# Fractal Leadership

# Digital Activism and Society: Politics, Economy and Culture in Network Communication

The Digital Activism and Society: Politics, Economy and Culture in Network Communication series focuses on the political use of digital everyday-networked media by corporations, governments, international organisations (Digital Politics), as well as civil society actors, NGOs, activists, social movements and dissidents (Digital Activism) attempting to recruit, organise and fund their operations, through information communication technologies

The series publishes books on theories and empirical case studies of digital politics and activism in the specific context of communication networks. Topics covered by the series include, but are not limited to

- the different theoretical and analytical approaches of political communication in digital networks:
- studies of sociopolitical media movements and activism (and 'hacktivism');
- transformations of older topics such as inequality, gender, class, power, identity and group belonging;
- strengths and vulnerabilities of social networks.

#### Series Editor

Professor Athina Karatzogianni

### **About the Series Editor**

**Athina Karatzogianni** is Professor of Media and Communication at the University of Leicester. Her research looks at media theory, global politics and resistance networks.

### **Published Books in This Series**

Digital Materialism: Origins, Philosophies, Prospects by Baruch Gottlieb

Nirbhaya, New Media and Digital Gender Activism by Adrija Dey

Digital Life on Instagram: New Social Communication of Photography by Elisa Serafinelli

Internet Oligopoly: The Corporate Takeover of Our Digital World by Nikos Smyrnaios

Digital Activism and Cyberconflicts in Nigeria: Occupy Nigeria, Boko Haram and MEND by Shola A. Olabode

Platform Economics: Rhetoric and Reality in the "Sharing Economy" by Cristiano Codagnone, Athina Karatzogianni and Jacob Matthews

Communication as Gesture: Media(tion), Meaning, & Movement by Michael Schandorf

Chinese Social Media: Face, Sociality, and Civility by Shuhan Chen and Peter Lunt

Posthumanism in Digital Culture: Cyborgs, Gods and Fandom by Callum T.F. McMillan

Media, Technology and Education in a Post-Truth Society: From Fake News, Datafication and Mass Surveillance to the Death of Trust by Alex Grech

3D Printing Cultures, Politics and Hackerspaces by Leandros Savvides

Environmental Security in Greece: Perceptions from Industry, Government, NGOs and the Public by Charis(Harris) Gerosideris

Fantasy, Neoliberalism and Precariousness: Coping Strategies in the Cultural Industries by Jérémy Vachet

Crisis Communication in China: Strategies Taken by the Chinese Government and Online Public Opinion by Wei Cui

Digital Politics, Digital Histories, Digital Futures: New Approaches for Historicising, Politicising and Imagining the Digital by Adi Kuntsman and Liu Xin

Digital Memory in Brazil: A Fragmented and Elastic Negationist Remembrance of the Dictatorship by Leda Balbino

Duty to Revolt: Transnational and Commemorative Aspects of Revolution by George Souvlis and Athina Karatzogianni

Organisation and Governance Using Algorithms by Ioannis Avramopoulos

## **Forthcoming Title**

Massively Marginal: Kuaishou as China's Subaltern Platform by Dino Ge Zhang, Jian Xu and Gabriele de Seta

This page intentionally left blank

# Fractal Leadership: Ideologisation from the 1960s to Contemporary Social Movements

BY

### ATHINA KARATZOGIANNI

University of Leicester, UK

**AND** 

**JACOB MATTHEWS** 

Université Paris 8, France



Emerald Publishing Limited Emerald Publishing, Floor 5, Northspring, 21-23 Wellington Street, Leeds LS1 4DL

First edition 2024

Copyright © 2024 Athina Karatzogianni and Jacob Matthews. Published under exclusive licence by Emerald Publishing Limited.

#### Reprints and permissions service

Contact: www.copyright.com

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without either the prior written permission of the publisher or a licence permitting restricted copying issued in the UK by The Copyright Licensing Agency and in the USA by The Copyright Clearance Center. Any opinions expressed in the chapters are those of the authors. Whilst Emerald makes every effort to ensure the quality and accuracy of its content, Emerald makes no representation implied or otherwise, as to the chapters' suitability and application and disclaims any warranties, express or implied, to their use.

#### **British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data**

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-83797-109-1 (Print) ISBN: 978-1-83797-108-4 (Online) ISBN: 978-1-83797-110-7 (Epub)



# Contents

Chapter 1	Introduction	Ι
Chapter 2	Movement Leadership in Context: 1960s to Present Day	11
Chapter 3	Ideologisation, Organisational Structure and Biotech-Labour Processes in Fractal Leadership Emergence	65
Chapter 4	Internal Leadership: Form and Mediation	115
Chapter 5	External Leadership: Conflict and Alliance	147
Chapter 6	From Horizontal Aspirations to Fractal Leadership	181
Bibliography		195
Index		213