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NEW AND SOCIAL MEDIA INFLUENCE ON PEOPLE'S
EMPOWERMENT

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article
abstract

THEORISTS' VIEWS ON THE ROLE OF NEW MEDIA IN STEPPING TOWARDS SOCIETAL CHANGE ARE SIGNIFICANTLY DIVIDED. STARTING FROM THE OPTIMISTS' UNMARKED DELIGHT AND HOPES PINNED ON NEW MEDIAS' IMPORTANCE, THROUGH RELATIVE SKEPTICS, AND FINALLY DECLARED CRITICS. AS WE BELIEVE THAT THEORIES ARE USELESS WITHOUT COMPARING THEM TO THE REALITY, THE MAIN AIMS OF THIS TEXT ARE TO MEASURE AND HIGHLIGHT THE MOST MEANINGFUL FEATURES OF LAST DECADE'S NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS (LIKE OCUPPY WALL STREET, INDIGNADOS AND THE ARAB SPRING) AND ATTEMPT AT PLACING THEM IN THE FRAMES OF THE MOST CRUCIAL THEORIES ON NEW AND SOCIAL MEDIA. WITHIN THE CONCEPT OF MEDIA DETERMINISM, WE JUXTAPOSE CONCEPTS BY MANUEL CASTELLS AND EVGENY MOROZOV. THIS ALLOWED US TO PREPARE OUTLINES OF SCENARIOS FOR THE FUTURE FATE OF NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE CONTEXT OF NEW MEDIAS' USE.

"A wave of anger is sweeping the cities of the world. Politicians beware" – "The Economist's" editors claimed in June 2013.[1] In recent three years we have witnessed several outbursts of social protests, which put forward different sets of demands. Starting from countries affected by the gloomy legacy of economic crisis in which movements like Occupy Wall Street and Indignados appeared in urban spaces. Then we faced Arab Spring protests, the roar of Ukrainian and Venezuelan citizens and many other protests. Our aim is to answer the questions: how far new media affected ways of operation and organization of new social movements and should politicians really beware of their demands?

THE EDGE OF SOCIETIES?

"Over and above dramatic events and long-term economic changes, we are living through the end of a type of society - most importantly, of a representation of society in which the Western world has lived for several centuries"[2] – claims Alain Touraine. The main assumption of Touraine is that European societies and (in this particular moment of history) societies of the most industrialized countries all over the world have changed very profoundly. He writes: "Our central claim is precisely that we are living through the end of the 'social' representation of our experience. This break is as significant as the one that put an end to the religious representation and organization of social life several centuries ago."[3] And further: "Certainly, we must see how the individual is manipulated by propaganda and advertising. But we must also discover the social actor present in this individual and even the subject who lies within her and fights against mass society, the impersonality of markets and the violence war."[4] One of the most profound shifts is that modern societies have transformed the model of communication into one in which the fast circulation of information plays a very significant role. As we are all facing the results of communication occurrence's new forms and develop innovative nets of virtual coexistence, the most crucial is to try to

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1   The Economist 2013.
2   Touraine 2007: 44.
3   Touraine 2007: 44.
4   Touraine 2007: 70.

measure how strong are the bonds between new media and a prospects of societal change with a new approach. "Invoked for any old purpose, the notion of social movement loses any content and becomes useless. As we leave behind the long phase dominated by the idea of society, our first move is to abandon an analytical tool that has seemingly lost all its force"[5] – to refer to Touraine's legacy once again.

> ❝ THE VERY UPPER LAYER OF THE SOCIETY IS THE SPECIALIZED CLASS WHICH SHOULD "TAKE SOME ACTIVE ROLE IN RUNNING GENERAL AFFAIRS.

"The Information Revolution is now at the point at which the Industrial Revolution was in the early 1820s"[6] – that sentence is an attempt to summarize this shift. In his analysis Peter F. Drucker does not put so much attention to information circulation. But the fact is that we can point out many narratives on what the most industrialized societies have become in the context of information's role. We have heard about the dawn of the Knowledge Society,[7] the Network Society,[8] the Information Society[9] or even about the new mode of capitalism – widely discussed concept of the cognitive capitalism[10] or cognitive biocapitalism.[11] What these theories have in common is balancing between emphasizing the liberating potential of new technologies and communication tools and the new methods of control imposed on societies. It is also the increasing value of knowledge, know-how or plain information what is highlighted. The major question in reference to the change of paradigms mentioned above is: has the emergence of new and social media (as part of new social movements' models of communication) exerted a democratizing and emancipatory influence or is it a new tool of manipulation and disinformation?

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5   Touraine 2007: 69.
6   Drucker 1999.
7   Drucker 2002.
8   Castells 2004: 3-49.
9   Castells 2004: 3-49.
10   Boutang 2011. The concept of cognitive capitalism has its roots in the debate on immaterial labour, and it has been elaborated by P. Virno, M. Hardt and A. Negri. Then developed by Y. M. Boutang and many others. It is based on the assumption, that the digitalization ant technological revolution brought new modes of production, new models of labour organization, and new forms of value, which in result has reshaped the occupational landscape of most industrialized societies. According to the cognitive capitalism theories, starting from the post-fordist shift the value of knowledge has become the main pillar of modern capitalism (Editors' note - EK).
11   "Independently of the dominant convention, contemporary capitalism is always in search of new social and vital circles to absorb and commodify, involving more and more the bare vital faculties of human beings. It is for this reason that in the last few years we have been hearing about bioeconomy and biocapitalism;" (Fumagalli 2011).

SUBJECTIFYING THE "BEWILDERED HERD"?

In the book Media Control. The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda Noam Chomsky invokes Walter Lippman's concept of the elite's role in shaping public opinion in democratic countries. Lippman's theory is a very classical approach, in which he assumed, that the properly functioning society should be based on the very strict division of citizens. The very upper layer of the society is the specialized class which should "take some active role in running general affairs."[12] According to that theory, they are a small group of people who "analyze, execute, make decisions, and run things in the political, economic, and ideological systems."[13] And what about "those others" which are actually the majority of the population? Lippman provided quite simple answer to that question: not only he called them "the bewildered herd" but also claimed, that we should protect ourselves from "the trampling and roar" of that group of people.[14] This classical and simultaneously elitist approach is based on the assumption which is summarized by Chomsky as follows:

> "The specialized class, the responsible men, carry out the executive function, which means they do the thinking and planning and understand the common interests. Then, there is the bewildered herd, and they have a function in democracy too. Their function in a democracy, he said, is to be >>>spectators,<<< not participants in action. But they have more of a function than that, because it's a democracy. Occasionally they are allowed to lend their weight to one or another member of the specialized class. In other words, they're allowed to say, >>>We want you to be our leader<<< or >>>We want *you* to be our leader.<<<"[15]

That was before the technological revolution started and preceded the liberation of many excluded and discriminated groups of "bewildered herd." But we can assume that some elemts in this approach remain on the table. So can we state that the massive protests and rise of new social movements, which emerged in recent years, are linked to the opportunities brought by new media tools? Or is this just another incarnation of the propaganda model described also by E. S. Herman and N. Chomsky.[16]

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12   Chomsky 1997: 13.
13   Chomsky 1997: 13.
14   Chomsky 1997: 13.
15   Chomsky 1997: 13-14.
16   Propaganda model, created by Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman measures how state propaganda works in mass media, mainly in pro-democratic states in which there is no official

A SMARTPHONE WEAPON

The front pages of two widely known magazines can serve as reference points to help us to understand the scale and impact of mass protests, which have taken place in recent years. If we analyze the cover of the "The Time" magazine from December 2011, which illustrates the selection of the so-called "persons of the year," we will find anonymous "protester" among them. It is difficult to indicate both gender and nation of this person. The second picture titled "The march of protest" is the cover of "The Economist" from the turn of June and July 2013. It presents the series of significant social uprisings from the Spring of Nations, through 1968, the Soviet Union Collapse and latest protest. Every wave of riots is illustrated by different symbolic character. Thus we have Delacroix's Liberty Leading the People with a flag in her hand,[17] the hippie protester with a Molotov cocktail, Lech Walesa with a candle, and a female holding a smartphone in her hand.[18] As "The Economist's" editors claim: "nobody can know how 2013 will change the world—if at all," but "the rhythm of protests has been accelerated by technology (…) Protests are no longer organized by unions or other lobbies, as they once were."[19] That means that they can be organized by "small groups of purposeful people," with a usage of new communication technologies.

Another crucial topic taken under consideration by "The Economist's" editors is a question of future outcomes of these protests ("this ready supply of broad, fair-weather activism may vanish as fast as it appeared."[20]) To answer that question it is necessary to follow the general trajectory of protests which started in 2011. The protests took two tracks. On the one hand, attention was paid to the protesters associated with the intensifying economic crisis, in most industrialized countries like USA or EU states (Occupy Wall Street Movement and Indignados). On the other hand, we faced a lot of comments connected with Arab Spring. Currently, a lot of media attention is attracted

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consent for state propaganda. This model is about to measure how populations (mainly based on the US example) are manipulated and how consent for various policies is "manufactured" in the public mind due to this form of propaganda. Herman and Chomsky point out five main mass media "filters" which influence information's shape: (1) ownership of the medium, (2) medium's funding sources, (3) sourcing, (4) flak, (5) anti-communism (during the Cold War Era) and fear ideology; (Herman, Chomsky 1988).

17   It is important to notice that Delacroix's painting was a tribute to the July Revolution of 1830, but on "The Economist's" cover it is symbolically associated with the year 1848 (Editors' note - EK).

18   Bendyk 2013: 7-18. The reference to these visualizations has been found in Edwin Bendyk's introduction to Polish edition of Paul Mason's book *Why it's kicking off so hard* (*Skąd ten Bunt*, Warszawa 2013).

19   The Economist 2013.

20   The Economist 2013.

by Ukraine or Venezuela, but those cases will not be analyzed in this article. If we were to find the cause of protests we should also highlight two trajectories. In the case of EU and United States we could surely point out such influential factors like: (1) the economic crisis (which caused the increasing level of unemployment); (2) precarization process which is the hybrid of few notions, including: (a) sense of relative deprivation: new generations feel that their position on the labor market is less stable than the position of their parents ("Some would call that envy, but to be surrounded and constantly bombarded with the trappings of material success and the celebrity culture is bound to induce seething resentment"[21]), (b) alienation (which "arises from knowing that what one is doing is not for one's own purpose or for what one could respect or appreciate; it is simply done for others, at their behest"[22]) and (c) status discord ("people with a relatively high level of formal education, who have to accept jobs that have a status or income beneath what they believe accord with their qualifications, are likely to suffer from status frustration" [23]), that, as Guy Standing concludes results with "anger, anomie, anxiety and alienation."[24] We can also mention such factors like (3) lack of trust in traditional government institutions, (4) belief in modern democracy's superficiality. However, compared with the Arab countries, social and economic inequalities are smaller. The causes of protests among the Arab Spring Muslim countries could be: poverty and bad economic situation of a large part of citizens, social disparities - between those "in power" and "the people;" undemocratic regime , sense of "objective"[25] deprivation - due to globalization and the Internet they can reach the information on the conditions of living abroad easier.

CAUGHT UP IN THE NETWORK — A VARIABLES' SELECTION

In order to analyze the features of recent social movements more comprehensively we decided to specify a few dimensions which both describe

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21   Standing 2011: 19.

22   Standing 2011: 20.

23   Standing 2011: 10.

24   Standing 2011: 19-24.

25   To contrast it with Guy Standing's term relative deprivation. This concept will be developed in the next parts of the article (Editors' note - EK).

its uniqueness and point out some differences between these two waves of protest.

(1) According to Manuel Castells view on The Network Societies, the network form of society organization will be a basic one. Contemporary communities differently organize their life and relations. Development of modern telecommunication technology is considered an important factor of that change. It can influence the breakdown of traditional forms of human interaction. What is more, we can assume that power is now more multidimensional and tends to be organized around networks, which are programmed into every area of human life, naturally representing the agenda of the actors with a strong position. But the main assumption is that if the power is exercised by network programming, then when we want to give some resistance we need to re-programme its basis.[26]

(2) The polarization of social divisions: in countries of the Arab Spring, there is a significant difference between urban and rural residents (generally between relatively young, well-educated people and poorest classes of society). The first are longing for ideas and freedom, the second – symbolically – for bread. While the first are very literate on new technologies and social media, the second can be even completely illiterate.[27] In the Indignados or Occupy Wall Street case, the protesters also emphasized the difference between the symbolic 99% percent of the population and 1% of the owners of capital, affecting and influencing the power.

(3) We can perform a theoretical experiment, in which we can compare and develop the term popularized by Guy Standing – the relative deprivation, mentioned previously, with a state we can call an "objective deprivation." The first one is associated with the countries of the rich North. This term coined by Guy Standing, refers to the sense of danger associated with the growing precariousness of work relations, and certainly functioning in less stable system of employment than one enjoyed by protesters' parents.[28] Obviously, we have to mention that stability was then based on various exclusions, but that does not change the fact that the sense of relative deprivation enhances the sense of frustration in young generations. What is more, free-

market capitalism discourses were feeding the educated youth with the key-word which is "success." Today, many of them are doomed to unemployment. They also observe a mismatch in the labor market stemming from the fact that work put in skill and knowledge building is not matched by actual position on the labor market. The "objective deprivation"[29] can then be associated with the legacy of globalization and new media, which fell into the hands of Arab Spring protesters that have access to the Internet and new technologies (from a few to several percent). By becoming acquainted with the conditions of life in highly developed countries they have also met frustration, but due to the slightly different reasons.

(4) Egalitarism vs elitarism – access to new technology tools - in the case of highly developed countries it is easier to talk about democratizing role of new media. With an access to new social platforms the people have the opportunity to express their views. The main threat is that in non-democratic countries the government can learn how to control the net quite quickly. According to Paul Mason it can take them about two years.[30] New media can also be a platform for social groups which have been oppressed or discriminated against.[31]

(5) Horizontalism – according to Paul Mason, the lack of "leaders of the revolutions" resulted with the situation in which media were looking for people who could provide them with information or legitimize the protests. So they have been contacting popular bloggers like: Wael Ghonim, Slim Amamou, or Ceyda Sungu (Turkish girl "in the red dress" presented on a numerous photographs, who has become the symbol of Istanbul protests."[32]). Moreover, that horizontalism can lead to the "tyranny" of consensus, which can be the cause for some of the movements to remain "unproductive" and not able to articulate their demands.

BETWEEN FUNCTIONALISM AND DETERMINISM

The above-mentioned variables, based primarily on empirical examples, should be considered in the context of future-oriented concepts, in which new media are the main axis. Therefore, we decided to confront

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26   Castells 2013: 13-31.

27   Mason 2013: 254-293.

28   This comparison was made to highlight basically different roots of the protests in US and UE and these connected with the "Arab Spring." (Editors' note - EK)

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29   Mason 2013: 254-293.

30   Mason 2013: 254-293.

31   The theories on optimistic/pessimistic vision of new media will be developed in next section of the article.

32   Hudson 2013.

the concept which arises from the media determinism (particularly, hybrid society by Manuel Castells) with a critical look at the concept of cyber-utopianism (according to Evgeny Morozov assumptions explained in his famous book The Net Delusion. The Dark Side of Internet Freedom). Both frames will be useful when creating an outline of scenarios. According to Denis McQuail's functionalist theory of media, specific media features constitute the basis for: (1) integration and cooperation, (2) mobilization, (3) adaptation to change, (4) maintenance of order, control and stability, (5) control of social tension (6) the continuity of culture and values.[33] It is worth noting that both the potential for mobilization and for integration/cooperation have been reflected in numerous recent expressions of social protests and manifestations. Example of Twitter Revolution, which was the common name of Iranian election protests (2009-2010) or Egyptian Revolution of 2011, can be recalled in this context. These features together with the ability to adapt to changes may locate the media in the position of accelerator in the democratization processes.

> **" BY ISOLATING THE MEDIA FROM THEIR ENVIRONMENT OR BY COMBINING MEDIA TECHNOLOGIES EXCLUSIVELY WITH SELECTED ELEMENTS OF THE ENVIRONMENT, PROPONENTS OF MEDIA DETERMINISM PROVIDE UNVERIFIABLE HYPOTHESES AND PREDICTIONS**

While analyzing the social and political functions of new media, it is essential to have in mind the assumptions and conclusions situated in the framework of technological determinism. Media determinism[34] is usually considered as its component. It has been developed, as a concept, by Marshall McLuhan and contained in his recognizable aphorism: "the medium is also the message."[35] This perspective leads to the simplistic conclusion that majority of social and political transformations is influenced directly by media processes and by empowered positions reached by citizens/participators in their course.

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33   McQuail 2006.
34   Media determinism, according to Oxford Reference is: "A synonym for technological determinism as applied to claims about the 'impact' of new media technologies on society, institutions, groups, and/or individuals." (Editors' note - AF)
35   Arendholz 2013.

McLuhan recognizes media as isolated, independent of the social, political and economic background, denominations, leaving aside the question of political control and influence on the structures of media. As a consequence, media determinism admits the role of total medium and absolute primacy not only at the level of the structure, but also at the level of the content and method of its formation. By isolating the media from their environment (including the cultural codes and common access to technology) or by combining media technologies exclusively with selected elements of the environment, proponents of media determinism provide unverifiable hypotheses and predictions. These contradictions have become the subject of criticism submitted by Mentor Cana, who shows where to look for the main center of impact: "(…) these distinctive properties and functions are manifestations of attributes, properties and functions that have been imbedded (via mediation processes) within themselves as a result of the complex construction process where context and socio-economic and political force play decisive role alongside technological innovations."[36]

It is worth noting that the current assumptions (including Manuel Castells' analysis), developed on the basis of media determinism, are often referred to as soft determinism or critical media determinism. They are not isolating the media from the processes of social/political physiology. On the contrary they include selected elements of media milieu in the examination and ascribe them an influential role.

NETWORKS OF OUTRAGE AND HOPE AS A CYBER-SOCIAL CONCEPT BY MANUEL CASTELLS

When it comes to the critical, but also supporting, insight into the new media and technology involved in social structure, it is worth to highlight Manuel Castell's observations and research from the mid-1990s: "Technology does not determine society. Nor does society script the course of technological change (…) the final outcome depends on a complex pattern of interaction. Indeed the dilemma of technological determinism is probably a false problem, since technology is society and society cannot be understood without its technological tools."[37]

Although initially considered "soft determinist," in his latest book Networks of Outrage and Hope. Social Movements in the Internet Age, the Catalan researcher claims, that social media platforms became the space of autonomy, beyond the control of states or corporations. One of his original

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36   Cana 2003.
37   Castells 1996: 5.

models, called individualized mass communication, covers the use of the Internet and its platforms as a space of digital communication. In that model the communication is massive on the level of transmission of messages from many to many with the possibility of inclusion of an infinite number of network connections. At the same time it is individualized, because the message is created independently and the research process occurs by personal selection. These characteristics allow to achieve autonomy of the social actors and, in consequence, the autonomy of communication, which is considered by Castells as the essence of democratic social movements' activity.[38]

The next level of this concept is the hybrid public space constructed among the internet social media services and occupied urban spaces, connected by intense interactions between its users. Castells points out that modern multimodal, digital, horizontal networks became the most efficient, independent and interactive medium in history. Thanks to networking the risk of repression for social movement's activists is reduced, the movement passes from the local level to the global dimension and the self-reflexivity of its members is improved.

According to Castells, information and communication is the nucleus in the construction of social movements. Higher level of interaction and the efficient dissemination of information, as well as experiences would ensure the accomplishment of utopian model of uniquely democratic and equity based group. How information (understood as experience, political postulate, etc.) is constructed, distributed and then modified determines the shape of movement's power and identity. It is worth considering whether a hybrid public space would lead to the creation of hybrid democracy with the privileged position of social movements or would it rather provoke the fragmentation of social activity.

THE CRITIQUE OF CYBER-UTOPIANISM OR SKEPTICAL APPROACH BY EVGENY MOROZOV

Deeply emancipatory properties of online communication and the statement that social development, supported and stimulated by Internet tools, would enable the expression of whole range of attitudes and (what is more peculiar) would favor minorities and persecuted forms the basic structure of cyber-utopianism. The excitement about the liberating potential of the Internet and Internet-centrism in political dimension were examined by Evgeny Morozov in his renowned book The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom (2011).

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38   Castells 2011.

A particular form of media ecosystem in which traditional media, such as newspapers or radio, draw from new media sources and vice versa, may generate (according to Morozov) redundancy, information chaos and loss of original message content.[39] It also leads to the game of context which is the result of information's brevity and transfer rate. When speaking about Twitter Revolutions it is essential to stress that Twitter, as a platform, is a tool of quite limited impact. First of all, it enables users to send and read "tweets" limited to 140-characters, putting the message out of context. Secondly, Twitter users – often young, educated citizens interested in new technologies –do not represent the full cross-section of the society. Moreover, Morozov emphasizes that we should consider – parallel to Maslow's hierarchy of needs – the hierarchy of cyber needs.[40] It would situate entertainment and communication at its bottom and the political and social commitment at its top as a luxury need. The Internet is a neutral tool the use of which is dependent on many factors and cannot be reduced to obvious liberating employment.

Another critical aspect, related to the democratization role of online communication, is the concept of authoritarian discussion. In authoritarian regimes the online discussion may strengthen the regime and its legitimacy. The encouragement for discussion and blogging reveals the sort of information, which may be crucial for the regime (personal data of organization's members, networks, etc.) while the online referenda allow to shift the responsibility to the citizens.[41] For example, the Thai authorities used "crowdsourcing" model of authoritarian discussion by encouraging local Internet users to gather and submit for review URLs of sites which are offensive for the king.[42] This statement introduces the last crucial point which associates online content's high susceptibility to manipulation with new opportunities for regime's propaganda.[43] The possible use of Internet tools' political potential may lead to the creation of various versions of the Internet, including national and local models of Internet or Spinternet.[44] It may also affect the differences in information stratification and conflicts.

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39   Morozov 2011.
40   Morozov 2009.
41   Morozov 2011: 103-105.
42   The site named ProtectTheKing.net is a primary point for the collection of offensive URLs.
43   Morozov 2011.
44   Spinternet is, according to Morozov, a Web with little censorship but lots of spin and propaganda which reinforces the ideological supremacy of the government. (Morozov 2011: 117).

THE THREAT OF SLACKTIVISM? – SEVERAL SCENARIOS

"This ready supply of broad, fair-weather activism may vanish as fast as it appeared. That was the fate of the Occupy protesters, who pitched camp in Western cities in 2011. This time, however, the protests are fed by deep discontent. Egypt is suffering from the disastrous failure of government at every level. Protest there has become a substitute for opposition. In Europe the fight is over how to shrink the state. Each time the cuts reach a new target—most recently, Greece's national broadcaster—they trigger another protest."[45]

The final question which we would like to ask concerns the future fate of new social movements. Are they a new path towards wider societal change or just plain sparks which disappear as fast as they have appeared? One of the most crucial points is the threat of slacktivism or armchair activism – the form of activism in which "activists and advocacy groups trying to get attention for particular causes increasingly rely on social media as a means of building support for their causes."[46] Although social media mobilization can be a good starting point for protest movements or increase awareness, "these activities pose a minimal cost to participants."[47] Stepping towards a big societal change would demand more engagement. What is more, on the one hand – as some theoreticians claim – we are heading towards new societal paradigm. The fragmentation of information and its diversity can result in rejection of hermetic ideology, such as conservatism, communism etc. But unrestricted access to many sources of information in times of crisis can also be a fertile ground for radical and populist movements. There is also a question of relations between the state and protest movements, or rather, to be more precise, of the scope of information control performed by various governments.

Beyond doubt, the Internet content – created and received by many participants – is not and will not be an universal transmitter due to the limitations imposed by cultural, social or lingual codes. Therefore, there is a possibility of fragmentation of the network and the emergence of highly specialized sub-networks or the increase of the level of information proletariat and, as a consequence, social and – in the longer term – political polarization.[48]

The potential emergence of hybrid democracy (proven at some level during Iceland's consultations on constitution), based on Castell's hybrid public space concept, may encounter the same difficulties as the earliest mechanisms of direct democracy: participants' lack of competence, potential for populism or low efficiency inter alia.[49] Therefore, analyzes and forecasts applied to social movements in the context of online communication environment require incorporation of the model of deliberative democracy. This vision of democracy has been practiced and discussed by Indignados movement and is specifically based on the discursive, open, active exchange of ideas and solutions in common spaces, real and virtual.[50] The use of new media greatly expands this double space and facilitates access to the forum. Probably, in this approach we are dealing with double use of media: as a transmitter, but also as a potential platform for generating ideas.

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The emergence of new media certainly broadened access to information. Knowledge ceased to be a priceless commodity. Interaction models have changed, forms of social interactions and approach to the hierarchy have been reshaped. Recent protests have, without a doubt, been based on a new communication models. However, a lot of researchers – both those less and more skeptical of the role of new media – assume, that they have also revolutionized the ways of human interactions. While reaching for a substantial change and reconstruction of social order new organizations need also to profoundly reprogram their communication model.

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