



WIKIPEDIA, WORK AND CAPITALISM

A Realm of Freedom?

Arwid Lund



Dynamics of
Virtual Work

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Technological change has transformed where people work, when and how. Digitisation of information has altered labour processes out of all recognition whilst telecommunications have enabled jobs to be relocated globally. ICTs have also enabled the creation of entirely new types of 'digital' or 'virtual' labour, both paid and unpaid, shifting the borderline between 'play' and 'work' and creating new types of unpaid labour connected with the consumption and co-creation of goods and services. This affects private life as well as transforming the nature of work and people experience the impacts differently depending on their gender, their age, where they live and what work they do. Aspects of these changes have been studied separately by many different academic experts however up till now a cohesive overarching analytical framework has been lacking. Drawing on a major, high-profile COST Action (European Cooperation in Science and Technology) Dynamics of Virtual Work, this series will bring together leading international experts from a wide range of disciplines including political economy, labour sociology, economic geography, communications studies, technology, gender studies, social psychology, organisation studies, industrial relations and development studies to explore the transformation of work and labour in the Internet Age. The series will allow researchers to speak across disciplinary boundaries, national borders, theoretical and political vocabularies, and different languages to understand and make sense of contemporary transformations in work and social life more broadly. The book series will build on and extend this, offering a new, important and intellectually exciting intervention into debates about work and labour, social theory, digital culture, gender, class, globalisation and economic, social and political change.

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Wikipedia, Work and Capitalism

A Realm of Freedom?

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For Jenny Salmson

Preface

This book has been with me for some time. Since 2009, the general idea has been to investigate what kind of emancipatory potentials exist in the digitally mediated world. Peer production, voluntary social production mediated by digital networks and platforms, and Wikipedia are phenomena that evoke new social imaginaries and visions. But I was not sure about the participants' political thoughts, in a broad sense, about their activities and projects, and in order to know more I chose to study the Swedish language-version of Wikipedia.

The result that you now hold in your hands (or read on a screen) has the ambition to provide a platform for more concrete, better informed, and also deeper discussions on emerging new forms of commons-based "politics" in the intersection of evolving productive forces and changing social relations of production. This book is of interest to all people, students and scholars, who have an interest in digital communities and new trends within political economy, as, for example, users' productive and unpaid activities on digital platforms. Scholars and activists with an interest in critical theory can find new ideas in the text about how to reinvigorate a critical theory that today runs the risk of being co-opted by the same capitalism it started out to criticise; state agencies and non-governmental organizations, with an interest in open data and open knowledge, can study the experiences from Wikipedia's cooperations with the GLAM (Galleries, Libraries, Archives, and Museums) sector;

and, more generally, all fan-producers and peer producers can hopefully find new thoughts and perspectives on the motivations for participation, and on the political consequences, both already existing and potential ones, of their productive activities. Also the Wikipedian community can get some input from the study to internal discussions about the project and its future development and character, especially when it comes to questions regarding professionalisation, wage labour and cooperation with state agencies and companies.

The study consists of two major parts. The first part, Chaps. 1, 2, 3, and 4, introduces the subject of the study and gives a historical, theoretical and methodological background to it. The second part, Chaps. 5, 6, and 7, engages in an ideology analysis of the statements of eight interviewed informants, and one public lecture about the making of Wikipedia.

Many people have contributed to the project throughout the years. I am heavily indebted to the former colleagues at the Department of ALM (Archives, Libraries and Museums) at Uppsala University, but without the COST-network and the working group *Dynamics of Virtual Work*, headed by Ursula Huws, there would not have been a book at all. COST offered a Short-Term Scientific Mission at University of Westminster, and much of the study's theoretical and methodological underpinnings took shape during this stay in London, thanks to the intense theoretical discussions at the CAMRIseminar. My gratitude also goes to the informants who so generously gave me of their precious time.

And finally, as always, my love to Jenny, Viktoria and Vera, who stood by me through good and bad times.

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List of Abbreviations

API	Application Programming Interface
ARPA	Advanced Research Projects Agency
CPR	Common-Pool Resources
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
FOSS	Free and Open Source Software
FSF	Free Software Foundation
GPL	General Public License
GNU	GNU's Not Unix!
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
NE	Nationalencyklopedin/Swedish National Encyclopaedia
OSI	Open Source Initiative
PPL	Peer Production License
PPP	Peer Production Project
RAÄ/SNHB	Riksentikvarieämbetet/Swedish National Heritage Board
SOPA	Stop Online Piracy Act

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1

Introduction

Playbour, what kind of a strange bird is this? Does it exist at all, or is it only a fantasy? Should it be desired or avoided? Does it have any relatives?

Metaphors are difficult to use. Concepts' relation to the signified are even more difficult. This study focuses on productive activities in digital networks and on digital platforms that are often described as pleasurable, creative and playful. The actual concept of playbour was first launched by the gaming theorist Julian Kücklich in an article about the growing gaming industry, its capital concentration and increasing number of players who are no longer satisfied with consuming games but would rather produce their own games using tools made available by the gaming industry or when these are not available, create their own tools. He pointed out that “computer game modification” or “modding” was not only an important part of gaming culture but also increasingly acted as a value-creating source (Kücklich 2005). At the same time, play is usually defined as a non-instrumental and spontaneous activity, while work creating use value and value-creating labour, controlled by alien interests, are instrumental and in the latter case exploitative. The blend of the two concepts play and labour says a good deal about the perspective of those who use it: playbour contains the idea of a playful capitalism.

My interest in the underlying ideas for this study began to take shape around 2007 when people spoke about Web 2.0 and user generated content as an aggregation of information, different broadcasting models and interactive rooms (Tkacz 2010, p. 41; Lindgren 2014, p. 612). Synergies were discovered throughout the digital part of the economy. Ideas reverted essentially to what in the 1990s was referred to as *the new economy*, or *the Californian ideology* (Barbrook and Cameron 1995; Kelly 1997, 1998). It was then, in the 1990s, that the ban was lifted on commercialism on the Internet and a young generation of 20- to 30-year-olds started micro enterprises in the “empty frontier space opened by internet commercialization” (Terranova 2010, pp. 153–54). Enormous amounts of capital were invested in the resulting gold-rush, in a form of generalised gambling. The capital was used to finance labour cultures or ‘ludic cultures’ which were very different from earlier similar cultures. The new cultures were based on a counterculture that went back to the birth of the personal computer around 1980 (Terranova 2010, pp. 153–54).

Since then, in urban environments at the forefront of the economy, a no-collar mentality and working style similar to a bohemian artist has thrived, characterised by Andrew Ross as a pariah for the nine-to-five world. The new informal attitude dated back to the 68-generation protests against the assembly line and a refusal to act as machines. Culture was influenced by the non-traditional habits of computer programmers and the main labour tool was the computer and the new information technology. For these so-called digital artisans, who like post-industrialist advocates in the 1970s saw technology as key rather than class conflict to worker freedom, free time and labour time became blurred and the dotcom entrepreneur developed new forms of self-education and self-exploitation (Florida 2002; Ross 2004, pp. 10–11; Terranova 2010, p. 154).¹ “Communism’s utopian aspirations could, it was claimed, be realized without conflict, within the boundaries of capitalism through social media self-organization” (Dyer-Witthoford 2015, p. 9). Cybernetics would abolish class society and wage relations were complemented by

¹ In addition to digital artisans, the concept of *digerati* is used, with the connotation that the creative digital craftsman also has an unconventional and alternative lifestyle in relation to traditional corporate culture.

more income from interest-bearing stock activities and options in companies' futures (Terranova 2010, p. 154).

Wired editor Kevin Kelly saw Moore's and Metcalfe's laws concerning computer performance and the value of networks as highly important. The value of these network effects was added to the value of IT firms towards the end of the 1990s which increased exponentially until the crash.² Kelly believed it was communication between computers, rather than the actual computers, which was important in the new *network economy*, together with innovations. The power came from the surplus in the network effects, where more nodes and increased use resulted in a growth in value. In the network economy, marginal costs were shrinking and industrial objects would eventually be subject to "the law of plentitude" (Kelly 1997; Wikipedia-bidragsgivare 2013).³ Kelly's seventh law stipulated that different services became more valuable the more "plentiful" they were, in combination with them becoming better and more valuable the cheaper they became, which meant the most valuable was that which was given away (Kelly 1997). In this new economy, there were no longer conflicts but all the more rent income from advertising.

The form of network plays a central ideological role. There is a close, almost organic, relation between the digital discourse and neo-liberalism. Eran Fisher compares Friedrich Hayek's teachings with Kelly's book and articles in the magazine *Wired*. The concepts of spontaneous order and chaos transcend the gap between the two. The spontaneous order is already present in Smith's concept of the invisible hand, but Hayek criticises the emphasis in neoclassicism of balance in favour of the idea that markets always exist in imbalance and is in a constant process of discovery. Both the digital discourse and neo-liberalism look upon spontaneous order as involved in a constant flux and recommend flexibility, laissez-faire and that the state should relinquish the civil society. Periods of economic turbulence are interpreted as if the market is part of a benign and progressive process, where the old is replaced by the new. The digital discourse surpasses even neo-liberal arguments by linking these with

² Moore's law: Performance is doubled every 24 months; Metcalfe's law: network value increases as a square of the number of nodes included.

³ *Bidragsgivare* is the Swedish word for "contributor".

network technology, by which capitalism is internalised and receives a technological covering, and by using a network form where entrepreneurs and labourers are portrayed as equal nodes on a horizontal plane, despite research showing that this is wrong (Fisher 2013, pp. 63, 69, 74–75, 81–82, 100, 130, 136).

The dotcom crash provided an excellent foundation for labour disciplining. Before the no-collar story began, it was believed among post-industrialists in the 1970s that “natural unemployment” was under 4 per cent, while the myth within the new economy implied that outsourced industrial production to peripheral areas of the global market could be replaced with high-quality white-collar jobs that were also open to blue-collar workers who retrained in the service sector. But for those who after the 2000 crash kept a job high up in the value chain, work became insecure with fixed-term contracts and regular redundancies as a reaction to market fluctuations in an environment that is essentially different from the time with low unemployment.⁴ Labour has today become more intensive within the framework of autonomy. And if exploitation of the early programming pioneers has been called *geeksploitation*, in the 00s an “industrialisation of bohemia” took place, which raises the question of the artisanal quality of the everyday situation for information labourers (Ross 2004, pp. vii–iii, 10). “Creative labour” has a contradictory position in today’s economy. Capital has a need for a continuous flow of new creative ideas that is difficult to combine with an equal need for intellectual property and control of the labour force. Labour has to find a contradictory balance between the desire to self-expression, acknowledgement, and need for livelihood (Huws 2014, p. 101). “Creative labourers” today fulfil different roles within capital’s restructuring of the value chain: inventing new products, customising and product improvement for different purposes and markets, contributing content to different media, educating and providing information to the public, and developing new systems and productive processes within production (Huws 2014, pp. 106–9).

Nick Dyer-Witheford takes this line of reasoning and the idea of neo-liberal globalisation one step further and states that today’s *Weltgesamtarbeiter*, the world total labourer, is different from yesterday’s

⁴ Fluctuations that have been driven by financial capital and increasingly demanding shareholders.

world total labourer as a result of the degree of systematic connection that exists between individual jobs. Contemporary collective labour is transnationalised, colourfully nuanced (due to complex labour division), feminist through its integration of women in both paid and non-paid work in the home, mobile and migratory within and between countries, precarious as a result of a chronic reserve force of unemployed and part-time, fixed-term employees, the cause of an environmental and climate crisis, and, finally, intertwined by “2 billion internet accounts and 6 billion cell phones” (Dyer-Witheford 2014, p. 166). The labour unit is no longer a factory, not even the social factory, but rather the planetary factory. For the world total labourer the global value chain, just as the assembly line for the mass labourer, is the technical foundation for a new class composition (Dyer-Witheford 2014, pp. 166–67)⁵:

In its ur-form the value-chain headquartered research, design, and marketing in the high-wage areas of the global economy, subcontracted manufacturing, assembly, and back-end office functions in new industrialized territories, where they could be rapidly scaled up or down with market fluctuations, and sent mining and waste disposal to abyssal sacrifice zones. (Dyer-Witheford 2014, p. 167)

The entire process illustrates three ways that Marx pointed out as having an adverse relation to the law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall.⁶

Optimism continued flowing within the Californian ideology and almost everything was win-win. The new economy was recalibrated after the crash in 2001. It signalled the end of variations of old pre-digital business models. Instead, concepts such as the social web appeared and the general idea was to create worlds of social relations based on digital platforms

⁵The concepts of mass labourer (mass worker) and class composition are covered in more detail in Chap. 4.

⁶George Caffentzis summarises Marx’s account in *Capital* volume three with three possible methods to counteract the tendency of the rate of profit to fall by *increasing the mass of extracted surplus value* by raising the intensity of labour or by extending the working day, *decreasing the mass of variable capital* by cutting wages and increasing external trade, or *reducing the mass of constant capital* by increasing productivity and external trade. Different combinations can be used and there is no definite capitalist strategy with regard to breaking various types of labour struggle. “These struggles can lead to many futures” (Caffentzis 2013, pp. 72–73).

and environments that attracted large groups of users (Terranova 2010, p. 155). The digital network, with its platforms, is still highly cherished and we have even more names for it: *creative industries*, *intellectual property industries*, *experiential economies*, and *attention economies* (Davenport and Beck 2001; Florida 2002; Rifkin 2000). Ursula Huws describes the “creative labourers” altered attitudes as being very committed to labour. Making a reference to Marx, she stress that the focus on solving problems is liberating in itself. Elements of really free labour are here involved and the individual’s goals substitute for external goals for a short while. This extra motive for labour cannot be controlled by the disciplining need for a livelihood, which complicates the capital (wage) relation that has to be designed in many different ways, using many different forms of control. This also means that the labourer can have a sensation of loss when capital assumes the ownership of the productive result: “The experience of expropriation may come as a recurring shock”. Simultaneously the risk for failure in the creative process is always lurking around the corner (Huws 2014, pp. 110–11, 118–21). Labour’s strong card in relation to capital is that the labourers are not easily exchangeable and have to be offered some freedom, but on the other side the life span of a new idea is not long (Huws 2014, pp. 112–13, 121).

All of this was not initially clear to me, but the relationship between pleasurable play and what Marx refers to as *abstract labour* was problematised in several critical studies from the period, which I found interesting.⁷ The studies noted conflicts within commercial projects *crowdsourcing* of fan-subculture activities (Coleman and Dyer-Witheford 2007; Dyer-Witheford and De Peuter 2005; Dyer-Witheford and Sharman 2005; Grimes 2006; Kline et al. 2003).⁸ There had for the past decade also been a smaller conflict within the hacker community that split what Pekka Himanen referred to as hacker ethics, and the potential hacker politics, into two parts (Himanen 2001). The movement for *free software* and the movement for *open software* differ in their relationship towards

⁷ Abstract labour will in this study be called labour or sometimes wage labour. The concept refers in part to the value-producing labour of products sold for their value in exchange on the market and will also be used in another meaning to designate commercial activities focusing on value exchange and value realisation.

⁸ The concept crowdsourcing was launched by Jeff Howe in 2006.

commercial applications and enclosings of the open and free source code, though both are based on what is known as *peer production*—a term I use in this case study of Wikipedia. New forms of voluntary cooperation, but with differing degrees of autonomy, resulted in different relations to capitalism and its logics.

The classic division in Western Europe, from the ancient slave economy to capitalism's *Fordist* phase, between play and work; leisure time and working hours, has changed.⁹ Some believe it is no longer possible to distinguish between them, others protest against this type of understanding, while another group believe it is about a new form of subordination of labour under capital through self-control, or by using a manipulated form of play or *rationalised imitation* of this (Deleuze 1998; Söderberg 2008).

In the latter example, free and real play is seen in an emancipatory light. It is play in peer production and among hackers that provides power to contemporary working-class mutations and their new *cycle of struggles*.¹⁰ People strive after more of the happiness and the reduced feeling of alienation offered by play. Play expands the sphere of non-commodified relations by being different from labour, assuming that people have enough to eat, are in good health and not stressed, as well as including central elements without identifiable purpose. Playfulness not only expands but it also provides an opposition to be diminished (Kane 2004; Wark 2013, § 112 Endnotes). It is the participant in the peer production who is the new social worker with the potential to develop into a political subject with a praxis based on communal play that strengthens solidarity and creates new social needs (Söderberg 2008, pp. 112, 150, 153–56, 166–68, 182–83).

A hypothesis has been presented that there is a conflict between play in *peer production* that is characterised by non-instrumentality and capitalist production's instrumentality. Playfulness motivates hackers to take

⁹Fordism indicates a phase in the capitalist mode of production characterised by a strict division of "manual and intellectual labour". This was based on an extreme division of labour and fragmentation of the work process, planned and designed outside the control of the worker and implemented within a strict time frame. Henry Ford's assembly line constitutes an emblematic example.

¹⁰A cycle of struggles is a concept in autonomist Marxist theory that claims that class struggle, with the working class as an active subject, drives technical and social development.

part in peer production, as they want to move away from hierarchies and order issuing within the capitalist mode of production. Johan Söderberg develops the concept of *play struggle* and claims that as the hacker's play and labourer's work are as productive and important for capital then both will be disputed. But the conflict and struggle over play are different compared with those over labour in the workplace. There are two reasons that hackers could consider acquiring class awareness, despite a generalised lack of this in the community. *First*, play is itself a source of knowledge and collective forms of play strengthen solidarity between participants, in particular if play takes place within peer production, with relations characterised by both synergies and competition in relation to capitalism. *Second*, peer production could be exposed to repression from capitalist actors because of its destabilising impact on capitalism, which in turn can lead to a political struggle about issues of free information and open digital architectures (Söderberg 2008, pp. 156–57, 169–71). The attitude fits in with Paolo Virno's comment that the role of knowledge and social relations in contemporary cognitive capitalism can be seen as productive living labour, which has the potential to result in critical questions about wage labour and demands for citizen wages (basic income) in a discussion focusing on freedom of speech (Virno 1996b, pp. 266, 270–71). Privacy issues concerning personal integrity can be added to this.

Terranova contends that peer production explores the possibility of creating a commons economy based on these mechanisms and on an Internet that is autonomous but not necessarily antagonistic in relation to capital.¹¹ She maintains that the idea of evolution is key for what she calls P2P principles, which are often set against an antagonistic interpretation of social production in Marxism.

The evolutionist motif is preferred to antagonism and is used to sustain the possibility of thinking of the economy as an ecological system, that would allow for, at least at first, the coexistence of different forms of productive organization and social cooperation valorization that can coexist side by side, at least until the day when the success of P2P will render other forms of economic organization obsolete. (Terranova 2010, p. 157)

¹¹ She calls peer production for social production or peer-to-peer.

A problem with understanding peer production as a possibly competing mode of production in relation to capitalism is that most of economic theory deals only with capitalism. Neoclassical theory sees the outside of capitalism as an externality without value (Lehdonvirta and Castronova 2014, p. 143). The emerging theoretical P2P movement has done important pioneer work on commons-based peer production as something of positive value in its own right. It has discussed its sustainability as a mode of production both on a systemic and individual level (for the peer producers) within capitalism; it has introduced ideas regarding new licences, venture communes, (platform) cooperatives, and alternative currencies (Bauwens 2009, 2012; Bauwens and Kostakis 2014; Kleiner 2010; Kostakis and Bauwens 2014; Scholz 2016; Terranova and Fumagalli 2015). But the perspective lacks some of Marxism's insights into political economic history and the workings of capitalism. The disadvantages of the P2P movement's theoretical framework vis-à-vis Marxism have their roots in the evolutionist motif. This will be discussed further in Chap. 4.¹²

Why Wikipedia?

The peer production of free and open software has produced use values that compete with commercial exchange values and shown that people are not motivated only by economic self-interest. The peer production of Wikipedia differs from other open cooperative communities in ways that make the project important to analyse in order to obtain a better overall understanding of the place, influence and distribution within the societal economy of peer production. Unlike the development of free software, Wikipedia is largely based on the commitment of amateurs and non-professional participants. While voluntary programmers can use their interest to improve their career opportunities, this is “practically impossible” with Wikipedia according to Jemielniak (2014, pp. 3, 106–7).

¹²A Marxian critique of the P2P perspective's theoretical foundation is developed more extensively in an article in *Journal of Peer Production* (Lund 2017).

[W]riting encyclopedic articles is not a profession one could specialize or prove skills in. Thus, even though Wikipedians represent all kinds of professions, virtually none of them have professional experience in encyclopedia development, and their motivations to contribute are not job related. (Jemielniak 2014, p. 107)

The broad number of participants, largely comprising amateurs, who create an encyclopaedia, has turned a number of ingrained opinions about division of labour and specialisation upside down. Marx's idea that no one in the communist society has an exclusive occupation but instead can realise themselves in whatever sector they wish, appears to be slightly less impossible bearing Wikipedia in mind. Just as in Marx's vision where "well rounded" and "complete individuals" in a form of universal social combination transforms labour into a self-activity and phases out private property, with Wikipedia it is possible to do one thing today and another tomorrow; "to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, and criticise after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, shepherd or critic" (Marx and Engels 1998, pp. 53, 97). The project is not dependent on individual people, cooperation is mostly ad hoc across the closest available digital network (not forgetting *the digital divide* and global difference that still play a large role), which allows participants easily to scale the production of use values as reproduction cost of each copy nears zero.

Similar ideas have been put forward by Firer-Blaess and Fuchs who argue that Wikipedia has communist potentials "that are antagonistically entangled into capitalist class relations" (Firer-Blaess and Fuchs 2014, p. 99). Questions about how antagonistic the relationship is, within what time horizon and how important it is for the development of communism will all be touched upon in this study. Firer-Blaess and Fuchs are completely right in stating that Wikipedia with its practices and roots in info-communism is introduced into economic structures through info-capitalism's profit-driven infrastructure and the market for personal computers, through which a well-educated and global working class, with enough leisure time and knowledge, can contribute to the real, and not only ideological, realisation of info-communism. "The free knowledge production by Wikipedians is a force that is embedded into capitalism,

but to a certain degree transcends it at the same time. A new mode of production can develop within an old one” (Firer-Blaess and Fuchs 2014, p. 99). The concept of info-communism is used by them as largely synonymous with the concept of peer production. A focus on information does not exclude cooperation with other modes of productions in agriculture and industry. The perspective seems to see info-communism as a transition stage towards a dominant communism that is characterised by the fact that high-technological productivity enables a “post-scarcity society”, with an end to the tough and alienating labour and an opening towards creative intellectual labour for all people (Firer-Blaess and Fuchs 2014, p. 90).

One can at the same time question Jemielniak’s earlier claims about the lack of subject specialists and career opportunities at Wikipedia. The number of employees at the foundation and its national local chapters is continuously growing, at the same time as cooperations are formed with external institutions and businesses that contribute *variable capital* to the project. The number of hidden professional academics involved in the project is also unknown. This combination of a popular, radical, horizontal and voluntary collaboration and division of labour with increasing career opportunities and professionalism (in both a concrete and abstract sense) is inadequately researched and contains an insight that Wikipedia is a mode of production emerging within capitalism; a mode of production which will influence our social lives profoundly if it becomes dominant. It is Wikipedia’s potential and perceived influence on this societal collaboration, based on its characteristic of peer production and cooperation, and also the relation between the Wikipedians and capitalism, that form the basis of this study.

Wikipedia’s community is understood in this study as *one* community but not a homogeneous community. On a formal level, it is radically open and also rough at the edges, an openness that is also open to negotiation. Kostakis holds that the project uses “heterarchies” rather than strict hierarchies. Heterarchies admit multiple participant constellations that simultaneously are active in different and possible diverging directions (Kostakis 2010). The participants can at any moment choose to copy the database and initiate a project of their own. *Forks* have been given political importance as a means to reach consensus and deepen democracy, but

the strategy has been criticised by Nathaniel Tkacz. Theoretically, forks could lead to a radical form of separation where everybody is king in their own kingdom. At the same time, there is a gap between the will to break free and the difficulties of actually doing it without the right social and technological conditions. The difficulties in making a successful fork increase as projects grow (Tkacz 2015, pp. 136, 142–44, 149).

On the other side, the openness could also be reduced as a result of social exclusion mechanisms and technical restrictions such as *flagged revisions* and demands for participant registration, which have been tested by some language versions in recent years.

There is an assumed core in the project where the motive for involvement is centred on the creation of an encyclopaedia, but there are also activities that are mainly social (or even antisocial), and activities that are primarily focused on the individual economic interest, present. Groupings for specific projects and topics are formed and similarly disappear over time. Wikipedians form a community that is multifaceted and in constant motion. In this perspective, I find support in the latest decade's discussion about *the multitude*, in contrast to industrial capitalism's and Fordism's *people* or *mass*, and also in contrast to the central Marxist category of class (Hardt and Negri 2000, 2004). Where the boundaries for this multitude are drawn is no easy question, rather a political question. Are some of the commercial actors, who are on the margins of Wikipedia's peer production, part of the community? A similar uncertainty is inherent in the value of thinking in terms of class and classes, which is further complicated by new social relations concerning the means of production, with a form of common ownership by a non-profit foundation in combination with a commons-based peer production.¹³

¹³See explanatory discussions on commons, commons-based peer production, and the copyleft principle, in the section "Commons and the Return of Formal Subsumption" in Chap. 4, and in the section on the informational relation between Wikipedia and companies in Chap. 6. In short, the copyleft licence allows the free access, reproduction, adaptation and distribution of licenced works and derivative works dependent upon them. But the licence requires that the distribution of copies and derivative works are conducted under the same copyleft licence (and clearly marked so). This is important both for Wikipedia's mode of producing and its relation to capitalism as a mode of production.

Programs and servers can be considered as common property managed by the Wikimedia Foundation. Servers are bought thanks to donations. Wikipedia uses the free software MediaWiki to run its website. MediaWiki is based on a “copyleft license” that makes it a free software commons. (Firer-Blaess and Fuchs 2014, p. 94)

Uncertainty about the concept of class has its origins in a similar uncertainty if the activities concern labour, work or play, which ought to be important at least with regard to an autonomous Marxist or political understanding of the class concept. “The pleasure to work is not only derived from cooperative production and from the love to program or to write articles but also from the autonomy of the worker within the production process. The work process is self-determined” (Firer-Blaess and Fuchs 2014, p. 98).

The use value of Wikipedia is created, influenced or destroyed to varying degrees by the different attitudes and practices expressed within the multitude. What constitutes the actual use value is ideally an open question which could be discussed. The young Wikipedia has structural inertias built-in and the surrounding society has its demands for what is a socially necessary encyclopaedia. Conflicts in the surrounding society also enter into the editing. Nathaniel Tkacz illustrates how controversies in an article about Muhammad in the English Wikipedia originate outside the encyclopaedia where there is a long history of differing opinions. He goes so far as to suggest that terms such as consensus-based and community do not fit with the activity that is taking place, instead it is about two clear stances that are being addressed, to keep or not to keep an update: “these people are not ‘giving’ or ‘sharing’ ” (Tkacz 2010, p. 45). In my eyes, this appears to be relevant with regard to conflicts but not about other activities within Wikipedia. Wikipedia is finally based on a voluntary interest and does not aim to generate a profit. Perhaps it is possible here to talk of playwork or workplay? This rephrasing of playbour is in line with how the category of use value-oriented *concrete labour* is referred to as work in this study.¹⁴

¹⁴I developed the idea *playwork* in autumn 2012 to designate a playful creation of use values that is separate from capitalism and the concept *playbour*. The activity of uploading a video to YouTube could possibly be included under the latter concept as the platform is controlled by actors with an

The Study's Aim

In this study, I assume that Wikipedia is a new, emerging mode of production, alternatively a proto-mode of production. How the character of activities within a mode of production are experienced by participants, together with their understanding of the social exchange of activities, and the collective organisation of the activities, are three vital aspects of inclusion in every economic system. How the activities are shaped and embraced influence the social, economic, cultural and political life as a whole which in turn has an impact on production. If I, based on a case study of the Swedish-language Wikipedia, want to understand how the participants in peer production perceive their activities and their, as well as their project's, relationship to capitalism, then these aspects are therefore key. At a micro level, I have primarily chosen to focus on the first aspect: the activities character in the form of playing, gaming, working and labouring. But sometimes, I introduce the other two aspects (social exchange and collective organisation) if they contribute to a better understanding of the problem at hand. These themes can only be separated analytically; in reality, they intersect each other. Social status in a gift economy cannot in practice be separated from conquering power over the social relations of production, which in turn influences the perceived character of the activity for the participant. Analytically, though, it is necessary to differentiate between them to enhance the understanding of which conceptions clash against or strengthen each other on an ideological level.

Focusing on the Wikipedians' view of the character of activities, I also try to close in on how these relate to the capitalist mode of production. But the study will also directly target the macro level, and the relation between Wikipedia and capitalism on a systemic level: Are Wikipedia perceived as a complement or an alternative to capitalism? The overall aim of the study is to explore, through interviews, how Wikipedians ideologically perceive this dialectical relation manifestly and latently and contribute to an understanding of how different conceptions about

interest in *value-oriented abstract labour*, which this study calls labour, but the argument can be problematised further as will be evident in the ideology analysis of the study.

micro-level activities and a macro-level relationship to capitalism coexist, interact and clash with each other in order to illuminate how the economic, political and social values within commons-based peer production look like. It is hoped that we can deepen our knowledge about the political awareness on different ideological levels among participants in the Swedish-language version of Wikipedia and contribute a preliminary ideological map of potential development tendencies contained within the project among its historical actors. Questions related to these aims are important to answer in order to carry out a critical evaluation of the role of peer production in capitalism. The study also tests hypotheses put forward by contemporary Marxist understanding of cognitive capitalism.¹⁵

Theoretical and Methodological Starting Points

Ideologies on an intersubjective and social level among active Wikipedians on the Swedish-language version of Wikipedia will be identified using interviews. The form of interviews, ideology analysis, and central concepts will be expounded in Chap. 4.

The social and economic context within which I will critically understand the identified ideological positions and formations have traditionally been known as *objective conditions* in Marxist theory. Theoretically, such an interpretation refers back to what is usually called *historical materialism*. My view of historical materialism is discussed in Chap. 4. For now, it suffices to state that concepts such as *objective* and *subjective conditions* signal that there is a difference between (class) awareness and the crisis-strewn development of capitalism, though it is important to remember that it is capitalism itself that produces this perceived but illusory dichotomy. The Swedish socialist collective *Kämpa tillsammans!* (Fight together!) points out that we are trapped in a situation “where subjectivity and objectivity are separated, where form and content are of

¹⁵The overall research questions being: Which ideological formations distinguish the Wikipedians' view of their own activities, as well as their view of Wikipedia's relationship with capitalism? How are the two levels of formations similar or dissimilar from each other? How do the two levels' formations relate to each other? And finally: What is the relationship of the results of the ideology analysis to the Marxist understanding of contemporary social dynamics?

necessity divided and separated from each other” (Kämpa tillsammans! 2013, p. 111). The collective states that this division enables class struggle and change, while I would say that it *requires* class struggle to bridge the separation and the fetishism of the “objective condition”, as the workforce in general, albeit to differing degrees, is separated and alienated from both their own labour, their own subjectivity, and from the total product they produce together with other labourers under capitalism. The total product that the individual labourer helps to create appears to her in this process as an alien form of objectivity. When I then use words such as subjective and objective in this context, it assumes a division that is not naturally given (read: it is a social construction based on historical power relations) but still an alien objectivity appears to us, and accordingly constitutes itself as an *operative real abstraction* with laws of movement described by Marx in *Capital*. *Capital's* logic is an active ideology built upon our alienation under capitalism.

Thus, the subjective and objective mesh ontologically with each other and can only be separated analytically (or ideologically). In a similar way, ideologies are not only thoughts but also practices and technologies.

The study follows two lines of inquiry. *The first line* is dealt with in Chap. 5 and focuses on different understandings about the character of activities, even aspects concerning social exchange and understanding of governance and organisational forms are included to complement understanding. I note if the activities are described or advocated in a freely or fixed structured, spontaneous or regulated, decentralised or centralised forms, if they are characterised by pleasure, happiness, entertainment, gravity, responsibility, a will to be useful, undemanding, or take different forms of reciprocity or a lack of this. There are several different drivers, with various configurations, for participants in peer production. Each reason, or specific combination of reasons, which are closely linked to the view of the character of the activities, is thought to stand in relation to the social interaction and character of the exchange of actions within the different forms of organisation and governance.

This results in many questions. What relationship do Wikipedians have to voluntary and non-instrumental play, the serious and responsible work and maintenance of use value, and the commercial labour with the production and realisation of exchange value? And how do they view

the relationship between them? The activities and exchange of these also have links with various emotional states. The undemanding and playful contributions signal an easier-going attitude to the activity that may aim to develop and also to undermine the encyclopaedia. The competing and gaming contributions unite passion and competition in increasingly intensifying forms, while a more serious and professional attitude with a focus on creating socially beneficial use values probably makes greater demands on reciprocity in the behaviour of other participants as the final product is then important. When the final aim is to create exchange value and make money through exchanges on the market, then this is usually interpreted theoretically as that the active agent is to various degrees alienated in the actual activity, and in relation to the use value, as these are no longer important in themselves. The question is to what extent this type of argument has a bearing on Wikipedians who have short-term contracts within the project? The theoretical assumption appears to be too strict. One hypothesis that has been present from the outset is that play and work dominate in the voluntary commitment in the digital economy and that the social exchange of these activities takes place in combinations of undemanding contributions and expectations of meeting a general, sometimes perhaps even balanced, reciprocity (the former less precise than the latter) from other participants.¹⁶ If this is the case, then it would be interesting to find out more about how relationships based on playwork and workplace meet a wage labour that is increasing within peer production?

¹⁶Gift economies are often called moral economies that aim to create and maintain social relations. A gift requires no pecuniary compensation, but if something is given away there can still be an implicit demand for some form of return gift. According to social anthropologist Marshall Sahlins, a gift can consist of implicit demands of reciprocity that are *balanced* or *generalised* in character. The demands of the former dictate to a greater extent when and how a return gift shall be given (it is close to a simple barter), the demands of the latter do not specify the time, character and forms for the return gift, but it is still important that some form of return gift is made (Sahlins 2004, pp. 193–95). In contexts dominated by gift-economic exchanges it is difficult to distinguish the gift from the return gift, the distinction is in practice unnecessary to unravel, as long as the interaction proceeds. The gift-economic process constitutes in many ways a circle motion, but can also develop into downward or upward spirals of growing sociality or asociality (the latter by the giving of what I call *anti-gifts*). These gifts, and the *pure gift* of which Bronislaw Malinowski speaks of (that does not require anything in return) (Malinowski 1922, pp. 176–77), characterise much of the commons-based exchange of actions involved in the creation of use values at Wikipedia.

The other direction in the study, which is discussed in Chap. 6, focuses on Wikipedians and their understanding of the project as a whole and its relationship to capitalism as a system. Using insights from the stakeholders, a deep understanding will be offered of continuities and deviations in relation to the surrounding capitalist ideologies and practices, which are sprouting in the new evolving mode of production. It is hoped to increase our understanding of the new mode of production's political potential and character, in a stricter sense. The point of departure here is that peer production bears some similarities to capitalist production. It aspires to produce socially useful use value through social cooperation. This is also true of capitalism, but Wikipedia is satisfied with this and does not aspire to create and accumulate value. The creation of Wikipedia also differs from capitalism in the design of the cooperation, how its results are distributed, and by the aims driving the project.

Is Wikipedia seen as a complement or as a radically different alternative to capitalism? Do participants in peer production have a static or dynamic stance on the issue (timescale), that is, do they have a principled, strategic or tactical perspective on these questions? Should peer production and Wikipedia be seen as a revitalising (for capital) dissociation from the formal capitalist economy, or does it have the same totalising power as capitalism once showed towards feudalism?¹⁷

One basic assumption is that peer production has an influence on capitalism, despite the fact that involvement does not aim to sell its labour for a wage for material and social survival. This influence can take different forms. On one side, the view of creative activity can change and on another side capitalism's functions can be influenced by competition from peer production. Labour or not within peer production can also have unexpected effects on the relationship to capitalism at a structural level. Equally, the social exchange of actions in accordance with other

¹⁷Rasmus Fleischer describes the concept of "dissociation" as first developed by Roswitha Scholz, an editor together with Robert Kurz at the publication *Exit*. Dissociation is according to Fleischer's understanding a concept that should be understood at the abstract level of the concept of value: "The value as structure (commodity form) admittedly contends its totalitarian claims, but rejects in practice large parts of societal reproduction. This concerns both a material level (domestic work, upbringing) and an affective-cultural level. Some things can quite simply not be grasped by the value form, cannot be performed as abstract labour—instead they are *dissociated* from the value, from official society. They primarily apply to women" (Fleischer 2011a).

logics than market exchange should have the potential to influence the view of the latter, while a degree of market exchange in the margins of peer production may not need to reduce this influence. Further, more horizontal governance forms than the relatively decentralised and flexible post-Fordist production should be able to influence the view of labour organisation, while it is not certain how they influence the relationship between the two modes of productions at a structural level. The assumption is that there are differences and potential conflicts between peer production and post-Fordist capitalist production and not only synergies. The emphasis on more decentralised and horizontal decision making, spontaneity, social cooperation and social interests can be interpreted as a desire for play or non-alienated and pleasurable creation, whose relation to contemporary capitalism is not completely clear.

On the other hand, peer production is influenced, both great and small, by capitalism. At an individual level, this could be about improving one's employability, at a more overall level about the appointment of more employees within the project, but it could also relate to the fact that editing should result in competitive use value or that the working process needs to be more centrally organised. The underlying assumption is that the inner life and activities of the commons register influence from outside and also generate influence on how capitalism functions.

Key Concepts

It is time to define the study's key concepts: playing, gaming, working and labouring. The definitions are founded on a literary study of the concepts and relationships between them (Lund 2014). The definitions are to deepen and structure the ideological analysis about Wikipedians and their self-image.

The concept of labour has caused some problems. The difficulty has been that the focus of the study and its aim has changed character as it has progressed and targets both the micro and macro level. In relation to capitalism on a macro level, all approaches to commercial interest (not only wage labour in a narrow sense), from purely positive to purely negative, are interesting, and the concepts complement and alternatives

to capitalism provide structure to the analysis. On a micro level, labour as a concept is also problematic as the focus here is on more than on paid labour with regard to the analysis of the Wikipedians' view of commercial activities. This has, in addition to internal and external employees in editing, concerned identifying ideas related to various types of commodifying of the article namespace, like:¹⁸ advertising, spam and biased idealised descriptions. The conceptual combination *commodified activities* meets the broader perspective, but constitutes at a practical level a clumsy concept to use in an ideological analysis that often identifies conceptions that advocate, latently or manifestly, various combinations of the four different activities (of which the commercial activity is one) as an ideal.

I have chosen to use labour, the stricter perspective, to describe and categorise ideological conceptions that pull in the overall commercial direction. This means, somewhat paradoxically, that the concept of labour will here both be defined in its narrow sense and later used in the analysis in the broader sense (commodifying activities). This in order to be able to use categories such as *gamebour*, *worklabour* and *labourplay* in the ideological analysis. The decision is not completely without a theoretical foundation. Labour or abstract labour is understood in Marxism as value-producing labour, value is a social relationship between human labour efforts which can easily appear as a relationship between things in the exchange on the market, which in turn forms an abstract and unknown force in relation to the labourer. Labour is based on inequality in relation to the means of production and is used by capital owners to exploit work by the labour force for its own profit. Looked at in this way then labour is included or present, directly or indirectly, in all forms of commercialism that are developed under capitalism. I hope it will be clearly evident in the following presentation whether the concept labour is used in a narrow sense or as a general indicator of ideological conceptions that pull in a commercial direction.

The distinction between the concepts work and labour were also made after the interviews had been completed, so the use of the concept of

¹⁸Namespaces is a way to organise articles and, for example, internal affairs regarding the workings of Wikipedia.

labour in the interviews is often, such as when its relationship to play is studied, actually referring to the concept of work. As regards the concept of play, I assumed at the time of the interviews, Johan Huizinga's definition which does not differentiate between playing and gaming. Over time, I have become convinced that it is necessary to separate them into two different categories, which can explain some peculiarities in the relationship between what is present in the transcripts and in the following analysis of them.

In my literature study concerning the concepts of playing, gaming, working and labouring, and the reality these refer to, I studied five basic themes: the aim of the activity, the form of practice, the degree of voluntarism, involved feelings, and the question of whether the activity was characterised as transhistoric or historic (Lund 2014, pp. 736–37). The following offers a brief description of the relationship of the concepts to these dimensions.

Playing

Literature about play is extensive and contains, just as the concept of culture, both broad and narrow definitions of play. The subject has also been of interest to biologists, psychologists, social psychologists, culture historians, sociologists, aestheticians and cultural anthropologists. Despite many different emphases and approaches, there is relative consensus with regard to the identified aspects.

First, the aim of play for the playing subject is the activity in itself and there is a presence in the moment. Goals can be used to frame the activity, but the activity remains most important. Behind the backs of the playing individuals, the act of play may produce many productive results and Vygotskij emphasises that play by children over time becomes the adult's labour. *Second*, play is a mobile, dialectical process that is not reified at a subjective level. It is in many ways like life, but is freer in its relationship to reality and to playmates, among other things in relation to the use of rules. The processes are more open and allow negotiations and improvisations during play. Play is therefore not completely predictable. Play can be performed inside the person playing alone, in the player's

relation to the world or within a playing community, and is often an exaggerated and uneconomical “galumphing”, that is, placing entertaining obstacles in order to reach a specific imaginary target. *Third*, plays are played when our basic needs have been met and because the player takes a voluntary initiative. *Fourth*, play is fun, entertaining and enjoyable. It is characterised by a measure of simplicity and relaxation and by a certain luxurious feeling of unnecessary abundance. Play also includes passion and excitement. *Fifth*, play is a part of nature and the human constitution at the same time as it is central for social life and our communication (Lund 2014, pp. 746, 757–58, 770).

Gaming

Gaming seems in the same way as play to be interesting for a range of different scientific fields. As with play, the effects of gaming activities according to these scientific disciplines are often hidden for the players and gamers themselves. When it comes to the identified dimensions then gaming is *firstly* target-oriented, it is the target that enables comparisons between gamer activities, and it is therefore often linked to quantitative measurements and varies depending on the performance of participants. The target is used as a basis for the gaming moment and introduces competition to the play. Targets are here more important than in play, which mainly uses targets to act around (play would end if the target was achieved and it is the path towards the goal that is the target for the players). In competition and gaming, both the activity and the result are important for gamers, the former often because it provides happiness, entertainment, excitement and pleasure, but the result is increasingly important the more onlookers and audiences witness the game. *Second*, games are rule based. These have an a priori structure of formal rules that govern and organise them. Breaking the rules leads to various sanctions. Before each new game, the results or the accomplishments from the previous game are reset and the game start anew. The game and its results are not productive in the sense of creating something permanent, but within capitalism gaming can constitute a product for others as a service or entertainment. *Third*, games and gaming are at a formal level volun-

tary, and more effectively so than labour, in its nature, but social pressure or threats of social isolation could to a greater extent be a reason for the activity than in the case of play. *Fourth*, games often include the same feelings as play, they can be funny, passionate and exciting, but there are also other feelings associated with gaming such as “serious leisure time”, self-fulfilment, risk and endeavour. Finally, *fifth*, games are socially constructed in societies that relate to competition for social distinction. The lack of games and gaming among the !Kung people indicates that gaming does not refer to a transhistorical phenomenon among human beings and their societies (they are not part of the human constitution) but are a product of history. The increased presence of an audience and spectators changes the game in the same fundamental way as Moishe Postone claims abstract labour, wage labour, changes the character of work (concrete labour) under capitalism (Lund 2014, pp. 766, 770; Postone 1993, pp. 67–68).

Working

Work is characterised, *first*, by the fact that it is target-oriented and focused on creating use values that is socially beneficial. Work is productive in this sense. *Second*, work concerns specific and concrete work processes with certain qualities that change depending on the type of use value being created. Work is not competitive as the various concrete processes cannot be compared with each other and focus on different social needs. *Third*, work is primarily necessary for the survival of humanity and social life (play can also be seen as necessary for humanity but only after basic needs have been met). Work with its close relationship with necessity and usefulness is for the *fourth* connected to feelings of seriousness but also to self-realisation through the activity and its objectification in use values. Work always takes place in a direct or indirect social context, and social coherence and social belonging are important ingredients in work processes. *Fifth*, work is transhistorical and constitutes humanity’s metabolism with nature to satisfy human needs. This includes cultural production and social reality (Lund 2014, pp. 761, 770).

Labouring

The aims of wage labour are dependent on where you view it from: capital's or labour's perspective. In contrast to the other categories which are dealt with here, labour is linked to a historical epoch that is a distinctive but specific class society. This means that each dimension here has two separate sides, where one, capital's side, is dominant. As regards the *first* dimension, the aim for capital is to accumulate capital and maintain the capital relation, through the production of exchange value by employed labour force from which surplus value is created as surplus labour and surplus production. Valorisation, rather than production of use value, is the aim together with maintaining the capital relation. This aim influences all parties involved. For labourers, the aim is to earn a living in a society where the commodity form is generalised and mediated by the general equivalent of money. In order to make a living, labourers must take up employment with an alien power. *Second*, the various forms of practice are controlled by being mediated by the market. Labour is the production of exchange values for the market through the purchase of workforce on the same market. Between capitals this is seen in competition and a contest in accumulation where the biggest wins, which leads to "run-away growth" and recurring crises. Labour is based on the exploitation of labourers, which influences the livelihoods of labourers, indirectly capital's realisation of the value (wages are used for consumption), more directly the surplus value (surplus value is generated by exploitation), and capitals' competitiveness. Labourers have to labour more than they are paid for their labour force, surplus labour is systematic. *Third*, labour is in a formal sense voluntary (for capital as a taken-for-granted right to *not* need to labour for others), but in practice it is forced on labourers through the historical prerequisites for earning a living in the capitalist class society. *Fourth*, labour is characterised by feelings linked to supremacy and subordination. This could concern not only the feelings of superiority and inferiority, the right to exploit, anger, resistance against being exploited and different degrees and forms of alienated gravity but also an alienated idleness of capital and the absence of commitment from the labourer. An "instrumental reason" characterises social relationships from both sides of the capital relation, for instance, that the labourer is

used as an instrument for the interests of capital. A series of ideologically created or influenced emotional states can be connected to this dynamic phenomenon full of tensions, which in itself would require its own analysis. *Fifth*, labour is a historically and socially constructed form that is based on transhistoric work but is qualitatively different from other class societies' historical versions of transhistoric work, which have been extra-economically motivated (even if they also were founded on securing a social living). Labour has an abstract character and logic that steers the alienated activities (Lund 2014, pp. 769–70).

Outline of the Book

The introductory chapter orientates the reader in the problem area covered by the study, specifies the aim and problems, highlights the theoretical and methodological point of departure and defines a number of central concepts for the ideology analysis. In Chap. 2, a background is given of the “encyclopaedic universe”, and in particular the digital history until the birth of Wikipedia in 2001 is told; whereas Wikipedia is presented in Chap. 3: its history, the breaks and continuities with the encyclopedic tradition, and its character of social place with relations to technology and the commercial world of capitalism. Chapter 4 then deepens the theoretical perspective. A Marxist analysis of the relation between the inside and outside of capital is presented; Marxist theories on cognitive capitalism and concepts such as *capitalism of communism* and *communism of capital* are explained, together with a presentation of the study's methodology. The ideological analysis, and the models that structure the analysis on the micro level, as well as the informants and applied interview methods are presented. Chapter 5 contains the empirical study of the micro-level activities. The relations between playing and working, gaming's relation to the other three main categories, the relation between working and labouring, and, finally, between playing and labouring, are here analysed to identify ideological positions. In the following Chap. 6, the analysis is focused on the systemic level and the conceptions Wikipedians have of Wikipedia's relation to capitalism. The analysis here centres on five different dimensions in relation to capital-

ism: the various forms of crowdsourcing, the monetary, informational, and organisational relationships between businesses and Wikipedia, and peer production as an alternative to capitalism. Within these dimensions, ideas about Wikipedia as a complement, revitalisation or alternative to capitalism are highlighted. Finally, in Chap. 7, a comparison of the results of the analysis of the micro and macro level is conducted. The ambition is to contribute to an understanding of how the overarching systemic understanding relates to an understanding by the stakeholders of their micro-level activities, and vice versa; the analysis also provides insights about the political potentials of Wikipedia, as well as the political threats to the project, by investigating the relations between the ideological formations. Finally, an empirical evaluation of contemporary Marxist theories on cognitive capitalism is conducted, and the further relevance of the book is pointed out.

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2

Background: Encyclopaedias and the Digital Revolution

In this chapter encyclopaedia production is placed in the digital media landscape.

Modern Encyclopaedias

Complete instruction or knowledge circle is the original meaning of the Greek-Latin concept of encyclopaedia. During the Middle Ages and Renaissance, there was a didactic and pedagogical aspect to the concept. Written encyclopaedias had a systematic disposition and an educated person would have completed instruction in a specific order (Collison 1964, p. 3; Yeo 2001, pp. 7, 9). The epistemological view changed in the eighteenth century, 200 years after the innovation of the printing press. Instead of memorising knowledge, memory was now used to explore the world and find new knowledge (Yeo 2001, p. 81). The truth of the oral culture had been relative but finite, whereas print culture was closed if seen from every single text's horizon but open for future discoveries as a totality. Discoveries that, in line with a tradition going back to Peter Ramus in the sixteenth century, were fitted into schedules, diagrams,

and disciplinary subdivisions in a kind of standardisation process (Johns 1998, pp. 2–3, 5; Ong 1991, pp. 125, 144–45, 150, 152, 154–55; Yeo 2001, p. 23).

During the Enlightenment the alphabet began to be used as the key principle ahead of a systematic approach, with regard to the construction of encyclopaedias. This meant in part that old hierarchies were undermined as the alphabet gave the same indiscriminate importance to all issues, and this also facilitated the addition of new information, which was much needed. Everything to do with scientific knowledge—people, journals, data and discoveries—increased exponentially at this time. The encyclopaedia became more of an instrumental tool (Yeo 2001, pp. 25, 70–71, 81, 83; Zimmer 2009, pp. 100–1). Diderot's and d'Alembert's *La Encyclopédie* aimed to collect and codify the scientific achievements of the Enlightenment. In practice this meant an attempt to cover a much wider area of knowledge by reducing learning to its essence. What was groundbreaking with *La Encyclopédie* in this context was the line they tried to draw to the unknowable. Knowledge no longer included everything (Darnton 1987, pp. 219, 223–24, 226–27, 229; Yeo 2001, p. xiii, 23, 70–71, 81, 83).

Over time, the character of the encyclopaedia project changed in several ways. Partly, there occurred a professionalisation within the framework of the successor *Encyclopédie Methodique*, which was abandoned about 1830 when the educated Republic was washed away by writers who had the state to thank for their careers. A similar development, academisation, was noted in other countries. There was in addition a popularisation as the price was reduced between each edition through savings on format, paper quality, pictures and diagrams (Darnton 1979, pp. 522, 524, 539; Lidman 1983, p. 340). The many and extensive encyclopaedias that were launched in the early 1800s competed with each other, but the aim was no longer to convey an organised circle of knowledge but instead to present an exhaustive knowledge where specialised scientific disciplines represented peaks in the intellectual landscape. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* began as *Encyclopédie Methodique* to focus on professional differences of opinion rather than offering summaries. Between 1820 and 1840, this example was spread to all major encyclopaedias and remained the case for most of the twentieth century (Yeo 2001, pp. 59–60, 77, 244–45, 251,

274, 276–78). It was perhaps this development that drew attention to the importance of the index, which was introduced about 1830. The growth in knowledge was then exponential, and the alphabet and cross-references were not sufficient to create workable access to the content (Collison 1964, p. 15). In order to correctly follow developments, editorial staff increasingly trusted their network of academic experts. The production process became more social in nature (Yeo 2001, pp. 248, 250–51).

The development from opinion press to business press paved the way at the same time, the 1830s, for advertisements. Advertising space was sold as a product to pay for the transition from Gutenberg's manual printing press to high-speed presses (Habermas 1984, pp. 178–80). The same technical development enabled longer production series, which in turn created an opening to reach the broad masses. In the field for encyclopaedias this led to the development of two different genres: one for professionals and one for the public (Yeo 2001, pp. 246–47, 274, 276–78).

Despite this gulf, Walter Benjamin believed the spread of the press towards the end of the century, with new political, religious, scientific, professional and local bodies, was instrumental in more readers also becoming some form of writer. The boundary between writer and audience began losing its fundamental character (Benjamin 2007, pp. 232, 241).

The Analogue Change

During the nineteenth century a vigorous development took place in mechanical image reproduction. The rapid perceptive ability of the eye together with film's moving images meant image reproduction could keep pace with sound, whose reproducibility was solved towards the end of the nineteenth century (Benjamin 2008, p. 4). The written culture lost at the start of the 1900s its hegemonic position as information and communication technology. The electric transformation of verbal expression through analogue telephones, radios and TVs enhanced the transfer of words to space, at the same time as there appeared a new secondary orality (Ong 1991, pp. 156–58). Friedrich Kittler claims the

optical, acoustic and written data flows were separated at this time. Prior to this, writing and silent reading had included them all and served as film and gramophone record. The film and phonograph revealed the text as solely text, a discovery that the birth of the typewriter reinforced with its standardised types and keyboard (Fischer and Götselius 2003, p. 18; Kittler 2003, pp. 42, 47–49).

The standardisation made possible by the printing press, which was reinforced by the typewriter, was deepened in the new media. Benjamin claimed that the masses in his time tried to overcome the unique and permanent in each reality by accepting the volatility of its pictorial reproductions (Benjamin 2007, pp. 223–25, 231).

In practice the encyclopaedia project's middle ground had however matured in its forms in Western Europe around the 1900s. The volumes were written in a national language with substantial articles written and reviewed by specialists. Content included biographies of living people and everything was linked together with an analytic index of people, places and subjects, at the same time as it was continuously updated using additional supplements. In the late 1920s, a differentiation took place based on political lines when both the Soviet Union and Fascist Italy started encyclopaedia projects (Collison 1964, pp. 199–200, 206).

The Digital Change

Analogue media required greater and more concentrated resources than the printed word. Habermas claims that the need for capital at the time appeared so important that it threatened media operations with its power and commercialism. Media were therefore organised in most countries by the state. The roles were reversed in the public sphere that was previously created by private interests with a critical eye to the state. Mass production required in turn a more long-term marketing strategy and advertising to create business markets, where the exchange value of products was largely decided by psychological manipulation (Habermas 1984, pp. 180–82, 185).

Encyclopaedias were influenced to a lesser extent. As a genre, they had primarily focused on the written word and this was not the aspect

that stood out among the secondary colloquialism of the analogue media (radio, TV and film) (Ong 1991, pp. 20–21, 36–37, 53–54, 71, 96–98, 157), even if H.G. Wells, Paul Otlet and Vannevar Bush attached importance to microfilm. The true impact on the encyclopaedic practice was the future digitalisation, internet and the world wide web. Wikipedia today acts as a door between the old printing culture and the new digital (Haider and Sundin 2010).

Developments had continued rapidly in the field of media during the twentieth century. Remington's typewriter became the Turing machine (the prototype for the computer) which became microelectronics. The digital shift is characterised by the merging of different acoustic, optical and written flows using a digital foundation. This foundation is not alphabetical but uses at a machine level the presence or absence of a character (1 and 0) and at the next level an alphanumerically coded program language. But, despite the convergence of these flows using a non-alphabetical foundation, writing has not had its day. It has however lost its role as a culturally cutting-edge technology and become one interface phenomenon among others (Fischer and Götselius 2003, p. 18; Kittler 2003, p. 53).

The new digital technology was developed after the Second World War at universities, within the state's sphere and as part of the rearmament of the Cold War (Castells 2002, p. 22; Rheingold 2000, p. 59). Attempts to link together interactive computers into networks with screens, graphics and keyboards began in the late 1960s and high hopes were placed in the new technology which in the case of graphics led to new breakthroughs that made computers easier for non-programmers to understand (Abbate 1999, pp. 23–27; Rheingold 2000, pp. 59, 63, 65). Initially, it was more about remote use helping more people to use computers at the same time than sending messages between people (Rheingold 2000, pp. xxi, 66). The idea of the latter form of interaction was born in the subculture developed among programmers. It was here that the hacker culture was born (Rheingold 2000, p. 64). The technology for the networking computers was developed from sending entire messages, batches to packet messages of smaller sections that are stored, and the marked packets are then sent along different routes through the network. The overflow of packets, intermediary nodes and routes through the network,

the distribution form and computer power distributed to network nodes, was important to block military interference in the system. The protocol and the architecture for the system of interlinked networks which today is known as the internet began to be developed in the 1970s. The problem was to enable the different systems to communicate with each other. The solution was the open control protocol TCP and the open communication protocol IP (Abbate 1999, pp. 7–14, 17–23, 113–14, 121–22, 143; Castells 2002, pp. 22–24, 27, 33, 38).

The breakthrough for the personal computer came when people in the 1980s bought Altair, Apple II and Commodore PET as electronic hobbies. This helped to popularise the network outside government circles and the various military and university projects (Abbate 1999, pp. 186, 188; Rheingold 2000, p. 60). The network became larger and more widespread alongside the growth in interested stakeholders. The Unix and personal computer culture was integrated and influenced the network, at the same time as the military gradually withdrew. “With the loss of a central guiding vision from ARPA, the system seemed at times to verge on anarchy, as control of the network became fragmented among diverse groups with competing interests and visions” (Abbate 1999, p. 182).

The grass-root networks were created in the late 1970s when experiments took place with various alternatives to Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) networks that many were excluded from (Castells 2002, p. 24). Members of a new “hacker” subculture quickly made improvements to the Altair and began devising more user-friendly machines, and by the late 1970s there was a thriving market for personal computers (Abbate 1999, p. 138). This subculture included *phone phreaks* who at this time learned to mimic the control tones of telephones in order to phone for free and to show that they understood the system. “Phone phreaks came from the same world of young, undisciplined technophiles as computer hackers” (Abbate 1999, p. 138). Famous members of this subculture were Steve Jobs and Stephen Wozniak who eventually started Apple.

It has become common to divide hackers into different generations, where the first are seen as pioneers, the second the personal computer generation, while the third developed computer games and the fourth generation gained illegal access to the computers of other people (Voiskounsky and Smyslova 2003, p. 172). But most hackers distance

themselves from *crackers* and focus on the positive sides of their culture (Castells 2002, pp. 51–52, 62), but for sure it is reasonable to think that the popularisation of computer use has resulted in a broadening of the culture with many new types of hackers, such as *script kiddies* and *copycats* who only mimic the technical skills of other hackers in order to achieve more antisocial and selfish goals (Nissenbaum 2004, p. 199). In 2005, Turgeman-Goldsmith interviewed about 50 Israeli hackers about their motivation and could identify several different motives such as entertainment, excitement, curiosity, demonstrating computer skills, financial gain, virtual insults, revenge and the simplicity with which actions could be carried out (Turgeman-Goldschmidt 2005, pp. 12–18). Even boredom and the challenge are given as motivating factors by Mulhall, who only sees hacking as a method to access other people's systems. Among Mulhall's hackers there exists a form of competition between the hacker and the system administrator behind the system to be hacked (Mulhall 1997, pp. 292–93).

At an early stage within this subculture the modem was created, which made it possible to exchange documents between personal computers and the terminal program, Bulletin Board System (BBS), which allowed the storage and transfer of information via the telephone network and digital bulletin boards. Both programs were released as free software, which was financed and steered by voluntary enthusiasts (Castells 2002, p. 24; Rheingold 2000, pp. xxiii–iv). The use of BBSs grew from the bottom up globally and was used to cultivate various subcultures, interests, businesses and politics. Over time, the first problem appeared with people who exhibited antisocial behaviour on the digital networks. In 1983, the programmer Tom Jennings built his own BBS program Fido and established the network Fidonet, which grew substantially. The idea was that the norms would be decided by people who used the network and the first version of Fido had a free-for-all section called *anarchy*. The policy that developed over time was that one should not insult other people and also not be too easily offended (Rheingold 2000, pp. 133–37).

Another network that became important for the hacker culture was *Usenet news*. The network had its basis within the Unix community. Unix was an operating system developed in 1969 and was the programming environment for all types of systems. Its advantage was that a new

language was not needed for new technical platforms. In 1974, the state forced the owner to release Unix source code free to universities. The program was openly disseminated with permission to adapt it and it dominated data institutions where students learned to manipulate the system (Castells 2002, pp. 24–25, 53; Rheingold 2000, p. 139). The crucial events for Usenet were in part Bell's release in 1978 of its Unix to Unix program (UUCP) which enabled Unix computers automatically via a modem to ring up each other and copy documents from each other. The difference between Usenet and BBSs was that the former did not store public messages in a specific location but spread conversations through the system.

Usenet was anarchically built in the sense that it lacked a centrally controlling hierarchy. The system was still organised and not chaotic. Participating pages could, for example, exclude news groups that were contrary to the convictions of participants without disturbing the system. Economic costs were in addition automatically distributed within the system (Castells 2002, pp. 25, 53; Rheingold 2000, pp. 59, 76, 119–20). The network also witnessed the birth of the “troll”. The relative anonymity of the digital community not only enabled freer discussions and play on identities and humour but also “flaming, harassment, and hate speech”. Trolling, the English verb for fishing with a line, means in a digital environment to consciously attempt to start twisted, pointless and never-ending discussions. This behaviour developed in a form of leisure pursuit (Shachaf and Hara 2010, pp. 366–67).

When Unix was commodified in 1984, Richard Stallman established the Free Software Foundation (FSF), created the first copyleft licence (General Public License) and proclaimed the principle of free communication and program use as a fundamental right. As a result, he became an icon in the hacker culture (Castells 2002, pp. 25–26, 54–55). He failed though to develop a new free operating system, which meant Microsoft's commercial Windows could become dominant among users. The free operating system that was eventually developed came instead from Linus Torvalds and was named Linux. Linux was published in 1991 under Stallman's GPL licence aided by many of the GNU programs developed by FSF. But Torvalds added a new methodology that was based on the internet (Castells 2002, pp. 55–56; Raymond 2001, p. 61). The

development lines within the network of networks converged around 1990 in what we now call the internet, which was shortly afterwards privatised. Commercialisation stimulated the growth of the internet and many private internet providers not only built their own networks (Abbate 1999, pp. 194–96; Castells 2002, pp. 23–24) but also formed the basis of the success of Linux. Instead of limiting the use of the program Torvalds released online, he encouraged his users to contribute and to improve it. By publishing updated versions of the code at regular intervals, an operating system was created that was constantly being upgraded by thousands of hackers and had millions of users. Manuel Castells writes that it was only a network of “thousands of brains working together, with a spontaneous division of labour and soluble but efficient coordination” which could create an operating system with the ability to handle interaction on the internet on a voluntary basis (Castells 2002, pp. 55–56). A new mode of production was born that paved the way for the peer production used by Wikipedia.

The hacker culture lives on today in peer production, where its method of producing use value has spread to other fields as the popularisation of cultural creation in digital networks has grown. Studying how Wikipedia fits into and influences this changeable culture is close to the purpose of this study. New ways of organising the exchange and working processes are closely linked with new forms of ownership (Söderberg 2010, p. 244), and the dialectics between the productive force of peer production and the social relations of its production could influence societal economy.¹

The popularisation implicit in the web formed the foundation of increased commercialisation of the networks, which culminated in the first so-called dotcom crisis at the end of the decade. But during the 2000s, mainstream culture and capital understood the value in what was taking place. Discussions began about the social web and Web 2.0. The phenomenon was defined and hailed by Tim O’Reilly:

¹ Maurizio Lazzarato writes in *Signs and Machines* (2014, p. 225) regarding the political importance of mode of productions: “The struggle for ‘an other life’ and ‘an other world’, the fight for political transformation and the transformation of the self, must go beyond both political representation and linguistic representation in favor of new forms of organization particularly attentive not only to the utterances produced but also and in particular to their modes of production.” See Chap. 4 for a more detailed discussion of the relationship between productive forces and social conditions.

Web 2.0 is the business revolution in the computer industry caused by the move to the internet as platform, and an attempt to understand the rules for success on that new platform. Chief among those rules is this: Build applications that harness network effects to get better the more people use them. (O'Reilly 2006)

Within the production of information products and services today, the division between producer, distributor and consumer has been relaxed. When access to the means of production to create and distribute information is widely available, new opportunities are opened up to global and relatively independent “peer-to-peer modes of organizing the collaborative engagement of communities in shared projects” (Bruns 2008, pp. 13–15):

[P]articipation in these social spaces spans a *continuum* stretching evenly from active content creation by lead users through various levels of more or less constructive and productive engagement with existing content by other contributors, and on to the mere use of content by users who perhaps do not even consider themselves as members of the community. Users are able to move smoothly across this continuum, without so much noticing (or concerning themselves with) the fact that their participation has contributed to the overall, communal, collaborative process of content creation. (Bruns 2008, p. 18)

The web was now both an important social part of many people's lives and a new important economic arena.

Encyclopaedias and the World Wide Web

The first electronic encyclopaedia appeared in 1985, *The New Grolier Electronic Encyclopedia*, while an experimental edition was already available on the digital networks in 1980. The new Grolier was a forerunner to Microsoft's *Encarta*, which was created in 1993 by acquiring two existing encyclopaedias (Dalby 2009, pp. 30–31).

From 1991, in conjunction with the rise of the web, sales declined of both printed encyclopaedias and CD-rom versions, according to

Andrew Dalby. But Microsoft was not dependent on its *Encarta* being economically viable and sold it either cheap or free together with other programs. The market was flooded and prices were under pressure (Dalby 2009, pp. 30–31). By the end of the 1990s, the encyclopaedia world was dominated by electronic products with multimedia content and online services. In 1998, when the book and newspaper industry still had healthy sales of printed products and could develop electronic services as a complement, Alex Soojung-Kim Pang, former editor of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, concluded that encyclopaedias were different. The electronic products and services were seen as more interactive, accessible and interesting with their animations, music and video clips, at the same time as they were cheaper and sometimes even free, which was important when the genre had traditionally handled very expensive products (Soojung-Kim Pang 1998). The genre's form and clear function resulted in the rapid change (Hult 2003, p. 55).

The economics of the encyclopaedia were fundamentally changed following digitalisation, but digitalism was part of a larger context. The dominant capitalist mode of production in advanced economies began to change in the late twentieth century. From having had a Fordist organisation and direction in mass production, the new direction was production in distributed networks largely built on new information technology and digitalisation. In post-Fordism, labourers are responsible for several of their own choices and act as an interface between various functions, working teams, and different levels of hierarchy. Labourers are expected to be active subjects within coordinating the functions of production and inventing new functions. Work in the new *mode of producing* is defined as the capacity to activate and manage productive cooperation through communication (Lazzarato 1996, pp. 136–37; Virno 2004, pp. 52, 56).²

In the encyclopaedic universe editorial budgets and timetables were previously adapted to how much funding was available and to the starting date for the printing press. In this strict and predictable economy, production could be organised as *one* production line with a

²The concept “mode of producing” is developed by Moishe Postone to discuss how abstract labour dominates and informs productive practices. The connotation of the term is the form of practice of abstract labour and should not be confused with the concept of mode of production (1993, pp. 67–68).

carefully adapted division of labour. Editing the work was a zero-sum game where something had to be removed if anything was added (Hult 2003, pp. 55–56; Soojung-Kim Pang 1998):

[M]uch of the work of producing an annual revision consisted of the craftwork of eliminating articles, fiddling with word and line counts ... Indeed, it was a great challenge to make the maximum number of changes on the minimum number of pages, to add or change content without causing ‘rippling’ or changes through more than a tiny portion of the encyclopedia. (Soojung-Kim Pang 1998)

Following digitalisation articles were no longer restricted to a single page but could reflect the editor’s evaluation of the importance of the subject. The editor no longer needed to be a generalist but could concentrate on their specialist subjects. Despite this opening for specialisation, focus was instead, because of hyperlinks in the new media, mainly towards larger interconnected sections of content rather than on an individual article. The assembly line principle was no longer suitable to organise work:

[I]t’s much more fluid and dynamic, with nothing fixed at the outset, it requires people of varied backgrounds and interests to work closely together so as to better understand the consequences of decisions and respond in time to unexpected challenges. ... Calling this ‘teamwork’ isn’t perfectly accurate, as it suggests harmony, a common set of assumptions about how the game is played, and agreed-upon notions of what constitutes victory. In reality, designers, artists, authors, and programmers have very different skills, work in different ways, and understand their goals and roles in their own ways. The term ‘collaboration’ ... is much more precisely evocative. (Soojung-Kim Pang 1998)

This development was confirmed even before the creation of Wikipedia in the field of the encyclopaedia. Following digitalisation, deadlines were decided more by consumer structure than by the production process and the internet-based encyclopaedia assumed the form of a service rather than an object. Communication between editorial staff and users became more direct with opportunities to contact staff and ask questions. The simultaneity between production and consumption included communication about the

regular updating, at the same time as the relationship between the editor and author began to change. If authors had previously been used to write a specific article, they began now to be used to provide ongoing revisions and other “ongoing performances”, which were not only written, in their fields of expertise. Anything to keep the service up to date with the latest developments in science (Hult 2003, p. 56; Soojung-Kim Pang 1998).

The rapid development over the past decade of peer-to-peer-technology, new business models based on crowdsourcing, and peer production are in line with this development and take it one step further.

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3

Wikipedia

In 1995, the programmer Ward Cunningham presented a program which enabled several people to share and edit a collection of linked web pages using only a browser. The program was called WikiWikiWeb and was disseminated mainly in groups working with and for free software. From the outset it was open to edit and contribute to the website. In order to maintain order in editing, a function was added to show the latest changes. All pages created were also saved in an article history, which meant the site was self-documenting. When the earlier version was still available then voluntary editors were no longer worried that they might destroy something when editing (Guldbrandsson 2008, p. 140; Lih 2009, pp. 58–60; Pfeil et al. 2006, p. 90). A wiki as originally planned was, according to Cunningham, much easier to use than abuse, allowed anyone to edit it, gradually grew so that pages could link to other pages (even if these were not yet written) and was organic as it was open to editing and development as well as observable (Cunningham n.d.).¹

Richard Stallman suggested as early as 1999 that one should create a free encyclopaedia online. He called it *GNUpedia*. The following year Jimmy Wales and Larry Sanger started *Nupedia* where the material would

¹The gradual development model is sometimes referred to as *stigmergic*.

be freely available but owned by Wales' company *Bomis*. Stallman successfully persuaded them to change to a copyleft licence, which was introduced in January 2001 when Wikipedia started as a trial to breathe new life into the slowly growing Nupedia. Nupedia had used experts to write and review the articles in a process similar to the academic peer-review process. This model was turned upside down with Wikipedia. It was open for anyone with an Internet connection to contribute without any initial review of the content. Initially, the idea was that the best articles would be transferred to Nupedia for further refinement, but the new project soon stood on its own two feet with a rapid influx of volunteers who together began to create encyclopaedic content. Soon, writers at Nupedia and GNUpedia abandoned their projects in order to transfer to Wikipedia. In February 2001, the project had 1000 posts; in September the same year, 10,000; and in 2008, the English-language version alone had exceeded three million articles (Guldbrandsson 2008, pp. 140–43) and eight years later, this language version had collected more than five million articles (Wikipedia Contributors 2016).

In less than a decade, Wikipedia has established itself as one of the ten most visited websites on the Internet. The only websites that are regularly visited more often are backed by substantial economic interests: Google, Microsoft and Yahoo. Unlike many other services that ask for voluntary contributions from users, no registration or identification is needed to take part in the project (Lih 2009, pp. 3–4).

The new wiki technology and the Internet were not responsible per se for the success of Wikipedia, but they meant that social mechanisms such as status, engagement and critical mass could operate on a massive scale, to facilitate the creation of a public good. From an entrepreneurial perspective, it took time to learn how to develop a functional community, but at the same time there was a continuity in that the project helped to spread the hacker movement's ethics to a new generation of Internet users (Anthony et al. 2009, p. 302; Lih 2009, pp. 3–4; Wales 2009, p. xvi).

Wikipedia's way of producing knowledge has both been criticised and inspired new projects, such as *Uncyclopedia* (satire), *Conservapedia*, the fascist *Metapedia*, *Encyclopedia Dramatica*, *Anarchopedia*, *AntiWikipedia*, *Wikinfo*, *Chickipedia*, *Wookieepedia*, *Dickipedia*, *Dealipedia*, *Congresspedia*, *Bulbapedia*, *Citizenium*, Google's *Knol* (which used

experts, sponsored links and wages to writers but no longer exists) and *Veropedia* that freezes high-quality articles in Wikipedia (Anarchopedia Contributors 2015; Conservapedia Contributors 2015; Encyclopedia Dramatica Contributors 2016; Metapedia-bidragsgivare 2010; O’Neil 2009, pp. 148, 153; Wikinfo Contributors 2016).

The right to take the collaborative endeavour, based on the commons-based right to the underlying code, and move it to a new project is called “the right to fork”. This right, which is possible through the copyleft licence, has been a source of romanticised hope in literature on the digital political economy. Despite the fact that this right is available within Wikipedia, it has not resulted in the decentralised creation of encyclopaedias everywhere, but rather in a centralised location for voluntary creation. It is therefore somewhat wrong to see Wikipedia as a way to liberating various desires and wishes through a decentralisation of the means of production. There was concern early on that commercial mirrors of the site would disturb the project’s visibility online, which meant that by 2004 it became customary to demand that these linked back to Wikipedia (Famiglietti 2011, pp. 296, 300). A fork is justified when there are different intentions for how the project should develop, but this also means the new project will compete with the old for dominance. In political discussions among liberals, and also among Marxist groups where the concepts of exodus and exit were launched, forks have been seen as the technique of the oppressed, while the non-forked project is legitimised and strengthened by the lack of a division. However, it is debatable if a real opportunity to fork a project really exists. It is a formal right while a real forking would require a participant base, domain and servers that are divisible, or possible to copy (Tkacz 2011, pp. 96, 100), but still the openness and freedom of Wikipedia—based on wiki technology and copyleft licences—could be influential in the future. This openness enables the project to divide into an unlimited number of other projects and language versions that could be classified as content forks (Suoranta and Vadén 2010, pp. 61–62).

Wiki technology has been used in science, training and the business sector. In a study the logs of 6811 different “wiki production groups” were downloaded and the activities among the different projects were very varied. The top ten projects accounted for 35 per cent of all edits, which is similar to the difference in popularity among free software

programs on SourceForge.² Four coordinated mechanisms: intra-article communication (article discussion pages), inter-user communication (registered user discussion pages), concentration of work-group structure, and policy and procedures, were used to reduce conflicts that often concerned how many users there were in a field. A large group of participants leads to conflicts but is also required by the projects. The study found that policies and procedures resulted in fewer conflicts when there were fewer participants, but more conflicts when there were more people. The other communication technologies became more important when the number of participants increased. Concentrating concrete production to small working groups reduced conflict and improved production by offering a direction and framework for an article (Kittur and Kraut 2010, pp. 217, 221–23). In cases of truly mass collaboration, discussion pages function ideally as disciplining rooms for new editors with divergent points of view, which helps the gradual improvement of articles in the direction desired by the project. Wikipedia here allows less individual agency than in smaller collaborations (Tkacz 2010, p. 50).

Breaks and Continuity with Tradition

The social production of encyclopaedias represented by Wikipedia, freely available and editable online, changes both the content and form compared with earlier encyclopaedias. One important innovation of Wikipedia is that the project includes popular culture in the encyclopaedic tradition and that the project is open to amateurs. Wikipedia is like no earlier project of fundamental importance for all contemporary sectors of society (Haider and Sundin 2014, pp. 475–76). Wikipedia's distinctive character is the large number of articles, images and sounds, and its predominant dependence on volunteers and distance to "traditional commercial considerations" (Loveland and Reagle 2013, p. 305). One interesting feature of Wikipedia is its self-correcting character. Criticised articles are often corrected soon after the criticism has been voiced (Dalby

² SourceForge is a website that collects free software projects.

2009, p. 63). In a clear break with tradition, the activity of vandalism clean-up to protect the site against misconduct is sometimes a semi- or entirely automated practice.³ It is Wikipedia's strict implementation of "protocological control" and use of automated bots that could be given the honour for "Wikipedia's vigilance" (Niederer and van Dijk 2010, p. 1375). Bots and cyborgs are the immune system for the English Wikipedia (Halfaker and Riedl 2012, pp. 79–80).

But Wikipedia also has continuities with the encyclopaedic tradition. It is important not to exaggerate the historic differences. Individual encyclopaedists have through the ages been motivated by idealism and spent a surprising number of hours on their work. An "obsessive 'encyclopaedic impulse'" (Loveland and Reagle 2013, p. 305) have existed before Wikipedia; and the anonymous help to historical encyclopaedic projects, where many printed encyclopaedias have used unsigned articles in a similar way to the anonymity of Wikipedia, has often been neglected. Wikipedia also shares the gradual accumulation with other encyclopaedias (Loveland and Reagle 2013, p. 305). Also, the amateur status of Wikipedia should not be emphasised too much:

Since the late 18th century, many but not all encyclopedias have been credited to large teams of collaborators, but experts in the modern sense were not the only ones contributing, just as experts are hardly absent from the ranks of Wikipedians. (Loveland and Reagle 2013, p. 306)

There is no practical limit for the number of topics Wikipedia can cover, which over time could mean a topic or article could become immensely large the more people contribute to it, which would be contrary to the traditional idea that an encyclopaedia should cover a field in detail but also be carefully adapted to a specific audience. But there is more editorial control than many think at Wikipedia (Schopflin 2014, p. 500). And the knowledge conveyed in the encyclopaedia has always been, before as well as after the digital shift, a product of discussions between producers and their audience. Historically, the exchange of ideas with an audience

³The software programs, robots or bots used are different for different language versions. The Swedish-language version does not use bots against vandalism in the same way as the English version.

has been based on the need for updated information. But even if the exchange between readers and writers is shared between Wikipedia and older encyclopaedias, there is also a difference in their view of the role of readers and editorial staff. In older encyclopaedias, the editors had a more lecturing attitude than in Wikipedia (Spree 2014, p. 569).

The project's epistemological foundation shares an older positivist ideal but also includes elements of pragmatism as the construction process is transparent, which appears modern in this context. The encyclopaedia certainly contains *one* relevant article on each topic, but unlike earlier encyclopaedias includes discussions and history.

Readers and editors of Meyers Konversationslexikon between 1885 and 1890 shared Wikipedia's view that an encyclopaedia should be written from a neutral point of view. *Neutral* was at this time another word for the political position held by the nationalist and liberal camp. This understanding of neutrality could result in a highly ideological argumentation and differs from Wikipedia's emphasis on neutrality as a way to explain the main views of a phenomenon, by weighing them in relation to their "prominence" (Spree 2014, p. 585). Wikipedia always publicly discusses neutrality in a way that limits arguments about neutrality from being used ideologically (Spree 2014, p. 585) in a traditional sense. Wikipedians are constantly acting in a contradiction between exposing knowledge production through constant negotiations that challenge the role of the expert, and being highly dependent on its use of bibliographic authorities (Spree 2014, p. 586). The project's collaboration is partly enabled through the neutrality principle which creates the preconditions to solve conflicts that arise in the process. The principle of the neutral point of view (NPOV) was one way Wales avoided or sidestepped philosophical debates about truth. The NPOV absorbs several different perspectives within the same framework (Reagle 2010, p. 53; Tkacz 2015, p. 49), but this sidestepping only postpones the problem: "While policies are designed to sidestep the problem of truth, these very policies must themselves be based on a truth—a truth of what is notable, verifiable, neutral" (Tkacz 2015, p. 55).

The voluntary character of participation, with its play, work and gaming, is different from other encyclopaedic projects based primarily on wage labour. How wage labour at Wikipedia is different from wage

labour in other areas of the economy, or in the non-profit sector, is an interesting but unexplored field.

Professional encyclopaedias still exist, even if they have changed in addressing digitalization. Some have given up: Brockhaus was discontinued in 2013 and the printed edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* ended in 2012, while others have continued as niche editions, though there are also those that have continued as generalised reference books, with a small team of labourers and experiments with new modes of producing like Nationalencyklopedin (NE) and Store Norske Leksikon. The NE experiments with open data as a basis for more articles in the encyclopaedia. Open and quantified data today meets signed and closed narratives about knowledge in new hybrid forms of reliability (Sundin and Haider 2013). In some cases, the change is about developing specialist information services instead of the old products. Google has moved one step further with its *Knowledge Graph* that uses both Wikipedia and other sources in order to present encyclopaedic information about specific names, locations and phenomena. There are several competing networks (Haider and Sundin 2014, pp. 475–76). The semantic web, the exchange of information on the web using data that is possible to process automatically, with an accumulation of content from more or less related subjects, can become a great competitor to Wikipedia (Upshall 2014, pp. 641–42, 645).

A Social Place and Producing Community

Functionally, Wikipedia is different from traditional encyclopaedias by also being a news website and a meeting place. Wikipedia is thus a social space. The presentation of Wikipedia on the English-language website says repeatedly that the project is the result of a joint effort by Wikipedians. For more information about how to contribute to the project, readers are referred to a “community portal” (Pentzold 2011, p. 706).⁴ Projects within Wikipedia like the WikiProject Military History act both as a way

⁴Wikipedia refers in the following to the English-language version of Wikipedia unless otherwise stated. Conditions may differ in other language versions. This chapter will hopefully still provide an overview of the general development of the project.

to coordinate information and produce articles, and support community members and small groups of editors by helping them to find people to collaborate and network with, which helps them to structure their contributions. The projects help to make editing Wikipedia enjoyable, at the same time as they offer a feeling that the result of the activity will survive and be improved (Forte et al. 2012, pp. 417, 419, 425). Wikipedia is both an encyclopaedia and a social space, where the former provides a snapshot of the community's ongoing conversation. Wikipedia is both an artefact and the community that produces it (Reagle 2010, p. xiii, 1, 3). In the former all contributions are unsigned, even if this can be seen in the history, while all comments on discussion pages are signed (O'Neil 2009, p. 154).

Wikipedia is thus a social institution that works to create an encyclopaedia: "a part-community, and a part-social movement" (Konieczny 2009, pp. 166–67). The encyclopaedia is the manifest function and the development of the community is an unintentional side effect or the latent function (Konieczny 2009, pp. 166–67). The encyclopaedic idea has changed from being personified by the printed book to being a social space where "people meet, quarrel, negotiate and collaboratively build knowledge" (Haider and Sundin 2010).

The composition of Wikipedians as a collective is interesting in many ways. The fact that everyone can contribute and read Wikipedia makes it difficult to decide on boundaries for the social space. A question in focus is whether Wikipedia concerns a mass of wisdom, where a multitude of people make a smaller number of edits or if an inner core makes most of them?⁵ Jimmy Wales suggested in 2006 that 80 per cent of all edits were made by 20 per cent of users (Swartz 2006), which reflects a similar proportion for free software projects (Niederer and van Dijk 2010, p. 371). By 2007, the work effort by the crowd had increased in the English project, while the inner core had been more important at the start of the project. This irrespective of whether the elite were understood to be a chosen group of administrators or as a high-performance group of

⁵The balance between those who make a significant contribution and those who make lesser edits is heavily influenced by the criteria used to define a contribution, according to Loveland and Reagle (Loveland and Reagle 2013, p. 297).

editors. The change can be linked to a substantial increase from 2004 in the low-performance group, both in terms of the number of edits and participants (Kittur et al. 2007, pp. 1, 7–8).

The trend did not continue developing. Later, empirical research shows that a shift took place in the opposite direction in 2007 when the English Wikipedia stopped growing in monthly edits and in the number of editors from a previous exponential growth between 2004 and 2007, while the project received substantial media attention (Halfaker and Riedl 2012, p. 79). At the same time as this reduction, the number of high-frequency Wikipedians increased, while the medium-active became fewer compared with the total number of active participants (Suh et al. 2009).

Wikimedia published a study of editing trends in 2011. The starting point was that the number of active editors was not increasing despite the fact that many new people were joining the project.⁶ One important question was who quits being active: the newcomers or the core meritocracy? A diagram showed that the number of newcomers who were active one year after their tenth edit has generally been in a downward trend since 2005 with relatively minor and temporary increases. The number of active participants increased until 2007, when they began to decrease in number, though not as rapidly. There were fewer newcomers in terms of percentage of the entire population and in terms of numbers (Wikimedia Contributors 2011; Wikimedia Foundation 2011).

The dominant category of Wikipedians thus shifted over time between smaller cores of highly active people or a large number of sporadic participants. Early in the project, the highly active core was important, and this period was followed by the dominance of the many peripheral Wikipedians, before the pendulum swung back and the highly active core became more important again.

But instead of debating whether it is a small minority or a large number of contributors who write the encyclopaedia, it is more correct to stress

⁶New and active are placed on an equal footing by the authors in this reasoning, which means the general pattern is correct despite the fact that they are not synonymous phenomena. New users are defined as those who (during the current month) make their tenth cumulative edit, active wikipedians are defined as those who make five edits each month. A closer definition of what it means to leave the project is not provided. It is also common to take 'wikibreaks'.

that the project is built using a sophisticated hierarchy, where contributing administrators, registered users, anonymous users and bots (software robots) have specific tasks and are ranked in an ordered system, where protocols and technologies are used to make it easier with consensus-based editing, and to protect the project against vandalism (Niederer and van Dijk 2010, pp. 1368–69).

Wikipedia as a Playground

Wikipedia is also another form of social place, a playground. There are similarities between the project and online games and social networks, where social status and careers are developed within the community (Jemielniak 2014, p. 3). Some scholars stress that Wikipedia's play is more serious than usual. In the late modern society, play has become an "obligation, distinct from leisure or relaxation, as a goal-oriented and conspicuous activity" (Keegan 2009, p. 3).⁷ Wikipedia user pages, which are used both as a social profile towards the community and for more practical uses, can be used to exemplify. On these pages users reify their interests, views and achievements by using various templates that show, among other things, the number of articles they have created, edited, or that have been awarded with special status. All of these distinctions fulfil the function of quantifying their recreational activities at the same time as acting as an instrument to express their personality. Keegan claims that this play, which includes a large share of gaming and work, is nobler than traditional play (Keegan 2009, pp. 3–4).⁸ In the following I will argue

⁷This text is unpublished, but originates from a conference presentation and was presented in printed form to the author by Isto Huvila.

⁸Wikipedia itself strikes a similar tone when it describes the same phenomenon on the page *Wikipedia Is a MMORPG*, that is, the project is a Massively Multiplayer Online Role-Playing Game. The encyclopaedia is described as a successor to Nupedia where players collect points in order to advance to higher levels as warriors (rollbackers of vandalised articles), magicians (arbitration committees) and priests (conciliation committees). They can choose to be either "gnomes", "ogres" or "imps" (different editing styles). "Players can take on quests (WikiProjects), fight boss battles (featured article candidate), enter battle arenas (administrator intervention against vandalism) and even take class change trials to become Game Masters (administrators)" (Keegan 2009, p. 3; Wikipedia contributors 2009; Wikipedia contributors 2010). The page has been flagged as humorous, which gives a more professional rather than playful impression, and there is a degree

that playing and gaming need to be separated, and that the play referred to by Keegan has more to do with gaming than with play and is rather a rationalised imitation of play (Söderberg 2008, p. 168).

Another and less constructive form of play or gaming can be sensed in that you can assume a lot of disinformation, misinformation and “humbug or bullshit” in Wikipedia (Fallis 2008, p. 1665). The first term refers to deliberately written false information, the second to incorrect information that has been added in good faith, and the third is exemplified by the TV host Stephen Colbert’s call to viewers to create the world they want in the encyclopaedia rather than the world that actually exists. In a selected post on African elephants, it was suggested to write that their numbers had increased by 300 per cent (Fallis 2008, p. 1665).

Vandalism, humour and irresponsible play are in a way pushing the website towards a more professional attitude through their worrying existence in the margins of the project, while the diversity of responsible play in peer production may suffer from the standardisation as part of a focus on quality since 2006. But the overall culture within Wikipedia is based on a common history, a common language, and values where there is a special sensibility for “a geeky sense of humour” and “love of knowledge” (Reagle 2010, p. 3). The community is self-reflexive, but the core of the project is at the same time the neutral point of view, with its guidelines of no original research and verifiability. As a counterbalance to all the rules, there is also a more playful guideline to “ignore all rules”: if a rule is obstructing someone from improving the encyclopaedia, then it should be ignored.

Professionalisation of the Community

It is interesting, in the light of the playful interpretation of the project’s character, that academics generally have been reluctant to contribute their knowledge to the encyclopaedia, as their work could be edited by participants who are unqualified in the topic, at the same time as they

of seriousness behind the suggestion of a competition for certain instrumental aims rather than pure play. The positions in this expressed attitude are described as the positions in a game’s tensions towards play and work which will be discussed in more detail in this study.

receive no explicit recognition for their efforts (Fallis 2008, p. 1665). The social space has too few distinctive hierarchies, or the project is not meritorious outside itself, in order to attract academics.

Other research indicates greater professionalisation of Wikipedia. Signs of a rapprochement between established research and the project are seen. In 2007, quoting from scientific publications was still not widespread in the English-language Wikipedia but increased after 2007, as a template for quoting scientific articles was introduced in the English-language version. There is a slight tendency to quote journals with a high status (Årup Nielsen 2007). The upward trend for using external quotes was verified in a 2015 survey of the world's 50 largest language versions of the encyclopaedia. The upward trend of high-status quotes, and as it transpired, open-access journals, appears to have continued, with an inverted relationship between open access and high status; some language versions place more emphasis on academic status and others on accessibility. The number of scientific references had by 2014 risen to 311,947 in the English Wikipedia (Teplitkiy et al. 2015).

In 2006, Jimmy Wales proposed that the community should focus on quality instead of quantity. A new policy was introduced for biographies of living people that made higher demands on verification and registration. At the same time, the policy went against the basic principle that editing should be fast and open to everyone and that guidelines should be questioned in action if this was reasonable. In the collectively written afterword to Andrew Lih's book *The Wikipedia Revolution* (2009), Wikipedians write that guidelines have been transformed from descriptions of how things are done to how things should be done to avoid being punished. "In addition, attaining the status of an administrator is perhaps harder than ever. What used to be 'no big deal' and jokingly referred to as a 'janitor' has become a rather powerful role" (Lih 2009, pp. 227, 230). Many are calling for reforms and believe the questioning of potential administrators for the English Wikipedia has gone too far (Lih 2009, p. 230).⁹ Here the social space appears not as a playground but rather as too inhospitable and hierarchical. But other researchers claim that there appears to be implicit defence mechanisms in the project that

⁹Administrators on the Swedish-language Wikipedia must be reappointed at regular intervals.

stop oligarchs from developing among participants. The most important factors to win the editing war appear, for example, to be the degree of activity and how long an editor has taken part in the project, rather than if they are a respected editor or member of a working group (Konieczny 2009, pp. 170, 176–77). You have to keep on working to maintain your status within the community.

Wikimedia Foundation has also changed character in the recent decade: its budget has increased as has the number of employees. In the fiscal year of 2014–15, an additional 49 staff members were hired, adding up to 240 employees (Lund and Venäläinen 2016, pp. 83–84). If it continues to grow then it will in turn generate new needs and costs that require additional financial resources. The creation of an office is sometimes, within the movement for free software, described as a phase characterised by *jealousy altruism factor* (JALT). The community's dynamism changes when some developers are paid for things that were previously managed by volunteers (Lih 2009, p. 232). The rise of the foundation's waged workforce could potentially change what was previously seen as uncomplicated voluntary contributions and threaten a mutual exchange which is no longer seen as fair.

There is an interesting tension in the collective wikitext ending Lih's book. The beginning of the text warns of professionalisation and how this could lead to a reduction in the community's vitality and enthusiasm, while the end of the text suggests some quality assurance to improve Wikipedia. This tension touches on the theme that I wish to study: the relation between play, work, gaming and labour, and what this says about the relationship with capitalism. Does increased professionalism encroach on play? Can professionalism also tackle alienating labour? How and why in that case?

My hypothesis is that this increase in gravity and professionalism influences the view of participants towards why they are contributing to the project and the way they describe their activities in terms of play, work, gaming and labour. This professionalisation, partly as a result of donor expectations, could perhaps act as a reification force with its focus on creating improved use values; use values that potentially and more easily than play and social relations can carry exchange values. The professionalisation of the productive activities can also be imagined to have other consequences for how Wikipedia's relation to capitalism and its logics are perceived by the Wikipedians.

Relationship Between the Non-profit and Commercial

The shifting values among Wikipedians about the relationship between idealism and commercialism have been pointed out in research. Wikipedia is often given as an example of the Internet's potential to support open, free and non-commercial cooperation, but Kim Osman holds that these discourses are often confused with how reality is manifested in peer production. He focuses on the tension within Wikipedia between the original values and commercial inroads into activities. "*Wikipedia* is an encyclopaedia in transition. Its core values are being called into question as an increasing number of users are paid to contribute to the encyclopaedia" (Osman 2014, p. 594). Osman studies how the open editorial community answers to the rising presence of commercial interests and paid editors, through a detailed analysis of three votes on banning or limiting paid editing in English Wikipedia following a major scandal where the PR firm Wiki-PR was found to have hidden activities with 12,000 clients, and employed Wikipedians to take part in their activities by helping businesses to edit their articles in Wikipedia. The reactions of the community have been mixed. The institutional answer from Jimmy Wales, Sue Gardner and the Wikimedia Foundation (WMF) was a clear condemnation and was based on earlier actions from the community against commercial involvement (see the Spanish fork later in the chapter). The community's reactions have, however, varied depending on the language version and time horizon assumed. At the time the article was written, the German part of Wikipedia had developed "working arrangements" with editors who are paid to write for the encyclopaedia. Participants in the French WMF also supported paid editing from businesses as this improves articles that would otherwise suffer from outdated information. In this situation, with a more open attitude to paid editing from other language versions, the English Wikipedia has tried to support the ideal of openness and neutrality ahead of freedom from commercial interests. "It is looking at ways of defining and regulating this involvement, but not in any way that would impede the ability of *anyone* to edit" (Osman 2014, pp. 594, 598–99, 604). Osman argues in addition that the image of Wikipedia as an ideal for free, open and voluntary non-commercial activity, no longer stands up

to closer scrutiny (Osman 2014, p. 604). This view is questioned in the current study, which focuses on both synergies and conflicts between the non-profit and commercial and has a more open view of various strategies ahead of future developments. The extensive discussion about paid editing could instead be seen as a part of a politicisation process of Wikipedia where an unusually critical discussion about commercially based editing, which has always been latently present, is aired. The copyleft licence has always allowed commercial use outside the project and it is only with regard to advertising on Wikipedia that freedom from commercialism has really been discussed earlier. Biased editing has always been taken care of subsequently by the principle of neutrality. It therefore appears rather as news that paid editing must be addressed and that this is done from a critical perspective, as well as resulting in various concrete ways to deal with a problem that has always existed within the project.¹⁰

Wikipedia acts as an arena for political campaigns and corporate PR strategies (Langlois 2009, p. 775). Wikipedians have pointed out that the website's success in the 2000s created a constant problem avoiding ad placement and junk such as published sales brochures (Lih 2009, p. 226). But to use a PR agency could point at another way to edit a company article. Corporate executives are trying to understand how Wikipedia works, and the advice given in the management literature is that the firms should use someone else to write about them, without advertisements, and to keep the text brief, with history, a review and with external sources. It is in addition a question of maintaining an ongoing check on the article and being on the defensive (Rebello 2009). Today, when anyone Googles a corporate name, the Wikipedia article about the company is often near the top of the hits, and this can be a problem for the company that has historically been in control of available information about it. Kaplan and Haenlein offer ten suggestions to follow with regard to social media, one of which warns against lying when the company is dealing with Wikipedia, which is presented as a social media with a small degree of self-presentation and social presence (Kaplan and Haenlein 2010, pp. 60, 62, 67). This suggests that Wikipedia has some power vis-à-vis commercial actors. Companies' cost-benefit analysis tells them that

¹⁰ For a more in-depth analysis and criticism of Osman's analyses, see Lund and Venäläinen's article "Monetary Materialities of Peer-produced Knowledge" in Triple C (Lund and Venäläinen 2016).

their presence on Wikipedia is important, but there are limits and rules for their behaviour if their presence on the platform should be successful.

The circulation on the web of posts from Wikipedia also integrates peer production in existing privately owned networks, web formats and search engines. New technologies to produce content change the character of the texts. The encyclopaedia's posts function in these cases also as tags towards search engines, and as material to create commercial services for sites that harvest the project (Langlois 2009, pp. 773–76, 787). “That is, automated content reproduction is not so much about the large-scale dissemination of meaning as it is about the redistribution of flows of users and flows of traffic through new commercial channels” (Langlois 2009, p. 780).

Wikipedia is also used by commercial search engines to sell advertising to their own websites. Spoerri shows that Google probably rewards Wikipedia by often placing the website among the first three hits. One possible reason for this could be that while the encyclopaedia receives more visits, commercial actors find it more difficult with their page ranking, which forces them to a greater extent to pay for advertising space with Google (Spoerri 2007a, b).

The question of advertisements and Wikipedia has to be mentioned further. One incident stands out in this context. The Spanish Wikipedia forked itself in February 2002 when a majority of participants instead formed *Enciclopedia Libre*. This was in response to either Jimmy Wales or Larry Sanger, unclear who, airing thoughts on the website's email list about allowing the use of advertisements. Edgar Enyeda from the Spanish-language version justified the fork by writing: “Nobody is going to use my efforts to pay wages or maintain servers”. The resulting competition hampered the development of the Spanish Wikipedia for many years (Guldbrandsson 2008, p. 146; Lih 2009, pp. 9, 137).

Finally, one characteristic stands out when it comes to Wikipedia and money. Wikipedia depends on donations and contributions from private individuals, commercial business, foundations and governments, even if the community has some minor income from sales of updates and feeds to search engines. All of this means that the Wikimedia Foundation must adapt to donors who expect a continually improved and usable encyclopaedia (Dalby 2009, p. 49; Lih 2009, p. 232). Who the donors are, is of crucial importance for the relationship between the non-

profit and commercial realm. The existence of many small and popular donations will be further analysed in this study.

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4

The Outside of Cognitive Capitalism Understood Through Ideology Analysis

The framework for the investigation is a specific understanding of capitalism's inside and outside that does not relegate the latter into being just an appendix to the former. I present this framework as an introduction.

Wikipedia could, as a potential political strategy, be seen as a variation of the autonomist Marxists' *exodus* from the capitalist society (Virno 1996a). Several informants talk about Wikipedia as an oasis of trustworthiness and ad-free information and knowledge. This notion of a safe haven and identity with the outside of capitalism can be understood in different ways. First rather straightforward as an oasis in a capitalist desert: a relaxed complement to otherwise rather demanding circumstances. A place in which to rest between work and business trips in the capitalist world. But there are other, more radical interpretations.

There is a difference between *useful* productive activities and *socially necessary* productive activities. The first alternative suggests an activity that is useful for the producer, and the second points to a phenomenon on a social level where the useful activity has been socially constructed as necessary, one example being the formation of exchange values on the capitalist market.¹ It is not that the input of labour per se creates value,

¹A concept is needed for activities perceived as socially necessary by their producers but that still have not achieved that status on a societal level.

but that value is decided socially amongst people and is a social relation. The value theory of Karl Marx is therefore not a theory of labour but a theory of the “modern socialization of necessity” (Fleischer 2012, p. 22).² In capitalism, all socially necessary products have a value and are sold as commodities in exchange for money. However, the socialization of necessity is not necessarily dependent on the market exchange; it can also be constructed within the gift economy of commons-based peer production. It could be that socially necessary is not the right concept in this context, maybe it should be called *commonly necessary*?³ Historically, there have been many different forms of social divisions of work (Polanyi 2001, p. 57; Pashukanis 1983, p. 79; Graeber 2011, pp. 96–99), and Marx stressed that commodity production was not a necessary condition for society (Marx 1969, p. 49).

The question when it comes to Wikipedia is if the project should chose to be associated with socially necessary activities of a capitalist character, regardless if it is an open-access encyclopaedia with a product that is not sold as a commodity on the market. Such an arrangement would let Wikipedia continue to collect money through donations, its part of the social wealth, and use wage labour. Or should the road forward for Wikipedia instead be to expand the voluntary and unpaid, but still socially or commonly necessary, activities to an expanding range of projects in society, with the prospect that the human and generic lust to create would inundate capitalism with a new and more effective mode of production? Or, is the first alternative a necessary precondition for the second alternative: capitalism of communism or commons a precondition for communism or commonwealth pure and simple (Hardt and Negri 2009)?

The question if Wikipedia functions as a complementary and vitalising injection to capitalism, or as an alternative germ to a commons-

² Fleischer uses the Swedish word *församhälleligande* in this context with its connotation of society rather than the social in general.

³ The notion commonly necessary opens up space for a new form of socialisation of necessity that occurs in-between the state and the market, between commoners, and therefore exists outside of both the state and the market. The deeper meaning being that the social could be reconstructed bottom-up through a multitude of commons, and commons-based peer production projects (PPP) forming ever more interacting and encompassing networks in society. But such a concept could also confine the peer production to the commons’ realm and preclude the idea of expanding commons that increasingly become socially necessary in a societal sense.

based economy, can seem to be rather unwordly, but puts the finger on how capitalism and the commons-based peer production cooperate and potentially can cooperate. Sylvère Lotringer has made a point when it comes to the new, multifaceted subject, the multitude, which informs society, the production and the social movements:

Capitalism itself is revolutionary because it keeps formenting inequality and provoking unrest. It also keeps providing its own kind of “communism” both as a vaccine, preventing further escalation, and an incentive to go beyond its own limitations. The multitude responds to both and can go either way, absorbing the shocks or multiplying the fractures that will occur in unpredictable ways. (Lotringer 2004, p. 18)

The perspective on the multitude is accentuated by Paolo Virno who stresses that contemporary society’s loosening of the meaning of concepts like citizen and producer can be connected to changes in the liberal, bourgeois dichotomy between a public and private sphere, and in the democratic socialist version between a collective and individual sphere. He holds that the multitude under the people’s and the state’s period, from the seventeenth century until the end of the twentieth century, was consigned to the private or the individual sphere, but that the multitude today is not an enemy to the One (as in the people and the state) but rather wants to reconfigure the One to some sort of union, where the unity in form of common conditions rather is seen as a background than something that everything converges against. The multitude should be understood as an individualisation of the universal and generic. It requires a varied approach including anthropology, linguistic philosophy, critical political economy and ethical reflections to understand and examine this multiplicity in the unity (Virno 2011, pp. 28, 30–31). The communistic potential that today is (re)produced by capitalism picks up the radical individualism that is inscribed in the communist motto: *from each according to his ability, to each according to his need*. This can be seen as part of contemporary processes that strengthen the incentive to go beyond capitalism. At the same time, activities that traditionally under capitalism have been confined to the private and reproductive sphere are being commodified and therefore stop functioning as a vaccine for capitalism.

Commons-based peer production, and more specifically WMF, could be seen both as a vaccine and as an incentive to move beyond capitalism as it does not strive for profit, is driven by the voluntary activities of a multitude of Wikipedians and demands that derivative works of it is licensed under a copyleft licence. But what if this incentive to move beyond capitalism is gaining strength rather than getting weakened if Wikipedia uses wage labour for certain activities? Eventually all liquid means and solid assets owned by the foundation are used for its commons-based projects, and nothing is redistributed through dividends to private actors. But the wages that are paid can of course be higher or lower, and assets and means can be used in improductive ways in relation to the created use value.⁴ The non-commercial character consists in a lack of interest in generating profit through selling commodities on the market (even if WMF buys labour power and other commodities on the market). Such a non-commercial and commons-based setting may allow for empowering strategic alliances as well as paving way for new conflicts with capital and its logic? Perhaps there is a middle way between absorbing the shocks and multiplying the tensions and fractures for the multitude? At least for the time being.

Collected donations are today used to increase supporting activities vis-à-vis the mainly voluntary editing in Wikipedia and other projects within the “Wikimedia Sphere”, but theoretically the economic means could also be used directly for the editing processes. There is no absolute distinction between commercialism and non-commercialism within the project. Thus, the intended ideology analysis requires an even deeper contextualization in the form of a description of the inside and outside of capital, or better, inside and outside of the commons, and the two’s relation.⁵

⁴The productive/improductive binary used here deviates from traditional Marxism where productive labour normally means value-producing labour. We need to use the concept of productive in new ways related to use value production and new forms of valorization of the socially or commonly necessary. Likewise the concept of exploitation can be used in broader terms than as only built on a direct extraction of surplus value.

⁵Capitalism’s *inside*, when analysing peer production as an outside to capital, is defined as concrete labour subordinated under the logic of abstract labour and producing its opposite: capital (Marx 1973, p. 305). Capital’s *outside* can be understood as concrete labour per se, in the sense that Marx sees it as capital’s opposite. The outside can also be portrayed as alternative social practices and struggles based in alternative forms of valorization (De Angelis 2007, pp. 29–30). However, the interface between capital’s inside and outside is not a clear-cut one and should be investigated and discussed further.

It is the mandatory, obsessed, continuous, unstoppable and always incomplete modernisation, with its unquenchable thirst for creative destruction, which distinguishes the capitalist modernity from all other historic forms of human coexistence (Bauman 2000, p. 28). Prior to capitalism's emergence, the economy was always embedded in the social and cultural life. The pre-capitalist societies were organised by different principles for reciprocal and redistributive economising (Polanyi 2001, pp. 49, 57):

[T]he orderly production and distribution of goods was secured through a great variety of individual motives disciplined by general principles of behaviour. Among these motives gain was not prominent. Custom and law, magic and religion cooperated in inducing the individual to comply with rules of behaviour which, eventually, ensured his functioning in the economic system. (Polanyi 2001, p. 57)

Karl Polanyi's insights correlate with the ideas of the critical Soviet scholar Evgeny Pashukanis, who criticised and historicised the *legal form*. Pashukanis engaged with the sociological roots of the legal form to demonstrate "the relative and historically limited nature of the fundamental juridical concepts" (Head 2008, p. 170). The regulation of society could under certain conditions assume a legal character, but the legal form was not a trans-historical phenomenon.

There is no denying that there is a collective life among animals too which is also regulated in one way or another. But it would not occur to us to assert that the relations of bees and ants are regulated by *law*. Turning to primitive peoples, we do see the seeds of law in them, but the greater part of their relations are regulated extra-legally, by religious observances for instance. (Pashukanis 1983, p. 79)

Even in capitalist society, many services such as the postal and rail services, as well as the military, to name a few, could not in their entirety be related to "the sphere of *legal* regulation". Timetables are regulated in a different manner than the laws concerning the liability of the railways (Pashukanis 1983, p. 79). Also, a *communist baseline* has existed in most societies. People tend according to David Graeber to return to a "rough-and-ready communism" when different sorts of catastrophes occur. Hierarchies and

markets are then perceived as luxury phenomena that no one can afford. Social discourse and communication is in itself built on communism. Lies, insults and other verbal aggressions get a lot of their strength from the fact that people normally do not use them. Different forms of politeness, as when we are being asked for a light or if we have a cigarette to spare, and the obligation-side of the communist formula—*from each according to his ability*—is so minimal that we follow it without thinking about it, are complemented by an understanding of the second part of the formula, *to each according to his needs*, when it is evident that people with acute or spectacular needs (as if someone is drowning) also have a right to be saved if someone has the opportunity to do so. To summarise, communism is the foundation of all sociality. Communism makes society possible. The communist principle is the rule as long as people do not look upon each other as enemies, and the need is sufficiently big and the cost reasonable. To share with each other is central both in hard times as well as in times of *festivitas* (Graeber 2011, pp. 96–99).

Solitary pleasures will always exist, but for most human beings, the most pleasurable activities almost always involve sharing something: music, food liquor, drugs, gossip, drama, beds. There is a certain communism of the senses at the root of most things we consider fun. (Graeber 2011, p. 99)

Markets and the legal form were according to Polanyi and Pashukanis social and historical constructions deviating from past history. The transition from isolated markets to a market economy, from regulated to self-regulated markets, is a central transformation in history. The dissociation of the economy from social life to a special sphere, where it is assigned a characteristic economic motive, is described as a “singular departure” (Polanyi 2001, p. 74). This separate market economy then has to include all industrial elements at the same time as work and land are fictive commodities that are not produced by man to be commodities and are nothing other than the people that society consists of and the natural milieu it exists within (Polanyi 2001, pp. 74–75).⁶ Even so, Polanyi claims that

⁶Polanyi states about work/labour: “Labor is only another name for a human activity which goes with life itself, which in its turn is not produced for sale but for entirely different reasons, nor can that activity be detached from the rest of life, be stored or mobilized” (Polanyi 2001, p. 75).

reciprocity and redistribution can exist in market societies without being the normal way, in the same manner as the exchange principle can take a subordinated role in societies with other hegemonic principles (Polanyi 1989, p. 69).⁷ This opens up for historic social formations to include several competing or interacting modes of production that combines reciprocity and exchange logics in different and heterogeneous ways.

The people that society consists of and the natural milieu are the *substance* of society, which within capitalism are subordinated under the *formal* market economy and its abstract laws. Capitalism thus is characterised by having a substantial and informal outside in relation to the formal and hegemonic market economy, and it cannot survive without its substantial outside. Rasmus Fleischer describes Polanyi's view on economy as "man's exchanges with his natural and social life milieu form a substantial economy" and some of them "follow a logic that is 'economic'" (Fleischer 2012, p. 19).⁸

Theoretically, this perspective opens up our understanding of capitalism and the alternatives to it. Is it enough for this substantial and informal outside to be an outside, or do tendencies exist within it to challenge the power of the formal economy with the aim of once again *embedding* the exchange process within social and cultural life? Projects like Wikipedia with its voluntary participants driven by a whole range of motives other than economic gain, within a project that is regulated by rules of thumb, netiquette, principles of reciprocity, and combinations of networked and hierarchical organisation, contribute to new forms of social and cultural embeddedness of economic productivity, mainly outside of the legal form, but the question is if this substantial and informal outside is happy with just being an outside or not?

The outside to capital can be portrayed as alternative social practices and struggles based in alternative forms of valorisation. Massimo De Angelis speaks of *value practices* and claims that individuals are "singular agents" that bear both capitalist value practices *and* alternative value

⁷A market is a meeting place where you exchange, buy and sell. If such places do not exist, at least in patches, people's will to barter will only be limited, without the power to build prices. When the market pattern is established with its connection to the exchange motive, this institution dominates the whole of society. The regulation of society starts to be an appendix to the market, instead of the economy being embedded in society (Polanyi 1989, pp. 69–70, 86–87, 192).

⁸ Author's translation from Swedish.

practices. Social interactions in the market turn dominant meanings of the capitalist value system into a *programme* which constitutes part of disciplinary processes, and create norms for social cooperation. This programme (and value practices in general) enter into conflict with other value practices and *value struggles* emerge and constitute an “ongoing tension in the social body” (De Angelis 2007, pp. 29–30). In this context, and when analysing peer production, Marx’s notion of *concrete labour* as the opposite to capital (and thus outside to capital) (Marx 1973, p. 305) could be interpreted as meaning that the alternative value practices (not exchange value!) of concrete labour—especially in the case of peer production’s social cooperation—are the most potent ones of all alternative value processes. Possibly alternative *value practices* and *value struggles* could turn into new solid, disciplining and norm-creating *value programmes*.

As already said, there is a difference between *useful* productive activities and *socially necessary* productive activities. The first alternative suggests an activity that is useful for the producer, and the second suggests an activity that is not only useful on the individual level but considered both useful and necessary on a social level. It is not the input of labour per se that creates value in capitalism; value is a social relation and is decided socially amongst people. The value theory of Karl Marx is therefore not a theory of labour but a theory of the modern socialisation of necessity as pointed out in the beginning of the chapter. In capitalism, all products that are sold as commodities in exchange for money on the market have value and are socially necessary. Capitalism’s value practices are hardened into value programmes and these *impose* patterns of behaviour regarded as being necessary (De Angelis 2007, p. 28).

Marxism provides peer producers with a provocative question: should peer production be useful in a limited sense or a new value programme that imposes new socially necessary patterns of behaviour? Should peer production complement and vitalise capitalism (by being understood as *useful* in an unspecified way by peer producers in a capitalist society), or form an alternative and increasingly competitive commons-based economy (aiming to be socially necessary)? What speaks in favour of projects like Wikipedia striving to be seen as socially necessary? Such a stand would lead to value struggles with capital. A commons-based value programme aiming to be socially necessary would possibly

create a new “space” for the socialisation of necessity in-between both the state and the market, whereas being only commonly necessary with no ambition of becoming socially necessary could turn peer production into a complementing and vitalising resource for capital.

Value struggles are active in society all the time. Capital is a process where economic growth has become an end in itself, and where value, understood as a social relation, denotes this growth within the accumulation of capital. People make themselves, their actions and their products exchangeable in these processes (Fleischer 2012, pp. 22, 25–26). But at the same time as the formal market mechanism values people, their actions and products, its processes as well as the alternative valorisation processes are involved in the formation of norms regarding what should *not* be exchanged on the market:

Value’s growth as a historical process is undistinguishable from the parallel evolution of norms regarding what is *not* exchangeable. A capitalist society is accordingly a society where this demarcation line between an inside and outside is under constant renegotiation. Some activities are “dissociated” from value. (Fleischer 2012, pp. 25–26, author’s translation)

Roswitha Scholz contends that value and value dissociation stand in a dialectical relation to each other. “Rather, both simultaneously emerge out of each other”, but value production occurs within the macro field of the value dissociation processes. The patriarchal gender system is active within the dissociation processes and is thus central to capitalist value production (Scholz 2014, pp. 128–29).

Liberal economic doctrine idealises a constant expansion of the market logic; neo-classic theory ultimately sees the outside to capitalism as an externality and market failure (without value) (Lehdonvirta and Castronova 2014, p. 143). The outside is caused by the market rather than already existing. Fleischer contends instead, based in the Marxist tradition of *Wertkritik*, that capitalism can never be total in its character (Fleischer 2012, p. 25). It is dependent on the possibility of both dissociation of people, products and phenomena from its value production as externalities, and to the possibility of dragging externalities (produced by capital logic, or already existing as social and natural life) into the value system when needed. Commons-based and alternative value practices and

value struggles of peer production projects could (engaging in struggles against both capital and patriarchy) inform these externalities in positive ways, and alter the character of the valorisation and de-valorisation processes in accordance with their needs.

Externalities have been given more importance in alternative valorisation processes under the twentieth century. State regulations grew in importance after the Great Depression of the 1930s, the fundamental role of ecology was articulated by the environmental movement in the 1960s, and feminism has had a focus on unpaid reproductive work and its importance for capitalism. These social movements and processes can be seen as part of the renegotiations around value and non-value. Biopolitics and the connected bioeconomy are given more importance today than yesterday. The social struggles of the last hundred years thus have many insights to offer peer producers interested in their project's political-economic role.

At the same time the substantial social life, and mediations of it, is increasingly exploited by capital. So the question is how these growing articulations and alternative valorisations (in relation to capital) of biopolitics and bioeconomics are going to be evaluated.

Communism of Capital

The mediated social life today feeds a capitalist system increasingly based in new information and communication technology (ICT). Leading segments of the world economy have increasingly become dependent on different digital systems with their flexible labour organisation, decentralised responsibility in work teams and just-in-time production. The Frankfurt School's cultural industry has mutated and now often requires the active communicative participation of people. Autonomist Marxists, influenced by Marx's writings about a general intellect and Michel Foucault's thoughts on the growing importance of biopolitics, describe today's situation in terms of social life being value producing and productive in itself, within what Paolo Virno has called *communism of capital* (Virno 2004, p. 110). The argument assumes that the demarcation line between the substantial and formal economy—between social life and the value production—is drawn afterwards in the cases where social life

is appropriated by capital (Fleischer 2014a, b). The outside of capital is rather ambiguous and unclear, sometimes even directly absent, in this perspective.⁹ This assumption portrays the outside to capital in the same dependent way as neo-classical theory. But as we will see, in the section *capitalism of communism*, the outside could be more dynamic than so.

The logic of cognitive capitalism is, similar to all capitalist logic, full of contradictions and its outsides are also important to it.¹⁰ These outsides continue to be of different strengths, origins, directions and functions in relation to the needs of capitalism to withdraw and expand the capital relation in accordance with short-term economic fluctuations and in the long-term to continually expand this to new areas. Rosa Luxemburg pointed out at the beginning of the last century that capitalism needed an environment of dependent non-capitalist outsides in order to exist and develop but that not every outside could serve its interests.

Capitalism needs non-capitalist social strata as a market for its surplus value, as a source of supply for its means of production and as a reservoir of labour power for its wage system. For all these purposes, forms of production based upon a natural economy are of no use to capital. (Luxemburg 1951, p. 368)

⁹In the *Porcelain Workshop* from 2005 Antonio Negri expresses this succinctly that the world we live in is defined by society's subordination to capital; capital no longer has an outside (Negri 2008, p. 29).

¹⁰The designation *cognitive* is criticised by Lazzarato, who emphasises the crisis of subjectivity that characterises modern capitalism. Subjectivities and their changes are not primarily to do with knowledge, information and culture, as non-discursive cores exist at their centre. Changes to subjectivities are an *existential* confirmation and understanding of the self, others and the world. It is this non-discursive, existential and affective foundation where new languages, discourses, knowledge and politics proliferate (Lazzarato 2014, p. 16). I agree in many respects with Lazzarato's criticism, but understand the formation of the subjectivities as a combination of discursive and non-discursive practices. I use the term *cognitive* when language and other character systems appear to be the means actively used by capital at a superficial level to influence, manipulate and profit from the existential and affective subjectivities, which results in the typical semiotic surface of the modern mediated world. However, the subjectivities are of course at a deeper level subordinate to practices that are every day, non-discursive, and bearing the stamp of capitalism. Lazzarato's reasoning becomes most interesting when he argues about the preconditions for creating new subjectivities and politics. Capital has no role here, instead moments must pass when the dominant meaning is dissolved in events exemplified by strikes, struggle, revolts and rioting, where the chronological time ceases to exist together with the dominant ideas. In the free spaces created, the relationship between production and the beginnings of existential subjectification are articulated (Lazzarato 2014, pp. 18–19). Engagement within peer production could be added to this list. See also the critical discussion of the concept of *immaterial labour* in footnote 13 and the discussion about the importance of non-discursive elements in ideology analysis later in this chapter.

The natural economies referred to by Luxemburg, agricultural societies with common ownership of land or feudal economies, were self-sufficient, focused on internal needs and produced no surplus. The problem with these was that they had no demand for external products and were not prepared to work in a way that meant they could purchase them on any significant scale. “A natural economy thus confronts the requirements of capitalism at every turn with rigid barriers. Capitalism must therefore always and everywhere fight a battle of annihilation against every historical form of natural economy” (Luxemburg 1951, pp. 368–69). This need to reshape the non-capitalist outside based on capital accumulation’s interest leads to violence and a continuously ongoing form of what Marx called the original or *primitive accumulation*. In recent years, David Harvey has interpreted Luxemburg’s claims as meaning that capitalism needs to create new accumulation regimes in order to ride out its own crises (Fuchs 2014, p. 166).¹¹ Primitive accumulation has a contemporary continuous role where the central separation between people and the means of production can assume many forms. De Angelis shares Luxemburg’s theory that capitalism needs to force the exchange mechanism upon non-capitalist production, which leads to a collision with the social relations surrounding non-capitalist production (De Angelis 2008, pp. 28–31).

Autonomist Marxists have a unique perspective on modern capitalism, which despite its faults offers an insight into the advanced form of post-Fordism, or Virno’s communism of capital (Virno 2004, p. 110). In Virno’s tenth thesis of the multitude and modern capitalism, he stress that the period after 1930 sometimes is referred to as the socialism of capital, in reference to the active role the state adopted towards the economic cycle in a time that still remembered the Depression and the Russian Revolution. In the 1980s and 1990s, society experienced a turning tide activated by the failed revolution in the 1960s and 1970s, which had anti-socialist demands on its agenda, despite its anti-capitalist character. The counter-culture of the 1960s emphasised the importance

¹¹ Economic peripheries can further more be used as a buffer when crisis periods strike the system. If relatively more funds are loaned to the periphery during expansive phases, this lending is reduced to a greater extent when a crisis hits the economy (Marazzi 2011, *Capital and language*, pp. 72–73).

of differences and the individual and issued radical criticism of labour. Capital re-orchestrated, starting in the early 1970s, this criticism and its material and cultural conditions based on its own needs, which resulted in a “calm version of realism for the potential communist” (Virno 2004, pp. 110–11). This idea corresponds to Boltanski and Chiapello’s perspective on the development (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007, p. 199). It was the protests by the younger generation against the distinction between “conception and action” that was the basis for the 1968 revolt: “By proletarianising intellectual labour, Fordism had created a dissident minority within the workforce” (Barbrook 2006, p. 26). This resulted in the gradual introduction of post-Fordism. The labour struggle in the 1970s speeded up the introduction of microelectronics in production, which resulted in a general intellectualisation of labour processes (Berardi 2009, p. 94). This process had already at the end of the 1970s and early 1980s given rise to theories of a possible “New Left revolution”, which was a prophecy that became mainstream in the 1990s, though then reshaped into a celebration of neo-liberal modernity (Barbrook 2006, p. 024). Antonio Negri uses harsh terms when commenting on this development: “Only the arrogance and insane bad faith of the old leaderships of the workers’ movement, attached as they were to the most sinister corporatism, could have left a monopoly on the interpretation of this new process of the liberation of the labour force to the mystification of the neo-liberals” (Negri 1989, p. 79).

The promised freedom is transformed in the communism of capital into a freedom to work also during free time and the network form has replaced class categories (Fisher 2013, pp. 74–75, 81–82, 84–86, 100, 103). The conflict between labour and capital changed character and it is this reality that the autonomist Marxists have tried to embrace with their criticism. Autonomist Marxism identifies the new accumulation regime (but also modern progressive opportunities that will be discussed later in the chapter). A reduction in the socially necessary labour time is expressed in that those on the “inside” work longer hours than previously, and those on the “outside” are alienated. “Even when squeezed by temporary workers, the entity of employed workers presents itself as ‘overpopulation’ or as the ‘industrial reserve army’” (Virno 2004, p. 110). Christian Marazzi states that those with the privilege to have a “long-term” position

at a company are also required to be completely accommodating to the company's "mood shifts", which can take the form of unpaid overtime, at the same time as 10 per cent of citizens are unemployed (Marazzi 2011, pp. 44–45). In addition to Richard Florida's creative class, the communism of capital also embraces the voluntary and unpaid producers and consumers of commercial and digital platforms. Consumer activities themselves have today been transformed into being productive for capital: "It is thus we can make sense of the rise of the so-called prosumer. Capital counters the resistance of employees (and non-employees) by dissolving the line between the producer and the consumer. The 'hacker spirit' is pitched against the 'refusal of work' " (Söderberg 2008, p. 108).

It is at work that people today develop themselves, or almost-themselves. Labour or the company becomes the core focus for individual desire and the goal that receives not only economic but also psychological investment (Berardi 2009, p. 78). Increased material and social vulnerability resulting from the collapse of the social safety net and the existential deterioration and communication, can be added to this explanation of the contemporary love of labour. According to Franco "Bifo" Berardi, we can just as well sell our labour as live a lonely and boring life (Berardi 2009, p. 83). Virno adds to this that a personal dependency is developed within post-Fordism when a "person's basic communicative and cognitive habits" are subordinate to capitalist logic (Virno 2004, p. 41). Post-Fordism increasingly requires that the working class develops a capacity to accommodate the unexpected and to communicate something new in this meeting, that is, an inclusion of "the very *anthropogenesis* in the existing mode of production". Virno thinks this is an extreme moment in the history of humanity (Virno 2004, pp. 50–63).

This event does not assuage, but radicalises, instead, the antinomies of economic-social capitalistic formation. Nobody is as poor as those who see their own relation to the presence of others, that is to say, their own communicative faculty, their own possession of language, reduced to wage labour. (Virno 2004, p. 63)

If communication is commodified as unilaterally as suggested here by Virno, what then happens to play, which shares many of the same qualities as communication (Lund 2014, pp. 752–55). Play appears increasingly

as a fabricated and rational imitation (Söderberg 2008, p. 168). McKenzie Wark develops the situationist theory about the *Society of the Spectacle* and suggests that it is no longer enough that the audience views the spectacle in their free time but that they themselves produce the spectacle in their free time. He states that “Play becomes work” (Wark 2007, paragraph of Cuts [Endnotes] 111) and Berardi adds that modern communication “loses its character of gratuitous, pleasurable and erotic contact, becoming an economic necessity, a joyless fiction” (Berardi 2009, pp. 86–87).

Immaterial Labour of a Social Worker¹²

A growing proportion of the production of use values and exchange values in modern society is immaterial in nature. Immaterial in the sense that these commodities are not “tangible” and are often based on digitisation and information technology.¹³ Commodities today are more defined

¹²The concept of *immaterial labour* was created in order to replace Negri’s earlier term *the social worker*. In many ways, the latter concept is more exact and direct in its communication about the issue at hand: human communication and interaction. The *social worker* is an autonomist Marxist term developed out of the social struggles in Italy in the late 1960s and 1970s. Italian autonomist Marxists assert that the social worker replaced the *mass worker*, which had been developed during Fordism, and in turn was a response to the earlier successful organising and struggle of the skilled craftsmen of the labour aristocracy (Negri 1988, pp. 205–8).

¹³In conjunction with the publication of Hardt’s and Negri’s *Empire*, there was a critical discussion about the concept of immaterial labour. Dyer-Witheford sees three main objections. *First*, it appeared that the concept excluded some very physical components in high-technology labour: digital paralysis, repetitive stress, terminal isolation and a number of other diseases were linked to this. *Second*, the authors were accused of diminishing the continuing fundamental importance in post-Fordism of material and physical labour at the centre of the global economy but perhaps even more in its periphery. Caffentzis thinks they ignored the renaissance of slavery. *Third*, the concept was criticised for merging very different categories in a single term. What actually united a network technician, a barista and a sex worker? Above all the gender component, with women active in low-status professions in affective labour rather than in high-status symbol analyst professions, tends not to be given the consideration it deserves. The authors replied that immaterial does not mean non-material (rather non-tangible), that immaterial labour was hegemonic in qualitative terms in leading segments of the economy, rather than quantitatively leading. But they used the term more sparingly in following books (Dyer-Witheford 2010, pp. 266–67).

Wolfgang Fritz Haug writes in a dictionary article that the term *immaterial labour* was coined by Henri Storch in the early nineteenth century. Storch attempted in the wake of Jean-Baptiste Say and the French ideologists to criticise Adam Smith’s reasoning that labour among some of the most respected strata in society was “unproductive of any value” (Smith quoted through Haug). Within the neo-liberalist discourse in the new economy, the concept gained a second life. Haug contends that it is a non-concept with at best a polemical content against notions of labour as only industrial

by cultural and informational knowledge elements, or by various qualities of service and care. Labour that produces these commodities has also changed character: “Immaterial labour might thus be conceived as the labour that produces the informational, cultural, or affective element of the commodity” (Virno and Hardt 1996, p. 261). This labour does not primarily concern creating an object, but rather creating subjectivities. Autonomist Marxists emphasise at the same time that the production of subjectivities and things is interlinked with modern capitalism (Dyer-Witheford 2010, p. 265).

In the service sector, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri find an abundant use of productive communication. “Most services indeed are based on the continual exchange of information and knowledges” (Hardt and Negri 2000, p. 290). They present an interesting idea that labourers at an early stage of capitalism learnt to behave like machines both inside and outside the factory, and that now their behaviours resemble a computer:

One novel aspect of the computer is that it can continually modify its own operation through its use. Even the most rudimentary forms of artificial intelligence allow the computer to expand and perfect its operation based on its interaction with its user and its environment. The same kind of continual interactivity characterizes a wide range of contemporary productive activities. (Hardt and Negri 2000, p. 291)

The informationalisation of production leads to a homogenisation of labour processes that no longer differs as much in their concrete actions, as say tailoring or weaving. The computer appears in this respect as a universal machine. Though at the same time affective labour is included in immaterial labour, based on human contact and interaction (Hardt and Negri 2000, p. 292). Dyer-Witheford describes Hardt and Negri’s posi-

labour. The concept has been used as an umbrella term for all post-Ford labour. “In this way, not only is the concept of labour expanded beyond the boundaries of formal social labour, but it is also stretched out to include all possible intellectual, communicative, and emotional aspects of activity or dimension of production—from financial speculation to giving birth to children” (Haug 2009). I agree with Haug’s criticism that the value-creating abstract labour for autonomist Marxists no longer is limited to the capital and wage relationship. The polemic value of the concept should, however, not be underestimated as its non-tangible materiality has consequences that the autonomist Marxists have been alone in problematising and theorising about from a Marxist perspective.

tion as comprising three subsections to immaterial labour: the informationalising of industrial production, the symbolic analytical labour, and production and manipulation of affects (Dyer-Witheford 2010, p. 265).

It is not only the number of jobs that are increasing in the immaterial sector but also the intensity of intellectual activities in the leading fields of production. At the same time, manual service sector labour is increasing among vulnerable groups in society (Antunes 2013, p. 102). Antunes refers to Jean-Marie Vincent who, in 1993, emphasised that the ability of workers to increase their knowledge has become a decisive aspect of general employability and that the labour force is increasingly seen as an intelligent force in response to a changed production situation (Antunes 2013, p. 103). Production is more dependent on research, communication and marketing activities in order to gain access to advanced information about the market, which binds businesses more directly to consumers: “the sphere of consumption begins to impact more directly on the sphere of production”. When each car produced first receives a signal from the retail network that it is needed, it is immaterial labour that activates and organises this relationship between production and consumption. In this way, immaterial labour touches on the core of capitalism and its creation of subjectivities and economic value (Antunes 2013, pp. 103–4).¹⁴

The production cycle for immaterial labour is designed in such a way so that its organisation is not obviously apparent, it is no longer decided by the four walls of the factory, but immaterial labour is carried out everywhere in society, in something Mauricio Lazzarato refers to as *the basin of immaterial labour*. In this basin, small ad hoc groups are organised for specific projects, and often then cease to exist. Urban, immaterial labour is characterised by precariousness, hyper-exploitation, mobility and hierarchies. He points to the self-employed worker as an “intellectual proletarian” (Lazzarato 1996, p. 136).

On a technological and social level, this production takes place increasingly within distributed networks and also directly in the rest of social life. Immaterial production is based largely on cooperation, communication and social interaction, virtually mediated or not. In 1986, Antonio

¹⁴The author refers here to an early article on the subject by Mauricio Lazzarato from 1993 “Le ‘Cycle’ de la Production Immatérielle” in *Futur Antérieur*, 16: 111–20.

Negri writes in an interview that “[t]he problem is to ascertain to what extent information technology is the means by which capital undertakes the real subsumption of all the social forces of production and reproduction” (Negri 1989, p. 208).

The use of information technology by capital is not only about monitoring, controlling and following, but also about prevention, organisation and subordination of various forms of cooperation. “Capital must, therefore, appropriate communication. It must expropriate the community and superimpose itself on the autonomous capability of managing knowledge, reducing such knowledge to a mere means of every undertaking of the socialized worker” (Negri 1989, p. 116). The social worker’s productivity is created in front of “the terminal of fiber optic lines” and “[h]er productivity depends on an elaborated network of informatic systems” (Dyer-Witheford 2010, p. 262).¹⁵ Negri holds that communication is the essence of the community in the abstract society of today. Capitalism cannot do without this communication and attempts to establish the conditions in order to activate it. He states that communication for the post-Fordist socialised worker is what wage relations were for the mass worker of Fordism; the existence of communication today is, just as the welfare state’s consideration of an adequate wage level, necessary to create a productive growth within the framework of capitalism (Negri 1988, p. 184).¹⁶ “The establishment of community is both a precondition and the objective of socialised labour” (Negri 1989, p. 118). Lazzarato adds that “the forms of life (in their collective and cooperative forms) are now the source of innovation” (Lazzarato 1996, p. 145).

At the same time this requires that control over social working hours are reorganised based on new lines within a social factory. Negri writes that *all* people who are a part of society are potentially productive and exploited, which would signal the end of “the non-labour of a few” (Negri 1989, p. 83).¹⁷

¹⁵ He names nurses who monitor ECG diagrams, bank clerks who take care of online transactions, teachers in computer labs or digital librarians, as examples.

¹⁶ Negri does not think here that information replaces wage relations, rather that the regulation of the flow of information is as important in post-Fordism as the regulation of wage levels during Fordism.

¹⁷ As is shown later, I do not agree with the idea that “the non-labour of a few” would cease to exist in the social factory, and the concept productive can have other meanings.

The statements open up to see the exuberance of social life not only as exploitable and manipulable but also as a foundation for forming opposition to capitalism. At each transition in capital's total process, capital is dependent on immaterial labour by the social worker, and cultural and technical labour includes a broad range of activities in society, which calls into question the old division between production and consumption, between labour and cultural expression (Terranova 2013, pp. 34–35, 39, 45).¹⁸

However, one assumption in this reasoning is, as already pointed out, that social activities are now value creating and contribute to the necessary accumulation of capital. This assumption is wrong and should be corrected before we look at the capitalism of communism.

A Claimed Mutation in the Character of Value Production

Negri's (later together with Hardt) argument of a basic shift between Fordism and post-Fordism in a mutation of capitalism, where all human social activity creates value, can be criticised. Making the labour force a commodity no longer makes a crucial difference when all social activities can be counted as immaterial labour. Immaterial labour is then impossible to measure as its total comprises the general intellect which is completely qualitative and not quantitative in character. The extraction of surplus value no longer takes place in production, rather subsequently by capital which assumes the character of a parasite (Fleischer 2014a, b). Talk of the *capture* of value and valorising the captured that are taking place in modern discourse about digital commons and digital capitalism is theoretically explained by Negri's viewpoint.

But the post-operaist's value theory is problematic. The question is how capitalism functioned before the transition to post-Fordism. The theory of the immeasurable value during post-Fordism (Gorz 2010, p. 2;

¹⁸The problem for capital in Terranova's model is how it can *valorize* as many activities as possible. From my perspective, it can be translated into the problem to include as many as possible of these relatively independent activities into the capital relation, or alternatively to valorize these indirectly by extracting a value from the value production of another capital.

Negri 1989, p. 216) implicates that the value previously was measurable, but the value-critical tradition assumes that value is a *societal relationship between commodities*:¹⁹

No player has ever been able to measure the value present in a commodity, but value is still a quantitative relationship maintained on the market. Even if market players do not care about the number of working hours spent, only about prices, they play a part in “measuring” what Marx referred to as *abstract labour*, that is, the standard for productivity in current use. Based on this value theory, it becomes more difficult to claim that capitalism has undergone a fully-fledged mutation. (Fleischer 2014a, author’s translation)

Unpaid activities that generate a profit for a capital instead constitute a variant of the value redistribution that *rent* is based on. The business approach of commercial social media selling advertising space and data mined information about users is similar to land rent charged by a landowner leasing their land to capitalist tenants. In the case of land rent, the value redistribution takes place when the farm workers’ value-creating labour has first been exploited by capitalist farmers who then pay part of the surplus value as rent to the landowner to use the land. The unpaid users of social media play the role of the land and landowners are represented by those who own the information structure and the digital platforms; the vectoralists, as Wark calls them (Wark 2004). The profit extracted with the help of the unpaid activities originates, in an indirect way, from the surplus value generated by the advertiser’s production (or better from value production occurring elsewhere). Social media, such as Facebook and YouTube, are therefore primarily parasitic, even if they themselves also employ people and extract surplus value from their relatively few employees. This use of unpaid voluntary activities does not exclude an *exploitation* of the non-profit users (land in my second-rate metaphor) who do not share in the value redistribution. I share Firer-Blaess and

¹⁹ A Marxist tradition that has partly been developed outside the academia in Germany in recent decades. Leading figures include Robert Kurz and Roswitha Scholz, though Michael Heinrich can also be included (Fleischer 2014a, b, 2011a).

Fuch's opinion when they write that “[w]henver the commodification of Wikipedia knowledge happens, the work of Wikipedians is infinitely exploited”, but do not agree with the continuation that unpaid users create surplus value and that surplus value ratio therefore approaches infinity (Firer-Blaess and Fuchs 2014, p. 96).²⁰

Nevertheless, the unpaid productive activities (of use value) enable an attraction of surplus value obtained from other sectors of the global social economy for those that use the informational results of the unpaid activities for commercial exchanges. Autonomist Marxists such as Terranova are, therefore, wrong when they say that all unpaid activities produce new value if it is captured and contributes to the value accumulation of capitalism (Terranova 2004, pp. 77–78). This criticism of seeing unpaid activities as value creating is important as they do not feed capitalism but are a potential problem for it as the value redistribution does not contribute to the value growth that is so important to capitalism. More so, the value redistribution strengthens exploitation in the value-producing parts of the global economy (Caffentzis 2013).

Modern capitalism is characterised by the return of rent in a variety of different forms and this is linked to an underlying change in the industrial logic of capitalism. The financial sector has today a pervasive character that spreads across the entire production and distribution cycle of capital and is difficult to separate from the real economy. It is the financial rent, rather than land rent, which today is important with its emphasis on one of Polanyi's fictitious commodities: money. Rent is parasitic and does not contribute to value growth, economic growth and a rise in labour in the economy (Vercellone 2010, pp. 85–88). Financial capitalism has a growth phase which creates speculative bubbles (think dotcom, housing and government debt) and a period of decline when the bubbles burst. The crises in 2000 and 2008 were caused by a crisis for the conventions

²⁰It is not necessary to link the concepts of *productive* and *unproductive* exclusively with value production. In Marxist tradition, productive labour often equals value-producing labour, but work that creates use value is also productive, though in a different sense. Kathi Weeks writes: “Feminists insisted that the largely unwaged ‘reproductive’ work that made waged ‘productive’ work possible on a daily basis was *socially necessary labor*” (my italics; Kathi Weeks, *The Problem with Work*, p. 24). This view can also be applied to successful projects in peer production. My use of the concepts productive and unproductive is therefore different from the most traditional Marxist use.

founded on the Internet and housing markets and mark a turning point for cognitive capitalism (Vercellone 2010, pp. 85–88):

[I]t reveals the structural limits that capital meets in the attempt to subjugate the immaterial economy and the internet to the logic of commercialization, where the principle of gratuitousness continues to predominate despite the attempts to establish economic barriers to the access and the reinforcement of intellectual property rights. (Vercellone 2010, p. 88)

Carlo Vercellone claims, it is impossible to subordinate immaterial work and the knowledge economy in a progressive growth dynamic (Vercellone 2010, p. 88). I do not share this categoric view nor that it is almost impossible to balance the slowing value growth and increasing value redistribution within capitalism. It may not necessarily be true that the outside that is essential for capitalism, and could potentially be commodified and contribute to value growth in the capital relation, is shrinking. Andrew Kliman has also convincingly argued that the regular crises of capitalism will not necessarily result in a final crisis. It is not only profit that decides the rate of profit but also the amount of capital value being advanced, which in turn depends on how much capital value was destroyed in the last crisis or war. The peak of the rate of profit that follows a crisis is likely higher than the prior peak, and more frequent crises leave less time for the *law of the falling rate of profit* to work (Kliman 2012, p. 25). There are still ways out for capital.

But as opposed to Negri there is an outside to capital. This is a view that is also supported by the autonomist Marxist collective behind the journal *Endnotes*, which suggests that the wage labour process both for the formal and real subsumption constitutes *capital's immediate production process*. It is only this labour that capital claims to be its own (*Endnotes* 2013, p. 100). “Nothing that is external in relation to the immediate production process *becomes* real capital or subsumption, in strict terms, under capital” (*Endnotes* 2013, p. 100). This means that there among some autonomist Marxists exist an outside to capital.

But capital's exploitation and harvesting of data traces from voluntary users and participants on digital platforms, and mediation of their potential attention to advertisers, includes a twist. Voluntary users are not

the same as land. Capital becomes dependent on the voluntary activities of people. Instead of emphasising the immeasurability but simultaneous existence of value as an indication that the time is ripe for communism, I place the emancipatory potential to the non-profit production of the commons-based outside to capital: peer production.

If unpaid activities on Facebook generate profit in a similar way as land rent (land being an outside to capital that is turned into an inside when it is enclosed and used to attract profit from other capitals' extraction of surplus value), peer production is in this context a more active, self-organised and independent variety of an outside to capital that does not extract surplus value, is not interested in attracting profits (only receiving voluntary donations), and that can potentially outcompete capitalist value production with its non-commercial production of use values. All commercial and parasitic uses of its produced use values (that heighten exploitation and extract rent profits from other value-producing parts of global capitalism) are in principle required to follow a copyleft licence with copies and derivative works clearly marked as freely accessible resources. On a systemic level, peer production itself does not heighten conflicts through attracting profits from other more labour-intensive sectors and regions of the capitalist world system, but rather adds another problem for capital: forcing it to find new niches where it could survive if it is outcompeted by the peer production (this also being an indirect problem for the social worker as long as it is dependent on wage labour).

Capitalism of Communism

If value is a social relation, and it is not work per se that constitutes the value under capitalism, but the social construction (valorisation of the amount of socially necessary labour in forms of prices) in the market between people, this valorisation could take new forms outside of the market. De Angelis claims the existence of an outside to capital's valorisations. This outside does not have to be, but can be, a fixed place and does not necessarily have a fixed identity, but the values of the outside are grounded in material practices "for the reproduction of life and its needs". The alternative value practices include the emergence of discourse, needs and practices of

objectivation that are limited in space and time (due to a lack of resources), and phenomena that are unable to “mature into the cyclical time of norm creation” but nevertheless are active social forces (De Angelis 2007, p. 32). Therefore, it is important how peer production is looked upon by outsiders (readers and donors of money in the case of Wikipedia) as well as insiders. If peer producers increasingly identify with being socially necessary, the telos of their value practices would contribute to an alternative value programme and the development of proper and (with capitalism) competing value struggles emanating from peer production.

Criticism of the stance that social life is always ready to be captured by capitalism, particularly when it comes to peer production’s non-profit projects, does not mean there are no links between it and capitalism. Geert Lovink expresses this as that there appears to be a strange dialectic relation between McJobs and Linux: “The more peer-to-peer networks there are, the less likely it will be for ‘precarious’ creative workers to get out of the amateurization trap” (Lovink 2006). But at the same time, the employed workforce at Wikipedia is on the increase (Lund and Venäläinen 2016) and the development could perhaps also be seen as a development of the capitalism of communism? Dyer-Witheford has suggested that the communism of capital can easily be exchanged for its opposite hybrid form.²¹ The conflict and symbiosis-focused perspective coexists in modern discourses (Terranova 2004, p. 79), and we find ourselves in a turbulent time characterised by a range of different hybrid forms (Barbrook 2000). Terranova asks if the end of alienation that management gurus hope for could be the same as the gift culture hoped for by the Left (Terranova 2004, p. 79)? Peer production is founded on a difficult and experimental compromise, between a historically rooted cultural and emotional desire for creativity and capitalism’s current emphasis on knowledge (Terranova 2004, p. 77). But on the other hand it is possible to claim that a historical, culturally rooted and emotional desire for creativity may also be in conflict with the forced creativity within cognitive capitalism. One can, as Steen Nepper Larsen points out, actually say *no* (Nepper Larsen 2014, p. 169).

²¹ Nick Dyer-Witheford concluded his keynote speech at *The Fourth ICTs and Society-Conference*, Uppsala University, on 3 May 2012, with this remark.

The outside of capital that was presented initially offered both space to expand into and to reject unwelcome elements for capitalism. In this study, I consider instead the idea that social struggles may be formed in the shadow and on the outside of capitalism. I maintain that new, emerging, and anticipatory modes of production outside of capitalism could potentially expand at the expense of the dominant mode of production, such as when capitalism expanded at the expense of feudalism. The bourgeois revolution overthrew the aristocracy from political power after a long period of growth of capitalism in the economic sector (Marcovic 1991, p. 542). When Wikipedia is seen as part of a new, emerging mode of production then the question of its coexistence with capitalism is of vital importance. The opportunity for the new and emerging mode of production to grow stronger and force out the old dominant system, is only one of several potential scenarios. The new could also be nipped in the bud or never become more than a marginal phenomenon.

The struggles could be different outside the capital relation. And there is an additional strategy in the social worker's toolbox which could be better suited than class struggle for participants in peer production. Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari developed a strategy that they called *lines of flight*, which Dyer-Witheford contends is created for more diffuse conflicts than the autonomist theory of cycles of struggle. The strategy involves actors who are not primarily focused on defeating the prevailing system, rather to withdraw from it and move somewhere else, to do something else: "a process not so much of overthrow as defection" (Dyer-Witheford 2009, p. 64). The strategy has a background in Jacques Lacan's development of Freud's theories of the unconscious. For Lacan, the unconscious is not part of a topographical structure hidden in a part of the brain, but is rather the unconscious whole of the social *other*, which is particularly embodied in language. *Désir* in French is best translated as desire or will, vitality, rather than *trieb* in German which emphasises a biological drive (Day and Lau 2010, pp. 105–6).

Deleuze and Guattari saw this social other as both an entrance and an exit for the subject's desire that develops in the historical events that it passes. They call this becoming, and the prerequisite for this comes from the sociocultural field of semiotics and physical materials. "Through sociocultural fields, as well as the physical properties of objects and

beings, the subject invents him or herself” (Day and Lau 2010, p. 109). Deleuze criticised the society of control as a type of social order where becoming is regulated through control of variation and the type of social actions, situations and cultural forms, where this can be developed (Deleuze 1998, pp. 197, 202). Deleuze and Guattari stressed becoming that crossed, rather than moved within, normative identity and knowledge regimes. It was this transverse becoming, with its focus on feelings and the body, which they called lines of flight (Day and Lau 2010, p. 109). This rather post-Structuralist perspective could be useful but could also suffer from the same kind of evolutionist motif as expressed by the P2P movement mentioned in the introduction. Struggles against the market’s normalisation processes often give capital energy and pulse. What De Angelis names “the claustrophobic dialectic that needs to be overcome”: exoduses, lines of flights, emergences, and ruptures with norms and values, are moments of creative acts that are often coopted by capitalism (De Angelis 2007, p. 3). Thus, *not* all struggles against capitalism have progressive results, but as a line of flight from capital peer production is competing with the production of use values in an organised and relatively independent way. A more antagonistic perspective, taken from Marxism, could counteract capital’s cooptation of alternative forms of valorisations (Lund 2017).

Peer production understood as an emerging mode of production raises many questions regarding the coexistence with capitalism. Outcompeting capitalism is one option, but the new economic phenomenon could also fade away before acquiring strength. There exists according to historical materialism a dynamic coexistence of modes of productions *before*, *during* and *after* historical transition processes between different hegemonic modes of production. Raymond Williams saw emerging, dominant and residual cultural systems coexisting in such a dynamic and historical interplay (Williams 1977, pp. 121–27). These cultural systems or modes of production are in different stages of their development and therefore have different forms of influence and power over the totality. Fredric Jameson holds that no historical society has existed in the form of a pure mode of production. Old and residual modes of production have been relegated to dependent positions within the new hegemonic mode of production, together with “anticipatory tendencies which are potentially inconsistent

with the existing system but have not yet generated an autonomous space of their own” (Jameson 1989, p. 80).

Louis Althusser understands Marx’s concept *social formation* as a superior concept in relation to the concept of mode of production. Every social formation is a concrete historical society based on a hegemonic mode of production, which means that there always exist at least two modes of production in a social formation. The modes of production that are not hegemonic are dominated and have their origin in earlier social formations or within emerging social formations (Althusser 2014, pp. 17–18). Althusser holds that you have to understand the relation between the dominating and dominated mode of production which is always antagonistic, if you are to understand the relation between productive forces and social relations of production. Often it is a question of contradictions “between the productive forces of the whole set of modes of production in that social formation, on the one hand, and, on the other, the relations of production of the mode of production currently dominant” (Althusser 2014, p. 20).

It is unclear why Althusser maintains that the productive forces of all the modes of production are active, whereas only the social relations of the dominant mode of production are active. Perhaps, Maurice Dobb’s comment that residual modes of production only exist in the form of remnants that are unspecified explains the position (Heller 2011, pp. 24–26; Hilton, R.H., 1978, pp. 1–3). This perspective, said without forgetting that it is the social relations of the hegemonic mode of production that dominates the distribution of societal wealth, seems too unilateral and one-sided, even if Althusser also is onto something.

In a famous passage, Marx writes that, first, no social order ends without all its productive forces having been developed, and second, a higher form of social relations of production never emerges before the material conditions for them are in place or in the process of formation (Marx 1859). The statement borders on determinism, but only just; the final transition occurs when and if all the conditions are realized. Marx also describes necessary conditions, not sufficient conditions, and the necessary conditions are constructed in social contexts and in social struggles. No matter how gradual, slow and symbiotic the period is to begin with, the later phases of the transition period will see increased conflicts

when the social relations of production start to hamper, rather than stimulate, the development of the productive forces (Marx 1859). Vested class interests, social privileges and power relations are also involved. The conclusion is that no actual transition period will be without social struggles and conflicts.

But Marx's formulation needs to be complemented with a theoretical stress on the politicised struggles between hegemonic and alternative social relations of production in the later phases of the transition period. Althusser's position could then be revised so that struggles between all productive forces *and* social relations of production are involved in the conflicts between dominating and dominated modes of production.

It is therefore argued that the emphasis of Williams, Jameson, and later Barbrook with his theory of a cyber-communism slowly superseding capitalism in evolving syntheses of the "gift and commodity" (Barbrook 2000, p. 33; Barbrook 2005), on the synchronous and non-antagonistic interplay between different modes of production in an open and dialectical way within a historical moment or social formation (Jameson 1989, p. 81) is only valid outside of, or in the early phases of, an actual transition period between different modes of production. Perry Anderson's claim that the transition from feudalism to capitalism included both symbiotic and conflictual processes on different social levels (Anderson 2013, pp. 39–40) has thus to be complemented by a temporal dimension. The Marxist tradition thus on the one hand acknowledges hybrid developments and tactical alliances, and on the other hand is theoretically clear about the necessary social struggles that at one point will be needed to complete the transition period. With this said, Barbrook could, for now, be right when he maintains that what he calls cyber-communism is driven by pragmatically motivated people in a slow historical "process of *superseding* capitalism" where the gift economy of interactive participation in digital production is best suited to the new, advanced productive forces, but that "neither the disclosure nor the enclosure of collective labour can be assumed" (Barbrook 2000, p. 33), but antagonism will increase if the transition processes deepen.

During this transition, people will sometimes seek pecuniary rewards, but often they will prefer the freedom of autonomous work. The radical contemporary choice of direction can be summarised with the question:

Do we want a society where *all* labour is fairly paid or a society without wage labour?²²

The other route sees and emphasises the progressive potential in a peer production that exists partly outside the flows of capitalism. This perspective stresses the potential conflict between the non-instrumentality in activities characterised by playfulness and open social interaction, and the pronounced and abstract instrumentality in the production of exchange value (Söderberg 2008, p. 168; Larsson and Lund 2008, pp. 30–31). Negri pointed out this road in *Politics of Subversion*:

For example, I think that instead of paying taxes for services, people could gradually try to organize alternative forms of solidarity, cooperatives etc.; and the likelihood of all this will be even greater the more they come to appropriate various financial, technical and productive resources etc. (Negri 1989, p. 212)

Commons and the Return of Formal Subsumption

The era of the general intellect is not determined to end up in a certain way.²³ Lazzarato understands the contradictions of capital in a socio-cultural and psychological way and stresses the crisis aspect of capital rather than the active struggle against capital. He connects Guattari's theme of subjectivity's crisis to neo-liberalism's success in the field of political economy but *failure* in constructing functional identities. Capital's

²²Johan Söderberg noted this choice at the conference *ICT and Work: The United States at the Origin of the Dissemination of Digital Capitalism* at the Université Paris-Sorbonne, on 29–30 May 2013.

²³The general intellect is a concept that goes back to a text by Marx in *Grundrisse* where he describes an era where scientific work by the social brain, and its objectivation in machine systems, is the dominant productive force. The idea was raised and developed within autonomist Marxism in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1996, Virno criticises Marx for his narrow focus on dead labour and its manifestation in the form of machines and claims that a general intellect during post-Fordism has commodified social life itself and reshaped its public character into productive living labour (Marx 1973a, pp. 690–712; Virno 1996b; 2004, pp. 37–38, 2007, p. 5). The fact that the general intellect cannot be fixed to the constant capital causes some disorder. What he refers to as mass intellectuality can be understood as a “depository of cognitive competencies that cannot be objectified in machinery”. He emphasises that he is referring to skills and not the works produced through thought when he speaks of general intellect. Mass intellectuality has therefore nothing to do with the so-called labour aristocracy, rather the opposite (Virno 2007, p. 6).

project is to combine the political economy with the subjective economy by articulations of economic, technological and social flows within the production of subjectivities. The *entrepreneur* of neo-liberalism suffers from the burden of deconstructing society. It results in increased social heteronomy when every individual becomes a business. The outside to the market that capital needs diminishes (Lazzarato 2014, pp. 8–9). In this process, commons-based peer production's safe haven without ads and commercialism could be seen as more and more attractive to people, especially if they can offer some kind of livelihood within capitalism.

The common is a cornerstone in Hardt and Negri's project to create new institutions in order to administrate the world aided by people's ability to collective production and self-governance. The sociality of humanity has been given by nature, but the common social world is continually producing and expanding through collective praxis. "The common is thus in the paradoxical position as being a ground or presupposition that is also the result of the process" (Hardt and Negri 2009, pp. 122–23; Dyer-Witford 2010, p. 268). They assert that both socialism and capitalism were "regimes of property" that excluded the collective and *common*. The commons perspective cuts diagonally through the two phenomena and is neither private nor public, which in turn opens the door for a new form of politics (Hardt and Negri 2009, p. ix). Ownership can be seen in a less black and white way in relation to the common and commons. Hess and Ostrom describe ownership as a bundle of different rights where control of the various rights can be allocated in different ways. With the private ownership of capitalism, most rights are collected in the hands of an individual or limited company, while commons rights are usually divided and shared between different hands. Certain rights are perhaps common while others, often the more comprehensive, are controlled by smaller groups of participants. The allocation of the various rights can be more or less centralised to a few hands or conversely more or less commonly controlled (Hess and Ostrom, 2003, pp. 119–22, 2007a, pp. 52–53, 2007b, p. 5).

The need of modern capitalism for information, code programming, knowledge, images and affects links it to the commons as an outside. The labour force in the dominant economy sectors, and the entrepreneurs, demand in today's cognitive capitalism a high degree of freedom and open access to the commons in the shape of communication networks,

information banks and cultural cycles (Hardt and Negri 2009, p. x). The social or socialised worker produces the social collaboration needed for modern abstract labour, a function that previously belonged to capital and was controlled in diverse ways. Capitalism is no longer alone with regard to the proletarian subjectivities.

Even social relations of production have changed in the digital field with the birth of the personal computer and the Internet. The popularisation of ownership of some means of production has stimulated the playful and pleasurable creation (and generous sharing) of digital work by amateur producers and participants in peer production, who as a result also produces themselves as creators. This new way of organising production and labour is *practised* within fan cultures and hacker communities (Virno 2004, p. 60; Söderberg 2008, p. 112).²⁴ To date, however, this conquering of the means of production has been insufficient to reach the realm of freedom, as it takes place in a “social machine of unfreedom”, the workfare-state (Wark 2004, paragraphs 020, 032; Söderberg 2008, p. 135).

But the social worker, according to Negri, does not want any managers, as they *cannot* have any managers. “If these imposed themselves, his/her own rule would no longer have any purpose and his/her nature and identity would not be what they are” (Negri 1989, pp. 80–81). And power has been shifted towards the social worker as the labour force carries more of the means of production in itself, in its brain; these are qualities that exist in “a relative autonomy” in relation to the moveable and constant capital (Negri 2008, p. 72). The cognitive capitalism is primarily interested in the valorising of intelligence and innovation rather than of information. “In order to be productive, cognitive capitalism is condemned to live with the new and unprecedented degrees of freedom” (Moulier-Boutang 2011, p. 41). At the same time, the intelligence and creativity of the labour force do not exist in a social vacuum. The social worker’s productive forces are increasingly dependent on the commons’ free sociality outside of capitalism. Capital does not only need to relate to

²⁴Virno points out the culture industry’s creation of forms of communication, or means of production, by using communication, but Söderberg here shows that it is possible to turn around Virno’s critical comments about the culture industry as a matrix for the virtuosic performance in the presence of others within post-Fordism (Virno 2004, p. 61). Söderberg instead sees peer production’s forming of us people into new types of means of production.

and accept pleasure and play in freer forms of social interaction but also the commons as a phenomenon.

What Hardt and Negri call the common, Vercellone calls communism. The general intellect in our time means a radical change in how labour is subordinate to capital and signals a third stage in the history of the division of labour, which exceeds the division of labour in industrial capitalism and enables a direct transition to communism (Vercellone 2007, p. 15). The qualitative change in capital's organic composition and the social working process turns on its head living labour's subordination to dead labour (the constant capital). Vercellone calls this "the tendential fall of the capital's control of the division of labour" (Vercellone 2007, p. 18). When intellectual and scientific work becomes the dominant productive force, the knowledge re-socialises everything, which becomes a problem that eventually will end capitalism, according to him. The cognitive worker, still dependent on wages (and therefore not freely involved in labour) has an autonomy in the working process similar to the craftman's during an earlier period of capitalism characterised by only a formal subsumption of labour under capital (Vercellone 2007, pp. 20–22, 31–32).²⁵

Virno asks the central question whether the public character of the general intellect, and the social worker's immaterial creation, can be developed to form the foundation for a new form of democracy; a democracy that is no longer cemented in, but rather is antithetical to, the state and its monopoly on the political decision-making process. He maintains that the general intellect today can only confirm itself through an autonomist public sphere in as much as the production of commodities and labour is abolished. The overthrow of capitalism can today on the other hand only be expressed "through the institution of a public sphere outside the state and of a political community that hinges on the general intellect" (Virno 2007, p. 8). He also points out that in an environment

²⁵ However, the result is that capitalism could be expected to become more brutal and extra-economic in its methods, at the same time as financial methods are to a greater extent used to capture profit from surplus value generated elsewhere. Despite this observation, it is possible to criticise Vercellone for excessively toning down the class aspect. All workers employed in the "immaterial sphere" are not involved in intellectual tasks but rather with fairly repetitive tasks. One can also ask whether the consequences of the growth of the middle class during Fordism really led to progressive results. Could Vercellone's scientific workers, just as the middle class in the twentieth century, gradually identify themselves with business and capital interests?

where knowledge and social interaction act as a productive labour then the demand for free speech becomes a demand to abolish wage labour.²⁶ Virno's reasoning about the state may perhaps be going too far, but it is correct that the sphere outside the state, the commons, has at least in some ways strengthened its influence over the public sphere today.

The social worker's position of strength and creativity is in various ways not only a problem for capital but also a progressive potential for society. The immaterialisation of the commodity form undermines capital's control of the mode of production as the social worker's cognitive and affective subject is the most important part of them all. This either opens for a massive new round of value production if social life itself can be incorporated into labour, or for a massive socialisation of the production of cultural material, communication and affective social interaction in independent forms.²⁷ This new situation was in part a surprise for capital and the response has been varied. One faction is trying to reinstate the scarcity principle (Wark 2013, pp. 70–71), another affirms new parasitic business solutions (Jakobsson 2012), and a third, with corporations such as IBM and Oracle, is cooperating with the peer production of free and open software (Söderberg 2008, pp. 5, 19, 24–25, 38).²⁸

The questions are which form of politics can be developed within the commons and how it relates to capital. This is where commons-based peer production comes in. The political-awareness processes within commons-based peer production stem from productive activities outside of capitalism, rather than from within capitalism's class relations. The increasing independency and strength in the hands of the social worker that holds privileged positions within cognitive capitalism have consequences for peer production projects (PPPs) which attract them

²⁶Despite criticism of the post-operaist value theory, which underpins the statement about free speech and labour, Virno points out something important here. Conversation is embraced as an increasingly important part of the capital relation today. People are employed in order to socialise and converse, which in equal measure calls into question the level of freedom in the process.

²⁷The first case scenario could also experience indirect value redistribution through commercial crowdsourcing, which does not generate surplus value in itself, and would threaten value growth in the system as a whole and reinforce the exploitation of those in wage relations in other sectors.

²⁸Those corporations that cooperate with peer production are often not the largest market actors, but instead are competing with a capital that is dominant and which in turn is relying on closed software that generates extra or monopoly profits.

with being even freer. Capital could potentially become more and more dependent on more independent social workers as well as on the peer producers of free software, free knowledge and open design and data, for its production. In *Commonwealth*, Hardt and Negri argues that it is the capitalists themselves, seeing to their own interests, that initiate the transformation of society through the founding and opening up for the commons' potential (Hardt and Negri 2009, p. x). Maybe this new social phenomenon can generate a new cycle of struggles?

Peer Production's Relation to Capitalism

The concept of peer-to-peer-technology has been used to describe everything from services such as YouTube, which operates on a closed commercial platform, and open networks, using the bittorrent protocol for collaboration; at the same time, the technology has been quite clearly defined as "an enabling mechanism for human interaction and cooperation on an unbounded scale that lacks central points of authority and is helped by mutual donations of computer resources" (Pouwelse et al. 2008).²⁹

Michel Bauwens, who founded the P2P Foundation, uses, however, the term on a more abstract level and sees peer production as a relational dynamic in a distributed network, which could concern relations between machines or, more importantly, relations between people: peers or colleagues. He distinguishes between peer production and Web 2.0 services. When capitalist actors, such as *Flickr* and *YouTube*, enable and encourage participation then individuals are invited in their capacity as individuals. Nothing is jointly created apart from the actual exchange. He describes this as a *sharing mechanism*, while peer production instead rests on a *commons mechanism*, where production takes the form of a

²⁹ Pouwelse et al. has counted to seven generations of P2P platforms. Through all of these platforms, there is a conflict line between more centralised and more decentralised P2P platforms in the technological/architectural sense. The centralised are often commercial and use closed source code (the authors do not distinguish between peer production and commercially controlled crowdsourcing, despite the fact that this runs contrary to their own definition). The decentralised use licences similar to copyleft at the same time as they try to find rules and a new technological order with a view to rewarding a generous stance on sharing content and bandwidth (Pouwelse et al. 2008). Wikipedia and Project Runeberg, however, are not based on an equal sharing of computing power, instead in the case of Wikipedia the non-profit Wikimedia Foundation manages and controls the data centres.

voluntary exchange of activities between equals in a horizontal network of commons. In another context, he speaks of *sharing economies* and *commons economies* (Bauwens 2009, pp. 125–27; Gye 2007a, b).³⁰

Peer production is an emerging (proto) mode of production based on commons and built upon voluntary, potentially global but still horizontally organised cooperation online. The projects use copyleft licences, which offer users and contributors free access to the working material. It is a nascent mode of production that through its horizontal collaboration also works as a prototype for new forms of democracy. Self-organisation does not necessarily exclude hierarchies and various rights levels. It is enough that there is ultimately an opening for this type of self-organisation. Peer production is based on a new form of common property that is neither public nor private (Bauwens 2009, pp. 122–24) and the necessary financing is found outside the market through donations. The liberating dimension of this proto-mode of production is based on the voluntary nature of the collaboration and on passion rather than alienation, at the same time excluding a pricing mechanism by offering free access to use values (Gye 2007a; Bauwens 2009).

Peer production is not only relegated to the immaterial part of the economy where it has spread to areas such as citizen science, open data sources and product design, in addition to the sectors mentioned earlier (info@lists.igopnet.cc 2014), but is spreading to the tangible material production (primarily in the theory so far) aided by the development

³⁰ Each individual who writes an article in Wikipedia which is then changed by someone else can become involved with this other person about the edited changes to the now jointly created article. Sharing information (sharing mechanism) leads to a joint creation of information (commons mechanism). It should, however, be pointed out that most users (readers in the case of Wikipedia) of these services are individual users who do not contribute to the common production (van Dijk and Nieborg 2009, p. 862). The hierarchical division between an inner segment of participants consisting of close working groups in peer production and an outer more peripheral segment is less obvious in projects such as Wikipedia and Project Gutenberg than in projects concerning free and open-source software (FOSS). The former is based on a looser and more horizontal network structure offering greater influence to the “crowd”, a structure that has been criticised for resulting in quality-control problems (Duguid 2006). But this difference in how projects are steered is important if we begin to see the projects as a germ for a new mode of production. Karatzogianni and Michaelides point out that what is really interesting with the political romanticisation that is typical for this field under the banners of communism, anarchism and libertarianism (or the idea of an ethical capitalism) is that these ideas are exchanged in the interface between hierarchy and network and the increasingly tight link between these two models (Karatzogianni and Michaelides 2009, p. 154).

of the 3D printer and *Fab labs* (Siefkes 2012; Anderson 2013; Maxigas 2012). In this context, issues such as *crowdfunding* and *alternative currencies* have become even more important but with their own built-in strengths and weaknesses. The crypto currency *commoncoin* is thought to be “the money of the common”. This currency aims to embrace both labour and free time without differentiating between the activities in the social factory (Terranova and Fumagalli 2015, pp. 151–52).

The theoretical perspectives on peer production’s relationship to capitalism comprise five different directions (Bauwens 2012). The hacker community Oekonux’s *germ theory* clarifies the intended relationship to capitalism with its stage theory for how the power relationship between the two modes of production may develop over time (Merten and Meretz n.d.).³¹ Kleiner’s telecommunist manifesto problematises the copyleft licence and proposes *venture communes* as a strategy to create a *counter-economy* that is peer-based. Independent producers share here a common infrastructure that offers material objects and assets to peer production (Kleiner 2010, p. 23; Bauwens 2012). De Angelis and George Caffentzis from the autonomist Marxist magazine *The Commoner* are more rigid in their division of the commons into two types: one that is anti-capitalist and one that is used by capital to reproduce itself (Caffentzis 2010; Bauwens 2012). Benkler’s original understanding of peer production could be classified as one of several “progressive liberal interpretations”, as Benkler is positive to peer production improving conditions for capitalism, and sees the two as coexisting (Bauwens 2012).³²

Bauwens has himself shifted in his view of the relationship of peer production to capitalism. Peer production has never ruled out that commercial activities join on its margins as services and products (Gye 2007a; Bauwens 2009), but in recent years Bauwens and Kostakis have stressed that the commons-based peer production risks becoming a “company commons”. As a solution, they have suggested a peer production licence

³¹ Stefan Meretz claimed in 2012 that peer production is not about seizing power and introducing socialism, but that it is beyond politics (Meretz 2012).

³² Yochai Benkler defines peer production as a new modality within the production organisation. This modality is “radically decentralized, collaborative, and non-proprietary; based on sharing resources and outputs among widely distributed, loosely connected individuals who cooperate with each other without relying on either market or managerial commands” (Benkler 2006, p. 60).

(PPL) as an alternative to the copyleft licence (Bauwens and Kostakis 2014, pp. 356–357). The PPL is one step back from the “communist” copyleft licence to a “socialist” position built on mutuality:

The logic of the PPL is to allow commercialization, but on the basis of a demand for reciprocity. It is designed to enable and empower a counter-hegemonic reciprocal economy that combines Commons that is open to all that contribute, while charging a license fee for the for-profit companies who would like to use it without contributing. (Bauwens and Kostakis 2014, p. 358)

Revenue created in this way enables the creation of cooperative institutions for the contributing community of “peers”. The cooperative then manages activities that are dependent on material resources where there is a scarcity, while the open commons model is used in the area of immaterial abundance (Bauwens and Kostakis 2014, p. 358).

This proposal would link the Commons to an entrepreneurial coalition of ethical market entities (co-ops and other models) and keep the surplus value entirely within the sphere of commoners/co-operators, instead of leaking out to the multinationals. (Bauwens and Kostakis 2014, p. 358)

The result is a form of *capitalism of commons* or *commonsification of capitalism* (Bauwens and Kostakis 2014, p. 359) that could provide a solution to the fact that it currently is possible only for peer production to reproduce itself at a project level and not at an individual level among peer producers (Bauwens 2012).³³

But Bauwens’ and Kostakis’ proclaimed paradox that a communist sharing licence without restrictions on sharing results in an accentuated capitalist practice (Bauwens and Kostakis 2014, p. 357) is only partly true. The copyleft licence does have *restrictions* and *demands* that commercial actors also share their commercial products for free (communistically) if

³³The position of Bauwens and Kostakis takes a step back from Bauwens’ earlier position when he emphasised that peer production projects that looked for alliances, “benefit sharing” with commercial businesses, would outcompete those who were not doing this (in part as the project’s key core of participants would then more easily find solutions that made their involvement sustainable) (Bauwens 2009, p. 128). A stance that is similar to the capitalism of communism.

copyleft material is central to their derivative products. This virus character of the copyleft licence can potentially be used as an offensive tool for a *commonsification* of capitalism. Maybe a mixed strategy of various PPPs using either a copyleft licence or a PPL, possibly in accordance with the actual relation of forces between the formal and substantial economy at the moment, could temper the volatility and strengthen the resilience of peer production as a whole?

From a Marxist perspective, if Bauwens and Kostakis are right in that the drive for commodification is stronger than the drive for commonsification, the result could theoretically be both a strengthened capitalism and an accentuated tendency to crisis within capitalism, because expanding commodification would mean that social life transforms from an outside to an inside in relation to the expanding and contradictory capitalism. Social life could then stop to acting as an airbag, alternatively stop to acting as a buffer for capital's needs. The copylefted externalities of free software or Wikipedia could contribute to this process and strengthen capital's expansion and crises-prone character on a structural level, if they do not act legally against commercial actors that do not comply with the licence's demand, and thus function as a complementing appendix to capitalism. But as long as free software and Wikipedia continue to exist in their own rights alongside the commercial actors' use and exploitation of them in their value production, some characteristics of buffer can prevail because capital can probably dissociate the commons-based peer production from its value production during crises. The still existing commons-based projects can then be integrated into capitalism again when the crisis is over. Peer production, understood like this, is a capital's dream and a vitalising force for it, but increasing exploitation and commercialisation could also hurt the trustworthiness of the projects, or impact the peer producers' motivation for participation.

But peer production projects will create problems for capital if they *do* take legal action and mobilise to defend the copyleft licence and secure commercial actors' adherence to the licence. Then peer production would potentially threaten the accumulation of capital by requiring that their derivative products should be marked with the copyleft or share-alike stamp. Bauwens and Kostakis, being pessimistic about the radical possibilities of the copyleft licence, instead want to defend and construct

the commons-based peer production as an outside to capital (Bauwens and Kostakis 2014, p. 358). The vision is for peer production to be more autonomous in relation to capital, but there is a risk that the new licence and associated venture communes fail to achieve a critical mass for various reasons, maintain their autonomy and uphold the demarcation line between the entrepreneurial cooperatives and capital. A mixed approach from different PPPs could therefore be a better strategical option for now.

Peer production, according to Jakob Rigi, can be understood as islands in the capitalist social formation rather than the ubiquitous “common” of Hardt and Negri. Peer production does not exist everywhere in society and it will require a social revolution to generalise it. Such a revolution could be possible if alliances were struck between anti-capitalist activists, hackers and participants in peer production projects. It is an open question if peer production will be commodified by corporations for rent-extracting profits, regulated by a new form of welfare state, controlled by rent-seeking cooperatives of knowledge workers, or if a revolutionary social movement takes form with the aim of generalising peer production to all sectors of societal production (Rigi 2013, pp. 404, 412–14).³⁴

But to round off the chapter and begin to focus on the empirical study: What happens when people are forced to be creative and original in relation to exploitative capital in order to save their livelihood, at the same time as many of them also spend time on production in non-profit projects? How are the latter influenced by the former and vice versa? Is voluntary activity about marketing oneself? Or are non-profit activities a method to flee from a false authenticity that people do not control within the value production of cognitive capitalism? These questions will be considered in the empirical section of the study. I am interested in the degree of peer producers’ reflection on the social and economic consequences of their activities, and how they reflect and problematise them? How playful can one be and still contribute to the creation of use values? What

³⁴ Bauwens and Kostakis mostly stress the evolutionary motif (Kostakis and Bauwens 2014, pp. 65–68), but in another context Bauwens placed more emphasis on conflicts and struggles in the relationship between peer production and capitalism. In order for peer production to lead to progressive results beyond capitalism, a social mobilisation is needed “of progressive social forces (i.e. politics and even ‘revolution’ are crucial remaining aspects of social evolution), and political/policy oriented movements that are capable of creating new institutions” (Bauwens 2012).

about the introduction of the wage form to peer production? Are there thoughts about payment for what Wikipedians do?³⁵ What is the role of passion and play in relation to capitalism? Are there suggestions or signs of a willingness to reorganise societal production based on the forms of peer production? What are the prospects (or lack of these) for a spread of peer production to other parts of the societal economy according to the peer producers?

And at an overall macro level: What do Wikipedians really think about capitalism, its logic and organisation? How do they view Wikipedia's relationship with capitalism as a leading example of an alternative mode of production?

It is these issues that will be examined in the study's ideology analysis.

Ideology and Ideology Analysis

The relationship between social reality and language (as a part of this) can be understood in the terms of the Russian Marxist V.N. Volosinov. He claimed that the idealistic and romantic view of language was correct with regard to the generation of language, *la parole*, but wrong when in its individualism it focused on the conscious and deliberate acts of language. Saussure's structuralism was instead correct when it placed the word and its meaning within a broader linguistic context. The latter meant the whole impacted the meaning of the part. Structuralism was however wrong when it forgot *la parole*, the individual act of language in social contexts. For Volosinov, an individual's consciousness was based on expressions formed in socially situated acts of language; statements in concrete social contexts, in a *practice* including social interaction and communication between individuals and groups. Each individual contributes with their social lives to these social contexts and their practices and communication (Volosinov 1986, pp. 45, 48–49, 51, 65, 71, 77, 80–85).

³⁵ If there is a suggestion for perhaps citizen's income (basic income) then this sparks interesting questions about whether the main motivation lies in the element of play, the non-profit and undemanding activities, or in the self-organising work activities or in forms that approach abstract labour.

Terry Eagleton asserts that Volosinov is a pioneer in discourse analysis. For him, there was no ideology without signs. Discourses were not reflections of reality but material parts of it. Consciousness was built from ideological communication understood as a *social group's semiotic interaction*. Volosinov understood ideologies as “the struggle of antagonistic social interests at the level of the sign” (Eagleton 2007, p. 195). Ideology could not be separated from the sign, but the sign could not be separated from the social interaction's concrete forms which in turn were related to the material base of social life. Ideological formations contain discursive as well as non-discursive practices.³⁶

The ideology concept touches on *social interests*. I largely share Slavoj Žižek's observation that the ideology critique's antagonism between different interests is transformed into *difference* within pure discourse analysis which emphasises a horizontal logic of mutual recognition between different identities, rather than recognition of the existing imbalance of power and the logic of class struggle (Eagleton 2007, p. 142). The ideology concept's focus on social interests makes the ideology analysis suitable for the study of Wikipedia as a proto-mode of production, and the study of Wikipedians understandings of their activities and Wikipedia's relation to the dominant capitalist mode of production. My objection to Žižek and similar arguments in the debate (Purvis and Hunt 1993) is that it must not always be about antagonistic or opposing interests, even if ideologies have a *directionality* and in this way work for a few interests, against other interests (Purvis and Hunt 1993, pp. 476, 478). I contend that different social interests can be understood in different (time) frameworks. Alliances between different social groups can be built on more or less temporarily perceived synergies. And just to be clear about it, non-discursive practices based on, for example, social interests, are also influenced by discursive practices, at the same time as ideology analysis not only focuses on the explicitly expressed.

³⁶Laclau and Mouffe deny according to Eagleton the distinction between discursive and non-discursive practices, as the latter is structured on the former. Eagleton: “The short reply to this is that a practice may well be organized like a discourse, but as a matter of fact it is a practice rather than discourse”. Nothing is gained by obscuring and homogenising practices: “A way of *understanding* an object is simply projected into the object itself, in a familiar idealist move. In notably academicist style, the contemplative analysis of a practice suddenly reappears as its very essence” (Eagleton 2007, p. 219).

Ideology analysis focuses both on a *manifest* and *latent* level on what is expressed in words or other social practices. This study is based on qualitative interviews and much energy will be spent on understanding what the informants are saying at a conscious level, but also more unconscious positions such as significant silences, hidden values, blind beliefs, omitted basic assumptions and naturalisations of social constructions will be analysed. This approach is in line with the Marxist ideology analysis developed by the group known as the *Gothenburg School* (Göteborgsskolan). They use a positive idea of ideology instead of the negative idea that is usually used in the traditional ideology critique. The distinction was first developed by Jorge Larrain (Larrain 1979). In a classical manner, the Gothenburg School separates a latent and a manifest side of the ideology but emphasises the ideology analysis that makes manifest the ideology, and only at a second stage introduce criticism. The reason for this is that the school did not want to forestall the result of the analysis by, at the outset, assuming that the analysis was about a false pretext that represented a false consciousness. In a second stage, the identified ideology or world-view is linked to the various interests of class and other power structures in order to form a basis for the criticism. This is in line with Marxist criticism of the political economy as a foundation for an analysis of society. The second stage is partly omitted from this study which is confined to a comparison of the results of ideology analysis and contemporary Marxist theories about capitalism. It is also important to establish that the latent and manifest in the ideology do not exist outside of the analysis and that they are dependent on the analyser's "position in time and space" (Liedman 1989, pp. 23–25, 27, 30; Bergström and Boréus 2005, pp. 151–53; Johansson and Liedman 1987, p. 215).

One potential disadvantage with ideology analysis is the risk for reification (the ideology is depicted as a closed whole), which can be counteracted by emphasising the tensions between the manifest and the latent level, at the same time as help is taken from the historical processes focused on by discourse analysis and various forms of social interaction. Ideological assertions can in the first case combine a correctness of superficial empirical facts with deceit in a deeper and more fundamental way. The discursive power of a statement can be something different from its factual content. Other ideological statements could be true in what

they discuss but false in what they omit. “A comment like ‘If we allow Pakistanis to live in our street, the house prices will fall’ may well be true, but it may involve the assumption that Pakistanis are inferior beings, which is false” (Eagleton 2007, p. 16). In addition, there is the social situation where the statement is made. The content of a statement may contradict its situation or way it is expressed. Eagleton exemplifies using a teacher who spends too much time talking about the dangers of too authoritarian an education for his or her students (Eagleton 2007, p. 24). In the latter case, the ideologies are understood as social groups’ discourses, representations and interactions over time. “It is there that ideologies are actually expressed, displayed, put to use, practised, produced, reproduced and challenged” (Dijk 1998, p. 308, 2007, p. 138).

Eagleton has a long and inspiring argument about the theory of false consciousness. There are different forms of falseness. To claim that being British has an intrinsic value is possibly not the same as claiming that Genghis Khan is alive and running a store in the Bronx. The first is someone’s opinion, while the second can be seen as actually false. But Eagleton argues that a *moral realist* would not agree with this division between fact and values (a division with deep roots in bourgeois philosophical history). “On this theory, it is mistaken to think that our language separates out into steel-hard objectivism and soggy subjectivism, into a realm of indubitable physical facts and a sphere of precariously floating values. Moral judgements are as much candidates for rational argumentation as are the more obviously descriptive parts of our speech” (Eagleton 2007, p. 17). One reason why value judgements do not feel as solid as the physical world is that we live in a society characterised by fundamental conflicts of value. And if we cannot agree at a fundamental level, it is tempting to see values as something fluid. The question of false consciousness depends on how far this epistemic perspective is pushed (Eagleton 2007, pp. 17–18). Eagleton’s nuanced stance shows that it concerns another form of falsehood, which must be argued for, rather than a falseness that could be accused of essentialism (as Marxist ideology critique often is).

Let us approach this question from another direction. For Louis Althusser, ideology was not a question of right or wrong but about living a social reality. Ideology is a specific organisation of significant practices

that constitute us as social subjects in relation to dominant production relationships in society. This often concerns affective and unconscious significant practices that embrace will, hope and nostalgia rather than a description of reality. What is interesting about Althusser's perspective here is if ideology is seen as experience then it can be difficult to talk about false consciousness for an outsider. Eagleton asserts, however, that it is as easy to mistake one's feelings as it is one's ideas, and that feelings and lived relationships towards the social order can be more problematic than Althusser suggests. Each lived relationship includes hidden assumptions that are open for appraisal in terms of true or false. Althusser may possibly not deny the possibility to establish truth and falsehood, rather more that the affective trait is stronger than the cognitive. In this type of interpretation then ideological discourse would act as a complex network of empirical and normative elements where the former is controlled by the latter (Eagleton 2007, pp. 18–23).

Eagleton contends that the concept of ideology can broadly be defined in six different and progressively stricter ways. *First*, it can be seen as a general and material process where ideas, values and belief are created in social life. This definition is neutral in character and is close to the notion of culture. At a *second* more concrete level, the ideology represents ideas and values, irrespective of whether they are false or not, that symbolise the conditions and experiences of a specific group or class of significant social importance. The *third* form sees and uses this collective symbolic self-expression in relational and conflictual terms where the use aims to support or legitimise a certain social group's interests in a tension that includes other opposite interests. A *fourth* form narrows the latter perspective further and suggests that this support and legitimisation within the area of ideology is limited to activities of a dominant social power. For the *fifth* form, this dominant social power can also use distortions and ideas that create deceptive illusions in line with the interests of a dominant group. And finally the *sixth* form, which despite keeping the emphasis on false and deceptive forms of belief, says that these are not from a dominant class or group but from society's material structure as a whole. As an example of this latter perspective, Eagleton names Marx's theory of commodity fetishism (Eagleton 2007, pp. 28–30).

My perspective in this study will be closer to the second perspective but is also interested in the third perspective and how Wikipedians

express themselves about conflicts and in their relationships with other groups in society. It is also important for me to understand ideologies as systems that are filled with tension and are in motion, and not as a static phenomenon similar to inanimate objects. The fact that I use a positive ideology concept does not mean that ideologies are neutral or for that matter that they are necessarily lies. Several ideologies of varying strength and scope can influence society at the same time, even if the dominant social class normally also dominates a society's ideological landscape. Overall the perspective reduces this to that there is no knowledge that is free from ideologies; free from values, norms, conscious or unconscious strategies, interests (Johansson and Liedman 1987, pp. 233–35). In this context, it is important to remember that ideologies are social totalities criss-crossed by influences from value production, capital accumulation, and other social, cultural and institutional practices, and that they are formed and generated in the social situations of praxis and communication mentioned by Volosinov. This perspective has been chosen for its openness, which is suitable for a study that wants to remain open and exploratory about its subject.

Though, this does not mean that I do not share the negative ideology concept's emphasis that class society itself is a source of intellectual legitimation of the social power structure. Moishe Postone's description of the social influence of abstract labour can be used as an example (Postone 1993, pp. 68–69). The only way to leave the latter form of ideology and its grip on social reality is through revolutionary practice. This practice changes the preconditions that reproduce practices and creates ideological guises (Larrain 1979, pp. 60, 76). But the right way forward should be based on a positive ideology whose validity has been argued for. Based on such positive ideologies, I will in this study attempt to identify and understand the political character and the political processes behind Wikipedia's peer production. It appears to me reasonable that several different ideologies are present in today's society at several different societal levels. The most negative ideological concept appears, however, as too blunt to study notions in peer production but could be used as a general background as long as we live in a society dominated by capitalism.

The study looks for ideological positions and formations, manifest and latent, and within the framework of the research questions, in how the

activities of Wikipedians are presented or how Wikipedia's relation to capitalism is presented, held as true, naturalised, evaluated and normalised by informants. In Chap. 5, the analysis of Wikipedians' view on their activities is based on a theoretical model connected with an earlier literature study (Lund 2014). The current typology (see model 4.1), whose ideas were presented in the introduction and which are developed further in a field model (see model 4.2), is used in this chapter to structure, analyse and understand statements made by informants. The identified ideological positions are positioned in a matrix built on the field model (see model 4.3). Other models would not only give the ideological positions different names, they would also appear different. The ideological positions that form as synergies between two categories in a binary relationship are all characterised by the fact that the synergies take place on a foundation where there is a significant difference and therefore a potential conflict between the two categories in a pure form. The hybrid positions that emphasise the synergies between two categories will be merged linguistically in the text. When there is a conflict between two compared categories then the mention of this conflict is seen as being sufficient to indicate the identified ideological position. The ideological positions in the empirical study of Wikipedians' understanding of Wikipedia's relation to capitalism in Chap. 6 will instead be identified using the concepts of *complement* and *alternative* to capitalism, but the ideological formations on the macro level that are identified in Chap. 7 will be placed within a modified version of the field model (see model 7.3)

Models

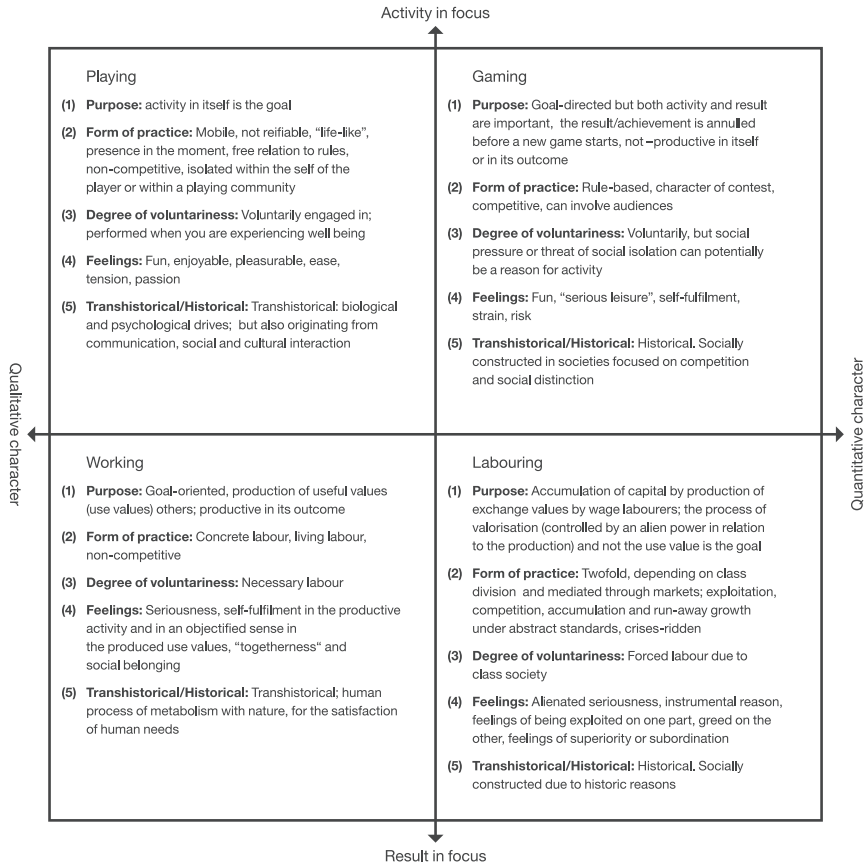
The concept definitions in the opening chapter form a typology that together with my literature study's analysis of the relationship between phenomenon referred to by the concepts, form a foundation for placing the typology categories in a field structure that is horizontally organised using the axis of *qualitative-quantitative* character and along the vertical axis between *activity in focus-result in focus*. But first I present the typology (Model 4.1):

<p>Playing</p> <p>(1) Purpose: activity in itself is the goal</p> <p>(2) Form of practice: Mobile, not reifiable, "life-like", presence in the moment, free relation to rules, non-competitive, isolated within the self of the player or within a playing community</p> <p>(3) Degree of voluntariness: Voluntarily engaged in; performed when you are experiencing well being</p> <p>(4) Feelings: Fun, enjoyable, pleasurable, ease, tension, passion</p> <p>(5) Transhistorical/Historical: Transhistorical; biological and psychological drives; but also originating from communication, social and cultural interaction</p>	<p>Gaming</p> <p>(1) Purpose: Goal-directed but both activity and result are important, the result/achievement is annulled before a new game starts, not-productive in itself or in its outcome</p> <p>(2) Form of practice: Rule-based, character of contest, competitive, can involve audiences</p> <p>(3) Degree of voluntariness: Voluntarily, but social pressure or threat of social isolation can potentially be a reason for activity</p> <p>(4) Feelings: Fun, "serious leisure", self-fulfilment, strain, risk</p> <p>(5) Transhistorical/Historical: Historical. Socially constructed in societies focused on competition and social distinction</p>
<p>Working</p> <p>(1) Purpose: Goal-oriented, production of useful values (use values) others; productive in its outcome</p> <p>(2) Form of practice: Concrete labour, living labour, non-competitive</p> <p>(3) Degree of voluntariness: Necessary labour</p> <p>(4) Feelings: Seriousness, self-fulfilment in the productive activity and in an objectified sense in the produced use values, "togetherness" and social belonging</p> <p>(5) Transhistorical/Historical: Transhistorical; human process of metabolism with nature, for the satisfaction of human needs</p>	<p>Labouring</p> <p>(1) Purpose: Accumulation of capital by production of exchange values by wage labourers; the process of valorisation (controlled by an alien power in relation to the production) and not the use value is the goal</p> <p>(2) Form of practice: Twofold, depending on class division and mediated through markets; exploitation, competition, accumulation and run-away growth under abstract standards, crises-ridden</p> <p>(3) Degree of voluntariness: Forced labour due to class society</p> <p>(4) Feelings: Alienated seriousness, instrumental reason, feelings of being exploited on one part, greed on the other, feelings of superiority or subordination</p> <p>(5) Transhistorical/Historical: Historical. Socially constructed due to historic reasons</p>

Model 4.1 Typology based on the study's key concepts

The typology is then placed in a field structure (Model 4.2).

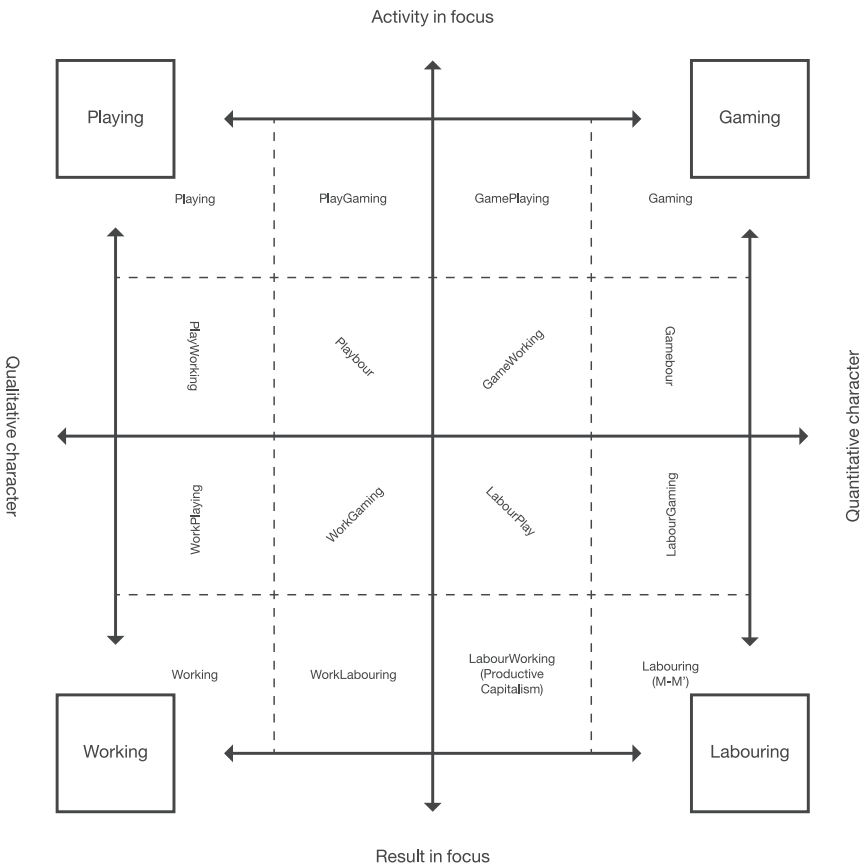
This field structure lays the foundation for placing and visualising different ideological positions and formations. A special visualisation model built on the field model has been constructed (see model 4.3). The concept of ideological positions is used to identify, describe and place the ideology in individual statements, while ideological formations are used to assemble and analyse positions together in various groupings on a more abstract level. As a static field structure, the model *cannot* show the processes that form the basis of the specified positions. This is why



Model 4.2 Field structure based on the relationship between the key concepts

the placement of the positions will sometimes be supplemented with the views of various theoretical schools on the link between the phenomena involved. One hope is that the empirical study will not only identify and visualise ideological positions, but also generate knowledge about the synergies and tensions within and between the positions, but also within and between the ideological formations. These relations and tensions within and between ideological positions and formations will thus primarily be described in terms of synergies (S) and conflicts (K).

The visualisation model (Model 4.3) should not be taken completely literally. The relationships between two points or nodes in a network (in this case two of the four categories) are something other than the whole field structure. The relationships between two points are binary, and these types of binary relations are especially studied in Chap. 5 with a focus on the ideas about the activities and processes at a micro level. But when these mainly binary ideological positions are placed in the field model, then they are placed in a model which in its structure



Model 4.3 Matrix for mapping ideological positions and formations within the field structure

includes all nodes and points in a field of tension that is explained via the structuring logic of the vertical and horizontal axis. This means that the grid pattern that has been placed over the field model, which is derived from the fact that the positions are decided by only two (binary) categories (nodes in the network), follows another logic than the overall logic of the field model. A dialectic tension meets a broader area of tension. A hypothetically imagined position such as worklabourplay includes everything apart from gaming, but there is no room for this in the upper right-hand corner of the working field, which is solely reserved for the dual-relationship, or better dialectic, category *workgaming*.

Having said this, I hope the model's matrix for visualisations of ideological positions in the micro-level analysis, which is based on the identification of dialectical and therefore main ideological relationships in the statements from informants, offers a tentative understanding of the position as a whole. A certain degree of caution must be adopted in this type of procedure as the refinement to main relationships can create unworldly black and white paintings similar to long past Maoists and their emphasis on the main contradictions in capitalism. The field model counteracts in this perspective the potential danger of dialectical refinements. My hope is that the field model will help to understand the diversity in the characters of the ideological positions, which the study nears when the ideological positions are accumulated into ideological formations.

Qualitative Method: Interviews and Informants

Theory and method proceed together in qualitative studies. The procedural character is strengthened when interviews are involved. The work of analysis already began during the actual interviews, activated by theoretical understandings and the dynamics of the conversation, and also by parallel reading of theoretical literature about post-Fordist capitalism, and continued during transcription which continuously generated preliminary and informal comments to save for the final analysis, which began after the author had jumped between empiricism, theory and method. Analysis work identified and combined the empirical material's ideologi-

cal positions using the key concepts and questions of the study. During this process, the key concepts and questions were adjusted further.

Qualitative interviews can be freely exploratory or test hypotheses (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, p. 121). This study assumes as a hypothesis that there is a link between how Wikipedians look upon their activities in terms of play, gaming, work and labour, and how they look upon capitalism, and that the link can form the foundation for either identification of common ideological formations or for comparisons of different ideological formations in the Wikipedians' conceptualisations of the micro level's activities and the macro level's more systemic relations. The study, in other words, inclines towards the latter category of qualitative interviews, even if the interviews have played a role in developing the hypothesis.

All of the interviews took place between February and September 2012 and took between one and a half hours and three hours to complete. The choice of informants was characterised by a strategic selection. The aim was to assemble a differentiated group of informants with different experiences. Diversity within homogeneity is what was strived for (Trost 2010, p. 137). Three criteria were used for the strategic choice of informants: variations in the roles that have engaged the informant within peer production, the informants' participation in specific forms of editing events that are relevant to the study and an even distribution of informants from the core and periphery of the project. In order to successfully use the latter criteria, I have utilised ad hoc criteria such as the number of years of involvement, the level of intensity of involvement and the self-image of the informant. Potential participants who are not taking part in producing Wikipedia, but who read the encyclopaedia, have been consciously left out of the study, despite being a relevant group to investigate to increase understanding about the borders for Wikipedia's peer production and the commons it is based in.

The choice of method to interview a limited number of active participants in editing Wikipedia has some limits and some strengths. The fact that I have not spoken with hundreds of Wikipedians is the least of problems. Each individual is a socially constructed being with regard to thoughts, ideas and values. The individual's ideas therefore express ideological positions and formations at a social and intersubjective level. These

ideological positions can be both manifest and latent. More problematic is to know whether the strategic selection provides sufficient diversity of experiences and perspectives. Categories of participants missing from the study includes representatives for official partners in editing, representatives for the US foundation, participants in editing war and subject projects, PR agencies that edit articles about their clients, and probably a few more categories. This limitation must be taken into account when the depth, which is the study's strength, of the informants' reasoning and the ideology analysis of them is judged. The strategic selection covers, however, most of the relevant perspectives around the research questions, even if the informants meet the selection criteria to different degrees.

The empirical study is based on interviews with eight informants, four from the periphery and four from the core. The first category has been given fictitious names beginning with P and the second category names beginning with K. Per and Paul were interviewed first and second, Krister third, Peter fourth, Karl, Kristin and Kåre fifth, sixth and seventh, and Patrik last. The predominance of male informants (the gender of the name corresponds to the biological sex of the informant) in this selection is largely in line with the estimated distribution between the sexes in Wikipedia, though there is no desire for representativeness in this.

Per is about 50 and sees himself as a sporadic participant who has contributed with a few edits but is interested in free and open software. He does not view himself as a Wikipedian and is not registered as a user in the project. He has, however, taken part in a university course on how to edit Wikipedia. Paul is about 30 and is a registered user of the Swedish-language Wikipedia and labels himself a "computer nerd". He looks upon his contribution to Wikipedia, both in terms of text and images, as part of his *modus operandi* online, but he would not call himself a Wikipedian even if he has contributed more than 150 edits over more than six years. Peter is about 20, but was about 16 when he edited Wikipedia. He is not a registered user and does not see himself as a Wikipedian, and he has completed fewer than 100 edits of both constructive and destructive character (towards the use value). The latter planted as absurd, comic and false facts. Patrik has made a few edits, but his main interest in Wikipedia stems from his work as PR manager for a larger corporation in the media sector. It is primarily the company's article in the encyclopaedia which

he has monitored and edited anonymously. Patrik is not a registered user and does not see himself as a Wikipedian, but he has also edited as a private person in articles about his favourite music.

Krister is a registered user and has made more than 11,000 edits, including those carried out when he was not a registered user. He is an administrator and has also done paid work for a project financed by Wikimedia Sverige. He is about 30 and sees himself as a Wikipedian. Karl has been active since 2005 and is registered as a user. He is between 30 and 40 years old and has held a position of responsibility at Wikimedia Sverige. In addition to taking an active part in local chapter activities, he has taken part in the international conference *Wikimania*. Kristin has also been active since the mid-2000s and has made more than 37,000 edits. She has been active in a “Competition of the Week” organised by volunteers from the editing community. She is however not active in Wikimedia Sverige. This is however the case for Kåre, who is a registered user and has been active for about six years. He is about 40 and has held a position of responsibility for Wikimedia Sverige and spent some time with WMF in the USA. He has been active in several meta-activities for the Swedish-language Wikipedia and has been externally employed as *Wikipedian in residence* at a state authority.

In addition to these interviews, I have also recorded and transcribed a public lecture by Wikipedian Johan Jönsson at Uppsala Learning Lab on 7 March 2012.

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5

Wikipedians' Views on Their Activities

Only a very few make a living from Wikipedia, if these feel compelled or privileged is an open question. Participation in the project is *experienced* as freer and *is* at a superficial level freer for those who have their livelihood secured from another source. They could just as well have done something else, they do not need to, must not, get involved in Wikipedia. The secured livelihood is a prerequisite for a free involvement. The motives and character of this involvement in the peer production of Wikipedia ranges, therefore, from the pleasure-filled, over the concrete, creation of use values, to a search for a livelihood and also economic profit.

Each individual can adopt different positions at different times. When Wikipedians put their computer on, they can sometimes, as Karl explains, feel like doing something very basic, instead of beginning a major project or writing something of their own; perhaps, they only want an outlet for a little stress by doing something that is still helping someone else, such as removing vandalism. Karl calls this “bitesize tasks” and compares the activity to taking out the vacuum cleaner:

there are different aspects from time to time, and it is probably true for all activities, that at certain times you just do something because it is fun, and

sometimes because it is meaningful and ... sometimes there can be a social pressure that, “I have promised someone during a coffee break that I would do this, so, oh well, I suppose I’d better do it now”. (Karl 2012)¹

This variation in motives that can activate a Wikipedian originates in the voluntariness of participation and is also influenced by social pressure and cultural values. In addition to individuals, Wikipedia includes various smaller groups and partially autonomous collectives around projects at different levels in relation to editing. On top of this is the Wikimedia Foundation and its local branches, where Wikipedians meet outside the digital networks.

This chapter studies how different motives and experiences of taking part in peer production within the commons Wikipedia meet each other in the empirical material. Motives and experiences are assumed to have a close relationship to the understanding of the character of an activity, which will be studied closer.

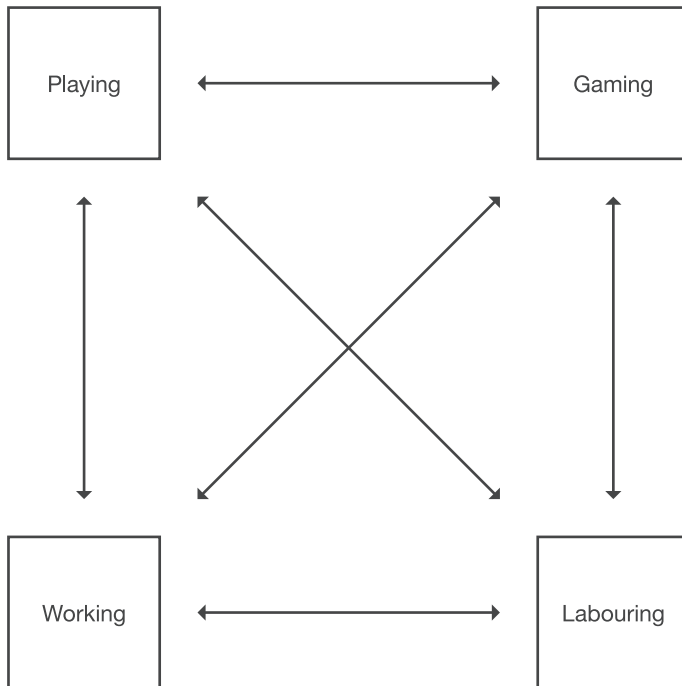
The understanding of the character of activities is analysed and categorised using four categories—playing, gaming, working and labouring—which have been described and defined in the previous chapter.² These categories form four different fields, structured horizontally between the positions *qualitative* and *quantitative* and vertically between *activity in focus* and *result in focus* (see Model 4.2 in Chap. 4, p. 114).

Attention will be focused on identifying and positioning *manifest* and *latent* expressions for these categories, or combinations of these. The importance of synergies and conflicts between various activities or perceptions of various activities, which are positioned differently within the field structure, but coexist within peer production, are emphasised.

¹ Wikimedia Sverige has a tradition of so-called Wiki Coffee Breaks when Wikipedians/Wikimedians meet and socialize.

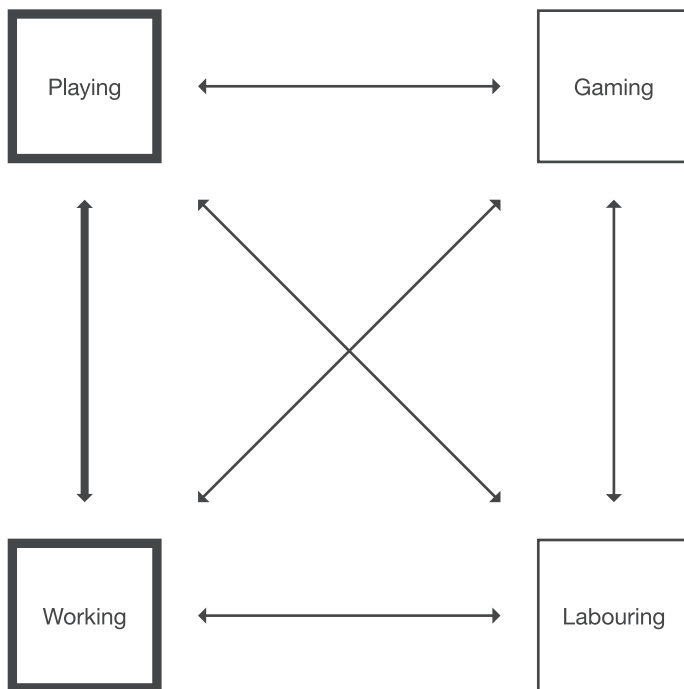
² The Latin concept *homo ludens* (the playing man), *homo contendens* (the gaming man), *homo faber* (man the maker), and *homo economicus* (the economic man) are used here. *Homo ludens* in Latin means both the playing and the gaming man, without any differentiation, but the concept is here reserved for the playing man, while the gaming man is given its own concept, *homo contendens*. Furthermore *homo economicus* refers today to a person maximising benefit, often translated as maximising money, which is not a completely adequate term for exploited wage labouring. The term is used here more figuratively (but also somewhat in line with the Greek *oikonomia* which originally meant “household management”) to refer to the activity’s link to capitalism and its logics.

The logical structure in the field model can be described by marking the six relationships between the categories (Lund 2014, p. 737). This approach is used to structure the first part of the study. The approach suffers from a theoretical weakness, which can be accepted if the model is understood more as a heuristic aim to structure the analysis, rather than as a reflection of reality. Each relationship between two categories in the field model also includes influences from the other categories in the field model. And the four main categories do not exhaust the opportunities for influences but are a first attempt at theoretical analysis and understanding of how Wikipedians look upon their activities. The peer production of Wikipedia is a social totality. Having said this, the structured model for Chap. 5 is as follows (Model 5.1):



Model 5.1 The relationships between the study's central concepts: playing, gaming, working and labouring

Homo Faber and Homo Ludens



Model Faber Ludens

The study of the identified ideological positions on a micro level is based on binary relations, but certain departures are sometimes made from the relational logic. Playing is also identified as an independent category in the following, though in relation to working, and the same is true for working, which is sometimes treated as a separate category in relation to playing and labouring. Otherwise, the concluding analysis is structured after the synergies and conflicts identified in the binary relationships concerned. The synergies (S) are labelled by merging the categories in question into one word, while conflicts (K) are simply included under the heading *conflicts*.

Pure and Irresponsible Playing

Paul and Peter are the only two of the informants who are entertained by funny errors in writing that are planted in the encyclopaedia.

Peter describes several occasions, always separate from his constructive contributions, when he has planted errors in various articles in Wikipedia (Peter 2012). These edits can be divided into two categories. The first is based on a pure joy of writing with tongue-in-cheek; the second has a more competitive angle. In the first category, the emphasis is on writing, rather than getting away with the joke. On 6 January 2008, the following could be read by user 80.216.220.3 in the Swedish-version of Wikipedia:

“Harry Boy” is an animated horse which appears in marketing for V75. The horse has been analysed by many as a phenomenon in popular culture, including in various racing magazines—and as a symbol for the West’s decadence, capitalism (alt greed), individualism and immorality it has often appeared in various pastiches. “Harry Boy” was created as a mascot for racing, and has remained ever since. (Wikipedia-bidragsgivare 2008)³

The text has a neutral, reporting tone, using serious language, possibly with the exception of the conclusion, which frames the more verbal and embellished joke that the animated horse is a phenomenon in popular culture with many followers in the form of pastiches. At other times, he added humorous additions to existing articles. In the article about Robert Wells, he claimed that the film star Walter Matthau had commented on Wells’ music, but this attempt at disinformation was discovered (Peter 2012).⁴ Homo ludens, in the form of Peter, is here using homo faber’s productive creation as a resource and arena for his activities. There is a clear conflict between the two.⁵

³V75 is a system for betting on horse races in Sweden.

⁴Robert Wells is a Swedish musician and artist.

⁵This form of playing can also have productive effects in the longer term, such as when hackers are paid by businesses to find security holes in their own system. Marx stated that a criminal can be seen as productive, by creating the police, courts and prison systems. Karl Marx writes in *Theories of Surplus Value*: “The criminal produces not only crimes but also criminal law, and with this also the professor who gives lectures on criminal law and in addition to this the inevitable compendium in which this same professor throws his lectures onto the general market as “commodities”. This

The second category, which is more competitive, is discussed in the chapter on the relationship between homo contendens and homo faber. A joy of writing was however also present in this category. In order to avoid discovery, he focused his falsehoods on the biographies of famous people. The humour and irresponsible jests only affect successful, white men. The target for the humour is a homogeneous and privileged group of authorities who are dethroned. The lofty is also profaned in the same way as during carnival in the Middle Ages and Renaissance as described by Michail Bachtin in *Rabelais and His World*. Additions to the bibliographies are all highly inventive and based on the contrasting effect it produces towards the target.

Paul is the only informant who comes close to Peter's irresponsible playfulness. He first talks about a constructive play that is something of dry humour such as when the form is in contrast to the content. Humour at Wikipedia could be about "serious articles on subjects that are perhaps less than serious". The neutral and serious "wikipedia-tone" quickly becomes funny, according to him, when it is used for absurd topics: "It is, can be quite a strong form of humour" (Paul 2012). When asked whether it can also be funny to write witty references or other disrespectful statements in articles on serious subjects, he replies that this can also be funny. The article is destroyed only if the statements or references are false. The reply to the follow-up question, whether it is negative if these funny and irreverent insertions are completely groundless, is that it is probably so, but that it "can be fun sometimes too". Paul stresses however that humour can involve more subtle things, such as a detailed explanation about the use of various square brackets and parentheses or using entertaining wording or humoristic examples in mathematics (Paul 2012). Use values are not damaged by a little humour, Paul seems to think, but it is not so much about incorrect placement but rather about allowing humour in editing work. Paul appears to think that the serious encyclopaedia can

brings with it augmentation of national wealth.—The criminal moreover produces the whole of the police and of criminal justice, constables, judges, hangmen, juries, etc.; and all these different lines of business ... develop different capacities of the human spirit, create new needs and new ways of satisfying them" (Marx & Engels 1975, p. 193, author's translation). Destructive actions against Wikipedia can lead to improvements, innovative features and insights into new needs, which combine to develop the product and its productivity.

cope with a little humour. It is difficult to know where he draws the line for the destructive play in the case of inserted errors. This play, which is negative for the use value, forms its own ideological position of pure and irresponsible *playing*. It is not entirely easy to decide where the line should be drawn between constructive and destructive play. But the destructive play mainly takes place based on the outside of peer production, or as in the case of Peter on its periphery.

Playwork

Those at the core identify themselves with various constructive forms of playing. It was this playfulness in creation that initially attracted them to becoming active in the project. Kristin's first edits were motivated by an opportunity to fill knowledge gaps in topics she liked: " 'why shouldn't I begin writing, there is a lot missing here ... about things I like' ... this is how it began" (Kristin 2012). Initially, she wrote "a lot" about dragonflies and the various species in Sweden. When she had completed "all of these", she felt very satisfied that there were now articles about all species in Sweden: "then there were comments from many people saying it had been very well supplemented" (Kristin 2012). Karl describes a similar, though different, personal development compared with Kristin. In the beginning, he was motivated by the community and the curious lust for experimentation (Karl 2012). Their activities were characterised by *playwork* (S1) from the outset. Karl was interested in what he could do in the project and Kristin was more interested in the subject.

They share this playful and pleasurable work with Peter and Paul at the periphery of the project. In addition to planting errors, Peter enjoyed writing whole articles from beginning to end. This activity was based on a joy in writing. He found the slightly freer form of captions (for pictures) particularly entertaining (Peter 2012). Paul says editing Wikipedia is fun but not as much fun as "YouTube fun". Instead, he is amused by his constructive actions, the challenge of creating wording that is both neutral and correct, adding that it is only natural to want to improve and refine. Image management is particularly "fun" as the photographs were his own (Paul 2012), which in turn is similar to the joy Peter found in writing and his

focus on writing his own article from beginning to end. Another expression at the core of this ideological position is those who choose not to take responsibility for vandalism clean-up. Conflicts between playing and working are avoided as such activities are too serious and “heavy”. Paul’s partial acceptance of inserted errors as funny can also be linked to this position of avoiding heavy responsibility (S2). Within the playwork position, sociality and communication often play a specifically pleasurable and important role, which forms a positive and growing spiral movement that strengthens the social dimension of the project. For Karl, it was the community and feeling of being an equal among equals that initially attracted him (Karl 2012). Kristin describes the reactions to her first edits as intoxicating and emphasises that the social dimension is important to break the feeling of isolation which can arise when everyone is working on their own articles (S3) (Kristin 2012).

Workplay

Over time continued involvement results, for core participants in Wikipedia, in an ideological position which can better be described as *workplay*. Unlike Paul, who believes he was more ambitious and serious at the beginning of his involvement in Wikipedia (and who today mostly fixes small details when he “feels like it”), all the informants who belong to the core of the project have over time, and through their continued participation, taken on more responsibility for removing vandalism and other less glamorous tasks, even if Krister says he was from the outset focused on “linguistic mistakes” (Krister 2012; Karl 2012; Kristin 2012; Kåre 2012). Karl has over time begun to spend more time with what he calls “chores”. It is less common that he writes new articles, though he often polishes and corrects “embarrassing mistakes” and adds “good sources”. He has over time noticed that there “is a lot to do where you can contribute without even needing to be an expert on the subject”. This includes finding dubious claims and finding sources so that people feel “a little safer” and do not get stuck in uncertainties when reading the encyclopaedia (Karl 2012). The usability of the encyclopaedia became over time more important than his own interests, playwork became workplay.

Karl focused for a while on writing about news. Not because it was a type of competition, but because he then knew that what he wrote provided an immediate benefit for many people (Karl 2012). Krister believes his involvement in Wikipedia is more work than play as an activity with something important that others can read: “It is not like when I go out and run for my own satisfaction. And it is not even like when I write a novel”; “this is a collaboration with others where you sit together with other people in order to create something that many others can look at” (Krister 2012). This change in commitment appears according to the informants from the project core in part to be related to a greater identification with the project, a deeper conviction about its usefulness, and an insight into the thoughts behind the project (Krister 2012; Karl 2012; Kristin 2012; Kåre 2012).⁶

One form of workplay is when play is replaced by useful everyday edits characterised by simplicity in the sense of an absence of difficulty. The position can be identified in Karl’s first activities taking photos, which felt easier than writing texts and free from values for him. This lack of difficulty is similar to the triviality (which is neither a pleasure nor a burden) that Kristin feels in taking photographs for Wikipedia when she is out and moving about (Kristin 2012). Krister’s emphasis on the role of variation to keep alive his interest can also be placed in this ideological position. He does image-related activities in order to avoid social cooperation and for rest and variety (Krister 2012). Rather than lust, this is about contributing useful actions at the same time as avoiding sociality (S4). One variation on this perspective is Karl’s chores in many different areas. This does not need to be areas that he is interested in, it is enough that editing is required and is simple. Krister shares this editing behaviour with many people who are not logged in and revise factual information (S5).

Kristin feels a sense of self-expression and stimulation by contributing knowledge to the encyclopaedia (Kristin 2012). Interest in a subject acts as an interest-driven hobby (S6). Karl spent some time doing news editing which appears to be a way to raise usefulness at the same as the

⁶Criticism of vandals mainly gains its momentum from the ideological position of workplay and the perspective of pure work. Criticism is also possible from the position of worklabour and in some cases even from the position of labourwork.

news offers an increased intensity to editing, in the same way one can become immersed in playing (S7).

Kåre's refusal to choose between playing and working (they are both as important to him) appears in the light of his strong emphasis on the ideological surface on quality and professionalism. His playing concerns a playing that is more strictly controlled, a playing that is increasingly played by professional writers in a subject. For him the fun begins when he can see that he knows more than what is already written in the encyclopaedia (Kåre 2012). He claims that Wikipedia's quality venture actually is helping to recruit participants who are professional experts on topics (Kåre 2012). This approach appears to be workplay where working is the latent and central foundation that a certain form of playing can be developed from (S8).

For Karl, the social dimension, interaction and communication have become increasingly important during his involvement. The social still provides pleasure, but the focus is more on cooperation that is improved by meeting other Wikipedians in real life. This stance is echoed by Kristin, who thinks it is fun with the social dimension of Wikipedia, but that this is not the most important aspect of the social. She emphasises that the organised competitions in Wikipedia editing are a good way to strengthen cohesion. They contribute to a feeling that there are more people than herself on Wikipedia. Editing can otherwise be fairly lonely, when each person keeps to their own area (Kristin 2012). Social relations are important for production and work, which otherwise can become too isolated and alienated. The desire to be an equal in the playwork position has here the characteristic of an extra spice in the service of efficiency (S9).

Finally, Paul can himself consider collecting money through crowdfunding for the hobby of taking photographs and uploading these to Wikimedia Commons (Paul 2012). This ideological position is superficially nearing labourplay but is not about wage labour and labour force exchanged as a value on the labour market. This activity is financed through voluntary contributions that do not take the circuitous route via a form of wage but are based rather on a moral but unwritten contract between himself and the disorganised mass of gift donors. At a latent level, this ideological position partly contravenes the model which has been applied to the empirical material. It concerns a potentially beneficial use value financed outside the market in a commons, it is about a workplay that has found its own source of income, which is a parasite on the capitalist economy. One can-

not therefore call this labourplay. The ideological position appears instead as workplay with pecuniary elements (S10). It is about a potential commonsification of the commercial use of money as a means of exchange, which can create conflicts at a system level if this behaviour spreads. Not all activities justify the use of crowdfunding, rather these are activities that require so much time and involvement that they compete with labour otherwise performed by the participants. But if funding can be secured then the activity is seen as partially pleasurable, even if the work is controlled by an aim that should be appreciated by a larger group of people that the participant has some form of moral debt to (a form of sociality that in this case is not as pressing as a market exchange).

Pure Responsible Work

Workplay transforms into something stricter within an ideological position of responsible and pure *work*, which emphasises the necessary ahead of the pleasurable and the responsibility ahead of the simplicity. The position is expressed within the group of informants from the core. Kristin's perspective is that Wikipedia is a serious project and sometimes she edits through a sense of responsibility for the project rather than because she finds pleasure in it (Kristin 2012).⁷ All participants at the core are in favour of Wikipedia's drive to improve the quality of the encyclopaedia. Kåre and Kristin are pushing an argument that emphasises the importance of engaging more professional editors as part of this drive, a *top-down perspective*, as a lack of quality and credibility is Wikipedia's most acute problem. This leads to no conflicts worth mentioning because of the reduction in lust and play, instead the improved quality will engage the more professional participants, according to them.

Conflicts

The position of pure and non-responsible play is in stark contrast to the ideological positions related to work. Kristin says the vandals and trolls are very young people who cannot control their impulses. They are children

⁷This is an individual ideological position, but the study focuses on synergies and conflicts between different categories, which mean the position is not present in the model visualizing the distribution of ideological positions in Chap. 7.

who do not take responsibility for their actions. In contrast, she believes, Wikipedia is not a toy and that it is nice that she now knows how she can block these “troublemakers”, as the rule-free and rule-breaking play contributes to a worry that disturbs her. Kåre in turn compares cleaning-up *vandalism*, a term that in itself indicates a conflict between the malignant joke and the serious work, to standing in front of a broken floodgate and trying to sift gold from sand. It is quite exhausting and regular breaks are needed to avoid burning out or becoming cynical, with potentially aggressive feelings. Krister’s comment that removing vandalism is as relaxing as watching TV, or as bad weather that you cannot become worked up about (Krister 2012), seems to be a way to tone down a conflict that nevertheless exists (K1). All this while, Peter planted his errors as part of a criticism of the idea of a credible and open encyclopaedia produced by non-professionals (K2).

At the same time, Per and Paul argue that editing Wikipedia has become too serious. Per wants Wikipedia to be short and concise and act as an easy start to seeking information (Per 2012), while Paul stresses the importance of many articles that are of reasonably good quality rather than fewer and better articles (K3) (Paul 2012). Per thinks the demand for verifiability, footnotes and references, is too burdensome (Per 2012) and Paul asserts that the project today is characterised by too many rules (K4) (Paul 2012).

Krister comments that the most difficult thing to deal with is well-meant but incorrect edits. It is difficult to not accept an incorrect contribution from someone who is serious. In Krister’s reasoning, it goes without saying that it concerns beginners who in turn may be scared off from continuing with editing if their contribution is not accepted. They may lose their motivation then. In this argument, the emphasis is on serious work, but quality may be achieved at a price, which shows a conflict between playing and working (K5). I will soon come back to this theme.

Another conflict between play and work is mentioned by Kåre who maintains that certain playful socialisation can be negative for the project. The chat channel that already exists does so only to allow experienced Wikipedians with technical expertise to socialise and feel a sense of community, but it is not highlighted within the project and not for beginners. Even Krister and Karl agree that there are limits to the importance of

socialising in the project: the former believes Wikipedia is not a social media (Krister 2012) and the latter sees the project as a type of Web 1.5 (K6) (Karl 2012).

Over the last decade Wikipedia has focused a lot on quality improvements. The issue of how the focus on more rules and the stricter application of them have influenced participation in peer production has been a part of the study from the outset. I will allow myself to make a small deviation on the topic. Can the will for professionalism be said to restrict participation in the peer production as Krister suggests above? The idea has been expressed by, among others, Andrew Lih, author of *The Wikipedia Revolution* (Lih 2009, pp. 221, 228–32), but the informants evaluate the importance of such a conflict between a greater professionalism and a dependence on more playful beginners differently between them. All participants in the core are in favour of Wikipedia's drive to improve quality in the encyclopaedia, an ideological position of pure working that meets opposition from the periphery's participants Per and Paul. Paul's approach can be characterised as constructive play. He believes that Wikipedia has become too serious. People are becoming afraid of making changes when there are more rules (Paul 2012). It is better if fewer rules result in more articles: "it is better with five thousand fairly lousy articles than two hundred extremely good ones". He believes the concept of *notability* and the relevance criterion *recognised* are cloudy (Paul 2012). Ninety-nine per cent of the people reading Wikipedia only want the information that meets their needs, preferably as correct as possible, according to him (Paul 2012). Per also stresses that it must not become too serious to take part in Wikipedia, but that it is not the rules primarily that are the problem, but rather that the word quality, and the practices that are said to achieve this, have been kidnapped by academics (Per 2012).

Krister and Karl, who embrace a *bottom-up perspective*, recognise the criticism from the periphery and the conflict between working and playing. Karl emphasises that there is a conservatism within the community concerning the use value. Wikipedia is an encyclopaedia and as such it is resting on a long tradition of knowledge and rules, to which Wikipedia has added new ones. It is difficult to change these rules. Karl can imagine that this conservatism could scare off some new participants who have not "bought into the idea", but he also emphasises that it is

important that people think it is fun to be active in Wikipedia. There is more chance that “people stay” if it is fun, than if someone “comes and points with the whole hand” and influence the voluntary character negatively. This voluntariness, he points out, is protected by the guideline that no user has any obligations (Karl 2012). Also Krister clearly stresses that the attitude of experienced participants to beginners is a problem, but it is an ambivalent position. Even if Krister initially appears to be relatively clear in his assertion that there is a negative link between the zealous professionalism of administrators and the involvement of more sporadic participants in editing, he is also in favour of the drive for quality. It is obvious to him that “professionalism and playfulness can sometimes be against each other”, but the editing must be done according to a specific set of guidelines, if the Wikipedia community is to view it as a good article (Krister 2012). He believes it is possible that many, including those of the periphery, become alienated by too much professionalism. “Many people are alienated by this, that we erase too much, for example” (Krister 2012). But even if he thinks it is normal that an editing culture is being established and that not everyone needs to find this attractive, Krister believes the problem of new participants who clash with the editing culture is one of Wikipedia’s greatest and reoccurring problems (Krister 2012). New participants are needed primarily because the core is in constant need of:

new blood ... in order to grow, because people lose motivation, no longer have time, leave, and this is a gradual process, people must make their first edit, their tenth edit, their hundredth edit, and then they gradually get more into it and it is therefore very dangerous to scare people away. (Krister 2012)

Krister bases his reasoning on the idea that fewer people, that is, core participants, play a greater role for Wikipedia than previously thought, but that their numbers are not constant and new recruits are needed all the time (Krister 2012). Peripheral beginners that become core members over time are crucially important to Wikipedia.

Kåre, on the other hand, claims that Wikipedia’s quality venture is instead helping to recruit participants who are professional experts on

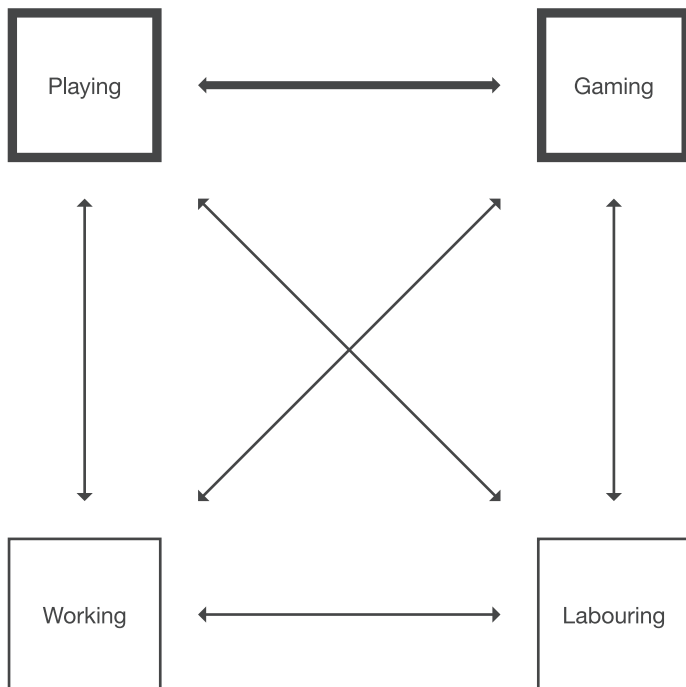
topics. The encyclopaedia has had an image problem as unreliable and people have used it without trusting it. This has been a problem, as “people do not begin writing if they do not trust it” (Kåre 2012). Kristin for her part wants to improve Wikipedia’s quality by a professionalisation in editing. The first phase of the Wikipedia project was about creating as many access points as possible, which attracted “as many people as possible”, but this phase has now ended. This is confirmed in the creation of fewer and fewer new articles, at the same time as the article’s depths are improving. Kristin thinks this is positive, even if it could result in the recruitment of fewer new participants. She wants to retain participants who are engaged in the “longer term” by raising the quality, otherwise they will leave because of lack of order (Kristin 2012). She admits at the same time that there is a certain risk that professionalism reduces motivations grounded in play, a conflict which is mentioned by Per and Paul, recognised by Krister and Karl, and toned down by Kåre (K7). Kristin thinks that the risk of conflict can be counteracted through active contact by Wikimedia Sverige with new editing groups (Kristin 2012).

Several informants at the core of the project would prefer to be excused from repetitive and boring tasks by using automation (K8). Only Karl speaks of a possible total automation, while Kristin and Krister express advantages in allowing machines to carry out repetitive tasks. For them it is about reducing the burden from activities that are not pleasurable (Karl 2012; Kristin 2012; Krister 2012). At the same time, core participants do not trust new people who are not logged in with the most advanced processes in peer production. They have not shown their intentions, which implicitly means they are suspected of being vicious *homo ludens* (K9).

Homo Contendens Meets Homo Ludens, Homo Faber and Homo Economicus

This chapter will assemble all relationships that are linked to the gaming form.

Homo Contendens and Homo Ludens



Model Contendens Ludens

There exists, both informally and openly, organised gaming within Wikipedia. Kristin no longer takes part in some of the games as she cannot win them (Kristin 2012), which can be interpreted as a minor, though weak, conflict between playing and gaming. When the conditions are too uneven then the activity lacks excitement and fun for her (K1).

Kåre comments critically that gaming within vandalism clean-up can sometimes get out of hand and can result in too rapid or too many deletions of contributions as presumed vandalism, which creates problems in cooperation. Beginners who are not logged in risk having their contributions rapidly and unjustly erased, which can easily result to a loss of motivation for further engagement (K2). This latter conflict is equally at home in upcoming sections about the relationship between

gaming and working and is visible as a conflict in both gameplaying and gameworking.

Playgaming

Focus on the actual activity, rather than on a permanent result, unite these two activities. Some of Peter's inserted errors have remained for several years. He explains in detail about this. This is a feather in his cap and it all appears to be a sport. Peter wanted to see how long he could trick the Wikipedians. The inserted error could not be too easy to find, but still be as absurd and funny as possible. Only to see where the line for the possible is drawn. At the same time, the activity was quite relaxed and simple. He was not looking for social status but was simply having fun. It therefore appears as a form of *playgaming* (S1).

In Paul's case, the gaming element is to find all of the mistakes in an article and correct them. Gaming is not really the right word for him but is possibly correct if it is a gaming against himself as an internal process. It is not about being cleverer than someone but rather feeling good about finding mistakes at the same time as it is a challenge to "make a text as perfect as possible". He has always seen proofreading as "fun" (Paul 2012). An entertaining *playgaming* fits here as ideological position (S2).

There are different types of organised gaming within the Swedish Wikipedia. First, there are recurring competitions for who has written the most articles or the best article, then there is also something called "Competition of the Week" which can have various themes. Both of these competitions can be found on the community portal and are continuously arranged within the community (Kristin 2012).⁸ Expressed, formal and clear community-organised competitions *within* Wikipedia appear to be a way to utilise the gaming motivation in a safe and entertaining way and to navigate around the negative impact the gaming form has on work, which will be discussed in the next section. "Competition of the Week" is full of easy-going competitions, which fall into the playgaming ideological position. Even if it makes Kristin produce more that week it is also extra fun (S3).

⁸ Also in the field of images, there is an organised and conscious use of competitions to stimulate activity. This includes one popular competition called "Newly Uploaded Picture of the Month".

Gameplaying

The presence of an audience, in addition to co-competitors, defines, according to Gadamer, gaming (Gadamer 1975, pp. 98–99; Lund 2014, pp. 751, 765). But informal games are free form and are therefore particularly close to play. In a similar way, playwork often becomes workplay the more socially comparable the activity becomes.

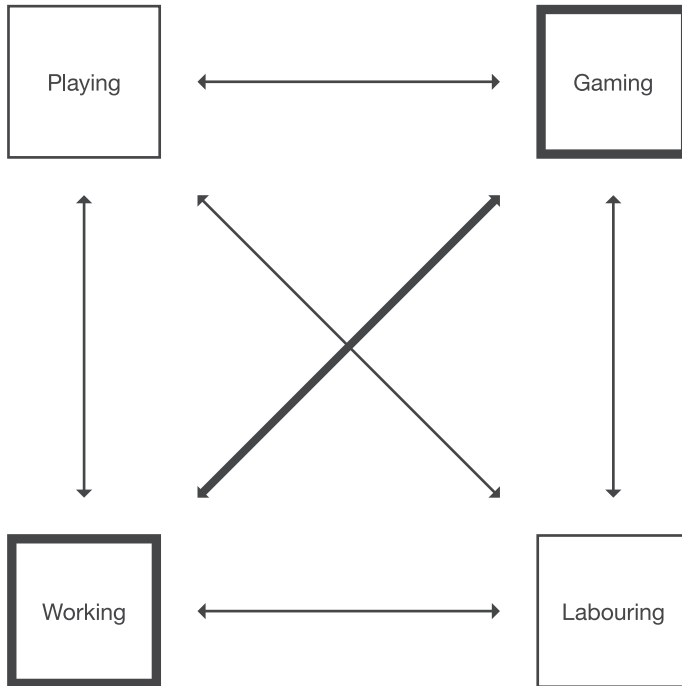
Kåre describes competitions similar to first shooter games, where the competition is about an internal points system. This is often in cleaning-up vandalism where the aim is to be fastest at erasing the incorrect edits. Sometimes, the comparison with others results in spontaneous competitions between Wikipedians. Kåre thinks the obsession the competitions create among participants generates energy rather than consumes energy. A seriousness is introduced here with the comparison to the actions of other Wikipedians. The competition is not only taking place in your head but also in the heads of other people. The obsession is not an emotional feeling associated with something easy-going, but with an intensive competitiveness. The ideological position appears as an example of *gameplaying* (S4).

Krister confirms that a competitive element is built into editing where the challenge is to be fastest with edits. But competitions between Wikipedians are not only about removing vandalism, as illustrated by Tomas Tranströmer's award of the Nobel Prize in literature in 2011. The competition here was connected to the stream of news. The Nobel Prize is an event that can be booked into the calendar each year, and that Tranströmer received the prize that year was not a complete surprise for Krister, who had prepared the author's page, but was beaten to the ball by another Wikipedian. This form of competition is informal between Wikipedians but is focused on making the project as a whole impress the reading public (S5). The element of competition is central to these two examples of *gameplaying*, but the activities appear as informal and very free in form, which places them close to play.

There are also organised competitions which are more temporary and specific with clearer interfaces with players outside the project: "Wiki Loves Monument" and at the time of my interviews the planned "Wiki Loves Company" (which was later implemented using a different name).

These competitions are more like campaigns and the first was introduced on its own website (Karl 2012). Campaign competitions and the creation of most articles appear as more prestigious gaming where you, to a higher degree, assert and differentiate yourself socially (S6).

Homo Contendens and Homo Faber



Model Contendens Faber

Competitions and *gamification* exist on several levels, with different aims and with a different impact on peer production.

Peter's competition in inserting errors did not aim to be constructive work. The aim was rather destructive for the use value (K1).

Another conflict is identified in Kåre's remark that competitions can get out of hand and have a negative impact on the production community. Competition, mainly concerning vandalism clean-up, can become irresponsible when your own work process is put ahead of the final result

(Kåre 2012). The greatest risk for this is among core participants, when these think mostly about themselves and use the collective for their own distinction. As a result, the competitors develop a form of cynicism, which is not in line with concrete cooperation: “well, eventually you stop seeing the other people ... who are there, the newcomers ... who want to test and see if it works” (Kåre 2012) (K2).⁹

A third conflict is seen in Kristin’s participation in the “Competition of the Week”. She stops being active when the archiving system is changed and becomes more difficult. It became too heavy to relearn in relation to the attraction of the element of competition (Kristin 2012). One comment from the Wikipedian Tudro points in the same direction, when he in a discussion about the scoring for a competition apologises for being “stiff and haughty” when he/she is actually “happy and lively”. There are potential conflict lines between the form of gaming and serious working (Wikipedia-bidragsgivare 2009) (K3).

Gameworking

Kåre has an idea that internal competing gives energy to the individual rather than consumes energy when it comes to editing Wikipedia. Gaming motivation is one of the main motives for taking part in the creation of Wikipedia. The individual, and the social but informal, game, joins together with cooperation. Much can be achieved for Wikipedia when gaming is combined with consideration for others (Kåre 2012) (S1).

Competitions held by Wikipedia result not only in the creation of new articles and that old articles are improved, they also create new social relationships between participants. So-called barn stars, a type of digital icon in the shape of a rosette, that winners and competition leaders receive after a competition, move gaming into the area of social status. Kristin says with a small laugh that they use “small digital images” as prizes “and it is then obviously prestige to see who wins the best prize ... and you can have this then on your user page” (Kristin 2012). At the same time as digital rosettes on user pages are the result of a competition in gaining

⁹The characteristic of the destructive competition is similar in this way to the value creation by abstract labour, with a focus on the owner’s (of the means of production) private interests, despite the fact that production is social.

social status, they also show that the participant is a serious Wikipedian who can be trusted (Karl 2012). This is about gameworking (S2).

Workgaming

More ideological positions can be found in the area of workgaming. When Krister writes about a news story, then he wants to be first to complete the edit, otherwise it feels like a waste of time. If he wins then he wins the glory, but if he loses then he loses work time (Krister 2012). The focus is not on him losing the competition, rather the action did not contribute anything useful. Working comes first and this concerns *workgaming* (S3).

This position is strengthened by the fact that he thinks it is fun to win, but that he also feels pride that the community project is so fast at editing the topic in question (Krister 2012), which appears to be a serious and important feeling for him. Losing to another Wikipedian in a competition could feel good. A sense of community is created by the fact that “a colleague is present” and he can be happy that someone else completes the edit first. Gaming or competition is positive for the project (S4).

Kristin talks about Wikipedians who do not like the stressful forms of gaming and instead are involved in more low-intensity projects focused on creating articles that are nominated as excellent. Activities in these projects take more time without having a fixed timeframe, the editing is more meticulous and the articles should be comprehensive (Kristin 2012). The involved individual or group competes here internally against themselves, and only meets an audience later, during the vote. The element of competition changes character here to appear more seriously productive for those who do not like the stress of gaming (S5).

Another variant on workgaming with even less emphasis on competition is the quality project of the month. In the formal sense, this is not a competition, but at the end of the month statistics are measured, and statistics and diagrams are presented for how well the project has met its targets. Kristin says many people find this fun and challenging: “ ‘Well, now we are to go under 200 like that’ (giggle)” (Kristin 2012). The activity has the same form of logic as an individual’s *gamification*; the group does not compare with an external party, but focuses instead on its own

activities as a group. Statistical abstractions and reifications create social environments and communities in a productive activity where competition is within the group (S6).

The explicit and collectively organised competitions in editing are more serious and knowingly instrumental in nature than the spontaneous and informal competitions. But in cases, such as “Competition of the Week”, this is a completely free and self-imposed division of activities and leadership. The competition’s stimulus of working, and its role in giving this a direction, makes working efficient and intense following specific subjects and temporary lines. Unlike Karl Polanyi’s theory on a socially embedded division of labour, David Ricardo’s theory on the role of comparative trade advantage in the division of labour (Ricardo and Sraffa 1817, p. 135) and Adam Smith’s emphasis on the importance of trade and how exchange (a human instinct for him) drives production (Smith 1776, pp. 18, 22, 437–39), the division of labour in the “Competition of the Week” is completely voluntary and is not primarily linked to ability, even if the latter depends on the type of competition and target group. The “Wiki Loves Monuments” competition instead took place in 2011 together with the Swedish National Heritage Board, on a separate website (Karl 2012), with a certain focus on expert knowledge and expert resources from Wikimedia Sverige.¹⁰ In a competition on corporate history planned for 2012, competitors were also to be offered training (Kåre 2012).

Interestingly, in the case of the “Competition of the Week”, it appears that the leadership and following division of activities does not lead to isolation, fragmentation and alienation between participants, more the opposite. Kristin believes the competitions can be a way to find like-minded people but stresses that the organised competitions are a form of cooperation, which is basically a “quality improvement project”, where the collective and individual effort has something of the character of a demonstration. She likes that everything that has happened in the competition is documented on the Wiki; and as a leader for a “Competition of the Week”, she both provides information and dramatises the participants’

¹⁰ The campaign and competition “Wiki Loves Monuments” was to photograph cultural monuments. It was started in 2010 in the Netherlands where Wikipedia gained access to a database with coordinates to all cultural monuments that were deemed worthy of a separate article in the encyclopaedia. The competition took place in Sweden in 2011 on the separate website WikiLovesMonuments.se.

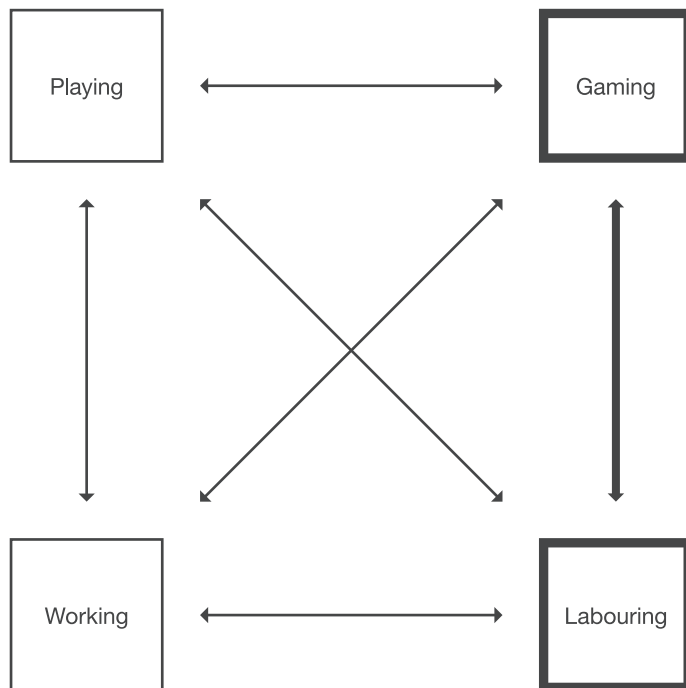
activities (Kristin 2012). In the discussion about scoring in a competition on *Coffee*, there is a hint that competitions should be fun and pleasurable, at the same time as there is a discussion about how useful working should be counted (Wikipedia-bidragsgivare 2009) (see K3 above). In an animal-related competition, the gaming element is toned down in favour of how good the competition is for Wikipedia (Wikipedia-bidragsgivare 2011). Here, the gaming form is something that unites, and competition and prestige are toned down in favour of a voluntary and collectively accepted work leadership under a leader who has been tasked with encouraging and entertaining participants. Focus is on improving the use value, even if the competition also creates and maintains social links. Workgaming's ideological position is strong in the "Competition of the Week" (S7).¹¹

Homo Contendens and Homo Economicus

The aim of commercial interests and business with the production they control is about something other than the creation of use value. If participants in the production of Wikipedia are interested in the produced use value, then this can appear very motivating, but company employees probably work more for their wages (they would not work for free) than for use value.¹² Nor is the entertainment of play and gaming central to business. This is a potential competitive disadvantage for businesses. But just as Wikipedia, businesses use the form of gaming to stimulate production (see section below for the relationship of play to labour). Gaming shares key elements with capitalism and its focus on competition. However, pure gaming is different from capitalist-organised production as competition results are erased when the competition is over and a new

¹¹ Competitions are used as an instrument to create a completely new division of labour (or rather activities) and leadership, where the competition leader in a playful way has a dictatorial authority about the approach and scoring. It all appears to be an exchange of highly responsible engagement for pleasurable power or alternatively a rest from consensus processes within peer production. Workgaming has elements of playfulness, at the same time as it acts as selective work leadership.

¹² Non-paid work such as trial employment, trainee positions and so forth can occur in order to get a source of income on the labour market, at the same time as privileged working groups identify themselves to a greater extent with the use value they contribute towards, even if they do not work for free.



Model Contendens Economicus

competition starts; pure gaming is also a way to amuse oneself in addition to measuring one's strengths or luck against others. When it comes to homo contendens and homo economicus, at an overall level, the difference separating them is joyful lust and instrumental gravity and the similarity uniting them is the competition and peer measurement.

The internal competition as manifested in Kåre's story about the user Anders, who decided to write an article about every parish in Sweden, would not be possible using labour. It would make the editing too boring. At the same time, one of the reasons to act efficiently within informal competitions is expressed by Kåre as a wish for recognition from the official society: "then you might get your name in the newspaper" (Kåre 2012). There may be a number of reasons why it would be desirable, but one could be that over time make a name for oneself in the ordinary economy; that is, in Bourdieu's sense, to transform the social capital into the economic capital. However, homo economicus, with labour and social status on its

agenda, sometimes finds itself in conflict with the gaming form. Anders' project constitutes a form of gamification reflected in individuals' challenge and competition against themselves. Kåre claims that it would not be efficient to use labouring under the auspices of the WMF to carry out such work. The activity would be boring, for too small a result (Kåre 2012). The gaming form does not have the power to enliven the activity within Wikipedia if it is part of the producer's labouring.¹³ Labour makes the project boring. The reason for this is the voluntarism of peer production. If you have been doing the tasks voluntarily and is unpaid, then money in the form of a wage introduces a motivation that is counter-productive (K1).

This is also the case for the *Treasure Chest* project (Skattkistan) that Kristin talks about. Wikimedia Sverige tested around 2010 a form of competition using material, tangible prizes. She believes they have since ended the project: "I'm not sure why they closed it down really ... some people did not want the prizes, they don't care much about prizes, apart from these rosettes ... which we have" (Kristin 2012). Wikimedia Sverige is here experimenting with external rewards in the form of prizes with an exchange value. Economic incentives based on liberal conceptions of a *homo economicus*, but the initiative was not a success. Wikipedia's development appears as an example of the *inverted economy* described by Pierre Bourdieu in *Rules of Art* (Bourdieu 2000, pp. 215–16). It is rather the prestige from a pecuniary worthless digital rosette which is pursued as a sign of social status within the group, not material rewards. The social value stands in an inverted relation to the material and economic rewards. The social web Lewis Hyde describes as the effect of the gift is undermined by material prices and economic exchange activities (Hyde 2012). The *Treasure Chest* profanes and has a destructive effect on participant experience of their activities. The material prizes awarded with their market value clash with the gaming form within peer production (K2). This despite the fact that gaming and capitalism have competition and profit as common components.

¹³The statement goes against the use of the gaming form in call centres, for example. The author of these lines was himself in the mid-90s chosen as "rookie of the week" and "flagship of the week" when he sold membership in the WWF (World Wide Fund for Nature).

Other preconditions are in place to use gaming and labouring within Wikipedia compared with companies, where the gaming form is used without any serious problems together with wage relations. In the same way as it is not the entertainment factor of the gaming form that is important for capital, competition is a way to survive as capital. The gaming form is to a greater extent based on gaming joy in peer production, while it is more serious for capital, although the gaming form overall shares competition and peer measurement with abstract labour.

When the focus is on labour and the gaming form within peer production there are only conflicts in the empirical material, which makes it difficult to talk about gamebour or labourgaming with regard to Wikipedians. This suggests that it could be a disadvantage for businesses that concrete labour and work (which can be embraced in truly voluntary forms of gaming joy) is not as important as abstract labour for their wage labourers. On the other hand, when the focus shifts to capital owners (and their representatives), instead of those who carry out the productive activities for a wage or material rewards, then the campaign competitions that Wikimedia Sverige have initiated and held, have built bridges to commodified processes such as labour and the maximising of profit. Competitions act as Wikipedia's tool to move closer to the paid experts in businesses via the companies' management groups; gaming is used to build a relationship to businesses. Suddenly, synergies are at centre stage.

Competitions, with the stage they offer businesses, have a potential economic value to the company. For Wikipedians, competition was an "alibi" to offer "good education", while for a business it could be important to win the competition: "if you remove the competitive part ... then it becomes a little 'well, we can just as well get it from a consultant who we pay 20,000 to and they can then also write an article about us' " (Kåre 2012). This perspective is confirmed in Patrik's reasoning that Wikipedia could be part of the framework of "his" media company's work with Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) (Patrik 2012). The synergy has the characteristic of labourgaming (S1).

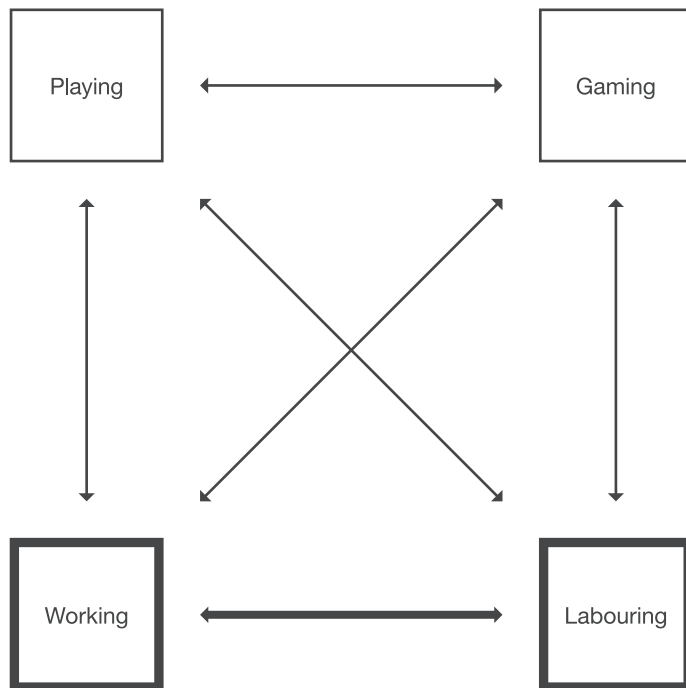
Wikipedians on the other hand do not appear frightened by its proximity to abstract labour and capitalism. To improve Wikipedia's coverage of larger and for them relevant businesses, there are plans at the time of the study's interviews for a competition in business history. Kåre explains:

we are currently developing a competition where companies and whoever can write about business history, as ... if you target it ... about business history rather than saying "you can write about companies" because then they think they "can write 'We are best' and stuff" but if they write business history then ... it becomes more academic from the outset and you are already thinking in the right ways, as it were. (Kåre 2012)

With a focus on history, Wikipedians hope to avoid flattering descriptions in the future. Abstract labour is consciously approached using a strategy to reduce problems generated by the company's bias and material interests. This impression is further strengthened when the competition is combined with a training course for participants who are not familiar with Wikipedia (Kåre 2012). The focus on history and the accompanying course are to reframe the company's race for profits into a productive track for Wikipedia. It appears as a transposition, defusing and reprogramming of a potentially damaging capitalist logic, in favour of peer production. These campaign competitions appear as such as an expression for *gamelabour's* ideological position (S2).

This transposition of capitalist processes in peer production is based on a perception of the different interests between Wikipedia and business but expresses no anti-capitalist stance. It is not important for Kåre if edits in the competition are made during paid work hours or not, in contrast "it is a great honour if they do it during working hours as this means Wikipedia has become so important that it is something that, not Facebooking or something, but ... suddenly it is something that actually has to do with labour" (Kåre 2012). If anything is seen as a role model for Wikipedia then it is rather abstract labour.

Homo Faber and Homo Economicus



Model Faber Economicus

The empirical theme, which will now be summarised in order to identify ideological positions, is extensive. I will focus more on identifying ideological positions and less on reporting in detail the analytical reasoning that has resulted in the positioning.

Homo economicus sees an economic aim in all of its actions, and this is behind all of his or her calculations. Economics is seen as a system that satisfies needs and distributes utilities via exchanges on the market, procured using money, between individuals and companies. In these exchanges it is rational to want to maximise your utilities, which is understood largely in terms of money. In the English-language Wikipedia, you can read that homo economicus attempts to maximise benefits as a consumer

and profits as a producer (Wikipedia Contributors 2014).¹⁴ This logic is then transferred to a number of levels and fields of human existence. Utilitarianism can be seen as a child of partly similar spirit, but here it concerns maximising benefits in a broader sense and not only for the individual (but for the largest possible number of people). Within liberalism this can best be achieved by the economic system of the market and (to a greater or lesser extent) trust in Adam Smith's *invisible hand* or the self-regulating market (Smith 1776, pp. 443, 445).

The theme area concerns the relationship Wikipedians have to forms of exchange in the capitalist economy and activities motivated or controlled by material or pecuniary rewards and power structures. The focus here is on how Wikipedia conceptions about their activities are influenced by and relate to commercial logic.

Homo fabers relationship to homo economicus is primarily conveyed through use values, but according to Marxist theory, use values are only necessary whereas not sufficient for homo economicus. The creation of use values is a serious activity, but there is some disagreement on how this gravity relates to the abstract labour favoured by homo economicus.

Worklabour

Reification in Wikipedia's peer production can be seen in that Wikipedians tone down the social and human production of articles in favour of the product and the relationship between the articles. Karl believes Wikipedia ideally does not look at who writes but only check if the result is based on established knowledge. Articles survive on their own merits (Karl 2012). Those Wikipedians who make judgements are according to this reasoning just as invisible (or more) as the creators of the articles (which are often hidden behind pseudonyms in the article history), focus is on the result and not on the creative processes. Krister points out that Wikipedia is not a social media (Krister 2012). The quality drive in Wikipedia resulted in the creation of a common template for contributions, rules and guidelines that are to be followed. This template with its abstract requirements is

¹⁴As source, the Wikipedia article refers to a publication by Rittenberg and Trigarten from Saylor Academy, which is available at saylor.org.

similar to abstract demands and social standards on exchange value in capitalism. The playfulness and the imprecision of *generalized reciprocity* present in earlier editing has been weakened by the quality drive which has tended towards serious and regulated editing, characterised by a more *balanced reciprocity* in the activities based on more exacting demands.¹⁵ Krister confirms that several articles slipped through the net before (Krister 2012) when the abstract template was less defined. Working here is approaching abstract labour and playfulness becomes weaker. The ideological position appears as *worklabour* (S1).

Another example of reification appears when Kristin says she as an experienced and established Wikipedian can probably get away with one reversion too many (Kristin 2012). Removing vandalism is implicitly prioritised above contributions of new text to the encyclopaedia; controls are much stricter for new contributions to the encyclopaedia than of administrators using their power to decide what is vandalism or not relevant for Wikipedia. An incorrect reversion is less dangerous than an incorrect edit of new content; better with one reversion too many than one too few. Potentially constructive new content is less valuable than potentially destructive new content. Krister confirms this perspective by saying that participants who contribute both constructive edits and inserted errors should be blocked from taking part (Krister 2012). What can destroy is more important than what can create new content. The inanimate created object is more important and controls peer production more than the living and constructive new contribution; the inanimate object, the *dead work* to paraphrase Marx, in the form of existing articles, is more important than the living concrete work that has the potential to add new and constructive contributions.¹⁶ Taken less far, Kristin's comments can be interpreted as that social status (among established participants) says something about who we can trust; whose living labour does not risk requiring corrective activities from the community. Social status is distributed in this case across the community as a changing and *living* signal system, to help productivity or to protect the integrity of the encyclopaedia. But the impression that reversions are valued higher than text

¹⁵ Marshall Sahlins defines *generalized reciprocity* and *balanced reciprocity* (which is approaching exchange) in *Stone Age Economics* (Sahlins 2004, pp. 193–94).

¹⁶ Marx describes constant capital as dead labour.

contributions is not fully removed by these objections. It is about worklabouring, where the influence of constant capital on the production process within capitalism is in some part copied (S2).¹⁷

Another and final example of reification (with a slight fetish character that could potentially lead to alienation) in peer production can be shown in discussions about automatically guided work sharing. Kåre wants softer technologies that guide contributors in the right direction, which an existing suggestion bot already does. The idea is to imitate a technical tool as used by, say, Amazon which uses datamining to persuade us to buy more books within our fields of interest. Wikipedia can in a similar way use data collection about the editing habits of Wikipedians, to improve and control work sharing within Wikipedia: the bot suggests articles to write or edit for an interested Wikipedian (Kåre 2012). The character of the activity is changed by the fact that the bot's suggestion is no longer based on an individual initiative but on abstract calculations which do not take into account a person's current situation but only previous edits. The algorithm's suggestion represents an alien power's entry into peer production. It all appears as a step back from play and pure work. The abstract in activity management has similarities to the abstract value logic that controls abstract labour, where activities focus on the production of exchange value under the direct or indirect power of alien interests (Postone 1993, pp. 68–71). It is, therefore, not completely obvious that this still concerns worklabour or if the line to labourwork has been passed. My assessment is still that voluntariness continues to keep the alien force in check. One difference from Amazon's algorithm is that participants in peer production must sign up in order to receive the

¹⁷This attitude can also be seen in the chosen default position that Wikipedia uses to present its articles. The production process is hidden in the underlying history and discussion pages. Karl's reasoning about a total automation of peer production (by means of a black box's algorithm) takes this argument to its logical conclusion (Karl 2012). The product's precedence over the production process is slightly nuanced by the fact that those active in peer production know that the actual product is a process (Kristin 2012). Kristin hopes the different points of view will cancel each other out (Kristin 2012), which makes neutrality dependent on conflicting perspectives, that *do not* constitute a reifying perspective, even if it matters whether she sees the sought-after balance as in motion or stopped.

bot's suggestions, while this is automatic with commercial services (Kåre 2012). This is an ideological position characterised by worklabour (S3).¹⁸

Relevance and Marketing

In the case of relevance criteria, Kristin stresses the importance of guidelines in defence of the encyclopaedia against attempts by small businesses and unknown musicians to market themselves. Many of the music groups have not released an album and have no contract. "They want to create as much marketing as possible ... and a wikipedia article is then very good for them as they then ... are high on search engine hits". There are so many "demo groups" that it is difficult to keep track of them, but their attempts at self-promotion are consistently erased, which makes them "really annoyed". The most important reason why they are not relevant to the project is that the project does not want to spread biased information and advertising (Kristin 2012). Some forms of homo economicus are a problem for homo faber, and interestingly this concerns those with least capital (see the separate analysis below of identified conflicts): "Wikipedia should not be a channel to become famous through rather we should write about those who are already famous, if it is to be an encyclopaedia, so music groups must create a career first, you could say" (Kristin 2012). When this relevance criterion is used, then it is easier for the Wikipedian community to concentrate on describing the main and relevant actors (for whom Wikipedia is not so commercially important that they disrupt the production of the encyclopaedia) and economise more efficiently with the productive energy of participants. This relevance criterion enables a navigation around the conflict and opens as a result up for practices and conceptions that are positioned ideologically as *worklabour* (S4).¹⁹

¹⁸ Only in Karl's reflections about a black box do social and cultural designations completely disappear (Karl 2012), which contrast with research showing that technological function and socio-cultural factors always interact (Feenberg 2009, pp. 33–34).

¹⁹ At a more latent level, capitalist actors are here taken for granted, which is worthy of note if they are sufficiently important. But it is misguided to therefore see the ideological position as labour-work. With a warning for platitudes, capitalist actors exist in capitalism and it does not appear to be an ideological position that benefits abstract labour that some of these therefore also deserve an article in the encyclopaedia.

Flattering descriptions are worse than easily discovered spamming, according to Krister, they are “almost worse” than the worst vandalism, as articles about a business are slowly “cleaned” to its advantage (Krister 2012). Commercial whitewashing represents a major conflict (see section on Conflicts). At the same time he knows that many of Wikipedia’s articles have been written as part of a PR campaign. The ambivalence is visible in an argument about the importance of maintaining the fundamental principle against biased editing, at the same time as in practise a blind eye is turned towards flattering articles, if they are not too obvious (Krister 2012). Flattering articles are only a problem if they are so obvious that they are discovered, and are then easy to rectify. From being “almost worse” than the worst vandalism, this balancing act elicits productive results from the flattering articles, as it is in theory clear that an article “can become better if a company is involved and writes about itself” (Krister 2012). The practice’s latent synergies mean the relationship between working and labouring is ideologically understood here as *worklabour* (S5), which could be seen as a reversed primitive accumulation, a *civilised accumulation* that is tacitly and indirectly taking advantage of a capitalist company’s paid labour force’s editing for the best of an open community; alternatively, seen from the perspective of the board room: external services are exchanged under the idea of mutual advantages.

Paul and Peter’s main objection to possible advertising on Wikipedia is not that they would then feel used (Paul 2012; Peter 2012).²⁰ Paul, who mainly contributes minor language corrections, thinks it would not feel as right to contribute if adverts were included on Wikipedia (Paul 2012), while Peter, who has contributed whole articles from scratch, would feel exploited if advertisements were included on these pages (Peter 2012). But the main objection concerns how the use value, the encyclopaedia, would be influenced. Unlike when businesses make money on the project outside the encyclopaedia, which Paul has no problems with, advertising would influence the project’s credibility. This represents an imagined conflict (see section on Conflicts). The beauty of Wikipedia is that it does not make money

²⁰One can speculate whether the relatively lukewarm reactions to the question of exploitation in relation to advertising can be linked to the fact that Wikipedians see the encyclopaedia only as useful for society but not as a necessity for society.

from its activities (Paul 2012), and if commercial operations are kept outside peer production then conflicts are avoided between Wikipedia and capitalism. The annual donation banner on Wikipedia exemplifies another way to avoid conflict, in the case of the project's own financing, by offering an opportunity to click away the banner. The synergies that arise with capitalism follow the principle of the copyleft license and lays the foundation for an ideological position of *worklabour* as long as advertising is kept outside the actual project (S6).

Advertising was dropped as an issue during conversations with informants from the core of the project. Kåre commented however on a similar phenomenon. At the time of the interview, Google developed its interface to include parts of Wikipedia articles in the search engine's list of hits, which does not appear to be wrong according to him. When asked whether this could be seen as a threat to Wikipedia, that readers may not go further than Google's page, he answers that Wikipedia is used to the regular appearance of so-called Wikipedia killers and he has no idea whether one of these could one day kill-off Wikipedia (Kåre 2012).²¹ It is okay to have commercial logos near Wikipedia material in certain cases, but *worklabour* is still the most reasonable ideological position of the stance. The issue is not important enough for Kåre to be interpreted as a positive stance towards advertising even *inside* the encyclopaedia (S7).

Credibility and the Number of Participants

As Wikipedia has developed, readers have become increasingly important and their most common criticism is a lack of credibility (Kristin 2012). After the first phase, which was characterised by obtaining as much material and participants as possible, it is now necessary to focus on quality; reliability should be prioritised ahead of the number of participants. Quality is the most important question for the future. A degree of matu-

²¹ In a comment in the English Wikipedia newspaper *The Signpost* on an article stating that the foundation had received more than USD 100,000 from Google as part of a summer camp for programming students, the pseudonym Surturz writes: "What a joke. \$100 K from Google, who are now making it look like Wikipedia article content is being served by their search engine. Should be \$100 M. Bloody thieves" (Jarry1250 2013).

rity can be seen in the project and fewer new articles are being created, and the articles have greater depth now, according to her. A diagram of how the project has evolved confirms this development (Kristin 2012). This new phase needs new participants. Implicit in this argument is an openness, or even desire, to involve professional participants that could well be employed. The ideological position appears as worklabour when a voluntary project benefits from the employed professionalism of others (S8).

Wikipedia competes, in addition to everyday reproduction, also with other social relations, voluntary projects and commercial businesses, for our leisure hours. Today, companies are to an increasing degree attempting to persuade the users of their, primarily, digital services to become unpaid co-producers, *prosumers and producers* (produsage) (Bruns 2008, pp. 9–12), and get a hold on user-generated content, aggregated data (from their activities) or the users' attention. Wikipedia has been successful in this competition compared with commercial hybrid-projects among encyclopaedias such as Google's defunct *Knol*. But this is a shifting landscape and if companies are looking for unpaid prosumers and producers, then Wikipedia is interested in cooperation with paid (by others) experts at companies and authorities. The relationship between non-profit work and labour does not always appear as expected.

Kåre believes that WMF has had a strategy to improve Wikipedia's credibility by being present through employees at trade fairs to show that Wikipedians are normal people. Even if they are employed, passion is still important. The passion for working is not inconsistent with being employed in the project. People will accept that voluntary organisations have "PR departments" in the future and the passion for Wikipedia and Wikipedian activities can be present even if they are employed (Kåre 2012). This perspective emphasises the synergies between voluntary work and labour at the expense of conflict and is based on a voluntarist argument where the combination depends on the expressed will and passion of stakeholders. The ideological position points towards worklabour (S9).

For Krister, there is not much difference between a serious hobby and labour, they are roughly the same activities, and sometimes you are paid and sometimes not. He calls into question how new the phenomenon of Wikipedia's peer production is and suggests that everyone with an active

leisure time has done and does similar things: “the line between labour and colleagues and volunteering and leisure and stuff, it is not always set in stone” (Krister 2012). He emphasises on a latent level the similarity between Himanen’s sundayisation of Friday and fridayisation of Sunday (Himanen 2001, p. 32). For some activities in peer production, participants could just as well have been paid for “if they had taken place in another context” (Krister 2012). When Himanen criticises the fridayisation of Sunday as an extension of the protestant ethic and advocates the hacker ethic’s sundayisation of Friday (Himanen 2001, p. 32), Krister appears to see less point in separating the two approaches from each other. Paul has previously voiced a similar idea.²² Krister believes there are two crucial differences between voluntary editing and paid activities. First, there are no obligations with Wikipedia: if an editor wants to finish in the middle of a half-completed article and “make lace for five months” then this is fine, even if they are an administrator or someone who is active in the project. Second, the initiative lies with the individual participant (Krister 2012). Despite playing down the differences between voluntary and paid activities, there are some differences, but Wikipedia does not appear as an alternative to capitalist-organised production but as a parallel phenomenon that has probably always existed. So even if there are differences between Wikipedia and capitalist-organised production, the former is not a threat to the latter. Competition for leisure time is not increased, rather it is spread relatively evenly between non-profit and commercial projects. The ideological position seems on several levels to be a form of worklabour where Wikipedia complements commercial projects (S10).

Wikipedia’s productive strength lies according to Karl in the accumulation of voluntary “man hours” (Karl 2012).²³ In the field of encyclopaedias, Wikipedia can almost be said to have a monopoly on voluntary

²² In Paul’s case, it concerns a less precise distinction between play and labour which he does not want to separate.

²³ But what does this mean for the future that the major advantage that Wikipedia has is to accumulate a large number of voluntary man hours, rather than raising productivity per worked hour? Within capitalist activities this is as if *absolute surplus value* is central rather than *relative surplus value* based on improved productivity through organisational or technological innovations. The advantage could appear restrictive on productivity developments within Wikipedia, but this is perhaps countered by the origin of the project in the technology-interested hacker culture with its enthusiasm to test new technological solutions within the project’s peer production?

activities. Paul shares the view that you cannot compete with the project, but emphasises that the potential negative aspects of a monopoly are counteracted by the fact that the material is freely available (Paul 2012). The monopoly position and its freely available arena, and also the project's social benefits and increasingly necessary peer production, attracts fan producers, PR managers, subject experts, vandals, teachers and their pupils, a whole spectrum of different users, with different reasons and views on editing in Wikipedia. The number of voluntary contributions means the project is sometimes almost overflowing, as is the case with Harry Potter fans, whose intensive edits led to the Wikipedia community asking them to start their own project (Karl 2012). The community believed content in Wikipedia was becoming distorted: "well, the something like 300,000 articles that the Swedish Wikipedia had then, and about 50,000 of these were eventually about Harry Potter ... (laugh)" (Kåre 2012). Peer production is flooded sometimes by its own productive force, even if it indirectly depends on the social economic wealth which, though unevenly distributed, characterises core capitalist countries today, which brings to mind George Bataille's *general economy* based on the surplus of energy in the sun and nature. The plentiful development of life is a result of the rays of the sun that squanders its energy, wealth, without demanding anything in return. "The sun gives without ever receiving" (Bataille 1991, p. 61). This overflowing productive force contrasts with the capitalist production's dependency and creation of scarcity. The "new economy's" synergy ideal in a commercial context is founded on an assumed digital abundance, which Wikipedia here seems to use in its own direction in popular voluntary peer production, at the same time as the abundance forms the basis for the project's acceptance of commercial projects that join and benefit from it. Wikipedia's monopoly position is not a threat as it is based on an open and voluntary abundance and Karl points out that there are many niches within the encyclopaedia sector that can still be used for commercial purposes. Competitors do not need to try to be the same as Wikipedia, they can try to use Wikipedia for their own purposes (Karl 2012). The ideological positioning is in practice close to worklabour (S11).

Kristin and Kåre believe Wikipedia has had problems involving enough participants in the years around the time for the interviews (Kristin 2012;

Kåre 2012). Kristin believes they will continue to become fewer as the original enthusiasm diminishes. New participants today are not fascinated in the same way as the first generation Wikipedians. Today, Wikipedia is established and “there are fewer who discover it afresh”, while before “it was very new and a great idea”. It is no longer as easy to “spontaneously attract people” (Kristin 2012), at the same time as the number of people using and reading the encyclopaedia is increasing (Kristin 2012). The quality drive appears to be a way to counter the negative impact of diminishing enthusiasm (Kåre 2012; Kristin 2012) on the project’s battle for people’s leisure hours. When the project becomes more interesting for various authorities and institutions, they can begin to contribute with paid labour force to the project, which makes the encyclopaedia less dependent on leisure hours. If this process is successful, then it is both about an ideological position characterised by *worklabour* (S12)²⁴ and a latent example of the capitalism of communism mentioned in Chap. 4.²⁵

Career Choices and Labour

Krister’s playing down of career choices within Wikipedia by saying it is at a “low level” overall and that it is a lot of activity for little status, and his emphasis that social status within the community must constantly be earned with new edits (Krister 2012), could be seen as an example of an ideological position characterised by work. This position coexists well in his mindset with the use of administratorship to capture

²⁴ The positioning bears in mind that it is working within the non-profit Wikipedia that controls the abstract labour that is contributed by external actors. An alternative interpretation of this could be to focus on the highly positive interpretation of the involvement of external paid labour by placing it closer to labourwork. In my view, however, no informant has said that paid labour could be the dominant activity within the project.

²⁵ Increasing automation also makes the project more independent of people’s leisure hours. Automation can easily be seen as an alien power by participants who have not programmed the bots. The degree of automation therefore decides if the idea can be seen as a sign of labourwork rather than worklabour. It is reasonable to speculate about future conflicts regarding the number of employees and automation as Wikipedia’s financing model is based on donations (focusing on the gift between peers, or on reader’s gifts to editing participants for their voluntary effort), but none of the informants develop an alternative economic vision for the future. The problem with the preoccupation of people in modern society is absent and no references are made to growing demands for lifelong learning and serious leisure as a result of the commodification of social life.

paid labour outside of the project as a Wikipedian (Krister 2012), an ideological position that leans towards labourwork (see section on labourwork). Interestingly, there are no conflicts between these two lines of argument. At an overarching level the ideological position can be seen as worklabour (S13). This position becomes stronger if Krister and Karl are correct that most Wikipedians do not think about employability as a result of their involvement (Krister 2012; Karl 2012).

All informants are to varying degrees positive to the foundation's wage labour within Wikipedia. Active informants, both those on the periphery and at the core, emphasise with regard to different tasks outside of editing, the need for the foundation's wage labour within peer production.²⁶ A potential conflict (see section on Conflicts) has been identified here, and a very strong, if not dominant, synergy between work and labour. Karl only considers what is best for the project when he speaks about the foundation's employees within Wikipedia. Employees are desirable rather than problematic, but he stresses that it is important that editing is public and voluntary. As long as there is a large gap between editing and other activities then he sees no problems related to labour for the recruitment of new volunteers. Before employees were used, the system was often down, while servers today have become stable because "people are sitting and taking care of the servers and the entire environment there and upgrading" (Karl 2012). Per also separates related activities that are administrative or concern hardware and programming, and editing work. However, monitoring compliance with the project's original rules is for him a middle category where it is important that the foundation is non-commercial and has regulatory statutes. Neither he nor Paul want employees to get involved in the editing (Per 2012; Paul 2012).

²⁶What or which mechanisms that make activities by WMF's employees so obviously appear as creating value and worthy of a wage, while the voluntary activities by editors appear as only concrete labour (work) interests and touches on the processes of social construction that Foucault approaches in *The Order of Things*, where the changing construction of value and price is compared with the changing systematic unity of grammar. This study is however closer to a social constructivist tradition and places more emphasis on the embodied processes in the accumulation of capital, which Foucault with his focus on linguistic discourse has not highlighted, as a driving force (Foucault 2002, pp. 218–21; Talja et al. 2005, pp. 81–82). The laws of movement of capital, with all of their counteracting factors, contribute under capitalism to that certain discourses or ideologies that shape concrete valorization are rewarded ahead of others.

The contours of the position vary slightly between periphery participants and those at the core, who warn against foundation employees within editing. Per and Paul have a less evolved view of the related commercial outside of peer production than, say, Krister, maybe because they have less knowledge about the internal processes in the project. Krister claims that it is important to protect the idealism of editing, though this is difficult as the project receives ever more money from donations (Krister 2012). He is the only informant who problematises maintaining a line of defence between WMF's support measures and community editing, though he also says that a group in the community does not see a problem with labour in editing as long as this takes place openly (Krister 2012). The attitudes of both the periphery as well as a critical bottom-up perspective between some core informants can be ideologically positioned as *worklabour* in cases where ideas focus on circumventing potential conflicts (S14).

Developments within Wikipedia following the interviews have been clear. In March 2013, Wikipedia announced on the English-language version that the project had around 150 employees (Wikimedia Foundation 2013). In July the following year, WMF had 215 employees (Wikimedia Contributors 2014a).²⁷ In Sweden, the local branch had five employees in August 2012, though Kåre estimated that this figure would become seven by the end of the year. One year earlier, the local branch had no employees. Moreover, Wikimedia Sverige has since 2011 received new economic resources from WMF's annual fundraising campaign of economic donations (Kåre 2012). Wikimedia Foundation (WMF) had between 2013 and 2014 annual expenses of about USD 50 million per year. Salaries and wages constituted the biggest cost category with slightly under USD 20 million during the period. Staff costs have been rising rapidly since 2003 and “correlates with the impressive success” of the fundraising campaigns that in 2013–14 yielded over USD 51 million “doubling the total amount of donations in the span of two years” (Lund & Venäläinen 2016, p. 83).

²⁷ An automatic counter continuously updates the number of staff at this page. When the permanent link to the page was revisited on 4 December 2016, the number of the staff was indicated as 291, but the last revision of the page was made on 2 July 2014.

For 2014–15, WMF planned to hire 49 additional staff members, adding up to 240 employees (Wikimedia Foundation 2014, pp. 9–10).

Kåre does not share Krister's and Karl's idea that there should be a protective boundary against employees working with editing. He expressly says that there is no consensus in not using labour in the editing process, only that it is inefficiently used money for the WMF. There was a discussion around 2007 or 2008 that it would be unnecessary and inefficient to pay labour for editing (Kåre 2012). In the case of WMF employees in editing, Kåre therefore implicitly says that it is not necessary to watch over this border. There are no practical conflicts between work and labour in this case, as one of the sides, labour, is not present (indicating another type of conflict that is described below), which also means that no synergies are generated with foundation employees in editing. At the same time, Kåre is more positive in employing people widely in support, operations and development work for the project (Kåre 2012). The position can, on its own basis, be ideologically seen as worklabour. It sees even less problem in incorporating labour in peer production as it does not even need a decision to keep foundation employees outside of editing (S15). Kristin makes a clear distinction between the editing community and the foundation's world that results in the same conclusion, and if these two worlds were to meet then the foundation is non-profit and belongs to the commons (Kristin 2012). Kåre's and Kristin's approach can be seen as a top-down perspective.

Kåre presents another argument that approaches this problem and concludes with a similar ideological position. Labour can be counter-productive at a subjective level when it concerns repetitive tasks (see section on Conflicts). The character of editing is not suitable for pay. Wikipedian Anders started a private parish project where he wrote seven articles per day, which according to Kåre was not an "impressive collection" by the end of the week. Possibly after a year, but "I don't know, few people have the energy to sit and write that much ... day after day" (Kåre 2012). Such editing, which is often voluntary, is transformed into a too monotonous and boring job if it is paid, which implicitly means the relationship between peer production's logic and capitalist logic is free from conflict, as the latter in the form of labour for practical reasons does not

gain access to the core activity of the former. Voluntary editing is the only thing that works.²⁸ The ideological position is *worklabour* (S16).

Labour related to Wikipedia can also be run by the state and capitalist businesses. Civil servants from the Swedish National Heritage Board (SNHB) are subject specialists on issues concerning cultural heritage and cultural monuments. Some of these were training in autumn 2012 in order to, as part of their normal tasks, edit articles in Wikipedia that concern their specialist areas. They are actually being paid a wage to be trained in how to contribute to Wikipedia, and their teacher (a Wikipedian in Residence), who is also being paid by the administration, has been chosen from members of the Wikipedian community.²⁹ Karl does not appear to have thought that the cooperation with the board could be seen in terms of labour within the editing process, but when he does this he is clear that external institutions do not have any negative power over peer production (Karl 2012). External labour that crosses the imagined defences around editing does not appear to lead to a bureaucratisation of the project or the creation of feelings of injustice. The threat to the project is more from the inside than the outside of the project. There is less risk of bureaucratisation and conflicts when labour is externally paid, as this does not influence the project's balance of power and internal processes, no feelings of injustice arise between

²⁸In traditional economic theory as drawn up during industrial capitalism, with its factory system built on Fordist principles, this should be tasks suitable for economic compensation, as no one does something monotonous and boring for free. Kåre turns the argument around and claims that the voluntary and personal work management, that Wikipedia's crowdsourcing is based on, is more successful for tasks that become too repetitive when a wage is paid. Instead of doing something you think is boring, because you have to do it, many people could consider editing, including the boring tasks, when they feel like it. The idealism that the community's peer production is based on, and that is equally organised with very small hierarchies compared with the foundation's organisation, are more productive than anything that paid labour can achieve. The activities take place at the perceived heart of peer production, which appears as a material foundation that works against a strong bureaucratisation of the project and creates the conditions for a listening bureaucracy, which very much needs the voluntary participation of people in actual production. Instead of the communism of capital one can see an example of capitalism of communism and worklabour in this.

²⁹Per, Paul, Peter and Krister were not asked about the cooperation with the SNHB as I was not aware of this when the interviews began. The views of some informants, who are more critical to paid staff, are therefore missing in this part of the study. The other informants from the core are all positive to cooperation with the SNHB.

peers (Karl 2012).³⁰ External institutions have no power in their capacity as institutions over Wikipedia and its editing process, and they take part in training before joining the project. This attitude creates two types of editing Wikipedians, which is an example of how power relationships are formed within Wikipedia under pressure from capitalism. At the same time, this is an example of the worklabour ideological position (S17).³¹ This position has several variations.³² Kåre is also positive to the idea that employees from other stakeholders are engaged in editing Wikipedia. It may be efficiently used funding for other stakeholders with other aims than the foundation to allow paid staff to edit Wikipedia. It is not wrong in principle and does not lead to feelings of injustice (Kåre 2012). Kristin stresses instead the similar aims and non-commercialism of the SNHB as the reason their employees are suitable as editors. But this positive attitude also extends to larger commercial companies which she believes can be taught to contribute with neutral edits (Kristin 2012). For her, only small publicity-thirsty and non-relevant companies are a problem. Krister is not opposed to the idea of externally paid teachers using Wikipedia to allow their unpaid students, which is another category of unpaid Wikipedians, practice writing. The teachers are seen as intermediaries (Krister 2012). Unfortunately, it is not possible to find out what he thinks about externally paid staff for editing, which makes it difficult to compare Krister's position with the

³⁰ Arguments about injustice in conjunction with voluntary activities in relation to labour are usually reserved for the Wikipedia community's (and its voluntarily motivated activities between peers) relationship to the non-profit foundation. The issue of injustice seems to need a closer social relationship based on a common identification, and something which breaks with the current norm.

³¹ The separate social relationships towards the means of production are key. An employee at the SNHB already receives wages from other owners to other means of production than the foundation. This involvement does, therefore, not have the same negative impact on the project as if someone from the Wikipedian community was chosen before others to receive a wage for their activities from the common project's foundation.

³² The ideological positioning is again decided by the fact that work appears to be the dominant partner in the relationship, at the same time as it is apparent that the informants' attitudes to the paid labour force from external actors are highly positive, which in an alternative interpretation could be seen as labourwork. I argue however against this interpretation as the basis for the favourable view of the participation of external institutions and capitalist business is found in the relationship that informants believe the paid labour force provided by stakeholders can be controlled and adapted to fit in with the needs of voluntary production without giving rise to conflict. Whether this is true or not is another matter.

others. But generally it appears to be fine if it is people employed by *others* who improve the quality of the encyclopaedia's articles.

Karl's emphasis on the alienation and powerlessness of external actors towards Wikipedia offers an opening for commercial companies taking part in editing. Kristin expresses a degree of ambivalence, small companies are a problem, but even she believes businesses can contribute to editing (Kristin 2012), something Kåre also believes in combination with training (Kåre 2012). The planned competition and training, at the time of the interviews, about editing business articles, with the working title *Wiki Loves Company*, was aimed at offering an innovative way of managing problems with editing by people linked to companies. The competition aimed at improving Wikipedia's corporate-related articles, which had been taboo in Wikipedia where the community remained sceptical to them, by gaining access to subject experts, in the best scenario as wage labour, and training them: "The competition was ... you could say this was our alibi for presenting good training" (Kåre 2012).³³ Kristin believes there are probably "many" companies that have the "competence and integrity" needed to edit in a good way (Kristin 2012). Karl points out in relation to the Wikipedian at the English Wikipedia who, in exchange for payment, guides businesses in how to edit articles, that the feeling is growing that it is possible to make companies contribute in the "right way". Karl refers to a maturity in the project and also about a maturity surrounding the project's position in society as an increasingly respected use value (Karl 2012). The latter appears to mean there is less reason now to be afraid of commercial actors. This ideological position of worklabour appears to be

³³ The gaming form, *homo contendens*, appears in this specific case to be an intermediate between *homo faber* and *homo economicus*. When the gaming form is used in this way by a non-profit organisation, with a primary interest in use values, in order to receive some of the waged labour from a profit-maximising company, the cooperation is similar to *pure exchange*, or balanced reciprocity with mutual advantage between Wikipedia and the company, which together with the market exchange on the labour market obscures the power relationship between the company and its employees. Steps are taken closer to the commercial market exchange, from a practice characterised by serious work and a generalised reciprocity. Below the neutral surface of the exchange it can both concern a commonsification of capitalism or a commodification of the commons. For Wikipedia this is a balancing act. Contacts and cooperation with the companies are embedded socially and culturally through activating guidelines, together with training, study material and a prepared community around the competitions.

the closest one to labourwork (S18).³⁴ The position embraces a strong belief in the integrity of Wikipedians, the power of the word and the strength of the training, which will convince company employees to avoid euphemistic texts.³⁵

Karl believes the project as a whole benefits from that eight hours of daily activity in the service of the editing volunteers can be financed by the foundation. Money influences peer production in a good way, as those Wikipedians getting employed have not qualified themselves in Wikipedia in order to be given a job, rather they are taking the chance if and when it is offered to them. Social status in the Wikipedian community is obtained by doing good “things” and labour offers an opportunity to facilitate many such “things”, helping other voluntary participants, which creates a good atmosphere (Karl 2012) (S19). Though, this could potentially be a problem if the motive for participation in Wikipedia's peer production is to obtain wage labour (Karl 2012). This indicates a conflict (see section on Conflicts).

Patrik sees a potential that the company he works at could support Wikipedia as part of their CSR efforts (Patrik 2012). This comment supports Kåre's assumption that the gaming form is needed to attract corporate interest, which via competitions can achieve success in their public relations. In this case, another ideological position of *worklabour* is formed, where the project attracts money from capitalist actors (S20).

³⁴None of the informants problematise or mention that Wikipedia benefits from waged labour from other purchasers of labour force as a type of double exploitation. In addition, Karl, who believes too rigid an implementation of Wikipedia's rules could have a negative impact on attracting new arrivals, does not appear contradictory when he advocates professional training of subject experts in the rules of editing. Rules help in this case to keep subject experts within the Wikipedian framework. Nothing is said in the empirical material that the strategy with Wikipedian A and B teams could result in new forms of conflicts.

³⁵This positive belief in one's own independence was questioned during the scandal about the PR consultancy Wiki-PR, which helped companies and private persons to write and update their articles in Wikipedia (see Chap. 3). But a majority of the editing community still feels the neutrality principle was sufficient to retroactively correct biased comments and no expressed ban on “paid editing” was needed (Osman 2014, pp. 598–602; Lund & Venäläinen 2016).

Labourwork

Several informants express in various ways a political liberalism where the dissemination of knowledge and a free exchange of views are of central importance in order to make the world a better place (Karl 2012; Krister 2012; Kåre 2012; Kristin 2012). This faith in knowledge and the free exchange of views is similar to the emphasis on formal equalities in both the political and economic spheres within liberalism.

Homo economicus speaks of free trade. On global markets there is talk of free trade and on the labour market labour is referred to as formally free, where the labourer voluntarily takes a job. Against this liberal perspective, there stands world-system theorists who speak of a globally *uneven exchange* where wealthy countries use the economic theory on free trade and duties as it suits their interests (Emmanuel 1972, pp. 69–70)³⁶ and socialists of various shades who point out that the social preconditions on the labour market are not equal. Negative freedoms are exchanged in the latter perspective for positive freedoms; class, political and cultural power inequalities surround and form the markets, knowledge and its use.

The negative consequences of free capitalism, such as competition based on the exercise of power and exploitation, and demands on an indefinitely growing commodity market, are played down within the economic liberalism by using the theory of the invisible hand. In the longer term, the free trade exchange is good for countries as a whole (without problematising class difference or power inequalities between countries) which improves the preconditions for maintaining state functions (Smith 1776, pp. 428–37, 443, 445, 814). This perspective plays down the social, economic and political consequences of competition based on the exercise of power and exploitation and makes demands on growing markets under the control of capital.³⁷ In the historical bourgeois mindset, economic lib-

³⁶ Free trade is seen as “normal” when it is good for the wealthiest countries, but “abnormal” when free trade does not favour them and they instead introduce duties and tariffs around the exchange.

³⁷ Bruno Latour points out in the chapter “Centres of Calculations” in *Science in Action* that knowledge appears when a person meets something for the second time which is then familiar and also mastered. When the captain of the ship *L Astrolabe*, Lapérouse, in the late eighteenth century returned with maps and information about the geography of the Pacific Ocean to a calculating centre in Europe, there began a cycle of accumulation which provided other explorers with an advantage and opportunity to bring back even more knowledge about the region which was accu-

eralism creates the preconditions for the political liberalism, whose formal freedom is problematised as little as the former from the perspective of power, which in turn legitimises capitalism as an economic system. The needs of capitalism are a key area for politics.³⁸ John Locke writes that all people have the same right by nature and this power is used by people to defend their life, freedom, and property from damage: “no *Political Society* can be or subsist without having in itself the Power to preserve the Property” (Locke 1988, pp. 323–24). Political liberalism with its emphasis on equal formal rights, at the same time as differences in property relations are not only accepted and recognised, but form a cornerstone for the dynamic of the whole capitalist system, represents a strong ideological defence of capitalism, which at a theoretical level is similar to the belief that ideas and knowledge at a formal level can improve the world.

Karl stresses that the world would be better if everyone knew more, there would be fewer misunderstandings, conflicts and war. Karl has become more politically motivated in the dissemination of freely available knowledge, which has a role in society. If he only could speak the language, he could do even more good for the international community by becoming involved in say the Swahili-language version. As it is now, he must instead be involved in the already fairly well-managed Swedish-language version setting an international example (Karl 2012). In his political involvement, knowledge is seen as a given whole, uncomplicated and undivided, at the expense of differing perspectives and aims that are rooted in a shifting social reality, which is characterised by power inequalities where differing

mulated in a similar way and resulted in a greater power that increasingly separated the travelling foreigners from the societies they found during their journeys (which Latour calls the Great Divide) (Latour 1987, pp. 215, 220–21). The cycle of accumulation can in the analogy with the logic of capital accumulation Money—Commodity—Money’ (where M' symbolises a quantity increase) could be written as Information—Expedition—Information’ (I-E-I’). It is therefore difficult to say whether knowledge always makes the world a better place for everyone. But knowledge accumulation in the eighteenth century contributed to capitalism’s historical development and global power structure in a way that Wikipedia does not, as the latter distributes knowledge in a formally free way. Social injustices are however still a reality and influence which knowledge is created, how it is created and whose interests it serves.

³⁸ Liberal Youth of Sweden writes on its website: “Market economy is the only economic system that can be combined with liberalism. Market economy offers the greatest freedoms to individuals. It is through freedom of choice on a market that the best decisions are taken about what should be produced. The role of the state is to provide a stable and predictable framework and good conditions for the individual to operate” (Liberala Ungdomsförbundet n.d.).

knowledge can instead cause conflicts (or indeed how similar knowledge can be understood in different ways based on differing social positions and interests).

Homo faber embraces here homo economicus's mindset and becomes the latter's indirect advocate. Homo faber supports with its belief in knowledge beyond social power (but with power over social reality) the economic system that homo economicus has built up in recent centuries. Without political liberalism, economic liberalism would lack legitimacy, with it the social development is about technological development and better (applied) science.

The world is a better place because of knowledge, also for Krister. He wants to use his knowledge, so that it is used by others, and thinks Wikipedia helps him to do this. Sharing knowledge is necessary if knowledge is to be disseminated, but the most important thing is knowledge, not the actual practise of sharing (Krister 2012). The *sharing activity* is seen from an individual rather than a societal, collective and practical perspective, where it is the product and not the underlying serious cooperative processes and sharing of activities that is important. This attitude leads to a depoliticization where knowledge is reified as prepared blocks that are communicated to others, even if it can feel good to share at a personal level (Krister 2012). By individualising sharing in practice and separating it from collective experiences, Krister depoliticizes sharing.

Kåre, finally, emphasises that Wikipedia is not political apart from when the Internet or the project is threatened. In other respects it is live and let live with a high level of tolerance (Kåre 2012). This non-political stance is political and rooted in the same political liberalism of non-political facts and the free exchange of views in a socially unequal world that is obscured. The ideology is so dominant that it appears non-political to Kåre.

Based on this argument, the ideological position in the aforementioned statements by the informants on a *latent level* is characterised as *labourwork* rather than worklabour (S21). Though the analysis also fits in, perhaps better, at the macro level. The argument behind the ideological position concerns overarching political and economic attitudes and this will be reinterpreted at a macro level with regard to ideological formations in the informational field.

For Peter, employees ultimately are good for the encyclopaedia as they improve the quality of the project with their professionalism (Peter 2012) (S22).

The ideological position labourwork is (not surprisingly) also manifest at the company that employs Patrik. It sees benefits with advertising in Wikipedia: “then we could pay for a bigger logo, for more attention, we could perhaps market ourselves somewhere, be given an opportunity to add information that only we can change etc.” (Patrik 2012). Advertising means companies can buy advantages and implicitly utilise unpaid work by Wikipedians (S23).

Magical Realism

Kåre claims that WMF has had a strategy to improve Wikipedia's credibility by being present at trade fairs to show that Wikipedians are normal people. WMF's representatives at these trade fairs are preferably paid wages, so that people “see a serious person ... and think that ‘I could also do this’ ” (Kåre 2012). Wage labour gives normality to involvement in the project. There is no opposition in the meeting between presumptive voluntary Wikipedians and paid and experienced Wikipedians. Wage labour gives instead normality to a voluntary work which risks being seen as abnormal. The logic behind the socially necessary, here in the form of wage labour, creates credibility to the social benefits of the project. Ideologically, the position appears as labourwork (S24).³⁹ This magical

³⁹This position short circuits the Marxist theory that capital is mostly concerned with exchange value and not use value. Suddenly, it appears that companies or institutions that employ labour force are the ones that really care about use value. This argument could be easily dismissed as a false ideological image but Kåre's perspective includes a large dose of realism when voluntary peer production must navigate in the supposed world irrespective of whether it is characterised by ideological images, founded on that the capitalist value production *actually* is recognised socially and continuously—though under socially unjust conditions that have been naturalised—on the market, where exchange value is conveyed by the general (but socially unevenly distributed) equivalent money. Capital's exploitation and focus on the exchange value, rather than on the use value, are hidden by the special character of the labour force commodity that provides more value in the form of surplus labour than needed (and paid for by wages) for its reproduction.

realism is however likely to influence the view of Wikipedians on the project's relation to wage labour and capitalism in the future.⁴⁰

Social and Economic Capital

Krister says that, even though he does not think it is important whether someone is an administrator or not, he has used his title as administrator to sell lectures about Wikipedia as people then think he knows a lot about Wikipedia. The procedure appears uncontroversial in his eyes (Krister 2012). Social status that is acquired within peer production of Wikipedia, without being a big deal to the community, can be brought to and given more weight in the surrounding economy than in a career in his own community which must constantly be based on continual editing (Krister 2012). This appears as an incitement for Wikipedians to begin viewing involvement in Wikipedia from the labourwork ideological position. Wage labour dynamics rapidly become independent of the acquired status within Wikipedia (Krister 2012). Wage labour as a Wikipedian outside of the project is not balanced by the fact that social status continually must be maintained through editing Wikipedia. This is not problematised by him, perhaps partly because he assumes that Wikipedia is a very poor career choice that will not become a part of people's social strategies: "it is such a long way to go for so little gain" (Krister 2012). The position appears as an ideological position of *labourwork* which is implicitly played down or is seen as uncontroversial (S25).

Karl is even more positive towards the career routes. He notes that institutions are increasingly interested in the project and that courses and lectures for businesses are being planned. If this continues to develop then employment opportunities for Wikipedians will increase. At the

⁴⁰ This argument requires an epistemological and ontological marking. When it concerns human understanding of the world, there are better and worse theories, claims and stories (Wallerstein 2005, pp. 42–43), based on benchmarks or assumptions that must be argued for. These understandings are performative and influence the world. Sometimes a story is so flawed that it is reasonable to call it ideological in a negative sense, which says nothing about the impact the assertion has. Even a poor idea exists and is part of the world.

previous Wikimania (before the interview), the annual conference in the wikimedia sphere, there were two lectures about how the community could work towards businesses to help them contribute in the right way. Inspiration came from the introduction of guiding and lecturing Wikipedians in residence in cooperation with the cultural heritage institutions. There are also several internal career routes: international grants awarded by WMF, which are often extended if the grant receiver has been a success (Karl 2012). There are thus some opportunities for English-speaking Wikipedians to have an international career. The internal career could lead to employment outside the project that is not as closely linked to Wikipedia. Someone could perhaps write a lot about Stockholm and receive acknowledgement as a skilful contributor, which could eventually make them interesting for employment at the Stockholm City Museum (Karl 2012). The encyclopaedia can act as an arena or a display window for the skill of participants in many subjects, and career choices are likely to increase considering the growing economic importance of information today. Karl also says that an American Wikipedian has been employed to give courses at companies and that he sees mainly advantages with this growth in career opportunities. It is positive for the atmosphere. To gain the necessary respect, one must do “a lot of good things”, and if a Wikipedian is given money for doing these “things” then they will “really ... get involved” (Karl 2012). Money becomes an extra incentive to get involved (S26).

Kåre also points out the unproblematic and privileged position of earning a wage for working with your hobby. In a discussion about how the public view of Wikipedia can be influenced by the commons employing more and more people, Kåre states that he does not believe employed staff is a problem. He sees no signs of conflict founded on feelings of injustice between voluntary participants and foundation employees: “for most people, being employed ... it is just the icing on the cake ... I am paid for ... doing what ... I love to do ... and what I in many cases have done anyway” (Kåre 2012). The ideological position points towards *labourwork* (S27).

For Kåre, the company's participation in the *Wiki Loves Company* competition with “its” employees would be a confirmation and a great

honour, even if company edits would be “scrutinised closer”. This type of participation means “Wikipedia has become so important that it is something, it is not Facebooking ... suddenly it is something that is actually to do with labouring” (Kåre 2012). Wage labour gives status and, to the extent that the company pays to be part of the project, a dose of social necessity to the work, at the same time as it screens the latter from social interaction for its own sake. To be active on Wikipedia is not being social, it is not “Facebooking”, it is being as serious as with labour. That the primary interest for capitalist companies is that “their” production of use value has an exchange value, through which surplus value can be realised when all the commodities are sold, and its possible consequences for the suggested cooperation, is not highlighted. Abstract labour appears to be adding a finer dimension to work. The comment lands in an ideological position of labourwork (S28).

Pure and Independent Work

Working as a category is related to all of the other three categories in the study’s field model. The reason it is here identified as an autonomous category at the same time as seen in relation to labour is because the argument is only weakly linked to the latter. It concerns facilitative automation and phenomena such as social status.

In the discussions about reification, it is focused on automation. Several of the informants would like to avoid repetitive and boring tasks (Krister 2012; Kristin 2012; Karl 2012). Only Karl speaks of a potential total automation (Karl 2012) which admittedly is similar to the capitalist dream of worker-free factories (Noble 1986, pp. 211–12, 217–18, 230, 249, 255) but otherwise is difficult to connect with labour when it takes place within peer production.⁴¹ Kristin and Krister on the other hand express the advantages of allowing machines to do repetitive tasks (Kristin 2012; Krister 2012). For

⁴¹ The dream of a worker-free factory was, according to David Noble, a basic idea in twentieth-century automation projects, and George Caffentzis stresses that the idea has dire consequences for workers in the South (Caffentzis 2013, p. 128).

them this reduces the burden. This perspective focuses more on the social and economic conditions in the immediate production process, by freeing the Wikipedians from what they see as the worst tasks. The saved energy can then be used to contribute to other projects within the voluntary peer production.⁴² This approach leans towards the ideological position of *working* based on the needs of peer production. The peer aspect is admittedly less important than the result of production; the key is the goal, not the road to it, though it is not yet about an alien power (in relation to participants) entering into the production.

Related to social status there exists according to Krister a resistance among Wikipedia's core participants towards allowing participants who are not logged in, who have not shown their intentions and acquired a username and edited previously, any influence over more advanced processes within peer production. At an informal level, these participants are not taken seriously in critical situations, while it is different in relaxed discussions at the "village pump" (Krister 2012).⁴³ The behaviour is based largely on captured social status, but the safeguard mechanism does not automatically point towards a professionalisation, even if it appears as a first necessary step in order to fully participate and get a possible career within the hierarchies that despite everything exist in the project or outside the project in the societal economy in the capacity of a Wikipedian.

⁴²Within Marxism, the question of automation is usually linked to the question of the composition of capital: the dead labour's (constant capital) share of total labour, which also includes living labour (variable capital). Unlike an increasingly automatised capitalist production, peer production does not threaten in the same way the organic composition of capital. *The tendency of the rate of profit to fall* is not directly activated, as Wikipedia does not produce value and surplus value. At a direct level, there is no difference for society's economics if Wikipedia is fully automated or not at all. Wikipedia is irrespective an outside to capitalism with regards to value production. The key question is really whether Wikipedia replaces value-producing encyclopaedias without these receiving new tasks within value production. If so, this would make the necessary value increase and accumulation more difficult for capital. Wikipedia is thus indirectly a threat to capitalism.

⁴³This reluctance, which is here treated as a form of pure work, though in relation to labour, indicates a conflict between more playfully motivated newcomers and veterans who are motivated more out of responsibility for the project. This conflict between playing and working has been noted above.

Kristin believes the best way to gain social status in Wikipedia is to write many articles, rather than discussing. Also Krister has more respect for those who write a lot and well, than for administrators. The ideological position in these statements leans towards *pure working* where status is a marker used to create trust between participants in peer production.

But the position, with its emphasis on status as a positive social signal system is a first necessary foundation for ideological positions which approach labourwork. Krister believes some people want to become administrators simply to become one, though he himself sees few career opportunities there. It is good to have been an administrator before becoming an IP controller or bureaucrat (roles in the project), but it does not offer more power in discussions. Status within Wikipedia's peer production must be constantly maintained through new edits (Krister 2012).

Paul is also sceptical to a career within or through Wikipedia. He laughs and says there are no famous Wikipedians apart from Jimmy Wales (Paul 2012), neither synergies nor conflicts exist for him between working and labouring.

Conflicts

In the section on relevance criteria earlier in the chapter, it was shown that the implementation is a mix of demands made by the encyclopaedia genre and a will to protect these against attempts by small businesses and unknown bands to market themselves. There are so many of these that they are difficult to keep track of, even if the most important reason they are not relevant for the project is that it does not want to disseminate biased information and marketing. Some guises of homo economicus become problematic for homo faber and its utilitarianism (as well as the project's creditability and future donations) if the former is not regulated by the relevance criterion (K1).⁴⁴ The demand for neutrality and the importance of maintaining it in practice goes against today's society where biased advertising is engrained in social life.

⁴⁴I use the concept utilitarianism in contrast to a liberal and neoclassical interpretation where benefit is quantified and measured in money.

Whitewashing is not the same as spam for Krister. The former is “almost worse” than the worst vandalism, as articles about a business are slowly “cleaned” to its advantage. Whitewashing stands in a principled and manifest conflict to *homo faber* (Krister 2012) (K2), even if it has been shown above that this conflict’s negative consequences in practice can be mastered for productive results. The conflict is therefore potential in its character and can be activated by various events.

Peter raises credibility when he is asked about possible problems with advertising in Wikipedia. He then says that it also “disturbs” him. The exploitation of his editing is nothing that he has considered, but after some thought, he says it would not feel okay if advertising was linked to his edits. He took part in editing as everyone could take part, and no one else made very much money from the project (Peter 2012). The voluntariness stands in some form of general opposition to the spread of the commodity, though he does not react until it concerns his own edits (K3). Criticism of exploitation does not include employment within the project, rather that Wikipedia is earning money from his non-profit edits.⁴⁵

Paul emphasises above the perspective of the reading public and it is from this perspective that he is disturbed by the idea of introducing advertising. As soon as advertising is included then the result become “dubious”, something breaks and articles can no longer be completely trusted: “you open a very big can of worms, so to speak”. It is not about the possible exploitation of his activities (Paul 2012).⁴⁶ It is neutrality

⁴⁵It would be interesting to find out what he would think if someone publicised his serious articles about ice hockey and sold these via Amazon as print-on-demand books. Commercial “harvesting” of the entire database otherwise appears less controversial to him than the capitalisation of individual articles by him through advertising. The question of *audience labour*, meaning that the user of a media platform carries out unpaid value-producing labour when his or her attention, or data traces, are sold to advertisers; or the value critic’s view, that the audience contributes to an opportunity to parasitise value-producing labour in other parts of the economy, is still beyond the horizon of the discussion.

⁴⁶The fairly lukewarm reactions to the question of exploitation in relation to the possible use of advertising can, at a deeper political level, be linked to the fact that Wikipedians see the encyclopaedia as a benefit to society in a narrow sense. As long as their ambitions are not to become a social necessity, they are not close enough to the established sociality achieved by value-producing abstract labour. If this changes then this could raise ideas about exploitation in new situations. From this

that separates Wikipedia from capitalism. The project stands for a noble idea to make something for everyone and is a neutral oasis in a world full of advertising and biased messages, which cannot be trusted (Paul 2012) (K4). He wants to contribute his engagement to this oasis. Advertising would erode the foundation for his engagement. This perspective is shared by Peter and the private person Patrik (Patrik 2012; Peter 2012).⁴⁷

For Patrik, the PR man, advertising would on the other hand facilitate labour (Patrik 2012). The conflict arises from differing interests between Wikipedia and the company (K5).

The reluctance towards advertising can also be seen in that registered editors in Wikipedia have always been able to click away the annual donation banner. Johan Jönsson said in a lecture in 2012 that the registered users are the only people that can do this (Jönsson 2012). Since at least the 2014 campaign, participants who are not logged in have been able to remove the banner. One possible interpretation is that the engaged and active participant or reader, according to the previous logic, should not feel obliged to pay money to Wikipedia or be forced to put up with advertising. It is plausible to assume that the logic of the gift economy is active here. A reasonable conclusion is that first the engaged and active, later everyone, should be protected from the project's own advertising. There is a conflict between working and the advertising logic of abstract labour in relation to the banner (K6).

line of thought, it follows that core participants are the most likely to develop feelings of having being used in relation to their edits. It is at the same time this group that is closest to being employed by the project, which at least in the future could mean that advertising is seen as an enabler of new career opportunities (financing wage labour). But these core members, who have offered so much of their leisure time and energy on the project without any form of wage, could also be the most ideologically convinced about the importance of voluntariness and neutrality. All of these hypotheses and questions require their own studies, but they also open up the field for studying the attitudes and notions of Wikipedians towards wage labour.

⁴⁷ Could the strict supervision of the neutral encyclopaedia pose a greater threat to the capitalist production model, than a more obvious and negative anti-capitalist stance? Paradoxically, perhaps a combination of the neutrality principle and the relative faith in strategic alliances with companies, authorities and their wage labour, can contribute even more to upset capital's accumulation cycles.

Career Choices and Labour

The direct relationship to abstract labour's wage form is a risk for several of the informants. Krister and Karl from the core of the project are from a bottom-up perspective expressly against wage labour in editing and stress their attitudes as if they are shared by the community (Krister 2012; Karl 2012). Krister says his attitude within Wikimedia Sverige's project *Internet in Sweden* (Internet i Sverige) was received with some scepticism, even though it did *not* touch on the actual article editing but concerned creating a portal with information about what needed to be done, searching for sources, maintenance and PR (Krister 2012). The Wikipedia community responsible for editing should remain non-profit and participants should not be paid for editing by WMF, as they then compromise neutrality by taking the first step on a "[s]lippery slope" that could end anywhere. Krister himself thinks that the argument that it is unfair that some people receive a wage for editing, and not others, is the best argument: "I have seen quite ominous things happening when different organisations have too much money". People prefer to do some things as volunteers, but not if others receive a wage, then it feels unfair. And as the project cannot pay a wage to all editors, then money must be kept away from editing (Krister 2012). Karl shares the view that Wikipedia's editing of articles, which he sees as the project's heart, should be public and non-profit (while commercial elements are allowed in the project's margins), which implicitly indicates a conflict between wage labour and editing (Karl 2012). Per and Paul (implicitly) and Krister and Karl (explicitly) see a potential conflict on the issue of fairness if money is introduced in the editing process (K7). The wage form is seen as a threat to Wikipedia's mode of production and the main line of defence is to keep WMF's wage labour outside non-profit editing of the encyclopaedia, which they see as the heart of peer production (Karl 2012; Krister 2012; Paul 2012; Per 2012). Krister is the only informant who problematises maintaining this line of defence (Krister 2012).

Peter, Paul, Patrik and Krister support Weber's ideas of an almost necessary bureaucratisation of the project as long as it grows. Peter believes an increased amount of money within the project can lead to a bureaucra-

tisation, but he chooses Google as an example of what he means. Google was a search engine that helped people find information, but then became a form of corporation (Peter 2012). He suggests that economic growth could become a self-interest. Patrik points out that in a similar way there is a risk that wage labour changes the dynamics and character of the project. In part, it is a question of whether employees continue to carry out their activities if they stop receiving wages, and in part it is about whether “powerful people” are created when a website becomes large and powerful: “But hello, I have edited two thousand articles, I have worked with this for ages, you shouldn’t think you are special, I am much better at this than you” (Patrik 2012). The road to this he describes as follows:

If it is going well then you can employ more people and do more things and you may sit and have ideas that “I would like to develop these types of functions and if we make some money, or make even more money then we could employ these three developers to do the work”. (Patrik 2012)

Krister points out that it is partly true that WMF with its employees are involved in some of the same areas as voluntary Wikipedians, and that this is an “unavoidable consequence” of the project “receiving more money”. If the foundation has more money than the cost of employing a technician and a lawyer, then they start various projects instead. He mentions a technical project about an image filter, which had serious negative consequences (Krister 2012). If this reasoning is correct, then the process forms a basis for a growing number of conflicts in the future. WMF could in this type of process find it appealing to attract more donations to finance more labour tasks with the potential to infringe upon the field of editing. Conflicts could then occur between the foundation and critical participants on the periphery with ambivalent reactions from participants at the core of the project. At a partly latent level, a conflict can be identified that is manifest in the case of Krister and Patrik (K8).

It is participants at the core that are mainly empowered *or* at risk of falling for the temptation to exercise power and make money in their capacity as Wikipedians. The study’s initial assumption was that commercial practices are approaching Wikipedia in the project’s margins, that is, as meta-activities far from core activities or as commercial busi-

nesses built on the results of the project in new contexts. This assumption should be problematised according to this analysis. It does not only concern applying the centre and periphery model on different parts of the project in terms of contact areas towards commercialisation but also concern the participants on the periphery and at the core. The latter core participants have access to abstract labour as Wikipedians *and* offer access to the commons for commercial logics.

There exists a conflict between core participants in the project. Kåre does not share Karl's and Krister's views that editing must be protected from wage labour. He claims that it is inefficient for WMF to use money to pay people for editing (Kåre 2012). There are therefore no practical conflicts between working and labouring in this case, as the latter is not present in editing. At the same time, the inefficiency can be seen as a conflict where wage labour does not function within editing in this specific case (K9).

Karl does not mention any problematising discussion within the project that the concept with Wikipedians in residence would be expanded to also include companies, which de facto increases the number of Wikipedians who make a living from their involvement and knowledge about Wikipedia. Karl mainly sees advantages with the increased number of career opportunities for waged labour within the Wikimedia sphere (not in editing) and outside it, but keeps a small door ajar as it could cause conflicts within the community in the future (Karl 2012). But this potentiality is not highlighted but toned down instead (K10).

Below the superficial lack of conflict between working and labouring in a top-down perspective that Kåre and in part Kristin develop, there is an ambivalence at a personal level in relationships to labour. Neither Kåre nor Kristin like editing articles that border on their own wage labour (Kåre 2012; Kristin 2012). Kristin, who works as a cemetery keeper, says: "I ought to be able to use and expand on what I am working with ... but it doesn't happen because I do not think it is fun to write about (laugh) ... well, it's just that it is my job, I get enough of it at work" (Kristin 2012). The wage form, and wage labour's necessarily enforced character, is in opposition to the voluntary editing and makes it more difficult. The pressure to earn money through wage labour rubs off on the concrete labour that is carried out within the church and the cemetery, which she

could otherwise have written about in Wikipedia. Kåre, who was applying for writing jobs when he noticed Wikipedia for the first time, says that he wrote an article about writing at the beginning of his involvement in the project, but as he received more paid writing jobs he changed his attitudes: “I then felt that I didn’t want to, I didn’t want to work with my profession during my leisure time” (Kåre 2012). Even Krister from the bottom-up perspective thinks it is “ironic” that he is not best at editing the subjects that he studied at university, but rather when it comes to his leisure activity, science fiction literature (Krister 2012). There is an ideological conflict here between working and labouring (K11). At a deeper level, a conflict can be seen between *homo ludens/homo faber* and *homo economicus*; playwork/workplay is set against labourwork. The logic of the wage form appears to reduce what you do to the wage you are paid, but rather than you see your labour as a gift and the remuneration as a gift in return. In the latter case, the giving and receiving is related to the dreams and illusions linked to the peer produced encyclopaedia. The generalised exchange of gifts is rich in meaning, while the exchange of money tends to be more one dimensional when remuneration and livelihood dominate.

Kåre’s arguments that no one is so privileged as the person who receives a wage for doing what they would have done voluntarily and for free (Kåre 2012), indicates implicitly that wage labour does not necessarily break down an individual’s interest in work. The latter meaning conflicts with the argument that repetitive actions in editing are negatively impacted by the same wage form (Kåre 2012). This all appears to be a latent ideological conflict (K12).

Unlike authorities such as SNHB, which is not interested in describing the “rune stones in Tantolunden” as “anything more than they are”, companies are always interested in earning money (Karl 2012).⁴⁸ A potential conflict can be identified in the planned open collaborations with companies as informants from the project core in different ways emphasise the importance of training employees from external actors in how the project works (Kåre 2012; Karl 2012; Kristin 2012; Krister 2012), before they begin editing (K13).

⁴⁸Tantolunden is a park in Stockholm.

Seen from Wikipedia's community, another conflict is created between wage labour and non-profit work as it can be difficult to return to voluntary efforts when participants have become accustomed to a wage. This idea is shared by both Krister and Patrik (Krister 2012; Patrik 2012) (K14). Krister believes it is not possible to completely separate Wikipedia's community from WMF: "Suddenly, tasks that have been carried out on a voluntary basis can no longer be done as voluntary work, when money is used, the more money you have the more bureaucracy" (Krister 2012). And he has no illusions that the development will change in the future: "I do not think it we will go back, you could say. WMF will not have fewer hands in the cookie jar, compared with now" (Krister 2012).

Karl's argument that Wikipedians who are employed as such have rarely had this as the initial goal (Karl 2012) aims to tone down a potential conflict which appears to be potentially generated from future conscious attempts by Wikipedians to use Wikipedia as a springboard to wage labour, to become involved in the project with a view to obtaining wage labour through this involvement (Karl 2012) (K15).

Wikipedia's peer production competes for our leisure hours against commercial businesses which use crowdsourcing and user-generated content or data. With regard to the encyclopaedia sector, Wikipedia has been successful in holding its ground against various commercial projects. Paul shared the opinion that the project has a form of monopoly on voluntary activities within the encyclopaedia sector. Per joins his picture of Wikipedia as a global popular movement, with the project's basic pillars which "in some way" have succeeded in bringing order to the project, and believes it would have been impossible to build something similar with wage labour: "you can imagine ... the enormous administration needed to make so many people write (laugh) correctly and that ... here are some rules that people accept and that mean it just works" (Per 2012). These perspectives are in conflict with the commercial sector for encyclopaedias (K16). The possible negative impact of the monopoly is toned down by emphasising that the material is free and that there are also niches that commercial companies can exploit.

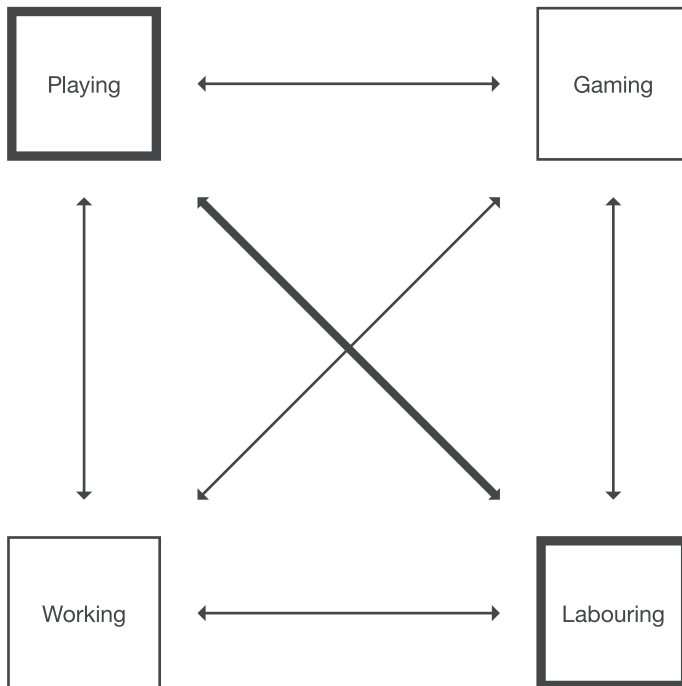
On a latent and practical level, the company Patrik works for clashes with Wikipedia. The company is steered by profitability demands, a pure logic that is included in the category labour, which takes precedence over

editing guidelines when conflicts of interest exist. They do not state that they are editing as a company when they ask questions to the editing community and their edits are anonymous. They want to avoid unnecessary problems and save labour time. Guidelines and common ideals are sacrificed if these feel unjust or impractical (Patrik 2012). This behaviour violates Wikipedia's guidelines (K17). The conflict is toned down by being portrayed as fairly uncontroversial with a comment that the company is partly at a disadvantage when social media offer customers more say (Patrik 2012). This constitutes a clear conflict, but open conflicts appear to be avoided in practice (see the discussion about whitewashing).

The company that employs Patrik is slightly interested in 'its' article, but it does not need to be perfect, it is enough that it is not entirely one dimensional in its criticism. If the criticism is too black and white, employees change the article without asking for permission, as they do not have time to become involved in discussions about editing. Patrik believes "his" company is not interested in paying for editing training led by Wikipedians (Patrik 2012). This position expresses a conflict seen from the company's perspective. Wikipedia is not financially interesting. Above all, Wikipedia lacks "customer interaction" that enables a long-term market exchange: "Compared with many other social media ... then Wikipedia is fairly static for a company like us there is not a lot happening ... which has meant work there from the outset has not been very active on our part" (Patrik 2012). At the same time, as Wikipedia appears so economically uninteresting, it is indirectly implied that the conflict with biased employees in editing (from Wikipedia's side) is potentially not activated in many instances of company editing. A conflict for businesses towards Wikipedia could possibly neutralise a conflict that Wikipedia has with companies (which could then form an ideological position of worklabour). But there appears to be a difference between how various companies look upon these training courses, which is indicated by the English Wikipedian who is acting as Wikipedian in residence at companies (Karl 2012). Patrik's comments indicate however a potential problem for quality in Wikipedia's company articles (K18). Articles that Kristin sees as having major quality deficiencies and that could be solved through cooperation with companies (Kristin 2012).

Finally, Paul's idea on using crowdfunding for his hobby photography (Paul 2012) generates a potential conflict between working and abstract labour at a collective system level if the phenomenon spreads (K19). The activity that could be characterised as workplay only partially qualifies for the relationship discussed here, but the work part is in any event the dominant characteristic. What is interesting with the idea of crowdfunding is that it resolves the conflict between workplay and abstract labour at an individual level (gifts finance the workplay), at the same time as the conflict is potentially recreated at a more abstract macro level by commons-based crowdfunding, which makes Wikipedia into a more sustainable challenger to the capitalist mode of production.

Homo Ludens and Homo Economicus



Model Ludens Economicus

Play is different from labour through its free and irresponsible form. The understanding of the relationship between play and abstract labour is also influenced by the dualistic social relations of production in capitalism (class society). In management literature linked to Richard Florida's creative class, play is stressed as the mother of creative joy and people are encouraged to think "outside the box", although always in productive forms (Florida 2002, pp. 8, 22, 34). An alien instrumentality is imposed on play, but what do the informants say?⁴⁹ Florida's happy ending is not true for Peter's play that destroys use value. It conflicts with the needs of abstract labour for a use value that carries its exchange value (K1). Another conflict is identified in Kristin's and Karl's perception that pecuniary rewards compensate for the one-sidedness, the alien power's dominance and lack of joy and play in labour's character (K2). For labourers there is a planning of labour, according to Kristin. It goes without saying that the planning is drawn up by someone other than the labourer (Kristin 2012). Karl points out that wage labour requires that you carry out a certain task, at a specific time, which means wage labour must be kept outside editing. Wikipedia should instead employ people for boring labour, such as bookkeeping. Wage labour rarely touches on the most fun tasks (Karl 2012).

At the same time Peter's constructive play and joy in writing (Peter 2012) challenges abstract labour in another way than his destructive play. It is feasible to think that play that comes in combination with working and gaming (with its character of performing for others which structurally nears abstract labour with its public valorisations) competes

⁴⁹ Franco "Bifo" Berardi claims that today, contrary to the call by autonomist Marxists for an exodus from capitalism and a flight from labour, there is a flight to labour, which is the activity through which people fulfil themselves. Labour today is more homogeneous when it comes to physical and ergonomic aspects but more differentiated and specialised when it comes to content of production. The concepts of enterprise and labour were separated in Fordism, where enterprise stood for ingenuity and voluntary constructiveness and labour for repetitive tasks but are today increasingly similar to each other for the most privileged labour groups (which represent the general tendency in the social development of labour). For these groups, desires are directed towards labour rather than away from it. Bifo believes this, together with the (over)communicative character of labour, leads to the development of psychological pathologies at a societal level (Berardi 2009, pp. 74, 78–79, 106–7, 113). One interesting issue is whether the leisure-time-based peer production in Wikipedia could divert this flight to abstract labour into a flight to commons-based playwork or workplay similar to the autonomist (post)Marxist exodus or Himanen's hacker ethics?

with an abstract labour focused on exchange values carried by use values. The playful perspective in itself does not appear to actively contribute to an awareness of the social and wider political and economic effects of the use values that it potentially produces. Peter did not see the Swedish-language Wikipedia as a credible and neutral oasis when he carried out both his constructive and destructive edits (for the use value). He was guided by a joy in writing and a will to reach out and be seen with his writing and advertising would not have been a problem for him at this time. He becomes consciously critical of advertising for the first time during the interview and then mainly related to articles he has written himself (Peter 2012). The more constructiveness included, such as the case of articles written from scratch, the greater the potential conflicts (Peter 2012). The constructiveness or work thus seems to have more potential than pure play to provoke conflicts in relation to labour.⁵⁰ The playful individualism of Peter appears to have contributed to a lesser extent to a critical evaluation of the relationship between abstract labour and capitalism with Wikipedia. Peter's writing for Wikipedia is also not negatively impacted by the fact that there are people being paid for participating (Peter 2012). This carefree playfulness conveys *playbour's* ideological position (S1) based on the fact that Peter's joy in writing was mainly founded on another and personal use value rather than the work related and constructive use value that both had a potential to carry capitalist exchange values and compete with abstract labour. Conflicts with labour here seem to increase as working increases in proportion to playing in the activity.

Paul takes part in Wikipedia because it is stimulating to help and improve, but also because it is fun, though not "YouTube fun". He is not interested in any form of remuneration for his efforts. Play and creativity dominate his view of editing at Wikipedia and these are in opposition only to advertising, not waged labour. Wage labour is not a problem for Wikipedia, as long as it is not in editing by the WMF. Paul emphasises that he sees little difference between play and labour:

⁵⁰These conflicts and synergies have already been included in the relation between working and labouring. But what is more important is that the dialectical analysis based on the typology shows its theoretical weakness here.

it is just a big mass for me ... I don't usually divide things in terms of work and play but try to just get things done. Sometimes I'm paid, sometimes it's fun, and sometimes not. ... Sometimes it's fun with work and sometimes not fun with work, sometimes it's fun with play, and sometime not... editing is not, like, pleasurable, but is just something you do... sometimes, it can be satisfying. (Paul 2012)

The latter comment that it is not about pleasure is a little at odds with the joy he so often uses to describe his activities, but his attitude to his activities appears to be characterised by an ease with a strong element of the Californian ideology. All in all, it concerns an ideological position of *playbour* (S2) which is conditional as there is a potential conflict in the exceptions mentioned (foundation employees in editing) (K3).

A conflict is present in Kåre's comments between manifest and latent ideological conceptions. On the manifest surface there are synergies between labour and play. He has a positive view towards the use of waged subject experts, stresses that professionalism makes it more fun for "high-quality editors" to take part, at the same time as there are still tasks for everyone (Kåre 2012) (S3). Though he does not want to write about his own work and some tasks appear to become even more boring with the waged form, which makes it less efficient for the WMF to pay people to edit (Kåre 2012). Overall, there appears here a latent ideological position of conflict. Even Kristin, Karl and Krister have expressed similar views with the same inherent conflict (Kristin 2012; Karl 2012; Krister 2012) (K4). It is difficult to assess how strong this conflict is. Kristin points out that she knows many people who are positive to editing in the same field they labour in (Kristin 2012). There is, however, a clear tension in the empirical material between conceptions focusing on synergies and the conflict-free interaction between playing and labouring in the form of a peripheral playbour or as a labourplay for experts, and more critical subsidiary conceptions.

Patrik's labourplay is in part of another character and suggests that Wikipedia attracts little traffic to "his" company and that it would prefer to interact with socialising Wikipedians, something that in turn could be interpreted as a similar phenomenon to playing. The company wants to exploit non-instrumental relations for its own instrumental

aims. In other words, they want to meet more playful than serious Wikipedians targeting use value. Wikipedia is about facts, “subjective opinions and thinking are offered far less space there” than on “other websites”. On Facebook, no one tells the company what is right and wrong, something that Wikipedia does. This means the company needs a “slightly different approach” to the project (Patrik 2012). It is positivism and seriousness that lead to conflicts with capitalism rather than play. Problems are caused by lingering cultural forms (epistemological positivism) rather than new. Wikipedia poses a potential and productive challenge which is not clothed in the form of protest but in a “depoliticised” production freed from alienation. The company’s ideological position is in any event labourplay, which confirms that Florida’s and the new economy’s theories is a business perspective.⁵¹ This is also an attitude in conflict with Kåre’s belief that companies are interested in Wikipedia containing correct information within the fields they are interested in (but that they must be attracted by opportunities for marketing in the form of a competition to contribute themselves with this information). This analysis leads to the conclusion that Wikipedia is happy to have contact with companies at a serious level and that companies would be happy to see Wikipedia becoming more fun and active in its social interaction. The conflict is latent and based on a conflict of interests (K5). The conflict does not manifest itself in the expected way that Wikipedian playing stands against capitalism’s blunt extraction of exchange value, instead the company wants more play in working and core Wikipedians less.

In addition, one of the main results from the previous section’s study of the relationship between *homo faber* and *homo economicus*, was that several informants on the periphery and at least two core informants wanted to keep some wage labour away from the editing, in part as some tasks are best done on a voluntary basis, which in turn implies that they to some extent also contain playing, which indicates another conflict (K6).

⁵¹This synergy is only embraced by the company, but the position is not marked as the study focuses on Wikipedia’s and Wikipedians’ relation to capitalism. The perspective is substantially different from the perspective embraced within Wikipedia’s peer production.

Having said that, this marks the end of the micro-level survey. The next chapter will include a closer study of the views of the informants on their project's relationship to capitalism as a system. This chapter will also identify ideological positions. The idea is that the ideological positions identified in this chapter will return and be compared with the ideological positions identified next, in a final chapter. The hypothesis of a dominating playwork or workplay that was challenged in the analysis of the relationship between homo faber and homo economicus has been offered some support in this last section. If working in the previous section appeared as the dominant position, but tended more towards labouring than playing, this section established conflicts between playwork/workplay and labouring. It is important with a remark that the ideological positions identified are in part characterised by the binary relationship that is examined for the moment. In the final chapter, I will attempt to bring together the analysis from the various dialectic relationships to a coherent picture about the ideological positions at a micro and macro level, and then see which ideological formations appear in the empirical material.

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6

Complement or Alternative to the Commons' Outside?

The Wikipedians' views on the professionalisation and commodification of their peer production activities have been investigated in prior chapters. Now it is time to focus on how the Wikipedians perceive the non-commerciality of Wikipedia in relation to capitalism on a systemic level. This includes an analysis of their understanding of differences and similarities between commercial crowdsourcing and peer production; their view on Wikipedia's monetary, informational and organisational relation to capitalist companies and finally the Wikipedians' understanding of Wikipedia as an alternative to capitalism.

The question in the title of this chapter is understood in relation to the field of tension between capitalism's inside and outside (see Chap. 4) but from the commons' angle. Do the Wikipedians understand their project as a vitamin injection and willingly let themselves and the project be exploited as an active complement, or as a passive outside for capital's needs? Or does the project function as a complementary resting place or counterweight, outside of capital's circuits as an oasis in the desert? Do seeds exist in this oasis, according to its inhabitants, that can blossom into a new view on Wikipedia as an active outside to capital, with its own logic and practice, charged with enough independent power to qualitatively change capital-

ism? Maybe even being an embryo for a new commons economy? The last option would require that Wikipedia and kindred projects within peer production have the same totalising power as once capitalism had. Or, do the ideologies form themselves in other and unpredicted ways?

The answers and lack of answers to these questions will tell us about which political consciousness—the so-called subjective dimension within Marxism—that permeates commons-based Wikipedia and its peer production. The aim of the chapter is to identify and analyse the ideological positions that appear in Wikipedians' views on Wikipedia's and peer production's relation to the capitalist economy. These ideological positions will in the next and closing chapter help me to identify the ideological formations on this "systemic" level, and in a following and concluding discussion to compare them with the ideological formations derived from the ideological positions detected in the preceding chapter on the "micro" level.

Patrik has a special position in the informant collective as a company representative that has actively edited in Wikipedia. The question is which role he should be given in the analysis of the discussion of Wikipedia's relation to capitalism? His relation to Wikipedia is as a representative of a capital's interest, rather than the opposite. But he does not lack a personal identification with Wikipedia. He expresses views about what he thinks that Wikipedia should be and continue to be in the future. It is not a wild guess that many edits in company-related articles are done by people who find themselves in a similar social condition. His statements will therefore be treated in the same way as other informants' statements, rather than as a background against which to compare the opinions of the voluntary and "proper" Wikipedians. Peer production builds on open borders for participation.

The broad and popular identification with Wikipedia is reflected upon by Kåre. He says that almost all the people he talks to opine that Wikipedia stands for their views, regardless of what political attributes they have. Kåre's explanation is that everybody is in favour of *freedom*, and that there is "so much" that people can subscribe to with Wikipedia: " 'freedom is good' ... both the left and right side of politics, and the middle, thinks so" (Kåre 2012).

To reach the aim of this part of the study it is necessary to dig deeper into what sort of freedom, what sort of politics and what conditions

for freedom that are stressed by the informants. The assumption is that Wikipedians' understandings of their project are heterogeneous and multifaceted. But on the other side, Krister makes the point that the Swedish-language version of Wikipedia manoeuvres in the political centre, simply because they have to do it in order to stay relevant for as large a part of the population as possible. Or as he also expresses it: "to describe the world is never a neutral task" (Krister 2012). NPOV has to play the role of normal point of view, rather than a neutral one, if Wikipedia's use value shall be considered socially necessary, or commonsly necessary, rather than only partially so. In spite of being a radically new way of producing an encyclopaedia, Wikipedia appears as rather conformed.

Diverse and conformed—already at this stage of the presentation—it is possible to problematise Wikipedians' concept of freedom.

The study also activates the question of which *politics* that is at hand in the case of Wikipedia. Politic in the liberal idea-based way is, on the one hand, not at the centre of the participants' and project's interest. Descriptions of ideological viewpoints and world views are regulated in different guidelines like NPOV (from the perspective of how established and notable they are in the public debate and research). On the other hand, this regulation is on a deeper level focused on idea-based politics and favours dominant political ideas and views. Idea-based politics like this, on the discursive level, play a minor role for the aims of this study. It is instead the politics that are directly connected to the production of social utilities and use values that are in focus (obviously also expressed through ideas): the part of life that under capitalism has been dissociated from social and political life and has become *economy*.

An important difference between the work within Wikipedia and the labour in the capitalist economy is that the former is not done, for most of the time at least—as Paul expresses it—to survive the day (Paul 2012). This could be a problem for peer production's sustainability. Elinor Ostrom stressed in *Governing the Commons* that the participants get more motivated to seek common solutions that are viable over time, the more dependent they are on the commons for their economic survival (Ostrom 2009, pp. 60, 74–75). Wikipedia nevertheless functions well, in contrast to more tangible forms of commons, without many of its participants being economically dependent on the project. The aim of Wikipedians has never in the project's short history been to survive economically on

their activities, compared to the commons and commoners that Ostrom has been studying.

The overall aim for the Wikipedian has been to put the total sum of the world's knowledge in the hands of every human for free (as stipulated by the copyleft license but to some degree also free as in free of charge, except for Internet connections and necessary devices). Wage labour being one of the projects' unintended outcomes can be seen as collateral good or collateral damage depending on applied perspective. The relation to capitalism and the systemic need to earn money within the system has for most parts not been addressed within the project that instead has been fascinated by the abundance of digital files with a reproduction cost approximating zero. Ostrom's early claim that resource entities, from a Common-Pool Resource (CPR), cannot become the subject of a common appropriation, meaning that a fish taken from the sea no longer exists for someone else, plays out badly in the digital realm of Wikipedia's files (Ostrom 2009, p. 66). Technically, new copies are created every time a file is freely downloaded, abundancy rules rather than the use of limited resources in a common pool. Traditional economic issues are instead activated by the maintenance of servers, and the technical support of the Wikipedian platform which need a steady flow of money (donations). But with Wikipedia's growing interwovenness with the capitalist economy, by increased number of employees within its growing universe of job assignments on Wikimedia Foundation's different platforms and projects, or by the fact that commercial encyclopaedias are being out-competed by it, the economic questions will become ever more present for the Wikipedians. And with this presence, the perspective of political economy becomes more relevant.

The Wikipedians' relative non-dependence on the foundation, in economic terms, and power to leave the voluntary peer production, has the potential to transform the political processes in more horizontal ways, if the social relations are to be generalised in society. But before that happens, it could as easily result in a growing body of voluntary work in society, as in a growing body of wage labour within the PPPs. The latter being a side effect that creates dependences to the employer and indirectly to capitalism, but that also brings social sustainability to the individual Wikipedian within capitalism.

Wikipedia is increasingly becoming accepted as a socially necessary use value, which is indirectly seen by the growing funds that are raised through donations from private persons and users. This popular support has the potential of strengthening the project and increasingly influencing capitalism, simultaneously as it fosters progressive ideas within the community. This is so, because the non-commercial and voluntary character of the project seems crucial for attracting support in the form of voluntary donations.¹

But it is also reasonable to believe that capitalism's overall influence, Wikipedia's indirect but general dependence on value production and money stemming from capitalism, has some negative influence on Wikipedians' perception of their project's potential as a radical alternative to capital. This power relation could strengthen perceptions of Wikipedia as a complement to capital.

The rather common theory about peer production's independence as a mode of production—with practices of commercialisation held at arm-length in the periphery of the projects, keeping the centre (in Wikipedia's case understood as the editing) independent—can thus be criticised but also expanded upon. Wikipedians as individuals, and Wikipedia as a project, depend on capitalism, but the mode of producing has some relative autonomy within capitalism, and it functions according to a more horizontal logic.

There is a difference between the peer production of Free and Open Source Software (FOSS) and Wikipedia. As many as 40 per cent of the developers of free and open source software are paid wages for their engagement (Bauwens 2009, pp. 123–24; Dafermos and Söderberg 2009, pp. 60, 63–64). That percentage is probably lower when it comes to Wikipedia, and the Wikipedians are not getting paid by the foundation for editing tasks, even if the study has shown that core Wikipedians, rather than peripheral ones, are the ones that probably get paid by the foundation.

¹The donations are not yet influenced negatively by the commercialisation of Wikipedia in the form of wage labour within or outside of editing; no breaking point has yet been discovered. It would be interesting to know, if such a point exists, and whether it matters if the employer is WMF or an outside institution; if the employees are active within editing or not, or if different specific combinations are better or worse for the project's financing by donations.

Furthermore, wage labour's role becomes ambiguous if the thesis of capitalism of communism (see Chap. 4) is accepted. Suddenly the wage labour, when held and possibly controlled within the commons-based peer production, can become emancipatory and potentially support a capitalism of communism. This could possibly also be the case for editors paid by third party, PR firms, to edit the encyclopaedia.

How Wikipedians evaluate these conditions forms part of the analysis of this chapter. The selection of informants was strategically chosen to create a sample of informants with a lot of heterogeneity and contrast to secure a rich empirical material. The informants secure their livelihood in different ways: by parental support, student grants and loans, external and internal wage labour (in relation to Wikipedia), and entrepreneurial arrangements. With that said, many income categories, like unemployment subsidies and pensions, are missing.²

Finally a point of order: Wikipedia's use of the copyleft license (Creative Commons, Attribution—Share Alike) will be treated as part of the informational relation, and not of the monetary relation, to capitalism. The license mediates in a rather straightforward way the contact between Wikipedia and capitalism, but as the peer production here is seen as the norm, and capitalism as its outside, this way of structuring the study seems appropriate.

Crowdsourcing and Crowdfunding of Capitalism and Peer Production

Flickr is a company that exploits the productive force of the long tail (Anderson 2007) of user-generated content within a commercially governed crowdsourcing. Emblematic Web 2.0 companies like Flickr, Instagram and Facebook try to create new business solutions with simi-

²The category of Wikipedian wage labourers employed by WMF is increasing. Wikimedia Sverige planned at the time of the interviews to have seven employees at the end of 2012. WMF had 150 employees in 2013, and one year later 215. In the fiscal year of 2014–15, as already has been pointed out in Chap. 3, an additional 49 staff members were hired, adding up to 240 employees (Lund and Venäläinen 2016, pp. 83–84). The funds raised by the North American foundation are beginning to be distributed to the local chapters, which imply a continuously increasing number of employees within the Wikimedia community.

lar methods and processes as Wikipedia, but in the former cases some central rights are centralised to a commercial company. Brian Brown has called Flickr a quasi-commons (Brown 2012, p. 146). Bauwens chooses to call the Web 2.0 platforms for sharing economies, because no common product is produced on them (Bauwens 2009, pp. 125–26). Commercial crowdsourcing of user-generated content, like Lego's attempt to exploit some parts of cooperation between users within its value production (Bauwens 2009, pp. 125–26), differs from peer production in its lack of horizontality and in its commercial end products (in relation to which the users and producers are not peers). A theoretical distinction between commercial crowdsourcing and peer production could thus be based on two parameters: different forms of power (centralised or decentralised) and different forms of products (use values or exchange values).³

But this is not necessarily the way Wikipedians see it. Three ideological positions are empirically indicated in this section's empirical analysis. The first two of them are far away from a capitalism of communism, but the third latently opens up for that possibility.

Wikinomics

The first ideological position, *Wikinomics*, does not see any problems in the relation between capitalism and peer production. Web 2.0 has been inspired by Wikipedia and the two are not noticeably different from each other. Wikipedia complements and develops capitalism.

Karl claims that Wikipedia has influenced the societal economy. The project pioneered crowdsourcing and its influence is strong because it is a "shining example", and everybody can say that they have been helped by Wikipedia (Karl 2012). Karl's statement is focusing on Wikipedia's influence on capitalism as something complementary, which inspires capitalism to evolve. The commons-based peer production is seen as a predecessor to the Web 2.0 model without any real distinction being

³ Dulong de Rosnay and Musian create a typology of peer production using the parameter of centralisation and decentralisation, but in contrast to this study they include "crowdsourced, user-generated content 'enclosed' by corporations" in the concept of peer production. They focus on five features of the system: ownership of the means of production, technical architecture/design, social organisation/governance of work patterns, ownership of the peer-produced resource, and value of the output (Dulong de Rosnay and Musiani 2015).

made between the two. Similarly, Per states that Google is a friendly company (Per 2012). Patrik's stress on the historical continuity around crowdsourcing could possibly give some context to this position. He holds that all his presence on social media could be seen as a form of crowdsourcing, because he collects new ideas in ways companies have done for a long time. Customer contact has been central to companies during many years (Patrik 2012). He does not make a clear distinction between the gift economy of peer production and the simulation of it within commercial crowdsourcing. The company he works for takes help from unpaid beta testers. The general idea is to give them a media box if they give feedback on its good and bad features (Patrik 2012). Collecting labour and ideas from the multitude, without reimbursing it, seems naturalised to him.

According to McKenzie Wark, this is a way to use a manipulated form of play to make people productive without paying them (a logic that Wikimedia Sverige is trying to copy with its contest in company history): "It is not the gift economy; it is a simulation of it" (Wark 2013, pp. 73–74). The simulation being that the gift is not given to another peer and the commons in general, and its reward is not the recognition by peers making the same gifts (Wark 2013, pp. 73–74). The company that pays Patrik's wage uses the simulation of a gift as a direct reward for the beta tester's work, without much of gamification except for the aura of the media box itself. The activity is not fun itself and needs help to get started. The activity thus lacks the freedom and reciprocal social contact of play, but the difference is not mentioned by Patrik when he compares the company's actions with Wikipedia's.

Patrik's claim of a longer tradition of customer contacts, and his silence in relation to the differences between commons-based and commercial crowdsourcing downplays or denies the distinction. Patrik, who sees his PR work on customer relations as crowdsourcing, says that he loves Wikipedia as a private person at one point during the interview (Patrik 2012). The commodification of social relations within his wage labour—nurturing customary contacts and creating presence on social media—does not seem to contradict this love. A possible explanation to the conflict-free relation is that Wikipedia is commercially quite uninteresting to the media company. It does not find enough of social interaction

on the platform (Patrik 2012). The company and Wikipedia seem to live complementary lives for him.

Wikipedia's success is not only based on its usefulness to all of us, according to Karl, and he mentions the advantages of a global, worldwide, and upscaled peer production. A question if Wikipedia may create a monopoly is answered in an easy-going manner: "yes, precisely, and it is now that people start to understand 'yes, what more can we do like this?', a little bit of Web 2.0, and then comes this with crowdfunding" (Karl 2012). The statement shows that monopolies do not seem to be a problem, which on the surface contradicts an assumed liberal ideology. Once again a possible interpretation is that a monopoly is not problematic if something has a supportive social function outside of the value producing economy. Monopoly makes the project visible on a global scene, but commons-based peer production is a complement to capital because it inhabits another parallel sphere, or functions as an inspirational outside to capital.

In the interview with Karl, the discussion centres mainly on Wikipedia's influence on capitalism. Wikipedia has also been a forerunner with crowdfunding, and Karl does not mention any critique against crowdfunding being used by commercial actors. He mentions a company like Funded by Me, which functions as a distributed kind of venture capital (Karl 2012). Wikipedia's influence on capitalism in this regard implicitly appears as something to be proud of for the project, but nothing is said about crowdfunding opening up new possibilities in the social production and economy that could strengthen the interests of consumers and users. The potential for new hybrid developments between many voluntary and individual donors, mediated or not by commercial services like Flattr or Funded by Me and non-commercial foundations, are not being elaborated on. So even if no clear distinction is being made between peer production's crowdfunding and capital's crowdfunding, the role of capital as the governing norm is implied under a crowdfunding that is understood as a technicality and uncontroversial practice of fundraising.

Karl sees only the difference between commercial Web 2.0 crowdsourcing and Wikipedia's crowdsourcing after a long and leading question addressing companies' expropriation and exploitation of user's creative

activities. He sees the difference but points out that Wikipedia can be understood more as Web 1.5 due to its “lack of many of those advanced functions that you usually want to include” in Web 2.0 (Karl 2012). The long and leading question appears to provoke new thoughts for him but does not seem to be totally relevant to him. The question of commercialism and non-profit is not given importance. Karl does not problematise companies’ use of gratis activities or voluntary donations to increase their capital accumulation. Possibly they deserve this, because they develop more advanced functions. The commercial logic and development is something good in itself. No association and discussion arises about the difference between a non-profit project that raises money to develop a common and including project, and projects where commercial actors reap the benefits of unpaid productive activities.

To Kåre, the question of peer production and commercial crowdsourcing is instead very complex. His answer begins with a statement of the generosity of peer production. The peer producers do not only want to share “here and now”, they also want to share with their future grandchildren, with everyone “who stumbles into this”. Wikipedians do not primarily want the project to be something to earn money from, which is a difference between Wikipedia and other sites. It is a non-profit project without advertisements and there is no major corporation that “puts in money and expects that ‘now should we, next quarter we will have 700 million on this’, instead the idea is to disseminate knowledge”. The free license is important to spread the knowledge and it can easily be combined with altruism. Kåre contends that people can earn money on licensed material, for example, by collecting, printing and selling the material on Amazon, and downplays the criticism that has been expressed against this as coming from a “small minority” within the community, whereas most people “think that ‘wow’ ” (Kåre 2012). The distinction between peer production’s crowdsourcing and commercial crowdsourcing is recognised but not given importance. It seems that the commodification is outflanked by the project’s unique generosity, and that commercial parts do not disturb the community. It is implied that the main material, despite the commercial and derivative versions, is still open for everybody—even future generations—that stumble upon it. This makes the difference between paying for the information coming from Wikipedia’s

peer production and getting it generously for free, less important. As long as Wikipedia's information is freely accessible outside of capital it can also complement and give support to commercial activities.

In Karl's statements there are almost no differences stressed between the two parties, whereas Kåre recognises some differences in a down-played manner and stresses the convivial coexistence between the two. In both cases, Wikipedia complements and develops capitalism with its existence.

Different Phenomena, but Capitalism Is Stronger

The second ideological position, *different phenomena, but capitalism is stronger*, sees conflicts developing in the relation between commercially based crowdsourcing and commons-based peer production. The differences and conflicts are perceived as natural ones. Capitalism's hierarchies within crowdsourcing distinguish commercial social media from peer production (or communism's horizontality), whilst capitalism is the stronger part of the two.

Patrik first stresses the continuities around crowdsourcing and commercial activities, but later, when asked about the relation between the two forms of crowdsourcing, he distinguishes very clearly between the company's crowdsourcing and Wikipedia's peer production. In the company's crowdsourcing, the company is the principal actor that distributes the mission to a site or a community. The employer controls the activities harder by setting a start and stop date, and the company has a "more cynical selection process" (Patrik 2012).

If we want suggestions on ... product development, and we get 15 suggestions, we feel that those three suggestions are not possible to realize and we delete them directly, we have that power somewhere, at Wikipedia the power is so incredibly de-centralized, the power really is at the hands of the users ... very un-hierarchical. (Patrik 2012)

The salient difference for Patrik lies in production's governance forms. Capitalist crowdsourcing is characterised by a centralised exercise of power, whereas the commons-based peer production is informed by a

more horizontal and collective, equally distributed, exercise of power.⁴ Wikipedia is less hierarchical, with no or a very small framework “regarding what you actually can or should, or want, or are allowed to contribute with in the specific moment” (Patrik 2012).

Patrik also comments, as shown in the preceding chapter, on the bureaucratisation and capitalist value production in ways that make them appear as unchangeable “naturalities”. This leads to a laid-back attitude to capitalism informed by defeatism, and Patrik in the end criticises the possibility of Wikipedia to stand independent in relation to capitalism. He warns about Wikipedia running the natural or expected risk of being co-opted by capital’s logic when money and wage labour get a hold of the project (Patrik 2012). The possibility that the company could be inspired or forced to apply Wikipedia’s governance forms is not mentioned by him.

Opening Towards Capitalism of Communism

The third position, *opening towards capitalism of communism*, points out the independence of Wikipedia vis-à-vis large companies, through its broad financing set-up. This argument implicitly opens up for thoughts on “free” hardware and by extension to the capitalism of communism. An altruistic will and generosity attracts the donations and stimulates giving in accordance with a logic that separates peer production from the commercialism of capitalism.

For Kåre there is a difference between commercial crowdsourcing and peer production, even if it is somewhat blurry at times. He points to the generosity and will to disseminate knowledge that informs Wikipedia’s peer production. Participants want to share “here and now”, and also with their grandchildren and all the others “that encounter this”. Wikipedians do not want the project to mainly be a way of making money, which is a difference between Wikipedia and commercial websites. The project is non-profit, without advertising and there are no corporations “investing

⁴Wikipedia’s use of templates in articles telling people what has to be done cannot be compared with the clear command structure of the media company according to Patrik (Patrik 2012). It is also the community that uses and decides about the templates.

and expecting that 'next quarter will we generate 700 million from this', instead the idea here is to disseminate knowledge" (Kåre 2012). Kåre also connects this generosity to the popular crowdfunding of the project (Kåre 2012). In his statements, it is implied that the non-profit character of the altruistic will and generosity of Wikipedia lay a foundation for a gift-giving that distinguishes peer production from the commercialism of capitalism.

It is now time to take a detailed look at Wikipedians' view of the project's relation to capitalist companies.

The Monetary Relation Between Companies and Wikipedia

The statements of the informants in the project's core and periphery are distributed across four different ideological positions.

The Capitalism of Communism

The first ideological position, *the capitalism of communism*, mainly moves at a latent level. Wikipedia is the good alternative that competes with capitalism from a solid economic foundation, at the same time as it is popular, which means it could cooperate on its own terms, based on its own interests, with transnational companies. The project acts in a way that runs contrary to the logic of capital accumulation, while acting as a non-profit oasis and place of rest in relation to capitalism. This place with its critical edge towards capitalism could potentially act as a place where criticism of capitalism can develop. Wikipedia is seen in one case as an alternative society in miniature with Wikipedians as the world's largest popular movement. Implicitly, there is here an opening towards the idea of a capitalism of communism.

In the beginning of our discussion, Karl contends that Wikipedia does not compete with commercial alternatives because it is not producing exchange values, but later in the interview he recognises that Wikipedia can be seen as a competitor by Nationalencyklopedin (NE), The Swedish

National Encyclopaedia, even if Wikipedia does not see it that way (Karl 2012). Wikipedia's relation to NE is thus complementary, if viewed from Wikipedia's standpoint, but could potentially be competitive to NE. This statement contains an embryo of future conflicts vis-à-vis capitalism, especially since Karl does not see Wikipedia as the subordinated complement in this case—a role played rather by NE since Wikipedia outgrew it in 2008 (Karl 2012). An analysis of the statement could be that Wikipedia, which Karl positioned outside of the societal economy in the beginning of our discussion, since 2008 has become the norm or hegemon of a specific part of society's economy (the production of encyclopaedias).

At the same time, Karl stresses the synergies between Wikipedia and NE in a new way. He claims the possibility of a third kind of hybrid economic system “where the commercial part is quite small” (Karl 2012). The statement is expressed in absolute terms, as when one actor outcompetes another one in a zero-sum game but without generating direct conflicts. The statement closes in, on a latent level, on thoughts of a capitalism of communism, where commercial actors no longer play the leading economic role.⁵

Karl also speaks of both Wikipedia and society as “maturing”, and when the encyclopaedia improves and gets more socially necessary, cooperations with companies could be more common, with *Wikipedians in residence* within them (Karl 2012). Thus, in the future, companies could have more of an incitement to pay for educating their staff in how to cooperate with the project. Strategically, he recognises that it would be to Wikipedia's advantage if business people contributed under organised forms with information and updates of “their” company's article. He answers with a “yes, precisely” and laughs, when I point to the inverse logic of the strategy in relation to how it normally looks when commercial interests privatise and enclose commons or public goods. He agrees to the possibility of seeing this process as a commonsification of something private; interpreting it as process where companies take from their economic means to produce a public or commons good that competes or complements the commercial sector (Karl 2012). The question

⁵ Important questions of how people then should make their livelihood in the system are not addressed. Such questions would have the potential to bring the questions of wage labour for all, or the total abolishment of wage labour for all, up on the agenda.

of whether Wikipedia, when it, in this more “mature” way, takes a place within society’s economy, comes into conflict with or effectively complements the shrinking commercial share is however not mentioned. Karl’s statements suggest that the thoughts are new, even if not unpleasant, to him, and that they do not reflect a well-grounded position. But more importantly, such a process of *commonsification* of resources of the capitalist sector is facilitated if Wikipedia matures and gains a strengthened position in the societal economy with the production of a socially necessary use value.⁶

Kåre approaches the position of the capitalism of communism in a different way. In discussing Wikipedia’s relation to commercial interests, he highlights the favourable economic funding of Wikipedia by popular donations, rather than the commercial derivative works building on Wikipedia’s articles. He mentions that the necessary money, during Wikipedia’s first years of existence, rather came from Jimmy Wales personally than from his company Bomis, but that there has been no talk of other revenues than crowdfunded donations after the creation of the foundation. Small amounts of money came in initially, but the contemporary success depends, according to him, on the many small donations, and they are a result of the project’s popular base. The number of individuals who donate has increased and increased (Kåre 2012).

In the same way as the long tail functions on Wikipedia with edits, it is so also when it comes to donors ... you could think that it should be many big companies, and there are some big companies that donate money, Google always gives money for example, they like us but the key part of this money is [from] people who send one hundred, two, and ... we see that every year, individual donations are so many. (Kåre 2012)⁷

⁶Seen from Raymond William’s perspective of coexisting modes of production (emerging, dominating and residual), Karl’s political-economic vision, irrespective of whether characterised by conflict or coexistence, implies greater influence for peer production as an emerging mode of production. From a Marxist perspective on historical change, with both alliances and conflicts between different interests (Heller 2011, pp. 12–13, 23–28), a continuously shrinking commercial sector and a continuously growing (“parasitic”) non-profit sector, based on peer production, will sooner or later find themselves having conflicts of interests. This will force citizens and Wikipedians to make political choices.

⁷The amount of money that Kåre refers to is denominated in Swedish Crowns.

Kåre stresses the importance of an economic base built on increasing donations from separate individuals. He thinks it is “fun” that Wikipedia’s neutrality is guaranteed in this way. The article about Google will not be better because the company donates money to the project, because there are already a lot of other individuals contributing economically to the project. Big donations are also decided upon in each individual case (Kåre 2012). These statements contain a clear distinction between commercial and popular donations, where the latter ones are dominant, and it describes the power relation to companies as favourable to Wikipedia. As such it is the clearest example in the empirical material of the hypothesis that a new mode of production is emerging within the old capitalist one, although such a conceptualisation is only implied and active on a latent level. In the unspoken continuation of the argument, the fund-raised money has the potential to dissolve the distinction between free knowledge and free hardware, at the same time as the popular base of donors makes Wikipedia independent in relation to large companies. The argument opens up for a capitalism of communism.

Kåre embraces Wikipedia’s cooperation with transnational telecom companies: actors like *Telenor* and *Orange* implicitly need non-commercial Wikipedia to create new markets for their products.

From the companies’ perspective, Patrik thinks it is possible that the company that employs him would donate money to Wikipedia for the goodwill. Its business is related to Internet—“actually we sell a product that somewhere ... makes Wikipedia possible”—and the goodwill activities are directed at questions of net security and an ethically improved Internet. In this perspective, Wikipedia appears as one of the “good” parts of Internet, and Wikipedia could therefore be supported. The ulterior motive, as with all sponsoring activity, is that the “good” of Wikipedia should inform the company brand, but there is a difference between sponsoring and sponsoring. It is more important to get back a monetary value if the company is supporting an ice-hockey team, rather than a charity organisation.⁸

⁸ It is not a new phenomenon that companies sponsor non-profit events of different sorts, but it is new that companies sponsor alternative modes of production that can compete with the capitalist production. If Wikipedia is exploited in companies’ goodwill activities, what name should we then use to characterise Wikipedia’s drawing on companies donations for its reproduction? New con-

The donations, motivated by Wikipedia's good reputation and non-commercial and voluntary activities, are contributing to the financing of Wikipedia through their tapping into capitalism's value circuits—either into parts of profits given away voluntarily by companies, or into the parts of wages (or other forms of incomes) given by people. Following Kåre's argument on the importance of the popular donations, a built-in limit against the commercialisation of Wikipedia seems to be part of the set-up. Wikipedia can only earn money from its good reputation, especially in the form of popular donations, as long as its reputation is not devaluated. And as long as this is so, the companies will also not demand as much monetary returns on their goodwill-related activities. It therefore seems economically important for Wikipedia to continue being non-profit, non-biased and reliable. Krister's claim that Wikipedia has to be politically "normal" or mainstream in order to attract participants can also be invoked in this context. Wikipedia has to strike a balance between a flirt with capitalism and a rejection of it. The project can include the wage and commodity form in different ways, as long as this does not affect the non-commercial and reliable character. Within this logic Wikipedia uses exchange value from the capitalist mode of production to construct a new way to produce utilities that cannot function as the capitalist mode of production, because it would end its financing model.

Wikipedia appears within this ideological position as the good, non-profit, popular and financially sound alternative which is a competitor for capital, without seeing itself as such. Wikipedia is a competitor as the project acts in a way that is markedly different from the logic of capital accumulation. Kåre has previously pointed out the generosity that is characteristic for the project and Karl says Wikipedia is a large socio-economic source of value as it does not throw away things all the time, but rather builds and shares with the rest of society all the time. Wikipedia is a real resource for society because it stresses that "we do not need to buy new things all the time" (Karl 2012). The idea is opposed to the need of capitalism for commercial expansion, and the anti-commercialism in Karl's differentiation between value and exchange value, by interpreting

cepts have to be invented to describe the relations around the donations from the commons-based peer production's point of view.

the former in terms of use value, would signal the end of capitalism if the idea was implemented in practice.

Both Kåre and Karl explicitly believe, on the other hand, in ways for businesses and capitalism to survive. Per is the only informant who explicitly opens up to the idea of a qualitatively different society than the capitalist based on his involvement in Wikipedia. He sees the project as a global popular movement, “the world’s largest popular movement”, which he hopes will attract new participants through his sporadic edits. It also concerns a modern society in miniature for him, with rules and a community, where things work even if members themselves “appoint their own leaders” (Per 2012).

Comments from Paul and Peter that Wikipedia acts or should act as a free, neutral, ad-free, credible and reliable oasis in relation to biased capitalism; a project where something “higher”, that everyone can take part in, is created (Paul 2012; Peter 2012), can implicitly be interpreted as that Wikipedia potentially acts as a place where criticism of capitalism can develop. This is however not the only possible interpretation. The conflict between neutrality and the bias of capitalism appears as a divergence between an economic and political liberalism, which can but does not need to lead to an anti-capitalist position. It is also uncertain whether Wikipedia in these statements is in a position of strength towards capitalism.

Continual Coexistence

The second ideological position, *continual coexistence*, appears as official and has a manifest character. It moves in a mainstream channel where communism is an authoritarian state system and capitalism a natural phenomenon that stands above historical shifts. Wikipedia complements capitalism and companies invent new business solutions and find new niches. Wikipedia is part of a historic continuity in the relationship between the non-profit and commercial, where they both inspire and offer benefits to each other. This influence is mutual, but the two do not influence each other at a fundamental level or offer space for anything substantially new. Also here Wikipedia’s economic power is interpreted as

independence in relation to businesses, but as an oasis and place of rest that is complementary rather than critical. Wikipedia is finally not interesting for commercial companies, which means there are no conflicts.

Karl believes that Wikipedia can change society on a macro level. He stresses that it has become obvious since 2010, and refers to talks about open government and open data. He thinks Sweden should open up its authorities and “make them more transparent” (Karl 2012). When asked if Wikipedia could influence the corporate sphere, he answers: “That is difficult, yes ... how do you mean that? To what?” (Karl 2012). Wikipedia has, according to Karl, inspired commercial crowdsourcing and crowd-funding, but when asked about the transforming influence on the macro level it is the relation between citizen and government that comes up. This traditional perspective on what society is omits the economy and the way that use values and exchange values are produced from the political realm. Wikipedia politically stands for openness, and the political effect of it is not connected to the new forms of production and new ways to finance the production of use values that Wikipedia has introduced. Karl does not comprise a political economic perspective.

In spite of his lack of a political economic perspective regarding Wikipedia's influence on society, or maybe because of it, Karl feels confident regarding Wikipedia's independence in contacts with commercial actors. The strength of Wikipedia's production model is that the project has existed and managed itself under a long period of time, the project is not in a hurry when it comes to its development, and sooner or later there will anyway be something written about all rune stones: “we are not commercial, we are not in a hurry ... so actually there does not really exist a direct power relation” (Karl 2012). If cooperation with a company malfunctions, you can just abort it.

An interpretation of this could be that society cannot demand that Wikipedia's use value hold a certain quality. The use value is not perceived as socially necessary and therefore does not have a social responsibility (that in addition could be valued in money on the market or become regulated by state laws). Wikipedia does not affect capitalism, and capitalism does not affect Wikipedia.

This perspective changes, but also deepens, when we discuss his views on Wikipedia's relation to NE. The national encyclopaedia NE is owned

by Cydonia Development, that together with a sister group had a turnover of 56 million Swedish Crowns for the budget year 2011–12, and the encyclopaedia is financed with fees and subscriptions (allabolag.se [n.d.](#); Nationalencyklopedin [n.d.](#)). In response to a question if the relation between Wikipedia and NE is informed by competition or complementarity, Karl answers that “it is not a conflict like they clinch directly against each other ... Wikipedia does not compete with NE ... Wikipedia sees NE as a complement as they are also a very good knowledge source” (Karl [2012](#)). The NE is important to Wikipedia, the two encyclopaedias can take advantage of each other, and synergies exist.

Wikipedia, a while ago positioned outside of the economy has now even become the dominant force in a specific part of society’s economy. The dislocation in perspective is grounded in evaluations of the differing sizes of the encyclopaedias. In 2008, the relation between NE and Wikipedia changed in favour of the latter (Karl [2012](#)). Karl thinks that the relation could be more problematic for NE, than for Wikipedia. The company behind NE sells a product and Wikipedia therefore is a competitor to them, even if the non-profit alternative does not see it that way: “because competition ... is a ... commercial concept”. At the same time, Karl does not feel there is a “direct conflict” between being a commercial and a non-profit organisation, even if such a conflict could exist, albeit not hardwired into the relation (Karl [2012](#)). Capitalism is not a problem for Karl who claims that people are positive about the freedom given by capitalism, in comparison to communism that he understands as state dominated (Karl [2012](#)).

The perception of Wikipedia taking an important part in society and the economy, without conflicts, is developed further in Karl’s view on the use of *Wikipedians in residence* by companies. Cooperations with companies built on education in how to edit and contribute to the voluntary project will be a realistic strategy and will benefit the project when Wikipedia produces a socially more necessary encyclopaedia. In a more mature society, it is possible that companies do not idealise things in their own interest (Karl [2012](#)). He claims that the guideline for how conflicts of interest should be handled is consciously vague and that “the article’s subject” could contribute with facts if it could maintain itself objective, an opinion that is also shared by Kristin when it comes to companies of

some societal importance (Karl 2012; Kristin 2012). The synergies are emphasised even if, or because, Wikipedia is becoming more integrated in the societal economy (Karl 2012).

Kåre's perspective on cooperation with companies originates in the discussion of the foundation's cooperation with two transnational telecom companies: Telenor and Orange. The two companies gave 270 million people free access to Wikipedia because the project was non-profit, and also because they saw the usefulness of the encyclopaedia for society (Kåre 2012).

Questioned about what he thinks that Orange got out of it, he answers goodwill, and also mentions that in the end it is also about market shares. If the new services are good, he assumes that the people will stay with the companies (Kåre 2012). The company thus creates a market and secures market shares, but the reason Wikipedia likes the cooperation has to do with enabling more people to use, read and write on Wikipedia. The connection between more people sharing their knowledge, knowing more, and changing the world for the better is "very strong" and probably one of "Wikipedia's success factors". He asks rhetorically what would be the destiny of humanity "if we all help out in sharing?" He stresses that the world's collected knowledge is improved by Wikipedia's global outreach, which in return improves humanity (Kåre 2012). Orange and Telenor understood this vision of Wikipedia and its importance for humanity (Kåre 2012). He does not see any problems in becoming dependent on big corporate interests. "The cool thing" is that the foundation has been clear about that it is not "an exclusive contract", and that they will talk with other companies as well, which Telenor and Orange thought was "totally okay" (Kåre 2012). He also claims that the donors have no influence over Wikipedia. Large donations for specific projects are always decided upon in each individual case by the foundation, to see if the projects are in line with the aims and practices of Wikipedia. If the company donations become too many, the problem can be solved with new policy discussions (Kåre 2012).

Kåre, with the minor exception of possibly new policy discussions, says nothing in his argument about the two entities, Wikipedia and the companies, being transformed by each other, instead they are seen as two separate entities, but two separate entities that complement each other. The

market actors do not stand in opposition to giving more people access to Internet, they are a condition for it, and Wikipedia gladly helps them, despite its non-profit character. The stress on synergies and win-win is strong even if it is clear that the companies want to create and dominate markets for themselves. Capitalism and Wikipedia shall together enlighten the world. Kåre's statement fits well into the Californian ideology.

The statements within this ideological position generally downplay the importance of structural economic transformations provoked or influenced by commons-based peer production. The notion that companies will (and have to) invent new business models and find new economic niches is naturalised. Asked about a hypothetically expanding peer production, in a process in which traditional wage labour would somehow disappear or be outcompeted, Karl answers that it will always be possible to “do new things” if peer production has rendered some form of wage labour obsolete. It is possible for those that want to build on what Wikipedia does with an “extra layer” and know-how will always be in demand (Karl 2012). Paul also points out that new niches open up with the expansion of peer production. As an example, he refers to the free software that has resulted in several new jobs being created (Paul 2012): “[W]hat people pay for is people that can configure, install, adapt, whether it is WordPress or Drupal or Linux servers or whatever. Then you need to pay someone to manage it, operate it” (Paul 2012).

The question of changes in the economic structure is unproblematic in these statements. The issue is toned down further by the historical continuity in relation to non-profit and commercial activities. The two different types of activities have historically inspired and offered benefits to each other. In this perspective, there is an emphasis on the mutual influence, but the two do not influence each other at a fundamental level or offer space for anything substantially new. Krister stresses peer production's historical continuity when he points out that voluntary hobby activities have always existed, within various areas of society. Wikipedia's peer production is nothing new. Above all, the non-profit projects appear as a nursery for talent that can later make a living from the talents they develop. One example is “Swedish science fiction fandom”. The subculture was created as a reading movement in the USA mainly during the 1930s, before arriving in Sweden in the 1950s. This subculture has always

lived in a close symbiosis with established science fiction literature and has developed its own ideals. Authors are often “fetched” from there or have “grown up there”. Magazines, or fanzines, were created that had their own editors and critics, which over time also found their way into the societal economy. There were also publishing houses with strong links to the subculture (Krister 2012). The link between this “semi-professional” context, “where it is highly fluid who works or doesn’t work with what” and the power “is in the hands of those who do something”, and Wikipedia, is clear for him as something is produced in both contexts. Another similarity is that the voluntary activities are sometimes sponsored by commercial forces (Krister 2012).

Seen from the capitalist organised economy, the subculture appears as an outside to be inspired by and to pick editors, critics and authors from. From the perspective of the enthusiasts, the relationship to the commercial appears as anything but unimportant and commercial stakeholders can contribute with extra income or career opportunities. Krister mentions no conflicts and stresses the synergies between the established culture industry and the subculture.

Paul and Peter’s vision of Wikipedia as a non-profit and ad-free oasis (Paul 2012; Peter 2012), where one can rest within capitalism (Paul 2012), not only can be seen as Wikipedia acting as a hotbed for critical thinking against capitalism but could also be interpreted more literally as Wikipedia acting as a complement to capitalism. The conflict between the political and economic liberalism does not need to be understood as an acute conflict. Wikipedia helps us to rest and reproduces us as social animals, outside, but still within a demanding but accepted capitalism.

Finally, seen from Patrik’s company perspective, Wikipedia is not so interesting that major conflicts are created between the parties. The company Patrik works for would not pay for a Wikipedian in residence or take part in courses to learn how to edit Wikipedia. It is easy to learn the website, and easy to ask for help, and ultimately companies often have only one page they monitor, unlike state authorities (Patrik 2012). He also mentions that the writings about the company “in the bigger picture” are “incredibly insensitive” and that it could not be disturbed in any deeper way if some facts in their Wikipedia article were wrong: “it’s a bit like ‘well let it be then’ kind of” (Patrik 2012).

Vitalising Capitalism

The third ideological position, *vitalising capitalism*, which may constitute a subcategory to the second position, emphasises both at a manifest and latent level the vitalising force that Wikipedia has on capitalism. Wikipedia and capitalist companies work together for the benefit of society.

Karl believes Wikipedia is a major source of value for society as it does not “throw things away all the time”. I point out that it is probably good for society, but maybe not so good for commercial companies. Karl replies that it depends a little on how creative they are. One can “do extra things, I mean build an extra layer onto Wikipedia” for those that want to (Karl 2012). It is almost the case that the commercial adaptations are a part of Wikipedia. The free encyclopaedia is embraced without conflict by the capitalist activity.

Encyclopaedias concern in addition a very small niche in the societal economy, “there is no end of other things that could be done instead”. Instead of writing encyclopaedias, the redundant individuals could perhaps do research, they are experts, in order “to produce new knowledge instead of simply documenting it”. Demand for competence will not disappear simply because jobs disappear (Karl 2012). The workforce is released for other labour on the labour market because of Wikipedia. The loss of the driven-out jobs is not seen as a problem but as something natural. The new labour exists within the framework of opportunity for the creative entrepreneur. Creativity is taken for granted as a never ending resource, which is also available for capitalism. At a latent level, Karl emphasises that Wikipedia helps companies to generate new benefits to make money from. Wikipedia stimulates in this way capitalism and contributes to a structural transformation of the societal economy, within the framework of capitalism for the best of society. Wikipedia provides a vitamin injection in the development of capitalism.

Krister really believes that Wikipedia’s way of producing will change the societal economy “particularly over time there is a risk for this”. It is not only about the encyclopaedia but also the other Wikimedia projects. *Wictionary* could eventually become good enough to eliminate dictionar-

ies, even if dictionaries are nothing that people make money from. The greatest risk is for professional photographers who will be impacted by the fact that there are 12 million files on Wikimedia Commons (Krister 2012). He believes at the same time that Wikipedia's impact on capitalism will not change the capitalist system. Capitalism will not suffer from a crisis because of increased social tension resulting from the success of Wikipedia. The issue of whether Wikipedia will mean the disappearance of paid labour is not so important:

Britannica [has] recently ... announced that they will not be printing more encyclopaedias. ... If Wikipedia had not existed, would Microsoft then have continued producing Encarta? Would there have been jobs there? No, one cannot sit and avoid spreading knowledge because you are afraid for other people's jobs, I mean jobs in a sense ... do not exist to, as an outsider I do not think you can see jobs as something that exist to put food on the table for people. I have to see jobs as something that people do to benefit society. (Krister 2012)

The statement is explicit and clear. Labour should contribute to an abstract social benefit, which implicitly is best done if it is as efficient and cheap as possible, rather than meeting the concrete needs of people. It is a perspective from above on labour, where productive labour is eliminated in favour of structural transformation that raises production levels: "if we make people unemployed then this is because we have done such a good job" (Krister 2012). Even if Krister understands that this could involve personal tragedies at an individual level, he believes that one cannot take responsibility for this, as one would then become afraid of all forms of progress (Krister 2012). Krister also shares Karl's views that the extent of Wikipedia's and its sister projects' activities are not so great in relation to the societal economy, and believes the project will not lead to the demise of teachers and academics (Krister 2012).

Nor does Paul believe that peer production has a potential to become a dominant mode of production; "the wiki way" will not spread to "everything", though it could change capitalism—and the use of state resources—for the better. Peer production of free software acts as a vitamin injection if it leads to a new hypothetical structural transformation:

It becomes a ... reallocation, it is fantastic if all of Sweden's schools and authorities switch to Ubuntu or something similar. Imagine all the billions saved in software costs, okay, Microsoft may lose a load of employees then but billions in taxes has suddenly been freed up that could instead be spent on more teachers or nurses or whatever you choose, whatever is needed. (Paul 2012)

The hypothetical outcompeting of the software industry or knowledge production means society can satisfy other more urgent needs. Other jobs will be created and it is not so serious that people lose their jobs as part of the structural transformation. Paul does not believe many people will miss an encyclopaedia sector that "rapidly becomes irrelevant" and points out that very few use NE in comparison with Wikipedia (Paul 2012). The produced use values are prioritised, while the livelihoods of people are taken for granted. Even Per shares this view of structural transformation within capitalism as a result of peer production. It is not a problem that waged labour disappears because of Wikipedia and it would feel wrong to stop this development. He is in favour of a changing society through new technology (Per 2012). Wikipedia and capitalist companies work together within this ideological position for the benefit of society.

Capitalism Expands

The fourth ideological position concerning Wikipedia in the societal economy, *capitalism expands*, expresses that the project is increasingly becoming similar to capitalism when the latter expands and becomes evident in peer production. The non-profit character of the project is to some extent already brought into question.

Patrik reacts to the idea of *the free economy* and believes nothing is really free. "There is always somewhere a product or commodity or a service that is being sold" (Patrik 2012). If Wikipedia begins to receive very large donations then you could ask about the purpose and aim of these. Crowdfunding of major economic means could here lead to the corruption of Wikipedia with the introduction of money. Wikipedia's non-profit character is questioned by Patrik who points out that Wikipedia

has employees now; the project is not steered by profit goals, but money is involved. He defines non-profit as that participants have their own “drive” that is founded on something other than money. This could change when a website grows larger “and in some way gains power”, as it creates “powerful people”. He points out that core users gain more power in the professionalisation process that includes more wage labour and the creation of hierarchies and divisions between “us” and “them”. Wage labour can also change the attitudes of people to why they are doing the job. Patrik expresses this as the difference between creating value for other people or for your employer. And at an institutional level, the project is influenced by the inflow of money as new people can be employed to develop new functions, which in turn increases the focus on money (Patrik 2012):

[I]f it is going well then you can employ more people and do more things and you may sit and have ideas that... “I would like to develop these types of functions and if we make some money, or make even more money... then we could employ these three developers to do the work”. (Patrik 2012)

Money stimulates a professional development based on consideration for the project, but changes the motive for, and demands on, participants in peer production. Increased professionalism, quality and reliability seem on the one hand to make Wikipedia's use value more socially necessary, and on the other hand move it closer to carrying exchange values in the form of wage labour, with its indirect relations to donating companies looking for PR or production of exchange values dependent on Wikipedia's use value.

An opening towards the ideological position of “capitalism expands” is also present in a statement by Peter, where the question of the potential for societal change through peer production is directly associated with if more people are employed in the project in the future. This would make the encyclopaedia more traditional and hierarchical (Peter 2012). The only possible societal change for him appears to take place within capitalism and is a result of the wage relation's spread, rather than Wikipedia's idealism.

The Informational Relationship Between Companies and Wikipedia

Three overarching ideological positions are first identified in the empirical analysis, and then three additional positions are identified in a deeper analysis of attitudes to the copyleft license.

According to the copyleft license, it is completely legitimate for commercial actors to select articles on a specific subject in Wikipedia and publish and sell them as books in response to demand on online stores such as Amazon. The license stipulates that you can freely access, distribute, change and make commercial use of the licensed use value under the condition that the derived modifications disseminated are also freely available to be used under the same licence. The license has the designation *share alike* and each refinement must be clearly marked with the license, so users know all of the conditions.⁹ It is this principle that provides the framework for Wikipedia as a commons.

The copyleft principle comprises an overall rule that opens up at the same time for Wikipedia's concrete editing, cooperations, and joint drawing up of rules in the collective creation and processing of the use value: the encyclopaedia and its articles. The opening of a common space is enabled as the principle requires that the copyright owner renounces his or her right to decide over most uses of the created work. This renouncing of rights is built on the private ownership (or copyright), at the same time as it short-circuits its logic by creating an opportunity for joint ownership and horizontal production.¹⁰ This jointly owned and horizontally organised production, peer production, bears fundamental differences towards private ownership rights and copyright that collects all ownership rights

⁹ Creative Commons is an umbrella name for different licenses that remove some economic rights from copyright. Wikipedia uses the copyleft license CC-BY-SA.

¹⁰ Copyright is not the same as private ownership. The latter is in place until it is divested, the former is time-limited with a part that, at least in Swedish law, cannot be divested (the so-called moral rights). At the same time, the protection time under copyright is becoming longer and longer. In this study, copyright has been equated with a form of ownership. But the form of ownership and distribution appears differently in Wikipedia which uses the copyleft license, than in a capitalist company which is using the traditional copyright.

in the hands of one and the same interest, which in the longer term separates workers from the control over the means of production.

When an individual begins an article in Wikipedia, this individual agrees to publish the work under the copyleft principle, which enables the free use and adaptation of this under the precondition that this use and adaptation maintain the same openness. The following corrections, changes, and extensions substantially change in practice the work, and it becomes in this practice almost impossible to claim any form of individual copyright to the article that now belongs to everyone who has taken part in the editing. This ownership is completely different for each article. The concrete practice is extremely decentralised in small collective microcosmos, which federate themselves (form federations) with other collective microcosmos and together create a common level that is organised and managed by other voluntary, collective groups of peers in a form of network that includes various projects, votes and general discussions. In this network of networks no collective is superior to another. All collectives are open to all Wikipedians and future Wikipedians who want to participate and thus become owners of the article in question. Wikimedia Sverige and WMF enter the frame at an overall level in what could be called "the real world" as a hint to the expression *in real life* (IRL). The non-profit foundation manages, for example, all funding within the project, and the power balance between it and the editing community appears, as shown in the previous chapter, important for Wikipedians. Wikipedia can be characterised as a loose federation of collectives whose activities develop together with a non-profit foundation which exists in an economic space between the state and market.

The idea behind this chapter is to detect the view of Wikipedians towards capitalism by studying how important the copyleft principle is to them. The identification of attitudes towards the license provides an insight into if Wikipedia acts as a complement to capitalism or as a seed for a commons-based economy. How do Wikipedians really view the regulation of commercial modifications of material from the encyclopaedia? Do they allow in practice commercial actors to exploit the activities of Wikipedians with modifications that do not clearly show that they are in turn free to use, copy, distribute and modify? Conditions that may feel problematic for certain capitalist business models.

In the interface created by the copyleft license, the two modes of production meet face to face and certain prioritisations must be made in the practical control of the application of the license.

But first we must identify the overarching ideological positions in the informational relation between companies and Wikipedia.

Moderate Whitewashing, Controlled Productive

The first overarching ideological position, *moderate whitewashing, controlled productive*, relates to guidelines for conflicts of interest and bias.¹¹ This position expresses a latent symbiosis between the interests of Wikipedia and businesses, with regard to editing that is not noticeably biased whitewashing. Bias among company employees is not a problem for several of the informants, as the guideline offers support for deletions if the bias is too strong. Obvious whitewashing has in addition a limited value from a business perspective.

Patrik describes how the company has dealt with excessive criticism of the company in its article on Wikipedia. They have tried to make anonymous changes, without pointing out their bias and without asking for permission. He says he has read the guidelines, but does not always think they are clear.¹² He also understands that one can “have an opinion” about whether the procedure is the right one or not, but he believes the procedure is common among colleagues in his profession. They test making changes anonymously using what they believe is common sense and they deal with any possible discussions in retrospect as they appear (Patrik 2012). Companies do not appear to risk anything by breaking the regulations of peer production, in practice the guidelines count for little,

¹¹ This theme was also discussed in Chap. 5. The analysis here is, however, of the assertions based on what they say about the relationship between commercial and non-profit actors at a superordinate social level, rather than at the encyclopaedia’s micro level. This theme was also discussed when the economic relationship between Wikipedia and companies was reviewed above.

¹² “Avoid writing about yourself, your employer or an association you are a member in /.../ If you still write about a subject where you have own interests, such as your company, you should be open with who you are and also careful to be objective and use credible sources /.../ Write from a neutral viewpoint, do not add advertising and do not erase criticism” (Wikipedia-bidragsgivare 2014, author’s translation).

though on the other hand obvious whitewashing has little value (Patrik 2012).

The generalised biasness with editing company employees is not seen as a major practical problem by several of the core informants. In practice, it is only edits by smaller businesses that the community finds frustrating as irrelevant and time consuming to remove. Wikipedia should, according to Kristin, write about established phenomena and not small music bands, which try to become famous through Wikipedia (Kristin 2012). Moreover, all company edits are not a problem. Major corporations have a general interest and she is not opposed to cooperation with businesses. Company articles are a problematic part of Wikipedia that the project “obviously” wants “as much information about as possible”. While Wikipedia “suspects POV” in these articles, the project wants articles about “all of the major companies . . . that are important for the economy” (Kristin 2012). Through cooperation with companies the project can obtain reliable information about the founding year, management, number of employees, and if the company has been sold or merged with another company, and so on. Kristin thinks it would be “great” with diagrams of turnover, which is not easy to fix if you have access only to scattered information about something (Kristin 2012).

Krister claims that time is the single most important factor for an evaluation of how serious an incorrect edit is, that is, how long it takes to rectify or protect the encyclopaedia's integrity against edits the project has clearly said it does not want. It is “about how easy it is to detect, rectify”. He describes spam as equally dangerous as the most basic form of vandalism when someone deletes a whole page and writes four-letter words on it. Whitewashing could have the potential to be like the most difficult forms of vandalism, those that are difficult to detect. Though edits by commercial actors are not bad. He points out that “naturally an article in theory could become better if a company were to write about itself”. Many articles about associations, companies, parties, other institutions and private people have been written by members, employees and relatives (Krister 2012).

The approach to the principle of neutrality is not completely clear, neither in guidelines nor in the empirical material. Karl points out that the guidelines for conflicts of interest are not categorically critical to edits in

areas where you are yourself active. It is okay if an author can stay objective, even if it is difficult in these cases and the project recommends that you avoid it (Karl 2012). Under the ambivalent surface neutrality appears as an issue of negotiations between different interests. Krister, who swings between a principled and pragmatic position on the issue, comments that it “by definition” is problematic when biased edits are detected, but that the guidelines for conflicts of interest is a “crude tool”. All edits by people linked to something are not bad, but the principle is still needed to maintain neutrality, biased people should not edit, even if this means the project could miss out on good articles. It is finally “always a question of where to draw the line” (Krister 2012). The neutrality principle is needed in order to easily dismiss obvious whitewashing, at the same time as the statement implicitly opens up for the idea that edits by biased writers, which are difficult to detect, are perhaps not so bad, and that it is a question of where to draw the line.

Karl in turn confirms that there are probably company edits in Wikipedia, but that the companies could face problems if they are discovered (Karl 2012). In this context, Kåre points out that company articles are monitored more than others, which has resulted in the problem that few dare to edit them (Kåre 2012).

Within the ideological position, a latent but relatively strong notion is conveyed about a symbiosis between Wikipedia’s need of editing and updating, and the company employee’s generalised bias and interests in the company’s article. In practice, there appears to be motives for Wikipedia to turn a blind eye to a large share of the biased company edits. The stance of companies not to ask for permission to present themselves, even if this is required, appears in uncontroversial cases where whitewashing is not obvious as a hidden exchange of mutual benefits: neither Wikipedia nor the company wastes time discussing the edits. Obvious cases of whitewashing can on the other hand easily be dismissed with reference to current guidelines; guidelines are in these cases the trump that Wikipedia has if companies break the rules of the game. The greater focus on edits in company articles act in this context as an extra security measure that contributes to the latent faith that the most obvious whitewashing, that is not valuable for the company either, will be detected. At the same time as control must not be so tough that no one dares edit them.

Depoliticization, a Problem for Capitalism

The other overarching ideological position, *depoliticization, a problem for capitalism*, stresses the neutrality of Wikipedia. Information is understood in reified forms where information products should be freely distributed over the world to people that are all in need of the same neutral facts. The epistemological perspective with many roots in positivism is mixed with a will for depoliticization, which at a latent level is seen as the aspect that is mainly in conflict with the one-sided and political capitalism. The encyclopaedia would suffer if it was run for profit or similar logics. This perspective is seen as a negative attitude to company articles that Wikipedians would rather monitor than edit as the control and criticism of these is stricter.

Karl claims that the most important motive for his continued participation is the idea of spreading freely available knowledge (Karl 2012). His commitment is no longer motivated only by it being fun, or only in order to create a “good” or “sound” asset but because it fulfils a political function in society. The encyclopaedia is a symbol for the knowledge he believes will improve the world. When “everyone knows more” there will be “fewer misunderstandings”, “people will argue less” and “there will be less war”. He has himself wondered if he, in Sweden “where we are so lucky”, could contribute better to this aim if he edited in Swahili, Hindi or some other major language that does not have a language version of Wikipedia that is as well managed as the Swedish. Though he believes it is better that he helps to improve the Swedish version so it can act as an inspiring example with solutions that seep out “to all quarters” (Karl 2012).

True knowledge is *one* and *undivided*, it should be well managed and comprise neutral facts in accordance with a neutral point of view, while politically making the world better. The same view of knowledge and political aim motivate Krister who wants to use the knowledge that he possess, by writing it down and sharing it through Wikipedia. The most important reason for sharing is that the world becomes a better place through knowledge. “We have a great deal of respect for universities, researchers, research, teachers”, Krister says, and suggests that the perspective in some form is about an ideology that “permeates our society

quite a lot” (Krister 2012). Kåre also says Wikipedia is part of a project to improve the world, within the framework for capitalism and by spreading knowledge (Kåre 2012).

This view of knowledge points towards positivism, with elements of cultural imperialism, and hides the possibility that knowledge is dependent on the adopted perspective and aim; that these can be opposing and create conflicts.¹³ Power inequalities and social disparities are hidden in the reasoning with its focus on knowledge in itself, apart from its societal context. The capitalist mode of production’s logic is not stressed, capitalism is taken for granted and naturalised, despite the fact that its power inequalities mean that knowledge is used in a way that by definition does *not* need to benefit everyone equally. Wikipedia’s different mode of production is not emphasised, Krister does not believe it is *sharing* as a practice, but the shared neutral knowledge that is the point (Krister 2012). The political function of knowledge, which Krister legitimises by saying it constitutes the dominant ideology in our society, is founded on an abstract and neutral knowledge outside cultural and social contexts. The epistemological perspective with its roots in positivism is mixed with a will for *depoliticization*, despite its political function. Depoliticization takes place within a politically mainstream perspective, which Krister believes is necessary to attract as many participants and users as possible (Krister 2012). Capitalism is naturalised with this perspective and the beneficial effects of knowledge are magnified. This perspective avoids setting peer production and its knowledge production against capitalism and its knowledge production.

Interestingly, this type of depoliticization with its focus on neutral knowledge conflicts with the one-sided and political capitalism. Wikipedia would suffer from the capitalist profit demands and short-termism (Kåre 2012) and there is opposition to advertising, as discussed by Jönsson, Paul and Patrik (Jönsson 2012; Patrik 2012; Paul 2012).¹⁴ The opposite of an abstract focus on neutral facts is the abstract and generalised bias-

¹³ The alternative, that a claim of relative truth results in fewer misunderstandings, as this perspective fosters greater tolerance, suffers from the same weakness as the idea that knowledge leads to fewer misunderstandings: the lack of a foundation in a social context characterised by social hierarchies and political power inequalities that a view of knowledge cannot change.

¹⁴ The question of advertising was missed in the interviews with informants from the project core.

ness. The problem with company edits is that these impact the neutral perspective. Unlike authorities such as the SNHB, which is not interested in describing the “runestones in Tantolunden” as “anything more than they are”, companies are always interested in earning money (Karl 2012) which impacts their neutrality and makes them biased. Patrik confirms this with his business perspective. Wikipedia is different in many ways from social media. The encyclopaedia’s page about the company existed before the company was aware of it and had decided that they wanted an article there. The project also requires another type of approach from the company pages than usual; Wikipedians have opinions about what is right and wrong, which Facebook and similar websites do not. In addition, Wikipedia does not engage the company with its focus on facts, and instead it wants more social interaction to build customer relations from (Patrik 2012). Wikipedia has its own will, is proactive and appears to be both more abrasive and less interesting for companies.

This perspective is seen as a negative attitude to company articles that Wikipedians would rather monitor than edit as the control and criticism of these is stricter. Kåre explains that company articles are taboo as Wikipedia cannot be seen as partial and that Wikipedians therefore would rather give edits the benefit of the doubt in company articles, which attracts fewer active people at the same time as PR people work to insert their edits (Kåre 2012). Contributing edits to company articles is risky as there is a great risk of not receiving appreciation and instead be accused of being biased, which is bad for your reputation and status in the community.

Education and Historical Focus Make Employees into Wikipedians

The third overarching ideological position, *education and historical focus makes employees into Wikipedians*, is placed between the first two positions. This position stresses both the neutrality of Wikipedia and the fact that the fear of contributing to company articles results in poor articles. People who are interested in business history, or are linked to companies and specific sectors, should be trained so that they can edit neutrally.

Wikipedia's focus on qualitative information as a product and its toning down of the importance of the alternative mode of production has in part opened up for contacts between Wikimedia Sverige and companies. Karl, Kåre and Kristin are all positive to cooperation with business (Kåre 2012; Karl 2012; Kristin 2012). Kristin believes and hopes that companies can be convinced to edit in the right way without any whitewashing. She believes there are probably "many" companies that have the "competence and integrity" needed to edit in a good way (Kristin 2012).

Wikimedia Sverige is planning to hold a competition in 2012 with the working title "Wiki Loves Company".¹⁵ The project has been inspired by a lecture at the 2011 Wikimania, which stated that "not even all" companies on the Fortune 500 list were included in the French-language Wikipedia. Many of those articles that were included were also of poor quality (Kåre 2012). Kåre is part of a collaboration for the competition with the Centre for Business History (Centrum för näringslivshistoria). Initially, they agreed on several guidelines for the cooperation, which aims to convince companies to write reasonably, "not just anything, but the right things", and it was important that "the right people at the company", not the PR department, were those writing. The PR department will "never do a good job", which people with an interest in history could do. The strategy to focus the competition on history is a conscious choice to avoid biased edits. Kåre thinks that it is more academic from the outset in this way, otherwise it is more likely that participants write "we are best", but with a historical perspective participants adopt the "right way of thinking" (Kåre 2012).

The guidelines show a detailed knowledge about modern corporations and their employee ideologists, as well as an opening for involving company employees outside "their" company's control. The strategy is based on the idea that all employees are not completely alienated in relation to

¹⁵The competition took place in spring and autumn 2013, within a cooperation between WMF Sverige, the Centre for Business History, AGI and The Swedish Association of Communication Professionals as part of the Swedish Publishing Award, which created a new category this year: "best company article in Wikipedia". The following year, 2014, a course was advertised in writing Wikipedia articles, run by the Swedish Association of Communication Professionals, which could be a sign that the competition will be a reoccurring event. The course aimed to be "a way to learn more about to write an article ... in order to be approved by other wikipedians" (Centrum för Näringslivshistoria [Centre for business history] 2013, 2014, n.d.).

the activities carried out within the framework for their waged labour and in relation to their company. Kåre and Wikimedia Sverige focus on the employees who identify themselves with their wage labour and “their” company and believe they express themselves through their work. Anyone can be considered apart from those whose job it is to safeguard the economic interests of the company, abstract labour and the resulting profit, rather than the concrete labour processes. In this implicit distinction between abstract and concrete labour, there is an awareness that the interests of capitalism in the first case clash with Wikipedia’s. Instead of seeking conflict, Wikimedia Sverige navigates around the problem and establishes alliances with wage labourers who are particularly interested in the concrete labour that they carry out within the framework for the company’s striving for profit. Company employees share this focus on concrete labour with Wikipedia’s core participants.

Though the competition is not reserved only for individuals, and Kåre considers that businesses are interested in taking part with their employees because of the PR generated by the competition (Kåre 2012), something Patrik does not believe is interesting for the company he works for (Patrik 2012). When I ask whether the idea is that employees at a company should be encouraged to write about “their” company, the answer is yes, but with the understanding that the edits will be more carefully monitored. The target is that at least 30 companies will take part. He proudly says that this is the first time this type of cooperation is being tested in the Wikipedia sphere (Kåre 2012).

The implementation of the project is for Kåre a delicate balance where the existing editing community must be prepared at the same time as training material for the interested businesses is drawn up. Wikimedia Sverige appears here as both an active mediator of contacts, between actors from the capitalist economy and the non-profit community, and as a facilitator of the cooperation. To ensure that the company participants do not clash too much with Wikipedians, they must be trained in the basic rules of editing. Wikipedia’s rules for neutrality are imposed on the work of capitalist employees (that are employed in the area they are editing about). People who are interested in business history or are linked to companies should be trained so that they can edit neutrally.

Over now to the perception Wikipedians have of the copyleft licence's regulation of the use of the encyclopaedia's content.

Collective Control Okay, but Information Dissemination More Important

The first ideological position of three in the empirical material about the copyleft license, *collective control okay, but information dissemination more important*, contends that it is difficult to monitor that the license is being complied with. Implicitly it is okay that the foundation is involved in the issue, but other things are more important than that users comply with the license. Minor breaches are moreover good and in line with the aims of the project. Wikipedia acts as a complement to capitalism in the position.¹⁶

Kåre thinks the issue of the license and how it is complied with depends on the level it is possible to keep a close check on the license: "it is very difficult to control everything that is printed and ... written". Though the community and Wikipedia do not "spend too much time on this". It has been more important to "pass on knowledge and to ... be seen as serious ... rather than to ... be police and say 'no ... you are not allowed'". At the same time he admits that this is a sore point for Wikipedia (Kåre 2012).

Kåre points out that the foundation's attitude has also been that "small snippets here and there, who cares?". Kåre observes that the actual point of the encyclopaedia is to be used; this is why they are part of the project and have free licenses. He thinks Wikipedia's allowing commercial use of its use value is one of the best things with the project. Though he also points out that the foundation demands that it must be very clear where the projects logo is from if it is to be used in a larger context (Kåre 2012). With the exception of the latter, the issue of the copyleft license is not prioritised by either Kåre or the foundation, according to him.

¹⁶ Unfortunately, the interviews with informants from the periphery did not include the question about the importance of the license. It is possible from the material, which has already been shown, to deduce above all that Paul, and to a lesser extent Per, stress openness in free access to the material, but nothing is said and no questions are asked in these interviews about the importance of monitoring openness in the commercial modifications and adaptations.

Karl is not totally opposed to the idea that the foundation would act as a coordinator on the issue of compliance with the copyleft license but emphasises that copyright is not designed in that way. It is the individual contributor who has an agreement as part of the license and not the foundation (Karl 2012). Karl also believes that we can be completely certain that there are people who ignore the license and use material commercially, without openly stating that the material is free for anyone to use (Karl 2012). This means in practice that they are fencing off something public and transforming it into a private commodity that uses the pricing mechanism to then create an artificial scarcity. He believes many people make this mistake through ignorance and that a lack of awareness is also present among participants in peer production who have created the material. There is then also a “small group who think ‘well, the idea was that it would be free so they can have it, if they want my thing then they can fetch it straight from me’ ” (Karl 2012).

Participants in Wikipedia appear uninterested in the lack of *free speech* in commercial modifications and quite concerned about the opportunities for *free beer* for the commercial interests that in practice are allowed to create and probably also realise exchange value in breach of the license, without compensating the living labour that produced the carrying use value.¹⁷

Kåre and Karl, and—if they are correct in their statements—even the foundation and the community of Wikipedians, at least with minor infringements on the license, lean more towards the Open Source Initiative (OSI) and more corporate-friendly forms of open source code. The source code is here free but modifications of it can be locked-in by commercial interests that can then claim full copyright for the modification. For larger deviations from the copyleft principle, Kåre appears however to follow the foundation's line that it is important to follow the principle. The sore point appears implicitly to be that they are not engaged in this last issue. It has been more important to pass on knowledge than to act as “police”.

Wikipedia is primarily information that is to be disseminated to people as widely as possible. Information dissemination is seen as a posi-

¹⁷“Free speech, not free beer” is a motto coined by Richard Stallman. The importance of the motto could be seen in that freedom of expression is key, not gratis use and exchange values.

tive thing in itself, but it is less important to ensure that the knowledge remains available for *everyone* in its various modifications. Wikipedians emphasise freedom of expression, at the same time as they see less of a problem with private enclosures (in this case, in violation of the copyright that would usually be responsible for the enclosures). The relationship between freedom of expression and the enclosings of copyright articulates a contradiction between political and economic liberalism, but the copyright-based license (the aim of which is to short circuit economic copyright's enclosures) is played down here in favour of private economic interests. Probably, because the project's version of the content is constantly, in parallel, freely available for anyone with access to the Internet. As long as this is the case, the already available information appears to be more important than conditions for a broader productive information practice that changes the world. Kåre is not, at least with regard to minor infringements, intent upon a commonsification of capitalism by using the power of peer production and the license's virus function against commercial interests, and opening up their digital commodities for modification and dissemination.¹⁸

But Kåre thinks the issue is important, though not so important that it needs to be prioritised more as the strategic goals until 2015 are to obtain more readers and writers; more types of writers and technical development, as well as budgetary survival (Kåre 2012). The sore point is currently not sufficiently sore, other things must be secured before dealing with the issue. The question is, however, whether there will ever be enough time for this. Kåre believes it may be possible if it concerns the survival of the project: "if people take loads of material from Wikipedia, sooner or later ... it will erode Wikipedia's values ... in some way" (Kåre 2012). It will be *if*, and not when, capitalism becomes a threat to the survival of Wikipedia; threatens to make the project unnecessary, that the question of commercial modifications will become relevant for him. Until then, conflicts with capitalism are neither seen nor looked for.

It appears that Wikipedians' control of copyright issues is weakened when they relinquish full economic control by licensing work under the

¹⁸ Microsoft's then CEO Steve Ballmer thought that the copyleft license had the character of a virus (Greene 2001).

copyleft license. This relative lack of interest in ownership or copyright issues in relation to capitalist actors is in contrast to the new power position that the copyleft license offers the voluntary participants in and through peer production.

Libertarian Decentralism and Individualism

The second ideological position concerning the license, *libertarian decentralism and individualism*, is based on that the foundation should not get involved in the affairs of the article community.¹⁹ The horizontality of the project is emphasised together with an affirmation of capitalist logics that are close to standard copyright. This position is in opposition to representative action against breaking license conditions and stresses primarily the individual right of the author.

The ownership structure of the commons, which I described in the introduction, has in this ideological position certain repercussions with regard to the control of accessibility and labelling of the license conditions in commercial modifications. It is the peer participants in editing an article who own, control and develop the content in Wikipedia under the copyleft license, not the non-profit foundation WMF. This relationship results in both difficulties controlling the application of the copyleft license *and* a position of strength for the editing collective towards the foundation. Krister believes this is something that people often forget:

¹⁹ Political advocates of “freedom” are sometimes labelled libertarians to stress a political, social and economic federalism from below, or, as in the last three decades, to stress a right-wing and economic laissez-faire attitude with anti-state sentiments. Peter Krapotkin’s ideological position is usually characterised as libertarian communism or communist anarchism. He studied among other things the *mutual aid* that exists in the animal kingdom, and also in different social institutions through history. The libertarian socialism was later developed by Rudolf Rocker in the 1920s as a reaction to the authoritarian socialism developed within the framework for the Russian revolution. Revolutionary syndicalism and anarcho-syndicalism are related concepts (Lund 2001, pp. 15–69). In recent decades, a libertarian right-wing ideology or right-wing anarchism has been developed, primarily in the USA, which has acted as an ideological force behind the expanding neo-liberalism during the 1980s and onwards. The identified position in the empirical material is more inclined to this latter form of “libertarianism”.

they ... think that “well, Wikimedia Foundation should act because there is someone who has violated the license and used this for commercial purposes without ... using the right license and writing who has done this”. And Wikimedia Foundation cannot do this, they have no right to this, if I write something then it is mine. (Krister 2012)

He also believes that there would be “a revolt” if the foundation gets involved and strictly “controlled” the reuse of articles. WMF cannot go in “too hard” (Krister 2012). What is new with Krister’s comment is that he sees WMF as potentially something problematic. He emphasises that the foundation has no more right than others to get involved, as it is not part of the editing collective. He seems to think that it is up to individual participants to decide if the license really applies and that the foundation cannot assume this and speak on behalf of the article collective. The foundation is here positioned as a stranger rather than friend. There is no question of starting a discussion where the foundation can help to pursue a legal case on behalf of the article collective who feels exploited, but the foundation is seen more as a potentially authoritarian and homogeneous force (to a great degree like the mockery of a socialist state), which disturbs the freedom of participating individuals to be in favour of a more unregulated commercial enterprise, even if the potential for “softer” interventions to some extent, at an implicit level, are left open.

Krister uses a hypothetical argument about how he would react himself to an incorrect commercial use of his edits. If a newspaper reused texts that he had largely written himself or his photographs, then he would send them an invoice. Though he could “live with” that, they only wrote that the material is from Wikipedia and not understood that his username should also be mentioned. “[T]hen they have tried, they have not understood”, but if they completely ignore it and simply copy then he gets a bit angry: “they can make money from what I have sat and done in my spare time and all I ask ... is that my username or that they only link to the history, and that they disseminate this under the same license, it is as simple as that and can they not even follow that, then” (Krister 2012). The sentence was not ended, but the outrage over the violation of the license is clear.

Politically, an individualist micro perspective shines through in the argument. He could consider acting against a commercial actor if it concerned articles he had largely written himself; a form of private ownership, as copyright, appears to be more important to guard than the relatively dissolved and collective form of copyright that emerges in the editing collective behind individual articles. The statement also suggests a forgiving attitude towards commercial actors who state where they have taken the text or image but do not expressly say that the material they are publishing is published under a free license. The recognition of Wikipedia as source appears to be more important than the license's *virus-like* impact on capitalism. The idea that the rest of the planned commercial product, such as a newspaper, would be freely available as it is based on material published under the copyleft principle (the license's virus character) is not raised in any form. Ideas that the taken image or text from Wikipedia is part of a whole that can be seen as a modification and that should therefore also be freely available is completely absent in this argument. Admittedly, it is not enough according to the license with only an image or text in order to open up a newspaper or anthology, but the question is not completely off topic as noted in the article "Viral License" on the English Wikipedia, which includes the following:

As an example of viral licensing outside software, after it was revealed that French author Michel Houellebecq plagiarized sections of Wikipedia articles in his novel *La Carte et Le Territoire*, some commentators said that this automatically made his entire book licensed under the ShareAlike license. (Wikipedia Contributors 2013)

Krister does not have the idea or the will to drive these issues, and the lack of such comments among informants suggests that there is no active ambition among them to change the ownership structure and working processes of society, through the use of peer production. The most important thing for Krister appears to be that Wikipedia is mentioned, not that the article and image are described as free to copy and use, which is a minimum requirement according to the license.

Collective and Representative Action Against License Infringements

The third and final position concerning the license, *collective and representative action against license infringements*, is suggested indirectly and latently. A mentioned minority wants the foundation and its local chapters to collectively be able to act in favour of individual editors on the issue of license application.

Karl points out that there is a discussion about trying to centralise compliance with the license, but that the current consensus seems to be that it is the individual's responsibility to do it themselves. "So that is the current situation" he states, but mentions the issue of central control again later in our conversation:

I think there are some people who think it would be nice if it was that way ... especially if ... we as an association grew and can intervene and say "now you seem to have done this wrong" ... and it is different if it is from an association compared ... with a private person, though the Swedish legal system does not work like that, that we [Wikimedia Sverige] cannot be the injured party for someone else in that way ... as long as they do not speak themselves. (Karl 2012)

Wikimedia Sverige is here launched as a possible actor to keep a check on how the license is used by those who choose to modify and redistribute Wikipedia content. The local branch of the foundation would have more power than a single individual editor. Though the legislation still looks the way it does. A proposal to allow Wikipedia's participants to click in advance an alternative, where they give the foundation the right to represent them on copyright issues, is not completely rejected by Karl, even if it would be difficult to implement (Karl 2012). There is anyway a small group among those active within Wikimedia Sverige and the Swedish-language Wikipedia that is to some extent driving the issue, even if the legal and technical objections are highlighted and given weight. The alternative movement that differs from the prevailing line on this issue is weak but probably centrally located in the project.

The latent collectivism that indirectly follows demands for neutrality and objectivity, and takes forms such as *not* highlighting individuals in the production process, frequent use of pseudonyms and IP numbers, placing the article history in the article's sub-pages, avoiding the use of picture bylines (unless you click on the photo and arrive on the Wikimedia Commons page behind it), is hardly noticeable in the relationship to the control of the compliance with the license. The seed for thoughts about a capitalism of communism that has potential to grow in the meeting between the epistemological perspective and the affordances of Wikipedia's wiki technology appear to be weak in practice.

The Organisational Relationship Between Companies and Wikipedia

Five ideological positions are identified in the organisational relationship between companies and Wikipedia. The first can develop both in the direction of the communism of capital and the capitalism of communism, as the concepts are described in Chap. 4, while the four following positions see Wikipedia primarily as a complement to capitalism.

Wikipedia's Radical Openness

The first identified ideological position within the organisational relationship to capitalist actors, "Wikipedia's radical openness", comprises a variation on the argument that has already been noted in another interpretation at the micro level. The position focuses on the organisational structure of peer production and the organisational relationship between Wikipedia and the capitalist organised economy. It involves the social relations of peer production and the relationship between the social relations of the two modes of production. Wikipedia is radically open to participants. The productive force of the project is linked by informants both to the large number of participants and to the ability to attract professional and waged participants. Boundaries between Wikipedia and companies are viewed as partly perforated and influence can flow in both

directions, at the same time as the relationship is experienced as relatively free from conflict.

Most of the informants speak explicitly about Wikipedia's productive force, even if production is toned down in comparison with the produced product, but are less pronounced about the mode of productions' social relations. Peter points out that the project allows people like him, who cannot write so much otherwise, to write articles with a very large circulation, such as his article on the hockey player Daniel Alfredsson, which is one of the top hits on Google's result lists (Peter 2012). Peter stresses the project's impressive productive force and points out the democratising character that surrounds Wikipedia's productive force. The reasoning here leans towards being about the social relations of Wikipedia's production.²⁰ As regards Wikipedia's productive force, several informants emphasise explicitly that the number of participants distinguishes Wikipedia and is important for peer production (Karl 2012; Kristin 2012; Krister 2012).

The importance of the number of participants was emphasised in the bottom-up perspective in Chap. 5 (as an indirect way to recruit new core participants), while the top-down perspective refuted that the number of participants was important (and instead stressed the recruitment of subject professionals). At a macro level, with regard to Wikipedia's peer production's relationship to companies, the top-down perspective supports—despite its more restrictive attitude to the number of participants—an openness in relation to companies and their employees. The perspective mainly wants to attract subject professionals, which waged labour within a specific area can be said to be. Both perspectives support therefore in different ways the idea of a radical openness in relation to companies and their employees.

The number of participants in peer production who are company employees is influenced in the area of production's social relations by the fact that the boundary between Wikipedia and companies is partly perforated, at the same time as the radical openness is controlled by a pragmatic application of the neutrality principle. The boundary for

²⁰ We are here facing an example of how difficult it can be to differentiate between productive forces and the social relations of production. Sometimes, they become indistinguishable.

Wikipedia's community is unclear for Patrik, and he cannot be sure that it was not someone from the media company who was involved in the debate about the existence or not of TV schedules in the Wikipedia article about the company. Another time when the company changed owner, he says he was surprised when someone had already made the changes, which made him wonder who it was who was so aware, and had such a commitment, that they had added the changes to the encyclopaedia (Patrik 2012). Company employees can secretly be Wikipedians, both as whistleblowers and as loyal employees. Patrik points out that he can only see if the IP number is from the company's internal network or not (Patrik 2012). If it is not, then the investigation stops there. He also points out that 900 people work at the company, tech-people "and a lot of nerds", and "it is highly possible that someone at the company is very active in the Wikipedia community, that I know nothing about" (Patrik 2012).

These computer nerds or hackers were the social and cultural group who historically developed the key parts and ideas behind the peer production that characterise Wikipedia. They share as a group a cultural heritage, *the hacker ethic* (Himanen 2001), with the pioneers of Wikipedia. Just as commercial and commodifying mechanisms operate within Wikipedia, the peer production's pathos and values could be active among some employees at commercial companies. This relationship is something that may strengthen Wikipedia's position of power towards some companies. The relatively open boundary between commercial companies and Wikipedia's peer production offers expansion opportunities for both commercial companies and for Wikipedia. When Wikipedians update the article about the company where Patrik works then the activity can be seen indirectly as unpaid labour, and when Patrik changes facts in the encyclopaedia then paid labour benefits indirectly the creation of a commons-based non-profit project, at least if the edits are not too biased. In one case, we have an example of the communism of capital and in the other the capitalism of communism.²¹

²¹The relationship between the two modes of production can be understood in an analogy with Raymond Williams' argument about emerging practices and cultural forms, which in uneven processes are threatened with incorporation into the dominant culture the more they appear to be in opposition, rather than to be complementary (Williams 1977, pp. 124–26). With its relatively

Patrik contends that power in general has moved to the consumer as a result of the Internet and digitalisation. He points out that previously, when a person who was angry with something that did not work with the company's offering, this criticism was noted by someone at customer service and a few colleagues. This landscape changed when the same criticism could be spread on Facebook and receive many likes. The shift of power is clear for him and he contends that the company must adapt to this, even if it would not hold an emergency meeting if its presence on Wikipedia disappeared (Patrik 2012). If the business side emphasises that the parties are more equally matched than previously, with only superficial conflicts, Wikipedia stresses a relatively conflict-free cooperation around a pragmatic neutrality principle.

However, Wikipedia appears as the weaker party in meetings with the capitalist social economy, than in the meeting with the state. Peer production shows its power in cooperation with the state agency SNHB. SNHB has and takes responsibility towards citizens both as a public institution and as participant in the commons-based peer production. It is worth something for SNHB, that is, it is worth waged labour to employ a Wikipedian and learn to correctly contribute to the project. The agency is potentially more dependent on Wikipedia in order to carry out its commission as well as possible compared with companies. This is because of the popularity of Wikipedia as a source of information. Wikipedia becomes as a result also part of the exercise of public authority and could be said to complement and potentially unburden the state in its commission. This commonsification of the state can be seen as a liberating form of democratic participation, though also as a part of the neo-liberal dismantling of the state, which links to George Caffentzis' question whether

conflict-free attitude that does not focus on a critique of ideas but the production of a use value that is in line with political liberalism, Wikipedia can—in line with Williams' perspective—possibly pass under capitalism's radar. Williams also asserts that the distance between oppositional and complementary is drastically reduced within advanced capitalism when this penetrates a larger proportion of social life than earlier modes of production (Williams 1977, pp. 124–26). It is unclear whether this reduced distance leads to only a faster incorporation into capitalism or whether the complementary can also be a threat to capitalism.

the commons should be seen as neo-liberalism's plan B or as something liberating (Caffentzis 2010):²²

This position's linking of Wikipedia's productive force to the radically open social relations of production forms a background to the other ideological positions identified between the project's and capitalism's social relations of production. The other positions do not touch on openness and the lack of a sharp dividing line between the modes of production, but focus more on peer production's *freedom* in social relations.²³

Disorganised Cooperation and Isolation

The second ideological position, *disorganised cooperation and isolation*, stresses the poorer efficiency resulting from the freer social relations of peer production in the form of disorganised cooperation, which tends to create feelings of isolation in the mode of production.

Kristin emphasises that there is hardly an end to Wikipedia's ability to produce encyclopaedic material, that there is a strong power in the project and links this to the fact that the project is "highly dependent on people". She sees at the same time shortcomings in peer production, which despite its enormous potential is characterised by an unstructured way of

²² Openness can also be an internal problem for peer production. There is a traditional fear of *forks* within the emerging mode of production. Forks are created because of conflicts in the project. The reason Wikipedians are afraid of forks is that Wikipedia's existence is based on accumulating a critical mass of voluntary participants. A fork means volunteers are divided between several different projects (Guldbrandsson 2008). The division results in competition for the voluntary participants and threatens to divide the participant group. Peer production appears to need a monopoly in this context. Paul disagrees though; the participant group does not always need to be united. He refers to the project forks within free software and claims that something new and better can be created by forking, or it encourages the old to become better. Nor are monopolies necessary for him. It is "not impossible at all" with two free and public encyclopaedias. (Paul 2012). Paul's toning down of the need for a unified participant group is in contrast to Krister's report of a conflict about an image filter that caused strong emotions, but where it was never a question of forking as Wikipedians understood that they would never again be able to create such a productive community (Krister 2012).

²³ Libertarianism is a more specified and qualified adaptation of the concept *freedom*. I here use the latter, more general and unspecified, concept. The rationale for this is that one of the following ideological positions (disorganised cooperation and isolation) does not work well with the concept of libertarianism, but also to enable new interpretations that are not by definition connected to the traditional and specific political connotations, even if the identified ideological positions of course are influenced by them in the end (see footnote 19).

working. Many participants do not cooperate but “one works a bit with this, one a bit with that, it is difficult to join”. Wikipedians sometimes comment on this by saying: “it feels like I am not writing in the same encyclopaedia as you”. Kristin laughs and points out that production is unstructured as participants work on different pages (Kristin 2012).

When Kristin speaks about Wikipedia’s mode of producing, rather than the product, she criticises the emerging mode of production’s *social relations* as being too free, which leads to a less developed productive force. This lack of cooperation in the project opens together with her positive attitude to the use of robots in production for an interpretation of the statement as either positive towards more automation in editing tasks, or as positive towards more quality-focused cooperation within the various projects and competitions (which Kristin has been involved in during her time as a Wikipedian). The first alternative’s code governed coordination points towards an ideal of worker-free factories that is the dream of many industrial capitalists (Noble 1986, p. 328), but Kristin’s criticism of Wikipedia mainly moves at a practical level without forming any social or political conclusions from this.

Freedom Maximises Individual Participation in Certain Sectors

The third ideological position, *freedom maximises individual participation in certain sectors*, views freedom as an advantage and stresses that freedom in the social relations leads to a voluntary division of labour that maximises the individual’s participation in the project. The organisation is completely different compared with the capitalist sector, that is still needed in order to get certain things done, at a certain time, and therefore does not allow equally free social relations of production.

Karl is more positive than Kristin towards allowing all Wikipedians to decide themselves on the form of their participation. Karl points out that a Wikipedian sometimes feels like doing something simple, such as vandalism clean-up, rather than getting involved in a major project or writing something themselves. The motive for this could in turn be to calm the nerves, to facilitate for someone else, or in response to a general

feeling of responsibility towards the project (Karl 2012). A Wikipedian can simply have a different approach at different times:

at certain times you just do something because it is fun, and sometimes because it is meaningful and ... sometimes there can be a social pressure that, "I have promised someone during a coffee break that I would do this, so, oh well, I suppose I'd better do it now". (Karl 2012)

This variety in motive activating Wikipedians originates in the voluntariness of participation and it is implicitly assumed that motivated participants act more intensively and better, more efficiently, than unmotivated participants. The statement also mentions social pressure, which correctly judged, can also be motivating. The non-alienated productive activity appears for Karl as the *comparative advantage* for Wikipedia compared with capitalism, despite being a highly desirable target for today's management literature (Alvesson and Deetz 2000a, b; Alvesson and Willmott 1996), which inspired by *toyotism* and *lean production* (Marazzi 2011, pp. 19–20) attempts to achieve the same result as Wikipedia but on an unfree basis.²⁴

In answer to the question of whether it is play or work that Karl is doing when he is active on Wikipedia, he replies that the gravity that characterises his participation in Wikipedia "almost exceeds" what he does as wage labour, but on the other hand this is also true for the playfulness: "the main pleasure is in the freedom" (Karl 2012). The difference between the activities and normal work is very clear. They are about "completely different things". At work, "you are given a task" and "expected to deliver at a certain time" (Karl 2012). There is a core within commercial operations that must be delivered, which is different from peer production. Something must be produced in a certain way, at a certain time; a specific focus is developed to meet a specific need or specific demands from users and consumers. Wikipedia cannot give this as well, with its freer social relations of production based on voluntary involvement, where no one

²⁴Karl's position and Kristin's call for more cooperation are both open for thoughts similar to the autonomist Marxist Franco Berardi's description of the autonomist movement's goals: "What we want is to apply, totally and coherently, the energies and the potential that exists for a socialized intelligence, for a general intellect. We want to make possible a general reduction in working time and we want to transform the organization of work in such a way that an autonomous organization of sectors of productive experimental organization may become possible" (Bifo 2007, pp. 157–58).

gives tasks to other people, or expects someone else to do something, at the same time as the project does not compete with commercial companies (Karl 2012). The obligations appear with the payment for labour that is part of society's total labour, while Wikipedia's strength in this argument is tasks without specific deadlines. Wikipedia cannot be anything other than a complement to capitalism in this position.²⁵

Vitalising the Social Worker

The fourth ideological position, *vitalising the social worker*, contends that freedom vitalises and improves the efficiency of the social worker by making him or her more enterprising, which implicitly is seen as leading to a vitalisation of capitalism.

The difference between a more controlled capitalist production and Wikipedia's freer production influences Karl's view of how working life should be, and he believes that "the entire professional life" is already "swinging slightly in this direction" with openings to work from home and during evenings. "Contract working still means it is a little freer" (Karl 2012). Krister stresses that the encyclopaedia industry is admittedly too small for Wikipedia to impact the societal economy too much, but that this would change if the number of participants in Wikipedia increased. If 95 per cent of the population were active in Wikipedia and shared its ideals then this would influence our culture: "I believe you would become less willing to work in very hierarchical structures, as it is a, some form of a semi-anarchic meritocracy". At a capitalist workplace, the person who is the manager is always the manager, which means there is a hierarchical relationship where someone is always superior (Krister 2012).

Wikipedia sets up new ways to work together that are semi-anarchist. IP controllers are only this when they check IP addresses and not otherwise, but Wikipedians are too few for their practices to have a major impact on society. At the same time, the work processes at Wikipedia have influenced Krister as an individual, and he will take a certain behaviour with him into the workplace:

²⁵In order to challenge capital then, peer production must voluntarily be able to produce "just-in-time", in a way that is seen as socially necessary.

Above all it is the flat organisation, not necessarily in the view that everything is based on free knowledge and that, but the way of working that “well, this needs doing”, then I do that rather than I say “well, maybe I should ask someone?”. Initiative, you learn when active on Wikipedia to be enterprising, if something needs to be fixed then you have to do it yourself! You cannot just report it, and hope someone else takes care of it or reports it so they then get an okay, instead you have to be bold! ... and in this way then I definitely think it has an impact. (Krister 2012)

A new proactive and flexible worker is presented here, almost as taken from management literature, which corresponds to labour organisation within post-Fordism (the communism of capital). Wikipedia is vitalising the social worker and acting as a vitalising complement to capitalism as the following structural transformation is not a threat to capitalism (Krister 2012). The productive interaction between productive forces and social relations of production that is not completely controlled by capital, does not lead to a discussion about emancipatory opportunities at a system level.

Collective Freedom

The fifth ideological position, “collective freedom”, appears at a latent level to be positive towards collective freedom. Participants watch each other and make the social relations of production secure. But the historically developed, collectively organised freedom is not a threat to capitalism because of human nature.

Kåre thinks the American wild West is an image that one can use to describe Wikipedia's first years. Many have a clear picture of this period in history with an emphasis on pioneering spirit. When Wikipedia started it was enough to write that Africa was a continent. There were many white patches on the map in terms of missing articles in the encyclopaedia. This period, which lasted a few years, had its positives and negatives, “just like the wild West”. You could be shot and there was no law that worked and was accepted. Today, however, there is far less risk of being shot, and “there are many guarding each other in the same way as in modern society” (Kåre 2012). He claims that instead of the wild West a secure system has developed, even if there are still miscarriages of justice sometimes. The “pioneering spirit” is slowly being transformed into or being

“taken over” by the “rule of law”. In the future, and implicitly in society in general, he sees neither the development of a form of utopia nor dystopia but a balanced version of how it is today. He mentions the TV series *Futurama* which shows a “balanced future” where there are “clever people and stupid people” with a “completely new legal system” and “cool new inventions” at the same time as people behave roughly as usual; “you fall in love ... you are unhappy and so on” (Kåre 2012).²⁶

The future is like the present for Kåre. Human nature is the same. In the future of Wikipedia and society, there is a new legal system and not only technological reforms, but the *new* social stakeholders and actors are not present as such. He thinks it is very important with humans, as a species and as individuals with specific characteristics, rather than stressing the social construction of historical individuals. Kåre’s argument suggests a view of Wikipedia as a complement to capitalism, which in part is similar to the latter, rather than understanding the project as an oasis within capitalism. The result becomes that the capitalist mode of production is naturalised. This cannot be changed fundamentally, as human nature cannot change. Kåre’s historic comparisons between Wikipedia’s and society’s development include societal changes, but no radical system changes. One difference between the two being that the regulation of Wikipedia depends on active citizens guarding each other, whereas in society this regulation has often been executed by the state.

Alternatives to Capitalism?

Three ideological positions are identified with regard to Wikipedia’s political role in society.

Spokesperson for the Current Power Structure

The first ideological position, *spokesperson for the current power structure*, is characterised by an ideological apoliticism. The neutrality principle

²⁶ This perspective is close to Richard Barbrook who historically and critically has studied how we have viewed the new within information technology with either too pessimistic or too optimistic eyes in recent centuries (Barbrook 2006).

acts as a rewriting to follow the dominant power structure, which it at the same time helps to hide. Wikipedia should follow the current power structure, which controls how the world is seen, but often is taken for granted and invisible for those that are a part of it.

Krister claims that there is some discussion among participants in Wikipedia about how the project should influence the surrounding society. There are Wikipedians who strongly advocate free software, and there are also those who believe the spread of knowledge is the most important. Krister belongs to the latter group and does not think it is so important whether it is a non-profit produced program or a commercially produced program that spreads the “free knowledge” (Krister 2012).²⁷ The product, “the free knowledge”, is put ahead of the creative and distributive process behind it, which does not need to be completely free. This perspective is reflected in how Krister sees the importance of influencing society. It is not important to offer an alternative to capitalism. The neutrality principle benefits, for example, Wikipedia’s growth and society’s acceptance of the project as it is close to the current power structure (Krister 2012).

Krister talks about experiences of political people who “have had to be blocked” as they cannot “disregard political opinions”. This has been true of “strongly committed Marxist-Leninists or neo-liberals who think everything to the left of the most right-wing *Moderates* is socialism and must be fought”.²⁸ These individuals, who all want to make the world a better place, are damaging Wikipedia by driving the encyclopaedia in “an undesirable direction” (Krister 2012). Wikipedia needs many participants and this has consequences for the political perspective:

We should be relevant for our readers, and ... perhaps our neutrality concept could be worded so that we are neutral if we are seen as neutral [by] as large a share of our readers as possible.... i.e. that ... our neutrality should follow the current political system, as the current political system steers ... the view of the world, and obviously if you then ... supported a specific ideology, then the number of participants would be much smaller. (Krister 2012)

²⁷ Judging by the argument, it does not appear to be important that all software can be seen as a form of knowledge that should be spread more efficiently than permitted by the commodity form.

²⁸ *Moderates* (Moderaterna) is the traditional right-wing party in Sweden.

The political centre, the majority of readers and participants, can be attracted by remaining neutral in the sense of *normal* and by following the current political system. Kristin agrees that Wikipedia is attempting to mirror society today, with the existing power inequalities, rather than trying to change the establishment (Kristin 2012). And also Kåre says the question of Wikipedia's politics is simple. Wikipedia does not act in a political context until the project or the Internet is at threat, such as with the case of the SOPA agreement when Wikipedia closed down its start page in protest against the proposed legislation in the USA. Apart from this, it is "live and let live" (Kåre 2012). Kåre embraces the idea of neutrality as the normal point of view which needs no explanation but is taken for granted without any major conflicts. Kåre says, there is an agreement between WMF and Wikimedia Sverige that the latter cannot lobby and influence proposed legislation as an association. The editing community can, however, "always do things", "so we can advise the community (laughs)" (Kåre 2012). The statement about the foundation's central political requirements (for apoliticism) for the local branches is interesting as it at a latent, but institutional level, advocates a symbiosis with the capitalist mode of production.

Peer Production Is a Rising Sun in Certain Areas as Long as Capitalism Allows This

The second ideological position, *Peer production is a rising sun in certain areas as long as capitalism allows this*, sees an expansive peer production, which sends capitalist activities to specialised niches, but can still not spread itself to all areas. Finally, there are sectors where wages work better than Wikipedia's surplus of man hours. Alternatively, capitalism stops peer production in some ways.

It is primarily the digital, and not the "tangible" reality, which Karl thinks about when he speaks of a more mature future society. In the digital world, Wikipedia has grown beyond NE in size and appears as the sun in the encyclopaedia universe, with commercial actors more as dependent planets that revolve round in their orbits. In this uni-

verse, the non-commercial element is dominant, the sun which feels no competition towards the commercial projects, while the competitive commercial companies are smaller and dependent. The non-profit sun is still growing larger and will “gobble up a few planets on the way out” (Karl 2012). In a subsequent but not completely clear phrase, Karl tones down the drastic comment and points out that there will be space for commercial niches for a very long time (Karl 2012). The argument opens up a door to peer production's opportunities to expand and to finally take over the entire digital sphere, and perhaps also the tangible world; or at least the statement opens up for peer production to make inroads into the latter? A little later, when we discuss the differences between peer production's large projects and the small commercial niche activities, the door is closed slightly for taking over the entire digital economy:

If you have a small niche you can afford to pay someone to do a job full-time and to do it well ... it is when you try to do everything that it is important to have many volunteers who can do a little here and a little there ... so in this way I do not see Wikipedia or similar projects as a threat to commercial companies as long as they are adaptive and can find other small niches where they can get paid. (Karl 2012)

In the digital world, there will be space for coexistence between commercial and non-commercial actors, for ever or for a long time. If companies are adaptable, they will find niches and sectors where wages work better than Wikipedia's surplus of man hours (Karl 2012).

The ideological position expressed by Karl is further complicated by the fact that he, which was shown in the section on the pecuniary relation, sees an opportunity that the commercial sector in the economy could become smaller and smaller. The door is slightly ajar here, if the argument does not require that the commons grows all the time so fast that the commercial sector becomes relatively smaller, to that the whole societal economy is gradually taken over by peer production. In a zero-sum game, the development imaged by Karl would lead to conflict. But as regards the tangible economy, the door is closed at another stage in the interview:

I want to continue with ... the analogy here with the sun ... if we can grow ... then we have the entire... solar system ... no, not the entire solar system, we have the entire galaxy ... and Wikipedia is just a small star, but there is so much else surrounding it ... this is about ... knowledge and free knowledge, it is not about (knocks on the desk) free tables ... free chairs ... which also surround people's lives ... life is so much more than only encyclopaedias. (Karl 2012)

An encyclopaedia created by volunteers and peers is a separate activity that can “suck in many things ... but there are also many things that are completely unaffected by Wikipedia” (Karl 2012). Karl refers in this context not to the *maker movement* with its *hacker spaces* and *fab labs*, or to the movement of alternative open hardware projects that created the open source three-dimensional printer *Rep Rap* with the potential to recreate itself (Anderson 2013; Maxigas 2012). The potential to change society through these projects, if they are combined with new financing methods based on crowdfunding, is not mentioned.

This distinction, in an economic respect, between non-tangible and tangible reality means, by extension, a signal against the opportunity for a commons-based peer production on a non-profit basis across the entire economy. As such, it also becomes a defence of capitalism and a placement of peer production in the category for complementary externalities; an outside to be used for capital. Karl's comments can be read as meaning that he does not believe Wikipedia can independently reproduce itself in a hegemonic form, but by definition is dependent on the tangible capitalist economy.

The question of whether Patrik can in any form see Wikipedia and peer production as a competing alternative to capitalism, at least in the areas he is himself active in, starts a long discussion. He points out that it would be “naive” to say that peer production cannot become an alternative. As an example he refers to an open router, FON, which was popular in Spain and required users themselves to have open networks and to share their access. This type of project “of course” could “infringe” on the company's products, but he emphasises that the company he works for actually lays the foundation for peer production's entire operation through broadband infrastructure (Patrik 2012).

The fact that Wikipedia is increasingly successful in financing itself through popular donations does not change this picture. Patrik believes it “frankly” would still be difficult for an operation that receives a large amount of money to remain non-profit (what is the purpose and aim of the increased donations?) at the same time as he finds it difficult to see that the project could “receive so much money that they could begin to produce or ... buy dark fibre and offer people free internet”. Somewhere along the way something will happen that will stop it from working. Experience of “how the world actually is” says that “there will be forces somewhere that are too strong and want to capitalise on this”. Patrik argues against the idea of *the free economy* and believes nothing is really free. “There is always somewhere a product or commodity or a service that is being sold” (Patrik 2012). There will eventually be conflicts between different interests.

The beginning of the argument is striking. Patrik is more open than the other informants to the idea that Wikipedia could be a competing alternative to capitalist companies. He also provides examples for his reasoning. When the argument comes to a head with the crowdfunding of large economic means, however, he steps on the brake. *First*, the objection is that Wikipedia will be corrupted by the introduction of money and lose its idealism; *second*, it is difficult to see that crowdfunding can collect the necessary funds for the most expensive investments; *third*, there are very strong capitalist interests around these investments that compete to “capitalise” their own investments; and fourth, if, contrary to expectations, enough money were obtained, the question is what its donors actually want to do with their donations.

It is not completely clear if the threat against Wikipedia's growth as an alternative and competing social and economic force is primarily from an outside or inside corrupting enemy, both are mentioned as possible obstacles. Even though it is naive to say that capitalism cannot be challenged, the questioned is whether it is possible to use commons-based forms to organise more capital-intensive production based on practical and political economic considerations. Patrik's argument is here close to a naturalised view of the power structures of social life.

The Spokesperson for Power and the Middle Ground Becomes a Competitor to Capitalism

The third ideological position, *the spokesperson for power and the middle ground becomes a competitor to capitalism*, is potentially created as an unexpected result of the first ideological position. At a latent level, capitalism is threatened by Wikipedia (when it is seen as part of a growing peer production sector) as a competitor, when the project is designed specifically to be mainstream and to follow the prevailing system, to complement and develop capitalism. The project acts potentially as economically revolutionary, despite that the historical actors do *not* want to revolutionise society.

A centrally decided apoliticism is included in the contract between the foundation and its subunits (Kåre 2012). The prescribed apoliticism appears to be important in understanding Wikipedia's future political role, though at the same time the question is what happens if peer production spreads more and appears as socially necessary, with more employees and larger donations available? Wikipedia's legitimacy is increasing, according to all informants in the core, the more reliable and more socially necessary its use value becomes. The first ideological position emphasises that this works against developing the controversial aspects of articles, and instead places the project close to the current norm in society. The politicalness, or lack of politicalness, referred to is associated to the content of the encyclopaedia and the neutrality principle.

What is interesting with Patrik's divergent reasoning is that it is the subjectivity that makes the articles interesting, at the same time as involvement and interactivity is what is interesting for the company in its desire to build customer relations (Patrik 2012). This despite a possible contradiction between the company's economic interests and potential political or ideological criticism of the company, within the framework for a more subjective and biased Wikipedia. Patrik's alternative, which in many ways is similar to the alternative that Wikinfo represents (or once represented), would impact the credibility of the encyclopaedia, according to several informants. Though it is more interesting here that the first and dominant perspective on content and neutrality is of less interest to the company, at the same time as it implicitly makes Wikipedia more competitive towards companies in the encyclopaedia sector.

A company perspective that wants more subjectivity and engaging content stands against the foundation's and community's (in the first ideological position) depoliticised or neutralised perspective, which could have greater potential to influence capitalism by acquiring legitimacy within the current norm for the social order dominated by capitalism. The road of idea criticism, which is or at least was indirectly advocated by Wikinfo among others, has a positive impact on capitalism, while Wikipedia with its neutrality principle creates the conditions for a political and economic influence that competes with capitalist production. It is this non-profit production process, offering a more socially demanded use value, that appears as radically new with peer production and Wikipedia. The potential step from this process to be economically revolutionary, despite that the historical actors are *not* currently interested in revolutionising society, is similar to Rigi's reasoning about the social role of peer production. It could be revolutionary without the project being run by revolutionaries (Rigi 2012a, b). This line of reasoning concerns a very latent ideological position, as the emphasis on the neutral perspective strengthens, at the same time, the ideological expression of an apolitical complement to capitalism at the manifest ideological surface. As a potential strategy, it does not develop an active, independent, joint and critical experience that is focused on radical societal change.

There are many signs in this study that Wikipedians, as represented by the informants, want to change society for the better and possibly develop capitalism, but there are few manifest signs that they want to revolutionise the foundations for the economic order of society. One claims, perhaps somewhat of a contradiction, that there will be space for commercial niches for some time, at the same time as the commercial part of the societal economy will shrink (Karl 2012), which could suggest that capitalism is gradually driven out, at least in the digital sphere, while another one claims that Wikipedia will eventually fail on its road to become the new dominant mode of production, even if it admittedly would be naive to believe that this is not possible (Patrik 2012). There is, however, a relatively explicit exception. Per is optimistic about the potential for peer production to change society. He is interested in free software as an alternative to companies such as Microsoft and sees Wikipedia as a global popular movement based on five main pillars that he sympathises with. Everything, the technology and what it results in for society, is in some way linked together for him (Per 2012). The idea includes certain deterministic characteristics,

which are common within the movement for free software, and look upon technology as sufficient to ensure that the process leads to something else, a social alternative. In Per's case the final goal is more than the technology and the end product of peer production, it is also about changes to how production is socially organised. Wikipedia acts as a new, modern small society where citizens themselves appoint their leaders and where everyone must take responsibility for their own actions. Humans are in addition not created to work for a wage a certain number of hours per day a certain number of days per week (Per 2012). The latter comment is linked to criticism from the hacker culture towards the protestant work ethic. By extension, the argument includes the issue of citizen's income or the abolition of wage relations and capitalism. Per leaves here an opening for something other than the capitalism that constantly both attempts to shorten working hours and maintain these as the only measure of value.²⁹

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²⁹ Fleischer states that Sven-Eric Liedman in a Swedish context has translated this text from Marx *Grundrisse* incorrectly. In Fleischer's translation: "Capital is itself the processing contradiction, as it strives to reduce working hours to a minimum, while on the other hand it sees working hours as the only measure and source of wealth." This compares with Liedman who writes about the "increasing contradiction" and that capital "obstructs the reduction of working hours to a minimum". Fleischer states that "processing" has been incorrectly translated as increasing, which suggests that the circulation of capital would act independently of the specified contradiction and that there has been an earlier historical period when capital was less contradictory. The entire point of the text is also lost with the incorrect translation of what capital wants to do to working hours. Capital strives to reduce working hours to a minimum, but we still work 40 hours per week as work is the only way to create value (Fleischer 2011b).

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7

The Ideological Formations Take Shape

The study has in Chap. 5 looked for ideological positions in how activities are presented, naturalised, evaluated and normalised by informants. These have been identified and described within the framework of the study's interpretation model for different activities. In Chap. 6, the ideological positions were identified based on the relationship of Wikipedians to capitalism as a system. It is time to summarise the different ideological positions and to begin to study how they shape themselves in their respective categories and to some extent in relationship to the positions of other categories within the empirical material. Before starting the comparative analysis of the identified ideological formations, I will therefore offer an overall view of the ideological positions on each respective level and describe the ideological formation processes which take place both within the position categories and between them. The identification of these formation processes makes it easier to identify the ideological formations. The various ideological formations at each respective analytical level will first at a later stage be compared and certain conclusions drawn.

Micro Level

The micro level's ideological positions are studied in Chap. 5 based on the reported binary relationships between the main concepts, such as between playing and working and gaming and playing. Synergies and conflicts have been identified and labelled in the process. The main and binary ideological synergies and conflicts will first be visualised in order to offer a tentative overview of the positions' strengths and distribution patterns. This uses the positions in the matrix for empirical results that was developed in relation to the field model in Chap. 4.

Synergies will be labelled using the binary merged words in each subsidiary field together with a summary of their number (without any connection to representativeness). Conflicts will be added to the line that divides the binary relationships' subsidiary fields where they are active, by marking as triangles with the total number nearby. The aim with this is to offer an overview of how the synergies and tensions in the mode of production appear in the study. In this way, the contours of the mode of production become clearer.

The ideological positions are also summarised in condensed text in an appendix formed as a table (see Appendix 1) to enable a deeper understanding of the symbols and figures in the model. I suggest that you read the appendix alongside the following visualisation and analysis of the micro level's ideological positions. The table in the appendix has five columns: *relation* (such as between playing and gaming), *relationship character* (conflict or synergy), *code* (K1, 2, 3 or S1, 2, 3 for the various positions), *expression of ideological position* (the position as condensed text) and finally *ideological formation* (this final category is not used presently but will be used further on in the analysis). The conflicting positions in each binary subsidiary field is summarised first in the table, and those that are characterised by synergies are then summarised. I hope to present each labelled example of an ideological position in short and concise sentences that do them justice. The appendix with the structured linguistic expressions will form the basis for the identification and discussion, which begins after the visualisation, of the ideological formation processes that take place within the position categories, and in part between positions within the various and

different categories. The identified formation processes facilitate the identification of ideological formations at a micro level in the empirical material.

I will thus visualise the identified ideological positions at a micro level as both a model and table and will then describe the internal formation processes within the position categories and how these sometimes relate to the formation processes in the ideological positions of other categories. These formation processes form a basis for the identification of the ideological formations at a micro level.

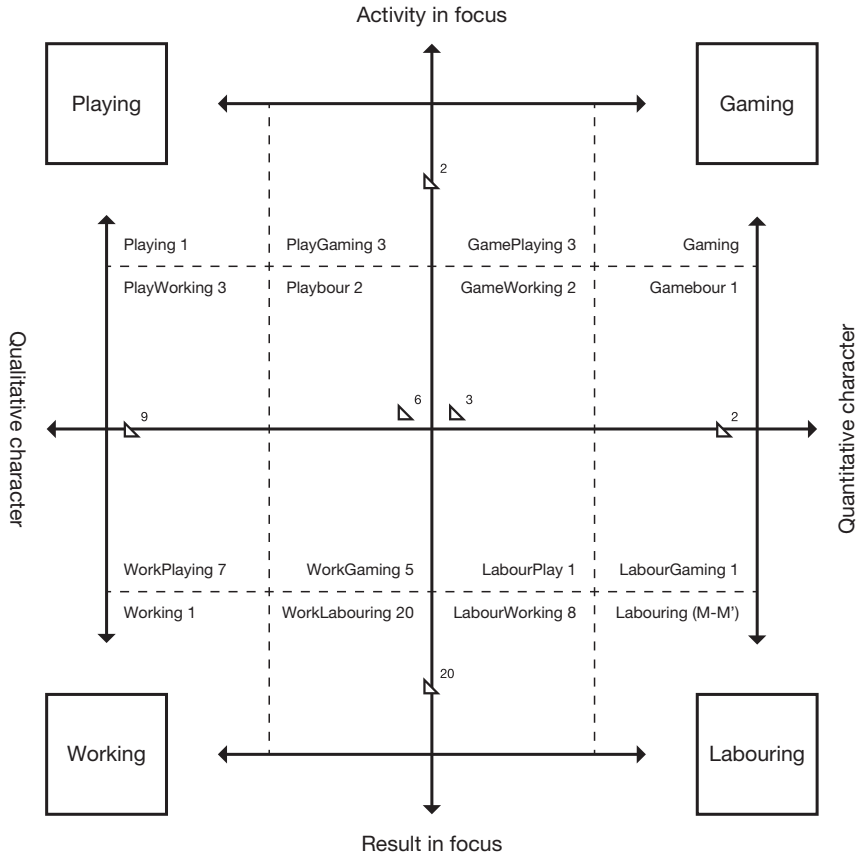
In the subsequent chapter, a similar analytical procedure is used for the ideological positions at a macro level, formation processes and ideological formations, before the ideological formations for both levels are presented, visualised and compared.

Visualisation of the Micro Level's Ideological Positions

The figures next to the triangles in the model indicate the number of conflicts between the two relevant categories (the triangles are therefore placed on the line between the categories), which creates a separate form of ideological position. The figure next to each ideological position with a merged name indicates the number of positions characterised by synergies. There is no space to mark the conflicts between gaming and working, and between playing and labouring, at the centre of the model where both of these really belong (Model 7.1).

Ideological Formation Processes

The binary relations, which has so far structured the analysis, will now be slightly relaxed when I not only analyse the internal formation processes in each ideological position's category but also begin to compare the identified ideological positions in various categories using the field model and matrix for empirical results, in this case the ideological positions, presented in Chap. 4. The aim at an initial stage is to highlight and evaluate the formation processes within the ideological positions' categories and also to a lesser extent to study how these relate



Model 7.1 Visualisation of number of ideological positions at the micro level (See Appendix 1 for a code table of the micro level’s ideological positions as condensed text)

to each other within the overall field model. The real comparison will be saved until the ideological formations have been identified on the basis provided by these formation processes.

Among core informants there is a conflict at a strategic level with regard to attitudes towards professionalism, quality and work, in relation to play, curiosity, joy, unconstraint and a lack of responsibility. The conflict can be seen in the fact that the encyclopaedia is not a toy but is built on fixed and serious rules. Control of editing standards is a threat to the joy

of beginners but is deemed necessary. In addition, the social interaction could also be bad for the project. The conflict between core participants concerns how important the conflict is between increasing professionalism and the playfulness of beginners. The subject professionals are seen in this context to embrace a more regulated form of playfulness.

This becomes an ideological conflict between veterans and beginners in the project and takes place within the core, and between participants in the divided core and the periphery. The periphery assumes that there is an ideological opponent at the core of Wikipedia, but there are on some issues two of them. Peripheral participants sometimes plant errors in order to illustrate the project's lack of credibility, at the same time as Wikipedia is seen as too serious and weighed down by rules and demands for verifiability by others in the periphery. One main stream in the periphery believes it is better with many, reasonably good, short and easy articles than the opposite. Core participants hope that boring and repetitive tasks, which are almost too boring to do, can be automated and as a result avoided, which implicitly would make the project less dependent on people's joyful motivation. Automation of repetitive work is otherwise mainly considered in the relationship between work and labour, where it appears as a purely ideological position of working. The repetitive tasks appear both as a problem and the opposite of play's entertainment but are also different from alienating labour.

Having said this, the conflict between playing and working is not of an absolute nature. In the ideological positions that can be categorised as *workplay*, playing, socialising and joyful motivation in the form of reduced responsibility can also be found to some extent among core participants. Ease in editing can be achieved by moving away from difficulties to a neither pleasurable nor burdensome triviality where responsibility is taken for necessary but easier tasks. This attitude is different from the more irresponsible ease or simplicity in avoiding responsibility for vandalism clean-up in playwork. It could also be about withdrawing from collective working processes that are seen as trying. The subject professionals are assumed to feel their own form of a more regulated playfulness, at the same time as socialising is also used in the service of efficiency. Overall, however, the advantages and responsibility outweigh within the category.

Playwork is manifested more as a curiosity in the mode of production, activity or subject, or as a simplicity or ease from opting to avoid responsibility or alternatively allowing a certain degree of irresponsibility, and also as social relations among equals. The formation is not emphasised, the number of identified positions is relatively few, but it is present as an individual and collective safety valve for generally responsible core participants or for temporary contributors in the periphery.

The difference between workplay and playwork is present in that playwork emphasises that responsibility is avoided, while responsibility is emphasised in more easy-going forms within workplay. Within workplay, the degree of self-realisation increases through the practice of interest in the subject and an emphasis on the creation of benefits through, for example, entertaining news coverage. Workplay could potentially gain increased independence through the use of independent crowdfunding by those who want above all to take part in larger projects in parts of the peer production that amuse them.

There are also conflicts between gaming and playing. Gaming loses its shine if the preconditions are not equal. This conflict between gaming and playing in peer production impacts both pleasurable motivation and the gaming's potential stimulus for productivity. One variation of this connects with the conflicts between playing and working. Competition between experienced core participants in removing vandalism threatens to take away the joy among people in the periphery who do not have the same position of power in peer production. There is in addition a likeness with a conflict in the relationship between gaming and working when competitions get out of control, primarily among core participants, and have a negative impact on editing.

The placement of errors in the encyclopaedia by irresponsible participants forms a synergy between playing and gaming, a *playgaming*, which is in stark contrast to work (which is shown above in the relationship between playing and working). Playgaming in the sense of the synergy in the search for mistakes in an article is however completely in line with working. Playgaming can thus be both destructive and constructive for the use value of Wikipedia. This can also be seen in practice in open and consciously regulated competitions that aim to take advantage of gaming motivation in fairly (for the use value) playful forms.

Gameplaying is evident when gaming motivation takes the upper hand in vandalism clean-up, which is potentially dangerous for peer production. Gaming motivation can contribute to swiftness in updating predictable news stories, which combines gaming and the intensity in news editing and is similar to the raise in usefulness of this in workplay. Quantitative gaming in creating new articles is used openly and explicitly. This gameplaying is close to synergies that emphasise productivity in gameworking when it is carried out with consideration. This formation process is another sign of how close playing and working are to voluntary activities and peer production.

There are various forms of conflict within the relationship between gaming and working. Gaming in the form of inserted errors damages the encyclopaedia in the same way as playfully inserted falsehoods. It is reasonable to say that it is the inserted errors that are the problem rather than the motive behind them: both gaming and playing in this case and the whitewashing of labour lead to conflicts with working. Gaming has also been shown to have a potentially destructive impact on the use value. But there is also a conflict in the opposite direction. If peer production is of too heavy a character then the gaming element that shares the ease of playing disappears.

Gameworking includes the idea that gaming can be productive in different ways. The gaming element is here the dominant party and provides energy with its gaming motivation to production work. The activity is particularly productive when it is carried out with consideration. Gaming also makes indirect contributions, conveyed in the awards given in conjunction with these, to make communication and therefore cooperation more efficient. The understanding that the digital rosettes show social status and signal gravity is close to workgaming, possibly also workplay, but the gaming element seems to be the dominant party even if it is toned down in favour of working and to some extent playfulness by some informants.

Workgaming's category collects perceptions where gaming constitutes an appendage to production as, for example, news writing. Concern about the project as a whole outweighs the gaming motivation—maintains inner competition at a reasonable level—and this leads to pride over the rapid updating of the project, even when someone else is first with the

news. Specifically, toned-down forms of gaming, such as the project for creating excellent articles and quality projects of the month, are part of this category, together with competitions that create a common stage for cooperation. These competitions avoid the conflicts described in the relationship between gaming and play.

There are important conflicts between gaming and labouring. The wage form signals demands to do something in compensation for a wage. This makes repetitive tasks, which are easier from a personal involvement, based on an inner measurement of the personal energy, more difficult, or less fun, to perform. Material rewards conflict in a similar way with the gaming form in peer production where voluntary involvement in working provides social status, such as in the case of the digital rosettes in gameworking.

Labourgaming is a suitable term for the competitions that act as a stage to market businesses. Companies that fight for survival against other capital (in their capacity as capital) can in Wikipedia's competitions appear as having a considerate focus for the public good simply by taking part. Wikipedia's specific use value built on voluntary work, often mixed with various combinations of motivation and play, provides the companies with energy. Within *gamelabour* the gaming form not only attracts businesses to Wikipedia's activities but is also used in a way that navigates around conflicts between biased corporate interests and the interests of the encyclopaedia. The gaming form creates synergies that could be threatened if the competitions are too demanding and offer too little PR.

The ideological formation between labourgaming and gamelabour is dynamic and includes a central tension. Wikipedia must, in the creation of a stage for businesses, balance between the latter's demands for marketing and its own need for neutral editing. If this balancing act is a success, then gaming and labouring lead to productive work for Wikipedia.

Over to the relationship between working and labouring, which is the relationship that is expressed most in the empirical material. Many conflicts are manifested. Small businesses are a problem as they are not relevant to the encyclopaedia. It is not commercialism in itself that is the problem here. Major businesses have the right to have articles created about them despite their profit interest and competitive awareness, but small businesses do not, despite the fact that they may have less of a focus on profit and competition than the major corporations. But this is

not relevant for the use value Wikipedia which is created through concrete labour (working). A competitive element is latently present in the attempts by small businesses to have an article written about itself in the encyclopaedia, but compared with ideas in the category labourgaming this relationship is transformed into a conflict.

Companies have biased interests and whitewashing in articles about them is a conflict in principle to Wikipedia's serious work, in practice whitewashing is often less of a problem as they can be productive if they are not too obvious. Advertising is here seen as an almost theoretical problem. No one wanted advertising from commercial companies in Wikipedia, which is sometimes seen as a noble, neutral and credible oasis that would be destroyed by advertising. The issue of exploitation is not highlighted in this context. Commercial exploitation in the margins of the project is moreover not a problem. On the other hand advertising would be something positive with synergies, from the company's perspective, which shows that the companies and Wikipedia have fundamentally different interests. The fact that the project's own advertising can be clicked away shows how deep the conflict is.

Wage labour has for many informants, but not all, the power to generate feelings of injustice when it is within editing. A successful bureaucratisation with more donations and more waged tasks in the project has been criticised from parts of the core and periphery. The conflict between work and labour is also present in the fact that the foundation's waged labour is not efficient in editing. This type of conflict, if it is true, takes the edge off the potential conflict with the foundation's waged labour in editing. There is at the same time the idea that more career choices in the project could lead to more conflicts in the future. The assumption is that more career choices means that there will be more waged labour in peer production.

There also appears to be a difference between waged labour outside Wikipedia and within Wikipedia. People with waged labour outside the project do not find it appealing to edit in a related field in Wikipedia. Waged labour appears latently and manifestly as something unpleasant that you can have enough of, which contrasts at a superficial level with the view that waged labour in Wikipedia editing is an unfairly shared privilege. But the idea is more that receiving a wage for one's hobby

is a privilege, while it is not a privilege to write about something that concerns the non-voluntary waged labour outside Wikipedia. On the other hand, waged labour in Wikipedia's editing could be counterproductive if it is used for repetitive tasks in peer production.

Education can bridge the conflict with editing companies with biased interests, at the same time as there are contrasting signs that companies cannot afford to follow Wikipedia's rules, or even less attend their courses, when they edit as this would take too long.

It is assumed to be difficult to convince Wikipedians who have become used to waged labour within the project to return to non-profit editing. The conflict is potentially strengthened if participants consciously use Wikipedia as a springboard to employment, which is implicitly seen as a problem.

Another form of conflict at what is approaching a macro level concerns Wikipedia's relationship with companies in the encyclopaedia sector. The project requires something similar to a monopoly on non-profit activities in order to guarantee its success which poses a potential threat to commercial actors. The project also appears as relatively financially insignificant for companies in the industry, which means Wikipedia avoids some conflicts, but also probably receives poorer business articles. The general conflict between waged labour and non-profit work is rounded in a specific way in editing through the use of crowdfunding by private people of their own projects, which results in competition with capitalism at a system level if the phenomenon spreads, but probably navigates around antagonistic wage relations (which indirectly are admitted to exist) at a micro level.

Over to the synergies: An abstract standard of established knowledge, which in a similar way to abstract labour and exchange value on the market sets the framework for established knowledge, is a key element in Wikipedia's quality drive. *Worklabour* on this abstract standard is combined with a preference for dead rather than living work when incorrect reversion is less of a problem than incorrect new information. A suggestion bot is also liked in its role as a voluntarily chosen alien power that offers suggestions based on abstract calculations using previous behaviour by Wikipedians. Despite veering towards the abstract and reified, this takes place with the aim of achieving the best for the use value,

which legitimises that work is seen as the dominant party in this ideological formation process.

The formation process can be placed in relation to several ideological positions about how Wikipedians in the study see their relationship to capitalist-dominated practices and actors.

The guideline for necessary relevance that helps the project circumvent the conflict of editing by commercial small businesses, by making these into non-relevant biased articles, has an inverted equivalent in the case of commercial whitewashing with regard to relevant major corporations. It is here the abstract principle of whitewashing as worse than the worst vandalism that creates conflict rather than solves it, but the principle is dissolved in a practice where the most obvious whitewashing is easily removed and a blind eye is turned to the rest. The campaign competitions that act as a stage to market companies have also in practice, between work and labour, the character of synergies.

This leisurely and innovative way of relating to abstract standards and alien powers which could easily create alienation, offers clearer contours to the ideological formation process. A similar example of this pragmatic flexibility concerns the issue of advertising within the project. This is the commercial practice that together with foundation employees in editing has been most heavily criticised from a principled and practical perspective. Despite this it is fine that sections of Wikipedia articles are shown directly in the list of Google hits.

According to the top-down perspective, work in Wikipedia needs higher quality to attract new and preferably more professional participants. Employees within WMF can also be passionate, which suggests that this is also the case for employees with other stakeholders. The use of employees as part of Wikipedia's marketing efforts also shows that the project attracts normal people. Employees are here responsible for expertise, passion and normality. The latter means it is non-profit work that is assumed to be abnormal in the eyes of outsiders, which reflects a finely calibrated attitude towards how life within capitalism influences the public. However, informants also believe the project is something other than a capitalist company. This is present in the power of the abundance of non-profit and productive activities that separates it from the dependence of capitalism on a scarcity of useful products

and productive activities. This appears to form the basis of Wikipedia's acceptance and relatively unproblematic attitude to capitalist influence and competition. While also emphasising that Wikipedia, despite this abundance that separates it from capitalism's dependency on scarcities, is not a threat to capitalism. Sometimes you are paid, sometimes not. Synergies can go both ways. The use of external employees in peer production reduces the project's dependence on non-profit leisure hours, without viewing this as a problem, which is an example of a logic that can be assumed to characterise a capitalism of communism.

In the ideological formation glimpsed here, the ideal appears to be to surf forward on the concrete synergies that are presented in contacts with the corporate world, well aware that the non-profit project is different from a capitalist project. This pragmatism fits in with the notion that neither party is a threat to the other and does not stimulate the creation of any manifest political ideas outside the prevailing line in society.

On an internal level in the project, when it comes to career opportunities, employability and waged labour, synergies between work and labour are built on the easiness to collect sufficient status to apply for employment as a Wikipedian with stakeholders outside the project (where the title of administrator is important) and the required ongoing commitment within the project in order to maintain one's status within the community. It appears in this perspective that a protective division exists between Wikipedia and external companies. In addition, external parties are not given any rights, status or power to decide how peer production in Wikipedia should operate, nor does external waged labour in editing give rise to any feelings of injustice. This element of separation and protective differences as a foundation for synergies in the relationship to Wikipedians career opportunities outside the project and externally financed wage labour within the project, as well as cooperation with external stakeholders, appears to be key to the ideological formation process in worklabour in all its flexibility. This logic is strengthened both—but in different ways—by the standpoint of a majority of informants that foundation employees should be kept away from the core of peer production, and the view of a minority that it is inefficiently used money for the WMF to invest in editing (as wage labour is not suited to repetitive work and reinforces the boring impression for the worker).

The ideological mindset makes it possible to also consider cooperation with capitalist businesses and their employees in editing, but the latter require training. If employees from external stakeholders can be active in editing rather than in meta-activities, the opposite is true for foundation employees. The ideal for the latter is that they are offered wage labour for eight hours to help the non-profit editors. This strategy fits in with the previously described boundary. As mentioned when referring to labour-gaming, public competitions act as a way to attract external capitalist companies to contribute their employees' labour to the project.

Labourwork is expressed on both political and economic levels. The Wikipedia project rests on the same political foundations as the bourgeois democracy developed under capitalism. Formal rights such as freedom of speech and an emphasis on the rational conversation are more important than substantial rights in social matters. An unequal labour market and social injustice disappear in practice together with all other politics than one with a capitalist base. This leads in turn to an ideological formation that provides implicit political support to capitalism, which fits in with the fact that the project, as shown in the treatment of worklabour, is neither seen as a threat to, nor threatened by, capitalism as the project is built on an abundance of non-profit activities. At an economic level, labourwork is observed where institutions and companies are seen to be increasingly interested in the project (which offers more career opportunities and further incentives to Wikipedians to become involved in the project) at the same time as it is seen as a privilege to receive a wage for one's hobby. It would be an honour for Wikipedia if company employees took part in their competitions during working hours. However, there is an important difference between labourwork at an economic and political level. On a political level the formation process implicitly supports capitalism, but even if labourwork's notions at an economic level are more favourably disposed towards abstract labour than when worklabour was discussed above, both levels of labourwork are dominated and incorporated at an overall level into the stronger ideological formulation surrounding worklabour.

Over to the relationship between labour and play. In capitalism, use value is sold on the market for its exchange value. This means the consumer wants the use value, while the seller wants to realise exchange values. This is usually expressed as that the exchange value is carried by a use value

seen from a capitalist perspective. This means use value is of secondary importance, but still important for a capitalist. In relation to play, this means that the destructive form of play (for the use value) is in conflict with peer production of Wikipedia *and* with many capitalist actors who cooperate or depend on the project. This ideological point is theoretically motivated. In the interview with Patrik the issue of vandalism is not discussed, but as Wikipedia is not so important for the company in which he labours, the conflict should not be emphasised too much. Another conflict between play and labour manifests itself more indirectly in that the wage is payment for a lack of play. Wage labour acts when no play is available. A third conflict targets the negative impact of wage labour (managed by the foundation) on editing that unites play and work. Wage labour is a problem when play is constructive for the production of use values, as feelings of injustice could be activated. At the same time as from the other direction, certain tasks are best carried out on a non-profit basis. That wage labour can both be a privilege and something that makes involvement boring, is a contradiction in the conceptual world of Wikipedians.

Some capitals would prefer to have more pure socialisation and play in Wikipedia, but several informants appear to believe that companies above all want to have correct information, which does not agree with the empirical results of this study but on the contrary agrees with the theoretically motivated conflict above that emphasises the negative aspects of a damaged use value for capitalism. There is a conflict between capitalism's two differing perspectives which either stress Wikipedia's use value or socialising and play. Sometimes, pure play is a problem and sometimes an asset for abstract labour. Finally, it is not fun to write about the wage labour that Wikipedians have themselves and make a living from outside of Wikipedia.

The constructive play—playwork, workplace and the play that unconsciously creates usefulness—appears as an unpredictable part in the ideological formation processes in relationship to capitalism and wage labour. The pleasurable Wikipedian community is sometimes threatened by a wage form that is seen as advantageous and desirable, and sometimes seen as a threat to the fun. For the company, play can be both too serious and constructive, and too destructive. This unpredictability concerns both those inside and outside the community. The constructive play and wage

labour both contribute tensions to the dominant ideological formations around worklabour as described above.

Over to the synergies within *playbour*. A joy in writing and constructive play can coexist with capitalism and wage labour the less commitment is linked to work on the encyclopaedia. Advertising is understood to some extent as a problem: especially if the editor cares about the use value of Wikipedia, but also potentially – and to a lesser degree – if the participants do not identify themselves with the encyclopaedic use value and therefore (for another reason) feel exploited by WMF making money from advertising revenue.

The symbiotic relationship within *playbour* with its superficial focus on the activities in themselves can be seen in that it is fun to play, work and labour without differentiating between the function of the activities in a larger context. There is, however, one exemption or condition for this perspective with regard to the central editing process. Playbour is threatened (to become a conflict) if foundation employees take part in editing. The threat to playbour is in this context partial and contested.

Labourplay is only represented by a single ideological position: that subject professionals are good for Wikipedia and that it becomes more fun for them the more professional the encyclopaedia is. This is not sufficient to identify an ideological formation process if it is not placed within the context of playbour and other identified ideological formations. It appears here as reasonable that the question of the existence or not of labourplay is related to whether the constructive play takes freer or more regulated forms. In the first case, recruitment of subject professionals is more difficult, and their relevance is also weakened (where the line is drawn to playbour is difficult to decide), while it becomes easier with recruitment, which also becomes more relevant, if regulation and professionalisation are strengthened at the expensive of spontaneous play.

Overall, pleasure in concrete labour, work or workplace, appears to be central in Wikipedia together with the result of the activity. The wage form, the field of wage labour, impacts in many ways, but is also decided by its context and financing inside or outside the commons. The question of the strange bird playbour is fundamentally a political question that touches on how play and work (it is these categories that primarily contain other

potentials than capitalist ones) should be defined and evaluated in their various combinations but in a joint relationship to wage labour.

Some things suggest that play is not revolutionary or a threat in relation to capitalism. That one company wants more play but that Wikipedians believe companies want more gravity shows that the parties have differing ideas about each other, but it is clear that some companies want to interact with more play and do not feel threatened by it. Capitalism does not demand or impose an instrumentality that always needs to be experienced by users of digital platforms. This instrumentality could be at the data level rather than the content level. Playbour can in the first case be understood as more of a hidden labourplay. The non-instrumentality of play appears to be more compatible with the instrumentality of capitalism when they meet within fan production and peer production, than when they meet within the framework of wage labour where wages are in compensation for an absence of play, and it is no fun to write about the wage labour that you make a living from outside of Wikipedia. This could constitute a potential strength for peer production and the development of the capitalism of communism. On the other hand, wage labour risks making non-profit and engaged participation boring.

Macro Level

The following is a summary of the ideological positions identified in Chap. 6 in order to offer a condensed form as a basis to identify the ideological formations at this level. In the following section, the micro and macro levels' ideological formations are identified and presented, and form the basis for the subsequent comparison between the two.

Capitalist and Non-profit Crowdsourcing and Crowdfunding

Wikinomics, Different phenomenon but capitalism strongest and Opening towards the capitalism of communism.

Ideological Formation Processes

Wikinomics stands for that capitalist crowdsourcing and peer production are equal and exchangeable, without differences, while the second position mentioned above differentiates between them but claims that capitalism is the stronger party. Neither of these positions is close to the capitalism of communism. The latter cannot only be linked to a differentiation as it also carries characteristics that join peer production and capitalist crowdsourcing.

The opening towards the capitalism of communism emphasises instead Wikipedia's independence from major corporations through its broad and popular financing in the form of small donations. This financing model enables a potential opening for a more developed experiment using free hardware, free knowledge and free software. The position relates to both differences and likenesses with capitalism, and there is an opening to an interstice or grey zone where capitalism's money and values are redirected to peer production of use value without direct exchange value. Donations make up a key part of this but these are not the same as investments by capitalists but are offered primarily as a solidarity gesture by labourers or people in other social positions who are not primarily living from the wage labour of others.

This position appears more as a latent potential than as an expressed project, while the former, Wikinomics, instead appears as a superficial statement about our time where class struggle is a toned-down phenomenon (at least in the West) and does not appear as an important dimension to focus attention on. When the conflict is highlighted, as in the second position, it is noted that capitalism is stronger. If I still attempt to describe the outlines of the formation processes, they are dominated at a manifest level by Wikinomics and the Californian ideology's building blocks, underpinned by the expressed and manifest idea of the strength of capitalism together with strong latent notions that naturalise capitalism and stop thoughts about wandering outside this. Opposed to these relatively manifest notions, the potential for a political alternative, the capitalism of communism, acts on a very latent level. Though it is at the same time a potential that is fixed in the actual peer production mode of production with new social relations of production where a non-profit

foundation is financed by voluntary, popular donations, and participants have a much greater say in the immediate production process.

It should already be mentioned that the ideological positions and formation processes between these confirm the legitimacy of the study's theoretical background description and points of departure.¹ I choose to use the word *confirm* even if the background and points of departure referred to have characterised the interviews and the analysis of the assertions. The interviews have on the other hand had their own dynamic, and informants have expressed their own understanding of the meaning of the questions using their own vocabulary. I therefore see no problem in using categories from the theoretical starting point, when relevant.

The Monetary Relationship

The capitalism of communism, Continual coexistence, Vitalising capitalism, Capitalism expands.

Ideological Formation Processes

Four different ideological positions, but they mirror the outlines of the ideological formation processes identified in the analysis of attitudes to crowdsourcing. The continual coexistence between peer production and capitalism is the dominant ideological position and appears as an almost official and manifest position. The position around vitalisation constitutes at a manifest level a subgroup of the controlled coexistence, even if the position opens up to create something new in the relationship, and thus appears here as more dynamic. The vitalisation position strengthens the idea that Wikipedia is a complement to capitalism. The idea receives support in a partially contrasting way by the notion of an expanding capitalism within peer production. Support in the sense that the encyclopaedia's processes provide a sector for expansion for capitalism. This form of additionality could result in conflict with the controlled coexistence where Wikipedia acts as a

¹ See the concluding discussion for a more detailed account.

place of rest and an oasis. The expansion of capitalism is in line with the previous observation that if there are differences between the two categories of production, capitalism is the stronger, though this could impact Wikipedia's vitalising function for capitalism and could create future conflicts.

The capitalism of communism again moves primarily at a latent level, and sometimes at a manifest level. Wikipedia is the good alternative that is competing with capitalism. The alternative rests on a solid economic foundation, at the same time as it is popular, which means it could cooperate on its own terms based on its own interests with transnational companies. The project acts in a way that runs contrary to the logic of capital accumulation, while acting as a non-profit oasis and place of rest in relation to capitalism. This place has a latent, critical edge against capitalism which could lead to the development of anti-capitalist criticism. Wikipedia is seen in one case as an alternative society in miniature, at the same time as Wikipedians are part of the world's largest popular movement.

The earlier outlines of the ideological formulation processes are confirmed here. An additional tension is apparent in the capitalism of communism where synergies between peer production and capitalism under the former's dominance are here confronted with a potential opportunity that Wikipedia acts as a nursery for anti-capitalist criticism, which in turn is related to whether capitalism is expanding within Wikipedia. There is a possible seed here for a wider political discussion about control over the project and its character.

The Informational Relationship

Moderate whitewashing, controlled productive, Neutrality, a problem for capitalism, Education and historical focus makes Wikipedians of employees.

Three ideological positions are identified in the chapter on attitudes to the copyleft license:

Collective control okay, but information dissemination more important, Libertarian decentralism and individualism, Collective and representative action against license violations.

Ideological Formation Processes

Guidelines against conflicts of interest and bias are in the background to defend the encyclopaedia against obvious breaches of neutrality, while practice is characterised by a symbiosis between the interests of Wikipedia and the companies for edits that are not conspicuously biased whitewashing. Moderate whitewashing is controlled productive. Obvious whitewashing has in addition limited value from a corporate perspective, at the same time as Wikipedia is dependent on edits that improve their company articles. Synergies exist on several levels.²

Neutrality poses a problem at the same time for capitalism through its demands for autonomy and independence. Reification and depoliticization, both traditional and important components within capitalism transform in the hands of peer production into problems for it. This relationship indicates that peer production is something other than capitalism and its assertion of neutrality and the non-political norm as a societal good competes with capitalism's embrace of these positions. Capitalism appears to be positive to bias and political conflicts of interest, and in favour of interaction as such, while it is relatively uninterested in biased and subjective *content*. The political dimension of the apolitical in its economy is revealed.

Wikipedians for their part prefer to monitor company articles rather than edit them, as the control and criticism of these are tighter. Perhaps this stimulates the belief that peer production can control company employees through training and a direction for history. In this way, employees take responsibility in a controlled way. Contemporary attempts in cooperation in the first ideological position (moderate whitewashing) could possibly change this belief. There is overall consensus that the project would suffer if it was to become profit-driven. This position can, in its optimism when faced with the opportunity to benefit from editing by company employees, latently be seen as a position characterised by the capitalism of communism.

²Unlike the similar analysis at the micro level, focus here is on the practical but mostly unspoken of cooperation between Wikipedia and businesses.

A minority movement wants the foundation collectively to be able to act in favour of individual editors on the issue of license implementation. This idea could in its aggressive stance be seen as a way for peer production to expand within capitalism, but it could also be seen as an uncertainty about the strength of peer production in relation to capitalism which it wants to control at a latent level. In the first instance, the ideological position contributes to an alternative (in relation to capitalism) and expansive ideological formation, and in the second instance to a formation that is more critical towards contacts with capitalism and which emphasises the latter's strength, which the project must protect itself against.

The formation process that admits that there is a conflict in the license area but does not see it as important, openly shows that capitalism is not the problem despite the fact that it is something other than peer production and may not follow the rules. Once again the differences are obscured and their importance is toned down so much that the formation is closer to a likeness ideology. While the more libertarian decentralisation and individualisation gives a stronger expression for a positive relationship to capitalism with its opposition to collective action and defence of a more private type of ownership rights. The formation process relies on capitalism being the stronger pole in the relationship.

The perspective that information dissemination is the most important and the libertarian decentralist is the most common. Tensions are not too strong between these. It also appears as fair to see the ideological formation process for the opportunity to benefit from company editing as a contribution to the information dissemination category's removal of conflicts, and vice versa, rather than emphasising the latent opening in the information dissemination category to an expanding peer production at the expense of capitalism.

The Organisational Relationship

Wikipedia's radical openness, Disorganised cooperation and isolation, Freedom maximises individual participation in certain sectors, Vitalising the social worker, Collective freedom.

Ideological Formation Processes

The radical openness in the project provides a dynamic character for the ideological formation processes. Several informants emphasise that the number of participants in peer production is important for Wikipedia's productive force, which in the area of production's social relations is mirrored by the radical openness for participants, many of which receive some form of wage labour. The boundaries for Wikipedia's relationship to businesses are unclear and perforated at a participant level, even from a corporate perspective.³

Openness can be developed to benefit both capitalism and commons or provide a mixed and varied picture. The four following positions, together with the development that favours capital in the first position, see Wikipedia at a manifest level as a complement to capitalism, even if they sometimes express the superiority of peer production in production. In terms of the manifest surface the ideology becomes more as one of the two notions: capitalism's *vitalisation* by peer production's horizontality with regard to the social worker, which is similar to the communism of capital, or maximised productivity in specific but separate sectors. The latter admittedly makes a differentiation between peer production and capitalism, but it enables an ideological parallel and *complementary* existence without conflicts between modes of production. Neither of these needs to be subordinate or superordinate which means the difference disappears. On a deeper latent level, there is however an opening in the "radical openness" position towards competing collaborations between peer production and capital, where Wikipedians become a new and collective - in addition to flexible and enterprising - social worker, which could strengthen peer production vis-à-vis capitalism.

Alternatives to Capitalism?

The current power structure's spokesperson, Peer production is a rising sun in certain areas as long as capitalism allows this and The spokesperson for power and the middle ground becomes a competitor to capitalism.

³ Activities can indirectly be seen as labour if a voluntary Wikipedian edits in a company article, and indirectly as different forms of work if an employee at the company does these; the communism of capital or the capitalism of communism.

Ideological Formation Processes

When it comes to the ideological positions about the explicit political relation to capitalism, the idea of being a spokesperson for the current power structure (and changing the capitalist society for the better) contributes to removing the potential differing political characteristics of peer production and capitalism. The idea that the dominant political vision in society should act as the norm even in peer production makes the dominant political perspective almost invisible and apolitically natural.

The notion that capitalism or material reality can always block or limit expanding peer production contributes at the same time to the idea of the communism of capital which admit that the two modes of production are different, but that capitalism is the dominant side.

Paradoxically, the former apoliticalness in combination with neutrality creates a genuine problem for companies that would prefer to achieve an intersubjective interaction in their customer contacts. The ideological formation around being a spokesperson for the current power structure, equally paradoxically, together with a tolerance for a moderate degree of bias by businesses, means that Wikipedia with its apolitical or norm-following politicalness becomes an even more effective competitor to capitalism. Wikipedia's legitimacy increases the more reliable and socially necessary that the use value appears. This twist contributes to the capitalism of communism. At the same time, there are a few signs of more manifest forms of the capitalism of communism in some general statements that people are not created for wage labour and that the commercial part of the economy will become less important over time.

Wikipedians in this study want to change society for the better and possibly develop capitalism, but there are no manifest signs that they want to revolutionise the foundations for the economic order of society.

A conflict between the neutral peer production and capitalism has potential to appear in the interaction in liberal ideology between its political and economic ideals. Economic capitalism focuses, so far without major conflicts, on expanding commodification to the field of communication and information, which forms the basis for the rational and neutral ideal within political liberalism; an ideal that also connects with Wikipedia's general vision. The apoliticalness of being a spokesperson for the current power structure and at the same time following the

political ideal, with a focus on science, rationality and objectivity, could conflict with each other some day.

Under the surface, behind the back of the historical actors, as Marx would have said, can then a more credible and successful sector of peer production, which appears as increasingly necessary for society, compete with capital from the position of the truly liberal alternative. If this is the case, the next step, acting economically revolutionary though historical agents do *not* want to revolutionise society, does not have to be far away. Another scenario raised if peer production becomes increasingly necessary for society and spreads with more employees and donations, is that a responsibility for society and its development may need to be developed and strengthened even beyond a limited and negative concept of freedom.

There is, however, another possible route for the capitalism of communism to reach the manifest surface. If capitalism expands within peer production, it could create tensions regarding the neutrality principle with political and anti-capitalist conflicts as a result.

Micro-Level Ideological Formations

What links can be found between the ideological positions and formations at the micro and macro level? In order to answer this question, the ideological formations must first be established for each level. This analysis begins with the micro level, which is the primary level for the analysis of the notions of Wikipedians in this study. I will then study the macro level.

The identification of the micro level's formations is based on certain opposing notions in the empirical material. There are on the one hand notions that are critical to more employees and emphasise Wikipedia's independence of playful non-profit beginners who over time become core members, and on the other hand notions about the positive aspects of more employees and the lack of an experience of dependence on playful and non-profit beginners. Third, criticism is expressed that the entire project has become too serious and regulated.

Wage labour and professionalism play a key role in these opposing notions. Based on an analysis of attitudes to wage labour in the peer production of Wikipedia, three ideological formations have materialised in the micro level's empirical material. The *first ideological formation*, periphery's formation, is expressed by the part of the periphery's informants who mainly identify themselves with the project. It should be simple to contribute to Wikipedia, and foundation employees should keep away from editing articles. This perspective emphasises easy-going, joyfulness and spontaneity, in addition to constructive writing. The formation is largely placed between play and work, which decides its relationship to labour and gaming. The gaming form is kept at a personal and individual level. There is a clear perception to keep wage labour outside editing, but also an acceptance that wage labour is needed in some parts of the commons that concern necessary maintenance and technical support. The focus for the formation is however not on this.

The formation has received its name as some informants at the periphery of the project have clearly expressed its main conceptions, but it is treated here at a social level of conceptions and not at an individual level. All informants in the study who were active in the periphery of the project do not share the notions of the periphery's formation, and ideas from Wikipedians who are active core participants can also contribute to the formation.

The *second ideological formation*, the bottom-up formation, is derived from the bottom-up perspective, which primarily emphasises work, with an indulgent attitude towards beginners even if it supports the quality drive. This formation accepts wage labour managed by the foundation outside editing, but admits that it is difficult to maintain a protective boundary. The formation appears as a middle category which fluctuates between an emphasis on play and labour as a complement to work in Wikipedia. It expresses a leaning towards both play and labour, and uses the gaming form in order to achieve goals in work. The *third ideological formation*, finally, is the top-down formation which can essentially be placed between work and labour. It accepts in principle wage labour everywhere in the project, but contends that it is not efficient for the foundation to use money in editing. This formation is strongly in favour

of the quality drive. Within the formation, there is often an emphasis on synergies between labour and the non-profit activities within the framework of enhancing the professional and what is fun for subject specialists. The gaming form is also used consciously as a tool to attract company editing.

The top-down formation admittedly includes parts of the workplace position in its margins, but the bottom-up perspective stresses this more as a strategy and has greater respect for playwork, than the top-down formation has. The playwork of beginners is valued as strategically important in the bottom-up formation because it develops into workplace and work over time. At the same time, both top-down and bottom-up formations share the view that Wikipedia does *not* need more sporadic contributors in the periphery to be successful. The bottom-up and top-down formations interact well, despite placing different emphasis on play, work and labour, and can be found in the same individual at different times, or placed as phases in an individual's development or in the project's development. Potential conflicts are at the same time present under the surface. The playwork and pure play which is accepted by the bottom-up formation and seen as a problem by the top-down formation, is a key part of the periphery's formation. A divergence is present between the periphery's formation and the two core formations (bottom-up and top-down dominate the statements of all core informants), and another one is present between the two latter, where bottom-up and top-down differ at a strategic level: the former emphasises a dependence on more playful beginners and the latter emphasises a dependence on greater professionalism.

The social worker's composition in the bottom-up formation is more heterogeneous, and is closer to Wikipedia's original motto that everyone can edit, than the top-down formation's more homogeneous focus on experts who are implied to have a background as an employee in the subject they write about. The bottom-up perspective has slightly more emphasis on the road in relation to the goal (the final product) than is the case with the top-down perspective, and the perspective is slightly more playful in character, while the latter sees the activities as serious and carried out by people who already know how they should be carried out, and what the result should be.

The risk of conflict between periphery and core participants in peer production is toned down by the top-down formation but is recognised by the bottom-up formation.

Visualisation of the Micro Level Ideological Formations

Before the micro level's ideological formations are presented in more detail, their placement and interrelationship are visualised in order to help in understanding the character of the formations and their internal relationships. The model has been drawn up by studying each ideological position in the code table (see Appendix) in relation to the formations. All ideological positions do not need to be embraced by one of the ideological formations. And as each ideological position is also related to a binary relation, either conflictive or synergetic in character, the ideological formations that embrace the different positions can be placed in the field model and matrix used at the beginning of this chapter in order to visualise the position's placement.

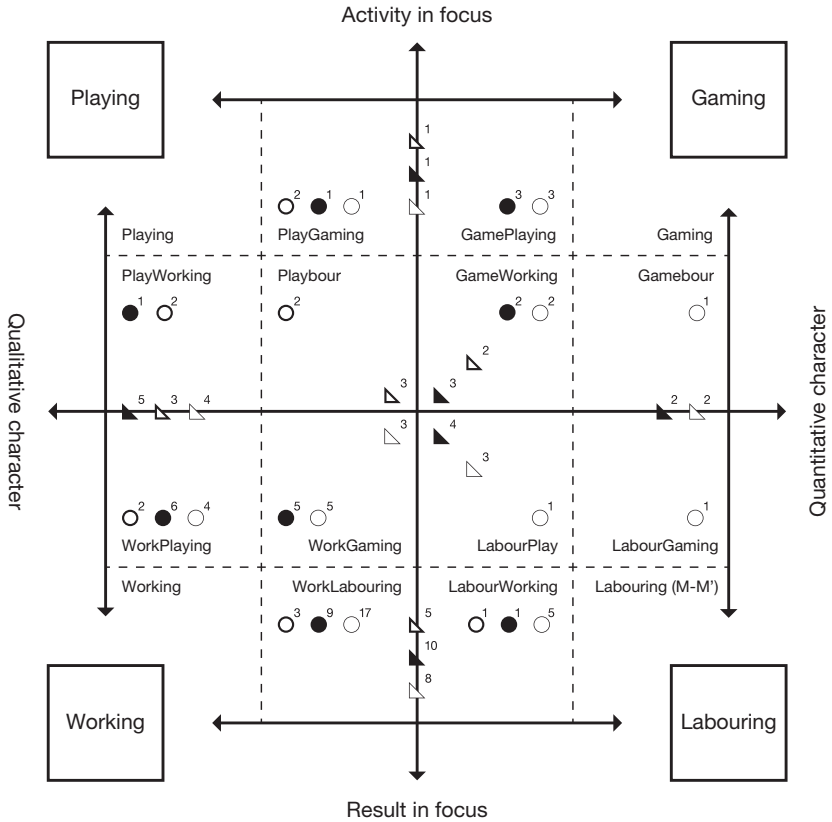
The model will show the extent of the formations. They have no clear and strong boundaries between themselves and intertwine with each other, but they have different centres where they are concentrated. Each formation will be given its own symbols and when the formation connects to a relation characterised by conflicts, it is marked with a certain type of triangle and when instead it reflects synergies the symbol is a certain type of circle.

Several ideological formations can embrace one and the same ideological position. Sometimes an ideological position originates in a comment from a single informant who otherwise has mostly leaned towards a specific formation. I have on some of these occasions, when I see it as reasonable, chosen to interpret the position in question as in agreement with the informant's dominant ideological affiliation. This is a circular argument, at the same time as it is based at an individual, rather than social level. This is a theoretical weakness in the creation of the model. Another theoretical weakness shown is that the formations that are emerging in the ideological positions provide a mindset that all ideological positions are of equal importance within

the specific ideological formation. They are not. The formations can relate differently to the various positions and value them differently. The number of marked ideological formations within a category of ideological positions in the matrix points to densifications in the specific formation but they should not be compared between formations. The formations could also end up on each side of a conflict if the ideological position happens to have the character of conflict. Another theoretical and methodological shortage is that on some occasions there are several articulating parts in an ideological position and that a formation may only emphasise a single part, while another formation may only emphasise the other part. The model should therefore mainly be seen as an attempt to visualise the formations for overarching heuristic purposes (Model 7.2). The following presentation of the identified ideological formations, their character, and interrelationships, will hopefully counter some of these deficits through a more evaluating and selective analysis.

A scrutiny of the model's result shows that playwork is represented only by the periphery and bottom-up formation. But between playing and gaming the periphery does not embrace a position in gameplaying. No conflicts between gaming and labouring can be seen within the periphery's formation, while synergies here are embraced only by the top-down formation. The largest densification in the model is between working and labouring. The top-down formation is richly represented, primarily among synergies. All three formations embrace worklabour more than labourwork. All three formations see several conflicts between working and labouring. Synergy effects in the relationship between gaming and working are embraced only by the bottom-up and top-down formation. In the relationship between playing and labouring, only the periphery's formation embraces synergies within playbour and only the top-down formation embraces labourplay.

Having completed the visualisation of the placement and relationships between the micro level's ideological formations, I will now present the formations' characters.



	Synergies	Conflicts
Periphery's formation	○	△
Bottom up formation	●	▲
Top-down formation	○	▽

Model 7.2 Field model over the distribution of the micro level's ideological formations

Periphery's Formation

The periphery's formation, which has been particularly expressed by some participants in the periphery (but could also include notions from core

participants), emphasises the positive aspects of less professional articles in combination with a lust to write, correct mistakes or contribute. The formation is relatively weak in its influence but may well be embraced by a majority of people who have contributed to the project. The irresponsible play, and those who to some degree appreciate this, appears as a minority movement within the formation with regard to ideological influence. The number of irresponsible editors is unknown even if they indirectly have had a significant influence on the project (e.g. as one of the basic reasons for the drive to improve quality), but it is unclear whether and how the real irresponsible play is integrated in the periphery's formation when it comes to say planting errors in order to show the project's lack of credibility.

The periphery's formation assumes that there is an ideological counterpart within the core of Wikipedia, which can be seen in some conflicts between playing and working. The project is too serious and it would be better with many, reasonably good, short and easy articles. The number of rules and demands for verifiability weighs the encyclopaedia down. The playwork category and parts of workplay are very relevant to the periphery's formation. Simplicity is here represented both in the form of playwork in shirking responsibility for removing vandalism and in a partial acceptance of inserted errors as fun, and within workplay's avoidance of difficulties and collective creative processes, while responsibility is taken for necessary parts of the process that are not difficult. Within the periphery's adoption of workplay there are sometimes elements of self-realisation by the practice of subject interest, even if this is not as accentuated as in the other ideological formations. The focus on subject interest can also be joyful and pleasurable in playwork.⁴

The periphery does not participate in collective and open competitions and is therefore not aware of potential conflicts between the gaming and playing, though they can be aware of internal competitions between core participants in vandalism clean-up, which could threaten some of their

⁴The periphery's informants do not participate in the collective and open gaming and are therefore not aware of potential conflicts between gaming and playing, though they can be aware of internal competitions between core participants in vandalism clean-up, which could threaten some of their edits and the pleasure in performing these through potentially unfair deletions.

edits and the pleasure in performing these through potentially unfair deletions.

The irresponsibly inserted errors are a form of playgaming comprising easy and amusing jokes with an element of sport which is in strong conflict with working. The only sign that inserted errors are tolerated by anyone apart from the one performing them is in the periphery's formation. The synergy between playing and working in searching for all the errors in an article also characterises some editing in this formation, which is completely in line with responsible forms of work. Gameplaying with its higher degree of social organisation is conspicuous by its absence. There are no signs of synergies between gaming and labouring in this formation.

The periphery's ideological formation is the only one that contains some elements that turn a deaf ear to commercialisation. Wikipedia could even develop into a good company in the future. The periphery's Wikipedians lean towards constructive playing with an ease in its relationship towards heavy responsibility. The same ease appears to be valid in the relationship to wage labour's role in relation to Wikipedia.

A joy in writing and constructive play appears to coexist better with commercialism the less commitment is linked to work on the encyclopaedia. The synergetic relation between playing and labouring is seen in the periphery's formation in playbour. It is with one exception fun playing, working and labouring without differentiating between the function of the activities in a larger context. The exception from the perspective concerns criticism against foundation employees in the editing process. In addition, all informants in the study, even those from the periphery (when Patrik is not speaking as a company representative), have something against the introduction of advertising into the encyclopaedia. The question of the possible introduction of advertising could with time become a larger problem for those who embrace the periphery's formation and do not fully identify themselves with the project, as it is the project's foundation that benefits from potential advertising revenue. This conflict is generally located between working and labouring and is linked to the fact that Wikipedia in the formation is seen as a neutral and noble oasis that would be destroyed by advertising.

This criticism of bureaucratisation in the project is shared by the periphery's formation. Labour in editing, managed by the foundation, is risky and could activate feelings of injustice, at the same time as the rise in professionalism is in contrast to the ideal of the formation. The idea of navigating around the conflict between wage labour and non-profit work by organising your own crowdfunding is a borderline case to the more temporary and lust-based peripheral formation. In cases where this type of financing should take place, the individual spontaneity is replaced by a moral contract towards donors. In other respects, the formation includes both criticism of foundation employees in editing and elements of not caring much about wage labour in general.

The periphery's ideological formation is critical of the creation of a qualitative abstract standard based on established knowledge within worklabour. Nothing is said about the "dead work's" (reversions maintaining status quo) precedence ahead of "living work" (new edits), but structurally it is probably edits by periphery participants that are sacrificed when implementing the quality drive. And nothing, which can be linked to the formation, is said about the suggestion bot, but proposals from this alien power are probably different from the spontaneity in the formation. The suggestion bot could potentially have a negative impact on the will to become engaged among those who embrace the formation.

Bottom-Up Formation

Workplay is clearly represented in both the bottom-up and top-down formation, but the bottom-up formation has greater understanding for the playwork of others. Self-realisation through the practice of subject interest and the higher intensity and creation of greater benefits through news coverage in workplay, may play a greater role in this formation than in the top-down formation. It is about an ideally regulated play where socialising is used in the service of efficiency, but where there is sometimes a focus on easy tasks and an avoidance of difficult tasks in the formation.

The bottom-up formation shares the recommendations of the quality drive for an abstract quality standard based on established knowledge, with its emphasis on “dead” rather than “living work” (i.e. that reversions are rewarded ahead of new contributions). While there is some concern about a too harsh application of the quality drive in relation to well-meant edits by newcomers. It is from the pool of newcomers that the core of participants in the project can be recruited.

Wage labour has with the bottom-up formation the power to, precisely as in the periphery’s formation, awaken feelings of injustice when it takes place within editing. Foundation employees should be kept outside the heart of peer production, editing, even if they are otherwise welcome. In this respect, the formation connects to worklabour. A successful bureaucratisation with more waged tasks in the project is in conflict with criticism from the periphery, but also in relation to the part of the core that is drawn towards this formation. Several career opportunities in the project could lead to more conflicts in the future between working and labouring. When it comes to the involvement of external actors in the project as a whole, and in particular in editing, the bottom-up formation is not as obvious and driving as the top-down formation.

Within the bottom-up formation, it is assumed to be difficult to convince Wikipedians who have become used to waged labour within the project to return to non-profit editing. This conflict is potentially strengthened as it is implicitly seen as a problem if participants consciously use Wikipedia as a springboard to employment.

Though, even if the bottom-up formation warns about certain problems that some labouring could introduce into the project, this does not mean that the project sees Wikipedia as completely helpless in this context. Worklabour’s idea that it is easy to use the status from Wikipedia to obtain employment or tasks outside the project, at the same time as the social status within the project must be maintained through continuous voluntary involvement, appears to create a protective divide in relation to commodification, even if it shows a contradiction in relationship to criticism of the use of Wikipedia as a springboard. This while external actors are not given the right, and do not have the status or power, to decide over how peer production in Wikipedia should take place (which also means feelings about possible injustice do not arise in this case).

Top-Down Formation

In the top-down formation, wage labour by foundation employees within editing is not seen as a problem, as it is not economically rational and therefore out of the question. It is not efficient to use money and a boundary between non-profit and waged editing is not needed. This is an example of both a conflict between working and labouring and a synergy within worklabour, depending on which level the concepts are analysed. The formation embraces an abstract standard based on established knowledge that sets the framework for the activity. Worklabour's standard is combined with a preference for "dead" rather than "living work" (an incorrect reversion is less bad than an incorrect new edit), and the formation is positive to a suggestion bot which as a voluntarily chosen alien power offers suggestions within worklabour for needed edits. Focus is on what is best for the use value and less consideration is taken on meeting the needs of newcomers. The top-down formation drives professionalisation. Work needs higher quality, as well as attracting new and preferably more professional participants, in the current phase with more readers. The formation has overall a more positive view of employed workers. Employees within WMF can be passionate which suggests that this is also the case for other actors' employees (a case of labourwork in that instance). Employees in Wikipedia's PR show that the project attracts normal people, which appear as a special form of worklabour that is very close to labourwork. Overall, employees are here responsible for expertise, passion and normality, which means non-profit work is perceived as something abnormal in the eyes of outsiders. This reflects a finely calibrated attitude towards how life within capitalism influences the public. The formation lies close to the perceived public's opinion, and the evaluation of labour is more positively accentuated than in the bottom-up formation.

Wikipedia is even for the top-down formation something else than a capitalistically operating organisation, but in this formation differences are toned down as the relationship is viewed as relatively unproblematic. There are an abundance of productive activities that differentiate Wikipedia from the scarcity that is assumed to characterise capitalism. The unproblematic with capitalism forms a relatively large acceptance

of it in the project's proximity in this formation, at the same time as peer production, at a relatively manifest level, is not a threat to capitalism. The use of external employees in peer production would reduce the project's dependence on voluntary leisure hours without this being seen as problematic.

The top-down formation is the one formation that primarily emphasises labourplay. It articulates that the motives of the subject professionals are good for Wikipedia, and for these it is more fun the more professional the encyclopaedia is.

The top-down formation contends that potentially serious and knowledgeable participants previously were unwilling to contribute because of Wikipedia's lack of quality. The formation is based on the assumption that these participants require something else than freedom and a joy in writing from their involvement in the project: they want to be part of a serious context. For their part, it is not about undemanding contributions to a free encyclopaedia, but rather about a form of generalised reciprocity based on gravity—which possibly, using small steps, has begun to near a balanced reciprocity—where there is already a good and overarching use value as a foundation for the activity.

Signs that businesses want more socialising and play in Wikipedia differ from the formation's conception that companies prefer to have correct information.

Finally, there are some signs that workplay is also represented within this formation as certain "simple" tasks that are neither pleasurable nor a burden but need to be dealt with. The formation, however, places the focus in these cases on taking responsibility for non-difficult but necessary parts of peer production.

Macro-Level Ideological Formations

The study has identified three main formations at the macro level. These are largely in line with and confirm the relevance of the study's theoretical premises (see the concluding discussion), even if there are minor differences in relationship to the theoretical premises, as all three formations are based on Wikipedia. The first ideological formation, *the Californian*

likeness ideology, is largely in line with the Californian ideology presented in the introduction. The second, *the communism of capital*, is similar to Paolo Virno's characterisation of post-Fordist capitalism, despite the fact that the formation rambles in its evaluation of this status and is built up by a synergetic and a critical part. And the third, *the capitalism of communism*, is the formation that opens up for the growth of a new and emerging, and in the future potentially dominant, mode of production within capitalism. The first formation emphasises the likenesses or hides the differences between peer production and capitalism. The latter two admit to the differences but assume different forms of combinations that allocate strengths differently between the two modes of production. When the communism of capital in its synergetic version sees peer production as a complement to capitalism, the capitalism of communism sees peer production as an independent alternative that is complemented by capitalism. The Californian likeness ideology makes on the other hand an effort to make such a distinction completely unnecessary.

If the synergetic part of the communism of capital is successful in its influence then an ideologically supported, and within peer production expanding, capitalism (such as through wage labour), could threaten attempts by the Californian likeness ideology to hide the differences between the modes of production. But also the communism of capital can experience internal divergences if the vitalising power of peer production (on capitalism) is undermined by the expansion of capitalism within the project. The critical part of the communism of capital admits instead the strength of capital, but attempts to regulate and control its forms in peer production.

The capitalism of communism partially hides the fact that the non-profit project depends on the value production of capitalism, mainly its wages or in other words its issued variable capital which often forms the basis for donations, while the relationship is taken for granted in the communism of capital. Peer production can only be financed in its current form as long as capitalism's variable capital is accessible for donations. The partial hiding of dependence in the capitalism of communism formation has certain connections with how the Californian likeness ideology hides its links with capitalism.

The issue of socialising or commonsification of capitalism is not expressly part of the capitalism of communism, and no form of exodus

from capitalism is mentioned. The capitalism of communism lacks therefore a manifest anti-capitalist ideology. However, the formation includes a self-reinforcing dynamic between ideas about Wikipedia as an oasis free from the commercialism and logic of capitalism, and the project's healthy economic foundation through its popularity and significant number of small donations. This dynamic enables cooperation between equals with transnational corporations. At the same time, a tension is added to the capitalism of communism when synergies between peer production and capitalism, under the former's superficial dominance (though at a deeper level indirectly dependent), meets an opportunity that Wikipedia, as a non-commercial oasis in a capitalist desert, acts as a nursery for anti-capitalist criticism with a degree of self-confidence.

Capitalism of communism also receives an unexpected contribution from the will to be a spokesperson for the current power structure through following the neutrality principle. Together with tolerance for corporate bias, if it is moderate, these ideas open up the ideological landscape to make Wikipedia, in its apolitical and norm-following politicalness, a more efficient competitor to capitalism than would be possible with a more openly anti-capitalist project on the content level of the encyclopaedia.

The result of the analysis from Chap. 6 is further developed in the following presentation of the macro level's ideological formations.

The Californian Likeness Ideology

In the chapter covering the differences between peer production and capitalist crowdsourcing and crowdfunding, Wikinomics was identified as the first position, without any forms of conflict. In the pecuniary relation, with its four ideological positions, the continual coexistence contributes to the likeness ideology. The "vitalising position" also contributes to the likeness ideology if the vitalisation does not include an excessively radical form. In the informational field there are in practice synergies between Wikipedia and company editing as long as obvious breaches of neutrality are avoided. The likeness ideology is expressed in the position "moderate whitewashing", which even in its more radical forms is said to have a limited value for the companies. In the

license area, the formation process that admits to a conflict between the project and the companies' incorrect use of its material (according to the copyleft license), without seeing it as important, shows openly that capitalism is not the problem, despite being something other than peer production and possibly not following the rules. The differences are admittedly recognised, but hidden so much that the position is primarily placed within the likeness ideology formation, although capital could be said to expand through Wikipedia. The radical openness in Wikipedia's peer production offers a dynamic character to the ideological formation processes within the organisational relationship to capitalism, and all of the three ideological formations are influenced to some extent. Several informants emphasise that the number of participants in peer production is important for Wikipedia's productive force, which in the area of the social relations of production is mirrored by the radical openness for participants, many of which receive some form of wage labour. The boundaries for Wikipedia's relationship to businesses are unclear and perforated at a participant level, even from a corporate perspective. This could help to hide the differences between the two modes of production and contribute to the likeness ideology, but may also not do this.

The four latter ideological positions (disorganised cooperation and isolation, freedom maximises individual participation in certain sectors, vitalising the social worker, and collective freedom, where the mutual monitoring by participants makes the social relations of production ordered) identified in the organisational dimension see at a manifest level Wikipedia as a complement to capitalism, despite sometimes expressing peer production's superiority. The complementary character is sometimes seen in ideas that peer production maximises productivity in specific but separate economic sectors. This is a form of divide, but it enables above all an ideological parallel existence between two modes of production, while avoiding conflicts between them. Neither of them need to be subordinate or superordinate, which means the difference disappears in a version of the Californian likeness ideology.

When it comes to the ideological positions about the explicit political relationship to capitalism, the idea of being a spokesperson for the current power structure (and change the capitalist society for the better)

contributes to the Californian likeness ideology. The idea that the dominant political vision in society should act as the norm even in peer production makes the difference almost invisible and likeness apolitically natural.

The Communism of Capital

The ideological formation communism of capital is relatively sprawling and contradictory in character. There are many different values and attitudes to the fact that capitalism is the stronger partner in relation to peer production.

In the comparison of peer production with capitalist crowdsourcing, the formation sees differences between the two modes of production, and emphasises that capitalism is the stronger party with its more centrally steered crowdsourcing and its economic muscles, which means Wikipedia runs the risk of commercialisation. The “vitalising position” within the monetary dimension also contributes to the communism of capital, when vitalisation is stressed in radical forms. The advocacy of the expansion of capitalism into new areas and niches makes a key contribution to the ideological formation. The formation fluctuates between being critical and positively accepting the relative strength of capitalism. The communism of capital as identified in this study is different from Virno’s unilaterally critical interpretation of post-Fordism as the communism of capital.

The communism of capital is not identified in the analysis of the general informational dimension at a macro level. Nor is it necessary in order to identify the macro level’s ideological formations. But I assert that the analysis of almost meta-character that was carried out in relation to labourwork at the micro level (the divergence between a political and economic liberalism) is also in line with an analysis of the information dimension at a macro level. The emphasis on the free dissemination of information (a form of communism), as a key instrument to make the capitalist world a better place, appears to me as an example of the communism of capital.

The sprawling formation is most apparent with regard to the copyleft license. An expansion of capital is to some extent accepted and advocated

when possible conflicts are admitted about license conditions without emphasising an application of the license in relation to companies, which thus contributes to the formation. The libertarian decentralisation and individualisation's ideological position about the license's application constitutes an even stronger expression for a positive relationship to capitalism, with its opposition to collective action and defence of private ownership, which clearly leans towards the communism of capital, even if the hegemony of capital in the form of copyright appears as partially threatened within the position. But even in the recommendation by the minority position of collective ownership against license violations, there exists an uncertainty about the strength of peer production in relation to capitalism. The relationship to the stronger capitalism is a problem and strategies must be developed to avoid the problem, in a similar way to the creation of a boundary against foundation employees in editing. The minority movement's position on the license issue therefore, at a latent level, points towards the communism of capital.

Wikipedia's radical openness in the chapter about the organisational dimension can be interpreted in different ways. Openness forms the basis for ideas that offer advantages to both capitalism and peer production of the commons, in addition to toning down the differences. In certain situations, such as when voluntary Wikipedians update a company article, a foundation is formed for the development of conceptions that are influenced by the communism of capital.

The four last ideological positions in the organisational dimension see, as stated earlier, Wikipedia on a manifest level as a complement to capitalism. The complementary character is sometimes expressed in ideas that peer production's horizontality vitalises capitalism with regard to the social worker, which in these cases contributes to the formation of the communism of capital.

In the explicit political relationship to capitalism, the notion that capital together with material and tangible reality always can block or limit expanding peer production contributes to the formation of the communism of capital by both admitting that the two modes of production are different and that capitalism is the dominant side.

The Capitalism of Communism

The third formation at a macro level is represented in relation to capitalist crowdsourcing by an opening at a latent level towards the capitalism of communism in the mentioned independence offered by the many small donations to the project. The differences between the two modes of production are seen as built on interests that could run contrary to each other, and could cause conflicts, if it was not for the independence offered by many small donations. In this formation, exchange value is transformed into use value in the relationship between companies and Wikipedia.

In terms of the monetary relationship, the contributing positions for the capitalism of communism are once again primarily at the latent level. There are however certain manifest elements. The good alternative (at one stage also the alternative society built by the world's largest popular movement) Wikipedia acts as a non-profit oasis and resting place from capitalism through its contrasting logic to capital accumulation. On a latent level there is here a critical edge against capitalism, and not parallel complementarity, which could develop into anti-capitalist criticism.

The capitalism of communism appears in the field of information in that neutrality is a problem for companies through its restrictions and requirements for objectivity and independence. This stance gives Wikipedia independence and strength. Reification and depoliticization (in the form of facts) is used against the companies which appear to be biased or have conflicts of interest. This also uncovers the political dimension within capitalism, even if the uncovering is so expected that it appears almost naturalised. On a more practical level, there are ideas that peer production can control company employees through training and a focus on history.

The minority movement's desire that the foundation collectively should be able to act in favour of individual editors on the issue of license application can in its offensive stance be seen as a way for peer production to expand within capitalism (the capitalism of communism), but it could also at a latent level be seen as an uncertainty about the strength of peer production in relation to capitalism which it wants to control. An

uncertainty and will to avoid problems in relation to capitalism points at a latent level towards the communism of capital (see above) but insofar that the ideas emphasise the ability to control capitalism's uses they lean towards the capitalism of communism.

Within the organisational dimension there is at a deeper and latent level an opening towards ideas about competing cooperations between capital and peer production, vis-à-vis a more pure capitalism, where Wikipedians constitute a new and collective, in addition to flexible and enterprising, social worker. This cooperation can be assumed to strengthen the capitalism of communism if the company's employees correctly edit in the encyclopaedia. Concepts about a collective freedom also strengthen the formation by acting as a manifest and collective control mechanism around practices in peer production.

There are in addition manifest signs, though few, in the assertions that people are not created for wage labour and that the commercial part of the economy will gradually become less widespread in relation to the "rising sun" of peer production, which also contributes to the formation.

Visualisation of the Macro Level's Ideological Formations

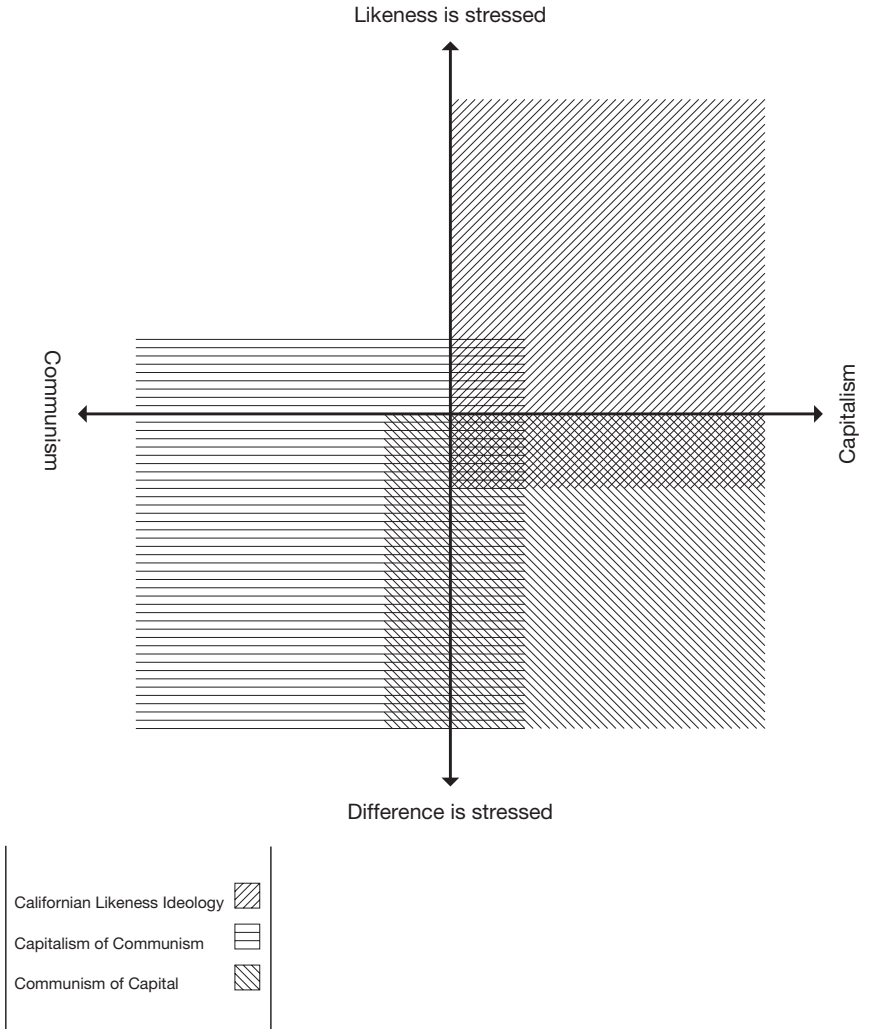
After identifying the three ideological formations at a macro level, I planned to visualise these in a model. No model is perfect and the model was mainly intended as a heuristic tool. It again had four fields but this time the horizontal relationship ran between peer production's latent communism and capitalism as two real and separate phenomena, even if the first exists only as a prototypical mode of production.⁵ The vertical relationship was intended to indicate how Wikipedians relate ideologically to this existing difference and ran from top to bottom from "likenesses emphasised" to "differences emphasised". The main dimension of my analysis focused on the attitudes of the formations to the relationship's character between peer production and capitalism. Another underlying dimension concerned the understanding of the balance of power

⁵The communist motto being: *From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.*

between the two parties. This proved to be more difficult than expected. In an initial placement of the Californian likeness ideology based on its own assumptions it covered the entire upper section, which resulted in a finding that it was a classically negative ideology (a false pretext), while the other two appeared as positive ideologies with the capitalism of communism in the lower left field and the communism of capital in the lower right field. But a gnawing doubt remained, even if I noted the insights into the ideological formations' negative and positive character.

The sprawling formation of the communism of capital, which has been identified in the material, also includes critical comments about the power of capitalism. This critical stance is not only present in the lower right corner but should also move across the boundary to the lower left field, which was originally understood to be a core area for the capitalism of communism. Though, this is not a problem if the boundaries are fluid. In addition, the Californian ideology expresses at a manifest level that there are only synergies and likenesses, which is in accordance with the initial placement, but the formation also means in practice and at a latent level a support for capitalism and its interests. A theoretical problem is activated here. Is it the ideology's manifest assertion that constitutes the formation or my interpretation of its latent character? The ideology analysis in its critical versions moves at a social level that is interpreted and influenced by the analyst and has in this study consistently assumed that peer production and capitalism are separate phenomena. This assumption forms the basis for the decision to instead place the Californian likeness ideology in the upper right field. However, it did not feel reasonable that the formation would be synonymous with the entire right side of the four fields. The vertical variable means differences are gradually emphasised more on the lower half of the model, and the manifest part of the ideology is not unimportant (even if the latent part appears as particularly important with regard to negative forms of ideology). However, several times when analysing the empirical material, ideological positions in the Californian likeness ideology have been identified where differences are toned down and hidden but still expressed in some form. This justifies a slight expansion of the Californian likeness ideology into the lower right field, though not all the way.

In the new proposed placement of the Californian likeness ideology, the upper left field is left empty. Allowing analytically that the capitalism of communism expands upwards in the left section of the model, as the formation sometimes stresses synergies to an extent that nears the



Model 7.3 Visualisation of the macro level's ideological formations

formation to the Californian likeness ideology, is a reasonable idea even if it is difficult to know exactly where the upper limit should be drawn. How much likeness should be emphasised in the formation before it slides into the Californian likeness ideology's manifest language which at a latent level supports capitalism? And thereby placing itself on the right side of the four fields.

The result of these thought processes led to the design of a preliminary model that will be used to provide a visual overview of the study's result (Model 7.3). This offers a better way to compare the micro and macro level's ideological formations. It was, however, difficult to unite this model with the micro-level model by placing the one as a grid above the other. This eventually took the shape of a proposal that will be presented in the comparative analysis (Model 7.4).

Comparison of the Ideological Formations at the Micro and Macro Level

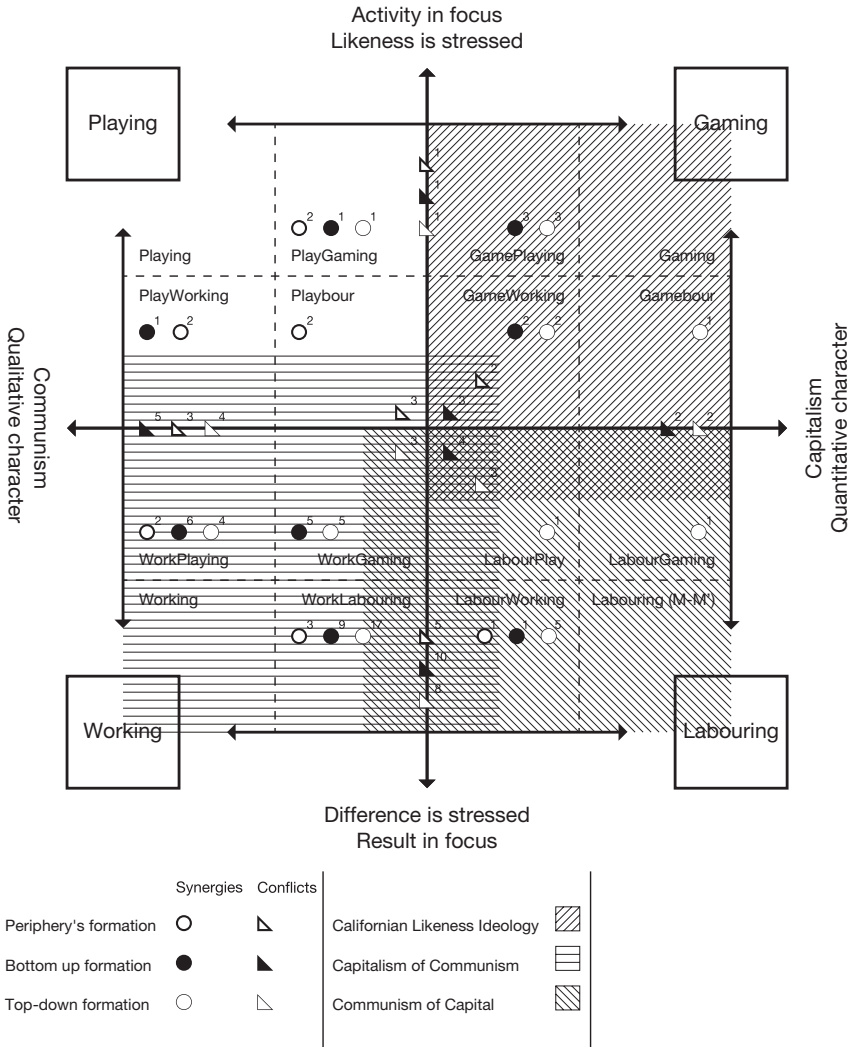
The comparison between the micro and macro levels' ideological formations is based in part on how the micro level's formations are similar and different from each other, and in part on how these differences appear between the macro level's formations. For the sake of clarity and as an aid in remembering, the following is a table of the formations (Table 7.1).

As a starting point for discussions about the character, dynamics and relationship between the various ideological formations, I begin by merging the two models that visualise the formations at the micro and macro level. The aim is that the merger will provide ideas for the analysis (Model 7.4).

The different variables that structure the two models that are merged grate slightly against one another. Sometimes, the two models may need

Table 7.1 The identified ideological formations

Micro level:	Periphery's formation	Bottom-up formation	Top-down formation
Macro level:	Californian likeness ideology	The communism of capital	The capitalism of communism



Model 7.4 Visual comparison of the micro and macro level's ideological formations

to be seen as separate, even though they have been merged for a comparative analysis. But overall the merger works. Allow me to explain.

The variables of likeness and difference, communism and capitalism concern the macro level, while qualitative, quantitative, activity in focus

and result in focus concern the micro level. But can one say that *activity in focus* and *likeness emphasised* can structure the upper part of the vertical axis, while *result in focus* and *differences emphasised* structure the lower section? Do playing and gaming see only similarities between communism and capitalism and do working and labouring see only differences? Possibly, as the focus for playing and gaming on their own activities means they are not interested in anything else but themselves, which makes the outlines of other activities and connections to socio-economics unclear. In a similar way, the focus of working and labouring on the result of actions means the difference between actions becomes clear and apparent (even if capital does what it can to hide this), which facilitates an understanding of these micro-level activities that stresses the differences between peer production and capitalism at a socio-economic macro level.

The horizontal axis with the characteristics of communism and qualitative at the one end, and capitalism and quantitative at the other, is from a Marxist perspective less problematic.

The Californian likeness ideology is placed in the upper right corner because it, at a manifest level, emphasises similarities between communism and capitalism but stands firmly fixed within and for capitalism at a latent level. The likeness ideology can be linked to the competitive gaming field at a micro level but also to synergies in labourgaming and labourplay (in relation to labouring) as long as the difference is not overemphasised.

The capitalism of communism and the communism of capital both recognise the differences between communism and capitalism and touch traditionally on the micro-level ideas of working and labouring. On the other hand, the ideological positions of playing and gaming from the micro level are only partially related to their formations on a macro level as they stress similarities in their focus on their own activities, rather than the differences.

The model has many inadequacies. Its complexity makes it difficult to obtain an overview and it must be used with caution. The model should therefore be used only as a heuristic tool together with Appendix 1 (through which the relationship between individual ideological positions can be compared to the ideological formations at the micro level) in order to gain a new perspective on the ideological formations and offer a first starting point for the comparative analysis.

A fairly reliable view of the model starts with divergent or irregular patterns at the micro level. The lack of an ideological formation within an ideological position at a micro level, or a single appearance in another, tells us something about the formations' distribution at a micro level. One observation is that the top-down formation is the only one formation represented by positive conceptions in the ideological positions of labourgaming, gamelabour and labourplay at the micro level's right side. The top-down and bottom-up formation are the only ones present in gameplaying and gameworking, and in seeing conflicts between gaming and labouring. All three formations at a micro level also state conflicts between the left and right side (the vertical axis) but not between the upper and lower side of the model (horizontal axis) where the periphery's formation is missing between gaming and labouring.

The periphery's formation is, however, alone as formation at a micro level that emphasises the synergies in playbour. It is not concerned about workgaming, however, unlike the bottom-up and top-down formation. In playwork it is instead the periphery's formation and bottom-up formation that are present but not the top-down formation.

How can these patterns in the model at the micro level be understood if they are compared with macro-level formations? As I understand it, the examples given indicate that in particular the top-down formation has an active connection with the Californian likeness ideology and the synergetic part of the communism of capital, with its embrace of labourplay, labourgaming and gamelabour. At the same time, the top-down and bottom-up formation have conceptions about conflicts at the micro level between gaming and labouring that can be linked to the macro level through wage labour, which the periphery's formation lacks. The latter means the periphery's formation is not active in relation to several ideological positions embraced by the communism of capital and the Californian likeness ideology, but it is also not as aware of the conflicts between gaming and labouring. The bottom-up and top-down formations' conceptions strive against an integration into the Californian likeness ideology by highlighting conflicting differences between gaming and labouring. This highlighting of conflicts gives at the micro level an expression of independence, and a critical view of the communism of capital, with a focus on the needs of Wikipedia.

The periphery's single appearance in playbour is in line with the manifest expressions of the Californian likeness ideology, but play is the dominant party in the relationship which could suggest a closeness to the capitalism of communism, where instead voluntary (pleasurable) work dominates over labour. The bottom-up and periphery's formations' embrace of playwork maintains a slight distance from all formations at a macro level, but lie closest to the capitalism of communism.

However, the most important of the divergent or irregular characteristics at a micro level is the presence of all of the ideological formations in the area between working and labouring. All of the micro level's ideological formations have internally most conceptions concerning worklabour in terms of synergies and embrace internally most conflicts between working and labouring. This could indicate that the ideological formations on a micro level support the capitalism of communism to a greater degree than the other ideological formations on the macro level.

This interpretation is however contradicted by the fact that the ideological formations at a micro level, to varying degrees, rest on the bourgeois formal democracy's political foundations (which *do not* include socio-economics). Formal rights such as freedom of speech and an emphasis on the rational conversation are more important than substantial rights in social matters. This means in practice that all other politics, with the exception of capitalism, are made invisible. This ideological position is so common in the study that it should be seen as an overarching ideological formation that offers implicit support to capitalism, which is also in line with ideas in worklabour that while Wikipedia is admittedly something different, with its surplus of voluntary productive efforts, than capitalism, the project still is not a threat to the latter.

On the other hand, this overarching supportive ideology for capitalism is counteracted by underlying ideological forces based on the needs of working and peer production. In the analysis of synergies between working and labouring, a formation process was discovered in worklabour that in various ways was seen to protect Wikipedia and peer production in contact with capitalist actors and logics. The formation process appeared as very strong and was based on the fact that rights and status were distributed differently between Wikipedians *inside* the project (continuously and voluntarily active in editing, or employees in meta-activities)

and Wikipedians *outside* the project (such as careers outside the project as a Wikipedian, but also as external employees in Wikipedia's editing). The focus for this formation dynamic was not the influence between the two modes of production, rather the *immunity* to capitalist influence in the case of Wikipedia. This dynamic provided a fairly strong latent support to the capitalism of communism at a macro level. For example, it placed a frame around the top-down formation's embrace of labourwork's positions. The idea that institutions and businesses are becoming more interested in Wikipedia, that grants enable more career choices and an incentive to participate, that it is a privilege to labour for a wage with one's hobby, and that it would be an honour to have company employees taking part in Wikipedia competitions during working hours, are all more favourably disposed towards wage labour than the positions classified as worklabour, but at an overall level these are dominated and subordinate to the positions for working and worklabour. This is an example of a logic suggesting the capitalism of communism.

Having stated this, the analysis moves from the model to a more traditional text-based analysis that can hopefully offer greater clarity by analysing the individual ideological formations' relationship to each other within and between the micro and macro levels.

The micro level's bottom-up formation is more critically inclined towards capitalism than the top-down formation. Employees and their professionalism could be a bad thing for peer production as feelings of injustice are introduced, that it gets more difficult for tasks to be completed by volunteers, or that the motivation and playfulness of the beginner is threatened by the serious climate. The top-down formation sees more synergy effects and fewer threats; that anyone wants to invest their variable capital in Wikipedia is seen as both an honour and a sign of the project's normality. Interesting things happen if the potential conflict between these two formations at a micro level is compared with the formations at a macro level. The critical and problematising attitude to capitalism in the bottom-up formation is manifest in other ways here, with the formation that opens up to something other than capitalism, that is, the capitalism of communism. The capitalism of communism does not mainly comprise criticism of capitalism, but is constituted more from a perceived strong position of communism in relation to the former. When a latent criti-

cism of capitalism becomes apparent in the formation, it is in the view of Wikipedia as an oasis and rest place which is diametrically different from the dominant political economy. The competing dynamic in relation to capitalism in the capitalism of communism, understood as an ideological formation, swings between an emphasis on Wikipedia's relative strength, freedom and power to withdraw from capitalism. The main difference between the macro and micro level formations is between a negative criticism in the micro level's bottom-up formation and a positive and competing alternative view in the capitalism of communism at a macro level. The bottom-up formation's critical stance arises from a fear of the strength of capitalism, which indirectly links the formation to the communism of capital, in a similar way as Virno's critical version of the same.

In terms of capitalism's impact on the commons, the micro level's top-down formation is similar to the capitalism of communism at the macro level with its confidence and positive attitude to the use of wage labour and other collaborations with capitalism. The top-down formation even sees less of a difference between peer production and capitalism than is the case for the capitalism of communism, which means in one sense it is closer to the Californian likeness ideology (which in the case of Wikipedians assumes peer production's rather than capitalism's point of view on the likeness). One such occasion is the "magic realism" that I identified in the stance that wage labour offers the status of normality to the project rather than the opposite. The differences between the modes of production remain slightly visible but are significantly toned down. The same shift towards the Californian likeness ideology is not seen in the bottom-up formation.

In terms of peer production's influence on capitalism, the Californian likeness ideology and the synergetic part of the communism of capital share a common "vitalisation position" where the voluntary outside of capitalism enriches the latter. In the case of the Californian likeness ideology, it is an unproblematic stance, while a strong capitalism could be problematic for the communism of capital (as an expanding capitalism is potentially problematic for peer production, the communism in the communism of capital formation). The capitalism of communism includes, however, reflections on a shrinking capitalism in relation to peer production. And in the field of information, all the identified

formations stress that the vitalising influence creates a better version of the existing order.

The periphery's criticism is not opinionated and particularly manifest against capitalism but criticises Wikipedia for being too serious. Though, this criticism of seriousness is linked, at a latent level, to the seriousness also seen in capitalism, with its profit demands, competition and social differences. Consequently, this formation expresses the strongest criticism of foundation employees in editing. This criticism originates in a practice that at least from a simple comparison is fundamentally different from the practices of capitalism. And sometimes there is not only a difference but also a conflict, which results in a desire to avoid too many rules and foundation employees in editing. The view of Wikipedia as a free oasis and resting place from capitalism, which is particularly notable in discussions about the possible introduction of advertisements and foundation employees in editing, clashes with the practices of capitalism, which shows the differences between the periphery's formation and the Californian likeness ideology, but strengthens its relationship to the critical part of the communism of capital. Capitalism appears here as more of a threat to peer production than the latter is for capital (at least outside the encyclopaedia sector). The periphery's formation contains in these cases both an attempt to defend against the threat from capitalism, and also a recognition of it as the stronger side. But as has already been said, the idea of Wikipedia as a non-commercial oasis in the periphery's formation also contributes to the capitalism of communism.

However, the periphery's formation is not always in conflict with business interests. The strong position of playing in the formation results in a preoccupation with its own activity, play is immersing, which in some cases leads to the experience of fewer or no problems with wage labour, particularly if peer production's use value production does not compete with a company's production of exchange value. Nor does the periphery's formation see problems with capitalist use of Wikipedia when this takes place outside the project. The formation pulls here both towards the Californian likeness ideology and the synergetic part of the communism of capital.

To conclude, the critical side of the communism of capital appears to a large extent to be acknowledged and is offered strong support from

the perspective of the periphery and bottom-up formations, though in different ways and to varying degrees. The recognition counteracts the expansion of the Californian likeness ideology and leads in both cases to active ideas about how inequalities should be best handled. This is a basis for political discussion within the project. The top-down formation contributes at a manifest level to the Californian likeness ideology at the same time as it actively drives the development of cooperation projects with companies, which should benefit Wikipedia. This dynamic provides an opening towards the capitalism of communism at a latent level based on the idea of the financial strength of peer production offered by many small donations. This non-profit force is not questioned by any formation at the micro level.

The drive to enlist more professionals, with a background as employees in the fields they will edit in, is connected to the top-down formation at a micro level and to the Californian likeness ideology as well as the capitalism of communism at a macro level (rather than the communism of capital in its critical and synergetic versions). Within the Californian likeness ideology conflicts are toned down in relation to labour, in the capitalism of communism there is a latent faith in a commonsification of capital, while the separation of communism and capitalism is kept alive in another way by the criticisms in the other formations of wage labour in editing.

The strategy to utilise the happy amateurs who join the project, or alternatively to attempt to enlist these rather than subject experts, is linked to the bottom-up formation at a micro level and also to the critical part of the communism of capital at a macro level. Happy amateurs are needed so that some of these can develop into voluntary and un-waged core members and in this way strengthen the project's autonomy at the macro level. The critical part of the communism of capital stresses the strength of capitalism in relation to peer production and also attempts to protect itself against the dependence on capitalism.

The main difference between the bottom-up formation and the Californian likeness ideology is that the former recognises that capitalism is a separate mode of production that can conflict with peer production, while the latter attempts to tone down this relationship and the risk. A likeness is, however, that both are more positive to the periphery's

formation than is the case for the top-down formation, but this is for different reasons. The bottom-up formation and the critical part of the communism of capital stand up for the playful periphery to some extent against the professional gravity. While the Californian likeness ideology originates in an environment that wants to use playwork for productive and value-creating purposes, even if the formation is different among Wikipedians. This subtle difference, insofar as the origin of the formations is important, separates the Californian likeness ideology from the periphery's formation that it manifestly cherishes (which is stressed in its placement in the upper right corner of Model 7.3). The activity is more important as such for the periphery's formation and it focuses on voluntary creation, even if the formation is superficially similar to the Californian likeness ideology in its carefree attitude to play and labour. The Californian likeness ideology in its original form was more interested in creativity and new business solutions. However, a separate study is needed into the extent to which the identified Californian likeness ideology in the attitudes of Wikipedians is similar to the ideology propagated by *Wired* and criticised by Barbrook.

The communism of capital and the capitalism of communism have different views on control of the copyleft license. Conceptions that emphasise the author as owner at the same time as recognising the strength of capitalism, contribute to the synergetic side of the communism of capital. However, the minority movement that wants the collective of Wikipedians via the foundation to control how the license is respected in the use of Wikipedia's content is pulling towards a critical version of the capitalism of communism that has faith in regulating capitalism based on the needs of Wikipedia, but also to the critical part of the communism of capital, which is rather attempting to protect itself and withdraw from capitalism. For once, the capitalism of communism is nearing the bottom-up formation's problematising attitude towards capitalist enclosures. The macro level's formation with its optimism is not only balanced by the periphery and bottom-up formation's more critical stance towards capitalism, but there are also some internal boundaries within the capitalism of communism. The attitude is however generally more positive and assertive in the capitalism of communism than in the bottom-up formation.

Summary and Conclusions

In the current study, I have identified which ideological formations are present in the ideas held by participants in the Swedish-language version of Wikipedia about their activities and the project's relationship to capitalism. I have described these ideas at two different levels, micro and macro, how they are similar and differ from each other, and how they relate to each other. I have also selectively pointed out how the study results generally confirm the analysis of our time in modern Marxist theory but have also indicated some deviations.

In order to identify the ideological formations concerning the activities of Wikipedians at a micro level, I have developed my own theoretical field model that rests on a typology based on four key concepts: playing, working, gaming and labouring. In addition to acting as analytical and structuring means for the study, these models could also be relevant for a number of academic fields studying the motivation to participate in the “creative industries”, outsourcing of tasks to civilian society from state authorities, various types of leisure activities, non-profit work, voluntary activities, unpaid trainee jobs and so on; all research covering areas where unpaid but potentially playfully productive actions are present alongside competition and capitalist logics.⁶

The study of the micro level was structured at an overall level by the model, but at a more concrete level the dialectical relationships—between the four concepts—were studied individually. The theoretical differences between the field model's wider view and this more limited and detached study was mentioned and discussed in the theory chapter. The decision to carry out the study in this way was taken partly for practical reasons, but I have in the concluding chapter attempted to open up the binary relations to other relations in the extended field model by describing likenesses, differences, and internal processes between several categories at a micro level. On the other hand, the dialectical treatment of the binary relationships structures and focuses the analysis of the empirical phenomena so that the main conceptions can also be placed in the field model. This

⁶Marco Briziarelli uses the model in the article “Invisible Play and Invisible Game: Video Game Testers or the Unsung Heroes of Knowledge Working” (2016), in the academic journal *Triple C*.

combination of dialectics with the field model forms a methodological result of the study that could be used in additional areas of social research.

The analysis of the micro level resulted in the identification of three ideological formations: the periphery's formation, the bottom-up, and the top-down formation. The distribution of these formations could also be placed in the matrix developed from the field model that established the framework for the analysis of the ideological positions that form the basis of the formations. Each ideological position can be embraced by one or more ideological formations, but does not necessarily need to be included in any. The distribution of the ideological formations can be described by the matrix by looking at which ideological positions (with specific placements in the matrix) are embraced by the formations. This visualisation is a concrete result of the study that can then be used as a reference point in relation to the normal text analysis of the identified ideological formations at the micro level.

The analysis of the conceptions about the project's relationship to capitalism, the meaning of the terms "complement" and "alternative" have been explained, and they have, often at a latent level, been used as structuring concepts. As the study progressed, and in contact with the empirical material, five different dimensions became apparent at the macro level. The analysis of these dimensions resulted in the identification of three different ideological formations: the Californian likeness ideology, the communism of capital and the capitalism of communism. These ideological formations have also been visualised in their own model along the horizontal axis between *communism* and *capitalism*, and the vertical axis between *likeness emphasised* and *differences emphasised*.

In the comparison between the micro and macro levels of the ideological formations, a visualisation was completed where it was argued that a focus on the activities as such is similar to a perspective where similarities between peer production and capitalism are indirectly highlighted through a lack of interest in differences, while a focus on the result of the activity means differences are emphasised. The visualisations of the micro and macro levels were then merged in a joint model. This visualisation of the distribution and the graphic relationship between the formations was then complemented with a text-based analysis that went into more detail, and was more evaluating.

It is now time to attempt to further summarise the study and the comparative analysis, and to point out the main relationships and processes identified between the formations. It is also time to return to the research questions.

Back to the Research Questions

The question of which ideological formations that characterise the views of Wikipedians towards their activities and Wikipedia's relationship to capitalism has already been answered with the identification of the six formations. The question of how these formations are similar or dissimilar has also been raised. As has the question of how the formations at different levels relate to one another, though this aspect needs to be summarised. But let me begin by discussing and relating the ideology analysis' results to the Marxist understanding of contemporary social dynamics.

The Marxist Contemporary Analysis Compared with the Ideology Analysis' Results

The three ideological formations at the macro level confirm on the whole contemporary Marxist theoretical analyses but also point out some minor differences. The communism of capital identified in this study fluctuates between a positive and critical evaluation of the capitalism identified as the strong side in the relationship with peer production. This makes the ideological formation different from Virno's unilaterally critical interpretation of post-Fordism as the communism of capital. This opens for criticism of Virno's ontological view of communism of capital as the worst form of personalised and *internalised* exploitation. The identified ideology is however just an ideology. Without going into details about the difference between scientific theory and ideology, there is some evidence that the synergetic part of the communism of capital acts as a negative ideology. Additional critical research is needed on why and how people today embrace capitalism as the obvious strong force in society, and how this influences them at an emotional level.

The Californian likeness ideology identified in the ideas of Wikipedians is not identical with the Californian ideology propagated by *Wired* and criticised by Barbrook. The latter has clearer elements of a focus on new business solutions, while this is not a priority for Wikipedians, even if they believe these could help to avoid conflicts between the two modes of production. The Californian likeness ideology identified here looks mainly to the interests of peer production.

The foundation for the capitalism of communism identified here is based partly on hiding the fact that the voluntary, non-profit project, indirectly, is dependent on capitalism, the distribution of variable capital, and the many small donations from society's wages share, together with a few larger donations from some large foundations (see also Lund & Venäläinen 2016). Capitalism of communism, as it appears in the study, differs in its naive and positive attitude from Kleiner's critique of the copyleft license and peer production's lack of independence and also from Bauwens attempt to address this question with the PPL licence.

Summary of How the Formations from Different Levels Relate to Each Other

In the final comparison, I show how the ideological formations on the two levels are related at a manifest and latent level to each other. The bottom-up formation's relatively critical distance to capitalism differs from the capitalism of communism's mostly latent confidence, and partial embrace of capitalism, which lies closer to the top-down formation at a micro level. The critical part of the communism of capital creates, together with criticism of capitalism in the bottom-up and periphery's formations, room for a more cautious and sustainable development towards the capitalism of communism. The periphery's proximity to the communism of capital's critical side, together with the bottom-up formation's critical attitude to foundation employees in editing, also counteracts together a deeper integration of the top-down formation with the Californian likeness ideology and the latter's combined synergetic influence on the capitalism of communism. The bottom-up formation's and periphery's ideas about how to deal with problems relating to capitalism

can also lead to political discussions about the control of the project, its character and direction. This scenario appears particularly important in order to avoid the co-optation of the capitalism of communism by capitalism (in the guise of the Californian likeness ideology). The Californian likeness ideology's potentially greater co-optation of Wikipedia through a reduction in criticism of capitalism could reduce the visibility and problematising of the power structure within the capitalism of communism even more. With time, this could also facilitate the transformation of the formation and lead to an integration of it within a then naturalised communism of capital.

One important tension is growing within the actual capitalism of communism, insofar as Wikipedia is understood as an oasis and resting place from capitalism. These types of ideas easily drift in an anti-capitalist and critical direction. One such development could lead to a conflict between the capitalism of communism, and the top-down formation as well as the synergetic side of the communism of capital that hold a positive attitude towards an expansion of capitalism.

But, the optimistic and proactive alliance building in the top-down formation and the capitalism of communism appears at the same time as the most dynamic power for development in the project.

The combination of criticism against capitalism and a will for alliances with "the other" appears as the core of the project's emancipatory potential, even if it is a delicate balance that threatens to turn into its opposite. It is difficult in precise forms to point out the influence that the different ideological formations will have on the development of Wikipedia and on peer production (not to mention capitalism). Different time periods can be established and the phenomenon can be seen in the short and long term. The ideological formations can contribute to many different development lines and thus change character. The Californian likeness ideology strengthens the status quo by making capitalism invisible but is revealed as a false pretext if conflicts and differences appear between peer production and capitalism. The top-down formation's alliances with capital can develop the project in a dynamic new direction but could also be damaging for the project. The balancing act for the capitalism of communism could fail, particularly if it meets weak criticism from the periphery's formation and bottom-up formation.

But some conclusions can still be drawn from the ideology analysis.

Conclusions

It may be difficult to point out the future impact of the ideological formations on Wikipedia and peer production, but one thing is clear, and that is that Caffentzis's division between non-profit and neo-liberal commons appears as too black and white in the light of this study.

The overall aim referred to in the introduction was to carry out a critical evaluation of Wikipedians' ideological views on their own activities and peer production's role and possible development in capitalist society, and with this contribute to an understanding of how different conceptions about micro-level activities and a macro-level relationship to capitalism coexist, interact and clash with each other. This, in order to illuminate how the economic, political and social values within commons-based peer production look like, and potentially affect its relation to capitalism.

During analysis work, it was shown that the spirit of the time and ideals about neutrality and objectivity from a bygone phase of capitalism, which appears as conservatism today, is among the most problematic for capital. This observation can be partly linked to the view of Williams and Jameson of lingering cultural phenomena and modes of production in new dominant forms of these. This does not concern a lingering old mode of production but rather a fading tone of capitalism. Nevertheless, these types of conservative and lingering phenomena are usually seen as problematic from a revolutionary or forward-looking perspective, as they are a relic of a past that is embraced by latecomers in contemporary society. But the new that is shown in the study is that conservative elements can stimulate and protect new, emerging modes of production and dynamics, also by helping the new projects pass under the radar of the dominant ideology, at the same time as the new is given some of the force that remains from the earlier dominant ideology. Demands for neutrality and objectivity are difficult to protect against for a capital that has moved on towards commodifying the subject within biopolitics. There appears to be a dynamic between the lingering old within capitalism, and the new emerging outside of capitalism (that is both an outside and related to capitalism).

Another insight during the study was that the original hypothesis about peer production's independence, where commercialism's practices were kept in the periphery of the project, while the core (editing in the case of Wikipedia) was kept free, can be both developed and criticised. For example, as many as 40 per cent of participants in the development of free and open software receive a wage (Bauwens 2009, pp. 123–24; Dafermos and Söderberg 2009, pp. 60, 63–64). The study shows that Wikipedians at the core of the project are those who are most likely to receive a wage as a Wikipedian, though the role of labour is ambiguous if the theory of the capitalism of communism is accepted. Suddenly, labour can in some circumstances be emancipatory on a more abstract, systemic level. The study confirms at the same time the hypothesis in several respects. The commercial practices permitted within Wikipedia appear to become stronger the further you move from editing. Profit-driven companies are allowed to make their own commercial adaptations, but the foundation's local associations are only accepted to employ wage labour in order to complete meta-activities in several of the ideological formations. However, commercialism in the ideological positions within labourwork—emphasis on an increased interest for Wikipedia among companies, that it is a privilege to labour with one's hobby, and that it is an honour if a company wants to spend its employees' working hours on the project—is also subordinate at an overarching level to an emphasis on worklabour which appears as the foundation that enables various flirts with capital. Seen in this way, worklabour offers an important contribution to the capitalism of communism.

The ideas of the capitalism of communism as a political alternative operate however on very latent levels, sometimes unconscious levels, while on the manifest surface the Californian likeness ideology and the communism of capital have the political power. Despite this, the potential with the capitalism of communism is fixed in the actual peer production's mode of production, with new social relations of production where a non-profit foundation is financed by voluntary, popular donations, and participants have a much greater say in the immediate production process than within capitalism.

Though, it should be pointed out that there is a slightly anti-communist attitude in Wikipedia on the manifest ideological surface. In order for

some form of realism to attach to the sustainable variety of the capitalism of communism, the development of peer production probably needs to spread to new areas and projects, resulting in more friction in relationship to capitalism. The dependence of capital on organised activities in commons that produce use value that is distributed largely for free, though with certain explicit conditions, is something different and more threatening than capital's dependence on, and exploitation of unpaid activities on commercial and partly closed digital platforms. At least as long as the users of the commercial services do not protest and organise themselves, against the exploitation at the data level, and the lack of influence over the site's functions and administration at a content level. Like Robert W. Gehl, I assert that the choice of open software made by Wikipedia contributes to the independent political force. Gehl points out that the branching of the Spanish Wikipedia can be seen as a worker strike on favourable technological grounds which in turn influenced Wikipedia in a more non-commercial and non-controlling direction (Gehl 2014, pp. 119–20).

The development tendencies and the ideological landscape shown in the study's analysis are multifaceted. In order for the capitalism of communism to begin to threaten the synergetic part of the communism of capital and the Californian likeness ideology's dominance, it needs support from the critical part of the communism of capital (and from the periphery's and bottom-up formations on the micro level), which also needs to develop a depth and breadth to its criticism. Discussions about the conditions for peer production's licenses should be based on the commons' interest in spreading to new areas and become stronger. One alternative to keep a check on the copyleft license, which offers perhaps the most radical solution, if it is aggressively and collectively formed, could be to begin using the P2P foundation's PPL license. Initiatives to discuss the copyright licenses and their compliance could strengthen awareness and develop new perspectives towards the social and political role of the commons in societal economy. But at the same time the study's analysis shows that the criticism should not be too strong. The fight for the commons and peer production should in the current situation be part of tactical and strategic alliances that strengthen them in the short and long term. More critical research should take place

about which guidelines that can guide the commons' productive participants in their commonly beneficial, and increasingly socially necessary, mission.

The position of play in Wikipedia and its influence on the project's relationship to capitalism has appeared as ambivalent in this study. Play in itself does not appear as revolutionary or threatening in relationship to capitalism, while working is to a greater extent. This insight should provide information about the use of, say, Johan Söderberg's concept *play struggle*. It is first in combinations such as *workplay* and *playwork* that playing contributes to the development of attractive forms of production that compete with capitalism. Some capitalist companies also want more play and social interaction within the commons-based production to interact with, while they have problems with the serious and competitive gravity in working.

The non-instrumentality of pure playing appears in some situations to be more compatible with the parallel instrumentality of capitalism when they meet within fan production and peer production's editing, than when they meet within the framework of official wage labour, where a wage constitutes compensation for hard, perhaps monotonous, and from an alien power appointed work, that Wikipedians moreover are not keen to write about. Pure playing within Wikipedia is represented by the periphery's formation. Given that pure playing strengthens its positions within peer production, the communism of capital in Virno's sense is also strengthened (even if this mostly results in rent incomes for commercial businesses that may want to integrate with the project). On the other hand, both the bottom-up and top-down formations agree that Wikipedia does not need more periphery and purely playful participants. And mixed with more working, playing supports on the contrary the capitalism of communism.

How the strange bird playbour should be understood is basically a political question that touches on how playing, working and labouring are understood, evaluated and combined with each other. The first two categories of activity build, according to the study's theoretical perspective, together constructive playing or playful working that includes other potentials than capitalism. And there are some signs that it is the actual combination between playing and working that is political dynamite in relation to labouring and capitalism, rather than pure playing.

The Further Relevance of the Study's Findings

These conclusions and the study's findings can be used for various political aims. They could be used to strengthen capitalism's co-optation of the peer production, or to strengthen the commons, and the embryonic communism's commonsification of capitalism—or different combinations of the two. One hope is that the study finds new ways to highlight the issue of Wikipedia's political context within the project and its community. The study can also be used to develop or inhibit the identified processes, but hopefully the study can act as a starting point for a both nuanced and critical discussion about Wikipedia's alliances with institutional stakeholders and companies, but also regarding the foundation's increasing number of employees and the professionalisation process within the actual project. Hopefully, the study can counteract the continued unproblematic view of Wikipedia as a liberal complement to capitalism, while the progressive advantages with the use of employees and the setting up of alliances with external stakeholders continue to develop. A cautious politicisation process of Wikipedia, which balances between an emphasis on the differences in relation to capitalism at the same time as not countering its aims and having a negative impact on the success and competitiveness of Wikipedia towards capitalist institutions, is needed. In the short term, opportunities to reproduce oneself as an active Wikipedian within capitalism is important for the project (Lund and Venäläinen 2016), but these must be such as to strengthen the project more than capitalism.

The study has also partially confirmed contemporary Marxist theories on social conditions. These theories have been highly important for the analysis of cognitive capitalism's dynamics and conditions, as well as its outsides, and should be used as a theoretical foundation for additional critical studies. The study offers its own contribution to this future research by pointing out certain differences between the ideological formations identified within peer production and the Marxist theories.

In other ways, the study contributes to a revision and further development of critical theory. As I have shown, there are many different relationships between peer production and capitalism, and all of these are worthy of further study. The most interesting relationship between Wikipedia

and capitalism is that the former can actually compete in the production of use value with capitalist actors. This competitive relationship means alliances with capitalist actors, and the use of certain capitalist logics, are very important. A very difficult question concerns how one should successfully avoid the reproduction of neo-liberal ideas in these processes. This opens up a new field for critical theory. Gehl points out that the studies of “free labor” tend to focus on how structures, enactments, working, playing, production of the self and socialising, cooperate in ways that are said to be revolutionary, but that they are only this if they break this loop that always reconnects the activities to the new media capitalism. “In the end, it may be the promise of liberation (i.e., a promise of a gift-based economy) holding the system together and endlessly deferring alternatives to networked capitalism” (Gehl 2014, p. 119).

At the same time, the critical theory must change if it is true that peer production in practice today is more subversive than traditional critical theory (on the level of ideas), which within the discourses of “free labour” can easily be made to contribute to information flows that are completely co-opted by capital and integrated into its value creation.⁷ One task could be to monitor peer production’s alliances with capital as all cooperation is not positive for projects such as Wikipedia. Some cooperation strengthens peer production, while others threaten to overturn it. How should the project implement its copyleft license and control companies’ compliance with it? Should it change the license? How does Google’s presentation of key parts of Wikipedia’s articles in their search engine hits influence the project? What impact does the increased use of labour have on the project? The increased use of donations? Collaborations with archives, libraries and museums? Authorities, companies and PR agencies? All of these questions must be critically studied and conveyed to the Wikipedian community.

And if the critical theorist hopes to be listened to, then some degree of personal involvement is needed in the various projects.

If critical theorists and other radical actors fail to achieve this, then there is a greater chance that Virno’s communism of capital will continue

⁷ Zygmunt Bauman stresses that contemporary capitalism has given a new meaning to critique and co-opted it. The critique thus more strengthens than weakens capitalism (Bauman 2000, p. 23).

to characterise contemporary society under an ideological haze dominated by Californian ideology.

The earlier discussion about outsides to capital and the increased importance of rent in modern capitalism results in an increase in impoverishment and exploitation in other parts of the global capitalist system. Still primarily in the “south”, but more and more in an increasingly precarious labour market everywhere. Wikipedia contributes as an economic outside to capitalism in these processes, at the same time as it offers a number of emancipatory opportunities. One key role for critical theory and the critical political economy is to theoretically attempt to find common denominators (and develop contacts) between peer production and social movements in both the “south” and the “north”.

The study’s ideological analysis has shown that the complementary view of Wikipedia in relation to capitalism is what dominates on the ideology’s manifest surface, but that there are openings towards the capitalism of communism, mainly at a latent level. That evaluation and financing of Wikipedia is not through the exchange of exchange value on a market, but through voluntary gifts to a non-profit and self-appointed neutral project (without any abstract and quantitative relationship between use value and the monetary gift) may play a greater role than suggested by various ideological guises.⁸

The realm of freedom may primarily be liberally tinted in the manifest conceptual world of the Wikipedians, but small seeds are sprouting in the ideological concoction that strives towards another realm of freedom: the realm of freedom that communism was for Karl Marx.

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⁸Donation campaigns, though, usually suggest different donation amounts (Wikimedia Contributors 2014).

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Appendix 1

Basis for the distribution of the micro-level's ideological formations in the field model

Relationship	Relationship's character	Code	Ideological position	Ideological formations
Playing and Working	Conflicts	K1	Wikipedia is not a toy and is built on rules	Bottom-up Top-down Periphery
		K2	Planting errors in order to show Wikipedia's lack of credibility	
		K3	Wikipedia is too serious and it would be better with many, reasonably good quality, short and easy articles.	Periphery
		K4	The number of rules and demands for verifiability weighs down Wikipedia.	Periphery

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		K5	The control of standards for editing is a threat to the motivation of beginners, but is necessary	Bottom-up
		K6	Social interaction could be bad for the project	Top-down
		K7	Conflict within the core about the importance of the conflict between greater professionalism and a dependence on more playful beginners	Bottom-up Top-down
		K8	Repetitive tasks in Wikipedia work could willingly be automated.	Bottom-up
		K9	Wikipedia's core participants do not allow people that are not logged in, who have not shown their intentions, to influence more advanced processes	Bottom-up Top-down
Playwork	Synergy	S1	Motivated by constructive play (curiosity, subject interest, joy in writing, photographing, improving)	Periphery Bottom-up
		S2	Chooses not to take responsibility for vandalism clean-up, some understanding for fun but irresponsible edits	Periphery
		S3	Attracted by socialising, communication, peer community	

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Workplay	Synergy	S4	Simplicity in an absence of difficulties (neither pleasurable nor burdensome triviality)	Periphery Bottom-up Top-down		
		S5	Responsible for necessary but easy tasks	Periphery Bottom-up Top-down		
		S6	Self-expression through contributions within subject interest to the encyclopaedia	Bottom-up Top-down		
		S7	News edits with greater usefulness and intensity	Bottom-up		
		S8	Subject professionals' regulated play	Bottom-up Top-down		
		S9	Socialising in the service of efficiency	Bottom-up		
		S10	Own crowdfunding for useful hobby			
		Gaming and Playing	Conflicts	K1	Uneven conditions remove motivation for competition	
				K2	Competitions in vandalism clean-up take away the joy among beginners through unfair deletions	Periphery Bottom-up Top-down
		Playgaming	Synergy	S1	Amusing and easy jokes with an element of sport	Periphery
S2	Amusing search for all faults in articles			Periphery		
S3	Open and regulated competitions in order to take advantage of the gaming motivation in entertaining ways			Bottom-up Top-down		
Gameplaying	Synergy	S4	Competitive internal points system for being the fastest in vandalism clean-up	Bottom-up Top-down		

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		S5	Competitive editing outside of vandalism clean-up (such as for new Nobel Prize winners)	Bottom-up Top-down
		S6	Campaign competitions and competitions to create most articles	Bottom-up Top-down
Gaming and Working	Conflicts	K1	Error planting as a competition damages the encyclopaedia	Periphery Bottom-up Top-down
		K2	Competitions could get out of hand, particularly among core participants, and have a negative impact on editing	Periphery Bottom-up Top-down
		K3	Competitions are not attractive if working is too burdensome (such as a new archiving system)	Bottom-up Top-down
Gameworking	Synergy	S1	Gaming provides energy and is highly productive in combination with consideration	Bottom-up Top-down
		S2	Digital rosettes offer social status and signal gravity	Bottom-up Top-down
Workgaming	Synergy	S3	In news writing one person wants to be first, one person wins the glory but loses working hours if they are not first	Bottom-up Top-down
		S4	Fun to win in news editing, but still proud that the project is fast at updating	Bottom-up Top-down

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		S5	Creation of excellent articles in the project as an internal and low-intensity competition	Bottom-up Top-down
		S6	Statistics of goal attainment create a competitive and productive community through the quality project of the month	Bottom-up Top-down
		S7	Organised competitions as organised cooperation with an element of demonstration	Bottom-up Top-down
Gaming and Labouring	Conflicts	K1	The wage form makes repetitive tasks and internal competitions boring	Bottom-up Top-down
		K2	Material rewards clash with the gaming form in peer production	Bottom-up Top-down
Labourgaming	Synergy	S1	Campaign competitions act as a stage to market companies	Top-down
Gamelabour	Synergy	S2	Competitions focusing on history and training in editing should embed the company's profit interest	Top-down
Working and Labouring	Conflicts	K1	Biased marketing by non-relevant small businesses is a problem from the perspective of neutrality	Top-down

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K2	Commercial whitewashing is in principle worse than the worst vandalism, in practice a potential conflict	Bottom-up
K3	Advertising exploiting when WMF makes money from articles that the exploited have written	
K4	Wikipedia is a credible, neutral and noble oasis that would be damaged by advertising	Periphery Bottom-up Top-down
K5	Advertising facilitates company work towards Wikipedia, the two have different interests	Periphery Bottom-up Top-down
K6	Opportunity to click away the donation banner indicates that advertising is seen as disturbing	
K7	The wage form is risky as it can activate ideas and feelings of injustice if it is introduced by WMF into editing	Periphery Bottom-up
K8	Successful bureaucratisation, increased donations, more paid tasks are in contradiction to criticism from the periphery and parts of the core	Periphery Bottom-up
K9	Inefficient to pay WMF employees in editing	Top-down

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K10	More career opportunities could possibly lead to conflicts in the future community	Bottom-up
K11	Informants who are positive to wage labour in peer production do not want to write about their own wage labour	Bottom-up Top-down
K12	A view that 'wage for a hobby, a privilege', clashes with the view that the wage form is inefficient for repetitive tasks	Top-down
K13	Training must be available so employees in a company can edit in open collaboration with Wikipedia, in contrast to K17 below	Top-down
K14	Difficult to convince participants who are used to receiving a wage to return to voluntary contributions	Bottom-up
K15	Conscious attempts to use Wikipedia as a springboard for wage labour is implicitly problematic	Bottom-up

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		K16	Wikipedia has a form of monopoly on non-profit activities in the encyclopaedia sector, potentially a threat to commercial projects	
		K17	Company XX cannot afford to follow Wikipedia's rules if it costs too much in working hours	Periphery
		K18	On one level Wikipedia's financial insignificance for businesses means that it avoids problems, but it has a potentially negative impact on company articles	
		K19	Crowdfunding for productive hobbies a threat to capitalism at a system level if it spreads, but resolves antagonistic wage relations at a personal level	
		K20	Wage labour is counterproductive for the individual with regard to repetitive tasks in editing	Bottom-up Top-down
Worklabour	Synergy	S1	Established knowledge with abstract quality standard	Bottom-up Top-down
		S2	An incorrect reversion is less dangerous than incorrectly edited, new content	Bottom-up Top-down

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S3	The suggestion bot as a voluntarily chosen alien power based on abstract calculations	Top-down
S4	Problems with small businesses and unknown music bands can be solved with guidelines on relevance against bias	Top-down
S5	Whitewashing is in principle worse than vandalism, though potentially productive in practice if not too obvious	Bottom-up Top-down
S6	Wikipedia's non-commercialism is good, advertising would be negative for credibility, commercial exploitation alongside is no problem	Periphery Bottom-up Top-down
S7	Okay that parts of Wikipedia articles are published already in Google's list of hits	Top-down
S8	New phase with more readers requires quality and new, preferably professional participants	Top-down
S9	Passionate employees at WMF shows in PR work that normal people are part of the project	Top-down

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S10	Wikipedia is different to capitalist activities, but does not threaten the latter, sometimes paid and sometimes not	Periphery Bottom-up Top-down
S11	A surplus of productive activities is the strength that separates Wikipedia from scarcity within capitalism, the foundation for acceptance of capitalism close by	Bottom-up Top-down
S12	Quality drive to attract professionals and employees to take part when the number of participants is falling, which reduces dependence on leisure hours	Top-down
S13	Ongoing practice provides status in the community while titles offer this outside the community	Bottom-up
S14	Wage labour within Wikipedia under the auspices of the WMF is positive if it is kept outside editing	Periphery Bottom-up
S15	WMF employees in editing is not efficiently used money, boundaries are not needed	Top-down

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		S16	Wage labour is counterproductive for the individual with regard to repetitive tasks in editing; the logics of the two modes of production do not clash	
		S17	Editing employees of external actors in Wikipedia have no power over it and feelings of injustice do not arise	Bottom-up Top-down
		S18	Only small businesses are a problem as external actors in Wikipedia, but staff training is needed	Top-down
		S19	Good with financing for the project that means people can work eight hours to help volunteers, employees have been volunteers	Top-down
		S20	Competitions offer businesses a stage for PR and an incentive to allow employees to contribute to Wikipedia	Top-down
Labourwork	Synergy	S21	A free exchange of knowledge makes the world a better place: unequal labour market, social injustice and politics is made invisible as an implicit support for capitalism	Periphery Bottom-up Top-down

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S22	WMF employees in Wikipedia editing would improve the quality of the encyclopaedia	
S23	The company sees advantages with advertising and commercialisation of Wikipedia which means they can buy more advantages	
S24	Employees give the status of normality to the project that rests on non-profit work	Top-down
S25	Internal position of trust of little importance, though with commercial importance outside the project, but poor career choice	
S26	Institutions and companies increasingly interested, and grants within the WMF offer more career choices and additional incentives	Top-down
S27	It is a privileged situation to receive a wage for one's hobby	Top-down
S28	An honour for Wikipedia with company employees who compete during working hours as Wikipedia has then something to do with labour	Top-down

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Labouring and Playing	Conflicts	K1	If use value is damaged by playing it conflicts with abstract labour	Periphery
		K2	Wage as compensation for monotonous, alien power's dominance and lack of pleasure and play in the activities	Top-down
		K3	Labouring (under the auspices of the WMF) should be kept outside editing	Periphery Bottom-up
		K4	No fun to write about your wage labour (though "others" seem to like it)	Bottom-up Top-down
		K5	The company wants more socialising and play, wikipedians believe they want the encyclopaedia to have correct information (and be a stage for them)	Periphery Bottom-up Top-down
		K6	Certain tasks are best done on a voluntary basis	Bottom-up Top-down
Playbour	Synergy	S1	Joy of writing and constructive play can co-exist with capitalism and abstract labour, potential conflict about advertising appeared subsequently	Periphery

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		S2	It is fun as you are taking part in creating and improving something, no difference between play and labour, as long as labour (WMF's) is kept outside editing	Periphery
Labourplay	Synergy	S3	Subject professionals are good for Wikipedia and it becomes more fun for them the more professional the encyclopaedia becomes	Top-down

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