

*To John and Auriol Roberts  
for nurturing a love of reading and study*



# Illustrations

## Figures

5.1	The five 'A's of technology access	121
7.1	Intersecting areas of research	180
7.2	The five 'A's of technology access	183
7.3	Top-down versus bottom-up participation	185
7.4	DiCaf framework	188

## Tables

2.1	Focus of Hashtags Used in #ENDSARS Protest	46
2.2	Focus of Hashtags Used in #PantamiMustGo Protest	48
4.1	Incidence of Internet Shutdowns in Africa, January 2016 to December 2021	87
6.1	State Versus Youth Dialogue over Cyberspace	167

## Contributors

**Kiss Abraham** is a feminist civil-society activist, researcher and journalist. Known for his political cartoons and graphic art, Kiss is a member of the Media Institute of Southern Africa and a founding member of the Zambian Social Forum, the African Regional Social Forum and the African Digital Rights Network. Kiss is passionate about creating civic space, the use of art in civic action, and promoting dialogue on development issues. Kiss established the organizations Knowledge and Information Systems for Social Innovation in 2003 and the New Zambian online platform in 2010. Kiss wrote *The Names in Your Address Book Are Your Social Network for Advocating Women's Rights* (2009) and *Sex, Respect and Freedom from Shame in Women & ICTs in African and the Middle East* (2014). With Sam Phiri, he co-authored the *Zambia Digital Rights Landscape Report for the African Digital Rights Network Report Digital Rights in Closing Civic Space* (2021).

**Sandra Ajaja** is a feminist tech activist who holds an undergraduate degree in Electrical and Electronics Engineering (Nigeria) and a master's degree in Gender and Development from the Institute of Development Studies (UK), and is completing an MBA at Syracuse University (USA). Having experienced gender inequality in accessing education and technology opportunities, Sandra founded Fempower Africa, a social enterprise that is expanding diversity in the technology space in Africa while channelling resources to female tech talent and technology entrepreneurs on the continent. Fempower Africa has become a platform for over 20,000 women to access mentorship and training to develop world-class technical skills and capabilities. This work has resulted in Sandra winning several international awards, including the Mandela Washington Fellowship, a Diana Princess of Wales award and a Commonwealth Scholarship Award.

**Felicia Anthonio** heads the #KeepItOn Campaign at Access Now, a global campaign of over 290 organizations that fights against internet shutdowns. Before joining Access Now, she was a Programme Associate at the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA) where she coordinated the African Freedom of Expression Exchange (AFEX), a continental network of free-expression organizations in Africa. Felicia led the AFEX's campaigns and advocacy work on freedom of expression, including the safety of journalists, access to information and internet freedoms and digital rights with a particular focus on policy reforms that are inimical to the enjoyment of freedom of expression (offline and online). She is a 2019 Fellow of the African Internet Governance School (AfriSIG). She holds a master's degree in Lettres, Langues et Affaires Internationales from l' Université d'Orléans, France, and holds a bachelor of arts degree in French and Psychology from the University of Ghana.

**Tanja Bosch** is an associate professor of media studies and production in the Centre for Film and Media Studies at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, where she also holds the position of Deputy Dean of Research and Postgraduate Affairs. She teaches journalism and multimedia production, social media, radio studies and research methods at undergraduate and postgraduate levels. Dr Bosch has published widely in the field of radio studies in South Africa; and is emerging as a leading African academic, publishing in the area of social media activism, with her work on #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall and other hashtagged campaigns. Her book *Social Media and Everyday Life in South Africa* (2021) follows up her journal publications on 'Using online social networking for teaching and learning: Facebook use at the University' and 'Twitter activism and youth in South Africa: The case of #RhodesMustFall'. Tanja is the chair of the African Digital Rights Network.

**Atnaf Brhane** is a co-founder of Center for the Advancement of Rights and Democracy (CARD) and a digital rights activist based in Ethiopia. In 2012, he cofounded the blogging collective Zone9 Bloggers and conducted extensive social media campaigns on rule of law and freedom of expression. In 2016, the collective accepted awards from Reporters Without Borders, HRW, Martin Ennals and CPJ. In 2014, Atnafu was arrested, related to his activism work, and was imprisoned for eighteen months. From 2018 to 2019, Atnafu was Digital Integrity Fellow at Open Technology Fund and worked with human rights

defenders and human rights organizations in Ethiopia on creating awareness in digital literacy and security. He cofounded the Network for Digital Rights in Ethiopia. He co-authored the *Ethiopia Digital Rights Landscape Report for the African Digital Rights Network* and *On Selfies and Hashtags: The Patterns and Antidotes of Disinformation during Armed Conflict in Ethiopia* (forthcoming).

**Mavis Elias** is the holder of degrees in Civil Engineering (Namibian University of Science and Technology) and a master's in International Development (Institute for Development Studies, UK). She is a social entrepreneur, philanthropist, mentor and public speaker. Mavis is the founder of the EM Love Foundation, a Namibian charity, and co-founder of Ehaveco Events, which focuses on women empowerment initiatives that help individuals and businesses realize women's full potential. Mavis is a director of Namibia's One Economy Foundation. Mavis is also a radio presenter at Radiowave and occasionally serves as master of ceremonies, having hosted the Namibia Music Awards and other prestigious events. She is a Vivid Philanthropist Award winner (2015), a Queen's Young Leader Award (2018), Women in Business and Governance Award (2019) and a Chevening Scholar. Mavis is an award-winning blogger, a columnist for Monochrome and the *New Era* newspaper.

**Yohannes Eneyew** is a PhD candidate and teaching associate at the Faculty of Law, Monash University in Australia. His project looks at how an appropriate balance should be struck between freedom of expression and the right to privacy on the internet under the African human rights system. Recently, he was a visiting researcher at the Law and Technology Research Group, Faculty of Law, Ghent University. Prior to this, he was a lecturer of law at the School of Law, Bahir Dar University in Ethiopia, where he was teaching and researching on Media Law and Human Rights. He holds a Master of Laws (LL.M) in International Human Rights Law (University of Groningen), LL.M in Public International Law (Addis Ababa University) and a Bachelor of Laws (LL.B) from Wollo University. His research interest spans the areas of internet freedom, intermediary liability, African human rights law, international human rights law and TWAIL.

**Nanjala Nyabola** is a writer and researcher. A Rhodes Scholar, Nanjala holds an MSc in Forced Migration, an MSc in African Studies from the University of

Oxford and a J.D. from Harvard Law School. She has held numerous research and practice fellowships and is currently a non-resident fellow at the Stanford University Digital Civil Society Lab, the Overseas Development Institute, and the Centre for Human Rights and Global Justice at New York University. At the time of writing, she was a PhD candidate at King's College, London. Nyabola has written extensively about African society and politics, technology, international law and feminism for academic and non-academic publications. Her journalism includes work for *Al Jazeera*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, and the *Guardian*. She is the author of *Digital Democracy, Analogue Politics: How the Internet Era Is Transforming Kenya* (2018), *Travelling While Black: Essays Inspired by a Life on the Move* (2020) and *Strange and Difficult Times: Notes on a Global Pandemic* (2022). She serves on the boards of Access Now and the International Fund for Public Interest Media.

**Francis B. Nyamnjoh** is professor of anthropology at the University of Cape Town. He holds a BA and an MA from the University of Yaounde, Cameroon, and a PhD from the University of Leicester, UK. He joined UCT in 2009 from the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), where he served as Head of Publications from July 2003 to July 2009. He has also taught sociology, anthropology and communication studies at universities in Cameroon and Botswana. His books include *#RhodesMustFall: Nibbling at Resilient Colonialism in South Africa*; *Negotiating an Anglophone Identity*; *Rights and the Politics of Recognition in Africa*; *Africa's Media, Democracy and the Politics of Belonging*; *Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa*; and *Mobile Phones: The New Talking Drums of Everyday Africa*. Dr Nyamnjoh has published widely on globalization, citizenship, media and the politics of identity in Africa.

**Ayobami Ojebode** holds a PhD in development communication from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. He teaches development communication with special focus on the media and political, cultural and social development. In 2007, Dr Ojebode was a visiting research fellow at the University of Oxford (2007) where he studied media coverage of minority ethnic groups in Nigeria. In 2008, he was visiting researcher at the College of Communications, the Pennsylvania State University, US, researching the Nigerian mass media and was a fellow in Leiden (2010) completing his work on the former guerrilla

pressmen. His publications include the articles 'Media Diversity With and Without a Policy: A Comparison of the BBC and Nigeria's DBS', 'Beyond Tweets and Screams: Action for Empowerment and Accountability in Nigeria – the Case of the #BBOG Movement' and the Nigeria country report in 'Digital Rights in Closing Civic Space: Lessons from Ten African Countries' (2021).

**Babatunde Ojebuyi** is a full-time lecturer in the Department of Communication and Language Arts, University of Ibadan, Nigeria. Babatunde holds a BA, an MA and a PhD from the same department at the University of Ibadan. Ojebuyi's teaching and research interests cover media studies in the areas of media theories, media and ethics, and new media. He has written books and published well-researched articles in reputable local and international journals. His publications include *Media Literacy, Access and Political Participation among South African Black Youth* (2015), *Mobile Phone Use for Agribusiness by Farmers in Southwest Nigeria* (2016) and *We Are Not Parasites: Intergroup Differentiation in the User-Generated Content of Nigerian News Media* (2019).

**Oyewole Oladapo** is a lecturer in the Department of Communication and Language Arts at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. He received his doctoral degree in 2018 from the University of Ibadan. His doctoral thesis examined variations in online and offline audiences' deconstruction of newspaper representation of Nigeria's unity. Oyewole's areas of interest include media and development, protests and politics on social media, and media and identity. He has authored and co-authored book chapters and articles in both local and foreign journals. His publications include the Digital Landscape Report on Nigeria for the African Digital Rights Network report 'Digital Rights in Closing Civic Space: Lessons from Ten African Countries' (2021).

**Marjoke Oosterom** is a research fellow at the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) in the UK. She holds a PhD from IDS and has a background in comparative politics and development studies. Her research concentrates on how experiences of violence and conflict affect forms of agency, citizenship, and everyday politics and governance. Her specific expertise is on youth politics and youth agency in response to insecurity and violence, and politics in the informal economy. Marjoke has studied experiences of citizenship and agency among internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees in conflict settings,

and their interactions with humanitarian actors and forms of public authority. She is involved in the Action for Empowerment and Accountability program in fragile settings, and she has also worked on IDS projects on changing civic space. Her publications include 'Gender and Fragile Citizenship in Uganda: The Case of Acholi Women' and 'What Does Closing Civic Space Mean for Development? A Literature Review and Proposed Conceptual Framework'.

**Sam Phiri** is a senior academic at the University of Zambia where he heads the Department of Media and Communication Studies. His research focuses on national politics, political communication and political organizations and parties. His projects include 'Research in Communications: Focus of Mass Communication Teaching at the University of Zambia' and 'Person Not Profit – An Africanist Approach to Corporate Social Responsibility Theory'. His publications include the 'Zambia Digital Rights Landscape Report' (with Kiss Abraham), the African Digital Rights Network report 'Digital Rights in Closing Civic Space' (2021); 'Media Development Aid and the Westernisation of Africa: The Case of the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa' (2016), 'Political Dis-Empowerment of Women by ICTs: The Case of the Zambian Elections' (2011) and 'Youth Participation in Politics: The Case of Zambian University Students' (2019).

**Tony Roberts** is a research fellow at the Institute for Development Studies (UK). After a period as lecturer in Innovation Studies at the University of East London, Tony founded and led two international development agencies working in Central America and Southern Africa. After he stood down as Chief Executive of Computer Aid International, he completed a PhD in the use of digital technologies in international development. After a postdoc at the United Nations University, in China, Tony joined the Digital research team at IDS where his research focuses on digital inequalities, digital citizenship and digital rights. He is a co-founder of the African Digital Rights Network (ADRN). He has edited a section of the SAGE Handbook on Participatory Digital Research Methods and the ADRN publications 'Digital Rights in Closing Civic Space: Lessons from Ten Countries' and 'Surveillance Law: A Review of Six African Countries'. His publications and blogposts are available on his website: [appropriatingtechnology.org](http://appropriatingtechnology.org)

# Foreword

Francis B. Nyamnjoh

To speak of citizenship and belonging in whatever form is to imagine and construct a community of shared interests, responsibilities and aspirations. One is, and becomes, a citizen through relationships with others, institutionalized relationships in one form or another, guided by codes of conduct, democratic and contested. No institution – however carefully thought through from the outset – is perfect, hence the need to embrace incompleteness. Seen through the prism of incompleteness, citizenship is a permanent work in progress in a world of physical and social mobility of people and ideas, thanks to ever-evolving material and digital technologies of self-activation and self-extension. There is power in incompleteness as a lens to perceive life and live our creative ingenuity. Creating and institutionalizing productive, dynamic and inclusive citizenship requires constant awareness and embrace of our shared and universal reality of incompleteness in being, in action and through the technologies of self-extension that our creative ingenuity brings about.

It is productive to see citizenship in terms of the various technologies of extending ourselves to enable us to function in our society and world, to be recognized and validated by multiple instances of legitimation of our existence and being. Citizenship, in this sense, gives us a stamp of approval and judicial and political legitimacy. The fact of contributing – materially, morally and spiritually – entitles us to benefit from the community of which we are part. Citizenship is expected to mitigate the challenges of functioning as if one were living in splendid isolation. We seek citizenship to be supported and to feel supported by the cultural, political and economic communities with which we identify through relationships, shared memories, commitments and responsibilities. The communities (be these small scale or large scale, ethnic or nation state) that bestow citizenship would hardly be fulfilled or sustained

in their aspirations for completeness (however illusory) without the support of its citizens. Thus, within the framework of incompleteness, power is fluid and flexible, and accessible to both institutions and individuals, who can use material and digital technologies at their disposal as a check on one another against excesses.

For anyone remotely familiar with the tendency among airlines to reward loyalty and regularity through frequent flyer programmes, and with the practice among big tech companies to limit access and ownership to digital contents by introducing expiry dates to subscriptions, one can ill-afford to take citizenship (digital or otherwise) for granted. The hierarchies of being and belonging that characterize our communities and the world at large make citizenship and the visibility we seek through it hierarchical and unstable. Availability of citizenship in principle must not be conflated with affordability. Just as digital subscriptions can expire and be withdrawn from those without the purchasing power to maintain them, so too can digital (and other forms of) citizenship. Similarly, like the potential for frequent flyer visibility and privileges, citizenship is something that is available to all and sundry in principle but can seem elusive even for those who have earned it. This, it could be argued, makes a game of citizenship, even when belonging and its entitlements for all and sundry ought not to be in question in a world of incompleteness in motion. One cannot rest on one's laurels as a citizen.

There are bounded societies or communities in which thoughts, beliefs and behaviour are rigidly prescribed, monitored and controlled, and in which conventional channels of communication are dominated by the privileged and the powerful. In such societies, the creative and innovative avenues for empowering the sidestepped and the marginalized made possible by new technologies (such as the internet, the cell phone and the smartphone) hold great promise for freedom and democracy as truly inclusive, participatory pursuits. And since democracy cannot be taken for granted, every open society or community has the potential to relapse into boundedness.<sup>1</sup>

At the heart of this book are questions of citizenship explored through the nexus of digital technologies as magic enablers and multipliers, or, quite simply, *juju*.<sup>2</sup> Put together by Tony Roberts and Tanja Bosch – two foremost researchers

<sup>1</sup> Nyamnjoh (2022).

<sup>2</sup> Nyamnjoh (2019).

on the everyday creative appropriation of digital media across Africa – this book makes a compelling and richly substantiated case on the important role of digital technologies in the crystallization of citizenship in Africa. It is a major addition to the growing number of studies on the catalytic role of digital technologies in the pursuit of democracy and social justice on the continent.<sup>3</sup> The book brings together a broad range of detailed and insightful case studies from various African countries and regions on digital activism and the makings of digital citizenship for social categories. Of importance in the analysis are categories informed by factors such as race and ethnicity, culture and religion, geography, class, gender, and sexual and intergenerational relations. These are important angles of reflection and research, the intersections of which hold great promise for nuanced complexity. The case studies articulate how feelings of repression, suppression and oppression by the status quo and the powerful and privileged have pushed Africans – either collaborating or in their individual capacity – to seek complementary channels of expression for their collective or individual aspirations for recognition and representation, and through those channels, to forge local and global solidarities.

The research explored is an agenda-setting contribution to a meaningful conversation on the nature and possibilities of citizenship and the role those digital technologies could play in facilitating or inhibiting the potential for citizenship. Nevertheless, as the book rightly highlights, digital opportunities do not come unaccompanied by opportunism. The reality of economic, political and cultural inequalities and the resilient unevenness of the playing fields, even in the digital sphere, ensure this. Thus, in Africa, while digital connectivity has proven enormously beneficial, especially in its capacity to fuel the resolve of ordinary people in their everyday struggles against authoritarian states and the whims and caprices of dictatorships in various guises and disguises,<sup>4</sup> it has also negatively impacted the very democracy it purports to promote.<sup>5</sup> These contradictions are not confined to Africa. In the United States, for example, Tom Nichols, himself a regular consumer of social media, faults digital hyper-connectivity for ‘destroying the culture and habits of a democratic society’ by ‘making us angrier, more narcissistic, more

<sup>3</sup> Nyabola (2018).

<sup>4</sup> Nyabola (2018), Nyamnjoh and Brudvig (2016).

<sup>5</sup> Mutsvauro (2016), Nyamnjoh and Brudvig (2016).

isolated, more selfish, and less serious as citizens'. He finds the flooding of social media users with 'unfathomable amounts of data' counterproductive to liberal democracy, as it leaves users with very little time to chew and digest, reason and reflect with the required patience, tolerance and perspective that are virtues of good democratic practice.<sup>6</sup>

Another constraint is the sheer power of social media platforms to put reality together and impose hierarchies of visibility narrowly configured to satisfy the logic and desire for profit. If platforms can be said to confer citizenship, the very same platforms – as the example of Donald Trump's de-platforming on Twitter and Facebook and Christopher Wylie<sup>7</sup> before him demonstrate – platform citizenship can be withdrawn at the whim and caprice of the platform provider. It is citizenship shackled by the diktats of the provider. What the platforms have done (whether Facebook or Twitter) is to appropriate what used to be instances in a society where one could create what we might call 'prominence' or 'visibility'. Being socially visible and even attaining celebrity status had conventional institutional settings that were in the public domain. We knew what to do or where to go for cultural capital or social capital. You had to work, and you often went from word of mouth, then through various traditional media and conventional media, the publishing industry and so on. The trajectory was clear. However, with social media, algorithms can thrust a complete nonentity into the limelight overnight, with the press of a button. Those of us who are generous with our online friendship must have experienced that the 'likes' we generate do not necessarily match the number of friends we have accumulated on Facebook, for example. You might have 1,000 Facebook friends, and when you create a post, you expect at least a significant number of your friends to react to it, but often, all you are able to harvest is a paltry 10 likes, 50 at most or maybe 100 (when it's a good post).

'What happened to the 1,000 friends I had?', you are bound to find yourself asking. It is because the algorithms are created in a way to take attention away when you cannot be commercialized, when you are not a commercial entity. When you are not a sensation and not 'agent provocateur' enough to attract advertising, you may not quite blossom even within the limited range of our

<sup>6</sup> Nichols (2021).

<sup>7</sup> The whistle-blower of the now-defunct Cambridge Analytica firm that sought to influence the outcome of the 2016 US elections by mining and weaponizing the data of millions of Americans in collusion with Facebook. He was de-platformed on Facebook.

social media silos. Algorithms are programmed to prioritize the commercial interests of the platform providers. If you are just a very predictable, mundane type of user with no gravitas, you are unlikely to attract visibility. On the other hand, somebody might post something less salient than your post, but who has all the gravitas in terms of sensationalism and all the likelihood that they will not attract that many views or likes, and then before you know it, they have gone viral. They have appropriated through these apps a function that used to be more generously distributed around society, although depending on one's background, one's class and so on, you fell short, or you came closest. These platforms are not just enablers in a positive sense of the word. If you are fighting repression and constriction of voices, the platform providers must increasingly be questioned, just as we question other instruments of control, like the state and government. Corporate authoritarianism must not escape critical interrogation, simply because of evidence that corporations allow for some measure of trickle-down munificence.

Challenges to the crystallization of digital citizenship highlighted by the authors in this book include the advantageous position that colonial languages continue to enjoy to the detriment of endogenous languages in Africa; the frustrating resilience of repressive governments and states in their adaptability to the changing technological landscape, and capacity to develop ever new techniques of monitoring and controlling the otherwise fluid and transgressive digital technologies, and to curb the enthusiasm of nationals and communities drawn to such technologies in unprecedented ways; the ability of patriarchy to limit the rewards of the digital mileage covered in promoting a feminist agenda for citizenship; the hard zero-sum realities of states determined to flex their muscles as bounded communities vis-à-vis the determination of those caught betwixt and between borders to salvage lives and livelihoods and militate for flexible citizenship with the help of digital technologies; and the double-edged nature of ethnic and religious identities that simultaneously facilitate and frustrate digital mobilization and citizenship. The authors make a critical point in reminding the reader that accessibility to digital technology and digital citizenship is a necessary but not sufficient condition for citizenship in all its complexity and nuance.

Just as technologies prop us up, they can also deflate us, often without warning. They are as many forces of liberation as they are tools of repression and suppression. Just as we can use them to enhance meaningful citizenship

in our lives, the very same technologies can be adopted and adapted by states, governments, and economic and cultural elites (among others) to police freedoms and limit inclusion. Thus, the positive role of digital technologies must not be taken for granted. On offer by digital technologies are not just applications for liberation and empowerment of ordinary people but also specially designed spyware and malware for no other purpose than to serve the interests of repressive forces. This is a warning to us that even as we embrace the technologies, we should not be too effusive or too euphoric about the possibilities. We need to be constantly alert, as well, to the dangers of the lure and allure of technological innovations.

Even though the potential of digital platforms to enable and empower is not in doubt, algorithms are configured to confirm the biases of platform consumers and not to challenge them. The customization which platforms engage in is much more a form of surveillance, behavioural control and crystallization of biases than it is about liberation, knowledge and inclusivity. A consequence of such coercive conformity is the formation of epistemic bubbles that corrupt a shared sense of reality and encourage a spiral of silence that stifles diversity and objectivity with prescriptive and dictatorial insistence on conformity. When this happens, those entrapped in ‘the bubble will perceive themselves to be engaging in vigorous contestation and criticism – unaware that what they are doing is confirming and re-confirming their shared biases.’<sup>8</sup>

Although as users of digital platforms, we love the feeling of being in control, and to think of ourselves as immune to manipulation or cognitive biases, the reality is that algorithms are excellent at targeting and soaking us in content to keep us clicking within our silos, echo chambers, bounded communities or bantustans à la apartheid-era South Africa. This creates an illusion of choice that seeks to blunt our critical instincts as users to the monitoring and filtering processes going on in the background. As Christopher Wylie reminds us, without privacy, ‘our power to decide who and how we want to be’ – the power to grow and to change as we see fit – is lost, and with it our ability to be tolerant and to accommodate our creative diversity as humans.<sup>9</sup>

It is thus an irony that the algorithm potential for big tech companies to embrace and promote incompleteness, interconnections and conviviality is not

<sup>8</sup> Rauch (2021).

<sup>9</sup> Wylie (2019).

being fulfilled by social media operators. As corporate entrepreneurs driven by commercial considerations, social media operators are more interested in curbing the enthusiasm of users for genuine freedom and networking than in fostering inclusivity across frozen divides and rigid hierarchies of citizenship, being and belonging to shared spaces and places beyond the narrow confines of identity silos, echo chambers and filter bubbles. For digital media to effectively contribute to the growth of a more inclusive model of citizenship would require algorithms that challenge our biases and propensities for selective perception and seek a balance among economic, political, cultural and social considerations.

## Bibliography

- Mutsvairo, B. (2016) *Digital Activism in the Social Media Era*, London: Springer Nature.
- Nichols, T. (2021) *Our Own Worst Enemy: The Assault from Within on Modern Democracy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nyabola, N. (2018) *Digital Democracy, Analogue Politics: How the Internet Era Is Transforming Politics in Kenya*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Nyamnjoh, B. (2022) *Incompleteness: Donald Trump, Populism and Citizenship*, Bamenda, Langaa.
- Nyamnjoh, F. and I. Brudvig (2016) *Mobilities, ICTs and Marginality in Africa: Comparative Perspectives*, Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2019) 'ICTs as Juju: African Inspiration for Understanding the Compositeness of Being Human Through Digital Technologies', *Journal of African Media Studies*, 11 (3): 279–91.
- Rauch, J. (2021) *The Constitution of Knowledge: A Defense of Truth*, Chicago: Brookings Institution Press.
- Wylie, C. (2019) *Mindf\*ck: Cambridge Analytica and the Plot to Break America*, New York: Random House.

## Acknowledgements

This book could not have been produced without the inspiration and active support of many activists and scholars who have guided us by their example or helped us review this text. The book is a product of the African Digital Rights Network, and special thanks go to founding members Anand Sheombar, George Karekwaivanane, Juliet Nanfuka and Koketso Moeti. At the Institute of Development Studies, Amy Cowlard and Jasmin Morris have ably steered the ship, and we are indebted to the generous support and reviewing expertise of Becky Faith, Kevin Hernandez, Pedro Prieto Martin and Karishma Banga. Our colleagues Rosie McGee and John Gaventa provided kind and incisive feedback on the introduction. Thanks are also due to Olivia Dellow and Nick Wolterman at Zed Books for their patience, encouragement and forbearance.