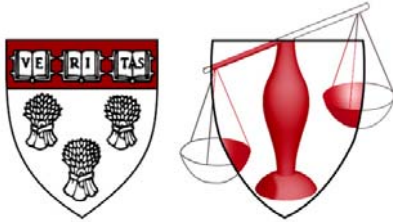


Social Democracy Literature and Cases



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This report summarizes ideas and cases in Social Democracy, and complements James Moore's "The Second Superpower Rears Its Beautiful Head."

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Literature Review

Of particular influence on the development of our ideas related to social democracy was the edited work, Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime and Militancy, by John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt. The authors define netwar as "an emerging mode of conflict (and crime) at societal levels, short of traditional military warfare, in which the protagonists use network forms or organization and related doctrines, strategies, and technologies attuned to the information age." They assert that "Netwar has two faces, like the Roman god Janus," with netwar practitioners generally falling into one of two broad groups on either end of the ideological spectrum:

- 1- Terrorist groups, black-market weapons dealers, drug syndicates, etc.
- 2- Progressive radicals, revolutionaries and activists, often working in transnational groups to develop a "global civil society."

Cases of netwar examined ranged from the Zapatista movement in Chiappas, to drug cartels in South America, to the anti-globalization protests at the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle.

A key theme that emerged in the various cases was the notion of "swarming." The authors contend that "swarming may become the key mode of conflict in the information

age.” Swarming can be broadly defined as decentralized but coordinated action, in which a collection of modular units or “packets” can rapidly converge on a given target and then disperse. As with most themes discussed in the book this tactic is not limited in its relevance to military conflict but applies to a broad range of activities.

In the example of the Zapatista movement, the authors cite their shift in emphasis from traditional guerilla resistance to a more netwar oriented approach as a critical strategic step in the advancement of their cause. They decentralized and downsized their military forces, and focused on attracting NGOs and other representatives of the “global civil society” to support their efforts. The groups were largely autonomous but coordinated their actions through flexible, “horizontal” relationships and shared common goals. By shifting their emphasis to “information operations” instead of “combat operations,” they managed to redefine the playing field in which the conflict took place. As Chris Hables Gray said of the Zapatista leader, Subcommandante Marcos, in his book Postmodern War, “Victory, for Marcos, isn’t achieving state power, it is reconfiguring power.”

According to the authors, there are three key principles to success for transnational NGOs in the context of netwar:

1. Make civil society the forefront – work to build a “global civil society” and link it to local NGOs.
2. Make “information” and “information operations” the key weapons.
3. Make “swarming” a distinct objective and capability for trying to overwhelm a government or other target actor.

Consistent with this analysis of netwar, another contributing author to the book, Luther Gerlach, discussed the growing effectiveness of what he calls “Segmented, Polycentric, Integrated Networks” (SPIN cycle) in social movements. These networks are segmented in the sense that they consist of many distinct and relatively autonomous units, polycentric because they have many centers of leadership that can take initiative without having to be told by a central authority, and integrated generally by a common opposition or ideology.

Gerlach contends that the SPIN style of organization is very adaptive because:

1. Its decentralized nature makes it difficult to suppress.
2. Factionalism enhances its ability to penetrate into a variety of social niches.
3. Multiplicity of groups permits division of labor and adaptation to circumstances.
4. Failure of one part does not necessarily harm the others.
5. Competition between groups leads to escalation of effort.
6. It facilitates “trial-and-error” learning.
7. It promotes innovation.

Mohanbir Sawhney and Deval Parikh, in their paper, “Where Values Live in a Networked World,” apply similar concepts to strategy in a more general sense including applications to business and governance. They describe the trend towards “mobilization of intelligence” in which units of intelligence coalesce into temporary formations to solve specific problems, similar to swarming. A key precondition for this mobilization is the

establishment of protocol or a common language that enables the different units to communicate and collaborate effectively. Sawhney and Parikh predict that because of the power of mobile intelligence, “The monolithic government bureaucracy will shatter, and new forms of distributed government will emerge.”

In his recent book, The Unconquerable World: Power, Nonviolence, and the Will of the People, Jonathan Schell conducts a broad analysis of the evolution of conflict in the last several hundred years, yielding a hopeful vision of the future that ties in strongly with many of the key themes of the Second Superpower. In it, he says, “The terrible violence of the twentieth century, I will argue, holds a lesson for the twenty-first. It is that in a steadily and irreversibly widening sphere, violence, always a mark of human failure and a bringer of sorrow, has now also become dysfunctional as a political instrument. Increasingly, it destroys the ends for which it is employed, killing the user as well as his victim.”

Schell examines war as a system. He claims that war is a system ordered by “rules” but with no central rule maker. These rules are in constant flux due primarily to technical innovation. In the latter half of the twentieth century, he contends that the military paralysis resulting from nuclear stalemate created the need for a new final arbiter to resolve international conflicts. At the same time, a growing self-determination movement was emerging, characterized by what Schell refers to as “People’s Wars” – lower level conflicts consisting of active participation by the public, often confronting significantly more advanced military opponents.

Schell examines leaders of sociopolitical movements that functioned well in this context. He focuses specifically on Mahatma Gandhi and his efforts to develop a “constructive program” that provided social services to people in India under British rule. Adam Michnik of Poland and Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia had similar strategies to Gandhi in their resistance to communist rule in Eastern Europe, directing their activism toward achieving immediate changes in daily life rather than attempting to overthrow the entire system. The author contends that this strategy of building a strong civil society proved more effective than traditional, destructive modes of resistance.

Schell identifies several similarities in the beliefs behind the resistance in India and Eastern Europe:

- one should withdraw cooperation from destructive institutions
- this should be done without violence
- the means are more important than ends
- crimes shouldn’t be committed today for the sake of a better world tomorrow
- violence brutalizes the user as well as the victim
- the value of action lies in the direct benefit it brings society
- action is best aimed first at one’s immediate surroundings, and only later at more distant goals
- winning state power, if necessary at all, is a secondary goal
- freedom “begins with myself,”
- state power should and does depend on the consent of the governed

The power generated from this type of organization, Schell contends could be described as cooperative power, whereas power based on military force could be called coercive power. “Power is cooperative when it springs from action in concert of people who willingly agree with one another and is coercive when it springs from the threat or use of force.” He asserts that cooperative power “flows upward from the consent, support, and nonviolent activity of the people,” while coercive power “flows downward from the state.”

Schell also examines the concept of sovereignty, pointing to the general consensus prior to the establishment of the United States that sovereignty must be held by a single indivisible entity. The Federalists, however, avoided the conflict between federal and state sovereignty by asserting that sovereignty resided not in any governmental body, but in the people. Schell thereby asserts that if sovereignty based on coercive power was indivisible, the American founders proved that sovereignty based on cooperative power was divisible. Furthermore, he suggests that this transformation of sovereignty essentially nullifies the relevance of the term.

Schell contends, however, that the U.S. is increasingly applying the traditional concept of sovereignty that it nullified on a national level to the world as a whole. He writes of an emerging “disarmament empire,” saying “Every empire in history has concealed coarse self-interest behind a veil of noble ideals, and there is no reason to believe that American imperialism would be an exception.”

Schell concludes by saying:

In sum, the days when humanity can hope to save itself from force with force are over. None of the structures of violence – not the balance of power, not the balance of terror, not empire – can any longer rescue the world from the use of violence, now grown apocalyptic. Force can lead only to more force, not to peace. Only a turn to structures of cooperative power can offer hope.

He identifies four specific plans that would further the development of these structures of cooperative power:

1. worldwide treaty to abolish nuclear weapons and WMD
2. international intervention to end wars of self-determination based on a reformed concept of sovereignty
3. enforcement of prohibition against crimes against humanity
4. foundation of a democratic league to encourage and protect existing democracies

In Angels of Mercy or Development Diplomats: NGOS & Foreign Aid, Terje Tvedt explores the role of NGOs and foreign aid in the current global system, and echoes the importance Schell highlighted regarding the role of civil society in today’s world. He asserts that the world is “in the midst of a global associational revolution that may prove to be as significant to the late twentieth century as the rise of the nation state was to the late nineteenth.”

Tvedt also identifies the importance of “horizontal” communication between peers rather than traditional top-down communication. He asserts that “The challenge is to establish not only meeting points but arenas of cultural communication other than those created by the so-called Global Village, which tend to be a one-way communication from Hollywood to the African “tukul”.

Howard Rheingold explores how modern information and communication technology is affecting the dynamics of group formation and action in his book Smart Mobs: The Next Social Revolution. He asserts that new technologies, from text-messaging to ad-hoc wireless networks, are enabling collective action in ways not possible before. Of particular interest to Rheingold are systems that maintain order without a central authority. He cites sociologist, Elinor Ostrom, who identified several characteristics that generally corresponded with groups that were able to organize and govern their behavior successfully without external authorities:

- Group boundaries are clearly defined

- Rules governing the use of collective goods are well matched to local needs and conditions

- Most individuals affected by these rules can participate in modifying the rules

- The rights of community members to devise their own rules is respected by external authorities

- A system for monitoring members’ behavior exists; the community members themselves undertake this monitoring

- A graduated system of sanctions is used.

- Community members have access to low-cost conflict resolution mechanisms

- For Common Pool Resources that are parts of larger systems, appropriation, provision, monitoring, enforcement, conflict resolution, and governance are organized in multiple layers of nested enterprises.

There are several laws related to the “value” of social networks that Rheingold describes. Sarnoff’s Law says that the value of a broadcast network is directly proportionate to the number of nodes (i.e. viewers) in the network. In a network where the nodes can communicate directly with each other, Metcalfe’s Law states that the value grows proportionately with the square of the number of nodes. Finally in a network where the nodes can all communicate directly with each other *and* form into groups, Reed’s Law asserts that the value of the network grows not proportionally to the square of the number of nodes, but exponentially – meaning 2^n where n is the number of nodes.

Rheingold also examines how the technologies of mobile communication and pervasive computation have changed the “cooperation thresholds” of individuals within social systems, meaning the conditions at which they will engage in collective action. With more information about individuals due to new technology and a wider social sphere of interaction, it is possible to overcome the “coordination problem” in which people are willing to cooperate but only on the condition that others do so as well. Since this essentially serves to lower the system’s cooperation threshold, Rheingold asserts that these technologies have the potential for “cooperative amplification.”

In his book, Emergence: The Connected Lives of Ants, Brains, Cities, and Software, Steven Johnson explores the common properties to various systems that exhibit “emergent behavior.” He discusses the phase-transitions in systems, in which the crossing of critical thresholds can yield a fundamentally different macrobehavior to the system. Many of these systems often exhibit “self-organization” such as ant colonies in which the collective intelligence is more than the sum of its parts. Each ant is governed by a simple set of rules based on their environment and interactions with other ants, and from these simple rules emerge very complex and sophisticated macrobehaviors to the colony as a whole.

Johnson also explores the possibility of the Internet eventually exhibiting a similar form of self-organization. He asserts that the key element the web currently lacks in order to yield such intelligent macrobehavior is feedback. A particular website that he feels has become a model for successful self-organization based on feedback is Slashdot, where there is extensive horizontal communication that enables important ideas to “bubble up.”

Analytical Methodology

Based on the reading and research into other networks, we developed the following criteria as a means of assessing various networks’ or systems’ potential for Social democracy.

1. ***Convey a strong narrative*** – The narrative is the connective tissue that ideologically unites the various participants in the network. Effective narratives generally allow the participants to see themselves as protagonists in the context of a dramatic struggle. They must be broad enough to resonate with a diverse group of individuals, but specific enough for them to genuinely identify with them.
2. ***Communicate via hot media*** – A network is defined not solely by the number of connections, but by the qualitative nature of those connections as well. A hotter or richer sensory media experience allows the participants to develop a more visceral attachment.
3. ***Provide micro-motives and empower the individuals*** – In order to mobilize the various participants for collective action, it is important that they receive individual benefit. These micro-motives can take on a variety of forms, but they should be as closely aligned with the collective ambitions as possible. Empowerment for the individual often serves as a micro-motive in and of itself. It also translates into a more effective overall network by providing the “soldiers” with the tools to win the battle.
4. ***Provide tangible concrete goals with time constraints*** – For these empowered individuals to be effectively utilized, they generally require specific action objectives. These objectives do not necessarily need to be generated by a central

authority, but without clear direction with concrete goals, the network can atrophy.

5. ***Become an integral component of civil society*** – A critical component of generating a network of active participants is to serve an important function in their lives. By establishing a constructive role in society, networks can reinforce their narrative while solidifying their support base.
6. ***Enable horizontal communication*** – Horizontal communication serves multiple purposes within a network. It enhances a sense of collective identity and enables information to be shared more effectively across all levels, so good ideas can effectively “bubble up.” As Metcalfe’s Law asserts, the value of a network where each node is connected to every other node, grows proportionately with the square of the number of nodes.
7. ***Encourage group formation and self-organization*** – Depending on the nature of the network, group formation could be a natural by-product of effective horizontal communication. But networks can enable horizontal communication on a mass scale without effectively enabling modular units to emerge. As described above, Reed’s Law purports that the value of a network grows at an exponential rate related to the number of nodes in the network if they are able to form groups. To many network organizers, self-organization can be seen as significant threats to their interests. Yielding autonomy to the respective groups does inherently mean a loss of control, but if there is a strong narrative with a clearly defined vision, it can also translate into significantly enhanced effectiveness for the network as a whole.
8. ***Develop swarming potential*** – Effective networks will be able mobilize the individuals units to quickly converge on and disperse from selected targets. This ability is in many ways the culmination of many of the characteristics described above.
9. ***Identify and understand phase transitions*** – Qualitative shifts in network behavior can take place based on quantitative changes in certain aspects of the network. Identifying and understanding the critical thresholds at which these phase transitions occur is often more art than science, but it promises great potential to those who can predict and harness the power of these transitions.
10. ***Generate resources*** – The ultimate measure of a network is its productivity. Can the network bring in the resources (e.g. money, ideas, people) to effectively achieve its mission?

Case Studies

MoveOn

MoveOn began in 1998 promoting a “Censure and Move On” campaign opposing the impeachment of President Clinton. The organization was founded by Joan Blades and Wes Boyd, a husband and wife team of silicon valley entrepreneurs made famous and rich by their flying toaster screensavers. They began by sending e-mail messages to 100 friends asking them for support in opposing the Clinton impeachment. These e-mails reportedly reached 500,000 people eventually and catalyzed a wave of public opposition to the impeachment.

After the impeachment saga, MoveOn applied their emerging model to other issues that resonated with more liberal, and progressive segments of American society. Using simple web-based technology they encouraged their growing membership to sign online petitions, write letters to newspaper editors, make phone calls to elected officials and donate money to a range of causes. With just four paid staff members and an annual operating budget of 330,000, MoveOn now has more than 2 million members.

1 - Convey a strong narrative

Led by a small group of individuals who are identified generally by their first names, MoveOn provides a sense of intimacy to their community and projects an image of the little guy fighting for the voice of “ordinary” people. Their reluctance to grow larger with increasing access to capital reinforces their claim as a counterweight to the influence of “big money” & “big media” in politics today.

2 - Communicate via hot media

The vast majority of MoveOn’s media efforts have been conducted through simple text based e-mail. They recognize, however, the challenge of transcending the inherent coolness of the medium. There is generally a sense of urgency to these messages connected to real events happening at present that serves to bring the campaign to life. As of late, MoveOn has become increasingly active in reaching out through more traditional, hot media. Before the war in Iraq began, MoveOn sponsored television and radio ads in addition to print ads and billboards. They made an updated version of the well-known “Daisy” television ad from the 1964 presidential campaign, in which a young girl picks petals off a flower as a mushroom cloud blooms behind her.

3 - Provide micro-motives and empower the individuals

There are few tangible incentives in place on a personal level for participation in MoveOn, beyond the contributions that are made to society as a whole. However, they are quite adept at appealing to individuals’ sense of civic responsibility, providing them with a feeling of accomplishment and inclusiveness following successful campaigns.

With minimal commitment of time or resources, individuals can participate in MoveOn campaigns. Web-based tools that allow users to quickly send customized correspondence to political leaders or donations to specific causes enable them to quickly and easily affect the issues they care about. In their e-mails to members, it will say “Just copy and paste the text into your own e-mail, then personalize the message.” They add, “Your own words are always best.” The sense of empowerment is heightened by the vastness of the network, compounding the perceived effect of one’s contribution. MoveOn also provides individuals with the means to both suggest and affect collective actions through their online Action Forums. Members of the community can post suggestions to the forum, which are then rated by other members as to their relative importance. The posts that “rise up” significantly affect the focus of the community. The online primary they conducted in June of 2003, empowered individuals in a similar way, enabling them to direct the collective efforts of the network. Members are also occasionally provided with the means to form group actions in their respective locations. This will be discussed in more detail below.

4 - Provide tangible concrete goals with time constraints

Action campaigns are generally very specific and focused in their objectives. Peter Schurman, executive director of MoveOn said, “We will not take an issue and tell people, ‘Here are the eight ways this issue is moving on Capitol Hill right now and here are the eight actions you can take on it.’ We’ll say, ‘Here’s the most important one thing you can do, and then at the bottom of the e-mail we’ll provide links to more information if you want to really research it.’” Rather than vague missions of creating “awareness,” MoveOn assumes a certain level of familiarity with the issues and generally has very specific and tangible goals such as a number of signatures for a petition or a sum of money they are aiming to raise. An important element of their effectiveness in generating support for these campaigns, however, is arguably what they do not do. By limiting the amount of campaigns they conduct, members do not feel bombarded by requests, and they are more inclined to respect the appeals that are made.

5 - Become an integral component of civil society

In MoveOn’s brief history, it has excelled at finding creative ways to integrate itself into the sociopolitical fabric of American society. They have emerged as an effective bridge between the public and the political machine. On several occasions, petitions they sponsored have received enough support to warrant significant attention in Congress. Perhaps most illustrative of their success in this regard, however, was their recent online primary, in which 300,000 MoveOn members cast votes – a bigger turnout than many states have for elections. Their rising prominence is forcing other more established institutions, most notably the Democratic Party, to adapt their practices in order to work with them.

6 - Enable horizontal communication

There are several creative ways in which MoveOn has enabled and encouraged horizontal communication amongst its members.

- a. Action Forums – As described above, members can post suggestions for collective actions and rate them accordingly. This forum enables direct communication between the respective members, allowing them to discuss the relative merits of the prospective plans with other members online.
- b. Local Flyer Campaigns – In the Spring of 2003, MoveOn provided a service on their website that enabled individuals to become “anchors” for local flyer campaigns protesting the invasion of Iraq. These anchors would be responsible for coordinating the printing and distribution of the flyers. Other individuals could search the online database of anchors in their areas based on their zip codes to participate in the campaigns. This served to humanize and foster a deeper sense of community to the MoveOn network, while widely distributing the costs and work necessary to get their message out.
- c. Phone Interviews – The MoveOn Phone Interviews are possibly the clearest example of horizontal communication for the sake of horizontal communication. Members interested in communicating with other members were provided with each other’s phone numbers and encouraged to conduct phone interviews with each other.

7 - Encourage group formation and self-organization

MoveOn rarely fosters the formation of smaller groups. Generally it focuses on mobilizing as large a portion of the community as possible for the purposes of addressing specific issues. As described above, MoveOn has enabled individual members to organize groups for specific activities such as the flyer campaign on a local level.

The Action Forum, however, is the primary way in which the MoveOn membership can direct the collective action of the community as a whole. MoveOn Executive Director, Peter Schurman, said that of their six broad action campaigns, three of them have emerged from posts in the Action Forum. The potential for a “bubbling up” of good ideas encourages innovation within the network. Their control over the action, however, is measured. Popular posts are given prominence and can sway the collective sense of purpose and identity, but in the end they are simply suggestions that the staff ultimately decides how to act upon.

8 - Develop swarming potential

Moveon has emerged as arguably the model in swarming for political activism. During the UN deliberations regarding a potential invasion of Iraq, MoveOn sponsored a petition in which they received more than 550,000 signatures from dozens of countries in less than two days and eventually over 1 million in total. They have time and again proven successful With more media coverage and growing numbers of members, their potential to effectively swarm is only growing.

9 - Identify and exploit phase transitions

While this is often more art than science, MoveOn has proven quite adept at knowing what issues will resonate with its membership and when to make their appeal. Schurman said “MoveOn typically won’t engage on an issue until it’s close to a tipping point where engaging a large number of our members can really make the decisive difference.”

10 - Generate results

MoveOn has proven successful on many occasions both at raising significant revenue, and raising significant funds. The MoveOn PAC raised \$2.4 million in the 2000 campaign for 30 candidates in the House and Senate candidates. In the winter leading up to the war in Iraq, MoveOn requested \$27,000 from its membership to run an advertisement in *The New York Times*. They received \$400,000 in contributions, and eventually led a media campaign in excess of \$1.3 million. In April of this year, they sent an e-mail appeal to members to support Oxfam America in its relief efforts in Iraq. Supporters quickly responded with \$500,000 in contributions which accounted at the time for nearly two-thirds of the money Oxfam had raised for their program.

The Dean Campaign

Howard Dean has recently emerged as a genuine contender in the race to determine the Democratic candidate for the 2004 presidential election. His campaign tactics have been anything but conventional, relying heavily on the Internet as a means of organizing, fundraising, and disseminating information. Many in his campaign have made the claim that the Internet play the role in this election that television did in the Nixon-Kennedy race, changing the nature of the dynamic and dramatically favoring the candidate who first understands the new playing field.

Dean has just recently penetrated into the mainstream press with coverage primarily related to their campaign’s success at using Internet tools, such as MeetUp.com to organize meetings of Dean supporters, and to raise money as in their drive at the end of the second quarter. While there is a genuine buzz around the campaign, and truly innovative tools are being used, the jury is still out as to how successful these new approaches will be.

1 - Convey a strong narrative

On the DeanforAmerica website, there is a quote from Dean prominently displayed saying, “We are the great grassroots campaign of the modern era, made of mouse pads, shoe leather, and hope.” “People-powered Howard” has been expertly crafted as straight-talking man of the people who is mobilizing grassroots support to “beat Bush’s fundraising machine.” The story of a man with “backbone” almost reckless in his honesty with the mission of bringing popular involvement back into politics has clearly resonated with many. Perhaps most significant in their ability to convey a strong narrative is the mechanisms through which they tell the story. Their constantly updated

blog enables people to live the story as it dynamically unfolds, providing supporters with not only the latest information, but a means to feel connected to it.

2 - Communicate via hot media

For the last forty years, the conventional wisdom has been that presidential campaigns are won and lost on television. As noted above, many in the Dean camp are claiming that this will be the election that changes that, but there are many hurdles the campaign needs to cross in order for that to be the case. Campaign staff are quick to point out the e-mail is still the most used application on the Internet, and it provides a tactile connection to people that television cannot. Yet it lacks the visceral impact that video as a medium can deliver. It is illustrative that 10% of the visitors the DeanforAmerica website go to the Photos section of the site, while 10% also go to the Action oriented sections of the site, and only 6% go to the Blog. This clearly indicates a desire to actually *see* this man. The Dean Campaign has been innovative in this regard, developing HowardDean.tv as an online service in which users can get regular video updates and feeds related to the campaign. This has been only modestly successful, however, with approximately 5,000 people utilizing the service.

Zephyr Teachout, the Director of Organizing & Outreach, has no delusions about the importance of the moving image and human voice for winning people's support. She sees a strong potential for synergy however between the more traditional (hot) media, and the Internet. While pundits widely criticized Dean in his first major television appearance on NBC's *Meet the Press*, saying he was not well enough versed on many of the issues, many in the public reacted more positively, with significant support pouring into the website that afternoon and evening. This is precisely the type of synergy that Teachout would like to see, with television and magazines providing the coverage that elevates him to the level of a presidential candidate and conveys the sensory richness people crave, while the Internet can provide them with a tactile connection to the unfolding story.

3 - Provide micro-motives and empower the individuals

While supporters of the Dean Campaign can receive miniature baseball bats with Howard Dean's signature if they reach certain goals, the campaign has strived to avoid these types of incentive based systems due to the large administrative costs required to coordinate them. Instead they put emphasis often on the experience associated with the participation whether it is making new friends at a MeetUp or handing out flyers before going to a baseball game. They are, however, also aiming to redefine the motivation for participation, making it less about what you tangibly get out of it, whether fun, new friends or a miniature bat, and more about affecting your self-perception. For many, the reward can be the sense of purpose that comes with the participation. According to Teachout, "People first want to be loved, but maybe even second, people want to be relevant. For many people, particularly some of the IT people - they haven't felt politically relevant ever." This opportunity to engage effectively, has arguably become the most satisfying incentive for many in their constituency to participate.

Another prominent quote from Dean on the DeanforAmerica website reads, “The great lie spoken by politicians on platforms like this is the cry of “elect me and I will solve all your problems.” The truth is the future of our nation rests in your hands, and not in mine. You have the power to reclaim our nation's destiny.” There are several programs within the Dean Campaign that seem to reflect this perspective:

The Dean Team – Individuals can sign up to be Dean Team Leaders in which they are provided with the tools to customize their own personal web page in support of Dean, send e-mails to friends to raise money and spread awareness, and even track how much money they have generated through their efforts. 1,600 people have signed up as Dean Team Leaders, and they have raised more than \$114,000 for the campaign.

The “Post 1 then Pass It On” Poster Campaign – Users can download a poster online and even customize it to their liking and post it up in their area.

Dean Wireless Communities – While these have not yet become particularly popular, the campaign is providing supporters with the tools to communicate with individuals in their communities through text messages on their wireless devices. Echoing the perspective that they do not have all the answers, and that these are genuinely meant to be empowering tools, the campaign encourages users of this service to, “Be inventive, this service is new, use it in creative ways.”

The “Get Local” enables groups to form and organize events. It will be discussed in more detail below.

4 - Provide tangible concrete goals with time constraints

If anything, the Dean Campaign is running the risk of having too many concrete goals and desensitizing its support base to its requests. But thus far, there have been no significant signs of lessening support. In May of this year, they began the “Double Dean” effort to double the campaign’s support base, and did so in a little over a month. For its poster campaign, they have already contacted Guinness World Records in the hopes of putting up 1 million posters, thereby establishing a new world record. On their home page is a meter rising up a baseball bat rating their fundraising efforts as they strive for “\$1,000,000 to beat Bush.” And for the month of August, the campaign has set the goal of having 1000 events.

5 - Become an integral component of civil society

Teachout sees their ability to “drive people offline” as a critical measure of their success. The most reported means of mobilizing people to participate offline has been through their MeetUp events at area bars and restaurants. In the eyes of the participants, going to a bar is often a significantly different experience than going to a political organizing meeting. By providing participants with a social forum, and a means to meet new people they have presented them with an important service that many would seek out regardless of their politics.

However there are other ways in which the Dean Campaign is successfully playing a constructive role in civil society as well. Recently, the campaign has developed a DeanCorps largely at the request of interested supporters. Participants in DeanCorps perform community service while wearing Dean t-shirts to help their community while spreading awareness about the Dean Campaign.

This summer, a Dean supporter named Howard Vicini requested assistance from the Dean Blog to post an idea he had for community outreach. With positive feedback from visitors to the blog, the Dean Campaign is sponsoring a nationwide Seniors Outreach week in October, in which Dean supporters help seniors in their local areas and communicate with them about Dean.

6 - Enable horizontal communication

One of the largest challenges facing the Dean Campaign is how to effectively manage their vast network of supporters. With limited resources and a small administrative staff, they cannot afford to be an information hub for the network. There needs to be a mechanism in which good ideas for how to utilize the resources can effectively bubble up and be utilized in local organizations around the country. If they tried to serve this role it would either be prohibitively expensive to do so effectively or painfully inefficient in the time it would take for ideas to be appropriately disseminated. However a significant part of the needed coordination is simply appropriate information sharing.

There are currently over 500 different List Serves that enable a large amount of communication between the various supporters of Dean, but the lack of structure to this network often makes it unwieldy and inefficient. In both California and Georgia, local organizations both independently discovered this summer that there was some magic to the third time they would table at any given event such as a farmers market or sporting event. In both of their cases, they found that if they tolerated low turnouts for the first two, they would often be rewarded with a significantly greater turnout the third time around. The uncovering of these parallel discoveries arguably only happened by chance, however, as Teachout was on List Serves that spoke about each group's findings and she put the pieces together.

Recognizing the importance of effective horizontal communication, the Dean Campaign is in the process of developing two services that they hope will address this need. The first enables users to start their own blog online and provides them with a feed of the "hottest" posts in the Dean network. Users can have the hot feeds automatically syndicated onto their sites, or they could opt to select what to syndicate manually. The intended effect is that the interesting and constructive posts or ideas will be widely distributed amongst the blogging community. The second plan is to provide an online social service for Dean supporters in which they will see personal profiles with pictures of other supporters in their area, and they will be able to communicate and coordinate events with them.

7 - Encourage group formation and self-organization

MeetUp.com was the first example of group formation encouraged by the Dean Campaign, and its numbers have steadily grown since it began being utilized with almost 90,000 members in the Dean MeetUp community at the time of this writing. While this is still the most popular means of participating in the Dean Campaign, it is somewhat limited in its potential for self-organization. At the MeetUp events, supporters can of course plan events and actions independent of the events, but the actual MeetUp service does little to promote other activities.

At the DeanforAmerica website, however, users can use the “Get Local” tool, in which Individuals are encouraged to plan and implement events on their own in their local communities. Proposed plans can be posted online in a searchable database so that other interested supporters in their area can find events and get involved. According to their site, over 2,718 events have been organized across the country with more than 47,000 participants.

While supporters are given suggestions for potential events, they are encouraged to take the initiative and come up with their own ideas. According to Teachout, one of the challenges the Dean Campaign has faced is convincing their supporters that they really mean it. To many campaigns a ceding of autonomy to the local groups is threatening. To Dean’s Campaign however, it is the precise opposite. One of Teachout’s most significant concern is the establishment of a more traditional hierarchical organizational structure. She talks of the initial effect a Dean Campaign official for New York had this summer, making people more inclined to defer to him for marching orders, which stymied the creative energy. After the official made it clear that his role was to encourage individual initiation of actions rather than dictate them, this problem was largely overcome. Yet this effect is widely seen according to Teachout with many in the areas with official representation exhibiting a sense of “oh, we might get in trouble” if they do something on their own. Therefore in many ways, encouraging group formation and self-organization for the Dean Campaign is less about providing them with the tools, and more about convincing them they have the freedom to act on their own.

8 - Develop swarming potential

The clearest example to date of the Dean Campaign’s swarming potential was the fundraising drive at the end of the second quarter. For the quarter as a whole, Dean raised \$7.5 million, more than any other Democratic candidate, from 59,000 contributors. Nearly \$3 million were raised in the last week alone as the Dean campaign captured the momentum generated in large part by the MoveOn online primary. Of the 59,000 contributors, over 45,000 made contributions online.

9 - Identify and exploit phase transitions

According to Teachout, “tipping points” are the name of the game in their campaign. The end of the second quarter was clearly an example of such a tipping point, in which the critical mass of support catapulted Dean into the top tier of Democratic contenders

and arguably more importantly, created enough of a story to get significant mainstream media coverage. At the time of this writing, the Dean Campaign is in the midst of its “Sleepless Summer Tour” that aims to raise \$1 million dollars over a four day period. By the morning of the second day, over 7,000 contributors had given \$398,292.97, prompting the campaign staff to encouragingly ask, “Will your contribution push us over \$400K?”

10 - Generate results

In the two most tangible measures of results for the Dean Campaign, raising money and moving the polls, they have done exceptionally well to date. As described above, they continue to defy the expectations in their fundraising goals. In an August Field Poll in California, Dean was in the lead as 15% of the likely Democratic voters’s choice. In April of this year, he had come in fourth in the California Field Poll with only 7% of the vote.

Al Jazeera

In the last several years, Al Jazeera has radically transformed the television news landscape throughout the Arab world. In an analysis on the effect of Arab satellite television, Muhammed Ayish states, “Until recently, the concept of television journalism was virtually non-existent in Arab world television services, which for three decades had functioned more as government propaganda machines than as independent sources of information.” In 1995 censorship of the domestic press in Qatar was officially lifted. In November of 1996, Al Jazeera began with a six-hour satellite transmission of news and public affairs in a Western journalistic style with the freedom to criticize Arab governments. By February of 1999, it was broadcasting 24 hours a day with news and heated debates about politically sensitive issues that enabled people to phone-in and participate, stunning both Arab governments and publics alike.

Al Jazeera exploded in popularity quickly emerging as a public forum for discourse and a leading source of information in the region. The decoupling of government from media has led to a significant increase in public debate and awareness regarding political affairs that was initially widely applauded in the West. However, in the wake of September 11th, its coverage of the war in Afghanistan, the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, and the broader “war on terrorism” has been widely criticized in the West as being anti-American and overly sensationalized.

1 - Convey a strong narrative

The Al Jazeera slogan literally translates into “one opinion and another.” To its audience, this concept was and continues to be quite revolutionary. As mentioned above, the vast majority of programming in the Arab world was tightly controlled by the respective governments. By providing a platform for alternative perspectives, Al Jazeera, positioned itself as the voice of the people to a people who had largely been voiceless,

breaking through the traditional walls of society. In the West, however, the Al Jazeera's narrative, has ironically been quite to the contrary, with it often portrayed as a source of sensationalist propaganda opposed to the Western ideals of democracy and freedom.

2 - Communicate via hot media

To many, Al Jazeera has proven *too* successful with its ability to communicate via hot media in a way that viscerally affects its audience. The Al Jazeera programming routinely has shots more gruesome than what are generally broadcast on Western news programs such as charred bodies on the burned out floor of a building. While its editorial content is generally widely respected in the Arab world, the use of such graphic footage has fed into its criticism of being overly sensationalistic from the West.

This sensationalism is most pronounced however in Al Jazeera's talk shows, with emotional and dramatic debates rivaling Fox News in their propensity to provoke heated reactions. In a television promo for one of the most popular talk shows, "The Opposite Direction," the host of the show, Faisal al Qasim, pounds his fist into his other hand, while flames of fire billow behind him.

As discussed below, Al Jazeera's ability to viscerally connect with its audience is perhaps best illustrated by the affect it often has on its audience members to literally get them into the street to protest certain policies or events.

3 - Provide micro-motives and empower the individuals

The Managing Director of Al Jazeera, Mohammed Jasim Al-Ali, says of their audience, "We treat them as intelligent, we give them the true story." This alternative perspective is, in and of itself, empowering to individuals and an incentive for them to watch. People in Arab countries are often very distant from their government, and Al Jazeera provides them with the opportunity to be more informed and actually engage.

Al Jazeera was one of the first Arab channels to do live call-in talk shows, providing many people with the unprecedented opportunity to voice their opinions and have their issues addressed in a large and important arena. Audience members can also go to the Al Jazeera website to vote in an instant poll and submit their questions or comments. The anchors or hosts of shows will regularly read questions submitted from users online, providing a window both in and out to some of the more restrictive cultures in the Arab world.

This form of empowerment is particularly relevant to women in the Arab world. A high percentage of Arab women are illiterate, so text-based media provides little outlet for them, but Al Jazeera has talk shows such as "For Women Only" that present women's roles in society in a much more liberal and proactive setting than traditionally depicted in many societies.

While this does contribute to a more sophisticated and politically aware public, it does not necessarily provide them with a sense of empowerment. To many in the Al Jazeera audience the result of the content they are viewing is a sense of powerlessness and frustration with much of the status quo. Arguably this is not Al Jazeera's responsibility, but it is hard to imagine the it does not have a large role in fostering that sentiment.

4 - Provide tangible concrete goals with time constraints

In the case of Al Jazeera, this dimension is not directly applicable. While many accuse it of such, it does not purport to have a specific agenda for which it aims to mobilize its audience.

5 - Become an integral component of civil society

In an analysis of satellite broadcasting's effect on civil society in the Middle East, Hussein Amin, wrote:

“With satellite broadcasting there is an element of "social engineering," which includes its role as a forum for the exchange of thoughts and ideas between citizens or the different social groups of a democratic community; its function as an integrating influence upon children and young people and its importance as a platform and agent for all kinds of cultural forms and expressions; and its function to advance communities, speed progress and enhance development.”

Without electoral representation, there are few ways in which people in the Arab world can communicate their perspectives effectively to their governments. Al Jazeera has quickly established itself as a key mediator between the people of the Arab world and their governments. This effect is increasingly being taken seriously by the governments. While many government have tried to contain Al Jazeera by shutting down local bureaus, this tactic has generally only back-fired, because it does not stop the programming, but instead provides them with a news story: “Your government does not want you to hear what we have to say.”

6 - Enable horizontal communication

The technical nature of satellite broadcast is clearly limited in its ability to promote multidirectional communication between the various viewers of Al Jazeera. Its web presence, however, has a variety of online forums for viewers to discuss issues including the economy, science & technology, books and Israel amongst others. While Internet use is not nearly as widespread in the Arab world, the relative use of Al Jazeera's website is quite impressive. On their site, they claim that they had more than 160 million visits to their site in 2002 and over 800 million impressions.

However, the “Al Jazeera effect” reaches well beyond those on the web or even those who have satellite dishes. The programming is commonly broadcast in gathering spots such as cafes or restaurants, and its effect on society is a perhaps most pronounced in its role as a stimulus of debate and discussion amongst everyday people, many of whom might now actually even watch the programming. Like sports in American society, Al Jazeera has established itself as the “water cooler” subject of discussion amongst people as they socialize. Therefore due to the vastness of the network, it serves as a catalyst for horizontal communication even though it does not necessarily provide the actual means through which it takes place.

On a smaller scale as well, it is worth mentioning that the actual network of employees for Al Jazeera is as diverse as its audience, with Lebanese working closely with Saudi and Egyptians, creating a dynamic forum in which the people of those cultures can interact and communicate directly with each other.

7 - Encourage group formation and self-organization

While Al Jazeera provides little in the way of self-organization tools discussed in the other two case studies, it has played a tremendous role in the formation of a group identity to the Arab world as a whole. Discussing the role of satellite television in the Arab world and South America, John Alterman, of the Center for Strategic and International Studies says, “transnational media are doing what statesmen and warriors have been unable to do. Building on common language and common heritage, the people of both regions are beginning to come together in ways that would have seemed wildly utopian only ten years ago.” While regional programming is generally dominated by the local dialects of Arabic, Al Jazeera has been very disciplined in using the more formal but widely understood Modern Standard Arabic. This as well as the editorial focus of their content has played a key role in the development of a Pan-Arab identity.

8 - Develop swarming potential

As stated above, Al Jazeera differs from the other case studies in the sense that it does not have an explicit aim that it is striving to mobilize society to realize. However, whether intentionally or not, Al Jazeera has certainly played a catalytic role in swarming activity throughout the Arab world. Perhaps most notable was the effect of its coverage on the reported “massacre” in Jenin. After continuous live graphic coverage of the events as they were unfolding in Jenin, anti-Israel and anti-American riots simultaneously broke out in several cities throughout the Arab and Muslim world and busloads of Egyptians attempted to cross the border to assist the Palestinians. This has been attributed in large part to the Al Jazeera coverage, which was criticized by many experts as being overly sensationalized and provocative after the details of the event came out.

In this sense, it could be said that Al Jazeera has developed significant swarming potential. The swarming itself, however, does not happen through the actual network as much as it is an effect of its programming, often mobilizing its audience to take to the streets.

9 - Identify and exploit phase transitions

Perhaps the clearest example of Al Jazeera benefiting from a phase transition, related less to its own doing, but trends in the region as a whole. As satellite ownership consistently increased throughout the mid 1990's, Al Jazeera entered the market at what turned out to be a particularly opportune time, with a modern look and refreshing editorial focus just as the viewership base was emerging.

10 - Generate results

While accurate ratings are hard to come by in the Arab world, Al Jazeera is widely recognized as making explosive progress in its viewership in its first several years of operations. When it was first getting started, Al Jazeera had the good fortune of benefiting from the failure of a BBC initiative to create an Arabic language news channel in the region. After training a significant number of journalists in the region, the venture was cancelled leaving a wealth of journalistic talent that Al Jazeera effectively utilized. Yet the quality and popularity of the Al Jazeera programming has not been as well received by many of the large commercial advertisers. Saudi Arabia, for instance, directed its business not to advertise on Al Jazeera, leaving a gaping hole in Al Jazeera's potential revenue stream. While maintaining wide audience approval, they are still financially dependent on the Qatari government to sustain their operations.

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