, Vol. 25, Issue 2, pp. 172–185.

¹² De Michiel, H, 2008, 'A Mosaic Of Practices: Public Media And Participatory Culture,' *Afterimage*; May/Jun, 2008, Vol. 35 Issue 6, p7-14.

¹³ Kang, C, & Shapira, I, 2011, 'Facebook's Egypt conundrum,' *The Washington Post*, 03/02/2011.

¹⁴ Deleuze and Guattari, (1987) *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, p. 213

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 216

¹⁷ Examples of this research include Reese, Stephen D., and Jia Dai. (2009) "Citizen Journalism in the Global News Arena: China's New Media Critics". *Citizen Journalism: Global Perspectives*, edited by Stuart Allan and Einar Thorsen. New York: Peter Lang: 221-31, Papandrea, M. R. (2006). Citizen Journalism and the Reporter's Privilege. *Minn. L. Rev.*, 91, 515, Haas, T. (2012). *The pursuit of public journalism: Theory, practice and criticism*. Routledge.