WE ARE MANY

PRIVACY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF (ORGANIZED) COLLECTIVE ACTION

stefaniamilan.net

WE ARE MANY

IT'S A CONSPIRACY!

what does it mean to approach/
interpret/study… privacy in relation
to (organized) collective action?

what does it mean…?

✧ privacy as a 'digital right' in the advocacy agenda
✧ privacy as a collective action problem (e.g., Tor)
✧ privacy as social norm
✧ privacy affecting activism (e.g. 'chilling effect')
✧ privacy online and self-disclosure
✧ privacy & social media activism
✧ 'privacy activism' (?)
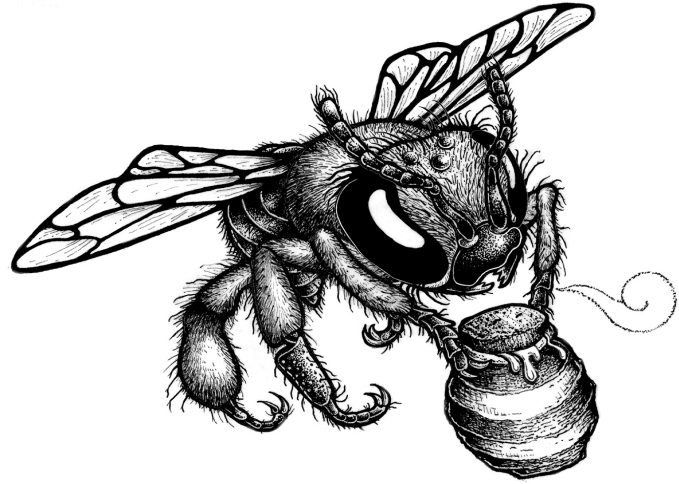✧ 'data activism' (?)

(…)

here, today

the <critical> toolbox
& zoom into two
understandings of
collective action:
#1 political activism
#2 multistakeholder governance

inside social movement studies

interdisciplinary (?) research field within social sciences

why/how mobilization & contentious politics occur, their forms & dynamics, their discourses, the relation with institutions & social norms, impact & outcomes

✧ collective behavior (Blumer, Smelser)

✧ rational choice (Olson)

✧ resource mobilization (McCharty and Zald)

✧ political process approach (McAdam, Meyer, Tarrow)

✧ 'new' social movements (Melucci, Touraine, della Porta)

the toolbox

✧ 'meaning work' / frames

✧ organizational forms & dynamics

✧ collective identity

✧ institutions and norms

✧ political opportunity structures

✧ networking dynamics

✧ tech as tool (blackboxed, with no agency)

the methods toolbox

✧ interviews & focus groups
✧ participant observation
✧ surveys
✧ grounded theory
✧ comparative historical analysis
✧ social network analysis
✧ protest event analysis
✧ discourse / frame analysis
✧ software tools (digital methods)

✧ triangulation; sampling

epistemology? ethics?

- movement as 'bearers of "new ways of seeing the world"' (Cox and Flesher Forminaya 2009, 1) > respect the processes and reflexive practices leading to the creation of said knowledge

- activism is labor

- four questions: relevance, risk, power, accountability

Milan, S. (2014). "The ethics of social movement research", in *Methodological Practices in Social Movement Research*, edited by D. della Porta, Oxford University Press, pp.

1 in relation to political activism

a. (lack of) privacy affects political activism/1

'Merely organizing movements of dissent becomes difficult when the government is watching everyting people are doing. But mass surveillance kills dissent in a deeper and more important place as well: in the mind, where the individual trains him- or herself to think only in line with what is expected and demanded' (Greenwald, 2014: 177-8)

a. (lack of) privacy affects political activism /2

- a chilling effect ?
- asymmetrical power relation (Leistert 2012)
- decline in 'privacy-sensitive' search on Google (Marthews & Tucker 2015)
- 'spiral of silence' in surveillance debate on social media (Hampton et al 2014)\
- UK tracked visitor to Wikileaks after Cablegate collecting IP addresses (Greenwald & Gallagher 2014)
- 'Digital Citizenship and Surveillance Society' project (Cardiff University)

patches?

- crypto-parties
- EFF's *Surveillance Self-Defense* guide
- Tactical Tech's *Security in a Box*
- Ranking Digital Rights ('Accountability Index')

b. privacy as a social movement

- privacy enters the advocacy agenda (but whose agenda?)
- data activism as a heuristic tool
- how does this relate to other movements & subcultures (hacker, open source, technical practice...?)
- how do specific sub-cultures emerge?
- action repertoires: *re-active data activism*

c. privacy in/for/according to movements

- current tensions
- privacy and visibility in cloud protesting
- a elephant in the room (to be sacrificed in favor of visibility...?)
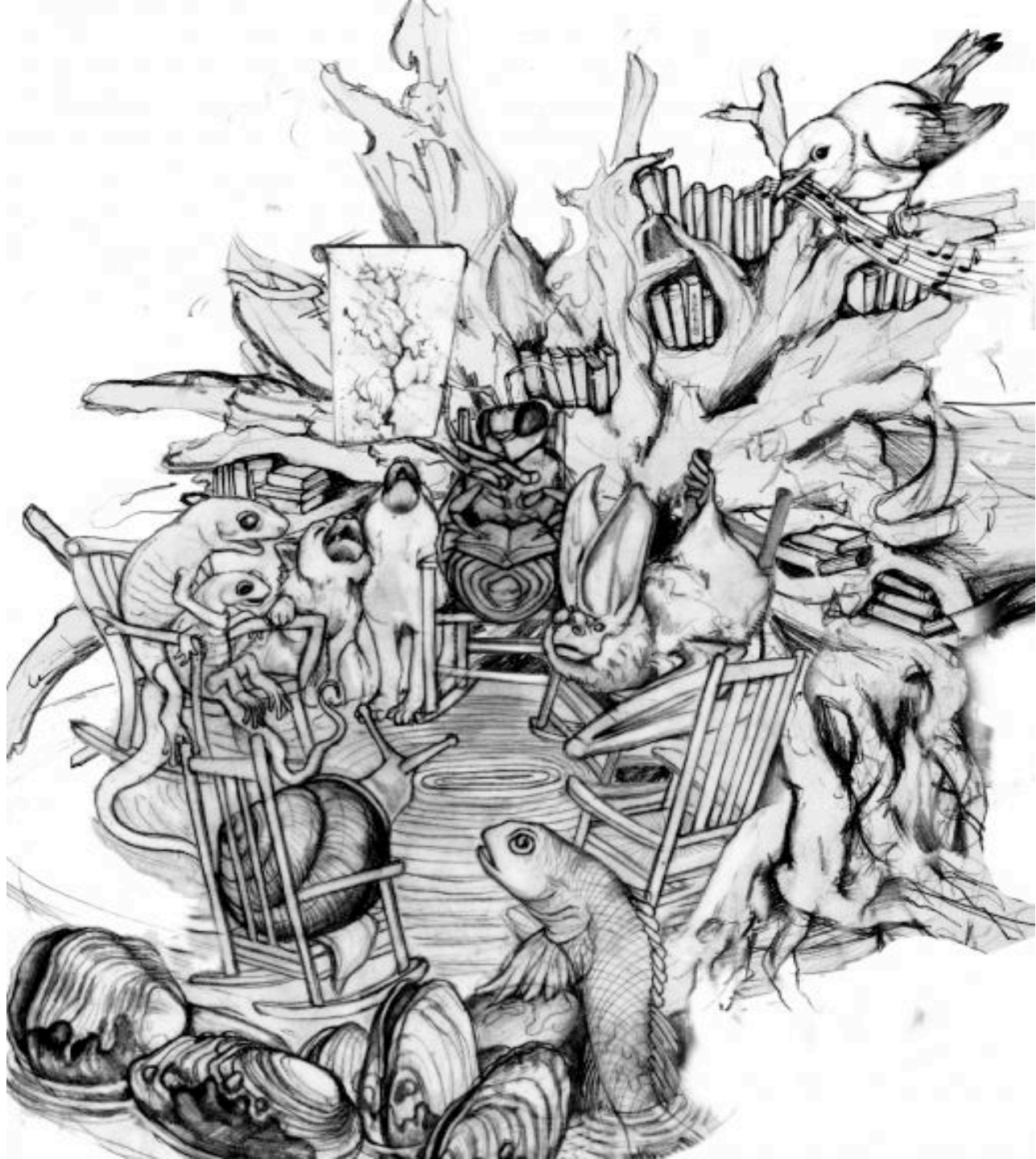

NOW SWARMING

transparency vs. privacy

tension between transparency and privacy

how did the military technique of cryptography become the workhorse of contemporary social movements?

how do activists make sense of this tension (and how did we get there)?

#2 policy advocacy in multistakeholder governance

in the control room (?)

- policy advocacy and the work of institutions
- work on technical standards and protocols
- latent policymaking?
- role of expertise
- civil society has limited resources

Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers

an organization managing Domain Names System and coordinating distribution of IP addresses
a community of stakeholders, which develops ICANN policies and procedures
(= logical layer of internet governance)

at crucial turning point (transitioning stewardship from US to global multistakeholder community)

```
Admin ID: 22967001-NSI
Admin Name: Association for Progressive Co
Admin Organization: Association for Progressive Co
Admin Street: Presidio Bldg 1012, First Floo
Admin Street: 29904
Admin City: San Francisco
Admin State/Province: CA
Admin Postal Code: 94129
Admin Country: US
Admin Phone: +1.41556161
Admin Phone Ext:
Admin Fax:
Admin Fax Ext:
Admin Email: anriette@APC.ORG
Tech ID: 22966999-NSI
Tech Name: Mallory Knodel
Tech Organization: Association for Progressive Communications
Tech Street: APC Executive Director's Office
Tech Street: PO Box 29755
Tech City: Melville
Tech State/Province: Johannesburg
Tech Postal Code: 2109
Tech Country: ZA
Tech Phone: +27.117261692
Tech Phone Ext:
Tech Fax: +27.117261692
Tech Fax Ext:
Tech Email: techinfo@apc.org
Name Server: NS1.ECN.CZ
Name Server: NS1.GREENNET.ORG.UK
Name Server: NS10.APC.ORG
Name Server: NSEXTRA.TIWA.NET.BR
DNSSEC: unsigned
>>> Last update of WHOIS database: 2016-07-14T01:58:45Z <<<

For more information on Whois status codes, please visit https://icann.org/epp
```

```
The Registry database contains ONLY .COM, .NET, .EDU domains and
Registrars.
Domain Name: stefaniamilan.net
Registry Domain ID: 1589372508_DOMAIN_NET-VRSN
Registrar WHOIS Server: whois.rrpproxy.net
Registrar URL: www.greenhost.nl
Updated Date: 2016-04-23T13:14:38.0Z
Creation Date: 2010-03-19T08:51:48.0Z
Registrar Registration Expiration Date: 2017-03-19T08:51:48.0Z
Registrar: Key-Systems GmbH
Registrar IANA ID: 269
Registrar Abuse Contact Email: abuse@key-systems.net
Registrar Abuse Contact Phone: +49.68949396850
Domain Status: ok https://icann.org/epp#ok
Registry Registrant ID: Not Available From Registry
Registrant Name: Att Customer Service
Registrant Organization: Greenhost Proxy Service
Registrant Street: Weesperstraat 3
Registrant City: Amsterdam
Registrant State/Province:
Registrant Postal Code: 1018DN
Registrant Country: NL
Registrant Phone: +31.204890444
Registrant Phone Ext:
Registrant Fax:
Registrant Fax Ext:
Registrant Email: privacyprotect@greenhost.nl
Registry Admin ID: Not Available From Registry
Admin Name: Att Customer Service
Admin Organization: Greenhost Proxy Service
Admin Street: Weesperstraat 3
Admin City: Amsterdam
Admin State/Province:
```

from WHOIS to new RDS

✧ https://whois.icann.org
✧ human-readable query & response protocol that is widely used for querying registrars' databases for DNS & IP addresses (for registrants' data)
✧ loved by law enforcement & security agencies

✧ registration data and directory services for gTLDs

on the table

- ✧ purpose?
- ✧ accuracy
- ✧ availability
- ✧ privacy
- ✧ anonymity
- ✧ cost & maintenance
- ✧ (tiered) access & policing
- ✧ intellectual property protection
- ✧ security (stability & resilience)
- ✧ malicious use and abuse
- ✧ … data minimization?

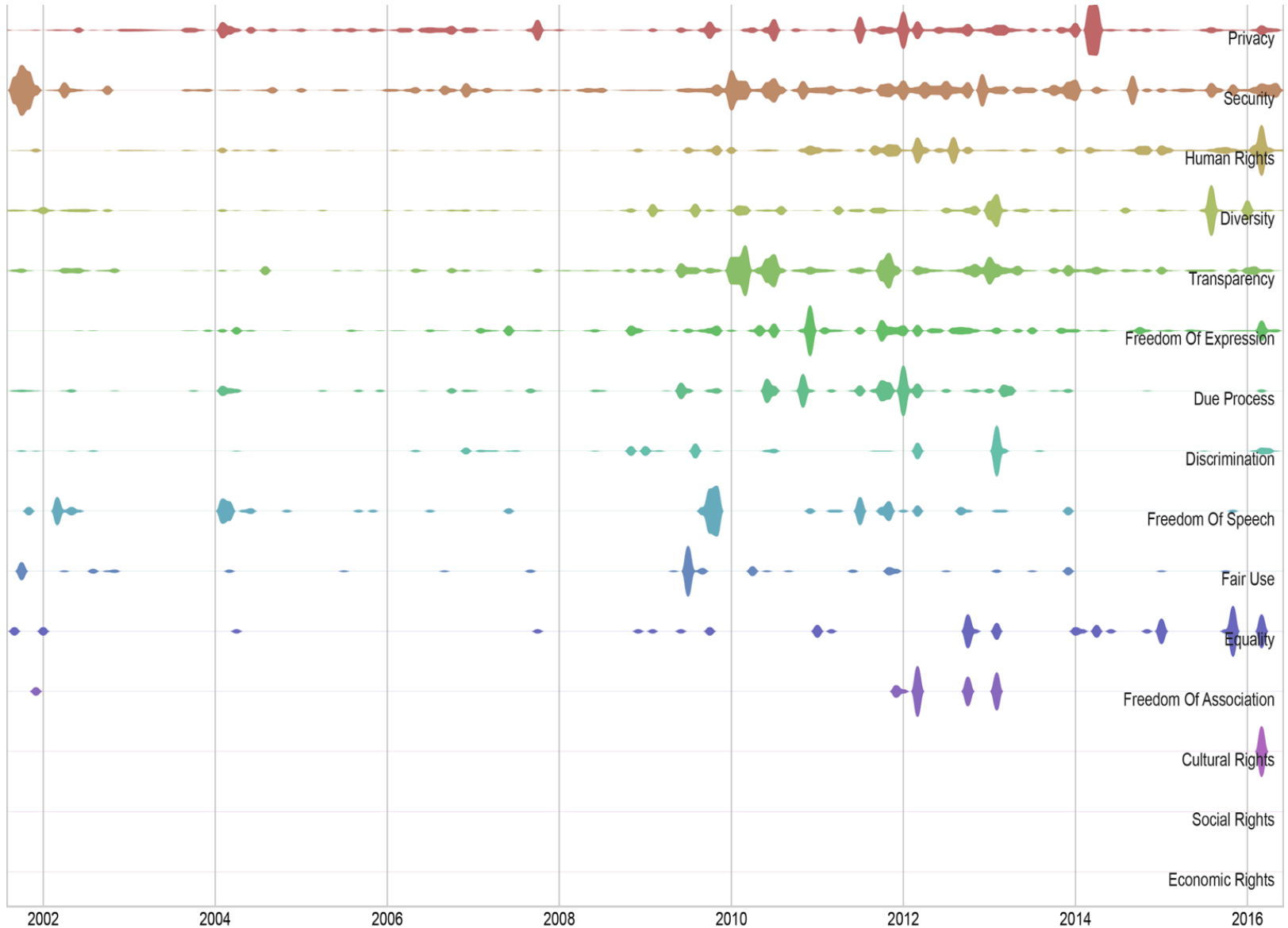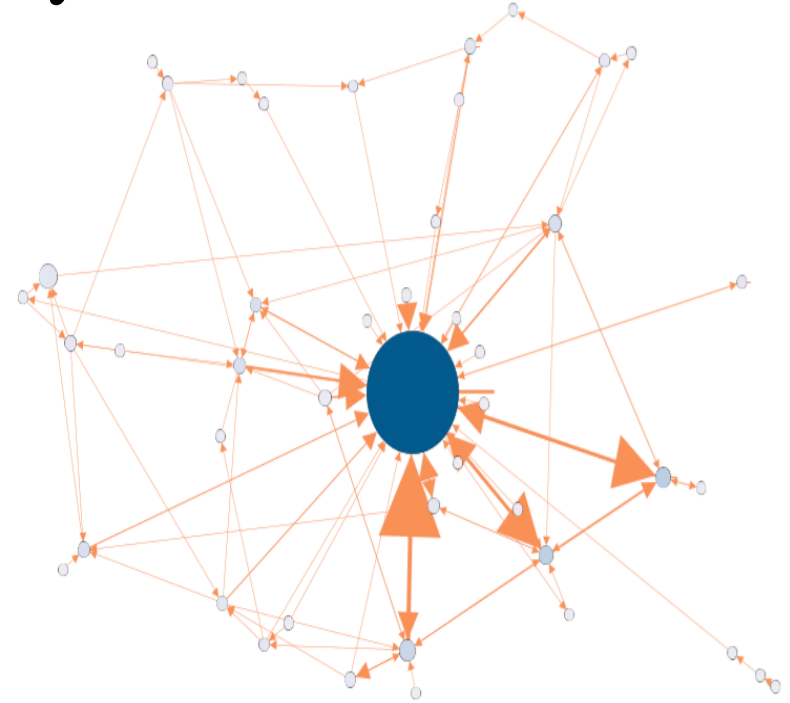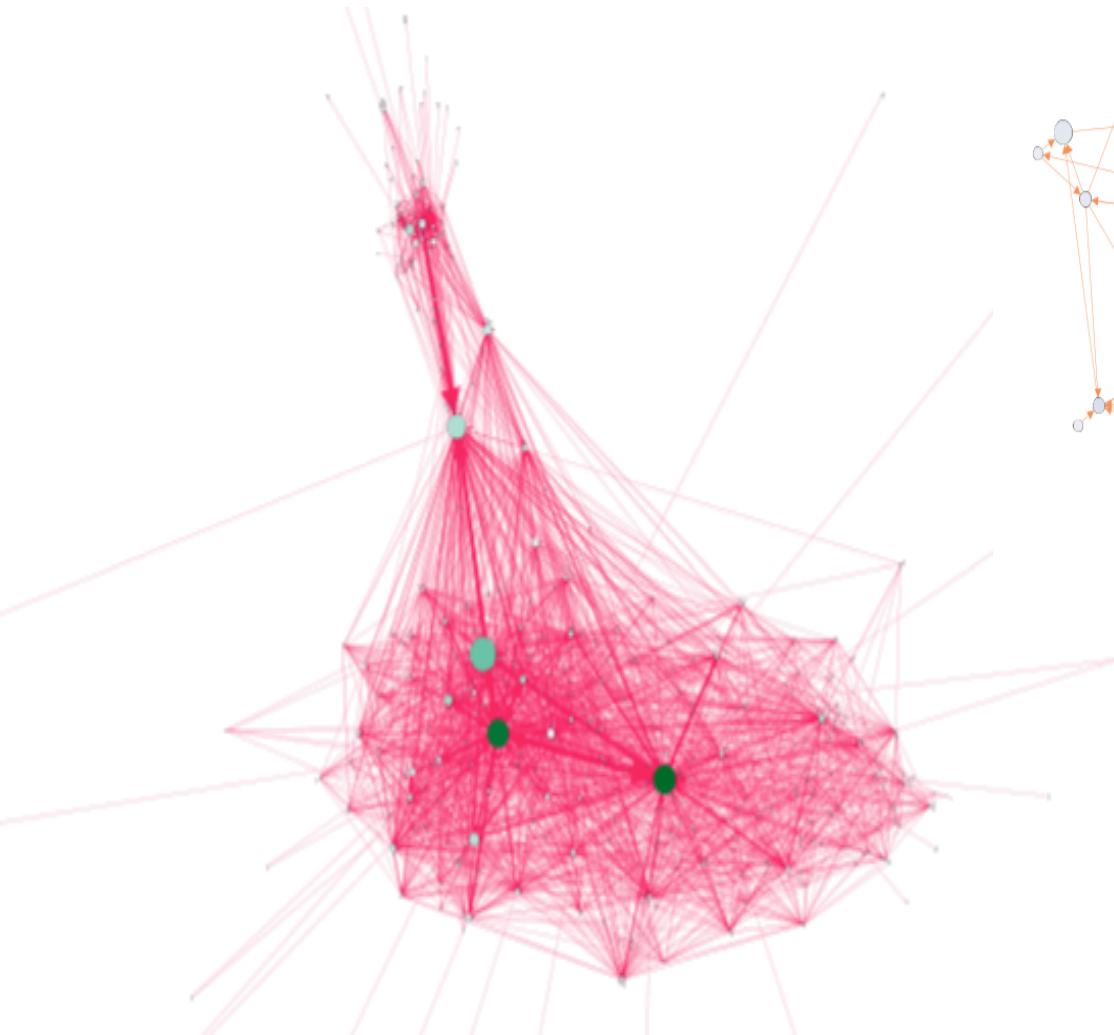# what can we learn

✧ how (policy) discourses evolve in online communities

✧ network configurations in online communities

✧ discursive and networking tactics of civil society advocacy

✧ (multistakeholder) institutional design (+ architecture design) in internet governance

human rights language development

comparing advocacy communities

policy language

(in the 250 most frequently used words, mailing list analysis with BigBang)

agenda free voting election stakeholder right
proposed **membership** **vote** participation interests
questions noncommercial large **gac** global position **statement**
world report proposal gtld charter **organizations**
draft security registration
bylaws government representative alac individual trademark technical believe against registrar dns pdp involved specific gtlds
above review organization constituencies
team npoc registry **whois** rights. **comment**
registrars protection
privacy **society**

groups

(civil society)

enforcement
governance
charter
multistakeholder **ip** resolutions **whois** conference
mechanisms
states permission **resources**
cwg gtld update member **party**
activities framework
law advisory enhancing isoc **manage**
stakeholder **pdp** protocol
fundamental protection committee gac
question worried rpm **agreement**
udrp consideration
people expected
trademarks **ietf** bylaws
privilege gtlds resolution welcome
cross webinar

(trademark interests)

DATACTIVE

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https://data-activism.net

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graphics: beehive design collective *(except the tin foil hat)*