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Global Digital Citizenship

edited by Jared Bielby

Editor of this issue:

Jared Bielby, MA/MLIS

Humanities Computing / School of Library and Information Studies
University of Alberta
Canada

Email: bielby@ualberta.ca

Editors of IRIE

Prof. Dr. Rafael Capurro (Editor in Chief),
International Center of Information Ethics (ICIE)
Redtenbacherstr. 9, D-76133 Karlsruhe, Germany
E-Mail: rafael@capurro.de

Prof. Dr. Johannes Britz,
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, USA and
University of Pretoria, South Africa
E-Mail: britz@uwm.edu

Prof. Dr. Thomas Hausmanninger,
University of Augsburg, Germany,
Universitätsstr. 10, D-86135 Augsburg
E-Mail: thomas.hausmanninger@kthf.uni-augs-burg.de

Dr. Michael Nagenborg,
Assistant Professor for Philosophy of Technology
Dept. of Philosophy, University of Twente, NL
E-Mail: M.H.Nagenborg@utwente.nl

Prof. Dr. Makoto Nakada,
University of Tsukuba, Japan,
Tennodai, Tsukuba, 305-8577 Ibaraki
E-Mail: nakadamakoto@msd.biglobe.ne.jp

Dr. Felix Weil,
QUIBIQ, Stuttgart, Germany,
Heßbrühlstr. 11, D-70565 Stuttgart
E-Mail: felix.weil@quibiq.de

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Editorial: On IRIE Vol. 23

The current European refugee crisis presents a major challenge both politically and economically for the EU and indeed the world. Looking beyond mere operative endeavours, the complexity of the crisis reminds us of the fragility of the assumed structures and organization of our (social) being in the world: questioning our being-as-citizen not only of a homeland but of a nation state as well, where geopolitical, cultural and ethnic standards are challenged. Of course, migration has, in part, defined much of human history, whether at an individual level or in terms of major waves of migration during times of war or ethnic persecution. The present migration crisis is not a novel phenomenon, where the exchange of inherited citizenship and acquired rights for asylum in a foreign land is a familiar tale told many times throughout centuries of geo-political upheaval.

The major difference between human migrations of history and our current crisis is the scale on which it takes place and the complexity of the causation behind it. The readiness to abandon one's homeland for asylum has grown exponentially in recent decades, a willingness hampered traditionally by geological barriers such as the Mediterranean Sea, but barriers of which have now through human desperation for asylum, ceased to be. Where there are no such barriers there are hastily erected fences and walls, a futile attempt to dissuade the tide of desperation, but being just another barrier that cannot withstand the mass movements of displaced peoples frantic in their loss of citizenship and homeland.

How different is the citizenship of the online world: there are virtually no barriers to moving around such a world - not only in terms of global communication but across the entire cosmos of the internet and cyberspace. How easy it becomes to quit an online community in order to move to another, a task accomplished by merely a few clicks. Masses do so, entire communities migrate, moving from 'myspace' to 'facebook', the consequence of which is that once seemingly strong and established communities are abandoned and eventually (sometimes suddenly) cease to exist. Furthermore, the argument is made that we have the 'right to be forgotten' in such a world, that in the internet one should be able to move on without leaving one's mark – forcing our abandoned communities to delete our information and thereby making our digital past unavailable to search engines, and thus to history.

On the other hand: the rules of engagement for online communities are not yet developed to a satisfactory level. Many social networks, for example, claim the right to expel members without having to give sufficient reason to do so and with no proper means to appeal their case. When viewed from the perspective of citizenship, bearing in mind that people already spend more time in their online communities than in offline ones, and that being part of particular communities in the web is becoming more and more important to people as being a citizen of a nation state becomes less and less important, we thoroughly have to understand if and how citizenship – and all the fundamental philosophical reflections associated with it – applies to the infosphere. Such concerns define information ethics at its core and are expounded on as the subject of the following issue.

Yours,

the editors.

Jared Bielby:

Global Digital Citizenship

In ancient Greece, the concept of the citizen was intricately connected with the city-state, a relationship implicit in the etymology of the term itself. It was from the ancient Greek idea of economy that the first concept of democracy arose, where citizenship began in the organization of one's home and worked outward through levels of engagement with *other* towards the public life, the democratic principle being intricately connected with the face-to-face encounter. Because of the structure of such economy, Plato capped a viable democracy at a maximum of 4000 citizens; any more than 4000 citizens, Plato deemed, could not share in true democratic engagement because they could not truly engage in a face-to-face encounter. Later developments in citizenship arose to incorporate the notion of citizen as encompassing the rights and duties of the nation-state. Further still, with the dawn of the Internet and Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), a new complexly connected globe entered a common citizenship, a citizenship that is only now beginning to be understood.

Faced with the imminent onset of a post nation-state world, global public life is beset with numerous considerations of citizenship under the certainty of an Information and Communication Technology driven reality. Not only has citizenship long since exceeded Plato's ideal 4000, but because of a nearly complete digitally-based economy (the term economy used here in the traditional Greek sense), digital citizenship has also negated, or nearly negated, the face-to-face encounter necessary to democracy and to citizenship. If the ability to participate in a face-to-face encounter — the key to Plato's determination of a viable democratic citizenship — is no longer a foundation to democracy and to citizenship, whether in terms of the nation-state or the digital-state, one must delineate anew the terms of citizenship, and of democracy itself.

Where perhaps ideal democracies were once marked by limiters of thousands, dependant on the face-to-face-encounter, a modern digital citizenship looks to delimiters of viable connections, swapping the face-to-face for Facebook, the 4000 for the commonly understood "connections"-principal of the supposed 150 maximum that marks authentic friendships in a digital social realm of six degrees of separation. In one of the below chapters of this special edition of IRIE, João Antonio de Moraes and Eloísa Benvenutti de Andrade ask the very pointed question of who it is we are referring to when we refer to the digital citizen.

The concept of global citizenship is as old as civilization, and in classical terms is referred to as Cosmopolitanism, a philosophy that transcends or redefines the Greek idea of citizenship signifying duty and rights as bound to the city-state. Cosmopolitanism posits that all belong to one society. A very deterministic conclusion, and a philosophy very accommodating of the exploration of a digital citizenship, one must question whether such a society is even optional. Can one choose to opt out of a digital citizenship? The question is explored herein by Andrew Iliadis who looks at the right to nonparticipation for global digital citizenship.

Diogenes the Cynic uttered the first cosmopolitan refrain when queried as to where he was from; "I am a citizen of the world," he replied. Diogenes stands out as the founder of cosmopolitanism, claiming an existential duty to his own being. His claim is none other than the assertion that he is both a stranger and himself wherever he is, not beholden to the constraints placed on him by location at any particular time and place in the world. One could posit, especially as it pertains to the existential foundations of digital citizenship, that one is always a stranger when it comes to citizenship in the world.

Both Plato and Diogenes represent the western tradition, where even the terminology of global citizenship is couched in Greek ideals and philosophy. It seems somewhat ironic that considerations of world citizenship are yet monopolized by western tradition and language. One of the foundational tenets to global digital citizenship is the exploration of how ICTs impact the nature of power structures pertaining to the life cycle of information control, where information becomes the star player in the global-wide confluence of tradition and technology. A critical concern of global digital citizenship is the nature of the ebb and flow of knowledge access, exemplifying a phenomenon whereby all information, however initially equally accessible to all citizens of the world sharing a common globe, eventually becomes monopolized, restricted, censored, or controlled. One of the most overlooked barriers to equitable global citizenship is the more than ever prevalent monopoly of English speaking (and writing) access and control over, and to, knowledge — especially in terms of academic literature

where the expected medium of communication is proficient English. Little consideration has gone into the significance of this assumed bias in terms of the barriers and limitations placed on non-English speaking academics and writers. Perhaps one of the most poignant expositions of the discrepancy is the herein contained treatment of the matter by Laurie M. Bridges and Kelly McElroy in their profoundly necessary essay, *Access to Information is (Not) a Universal Right in Higher Education*.

Bruno Macedo Nathansohn, writing in Portuguese, weighs in on the political arena of Global Digital Citizenship in his chapter, *A busca pela cidadania global no ciberespaço*, where he compares and contrasts the driving intentions of the warring extremist factions dividing the Israeli and Palestinian peoples, arguing the case that a common desire exists for seeking citizenship in a digitally connected globalization, a commonality that unites both sides in citizenship. Nathansohn's chapter should help us remember that the more information that becomes available to the citizens of the world, the more efficient societies are at making collectively beneficial democratic choices, and that whenever information can assist citizens of democratic states to make informed choices and politically engage in the decisions that affect them, that information is best utilized when made openly available through transparent means.

And yet even in the above determination, the bias of western tradition emanates, inhibiting an equitable global voice whereby a Euro-centric presumption that more information is better for society and individual citizens prefaces digital ethics, as it prefaces the very western-born idea of *information literacies*, an idea founded in democratic and humanist principles whose tenets have again been presumed and globally layered as one size fits all (cultures), foundations to citizenship that are not necessarily shared at an intercultural level. If democracy is forced onto the world as necessitating a global digital citizenship, then a paradox ensues, or at least hypocrisy does, whereby the very freedoms that democracy would allow for now become negated by their insistence. Global digital citizenship works towards untangling such complexities.

Situated in a historical framework of unmatched information flow and the power structures at play therein, and timely manifested in a moment of unguarded information where accountability to digital *being* not only becomes a choice but a necessity, global digital citizenship manifests itself as the prevailing authority in a culture of appropriated knowledge. The Fifth Estate, a neologism designating citizen journalism, is telling in terms of the dissolution of information, whereby every citizen becomes a journalist. What happens to information when every citizen is a journalist and all information is available en masse to be disseminated? Breilla Zanon touches on such questions in her below article, *Transparency for Institutions, Privacy for Individuals*, where she teases out the implications of the cypherpunk philosophy and the WikiLeaks phenomenon.

In *Trolling the Global Citizen: The Deconstructive Ethics of the Digital Subject*, Ben Staunton takes the reader deeper into the murky waters of online psychology, exploring the intricate pathways of digital being and outlining the sometimes subtle nuances of the constructions of online authenticity. Employing the philosophy of Levinas as a foundation to his essay, Staunton explicates the above noted contrast between traditional citizenship as necessitating a face-to-face engagement and digital citizenship, a new form of being that will perhaps end up relying on alternative forms of authentication, especially against inauthentic digital encounters as exemplified by the Internet troll. Indeed, seeking the foundations to digital citizenship becomes complex, especially as traditionally understood through terms of the rights and duties of citizenship. In light of the masses of information available, of exponential information saturation, where does one even begin to try to understand their responsibilities to a digital world? Marina Pantoja Boechat and Débora de Carvalho Pereira attempt to explore the practical elements of this information saturation in terms of big data and its implications towards Global Digital Citizenship in their *Reverse mediations: digital methods of social research for digital citizenship*. Their proposal of reverse mediations outlines a methodology for deciphering the above noted murky waters of online psychology.

While definitions of Global Digital Citizenship remain in flux, and applications of digital citizenship seem, to some, unlikely, the importance of exploring the age-old phenomenon of cosmopolitanism through digital terms is critical. In a world where both localization and globalization have usurped traditional assumptions of nation-states and nationalism, and patriotism holds little sway over a digitally informed citizenry, a new accountability is called for. Who is the digital citizen? What is his or her role? Perhaps the below collection of monumentally critical pieces can help inform the subject.

João Antonio de Moraes, Eloísa Benvenutti de Andrade:

Who are the citizens of the digital citizenship?

Abstract:

We live in the Digital Era, where national frontiers are vanishing. In light of cultural globalization and digital identity, a contemporary re-interpretation of classical notions like *citizenship* is imperative. What does it mean to be a citizen in the Digital Era? To whom can we assign digital citizenship status? In order to discuss these questions we introduce the notion of *hybrid beings*. Our hypothesis is that the dynamical feedback relation between the physical and digital individual's experience promotes the embodiment of a hybrid identity from which the hybrid being emerges. It is important to stress that the hybrid identities of hybrid beings are not just alter egos or avatars created in the digital world, but that they express a new dynamic around the impossibility of distinguishing between "physical" and "digital" sides of an individuals' actions. It is precisely because of a hybrid being's participation in a merged physical/digital world that we believe the notion of hybrid beings is the most suitable paradigm to exemplify the role of the digital citizen and digital citizenship.

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Authors:

João Antonio de Moraes:

- PhD Candidate in Philosophy at State University of Campinas, UNICAMP, Campinas/São Paulo/Brazil.
- ✉ moraesunesp@yahoo.com.br
- Relevant publications:
 - João Antonio de Moraes, Eloísa Benvenutti de Andrade. Notas para uma Fenomenologia da Vida Informacional. In: Mariana Claudia Broens, João Antonio de Moraes, Edna Alves de Souza (Eds.). **Informação, Complexidade e Auto-Organização: Estudos Interdisciplinares**. Campinas: Coleção CLE, v.73, p. 115-132, 2015.
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Eloísa Benvenutti de Andrade:

- Master in Philosophy at State University of São Paulo, UNESP, Marília/São Paulo/Brazil.
- ✉ Eloisabenvenutti@yahoo.com.br
- Relevant publications:
 - João Antonio de Moraes, Eloísa Benvenutti de Andrade. Notas para uma Fenomenologia da Vida Informacional. In: Mariana Claudia Broens, João Antonio de Moraes, Edna Alves de Souza (Eds.). **Informação, Complexidade e Auto-Organização: Estudos Interdisciplinares**. Campinas: Coleção CLE, v.73, p. 115-132, 2015.
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Introduction

The theme of *digital citizenship* is one of the most addressed topics when discussing *Internet Governance*¹, an area of research that deals with laws and policies to govern the Internet's provision and use². This debate is complex due to the fact that the Internet is constructed to enable an environment of instant cooperation with a global reach. The use of the Internet is also relatively inexpensive, can be accessed by various types of devices, and comprises a relationship between individuals-in-network in a decentralized way. In this relationship, the key significant element is the individual, as the Internet user acquires a hitherto unmatched potential for expression in the world and can more than ever actively participate in issues of global interest.

It is in this sense that the notion of *digital citizenship* proposed by Mossberger, Tolberg & McNeal finds itself: "Digital citizenship' is the ability to participate in society online"^{3,4}. To participate in online society involves using the Internet in typical ways and with a basic know-how, because only in the context of competent, standard use will it be possible for users to engage in patterns of conduct that are consistent with the notion of digital citizenship. Thus, such notions involve the use of Informational and Communication Technologies (ICTs) in one's daily actions for public or private purposes.

Information philosopher Rafael Capurro⁵ inquires: Is there a difference between being a citizen in the "physical" world and in the "digital" one? We share with his philosophy the idea that the "digital" world is only as an expression of being-in-the-world, which in the information age acquires the complement "-in-network". *In-network*, as an expression, encompasses that which takes place in the digitalization of daily activities that precipitate an individuals' immersion into the digital environment, an environment that enables virtual relationships, e-commerce, home office space, social networks, e-Learning, and more. We believe that "physical" and "digital" are two faces of the same coin. To understand both sides, it is necessary, as Capurro argues, to go beyond moral and legal traditional paradigms that govern current civilization in order to encompass a new kind of being-in-the-world-in-network, a world familiarized by phenomena such as Wikileaks and the Snowden revelations.

According to Quilici-Gonzalez, Kobayashi, Gonzalez & Broens⁶, Kantian⁷ Deontology presents limitations in the analysis of ICTs' impacts in everyday life, since very few guide their behavior by "maxims" or "universal law". Floridi⁸, in turn, believes that, given its anthropocentric aspect, such a perspective would not be broad

¹ Although we do not aim to scrutinize the goals of Internet Governance research in this article, but only to discuss the topic of *digital citizenship*, we point out here other objects of interest of this research area, such as *digital divide*, *free speech*, *free access*, *censorship*, and *responsibility*. Roughly speaking, the discussions on these topics seek to analyze the current scenario and to identify disparities of access, the use of information, and knowledge in the digital environment (*digital divide* - economical and technical issues); the gratuity of the information available on Internet (*free access*); the control of the available content (*free speech* and *censorship*), the development of legal actions, and to identify accountability for failure to comply with current regulations (*responsibility*).

² Dubois, Elisabeth, and Dutton, William H.: Empowering Citizens of the Internet Age: The Role of a Fifth Estate. 238

³ Mossberger, Karen, and Tolberg, Caroline J., and McNeal, Ramona S.: Digital Citizenship – the Internet, Society, and Participation. 1

⁴ It is worth noting that we are not regarding the notion of digital citizenship as "better" or "worse" than citizenship's traditional notion. In our discussion of *digital citizenship*, we seek only to analyze this notion as a result of a new possibility for an individual expression in the world. Such expression will be illustrated by popular participation through ICTs towards claiming individual rights. Therefore, those individuals who do not have an effective interaction with the digital environment will not be characterized as digital citizens. However, this does not imply any loss. Currently, although a large proportion of individuals still do not have Internet access, limiting their scope of digital citizenship, there is an exponential increase in the number of networked individuals. In 2014, for instance, there were more than three billion people with Internet access, constituting 40% of the world population. Moreover, the passage from two to three billion occurred only in four years, from 2010-2014 (<http://www.internetlivestats.com/internet-users/>).

⁵ Capurro, Rafael: Citizenship in the Digital Age. *Forthcoming*

⁶ Quilici-Gonzalez, José Arthur, and Kobayashi, Guiou, and Gonzalez, Maria Eunice Quilici, and Broens, Mariana Claudia: Ubiquitous computing: any ethical implications?

⁷ Kant, Immanuel: Fundamental principles of the metaphysic of morals.

⁸ Floridi, Luciano: Information ethics: on the philosophical foundation of computer ethics.

enough to investigate digital-wide issues such as cybercrime, virtual vandalism, among others. As Capurro notes:

*"Kant [...] can't walk a mile in our cybershoes. It seems we can't 'go home again' to the land of traditional ethics as the paradigms and parameters (as per Thomas Kuhn) have changed and are constantly changing. i.e. netiquette is of a different informational order/category to [physical] world etiquette. Snowden's 'theft' is of a different order to the felony of pilfering material property. Wikileaks activity is, from within the cyberworld, not stealing secrets but enabling access and devolving control – a positive social and communal and informational good"*⁹.

We will thus argue in the following paper that a first step towards a clarification of the notion of digital citizenship is the identification first of *who* is it we refer to when we speak of the citizen and secondly to whom can be assigned digital citizenship status, a status of citizenry that overcomes the dichotomy between "physical" and "digital". Our hypothesis is that this citizen is a *hybrid being* that arises from the dynamic feedback relationship between his/her physical and digital experiences and the incorporation of a hybrid identity, an identity which is not only an alter ego or an avatar, but also an effective expression of being-in-the-world. It is this hybrid being who is capable of acting in the world in both forms of expression without incongruity, thus fully engaging his/her role as a digital citizen.

To ask about the notion of citizenship in the Digital Era is to, by default, ask about the rights and duties of hybrid *being*, where rights involve norms and laws for the regulation of the digital environment, but without neglecting the rights and duties of the individual in their physical space and environment. Using digital media towards greater participation in political decisions, individuals can position themselves actively. Thus, there is a *bottom-up* cooperation in the establishment of a digital community of individuals-in-network; through such community they can discuss and contribute effectively to the future paths of the information society¹⁰. As we will argue, it is precisely when the individual, as a hybrid being, acts in the physical/digital world engaged in popular participation that he/she earns his/her status as digital citizen.

In order to develop a hypothesis according to which hybrid beings are characterized as individuals who are the citizens of digital citizenship, we have structured this paper into three parts. First, we revisit the traditional notion of citizenship, a notion that focuses on the physical location to which the individual is located, corresponding to their rights and duties as such. As mentioned, such a notion does not clearly suit a notion of citizenship that is at the same time physical and digital, mainly due to the global-scale aspect of the digital environment. For this reason, in the second part, we make explicit the notion of *hybrid being*. We present new political possibilities of action performed by hybrid beings, featuring popular participation in the digital environment as resulting in the emergence of the Fifth Estate. Such participation, although set in a digital context, reflects, and is closely related to, the physical range of events. Finally, we draw some considerations around the relationship between digital citizenship, hybrid beings, and the Fifth Estate.

Traditional Citizenship

According to its etymology, the word "citizen" originates from the word *civita*, which in Latin means "city". This, in turn, is correlated to the Greek word *politikós*, meaning "the one who dwells in the city". In Ancient Greece the notion of citizenship was understood as a right that Greek individuals had to participate in decisions about the city's goals through *Ekklesia*, a practice enacted in the *Ágora* (Greek public square for the agreement of decisions). From this practice came Greek democracy, a type of democracy specific to only a few individuals whose decisions determined the destiny of the entire city (slaves, women, and artisans were excluded from citizenry).

⁹ Capurro, Rafael: Citizenship in the Digital Age. *Forthcoming*

¹⁰ Dyer-Witheford, Nick: Cycles and circuits of struggle in high-technology capitalism. 232

In modern democracy, the notion of citizenship relates the practice of civil, political, and social rights and duties established by *foundational national documents* by which rights and duties interrelate to ensure a democratic society. In this way, the interrelationship of rights and duties also ensures that citizenship, to some extent, is inextricably linked to location, to where the individual performs his/her rights and duties. Consequently, citizenship requires from the individual not only his/her attention of their rights and obligations, but also his/her belief in democracy as an adequate political model, to practice it properly and fight to put it into practice. The model demands a reciprocity that ensures a give-and-take relationship between state and citizen and an adherence to established rights as protected through participation.

Thus, on the one hand, to be a citizen is to have the guarantee of all civil, political, and social rights so that the possibility of a full life is assured. On the other, it is understood by the citizen that such rights are not simply conferred; they are required, integrated, and then assumed by the laws, authorities, and local population in general. In other words, citizenship is not something given to the individual, but rather something built on a process of organization, participation, accountability and intervention by the individual.

The distinction between formal citizenship and substantive citizenship is made, where formal citizenship concerns that which is present both in *foundational national documents* and in other laws specific to particular countries, while substantive citizenship concerns actions that are performed in daily life. The enactment of substantive citizenship reveals that, despite laws ensuring formal citizenship, there would be no equality of said rights in daily life as outlined by the law, and thus no possibility to put citizenship into practice towards the improvement of democracy among all individuals without the actual practice of those rights being the basic foundation to citizenship.

As Thomas Marshall¹¹ explains, the contemporary paradigm of citizenship first developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with the promulgation of so-called *civil rights*. In that context, the intention was to guarantee rights such as the right "to come and go", the right "to property", to "contractual freedom", "the freedom of religion and thought", and finally "to justice", where justice serves as a safeguard for all preceding rights. These rights informed European legislation, but without necessarily ensuring that civil rights were equally distributed to all people. Thus, this notion of citizenship was restricted to only individuals who owned properties or, especially, lands¹².

Marshall elucidates the restriction of the notion of modern citizenship through its connection to *capitalism*, the well-known political-economic model that consolidates distinctions between social classes. Such an approach is a key point for comprehending the notion of *digital* citizenship, especially as it pertains to discussion around who qualifies as a digital citizen. As Marshall points out:

*"Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed. There is no universal principle that determines what those rights and duties shall be, but societies in which citizenship is a developing institution create an image of an ideal citizenship against which achievement can be measured and towards which aspiration can be directed. [...] Social class, on the other hand, is a system of, inequality. And it too, like citizenship, can be based on a set of ideals, beliefs and values. It is therefore reasonable to expect that the impact of citizenship on social class should take the form of a conflict between opposing principles. If I am right in my contention that citizenship has been a developing institution in England at least since the latter part of the seventeenth century, then it is dear that its growth coincides with the rise of capitalism, which is a system, not of equality, but of inequality. [...] What made it possible for them to be reconciled with one another and to become, for a time at least, allies instead of antagonists? The question is a pertinent one, for it is dear that, in the twentieth century, citizenship and the capitalist class system have been at war."*¹³

¹¹ Marshall, Thomas H.: Citizenship and social class. 10

¹² Marshall, Thomas H.: Citizenship and social class. 35

¹³ Marshall, Thomas H.: Citizenship and social class. 28-29

Scholars of both English and French convention have traditionally defended the idea that human beings are born free and equal¹⁴. It is common even in modern conversations around citizenship to adopt this assumption as necessarily foundational to citizenship, thus ensuring individuals are guaranteed their rights and that said rights are ultimately indisputable. The challenge in a globalized, and especially a digitally globalized society is to reconcile the presumed foundations of classical citizenship with the current political-economic paradigm that severely undermines the individuals' freedom.

Thomas Hobbes¹⁵ argued that individuals, otherwise equal by nature, but having freedom, fight against each other in defense of individual interests. Thus an agreement (contract) between them is needed in order to prevent them from destroying themselves in their freedom. According to Hobbes, members of society should renounce their freedom and give to the State the right to act on their behalf in order to curb all excesses. On the other hand, according to John Locke¹⁶, only free and equal individuals have the ability to make a pact with the objective of establishing a political society. For Locke, such individuals are those who have some *property* to protect. For Rousseau¹⁷ equality is only meaningful if based on freedom, and according to his definition, equality can only be conceived from a legal perspective, i.e., everyone must be equal before the law. In other words, individuals are not equal by being born equal and free, but because they have the same rights under the law, the law being constructed by those who administer a particular society. From this idea, the notion was first conceived that equality could prove a serious threat to the social privileges of the bourgeoisie and aristocracy, namely those who had for centuries maintained power and control. This realization was the catalyst to a developing discussion around the relationship between freedom and equality, a discussion that, with the dawn of the capitalist society, would side with freedom as the most valuable prerogative, leaving equality aside.

However, in this context, Karl Marx¹⁸ notes that the working class did not identify themselves as citizens because the concept of citizenry was reserved for the bourgeois individuals' representation only. For Marx, the idea of democracy would have to pass a criterion of *social equality* that only *revolution* could bring to reality, since political and human emancipation were unfamiliar concepts at the time. Although there are several theories as to the catalyst that set in motion the modern western achievement of democracy, it is commonly accepted that the nineteenth century human rights conquest by the working class, along with the growing understanding that human rights are not a "gift of nature" but the result of the struggle against the privileges of the elite, were key factors to the process.

We believe that the discussion around digital citizenship and the quest for an adequate political model for the digital world is critical. As Eduardo Colombo¹⁹ argues, it is possible to define, as a political field, the issues stemming from the collective action of a global society. The Proudhon defense follows that: "In a natural order, power born from society is the result of all particular forces joined: work, defense, and justice".²⁰ Unlike the capitalist political-economic model in which there is a process of alienation producing a power structure of social domination, we agree with Colombo that, "The stateless society, without political power or domination, is a new way to win. It is the future"²¹.

Our contention is that the shape of this future will be found in the information society, a society in which ICTs determine the course of individuals' daily lives, especially as relating to the Internet. As such, the shape of

¹⁴ For instance: Tocqueville, Alexis: Democracy in America.

¹⁵ Hobbes, Thomas: Leviatã ou Matéria, Forma e Poder de um Estado Eclesiástico e Civil. 105

¹⁶ Locke, John: Dois tratados sobre o governo. 406

¹⁷ Rousseau, Jean-Jacques: Do contrato social. 9

¹⁸ Marx, Karl: A Questão Judaica - Manuscritos Econômico-Filosóficos. 63

¹⁹ Colombo, Eduardo: Análise do Estado: o Estado como paradigma de poder. 80

²⁰ Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph: De la Justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Eglise. 491 (our translation)

²¹ Colombo, Eduardo: Análise do Estado: o Estado como paradigma de poder. 80-81 (our translation)

citizenship must supersede traditional categories. A confrontation with traditional structures of citizenship categories is inevitable since such categories cannot be applied uniformly across the dynamic digital spaces being constructed and supported in a global *bottom-up* cooperation and interaction between individuals. The very nature of the digital community expresses a genuine power and an original sociability that exercises more influence in greater measure than any traditional citizenry and governance structure. The resources and opportunities for communication offered through ICTs allows for a confluence of “democratic” ideals that form in a digital global space in more efficient and rapid ways than through more traditional means of social power found in notions of “city state” citizenship expressed in the daily life and public meetings for which the *foundational national documents* of countries were prepared. In Deleuzian terms, the participation of individuals in the Internet context is configured as “nomadic”, a term referring not only to someone who moves and to whom categorizations of locale cannot be applied, but to an ideal that does not allow itself to be coded by governing structures²², the expressions of which the digital citizen exemplifies.²³

Thus, the question of the re-application of citizenship is raised. Who is the individual thus established as a citizen through the expression of rights and duties in a digital environment? To whom can digital citizenship status be applied? As we argue in the next section, such an individual is a hybrid being, a physical being connected to others in a digital space who, with other hybrid beings, is commonly seeking for rights, recognition and purpose in a borderless and non-nationalistic setting through the expressing their actions in the physical/digital world as digital citizens. The relationship between beings-in-the-world-in-network, from a bottom-up movement, denotes an empowerment for participation in discussions of local and global interest, in physical and digital environments. This active participation of individuals in the digital/physical context constitutes, as we share with Dubois & Dutton²⁴, the Fifth Estate, being the result of a cooperative organization between users themselves, as hybrid beings, playing their roles as digital citizens.

ICT and Hybrid Beings

The insidious increase and dominant presence of ICTs in individual everyday life remains largely unanalyzed. However, among the characteristics of ICTs, we wish to highlight and explore the following four novel aspects:

- (i) New ways to manipulate information;
- (ii) New kinds of interaction - online (indirect and anonymous);
- (iii) The increasing capacity to capture, review, store, protect, and share information;
- (iv) The global exponential spread of information.

Because of the increasing presence of ICTs in the individuals’ daily life, new ways of being-in-the-world are emerging, changing current habits and influencing the way that individuals act and understand themselves in the world, both in relation to other individuals and to their environment. The Internet stands out as a catalyst to digital being-in-the-world, encompassing the above noted characteristics (i)-(iv). One of the most noteworthy and prominent changes associated with the influence of ICTs over individuals is in terms of communication, where individuals, who were until recently only receivers of information, have now become producers of information for a global network. In doing so, the new communication paradigm changes one’s conception of the world and they become both actor within, and catalyst to, an immersed digital environment, thus constituting a *bottom-up* movement that is decentralized, an environment by which users are active participants.

²² Deleuze, Gilles: *Pensamento nômade*.

²³ As we explained in the introduction and in the footnote 4, we understand that the digital citizenship status could be assigned only to someone that know how to perform effectively in digital environment, participating in the development of the online society. As we also mentioned, there is not any initial loss in not has a digital citizenship, because it is a new possibility for individual expression in the world that not disregard the physical world and the citizenship’s traditional notion. By way of we will explain latter, it is the constitution of the hybrid being that would mark the passage from citizenship and the possibility to perform the digital citizenship.

²⁴ Dubois, Elisabeth, and Dutton, William H.: *Empowering Citizens of the Internet Age: The Role of a Fifth Estate*.

What little analysis has been offered towards understanding the influence that ICTs have had on the behavior of individuals and has been thus far largely restricted to user groups that include children and teenagers, namely the so-called *Generation Z* ("Z" in correspondence to zettabytes, the amount of information generated before 2010).²⁵ These individuals, often called "digital natives", have never known access to a world without the presence and persistent influence of *Google*, *Twitter*, *Wikipedia*, and *Facebook*, where such terms are understood not as merely services but as verbs.²⁶ Generation Z was born into, and raised, surrounded by ICTs, and all of the above 'novelties' of information and communication are rendered through natural actions in the case of digital natives. The intricate interaction with ICTs throughout the life of a Gen Z is based not in the formation of new behaviors but is based out of habits of action.

There is a naturalization of new forms of action in the world in the process of digitalization, much like there is in any new dynamic of society. As Capurro remarks, "The view of computers as something 'other' is disappearing, i.e., they are less and less 'some-thing' or 'other-than-us' and permeate the world in which we – or, more precisely: some of us – live".²⁷ Moreover, with the development of ICTs and the disappearance of the boundary between physical and digital worlds, there is a direct influence of ICTs in the personal identity of individuals, where "in designing tools we are designing ways of being"²⁸. As expressed by Ihde²⁹, there is a change in the life-world texture. It is precisely in this setting that the *hybrid being* appears as a result of the naturalization process and of the digitalization of the world, executing two expressions of the same world.

The hybrid being possesses three main characteristics^{30,31}:

- (1) The absence of strangeness in facing new technologies;
- (2) A natural development amid the physical/digital context;
- (3) The constitution of personal identity mediated by ICTs.

Regarding the first point, we note that an individual's actions within a natural ICT-based context comprise both existing technologies and those that arise during the individual's growth. As indicated, children have now a great facility to handle informational artifacts without first having to conceive a world in which such artifacts do not exist. The second characteristic follows directly from the first, explaining the naturalness in which the presence of ICTs is seen by younger individuals. Reminding a Gen Z about the dangers of privacy online regarding the sharing of information, photos, and personal videos on social networks is in many cases meaningless, since for many Gen Z, opening sharing in a digital world is not only "natural", but concerns of privacy are not in fact "concerns" of theirs at all.³² Whether or not privacy *should* be a concern of theirs is another point altogether, and one has to now consider to whom it is that the concerns belong to, and whether those concerns are potent. Arising from (1) and (2), we note the dissolution of boundaries between "physical" and "digital" worlds, a dissolution that affects the personal identity of the individual in a world accessed via ICTs. As stated, such ontological considerations go beyond the mere sense of ICTs as tools, but now places such tools as intrinsically embedded objects within the dynamics of individual being-in-the-world. As we will argue, these dynamics promote the process of hybridization as a new expression of the being, the hybrid being, which will make possible the effectuation of digital citizenship.

²⁵ Gantz, John, and Reinsel, David: *Extracting Value from Chaos*.

²⁶ Floridi, Luciano: *The Fourth Revolution – How Infosphere is Reshaping Human Reality*. 43

²⁷ Capurro, Rafael: *Interpreting the Digital Human*. 8

²⁸ Winograd, Terry, and Flores, Fernando: *Understanding Computers and Cognition*. xi

²⁹ Ihde, Don: *What Globalization Do We Want?*. 84

³⁰ Floridi, Luciano: *The Fourth Revolution – How Infosphere is Reshaping Human Reality*.

³¹ Capurro, Rafael: *Interpreting the Digital Human*.

³² Moraes, João Antonio de: *Implicações éticas da "virada informacional na filosofia"*.

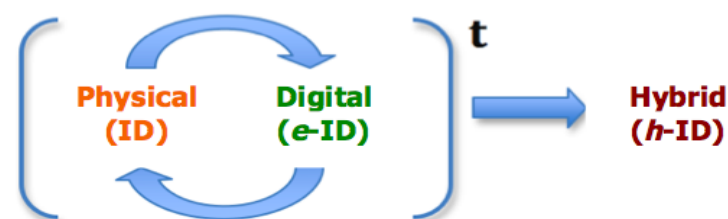
In order to understand how ICTs can be intrinsically embedded within individual being, we look at the influence of ICTs on personal identity as developed by Floridi³³, who identifies three kinds of *self*: *personal identity* (*per se*), *self-conception* and *social self*. Personal identity concerns effectively “who we are”; the self-conception is “who we think we are”; and the social self refers to “what we are from other people’s thought”. These three notions of *self* are closely related, and a change in one of them can also affect the others. The relationship between these notions of *self* is stressed in the following passage:

*“Change the social condition in which you live, modify the network of relations and the flows of information you enjoy, reshape the nature and scope of the constraints and affordances that regulate your personality of yourself to the world and indirectly to yourself, and then your social self may be radically updated, feeding back into your self-conception, which ends up shaping your personal identity”*³⁴

In this sense, to conceive ICTs as mere tools is a naive conception, given their all-encompassing presence in the daily lives of millions of individuals, being an intricate part of their very existence. This mediation of individual’s actions influences their existential self: while the experience of being-in-the-world is digitized there is also, as a consequence, the digitalization of their existence. As Capurro argues: “[ICT are] already part of the everyday life of millions of people. It is integrated in their bodily existence [...] if it is true that we change technology then it is also true that technology transforms us. This happens, indeed, at the very bottom of our bodily experience”³⁵. It is worth noting that this understanding goes beyond the mere composition of individuals as cyborgs (i.e., to change the individual’s body engaging an artifact), but as indicated, ICTs influence one’s own understanding as being-in-the-world, in particular those connected to the Internet:

*“[...] the ways we perceive reality and the thoughts we develop are shaped hermeneutically by our digital technologies and vice versa, digital technologies have to adapt to the ways we perceive and interpret reality. The Internet has brought up changes in our spatiotemporal social experience that were difficult to imagine some decades ago”*³⁶.

We understand that an individual’s action of providing information about their selves in the digital environment constitutes a twofold action: co-constructing this environment and, at the same time, being built by it, influencing their self-understanding holistically but in different worlds, the digital world and the physical world; the way of *hybrid being*. It is through an individual’s performance in the world, now expressed in its “physical” aspect, now “digital”, that the *hybrid being* is conceived in its deeper meaning, going beyond notions of *cyborg*, *alter ego* or *avatar*. The underlying process to the constitution of hybrid beings can be outlined as follows³⁷:



³³ Floridi, Luciano: The Fourth Revolution – How Infosphere is Reshaping Human Reality. 60

³⁴ Floridi, Luciano: The Fourth Revolution – How Infosphere is Reshaping Human Reality. 60-61

³⁵ Capurro, Rafael: Interpreting the Digital Human. 15

³⁶ Capurro, Rafael: Interpreting the Digital Human. 15

³⁷ Adapted from: Moraes, João Antonio de, and Andrade, Eloísa Benvenuti de: Notas para uma Fenomenologia da Vida Informacional. 126

According to the above equation, an individual constitutes his/her personal identity (*ID*) from his/her experience in the physical world; that is, a way to recognize him/herself and interact with the world. Through the manipulation of ICTs and his/her immersion in the virtual environment, this individual discovers a range of possibilities for action, constituting his/her digital identity (*e-ID*); that is, his/her way of recognizing himself in the digital environment. Also related to *e-ID* is an authentic expression of individualism dependent on anonymity and the choice of non-presence, enabling the individual to authentically behave in ways not possible in the physical world. Choice of being becomes approximation, especially in digital social relationships such as online chat where the individual controls both their actions and their presence of being. Online being also embraces both validation and space to be, free from the restrictions of localized, sub-cultural or national virtue and moral rebuke, examples being various states of exhibitionism and voyeurism not allowed in most physical sub-cultural or localized settings. In the course of time (*t*) the dynamic between individual experiences, now in the physical, now in the digital, allows for an emergence of identity, both personal and digital, an identity in the end that has become *unique*. At this stage, it is not possible to distinguish between *ID* and *e-ID* in the individual's actions, constituting, therefore, a *hybrid identity* (*h-ID*).

The hybrid being is characterized by his/her ability to act without strangeness in a context in which ICTs are disseminated. Thus, action and an individual's own personal identity is reinterpreted via mediation of ICTs, and this already becomes a part of his/her own existence. In other words, the hybrid being is the result of a process of an informational reinterpretation promoted by the inclusion of ICTs in the daily life of individuals, expressed in physical/digital dimensions. As far as citizenship goes, it becomes common for the hybrid being to presume the above physical/digital environments in any and all action. Where they act, as does any individual acting in any environment, the hybrid being reinterprets the dynamics of society through the lens of both localized and globalized contexts where national borders becomes less significant on one hand, but on the other hand, both localized contexts (i.e. the city, the home – namely the more intimate levels of the classical Greek ideas of economy), as well as globalized context (the global environment as precipitated by digital citizenship), inform participation in the decisions and directions of society. The most significant paradigm of the action of hybrid being is an emerging philosophy of activism and digital democracy, often referred to as cypherpunk philosophy, where global-wide citizen-participation seeks to ensure and protect the rights of individuals through information flow and information control. The cypherpunk philosophy is constructed around a dichotomy that demands, on one hand, a complete transparency of information by any and all authoritative bodies and governments, and on the other hand, the complete protection of information and individual privacy for the individual.³⁸ It is a bold philosophy, but one that currently defies digital democracy, as best revealed through the recent WikiLeaks and whistleblowers phenomenon. The participation of hybrid beings acting as digital citizens results in the constitution of the Fifth Estate.

Popular Participation and the Fifth Estate

Since the Internet is a medium comprised of its users, where the information that the Internet consists of only exists in its active use by said users, and digital citizenship is the future of citizenship, such users are the necessary actors in the development of society in the Digital Era. Hybrids beings, classified as digital citizens, have a naturalized "ability to participate in society online"³⁹. With the *popular participation* of the digital citizen, the digital environment presents itself as an important space for political discussion, given that the physical world's pressing problems are not only more widely discussed in online forums, but in fact such discussions first manifest their sources, *as* information, in digital casts, rather than analog ones. These real life events that transpire in the real world are claimed first in the digital environment, often times in un-delayed real-time documentation, where their digital being gains traction in ways unprecedented in traditional media, gaining total visibility⁴⁰.

³⁸ Hughes, Eric. A cypherpunk's manifesto.

³⁹ Mossberger, Karen, and Tolberg, Caroline J., and McNeal, Ramona S.: Digital Citizenship – the Internet, Society, and Participation. 1

⁴⁰ Dyer-Witheford, Nick: Cyber-Marx. Cycles and circuits of struggle in high-technology capitalism. 121

In discussing the notion of digital citizenship, Fuchs⁴¹ develops a deep analysis around the concept of *popular participation*⁴² as seeking rights. Embedded in the digital environment, individuals share meanings constituting groups with common identities, even when users are from different physical locations, since the digital environment promotes dissolution of distance. When information is published on the Internet, often by individuals not officially associated with any official media forum, it has an “avalanche effect”, a phenomenon often referred to as “going viral”, incurring a global reach, the nature of which tends to be “spontaneous, unpredictable and uncontrollable”. This effect is typical in situations of *cyberprotest*, for example.

In cyberprotest, the Internet can be used as a medium for discussion of goals and for coordination of activities to be performed. The digital environment is conceived as friendlier in terms of user participation, flexible, relatively inexpensive, fast, convenient, interactive, and enables equal participation among its users, being as it is, decentralized. In this context, people feel free to think and to contribute to the discussion⁴³. There are also different approaches to the same information, enabling the expansion of political knowledge (unlike what happens in traditional mass media, which is a one-way road).

Fuchs describes cyberprotest as a self-organized, dynamical, networked, and global process⁴⁴. Self-organizing processes have as the central feature the spontaneous dynamics between system's elements, without the presence of a central coordinator (internal or external) or a center absolute controller⁴⁵. In this case, the Internet is the system, the users are the elements, and the cyberprotest is the result of a self-organizing dynamic among users in this digital environment. For its self-organizing aspect, the Internet is funded from a *bottom-up* movement. The self-organized aspect of the digital environment also corresponds to the hybrid nature of the digital citizen, “building” and to “being built by” this environment, carrying aspects of their physical environment. Thus, as an implication from the performance of hybrid being, as digital citizen, in contemporary society there is:

“[...] a self-organized society in which decisions are not alienated from those who are affected by them but are taken in inclusive bottom-up processes by affected citizens. They see ICTs as tools that support and empower political grassroots activism and participation. Protest movements use ICTs for communicating criticism and for voicing alternative opinions; their oppositional practices pluralize political opinions and guarantee a certain dynamic of democracy”⁴⁶.

In the process of political empowerment of individuals, the cyberprotest is characterized as a product of joint decisions ensured through network interaction. In its course, new individuals can enter the debate, others can leave, and the confluence of the dynamics remains relevant in terms of the event.⁴⁷

We believe that the political empowerment of individuals, illustrated by cyberprotest, and developed mostly without any link to formal institutions and non-governmental organizations, is responsible for the constitution of the *Fifth Estate*. The following is the definition of the Fifth Estate proposed by Dubois & Dutton⁴⁸:

“The Fifth Estate envisions the Internet as a platform through which networked individuals can perform a role in holding institutions such as the media and government more accountable. Network individuals

⁴¹ Fuchs, Christian: Internet and Society – Social Theory in the Information Age.

⁴² We are referring in this context to *popular participation* in the broad sense. The strict sense of such notion would involve the digital engagement together with interest, discussion, and political knowledge. Mossberger Tolberg, and McNeal strictly propose this characterization in: Digital Citizenship – the Internet, Society, and Participation. 48

⁴³ Mossberger, Karen, and Tolberg, Caroline J., and McNeal, Ramona S.: Digital Citizenship – the Internet, Society, and Participation. 52

⁴⁴ Fuchs, Christian: Internet and Society – Social Theory in the Information Age. 278

⁴⁵ Debrun, Michel: A ideia de auto-organização.

⁴⁶ Fuchs, Christian: Internet and Society – Social Theory in the Information Age. 294

⁴⁷ Fuchs, Christian: Internet and Society – Social Theory in the Information Age. 288-289

⁴⁸ Dubois, Elisabeth, and Dutton, William H.: Empowering Citizens of the Internet Age: The Role of a Fifth Estate.

source information, independent of any single institution, using capabilities provided by search and social media. Users also create their own content in many forms, from posting photos on blogs to commenting on websites, providing even greater independence from other institutions and offering a mechanism whereby public opinion is directly expresses. [...] it is not simply a new media, such as an adjunct to the news media, but a distributed array of networked individuals to be used to challenge the media and play a potentially important political role. Composed of the distributed activities of one or many individuals acting on their own or collaboratively, but in a more decentralized network that crosses the boundaries of existing institutions".⁴⁹

In other words, the Fifth Estate is originated by individual efforts of the digital citizen networked and distributed with other citizens for whom the Internet has expanded his/her limitations. Once they become distributed, different actors, in different ways, can act on behalf of a common focus in order to achieve an effective impact. The Fifth Estate is the active participation of individuals, where hybrid being advocates for equality, collectively fulfilling the role of digital citizenship.

An example of the active involvement of digital citizens defending their rights as users in the digital environment is highlighted in the reaction to bill proposals PIPA and SOPA in 2010. PIPA (*Protect IP Act*) and SOPA (*Stop Online Piracy Act*) were intended to prohibit access to websites that offer copyrighted files as well as websites that exhibited download links of these types of files. The proposal of these bills resulted in a battle being fought between record companies, producers, and private institutions related to movies, on the one hand, and companies associated with the Internet, such as Google, Yahoo, Facebook, among others, on the other, in respect to private property in the digital environment⁵⁰. Although the former initially possessed a majority in Congress, the bills were not approved due to the effective participation of users advocating on the Internet. Internet users conducted a cyberprotest against the approval of the bills, reaching a global audience within hours, causing a vocal global-wide opposition to PIPA and SOPA.

The importance of user participation in decisions regarding the referral of bills SOPA and PIPA, which involves issues of Internet Governance, is the fact that, although digitally born and digitally housed, the digital battle directly impacts the dynamics of the physical world. The impacts affect most the individual's privacy. If approved, such laws would become a mechanism to ensure compliance to the surveillance of individuals without their previous authorization.

Regarding cyberprotest, in this case in to bill C30 proposed in Canada, a bill that interferes in user's freedom to use the digital environment, Dubois & Dutton indicate the emergence of the Fifth Estate as follows:

"A network of individuals opposed to legislation, united, not by institutionalized partisanship, but by opposition to increased surveillance of Internet use. These individuals were Internet users concerned that the proposed changes would affect their lives and the vitality of the Internet as a resource. They used the Internet strategically to oppose this legislation by harnessing their communicative power, enhanced by the Internet. [...] They show how a distributed group of networked individuals could provide new information, bringing in new participants with differing opinions to hold the government to account using multiple strategies and Internet application"⁵¹.

In the dynamic interactions of cyberprotest, critical levels of influence and change are quickly reached. According to Fuchs, unlike traditional, and specifically conservative protests, it is precisely the kind of momentum offered by cyberprotest, a momentum generated by digital citizenship that leads society towards positive developments for individuals:

"Critical protest is oriented towards the future; it identifies possibilities within existing society that help to improve the situation of mankind and to reach a higher and progressive level of societal organization.

⁴⁹ Dubois, Elisabeth, and Dutton, William H.: Empowering Citizens of the Internet Age: The Role of a Fifth Estate. 239-240.

⁵⁰ Costa, Antonio Luis M. C.: Cercas no Ciberspaço.

⁵¹ Dubois, Elisabeth, and Dutton, William H.: Empowering Citizens of the Internet Age: The Role of a Fifth Estate. 246-247

*Conservative protest movements are not oriented towards the future but towards the past or that which actually exists, that is, they don't want to substitute structures of domination by cooperative and participatory structures but rather want to conserve, transform, or rebuild domination*⁵².

Final Considerations

The central question of this article was: To whom can we assign digital citizenship status? As indicated, we believe that the individual who fulfills this role is the hybrid being. The hybrid being expresses itself in the physical/digital environment of ICTs and the Internet without strangeness in order to play a more effective role in pursuit of their rights and duties. It is in this new context of citizenship that possibilities occur for an empowerment of the individual and the constitution of the Fifth Estate.

We understand the context of action generated by ICTs to constitute a space in which hybrid beings, as digital citizens, can act cooperatively in claiming their rights. Within this space, individuals are not directly subjugated to the current political-economic model that, as mentioned above, prioritizes control over the individual and their information rather than considering equal rights and effective expression. When viewed in terms of its natural environment, the digital environment is characterized as the space for the establishment of a "stateless society without political power or domination".⁵³ The digital environment promotes the emergence of a digital community in which the Fifth Estate is expressed and an authentic power and sociability is guided by direct democracy. In this sense, digital citizenship becomes an effective participation of individuals towards the future directions of society. However, the process is not automatic, nor is the Internet automatically synonymous with democracy and citizen engagement. As Margolis & Resnick comment,

*"Paradoxically, one of the hardest things to predict is whether the Internet will improve the quality of democracy by creating a more informed citizenry. We say paradoxically, because it seems obvious that because the Internet provides instant and almost cost-free information, it should enable the ordinary citizen to be fully informed about all relevant policy areas [...] We remain skeptical [...] To be sure, the Net is now and will continue to be a boon to those who already have an active and sustained interest in public affairs, but there is little evidence that the Internet by itself will increase the attentive public."*⁵⁴

In other words, the Internet is not characterized as an "itself", but as a "themselves", once conceived as a self-organized process that presents an interactive dynamic between its users, consisting of users and through them, advocating on their behalf.

Since hybrid beings are citizens of a digital citizenship, we understand that digital education is a key aspect towards the effectiveness of this particular type of citizenship. As stated, participation in digital society requires more than the mere use of ICTs to be effective. It needs, at the very least, a basic know-how through which individuals become both immersed and informed in the nature of the digital environment, and this incorporated into their daily practices. For this reason, we understand that discussions around digital citizenship need focus on Generation Z as a central focus towards a digitally educated future since digital natives are those most naturally and intricately immersed in the digital environment being simultaneously formed, as they are, through both physical and digital expressions of the world.

The *Institut für Digitale Ethik* (IDE) has developed materials that can contribute to the clarification of the use of technology by younger individuals. The aim is to deal with questions such as "What does it mean to act responsibly on the Internet?"⁵⁵. This material goes beyond the simple theoretical discussion about ethics and

⁵² Fuchs, Christian: Internet and Society – Social Theory in the Information Age. 290

⁵³ Colombo, Eduardo: Análise do Estado: o Estado como paradigma de poder. 81

⁵⁴ Margolis, Michel, and Resnick, David: Politics as Usual: The Cyberspace "Revolution". 212

⁵⁵ Grimm, Petra, and Neef, Karla, and Waltinger, Michael: Ethik macht klick Werte-Navi fürs digitale Leben Arbeitsmaterialien für Schule und Jugendarbeit. 4

moral action, aiming to incorporate in practice how to handle ICTs. Hence, rather than discuss standards of appropriate behavior, it seeks to explore the possibilities of interaction within digital media for individuals of Generation Z, also clarifying its possible consequences. Therefore, IDE researchers have developed meetings in schools with teachers and parents. The initial assumption is that with an approximation of younger audiences to this type of theme is possible, over a certain period of time, to generate a more conscious society, especially regarding the impact of ICTs usage and presence of the Internet in their daily lives. According to Capurro, this digital education is important because:

"[Digital environment] It's like the sea. The sea is always stronger, but you can learn to swim. However you can still drown, even if you have learned to swim well. But the swimming was incorporated. [...] One can also learn to swim in digital chaos - and even have fun doing it, once one belongs to it. If one has incorporated a digital ethics, one acts skillfully. Such a thing is what we call character."⁵⁶

When we use the term education, it is not in a functional connotation, but rather as a tool for social transformation of emancipatory and libertarian potential. We understand digital education as a way to operate a bottom-up movement within the constitution and design of the pathways of the information society, also contributing to the emergence of the Fifth Estate.

With the development of a digital education and the constitution of the Fifth Estate, we have, within the future actualization of the Internet, an original proposal towards the development of a space of horizontal rather than hierarchical interactions. For the time being, the proposal seems to be suppressed by particular interests of private companies like Facebook and Google. As occurs in the world of "physical" expression, where private companies and big investors vie to govern the future paths of the world, similar power plays occur amid "digital" environments. Interested companies share the common goal of governing the Internet as a whole, reducing the entity of the Internet to Facebook and/or Google monopolies only. This reductionist vision of the Internet breaks with the principle of horizontality and equality for users. It may happen that the information shared by these mediums, usually understood as common, are censored or used to maintain the privileges of some sectors of society. Another factor of concern is over the monopolization and potential abuse of big data where the presence of algorithms drives content received from users, both in feeds from Facebook and from results of searches performed on Google.

In conclusion, we believe that the efficiency of digital citizenship can promote a change in how individuals, now conceived as hybrid beings, relate to the world interpreted via ICTs. Such an actualization can be achieved with special attention paid to individuals of Generation Z aimed at emancipation of such individuals from their actions in the physical/digital world, and going beyond a reductionist view of an Internet dependent on mediation via private companies and governments. Thus, we look towards an expression of the Fifth Estate in the direction of the future paths of the information society.

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⁵⁶ Küchemann, Fridtjof. Schwimmen im digitalen Chaos - Gespräch mit dem Info-Ethiker Rafael Capurro. (our translation)

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Andrew Iliadis:

The Right to Nonparticipation for Global Digital Citizenship

Abstract:

This article argues for *the right to nonparticipation* for Global Digital Citizenship (GDC). It recuperates the notion of political nonparticipation in the context of information and communication technologies (ICTs) and GDC in order to show that nonparticipation can operate effectively in non-State spheres, particularly online. The paper begins with a discussion of nonparticipation in the context of Nation States and non-Statal Organizations before offering a brief survey of the terms Global Citizenship (GC), Digital Citizenship (DC), and GDC. Nonparticipation in an online context is then explained, followed by a discussion of practical concerns, such as who might enforce GDC rights among global digital citizens.

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Author:

Andrew Iliadis:

- Doctoral Candidate, Purdue University, Brian Lamb School of Communication, Beering Hall of Liberal Arts and Education, Room 2114, 100 N. University Street, West Lafayette, IN, 47907-2098, USA, Main
- ☎ + (765) 494-3429, ✉ ailiadis@purdue.edu

Introduction

That today's internet policy debates should turn to focus on the rights of data subjects is indicative of where the Internet stands in relation to citizenship. In her introduction to the inaugural issue of the journal *Policy & Internet*, Margetts (2009) offered several normative values traditionally associated with the Internet, including innovation, trust, openness and equity, "that might be expected to emerge in policy trends" (p. 1). The Internet has, unsurprisingly or not, headed in the opposite direction, with less generativity (Zittrain, 2008), decreased trust (Cerf, 2010), censorship (Depken, 2006), and digital divides (Gunkel, 2003). Part of the reason for this is the appearance of non-Statal organizations (Floridi, 2014) which do not treat individuals as citizens or data subjects, yet which are allowed to maintain authoritative rights over their data much in the same way as traditional Nation States. Rather, such organizations tend to treat individuals as reserves of data capital (Yousif, 2015). It is at the intersection of citizenship and data capital that something like a *right to nonparticipation* can act as protection against future data exploitation. However, while privacy and surveillance are regularly studied in relation to information and communication technologies (ICTs), the concept of nonparticipation remains an understudied area of research.

The right to nonparticipation can serve as an ideal barometer of the quality of privacy measures taken by non-Statal organizations to protect against data capital exploitation. Further, future policy work will be in revisiting the notion of citizenship in light of such practices. What is new about nonparticipation in light of ICTs is that users are no longer comfortable giving up their data in exchange for services. A recent survey conducted at the Annenberg School for Communication found that "marketers are misrepresenting a large majority of Americans by claiming that Americans give out information about themselves as a tradeoff for benefits they receive. To the contrary, the survey reveals most Americans do not believe that 'data for discounts' is a square deal" (Turow, Hennessy, & Draper, 2015, p. 3). As such, the growth of online ICTs and data capture techniques poses a new set of problems for privacy, citizenship, and nonparticipation. Citizen nonparticipation in the Nation State is different from nonparticipation online, possibly opening nonparticipation as a viable alternative to readymade options in the digital sphere. Active nonparticipation can be a useful tool in non-State domains where conceptualizations of what counts towards citizenship changes (May 2012). Since digital surveillance "is an everyday experience, run by myriad agencies for multiple purposes and exempting no one" (Lyon, 2002), the right to nonparticipation is one way of protecting the rights of data subjects against non-Statal organizations.

Nonparticipation in the Nation State

Nonparticipation in the context of democratic electoral politics has long been criticized as hindering change and ultimately slowing down political progress (Arnstein, 1969). Nonparticipating citizens are often vilified and nonparticipation is viewed as an extreme political practice, one that (though extreme) has proved to have little political effect (Soss & Jacobs, 2009). Typically, nonparticipation in the democratic Nation State serves as a final attempt to demonstrate disagreement with government when remaining participatory options are considered unsatisfactory. The nonparticipating individual might, for example, refrain from voting in an election when none of the proposed candidates are viewed as sufficiently qualified. In this context, nonparticipation is a 'silent' act that does not facilitate change in the political process but rather serves to highlight the discontent of individual actors. For all its defiant posturing, nonparticipation is somewhat of a non-answer in an electoral democratic politics where participation in the affairs of the Nation State has traditionally been viewed as a requisite for democracy (Lipset, 1959). Nonparticipation runs anathema to the ideological underpinnings of the democratic Nation State, which has depended on effective citizen participation since the days of ancient Athenian politics (Robinson, 2011). Negative connotations traditionally associated with nonparticipation today are premised on a "widespread concern about declining levels of political engagement and participation," particularly among young people (O'Toole, Marsh, & Jones, 2003, p. 349). The assumption is that nonparticipation is closely aligned with apathy, not politics, and that this is a hindrance to democracy.

On closer examination, nonparticipation has deep roots in the arena of politics, particularly in nonviolent movements (Kurlansky, 2006) and legal contexts (Harrington, 1984). Further, acts of *symbolic* nonparticipation are politically charged, fairly common, and have been practiced with regularity throughout history. Jean-Paul Sartre's refusal to accept the Nobel Prize for Literature is one famous example. Symbolic nonparticipation can be found too in mundane, everyday moments of subtle discontent that are sometimes barely registered, such as when one chooses to boycott a specific product or corporation (Klein, Smith, & John, 2004). When an individual refuses to stand during a national anthem – as the National Basketball League's Mahmoud Abdul-Rauf did when he declined to stand for the Star-Spangled Banner during pregame ceremonies (Diamos, 1996) – it is also an act of political and symbolic nonparticipation. Yet, apart from such visible instances of symbolic nonparticipation, the longstanding popular conception of political nonparticipants views them as apathetic individuals who do not fully appreciate the function of government (Hastings, 1956). Those individuals who do engage nonparticipation as a specifically political act in the context of the democratic Nation State are rarely noticed compared to the allegedly apathetic, nonparticipating youth.

While there is admittedly some truth to the claim that nonparticipation can, in certain cases, be the result of apathy, more attention should be paid to the ways in which nonparticipation may function as an explicitly political act, both inside and outside of the context of the Nation State. To associate nonparticipation only with apathy is to miss the multitude of ways that nonparticipation can be used as a political tool or viewed as an indication of deeper, structural problems inherent to a democracy. Citizens of a Nation State, for example, may turn to nonparticipation due to their unrepresentation in government (Han, 1970). If there is no one to represent the interests of a specific group of citizens in the political apparatus then those same citizens remain politically preindividuated (Simondon, 2005) in the eyes of the Nation State—they fail to be recognized as an individual group. In this context, apathy can hardly be used as an excuse to justify the dismissal of such nonparticipating individuals. Nonparticipation can accomplish more and bring about change for an un(der)represented group if it is rethought as a symptom of unfairness. Further, civic participation outside of political spheres can push individuals to be more politically active (Jeong, 2013). As E. E. Schattschneider wrote, in *The Semi-Sovereign People* (1960):

It is profoundly characteristic of the behavior of the more fortunate strata of the community that responsibility for widespread nonparticipation is attributed wholly to the ignorance, indifference and shiftlessness of the people. This has always been the rationalization used to justify the exclusion of the lower classes from any political system. There is a better explanation. Abstention reflects the suppression of the options and the alternatives that reflect the needs of the nonparticipants. It is not necessarily true that the people with the greatest needs participate in politics most actively. Whoever decides what the game is about decides also who can get into the game (p. 104-105).

Schattschneider's important observation is that nonparticipation might reflect the absence of alternatives for nonparticipating citizens. In the Nation State, citizen nonparticipation may occur due to the continuing existence of social or political barriers that prevent citizens from participating. Here, nonparticipation should be viewed as a potential symptom of some of the underlying structural problems that can exist outside current instantiations of democratic politics (e.g. underrepresentation). The difficulty, of course, is that in a politics where participation is the order of the day, nonparticipation is viewed as an evil and not a legitimate source for reflection or opportunity for political progress. Citizens of the Nation State may experience difficulty in changing the perception of nonparticipation for this reason—the democratic Nation State demands the active participation of its citizenry in politics. Citizens remain bound to the rules of participatory democracy as long as they are part of the Nation State, and this places the act of nonparticipation in a precarious position with regard to available (and viable) political options.

Nonparticipation in Non-Statal Organizations

The legitimacy of political nonparticipation is intimately tied to the concept of citizenship. While citizens of the Nation State may experience varying degrees of success in turning nonparticipation into an opportunity for

political progress, there are alternative forms of citizenship currently under debate that can successfully integrate a politics of nonparticipation into their modes of existence (Latour, 2013) and where nonparticipation may be viewed as a *fundamental right*. Might nonparticipation one day be raised to the level of influencing policy alternatives? Unlike citizens of the Nation State who are tied to citizenship and held to national laws on condition that democracy can successfully function, policy debates are growing around new forms of citizenship that are emerging on the Internet (Isin & Ruppert, 2015), in the context of global surveillance capitalism (Zuboff, 2015), which do not have a stake in or claim to any such national entity or appeal to democracy (Berkeley's recently launched Center for Technology, Society & Policy lists 'digital citizenship' as one of its focus areas).

Increasingly, citizens are expected to engage participatory action in the shape of new digital practices and with online, non-Statal organizations in place of similar bureaucratic commitments in the context of the Nation State (the issuing of birth certificates, voting, etc.). The difference lies in this. Instead of participating in the democracy of the Nation State, new types of citizens are forced to participate in the digitality (Baudrillard, 2006) of non-Statal organizations each time they are online by offering up their data. Further, it remains increasingly difficult for citizens to 'opt out' (Vleugels, Verhenneman, & Bannier, 2011) of digitality given the importance of digital ICTs for work and other essential, everyday activities (Purcell & Rainie, 2014). Following the 1998 Data Protection Act and the European Data Protection Supervisor, such citizens are now referred to as data subjects—individuals whose data is recorded when they are online.

Three significant differences might be considered in the active relationships between citizens in the Nation State and those who engage (or are engaged by) non-Statal organizations.

First, both versions of participatory action (Statal and non-Statal) involve individuals giving up personal information in the form of online data or metadata. Yet, that individuals often *consent* to data capture by virtue of agreeing to Terms of Service (ToS), End-User License Agreements (EULAs), and Privacy Policy (PP) statements provided by non-Statal organizations should not waive the rights of individuals over their data, since it remains questionable to what degree individuals are able to meaningfully interpret most ToS, EULA, and PP statements. Chee, Taylor, and de Castell (2012) find that many users "confirmed that they simply clicked through the terms presented to them without much knowledge about the terms to which they were agreeing" (p. 497). Further, Custers, van der Hof, and Schermer (2014) note that social media users generally "do not read privacy policies and show low levels of acceptance and significant dissatisfaction with current practices and policies" (p. 291). Users often 'consent' to legal agreements even though they might not read, trust, or fully understand them.

The more important point in the difference between Nation States and non-Statal organizations is that information is voluntarily given by citizens (excluding illegal government spying) in the context of the democratic Nation State, while in the context of non-Statal organizations information is often surreptitiously extracted. Control of what constitutes public and private data then ends up falling under the purview of the non-Statal organization. Radu and Chenou (2015) argue that "data control, among the newest forms of power fostered by [...] ICTs), triggers a continuous (re)negotiation of public and private orderings, with direct implications on both regulators and intermediaries" (p. 1). Non-Statal organizations' control of data is a form of power over the data subject, an inversion of the ideal relationship between citizen and government. For example, individuals do not simply hand over their data in social media profiles like Facebook or Twitter. It is gathered in increments over a long period of time.

Second, where participatory action in the form of voluntary information disclosure (by way of vote, census, and so on) for the improvement of the social is the historical *raison d'être* of the Nation State, this can hardly be the case for online, non-Statal organizations where the primary underlying motivations are for profit. Individuals are treated as consumers rather than as citizens, yet consumer protection rights often fail. This is reflected in EULAs that are unfair, particularly in "the imbalance between user and developer interests governed by such contracts" that often "cannot be regulated with consumer protection legislation, as interests such as property or intellectual property are beyond the scope of consumer protection regimes" (Harbinja,

2014, p. 1). As Harbinja (2014) notes, a more appropriate course of action is to treat such individuals as citizens who have rights, rather than as consumers. The new citizens that have emerged in this context may be referred to as *global digital citizens* – online individuals who are forced to participate in information disclosure by non-Statal organizations simply by virtue of engaging digitality – and should be conceptualized differently from traditional citizens of the Nation State.

Lastly, the familiar arguments that so much social media data are already public or that individuals who have nothing to hide should not be concerned about non-Statal organizations' control of data are poor ones to make, as observed by Zimmer (2010) and Solove (2007). The problem, Solove writes, is "the underlying assumption that privacy is about hiding bad things. Agreeing with this assumption concedes far too much ground and leads to an unproductive discussion of information people would likely want or not want to hide" (2007, p. 764). The problem of information privacy and its solution depend "upon how these privacy problems are conceptualized" (Solove, 2004, p. 6). A decade since Solove's observation, the question of information privacy and the conceptualization of it remain somewhat unclear. In *The Digital Person* (2004), Solove states that "we have little power or say" within bureaucratic ICT systems, which tend "to structure our participation along standardized ways that fail to enable us to achieve our goals, wants, and needs" (p. 39)—the argument is one defined in terms of participation over nonparticipation.

Arguments in favor of more participation have a long history in discussions of information privacy (Schwartz, 1994). One might suggest increased participation as a remedy to corporate overreach over an individual's data, yet emphasis should instead be placed on nonparticipation as an a priori rule. Participation, while useful in the context of the Nation State, remains somewhat conceptually insufficient for thinking about global digital citizenship and the nature of informational capital (Bourdieu, 1994). The problem of privacy may be better conceptualized through the lens of nonparticipation as opposed to participation, since participation presupposes that information extracted from data subjects is unavoidable, an epiphenomenon of being online, when the opposite is the case. It takes effort and resources to track digital footprints. Like the Nation State, one of the powers of non-Statal organizations is to create and sustain a social mythos about its operations, including narratives about the naturalness of data surveillance.

Towards a Definition of Global Digital Citizenship

The Internet consistently demands that individuals actively give up their data to non-Statal organizations. Like the Nation State, the Internet's non-Statal organizations demand active participation, only in a different way and for different purposes, most of them financial rather than political.

There is a large body of policy research on active participation and the alternative forms of citizenship that have emerged after the widespread use of the Internet. Much of it focuses on the terms Global Citizenship (GC) and Digital Citizenship (DC), yet neither should be conflated with traditional citizenship in the Nation State or with each other. A closer look at their definitions will show that GC and DC can be interpreted differently depending on the context and that neither is entirely sufficient to describe the new forms of citizens that have emerged 'onlife' (Floridi, 2015)—where the distinction between life online and offline becomes blurred. The combined term Global Digital Citizenship (GDC) should be preferred since it implies a global citizen who is online, not connected to the Nation State, and open to the participatory threat of involuntary information disclosure by non-Statal organizations. It will be useful to provide a definition of GDC here before moving forward.

def. Global Digital Citizenship:

A type of online citizenship, not connected to the Nation State but connected to non-Statal organizations, that is global in nature and where the right to nonparticipation is a primary right.

The right to nonparticipation belongs to GDC in that, like the Nation State, GDC calls for citizens to participate, however this participation is not ideally legitimate in the same way that it is represented in the relationship between citizen and government in the Nation State. First, non-Statal organizations do not require participation as a fundamental condition for their existence. Second, non-Statal organizations are not constituted by global digital citizens (in the same way that citizens may constitute the Nation State). Non-Statal organizations constitute themselves and serve no representative function. Thus, GDC is not concerned with the Nation State or with representation as such, but rather with the globalized pressure of online participation.

Global Citizenship

GDC should be preferred over GC and DC, which are becoming stale. GC is generally viewed as the global duty of world citizens to contribute to the development of human rights across territorial boundaries—thus it maintains a modicum of respect for traditional Nation States (Cabrera, 2010). The struggle with national boundaries remains a problem for GC policy researchers due to the difficulty of combining a higher level duty to GC with the continued rights and practices of traditional Nation States. Indeed, some policy researchers argue that it is not a matter of combining the two approaches but rather a question of choosing the right option (in this case, GC). Clark (2010) writes that GC involves a choice between a “global community under a rule of international law (Option A) or ongoing violent contests for power driven by militant nationalism (Option B)” (p. 20). GC has also been generally described as “the growing consciousness that globalization entails new kinds of questions for political membership, global responsibilities for the future and new conceptions of personhood” (O’Byrne, 2003, p. ix). Others suggest – contra Clark (2010) – that GC “does not operate in contradiction with regional, national and local identities. It expresses itself through them” (Hoffman, 2004). GC is a contested term among researchers, yet the common thread running through the many definitions of GC views it as operating in a world where there are two levels of duty, one local (national government), the other global (global rights). The problem is a longstanding one that continues to complicate conceptualizations of GC.

Nevertheless, GC proposals have been institutionally enacted within the boundaries of international organizations such as the United Nations and Amnesty International. A focus on such institutional branches of GC shows that it can be applied differently in varying contexts, including corporate global citizenship (Tichy, McGill, & St. Clair, 1997), human rights and global citizenship (Abdi & Shultz, 2008), environmental challenges and global citizenship (Hillerbrand & Karlsson, 2008), justice and global citizenship (Haugestad & Wulffhorst, 2004), social movements and global citizenship (McIntyre-Mills, 2005), youth and global citizenship (Collins, 2008), post-colonialism and global citizenship (Andreotti & de Souza, 2012), and political theory and global citizenship (Carter, 2001). As such, GC remains a plural concept that is open to the threat of oversaturation. Tully (2014) speaks to the diverse definitions and applications of the term ‘global citizenship’:

The art of understanding a concept like ‘global citizenship’ is not the application of a universal rule to particular cases. Rather, the uses of such complex concepts in different cases and contexts do not have one set of properties in common, but – from case to case – an indeterminate family of overlapping and crisscrossing ‘similarities, relationships, and a whole series of them at that’. What ‘we see’, therefore, is not a single rule (definition or theory) being applied in every case, but, rather, ‘a complicated network of similarities overlapping and crisscrossing: sometimes overall similarities, sometimes similarities of detail’. (p. 4-5).

Tully’s distinction that GC concerns “an indeterminate family of overlapping and crisscrossing” similarities and relationships is indicative of the potential oversaturation of the term. It could conceivably be argued that GC

has existed since at least as long as globalization itself and that therefore it is a concept that has been put to work in every context where globalization plays an influential role.

Additionally, GC implies that nonparticipation may not be a suitable political option given the way in which some proponents of GC view it as an overarching connective tissue on top of traditional citizenship in the Nation State. As such, GC can involve cross-border privacy issues (Svantesson, 2011) that are difficult to resolve. In the large majority of cases, GC involves something like a supracitizen who is still anchored to citizenship in the Nation State. One might still have to participate at the level of national citizenship in order to access and be a part of GC. This, however, would complicate the nature of nonparticipation, which should be a fundamental right for online citizens who are forced to participate by non-Statal organizations. Since GC depends on the practices of traditional citizenship in the Nation State, it is implied that GC too is a participatory type of citizenship. Second, if GC is to be conceptualized instead as acting in place of citizenship in the Nation State, then it would be simply be a matter of transferring all of the local functions of citizenship in the Nation State to the Global State, including active participation. Thus, participation remains in both iterations of GC, which is unacceptable.

Digital Citizenship

Contemporary globalization itself is the product of diverse ICTs that are beginning to change the ways in which citizenship is conceptualized. The term "digital citizens" was created to refer to emerging groups of online citizens, "the most informed and participatory citizens we ever had or are likely to have" after the Digital Revolution (Katz, 1997). Today, DC is a much more useful concept when thinking about the increasingly globalized nature of citizenship. DC may sometimes connote a practice that has more in common with teaching online participation and digital decorum rather than with practicing politics per se (Ribble & Bailey, 2011). In other contexts, it concerns itself with information literacy (Kurbanoglu et al, 2014) and participation (Mossberger, Tolbert, & McNeal, 2008), thus some versions of DC do lend well to the idea of nonparticipation.

Alternative forms of DC prove it to be a much more useful concept than GC for discussing the type of rights that are owed to citizens given its focus on the *rights claims* of digital citizens over its conceptualization of their positionality in terms of international and national *duty*. Isin and Ruppert (2015) pinpoint this distinction. They ask "how do subjects act in ways that transgress the expectations of and go beyond specific conventions and in doing so make rights claims about how to conduct themselves as digital citizens?" (p. 5). The focus is on how DC makes rights claims via the Internet. The idea is to move from a citizenship that is forced to be active by the Nation State to one that posits self-activity as its mode of being. Citizens in DC "enact themselves as citizens by negotiating their rights such as privacy, access, openness, and innovation and their rights concerning data" (Isin & Ruppert, 2015, p. 5). The focus is on whom the subject of these rights is, who may constitute themselves as a digital subject through the Internet.

In this iteration of DC, then, *the digital citizen is a figure who makes rights claims via the Internet*. DC here is experiential, embodied, and activated through the Internet. The citizen is not "a bearer or recipient of rights that already exist but one whose activism involves making claims to rights that may or may not exist" (Isin & Ruppert, 2015, p. 9). This point is important since the citizen is theorized as actively invoking their rights rather than merely seeking to apply preexisting rights, as in GC. Nonparticipation may be compatible here since it can be conceptualized as one of the new rights claims made by DC. Yet, the focus on making *positive* rights claims does not entirely suit the right to nonparticipation. The right to nonparticipation is the right to *refuse* to engage the non-Statal organization rather than come to a compromise with it.

GDC may be used to define the types of citizens that are found online and who are owed a new set of rights, including the right to nonparticipation. Current investigations into what it means to be a human online and the construction of digital manifesto repositories are beginning the inquest into the types of rights that are owed to global digital citizens. Most importantly, GDC can lend itself to nonparticipation since it does not exist, in any significant way, in a relationship with citizenship in the Nation State (GC) or active participation with non-

Statal organizations (DC). Where GC remains tied to the Nation State and DC recommends active participation with non-Statal organizations, GDC recommends that individuals should be given the right to refuse to participate in any digital activities, including online data collection, even though such individuals may remain online in perpetuity. Nonparticipation on the Internet is already a fairly common practice (for example, using software such as Tor to communicate anonymously online), and individuals who engage such practices may be thought of as enacting a form of GDC.

Online Nonparticipation

Where nonparticipation is typically seen as a fringe political practice by citizens of the Nation State, nonparticipation in online domains should be viewed as one of the most important rights of GDC given the extent to which information about online data collecting is concealed from global digital citizens in favor of ever-expanding algorithmic control (McKelvey, 2014). In an era of governance by algorithms (Musiani, 2013), nonparticipation should be viewed as a right that protects global digital citizens against data capture, surveillance capitalism, and the (imperfect, illegitimate) algorithmic governance of non-Statal organizations.

In order to nurture nonparticipation as an available political option, broad and constant notifications on websites and social networking programs might indicate the types of information that will be gathered from individuals, much in the same way that closed circuit television camera (CCTV) notices inform the public that they are being video recorded in public spaces; such is the minimum notice afforded by state surveillance in the right to privacy (Taylor, 2002). Similarly, notifications that explain the relevance of algorithms (Gillespie, 2014) can be made easily accessible and transparent in the same way nutrition information is clearly labeled on food packaging so that global digital citizens may have access to literature regarding the organization of their information. The option to nonparticipation should be made clear in each circumstance and individuals should be told what information will be collected from them up front rather than provided with lengthy and labyrinthine ToS, EULA, and PP statements. Global digital citizens deserve the right to nonparticipation when it comes to the mining and scraping of data that is considered important to them, yet little attention is paid to nonparticipation in an online context.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, it is common to find websites which do not allow users to control privacy functions (a potentially important tool in the right to nonparticipation). Why is this so? Park (2014) analyzed "user control of privacy online as indicated by functional features of commercial websites" (p. 360) and found that many of the sites did not allow users to easily control their data:

In idealized digital spheres, users should be able to exercise privacy control by easily finding how information about them is collected, retained, and processed. Further, they should be able to post questions or responses to the policy they find questionable and engage with others through interactive links and features connected to the sites. Yet at present, the commercial websites function as a one-way surveillance platform, largely closed in interface constraints, with limited provision of interactive links and features. Simply put [...] the platform with the interface channel that allows users to freely exercise control does not exist (p. 371).

The idea here is that there are fewer ways for global digital citizens to control their own data and how it is recorded online. In contrast to this, non-Statal organizations might adopt the common practice of using the right to nonparticipation as a baseline construct to determine if their platform is sufficiently ethical for global digital citizens. As Agre (1999) observed, data protection "may provide guidance for institutional design [...] the promotion of privacy-enhancing technologies should aim to incorporate them into the design of institutions generally and market intermediaries in particular" (p. 20). The right to nonparticipation can be a benchmark theoretical construct for the building of online ICT platforms, integrating privacy measures against data capture into user experience and design. In this respect, the right to nonparticipation should be seen not merely as a reactive rights claim. Rather, it can be used to actively construct and enforce technological design. In some

cases this is already happening. For example, data ownership and portability was a key design element in the launch of Google+ in 2011 (Pentland, 2014).

While the right to nonparticipation for GDC is a fight against data surveillance it should not be confused with the right to hide (Monahan, 2015) and similar privacy movements which tend to ignore the illegitimacy of apparatuses of data capture in favor of a focus on protecting the individual user. Rather, the right to nonparticipation questions the legitimacy of the apparatus first. Global digital citizens deserve the right to nonparticipation when they are engaged in online activities where virtually every ICT produces data about its users. Data and metadata about users – their location, timestamps, duration, etc. – should be optional and at the discretion of the user so that they can preemptively avoid legal disputes over their data.

Various reactive measures to evade data capture have appeared. Some obscure faces from facial recognition software—the website CV Dazzle (<http://cvdazzle.com/>) “explores how fashion can be used as camouflage from face-detection technology, the first step in automated face recognition.” Others develop custom scripts to successfully delete user profiles and data from social networking sites. Justdeleteme.me is “a directory of direct links to delete your account from web services” (<http://justdelete.me/>). The website grades a multitude of online services and how difficult it is to successfully delete user information. ‘Easy’ means a simple process, ‘medium’ means extra steps, ‘hard’ means that the account cannot be fully deleted without contacting customer services, and ‘impossible’ means that the account cannot be deleted. YouTube, Wikipedia, and WordPress all fall into the ‘impossible’ category. It is well-known that Facebook keeps data generated by its users even after they decide to delete their accounts – “For example, a friend may still have messages from you even after you delete your account. That information remains after you delete your account,” states Facebook’s Help Center – making it exceedingly difficult to properly delete the multitudes of data that any given user may have shared on the social network in his or her lifetime.

While reactive privacy and surveillance rights are important, the right to nonparticipation is a formalized a priori version of these rights; it encapsulates them and other rights by stating that individuals have the right to refuse to participate in data capturing processes that are hidden from them. Privacy, security, surveillance, and other forms of rights fall under the category of the right to nonparticipation, which should be viewed as a universal right that is granted to global digital citizens. Policy can help grant such rights to users over large non-Statal organizations. This is especially true for the United States, which currently lacks any significant body of judicial decisions concerning the Federal Trade Commission’s enforcement of privacy practices (Solove & Hartzog, 2014).

Towards a Policy for Global Digital Citizenship

A GDC policy can be formulated which protects the rights of global digital citizens in terms of nonparticipation and indicates the information rights that global digital citizens are giving up when they participate in online ICTs. Policies that enforce the right to nonparticipation will become increasingly needed as problems around net neutrality, corporate data mining, and government surveillance continue to grow (McKee, 2011). Of course, many difficult problems remain. Who is to enforce these rights? Where is the line between citizenship, global citizenship, digital citizenship, and global digital citizenship? Who is to be held accountable? Such questions must be addressed if there is to be a governing body to enforce a right to nonparticipation policy.

Two well-known examples offer themselves as early candidates for policies reflecting the rights of global digital citizens, including the right to nonparticipation: Pentland’s (2009) New Deal on Data and the European Union’s General Data Protection Regulation. They are, however, not without shortcomings. Most stem from the notion that public data is inherently good, even if this data belongs to private citizens. Rather, the right to nonparticipation should be seen as a way to maintain a degree of obscurity set by the individual user in the face of algorithmic ICTs. Selinger and Hartzog (2014) argue that privacy debates can be better understood as concern over losing obscurity rather than as an issue of private versus public information. Further, Ausloos (2012) suggests that such policies should “restore the balance by taking into account the dynamic nature of ‘personal

data' and allowing the data subject to adapt its position over time" (p. 151). Recalling Solove (2007), private information is not simply a matter of 'good' or 'bad' information, but rather a question of acknowledging the spectrum of rights of global digital citizens over their nonparticipation.

New Deal on Data

The New Deal on Data (Pentland, 2009) suggests that individuals should be the legal owners of their data by adopting Old English Common Law and the three basic tenets of ownership (right of possession, use, and disposal). This has influenced companies such as Google, who are "coming under pressure to conform to the higher standards being imposed on regulated industries" (Pentland, 2014, p. 183). Google has taken steps to address privacy issues by creating the Google Dashboard (www.google.com/dashboard) and the Data Liberation Front (www.dataliberation.org).

One of the shortcomings of the New Deal on Data is its emphasis on keeping a large amount of data for prosperity in something like a data commons. While the New Deal on Data's focus is on securing ownership of data for the individual user, the New Deal on Data also emphasizes the benefits of efficient and safe data sharing. Pentland (2014) describes the Trento Living Lab, "a pilot for a New Deal on Data and for new ways to give users control of the use of their personal data" (p. 188). They "explore different techniques and methodologies to protect the users' privacy while at the same time being allowed to use their personal data to generate a useful data commons" (p. 188). In this way, the New Deal on Data is not only about protecting data rights but also about using personal data for good causes such as health research. Pentland (2014) writes that "our data are worth more when shared, because they can inform improvements in systems such as public health, transportation, and government" (p. 178). However, non-Statal organizations such as Google should not be the arbiters of data conflicts in a trust framework.

Nissenbaum (2010, p. 87-88) offers three reasons why non-Statal organizations should not be the arbiters of privacy protections. First, there is no incentive for non-Statal organizations to allow desertion since the value of information lies in its completeness and abundance. Second, non-Statal organizations typically endorse choice, yet this would be blocked if users were allowed to simply stop choosing what to do with their data. Third, it is difficult to allow customers to knowingly choose their own level of surveillance via the non-Statal organization's ICTs, since they may not be familiar with the inner workings of those ICTs or their privacy functions. As such, the New Deal on Data does not go far enough in *preventing* the data capture of non-Statal organizations. While increased data sharing is beneficial for fields such as health research, such benefits should not be viewed as outweighing protections against data capture, a point on which the New Deal on Data falls short. Non-Statal organizations use big data techniques which "compromises socially shared information [...] democratized big data can turn seemingly harmless disclosures into potent privacy problems" (Hartzog & Selinger, 2013). Mundane tweets, for example, sent out by an individual may be harnessed and used in ways that that individual might not have anticipated or approved.

General Data Protection Regulation

The European Union's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) offers a number of measures that can be related to a global right to nonparticipation. It is one of the most comprehensive data protection acts that exist in the world today. Among the many recommendations, the following points contained in the GDPR and summarized by Zeiter (2014) are most relevant to the right to nonparticipation and may be adapted globally. First, 'the right to erasure' means that personal data "will generally have to be deleted when the data is no longer needed, the data subject has withdrawn his or her consent, the storage period has ended, or the data has been processed illegally" (p. 21). Second, 'the right to access and to obtain data for the data subject' means that "data subjects will be able to request a copy of personal data being processed in a format usable by this person and be able to transmit it electronically to another processing system" (p. 23-24). Lastly, 'data

protection by design and by default' means that "data privacy standards be already designed into the development of new business processes for products and services, and that privacy settings are generally set at a high level by default" (p. 25). Zeiter successfully contextualizes the GDPR for American companies, showing that the positive outcomes of the GDPR may be implemented globally. What the current article proposes is that such laws as those represented in the GDPR might take on a global application and thus be applied to every global digital citizen.

Perhaps most relevant to the right to nonparticipation, the right to erasure – also known as the 'right to be forgotten' – is another way that policies approaching something like the right to nonparticipation are beginning to be discussed concretely in major legal arenas (Floridi et al, 2015). The right to be forgotten can be interpreted as a minor version of the right to nonparticipation in an online context. However, it is not entirely correct that the right is "a way to give (back) individuals control over their personal data and make the consent regime more effective" (Ausloos, 2012). This is only minimally true. The problem with the ruling in the case of the right to be forgotten (a ruling which stated that, in Europe, Google had to remove links to individual's private information if that information is harmful and no longer relevant, with a number of added caveats) is that corporations should not be the moral arbiters of what deserves to be deleted on the Internet.

To implement the necessary changes, Google's Advisory Council reported on the findings of the ruling. Committee members included Luciano Floridi (Professor of Philosophy and Ethics of Information at the University of Oxford), Sylvie Kauffman (editorial director at the French newspaper *Le Monde*), Lidia Kolucka-Zuk (former Executive Director for the Warsaw-based Trust for Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe), Frank La Rue (former Executive Director for the Warsaw-based Trust for Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe), Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger (member of the German parliament for over 23 years), José-Luis Piñar (Doctor in Law), Peggy Valcke (research professor at KU Leuven in Belgium), and Jimmy Wales (Founder and Chair Emeritus, Board of Trustees, Wikimedia Foundation). Information about the advisory committee, including their report, can be found at <https://www.google.com/advisorycouncil/>.

One of the interesting findings contained in the report is that a non-Statal organization like Google should not act as the authority who decides what should or should not be allowed on the Internet. Further, as Ausloos (2012) notes, the right's scope "should be limited to situations in which the data subject provided his or her unambiguous consent"—the non-Statal organization "almost always fails to offer true choice and control to data subjects" (p. 151). Other problems remain. Ausloos (2012) states that the right to be forgotten

only comes ex post [...] [it] is very hard to effectively implement in practice and only postpones the illusion of choice. [...] Despite the rising awareness of individuals and efforts such as minimisation and anonymisation, data subjects still often disagree with unforeseen types of processing and/or simply change their mind. The current regulatory framework does not provide individuals with a satisfactory level of control over their data in the information society (p. 152).

The GDPR suffers from some of the same shortcomings as the New Deal on Data, particularly concerning the right to be forgotten. It places responsibility on the part of the non-Statal organization. The correct route would be to implement policies which request that non-Statal organizations construct ICTs with simple and clear mechanisms that enable users to choose nonparticipation when it comes to sharing their data. In other cases, a global policy entity should enforce policies like the right to nonparticipation.

Conclusion

In the future, important work in information ethics (Floridi, 2013) can help facilitate inquiries into new policies and the new rights that are owed to global digital citizens. Policies must be developed that aim to protect the rights of global digital citizens and which offer the option of nonparticipation as a fundamental right to data subjects. Nonparticipation will be an important right for the new figure of the global digital citizen who must be viewed as not connected to a national entity and who is frequently denied their rights when international

corporations extract data from them. Individuals are their data and thus should be aware that nonparticipation in the process of data extraction is one of their fundamental rights. Policy researchers should create opportunities for incorporating nonparticipation into the policies and best practices of businesses and their technologies.

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Laurie M. Bridges, Kelly McElroy:

Access to Information is (Not) a Universal Right in Higher Education: Librarian Ethics and Advocacy

Abstract:

As a profession, librarians have proclaimed an ethical duty to ensure access to information for all people. However, many barriers exist to fulfilling this duty, including varying levels of education and technology around the globe, the cost of obtaining research information, and the concentration of scholarly publishing in English. This article outlines these barriers, concluding with a call to action for librarians to advocate for multilingual Open Access, to foster international scholarly communities, and to champion Internet access for all.

简介：作为一个行业，图书馆员一直将所有人能够接入信息当作道德责任。但是，存在很多障碍，包括全球不同教育与技术层次，取得科研信息的费用，以及论文出版集中使用英语。本论文列出这些障碍，总结图书馆员应支持多语种开放接入，国际学术交流，以及主导所有人接入互联网。

A nivel profesional los bibliotecarios han proclamado un responsabilidad ética que asegure acceso a la información a la población entera. Aún así existen muchas barreras para cumplir este cometido, entre ellos distintos niveles educativos y tecnológicos alrededor del planeta, costes a la hora de obtener información de investigación y concentración de publicaciones académicas en inglés. Éste artículo da una idea general de cuáles son estas barreras, concluyendo con un llamamiento a los bibliotecarios a actuar promocionando un Acceso Abierto multilingüe, impulsando comunidades académicas internacionales y abogando por el acceso a Internet para todo el mundo.

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Authors:

Laurie M. Bridges:

- Associate Professor and Instruction & Outreach Librarian, Oregon State University
- ☎ 1 (541) 737-8821, ✉ laurie.bridges@oregonstate.edu, 🌐 osulibrary.oregonstate.edu/staff/bridges/

Kelly McElroy:

- Assistant Professor, Student Engagement & Community Outreach Librarian, Oregon State University
- ☎ (541) 737-3495, ✉ kelly.mcelroy@oregonstate.edu, 🌐 osulibrary.oregonstate.edu/staff/mcelrkel

Introduction

It is estimated there are over 600,000 librarians worldwide.¹ More than sixty national library associations have a code of ethics in place to inform how librarians work toward providing access to information for their patrons. As recently as 2012 the leading international body that represents librarians and their interests, the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA), approved the *IFLA Code of Ethics for Librarians and Other Information Workers*.² This document contains a preamble, which is described as core principles, followed by six clauses that are used to “provide a set of suggestions on the conduct of professionals.” We, two academic librarians in the United States, are primarily interested in the universality and applicability of the first four sentences of the first clause titled, “Access to information”:

The core mission of librarians and other information workers is to ensure access to information for all for personal development, education, cultural enrichment, leisure, economic activity and informed participation in and enhancement of democracy. Librarians and other information workers reject the denial and restriction of access to information and ideas most particularly through censorship whether by states, governments, or religious or civil society institutions. Librarians and other information workers offering services to the public should make every endeavour to offer access to their collections and services free of cost to the user. If membership fees and administrative charges are inevitable, they should be kept as low as possible, and practical solutions found so that socially disadvantaged people are not excluded.

In addition to this clause in the IFLA Code of Ethics, the United Nation’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 19 declares access to information is a fundamental human right.³ However, despite these statements, interlocking systems of financial and linguistic inequality have made it difficult for researchers to share their research globally.

Segmented access to information can have profound consequences. A recent New York Times editorial by Liberian health officials noted that the threat of Ebola had been identified as far back as 1982, but the research was locked in expensive journal archives inaccessible to health practitioners in that country.⁴ They note, “Had the virologists’ findings been linked to long-term efforts to train Liberians to conduct research, to identify and stop epidemics, and to deliver quality medical care, the outcome might have been different.” Where conversations about intellectual freedom in librarianship often focus on civil liberties and political freedoms, we wish to explore the new neocolonialism of scholarly publishing.⁵ We will examine the economic and linguistic barriers to international access of scholarly information, and place them in the context of the ethical responsibilities of librarians.

Barriers: Sixteen Countries Compared

This article aims to highlight the barriers scholars face in obtaining and sharing research across international borders in higher education; to that end, we have selected sixteen countries to provide a brief overview of some barriers. These comparisons are intended to shed light on the limitations faced by scholars in various countries, in order to encourage librarians to effectively advocate for all scholars and librarians, beyond their individual country’s borders.

¹ “Libraries: How They Stack up,” 6.

² “IFLA Code of Ethics for Librarians and Other Information Workers (Full Version).”

³ “United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.”

⁴ Dahn, Mussah, and Nutt, “Yes, We Were Warned about Ebola.”

⁵ Altbach, “Globalisation and the University: Myths and Realities in an Unequal World,” 9.

Although the country comparison is limited to sixteen in number, we believe it accomplishes our goal: elucidating the inequality between countries in regards to higher education and access to research information. We identified countries for comparison by turning to the IFLA advocacy group, Committee on Freedom of Access to Information and Freedom of Expression (FAIFE). The FAIFE committee is dedicated to protecting intellectual freedom and freedom of expression.⁶ In 2015 the committee was comprised of members from sixteen countries, and because membership in the FAIFE committee indicates some level of commitment by librarians in that country to freedom of access, we decided to use these countries for comparison: Germany, Switzerland, Côte d'Ivoire, France, UK, Serbia, Egypt, Zimbabwe, Japan, Finland, Mexico, Ukraine, Canada, Russia, and China.⁷ We also included our home country, the US.

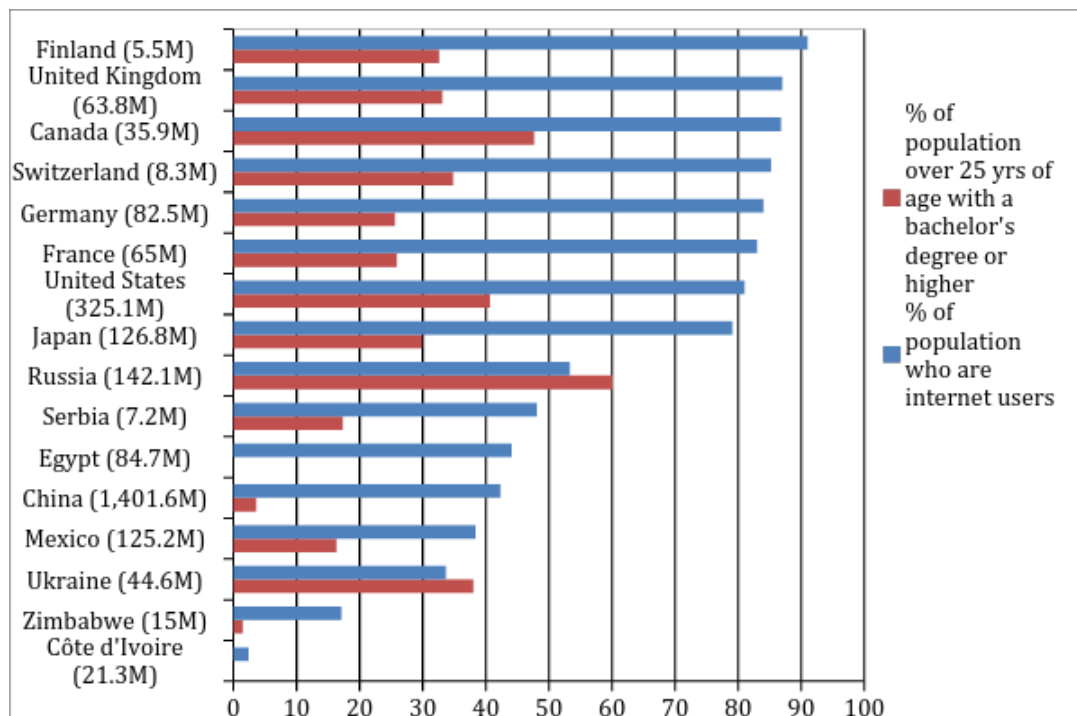
Educational Attainment and Internet Access

The sixteen countries in our comparison (Figure 1) vary greatly in population size. At the highest end is China, with approximately 1.4 billion and at the low end is Finland with approximately 5.5 million. No matter what the population, access to information can be hampered by a lack of access to the Internet. Côte d'Ivoire has the lowest usage with only 2.4% of the population using the Internet, and the second lowest is Zimbabwe at 17.1%. Another revealing number (Figure 1) is the percentage of the population, age 25 or over, who have a bachelor's degree or higher; Zimbabwe is the lowest at 2.4% (UNESCO did not have this information for Côte d'Ivoire or Egypt). Also interesting is the low percentage of degree holders in China—out of 1.4 billion people only 3.6% hold a bachelor's degree or higher. Low degree attainment coupled with low Internet access begins to reveal some of the difficulties faced by scholars in resource-poor countries.

⁶ "Committee on Freedom of Access to Information and Freedom of Expression (FAIFE)."

⁷ "Members of the FAIFE Committee."

Figure 1 - Percentage of population who are Internet users⁸; Percentage of population, 25 and over, with a bachelor's degree or higher⁹; Population projections for 2015¹⁰.



Language

There are over 7,000 living languages in the world,¹¹ but despite this, two thirds of the world's population are native speakers of one of the following twelve languages (in descending order): Chinese, Hindi-Urdu, English, Arabic, Spanish, Bengali, Russian, Portuguese, German, Japanese, French, and Italian.¹² Although Chinese and Hindi-Urdu have the largest number of native speakers, English is by far the world's most commonly studied foreign language, with 1.5 billion learners.¹³ In distant second place, with 82 million learners, is French. A recent 2015 report from the Pew Research Center noted that among 32 developing and emerging nations, people who read or spoke English were more likely to use the Internet, as were people with a secondary education or higher.¹⁴ English has undeniably become the de facto language used in international communication and not knowing English poses a significant barrier for scholars.

⁸ "Sustaining Human Progress: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience."

⁹ "UNESCO Institute for Statistics Data Centre."

¹⁰ "World Population Prospects: The 2012 Revision."

¹¹ "Ethnologue: Languages of the World."

¹² Ammon, Ulrich cited in Noack and Gamio, "The World's Languages, in 7 Maps and Charts."

¹³ Ammon, Ulrich cited in *ibid*.

¹⁴ "Internet Seen as Positive Influence on Education but Negative on Morality in Emerging and Developing Nations."

The Costs of Access to Information in Higher Education

Although the freedom to seek, receive, and impart information is recognized as a human right, that information is rarely free. Advocates of open source software often use the comparison that these tools are free like a puppy (requiring ongoing feeding and care) rather than a beer (which you can consume with no added expense). As previously discussed, the technological infrastructure and access to education contribute to the ability to access information of various types. In this section we will explore the explicit and hidden costs of access to scholarly journal articles, the dominant form used to share academic research. As Lawson, Sanders, and Smith have noted, when research information has an economic value, "access to such information [...] is not a right but a privilege."¹⁵ We will discuss global and regional trends surrounding the literal cost of access to scholarly publications, as well as linguistic barriers as researchers create and share information.

The business of publishing

Scholarly publishing is big business. As John Cox has noted, scholarly publishing is often funded by public/government money, and independently of the broader economy, making it a stable investment.¹⁶ Over the years, a series of mergers and acquisitions has concentrated where scholarly materials are published, ultimately creating an oligopolistic industry. In 2014, the world's ten largest book publishers were all based in the US or Europe.¹⁷ Six of them publish largely educational or scholarly material. Although some of these companies, such as Pearson, focus mostly on textbooks and testing materials, the portfolios of each publisher contains databases of research information. Examining just one provider, Reed Elsevier Group, reveals a striking pattern: 51% of their 2012 revenues came from North America, 28% from Europe, and 21% from all other countries combined.¹⁸ We see this pattern repeated across companies: Thomson Reuters saw 57% of their revenues coming from the US, and Wolters Kluwer 54%.¹⁹ There are likely multiple explanations for the high percentage of revenues generated in the United States. Given the US population and rate of educational achievement noted previously (Figure 1), the academic publishing market is large. The cost of higher education in the United States is also notably high. National site licensing agreements have not caught on in the United States as they have in countries such as Canada and the United Kingdom, so vendors may have more leverage while dealing with individual institutions and small regional consortia in the US.²⁰ Finally, when prices are set in wealthy countries like the United States, it can be prohibitively expensive for universities in developing countries.²¹

However, not all scholarly journals are published by for-profit publishers. An alternative model, Open Access (OA) publishing, shifts the costs to authors or other institutions to provide articles freely to readers online. Uptake has varied by discipline and region, although a 2011 study of articles indexed in Scopus found that 17% of articles published in that year were available OA through journal publishers.²² Individual authors can also deposit pre-print versions of articles in their own institutional repositories under arrangements with many publishers. Ibero-American cooperative efforts such as SciELO and Redalyc are frequently touted as OA suc-

¹⁵ Lawson, Sanders, and Smith, "Commodification of the Information Profession," 12.

¹⁶ Cox, "As I See It! -- Why Is Private Equity Interested In Publishing?," 69.

¹⁷ "The World's 56 Largest Book Publishers, 2014."

¹⁸ "Global Publishing Leaders 2014."

¹⁹ "Global Publishing Leaders 2014."

²⁰ Xiaohua Zhu, "The National Site Licensing of Electronic Resources."

²¹ Altbach, "Globalisation and the University: Myths and Realities in an Unequal World," 11.

²² Laakso and Björk, "Anatomy of Open Access Publishing."

cess stories, boosting the visibility of scientific publishing in a region previously underrepresented in the scholarly record.²³ However, OA still requires technological infrastructure and ongoing financial commitment on the part of the host institution and, of course, Internet access for the reader.

Language in scholarly publishing

As noted earlier, English is by far the most commonly studied language. The role of English as the international language of science and scholarship has also been well established. By 1998, over 95% of the publications in the Science Citation Index were published in English.²⁴ Although some scholars recognize the benefits of efficiency and the impact of the free market in this consolidation, others lament the homogenization and gatekeeping, noting, for example, that localized discourse patterns may be dismissed as non-standard by reviewers.²⁵ The limitations of English-language domination have been noted in specific fields ranging from feminist theory to epidemiology.²⁶

In terms of the human right to information access, this linguistic monopoly creates several barriers for scholars whose native language is not English. First, researchers who do not speak or write in English will find their options for giving presentations at conferences or publishing in academic journals severely limited; as an example, almost all scientific journals published in Germany are now in English, a trend that began in the 1970s.²⁷ Non-native speakers may feel most comfortable as consumers, rather than producers, of scholarly material in English.²⁸ Scholars who are proficient in English may feel pressure to publish in English-language journals because the resulting publication may be seen as more prestigious or higher-impact when compared to journals in their native language.²⁹ As a final barrier, even minor errors may be held against a scholar, as native English-speaking reviewers and editors often view the writing of non-natives negatively.³⁰

An inability to read English can also limit how a researcher locates and uses the published work of others. Although online tools such as Google Translate can help a researcher read a located item, the paywalled databases and indexes, if available, may only be searchable in some languages—for example the database World of Science only provides searching interfaces in Korean, Japanese, both simplified and traditional Chinese, Spanish, Portuguese, and English. The articles, of course, are not fully translated. This cycle then perpetuates itself, as English-language articles are more discoverable and more cited.

A few quick searches in Ulrichsweb, a database of periodical information that aims to be globally comprehensive, demonstrates the dominance of English-language journals. Limiting the search to active, academic/scholarly publications not published in English yields 52,498 results compared with 95,604 in English. Further limiting the results to peer-reviewed/refereed titles cuts these down to 12,965 and 59,573, respectively. (Of course, some of the primarily English-language titles may also welcome articles in some other languages. However, even a multilingual journal such as this one may have a concentration in one language: 85% of the full-length articles published in IRIE to date have been written in English.)

²³ Alperin, Fischman, and Willinsky, "Open access and scholarly publishing in Latin America," 177.

²⁴ Van Leeuwen et al., "Language Biases in the Coverage of the Science Citation Index and Its Consequences for International Comparisons of National Research Performance," 344.

²⁵ Tardy, "The Role of English in Scientific Communication."

²⁶ Descarries, "Language Is Not Neutral"; Baussano et al., "Does Language Matter?"

²⁷ Ammon, "Global English and the Non-Native Speaker: Overcoming Disadvantage."

²⁸ Tardy, "The Role of English in Scientific Communication," 251.

²⁹ Fischman, Alperin, and Willinsky, "Visibility and Quality in Spanish-Language Latin American Scholarly Publishing," 13.

³⁰ Ammon, "Global English and the Non-Native Speaker: Overcoming Disadvantage."

The dominance of English across international academia does not only affect researchers, but also the public. Research funded by the public in both resource-poor and –rich countries is likely to be published in English, thereby creating roadblocks for the public, if they do not read in English.³¹ For example, in the majority of countries in the sixteen countries compared in Figure 1, English is not the native or primary language; in Côte d'Ivoire the official language is French, in Mexico it is Spanish, and in Serbia it is Serbian. Even when articles are Open Access, how can the public, including medical doctors, nurses, engineers, and teachers, take advantage of the knowledge shared when they do not read English?

Conclusion and Recommendations

Varying levels of education and technology, the expense of obtaining the majority of research articles, and a concentration of scholarly publishing in English makes it clear that equitable access to information is far from a global reality. How can librarians, committed to supporting the universal right to information, advocate for freedom of access in our daily work? We see several possibilities for academic librarians, such as ourselves, who work in the financially wealthy countries that dominate research and scholarly publishing.

Advocate for Open Access

Through collaborations like Electronic Information for Libraries (eifl.net), librarians bring together the strengths of over 60 countries in Europe, Asia, Europe, and Latin America to negotiate and enable access to corporate electronic journals for resource-poor countries. This is done by leveraging the buying power of resource-poor countries and by negotiating a multi-country consortium. However, corporate deals are not enough, especially when considering the ever-increasing costs of journals. Librarians in the US and other resource-rich countries have an ethical obligation to promote Open Access Initiatives within their own countries when considering how corporate control of academic publishing disenfranchises resource-poor countries from the research, publishing, and access cycle. We can advocate for a more equitable distribution of the research produced on our own campuses by encouraging faculty to publish in Open Access journals or to at least deposit their pre-print papers into our institutional repositories. We can also play a role in highlighting and promoting awareness of international and Open Access resources.

Advocate for Multi-Lingual Open Access

As stated previously, even when articles are Open Access, the fact that most articles are published in English poses a significant problem for scholars and the general public due to language inequality. Therefore, librarians should advocate for multi-lingual Open Access. In 2008, Isaac Fung, a scholar in epidemiology, published an article advocating for multi-lingual Open Access calling on "...scientists and journal editors working in the English-speaking world, given the vast resources we have at hand compared to our counterparts in the developing world, to facilitate the dissemination of scientific knowledge between North and South and between Anglophone peoples and non-Anglophone peoples."³² Although Fung only lists scientists and editors, we would also add librarians to the list of advocates. Fung has four suggestions for future advocacy in this area; 1) Translations of English abstracts (or entire articles) into other languages at the time of publication; 2) Wiki-type editing for open translations of abstracts or entire articles; 3) International board of translator-editors who willingly provide translations for abstracts or articles; and 4) Alternative language versions of journals.

³¹ Fung, "Open Access for the Non-English Speaking World: Overcoming the Language Barrier."

³² Ibid.

Foster an International Scholarly Community

One of us is an English-language copyeditor for a multi-lingual Spanish journal, an experience that has offered an opportunity for cross-cultural sharing of professional knowledge. However, this type of service is also problematic: for example, the call for editors sought native English speakers, reinforcing the linguistic barriers discussed in this piece. However, despite the ethical quandary, many scholars around the globe have the desire to better their English skills for academic writing and publication.

A study conducted at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México surveyed 257 instructors and researchers about their experience with multiple languages, including barriers, in scholarship. Although Spanish was found to be the most used language, English and French were also highly used followed by German, Italian, and Portuguese. García Landa found that faculty primarily used three methods to overcome their linguistic limitations: the most common solution was independent learning, followed by asking a third party, and the last solution was using a translation dictionary. She was surprised to find that participants did not take formal classes. As a scholar in teaching and languages, García Landa states these linguistic learning solutions point to "a transformation in the ways of teaching/learning a language in the academic realm. In this sense, the fact that academics turn to autonomous learning, third parties and dictionaries is indicative of the necessity of implementing communities of academic writing."³³

As librarians, how can we support international scholars as they seek solutions to language limitations posed by international publications? At our university we have over 500 international scholars, some are permanent employees and others are visiting. There may be opportunities to provide workshops for visiting scholars related to publishing in US academic journals, conducting research, and working with the writing center on manuscripts. In addition, there may exist opportunities to host language conversation groups for faculty members. Finally, if faculty are learning languages independently, we can advertise free services such as Duolingo, Google Translate, make sure we have current bi-lingual dictionaries on hand, and advertise existing language learner services on campus.

Advocate for Internet Access for All

Today, access to information depends largely on access to the Internet, and as shown in Figure 1, Internet usage varies widely by country. Lack of Internet access is a barrier for scholars, especially those in resource-poor countries. Even if scholars have Internet access, connections may be slow and cumbersome. Broadband Internet access is necessary to seek, receive, and impart information; in 2011 the United Nations Special Rapporteur presented a report to the United Nations Human Rights Council calling on all member States to provide universal access to the Internet.³⁴ The Special Rapporteur indicated that without Internet access, "marginalized groups and developing States remain trapped in a disadvantaged situation, thereby perpetuating inequality both within and between States."³⁵

Most libraries attempt to combat the digital divide by providing Internet access within their libraries. However, this is limited in scope and does not adequately address the need for access beyond library walls. The New York Public libraries recently took an innovative approach and launched a "Library HotSpot" program that lends

³³ García Landa, "Academic Language Barriers and Language Freedom," 72.

³⁴ Winter, "Is Internet Access a Human Right?"

³⁵ La Rue, "Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression, Frank La Rue," 17.

wireless modems for home use.³⁶ Libraries located in communities that have access to broadband, but where patrons lack financial resources, may be able to offer similar lending services.

Librarians can advocate for Internet access not only at a local level, but also at a national, or even international level. Many countries have recognized Internet access as a basic human right including Estonia, France, Costa Rica, and Finland.³⁷ Librarians around the globe should be at the forefront of advocating for Internet access for their patrons because accessing much of today's information requires it.

We wish to end by acknowledging an internal tension—that we bring unearned privilege to solving the problems we discuss in this article. As we seek to dismantle different systems of unearned privilege, we recognize we are participants in the system and benefit from it. As Philip Altbach wrote in his highly cited article, *Globalisation and the University: Myths and Realities in an Unequal World*, "Recognising inequality is the first step. The second is to create a world that ameliorates those inequalities."³⁸ Though librarians in the global north certainly have a responsibility to help shift information to be free for all users, creating that reality is a shared opportunity.

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³⁶ "Library HotSpot."

³⁷ La Rue, "Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression, Frank La Rue."

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Bruno Macedo Nathansohn:

A busca pela cidadania global no ciberespaço: a perspectiva da ética intercultural no conflito israelo-palestino

Abstract:

The following article is a critical reflection on the impact of socio-technical networks of info-communication in the prevailing ethical framework of the underground international conflict environment. It uses the intricate Israeli-Palestinian relationship to outline the reflection. By explicating a cross-cultural ethics, the article attempts to deduce how best to build a global citizenship within a conflict relationship. To accomplish the task, it analyses two political resistance groups, the Gush Emunim, and Hamas, both groups being directly dedicated to conflict, Hamas for the Palestinian side, and the Gush Emunim for the Israeli side, where both sides share the same concerns, namely citizenship and participation in the global cyberspace community.

Este artigo é uma reflexão crítica sobre os impactos das redes sócio-técnicas de info-comunicação sobre a estrutura ética predominante em um ambiente de conflito internacional latente, como é o caso das intrincadas relações israelo-palestinas. A partir da concepção de uma ética inter-cultural tentar-se-á interpretar como se constroi a cidadania global a partir de uma relação de conflito. Analisa-se como dois grupos de resistência política a saber: Gush-Emunim e Hamas, diretamente dedicadas ao conflito, tanto pelo lado palestino, quanto pelo lado israelense, tratam do tema cidadania, e participam da coletividade global no ciberespaço.

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Author:

MSc. Bruno Macedo Nathansohn:

- PhD student at the Information Science Graduate Program of Federal University of Rio de Janeiro
Rua Lauro Müller, 455, 4º andar – Botafogo CEP 22290-160 - Rio de Janeiro
- ☎ +55 (21) 2275-0321, ✉ bnathansohn@gmail.com, 🌐 nathansohn.blogspot.com (Arquivo de Ideias)
- Relevant publications:
 - Guerra Centrada em Redes: reflexões sobre a gestão da informação e o lugar da Inteligência nas Funções Tecnológicas Básicas de Combate. International Review of Information Ethics (IRIE), v.20, n.019 (12/2013) – Cyber Warfare. (ed.) Jürgen Altmann; Francesca Vidal. ISSN 1614-1687. Disponível em: <http://www.i-r-i-e.net/issue20.htm>.

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Introdução

Por um lado, a cidadania é abordada a partir de uma perspectiva *bottom-up*, em que prevaleceria o compartilhamento de experiências, recursos, culturas, informação e conhecimento. Por outro, a partir de uma perspectiva *top-down*, em que o conjunto de valores estariam restritos a determinados grupos privilegiados, que concederiam espaço aos menos privilegiados, de acordo com sua própria avaliação e necessidade. Portanto, existiria um dilema em relação ao significado do conceito de cidadania, e isso se refletiria numa pretensa cidadania global. Uma cidadania global pressuporia um conjunto de direitos, deveres e o estabelecimento de ações para participação social e política dos indivíduos e coletividades, em regimes constituídos internacionalmente. Porém, assim como a noção ampla de cidadania, aquela delineada globalmente, apresenta assimetrias sociais, políticas e econômicas tão profundas, que impacta decisivamente as formas de ações a serem empreendidas pelos diversos atores da arena política.

Dessa forma, se atores estatais possuem estruturas políticas, jurídicas e informacionais, capazes de garantir suas ações globais, atores não-estatais, localmente estabelecidos, condicionam a participação política, por meio de ações muitas vezes de forma violenta, baseada na revitalização de valores e pressupostos culturais identitários. Como não existem, nesse contexto, instituições estatais, no sentido jurídico, outros arranjos são estruturados para que o posicionamento de determinada coletividade seja reconhecido e legitimado no mundo. Como uma resposta ao "rolo compressor" de atores mais poderosos que comandam os dispositivos globais de poder, a participação política localista tende a sufocar-se pela falta de canais de info-comunicação que lhes proporcione apresentar suas reivindicações.

Nesse sentido, as únicas opções são possibilitadas pelo empreendimento da "política como a guerra por outros meios"¹, por meio das redes sócio-técnicas de info-comunicação, tendo como protagonismo a instilação do medo, cuja face prática é o terror permanente no campo político². O campo político é transversalizado por "dispositivos de poder"³ que se constroem nos campos informacional e simbólico, conformando dilemas éticos que são diretamente proporcionais à crescente convergência tecno-política. O que impõe a seguinte pergunta formulada por Capurro (2007), "¿quiénes somos como sociedad(es) en el horizonte de la red digital?".

Dessa forma, identifica-se que as tecnologias de informação e de comunicação TIC, contribuem para, mas não determina o, grau de instabilidade política em um contexto globalizante. Esse fenômeno é impulsionado pelo novo paradigma sócio-técnico em que a informação é disseminada *just in time* em suas versões *on line*, de acordo com os atores que comandam um complexo "científico-militar-digital" global. Existiria, assim, uma interação de elementos tradicionais que definem o enquadramento político, entre eles, o que Esposito⁴ define como revivalismo religioso, e o fenômeno do etno-nacionalismo⁵, que se moldam a essa nova perspectiva.

Uma das explicações para uma situação de conflito está na falta de comunicação entre agentes conscientes. Pressupõe-se, com isso, que a falta de canais de comunicação, ou fóruns para o debate entre atores políticos, possa gerar tensões⁶. Por isso, dá-se relevância ao conceito de informação como elemento capaz de contribuir para a análise do processo de comunicação entre esses atores, que se utilizam de suas identidades culturais para legitimar a luta pelo poder. Dessa forma, a informação seria entendida como um artefato socialmente construído, capaz de ser permanentemente transformado e, também, como mecanismo capaz de transformar determinada realidade. Elemento que se traduz no próprio jogo de sentidos estabelecido entre produtores e receptores em um processo de comunicação.

¹ Foucault, Michel. Em Defesa da Sociedade. 22

² Arendt, Hannah. Ideology and Terror: A Novel Form of Government. 310

³ Foucault, Michel. idem. 19

⁴ Esposito, John. Islam and Politics.

⁵ Gurr, Ted Robert & Harff, Barbara. Ethnic Conflict in World Politics.

⁶ Jackson & Sørensen. Debates metodológicos: abordagens pós-positivistas

Para tanto, será feita uma análise do sobre o posicionamento dos atores, que são representados por dois influentes grupos da arena política israelense-palestina, a saber: *Hamas*, e *Gush-Emunim*. Analisar, assim, como é construída a imagem do conflito palestino-israelense pelos atores diretamente envolvidos, por meio de uma perspectiva que une a interdisciplinaridade entre arcabouços teóricos da Ciência da Informação, por meio do paradigma pragmático e social, de corte tecnológico-digital⁷, e da abordagem construtivista, das Relações Internacionais. Desvelar, dessa forma, o objeto da relação direta entre o meio, onde as representações simbólicas são produzidas pelos grupos e suas ações políticas práticas.

O conflito árabe-israelense no ciberespaço

Nesse sentido, a rede info-comunicacional potencializaria, de certa forma, a dialética político-cultural entre o global e o local, que é estabelecida no mundo real e transposta para o virtual, contribuindo, dessa maneira, com novas interações políticas e outras concepções de cidadania. Dessa vez, uma cidadania compreendida globalmente porque dependente de suportes e alianças sem as tradicionais fronteiras nacionais, mas que depende de permanentes relações de alteridade.

*"o diálogo intercultural sobre regras, costumes e valores, que subjazem a diversas práticas comunicacionais através dos séculos, é algo fundamental para compreender nossas sociedades de mensagens"*⁸.

A globalização, que seria impulsionada pela cultura ocidental de tendência hegemônica, é a mesma que provocaria o reavivamento das culturas locais, que irrompe muitas vezes em conflitos étnicos e nacionalistas⁹. No caso do conflito palestino-israelense, a violência explode *pari-passu* à velocidade com que a informação flui pela Internet, em uma nova ordem mundial onde as coletividades se vêem na necessidade da busca permanente por sua essência perdida, em um contexto instável que provoca incerteza e insegurança.

O Gush-Emunim

O *Gush-Emunim* (Grupo de Fé), um grupo messiânico, criado oficialmente em 1974, está comprometido com o estabelecimento de assentamentos judaicos em território árabe-palestino. Processo que cresceu ao longo das guerras dos Seis Dias e do *Yom Kippur*. Receosos pela potencial perda da integridade territorial do Estado de Israel, militantes foram recrutados em nome da defesa da *Eretz Israel* (A Terra de Israel, ou a Palestina bíblica), na qual prevalecia a ideologia da ocupação colonial. Mas, após atuar por meio de uma mobilização centrada exclusivamente pelo aspecto espiritual, o *Gush Emunim* inicia uma atuação verdadeiramente política, a partir de 1973, buscando representar-se no Parlamento.

*"According to the new ideo-theology, the entire historic Land of Israel would have to be annexed, immediately, to the State of Israel, whether by military action or by settlement and the legal extension of Israeli sovereignty"*¹⁰.

Atualmente, o *Gush Emunim* atua como uma organização não-governamental, e como uma agência para a promoção de empreendimentos imobiliários em territórios palestinos. Sua página na Internet dedica-se à mobilização social para a integração comunitária, e a comercialização de imóveis em territórios ocupados.

⁷ Capurro, Rafael. Ética e Informação

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ Hall, Stuart. A identidade cultural na pós-modernidade.

¹⁰ Sprinzak, Ehud. Fundamentalism, Terrorism, and Democracy: The Case of the Gush Emunim.

O Hamas

O aprofundamento das tensões entre palestinos e israelenses, que culminou com a primeira *intifada* (Revolta), em 1987, propiciou o surgimento do grupo militante *Hamas*, inspirado e apoiado pela Irmandade Muçulmana. Esse grupo passou a adotar práticas de mobilização que envolviam ampla cobertura social a comunidade palestina.

Assim, o *Hamas* alçou-se, paulatinamente, como liderança capaz de aglutinar a coletividade em torno dos objetivos originais do movimento de resistência e libertação, agora como candidato a sucessão da ANP. O *Hamas*, ao mesmo tempo em que impulsionou uma mudança na liderança política palestina, transformou-se internamente, construindo outro significado para suas ações de resistência.

O *Hamas* apresentar-se-ia como a síntese da coletividade palestina, por ter uma constituição política que inclui elementos de um movimento de libertação nacional e de militância religiosa¹¹ que se reforça continuamente, em paralelo e em oposição ao modelo de globalização ocidental¹².

Ao mesmo tempo, as clivagens internacionais aprofundavam-se no Oriente Médio, enquanto Israel assumia cada vez mais, aos olhos palestinos, o papel de representante dos interesses ocidentais na região.

*"The Palestinian-Israeli conflict posed a serious threat to both American and European interests in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, resulted in increased Palestinian deaths and suffering, and undermined the moral and ethical foundations of Israel. These problems were underscored following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990"*¹³.

Em 2006, um novo evento contribui para complexificar o jogo político no Oriente Médio, que foi a vitória do *Hamas* nas eleições para a liderança da ANP. Manteve-se, nesse processo, a mesma preocupação tanto com a propagação da revolta palestina contra a presença de Israel, como pelo fato do Ocidente ter que negociar com um grupo considerado por eles como terrorista, apesar de legitimado pelo voto direto. Agora, os responsáveis por mediar as relações no conflito árabe-israelense tem que considerar as repercussões causadas pela conflagração da Segunda Intifada provocada pela visita do Primeiro-Ministro israelense Ariel Sharon a Esplanada das Mesquitas em Jerusalém, em 2000¹⁴, e pela nova invasão de Israel ao sul do Líbano, em 2006.

Os elementos de uma cidadania global a partir do ciberespaço

Com o pós-Guerra Fria, o mundo confrontou-se com um novo paradigma que se pode denominar de tecnopolítico, que ganhou contornos ameaçadores para os países ocidentais hegemônicos com os atentados contra os EUA, em 11 de setembro de 2001, em que as TIC tornaram-se primordiais para o desenho da estratégia política, baseado principalmente pelo mote da segurança nacional. A abordagem agora deve ser pautada na perspectiva e nas ações oferecidas por um outro tipo de militância política, que atua baseada numa estrutura em rede e se utiliza da Internet como instrumento de luta política.

A informação torna-se, nesse contexto, não só elemento resultante de uma maior velocidade nas trocas comerciais e no processo produtivo, mas também fator *sine qua non* para o aumento da eficácia no processo de tomada de decisões políticas, na disseminação ideológica, no aumento da participação e da influência de movimentos políticos.

¹¹ Hroub, Khaled. Hamas: um guia para iniciantes.

¹² Hall, Stuart. A identidade cultural na pós-modernidade. 69; 80.

¹³ Payne, Richard J. The Middle East: the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. 63.

¹⁴ "Durante esse período, por exemplo, o tamanho e o número de assentamentos israelenses na Cisjordânia – o principal obstáculo para um acordo final de paz – foi duplicado". (Hroub, 2008, p.15)

"A globalização, com a proeminência dos sistemas técnicos e da informação, subverte o antigo jogo da evolução territorial e impõe novas lógicas"¹⁵.

Os grupos étnicos, antes coagidos a participarem de uma agenda nacional, comandada por outros grupos majoritários, passam a ter voz em suas lutas por autonomia em um mundo mais estreitado pela globalização, principalmente pelo uso das TIC. Numa permanente troca de ideias e experiências, ou simplesmente, se utilizando das tecnologias para o enfrentamento, esses grupos étnicos são redefinidos a todo tempo por meio de uma lógica dialética entre o global e o local, em que se empenham em sobreviver, e se renovam culturalmente, como uma resposta às influências hegemônicas globais, reforçando-se continuamente¹⁶.

A identidade cultural particularista se reforça como elemento da esfera política, valorizando um reavivamento étnico e nacionalista¹⁷. Muitas vezes, essas identidades justificam sua luta por espaço político por meio do conflito¹⁸, em um processo pelo qual uniformizam-se padrões culturais e reforça-se a "persistência e a continuidade étnica"¹⁹, em uma nova perspectiva de "variedades essencialistas"²⁰. O conflito palestino-israelense não pode ser concebido somente como um fenômeno local, mas também, como consequência de um conjunto de idéias e de ações tecidas globalmente que se inter-relacionam diretamente com o tabuleiro de xadrez local, e de forma potencial e ubíqua pela Internet.

"Communication is also a process between active centers each of which is transformed through their interactions. Today, the media is a major conveyor of cultural globalization. Even in the era of global media, we cannot consider communication without taking into account culture: each communicating centre expresses the culture in which it is situated"²¹.

Castells aponta que, ao mesmo tempo em que o "espaço dos fluxos"²² tende a sobrepor-se ao "espaço dos lugares" há uma redefinição do local sob a influência das redes informacionais, que, estabelecendo-se em escala planetária, lhe proporcionaria densidade comunicacional, informacional e técnica. Existiriam, nesse caso, importantes repercussões sobre o local, bem como seu papel no cenário mundial, a partir do processo de globalização e suas inerentes transformações nos vários campos da atividade humana. Nesse sentido, o local, e sua base territorial, é elemento fundamental para a dialética entre o tradicional e o moderno, pilares do desenvolvimento das atividades humanas.

No espaço local haveria dispositivos culturalmente contruídos da sociedade em torno de projetos autóctones de desenvolvimento, vinculando o indivíduo ao seu espaço, tornando essencial e peculiar a identidade comunitária. Pode-se dizer, então, de uma ampliação da consciência sobre a diversidade cultural, que seria consequência do desenvolvimento de redes de comunicação.

Essa relação deve ser contextualizada em um novo paradigma, que inclui não só a questão nacional, tribal ou religiosa, mas também, e principalmente, no caso desse projeto, que incluía a emergência de uma sociedade

¹⁵ Santos, Milton. Por uma outra globalização. 78

¹⁶ Kaldor, Mary. New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era. 70; Hall, Stuart. Idem, Ibidem. 69; 80; Conversi, Daniele. Americanization and the planetary spread of ethnic conflict: the globalization trap. 1.

¹⁷ Idem, ibidem. 76; Baumann apud Hall. Idem, ibidem. 95.

¹⁸ Gurr, Ted Robert & Harff, Barbara. Ethnic Conflict in World Politics. 2

¹⁹ Smith, Charles D. Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict; Conversi, Daniele. Americanization and the planetary spread of ethnic conflict: the globalization trap 3.

²⁰ Hall, Stuart. A identidade cultural na pós-modernidade. 95.

²¹ Martin-Barbero, Jesus. Communication and Culture. 2004.

²² Castells, Manuel. The Network Society: a cross-cultural perspective. 2004.

em rede, baseada na informação, sustentada pelo desenvolvimento das TIC. Assim, a globalização tecnopolítica estaria diretamente relacionada à noção de que a expressão de uma identidade necessita de canais de comunicação para se fazerem reconhecidas e aceitas.

O espaço social originado com o advento de uma sociedade baseada na informação tem como característica marcante o fato de além da sua estrutura real, baseada nas relações interpessoais, ser formada também pela versão virtual da tecnologia de comunicação em rede, que é a Internet. O chamado *ciberespaço* representa, dessa forma, o campo onde se daria um potencial de transformação, tendo como instrumental de acesso os meios tecnológicos, onde a grande rede traduz-se na concatenação de partes que se interconectam na intermitência de dados, textos e imagens. O espaço que permite, ao mesmo tempo, a reciprocidade na comunicação e a partilha de um contexto em um dispositivo comunicacional "todos para todos".

Entretanto não se pode falar da Internet sem descrever a estrutura na qual ela está inserida, observando-a, acima de tudo, como um instrumental possibilitado pelo ciberespaço. Apontá-la como uma conseqüente manifestação de um amplo processo de interconexão entre indivíduos e entre grupos em torno de seus interesses. Dessa forma, o ciberespaço não é só o resultado, ou uma representação tecnológica, mas a manifestação do sentido que o homem dá a própria vida, através da cultura, da economia, da política etc..

Toda essa prática na busca por interesses comuns e universais possui um significado que vai além da técnica em si e transforma mentes e hábitos. Essa transformação é essencialmente cultural e, por isso, mais abrangente, especificando técnicas (materiais e intelectuais), práticas, atividades, modos de pensamento e de valores. A *cibercultura*, nesse aspecto, é o que dá sentido aos projetos e a visão de mundo de cada grupo e indivíduo, e se desenvolve juntamente com o crescimento do *ciberespaço*. Nesse aspecto, pode-se entender a formação de redes como um espaço da conectividade, organizado por discursos e imagens.

Considerações finais

Aponta-se que existe, nesse cenário, tamanho grau de assimetria de poder, que a possibilidade de se estabelecer direitos em um mundo interconectado só se torna viável por meio da segurança total, porque a informação também é desigual, em termos de produção, transferência e recepção.

Portanto, de um dilema conceitual, passa-se a considerar um dilema ético, que aponta para a própria legitimidade existencial dos atores envolvidos no conflito. A construção da cidadania, recortada por elementos sociais, políticos e culturais, transpassada pela violência estrutural, mantém pela reprodução simbólica, na tentativa de apropriação dos direitos humanos.

Direitos humanos que são tratados como um fetiche, do qual grupos se legitimam pela força. Ao mesmo tempo, que esses mesmos grupos se legitimam pelo discurso baseado em seus direitos à existência, condenam o campo dos direitos humanos por legitimar mais um grupo do que o outros, e esse é um dos grandes dilemas éticos a serem apreendidos para se compreender a construção de cidadanias que se pretendem globais, em um mundo recortado por resistências locais.

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Breilla Zanon:

Transparency for institutions, privacy for individuals: the globalized citizen and power relations in a postmodern democracy

Abstract:

The aim of this article is to observe how technologies of communication, especially the Internet - allow extensive and intensive connections between several global territories and how they begin to influence the formation of demands and the organization and participation of individuals/citizens around local and global causes. For this, the below article uses Wikileaks and the cypherpunk philosophy to exemplify how information can be both used and abused in the common space of the internet, allowing new citizenship developments as well as government control strategies.

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Author:

Breilla Zanon:

- Federal University of Uberlândia, João Naves de Ávila Av.2121, 38408-100, Uberlândia, Brazil.
- ☎ + 55 -34 3215 7177, ✉ bzaanon@gmail.com
- Relevant publications:
 - Um Enclave às Avestas: Favela do Moinho e o Muro da Vergonha. Revista Enfoques, Vol. 13, June-2014, 225-250 p.
 - Posição no mundo, posição na rede: flexibilidade e meritocracia nas organizações sociais contemporâneas. V Seminário de Trabalho e Gênero e III Seminário Internacional do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Ciências Sociais da Universidade Federal de Uberlândia, 2014, 16 p.

Introduction

The flow of information is increasingly present in our daily lives. We have chosen the term postmodernity because we believe that this term helps us to define a new context permeated by the information flow due to new technologies and the fluidity in social relations and institutions (BAUMAN, 2001).

Information establishes an important relationship with the formulation of interests amid civil society, whether in micro or macro dimensions. Thus, we aim to understand how new communication technologies have opened up tangible opportunities for the formulation of effective demands towards the benefit of an individual's life in society and, in turn, we will reflect on how such technologies condition individuals to imperceptible surveillance subjection.

We will conduct our work based on a historically significant but recent event: the leak and disclosure of diplomatic documents and confidential information by the investigative journalism organization Wikileaks. The main concern of this article is to perform a reflection around the following questions: 1) does information, in its virtual arena, develop an individual's citizenship in a democracy, and 2) what is the global influence on the construction and practice of local citizenship?

Based on a 'cypherpunk' philosophy, Wikileaks emphasizes and guides its actions in accordance to a precept prevalent in the current political environment, an environment permeated by communication technologies: privacy for the weak; transparency to the powerful.

An information paradox

Technological development has assisted humanity in areas of material and social progress, especially towards the second half of the twentieth century. Despite it being a catalyst to new forms of antagonism, conflict and social degradation, technological progress has also brought improved means of comfort and convenience to individuals, contributed to scientific advances and to humanity's knowledge about themselves, and exposed at greater length the environments we coexist with (BOLTANSKI; CHIAPELLO, 2007).

In all these advances, the advent of the Internet has enabled a flow of information in ways unprecedented before the arrival of the digital age and has done so on an intricately complex global scale (CASTELLS, 2003). However, this fact also introduces a new paradox: in allowing equal access for all individuals to information, data and elements that were previously inaccessible, that new found information provides knowledge that enables fresh monopolies over information, generating new privileges to owners of information that then use it to restrict access and privilege to others.

Adding to the issue of information abuse is the fact that information made available to the web is now widely used for political reasons and by market institutions as a way to optimize on trends and generate profit. David Harvey, author of *The Condition of Postmodernity*, writes

*"The emphasis on information has also spawned a wide array of highly specialized business services and consultancies capable of providing up-to-the-minute information on Market trends and the kind of instant data analyses useful in corporate decision-making. [...] But this is, in a sense, only the illegal tip of an iceberg where privileged access to information of any sort (such as scientific and technical know-how, government policies, and political shifts) becomes an essential aspect of successful and profitable decision-making."*¹

The concept that information and knowledge are synonymous with power is not new, as captured in the oft quoted 'knowledge is power'. For Foucault (1980), "the exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and,

¹ Harvey, David: *The condition of postmodernity: an enquiry into the origins of cultural change*. 159

conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power" (FOUCAULT, 1980: 52). We are at present witnessing the magnitude of the consequences of information flow, exposed in part through society-wide debates on issues of access and control, calling into question the use of information as a political force, as well as exploring its influence on issues of representation, participation and the implementation of policy for an information society. Robert Putnam (1992), in a study on democracy in Italy, notes that access to information, in whatever form, is directly linked to citizenship. From the analysis, he realized that "newspaper readers are better informed than non-readers and thus better equipped to participate in civic deliberations" (PUTNAM, 1992: 92).

Wikileaks, among other similar whistle-blowing cases that are of late gaining visibility, serves as an example of the paradox represented by information-access relationships. As an event, Wikileaks made clear the importance of the potential of information-based mechanisms that assist in the intelligence and control of governments and corporations. Wikileaks also served to consecrate information as a political weapon, showing how the asymmetry of access and control leads to political shortcomings in the field of civil society. In turn, it also allowed us to see the other side of that coin, or, in other words, it enabled us to understand objectively how information-flows, when free of institutional controls, are able to unite an informed global citizenry towards taking accountability to the state of information, representing Wikileaks as example throughout the world (VIANA, 2013).

Wikileaks and the lesson of transparency

Wikileaks was born in 2006, fashioned by journalist Julian Assange and his associates, a motley crew made up of information hackers, activists and independent journalists, all with the common goal of organizing a means through which abuses of power could be denounced anonymously online through the submission and exposure of revelatory encrypted documents. Wikileaks would record these documents in its digital platform and encourage mass downloading and consequently public disclosure of incriminating files. Since its inception, Wikileaks has become more than merely an organization, but also a symbol of the times recognized around the world as a channel for global information accountability. Organizations like Wikileaks clearly demonstrate for us the power of information and the means by which the internet demands an accountability on the part of power structures to enforce transparency of information at a global dimension, allowing discussion, reflection and action around both localized and globalized routing policies.

No doubt, organizations like Wikileaks provide a useful service to the citizens of the world, providing the basic component necessary for both personal development and democratic accountability: information. Documents exposed by Wikileaks have demonstrated how transparency of information directly affects the sovereignty of nations, but also how it undergirds a global digital governance, openly revealing the face of a political and technological battle² that transcends national borders. From this perspective, Wikileaks has shown that the battle against censorship has no geographical borders and that it is becoming increasingly important to consider implications of transparency for information shared within democratic environments.

But why is transparency so important for policy, and in particular, for the development of citizenship?

According to José Matias-Pereira, "transparency is essential to allow those who are responsible for public management to be controlled by society"³ (MATIAS-PEREIRA, 2008: 75). In addition, it is fundamental to public management in a democracy and it is directly related to ethics, compliance and responsibility of governments (MATIAS-PEREIRA, 2008).

It was on this precept that Wikileaks won worldwide recognition, beginning in 2010 when it exposed in detail the war crimes happening in Iraq, war crimes perpetuated by the US Army. The case of this leakage of information became known as Cablegate. Through the practice of encouraging and enabling anonymous volunteers

² These and more informations can be found in the *Wikirebels* (2010), a documentary about Wikileaks.

³ José Matias-Pereira in *Curso de Administração Pública* (2008). Our translation.

to send information to reveal secret abuses of power, Wikileaks provided Bradley Manning, who was then a U.S Army intelligence analyst, the opportunity to promote what is now considered the largest leak of confidential documents in history, something that the mainstream media, throughout its existence, had never done. Manning served in Iraq in early 2010 and due to his post had access to privileged information, information revealing crimes and corruption by the US government. In all, Manning exposed 251,287 diplomatic and confidential documents containing secret information involving 274 embassies. Most of the documents made available by Manning expose war strategies and policies that risk the sovereignty of nations. It is no wonder that, as a result, the governments involved – mainly the United States – took legal action against both the organization and the informant since both constitute threats to national security, fully pursuing informants related to the investigative organization⁴.

The fallout of Wikileaks and the Cablegate debacle has not only impacted public opinion worldwide but has also paved the way for a positive contribution to an active and influential public debate about issues involving policy and information. As Assange notes, "surveillance is not an issue only for democracy and governance, but also represents a geopolitical problem. The surveillance of an entire population by a foreign power naturally threatens its sovereignty"⁵ (ASSANGE, 2013: 20)

Free and controlled information: a philosophical reflection on the conduction of practices

While the internet has provided a historically unmatched means of access to information, it has also allowed invasive monitoring by authoritative bodies into the private lives of citizens. As such, in many ways the internet itself has become *synonymous* with surveillance. However, the internet is not an institutional entity and cannot be governed as an institution, being neither fixed nor visible. It cannot be held accountable as an entity for that which occurs in its space. Surveillance thus becomes an insidious act where the enablement of surveillance through the internet removes, to some extent, accountability on the part of the surveyor, since information, via the internet, is naturally inclined to becoming accessible. The complexity of the relationship between information and surveillance is nebulous when surveillance is enabled by the same mechanisms that were created for expanding individual autonomy and freedom. As Assange says,

*"We now have increased communication versus increased surveillance. Increased communication means you have extra freedom relative to the people who are trying to control ideas and manufacture consent, and increased surveillance means just the opposite."*⁶

This relationship between surveillance and communication enabling mechanisms denotes a new order of structure, demanding a reinvestment of meaning and interpretation of the world and of what it means to be individuals in an information society (SAHLINS, 2011).

While few doubt that the advent of the internet is, in general, a positive improvement for individuals and societies in terms of opportunity, knowledge and autonomy, it is nevertheless, a contentious phenomenon. Slavoj Žižek reminds us that,

*"[The internet] users access programs and files stored far away, in air-conditioned rooms with thousands of computers or, as a propaganda text of cloud computing: 'Details are abstracted from consumers, who have no need to know or control the infrastructure of technology 'in the cloud' that supports them.' Here, two words are revealing: abstraction and control; to manage the cloud, a monitoring system that controls its operation is necessary, and, by definition, this system is hidden from the user."*⁷

⁴ Wikirebels (2010).

⁵ Assange, Julian (2013) in the American Latin preface of *Cypherpunks: Freedom & Future of the Internet*. Our translation.

⁶ Assange, Julian (2012). *Cypherpunks: Freedom & Future of the Internet*. 21

⁷ Žižek, Slavoj (2011). the brazilian edition preface of *First as tragedy, then as farce*. 9

Žižek reiterates above (2011) how monitoring, surveillance and information control is built and solidified through strategies and dynamics that, on the surface, appear in favour of the edification of individual knowledge and freedoms, but where in actuality, they limit both.

For Foucault (2008), this new form of control and surveillance is a type of bio-politics, where bio-political mechanisms result in regulations that measure, identify and describe patterns and behaviours with the intention of developing a diagnosis of future populations and their interests (DANNER, 2010). The internet has become the preferred method used in the proliferation of bio-political strategies. One such bio-political strategy, known as *linkability*, is a surveillance strategy through which pieces of data are reported and linked by mechanisms, data that includes credit card numbers, phone companies, transportation cards, etc., mechanisms that should instead bring convenience and autonomy to their users. Through these mechanisms, data uses are delineated to provide information on everything from user travel routes to consumer preferences to whom the user most frequently communicates with. These data sets can be amalgamated to construct and inform governing bodies and corporations about people lives, even against their knowledge or permission, and can be used as a political weapon, especially in response to individuals whose political activities or leanings are deemed transgressive or threatening to authoritative structures.⁸

How can culture, as an information society whose interests rely on both the internet and on privacy, best come to terms with and deal with the above scenario? According to information activists, the solution is to create mechanisms that provide more privacy for individuals with respect to distribution and access to information as well as a wider dissemination and enhancement of encryption techniques, while at the same time promoting additional political channels of transparency for the government and in order to guarantee the confidentiality of private information of individuals. Encryption is encouraged and actively promoted by cypherpunks movements. According to Assange,

*"Cryptography can protect both the individual civil liberties as the sovereignty and independence of entire countries, solidarity between groups with a common cause and the global project of emancipation. It can be used to combat not only the state's tyranny over individuals, but the tyranny of the empire over the colony. The cypherpunks exercise their role in building a more just and humane future. That is why it is important to strengthen this global movement."*⁹

The cypherpunk movement allows transparency policy implementation while at the same time preserving the confidentiality of the individual's data. It does so in a manner fit for direct action, while ensuring nonviolent resistance to the abuse of governing powers (ASSANGE, 2012).

Conclusion

The internet has enabled a freedom of information through digital avenues for global citizens, but at the same time it has enabled information to be used as a political weapon. What we see is that, paradoxically, the Internet has simultaneously given us both wider possibilities for, and limitations on, citizenship and freedom. It has distributed informational elements from different parts of the world, creating a new dichotomy of localization and globalization, encouraging the practice of participation in local public life towards a global accountability. An engaged debate needs to broaden global perspectives around the dichotomy of privacy and the use of the internet as a mechanism to facilitate totalitarianism. Wikileaks and its fallout is the catalyst to a new information paradigm, the impact of which is still in process. All the same, Wikileaks as a symbol for the new information paradigm has already secured its place in history as an example of action and activism, representing more than the advent of a new society but also providing a cautionary tale of power structures and information flows that should not be forgotten.

⁸ Wikirebels (2010).

⁹ Assange, Julian (2013), op. cit. 22

Based on the precedents of the cypherpunk philosophy, the debate around privacy and information control should be increasingly linked to citizen autonomy, endowing individuals with freedom and access to exercise their rights as concerns their citizenship, ensuring said rights are potent tools towards autonomy and more than mere lip service. Such rights, as freely exercised, should be the foundations to the building of democratic values. With the necessary actualized freedoms accompanying rights, especially as pertaining to access to information as individuals and protections from the surveillance of governing structures, the citizen becomes educated, informed and engaged, freed from the fear that would otherwise prevent them from action. It allows a global citizenry to instead question the interactions between information and governing structures as well as between information and themselves as individuals accountable to the state of information. It provides them the insight to understand when their rights are being violated. Such insights include a full awareness of how information is being stored and used, an understanding of how information can be politically manipulated, and an awareness of how information both enables and denies citizen participation in political affairs. The restriction of such rights not only affects the exercise of citizenship but it also illegitimizes governments that have until now claimed to be democratic. Thus, cypherpunks are both activists and philosophers whose place it is to simultaneously hold governing structures digitally accountable and at the same time critically unpack how and when those governing structures have, through their own means, become illegitimate bodies.

Wikileaks motivates us to see the importance of partial struggles towards a global awareness process in a clear and objective way. Félix Guattari (1984) says that "it is only on the basis of immediate reach of na acumulation of partial struggles [...] collective struggles, large-scale struggles can be undertaken" (Guattari, 1984: 220). The merit of organizations like Wikileaks and its whistleblowers for an information society is in the promotion of the elements necessary for the exercise of local citizenship through the distribution of information kept secret by global powers, and through the localization of a digital global citizenship. The greatest contribution that the Wikileaks legacy gave us, a legacy that should serve as an example for political actions in all dimensions of society for years to come, is an acute awareness of the power of information and the knowledge that it provides.

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Ben Staunton:

Trolling the Global Citizen: The Deconstructive Ethics of the Digital Subject

Abstract:

This article compares two contemporary rhetorical figures: the 'internet troll', a name invoked to represent a variety of offensive and disturbing online discourse, and the narrator and main character of avant-garde English author Tom McCarthy's debut novel *Remainder* (2005). By thinking about how these two figures relate to Levinas' brand of deconstructive ethics, I attempt to develop an idea about how global communication technology (which is, including literature, an essential ingredient, inspiration and sometimes 'form' of the 'global citizen') bends our perception and performance of what is ethical. Both the troll and McCarthy's narrator represent the necessity of understanding in a world caged in technical language describing itself. And at the same time, each figure will be shown to represent the motivating force of a global society that strives for total understanding: an absence of understanding, or in Levinasian terms, the face of the other.

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Author:

Ben Staunton:

- Université Paul-valéry Montpellier 3, Route de Mende 34 199 Montpellier Cedex 5. Emma - Études Montpelliéraines Du Monde Anglophone, Université Paul-Valéry - Site Saint-Charles, Route de Mende, 34199 - MONTPELLIER Cedex 5
- ☎ + 33 (0) 4 67 14 20 00, ✉ bstaunto@etu.univ-montp3.fr

The Troll in Theory

Responding to the discursive backlash against the outgoing CEO of Reddit, the community networking site often called the 'front page of the internet', Sam Altman, lead investor in the site, states that, "The reduction in compassion that happens when we're all behind computer screens is not good for the world," noting that, "People are still people even if there is internet between you. If the Reddit community cannot learn to balance authenticity and compassion, it may be a great website but it will never be a truly great community."¹

When asked to consider the future of digital globalization in terms of the global citizen, we might identify an ethical challenge that an ideal 'global citizen' faces in the figure of the 'internet troll'; a challenge that can be framed in terms of the antinomies of compassion and authenticity. The troll has come to the fore in the media recently, in particular relation to cyber-bullying and shaming practices. 'Trolling' has been described variously as an example of 'identity deception'² and as the action of 'everyday sadists'³. In simple terms, to 'troll' is to post a comment or message intended to bait a recipient into thinking that the message and its meaning is authentic, open about its intentions, thought-through and desirous of a reasoned response, and it is the desire to believe in this openness that will be established here as the challenge that the troll, the 'remainder' referred to in the title of Tom McCarthy's novel, and the digital form itself (as the convergence of sight, sound, touch and language) offers to the very utopian ideology that perpetuates it. The trick of the troll is to get another individual to take an entirely rhetorical linguistic message as literal, or semantically transparent, and for them to respond emotionally and intellectually (or 'authentically') to it. The troll that is the topic of this paper, therefore, needs to be separated from the online harasser/maker of threats, the patent troll, the Russian political troll⁴; the troll, as it is understood here, simply wants to trick someone into thinking that they have expressed genuine sentiment, intention or interest through the production of online images or text; they want to challenge the notion that technically formal communication equates to a kind of democratic participatory transparency. The narrator and main character of *Remainder* is a rhetorical figure of the global citizen, who becomes obsessed with (if not desirous of) the troll, or the other/reality, as it continues to intervene and disrupt his models and utopian simulations. It reflects the attempts to control the trope, and the troll, in order to stabilize reality within a platform that is ostensibly that of transparency and open-source, democratic participation. The assumption made here is that any 'global citizen' must necessarily be either achieved or performed (or both) through and within the formal restrictions and liberties afforded by the digital interface.

The debate surrounding the troll and the place of 'low' speech in online forums is an extension of the problem of the semantic undecidability of language: how can we determine the intention of language separated from its source, the subject? The troll performs the subjective intention or conviction which seduces the 'same' as response to the troll. It uses communicational loyalty as a mask for subversive discourse; it makes loyal communication subversive or disruptive of itself. The troll comment is the technical performative detachment of meaning from language; one that takes the guise of, and calls forth, its alternative: semantically concrete language. The common denominator between all these offenders and offences is that each capitalizes on, and hence reveals, both the power of language to actualize—to be performative, to offend or scare, to seduce both positive and negative reactions through normative readings—and the capacity in language for self-effacement or semantic inconsistency, which is the hidden aspect of the troll comment. This is why they are all grouped together within online discourse: digital society is obsessed with the power of language, in its ultimately undecidable position as both the key to utopian transparency (democratic liberation) and the obstacle it wants to overcome. The idea of digital citizenship presents the possibility of normalizing and structuring a single mode of 'being' a citizen, through a medium that has a staggering potential for both reification of knowledge and meaning, as well as a total semantic unravelling of those categories.

¹ Lee, Dave: "Reddit's Ellen Pao resigns after community's criticism"

² Donath, Judith S: Identity and Deception in the Virtual Community. 14

³ Buckels, Erin E., Paul D. Trapnell and Delroy L. Paulhus: Trolls just want to have fun. 97-102.

⁴ Bugorkova, Olga: Ukraine Conflict: Inside Russia's 'Kremlin troll army'.

The power of language in digital society can be confronted within what literary deconstructionist Paul de Man calls "the external politics of literature"⁵. In his summary of semiology and deconstruction, he describes the originators of this method in terms of their locating points of inconsistency, in particular the 'interpretant' (Pierce), or necessary human act of reading which makes the sign a *representation* that leads, not to normative or singular meaning, but to another sign which carries on this disruption '*ad infinitum*'.⁶ It is precisely the deconstructive human-as-interpretant which is threatened by disappearance within the utopian framework of technical communication. Instant distribution of words- and phrases-become-memes, through the democratic operations of 'sharing', 'liking', 'up-voting', etc. gives the impression of dissolving inconsistent interpretation, of real semantic consensus. The digital interpretant (while retaining some semblance of negative agency through the figures of the programmer, hacker and troll) is reduced to an operator who reads the world that is summoned through this operation. In the case of the troll-comment, interpretation enters into a one-way street of literalness, even when this comment borders on the pure rhetorical, the absurd, or straightforwardly fictional. De Man establishes an investigative premise into what he describes as 'an undeniable and recurrent historical fact'⁷: the sign and literature are at once meaningless *and* provocative of public action. This irresolvable dualism, is challenged today by what various critics⁸ have called the discourse of 'utopian transparency,' which tries to frame our relation to each other and to the digital. Simply put, transparency, or the absence of problematic understanding, presents a challenge to deconstructive conceptions of both language and ethics; and to the positive, creative potential contained there. This challenge will serve to structure the consideration of the ethics of the internet troll and the narrator of English author Tom McCarthy's debut novel *Remainder*, as they are each operating within a social context dominated by an ideological drive towards total transparency.

In confronting the troll, the digital citizen of a globalized world de-problematizes the encounter in the form of a literal reading of the troll's message; they take the bait of a shared digital reality within which discourse is ideally governed by an 'internal law and order', by consensus, or by what Georges Bataille calls 'loyalty'. We can identify the potential for an ethical problematic within this context of 'loyalty to reality' if we consider English philosopher Simon Critchley's⁹ reading of Emmanuel Levinas' ethics. According to Critchley, Levinas describes the ethical as the encounter with, 'a point of alterity...that cannot be reduced to the Same'¹⁰; what Levinas calls the 'Face'. The face, writes Levinas, is 'the way in which the other presents himself, exceeding the *idea of the other in me*'¹¹. The troll takes the route of reversal, in that what it performs is sameness, just prior to springing a linguistically violent kind of otherness out of the shadows of the same. The other is, by definition, what is capable of producing an *absence* of understanding in the subject. According to Critchley, Levinasian ethics is self-critique: "it is the *mise en question* of liberty, spontaneity, and cognitive enterprise of the ego".¹² In short, it is the moment where doubt about the subject's understanding of things becomes immanent, where the illusion of total cognizance, of self or world, is presented with a rupture in the form of an absence (or excess, or remainder) of understanding and the need to engage with it. It is a moment ripe with the potential for emotional and intellectual discomfort. This discomfort with the other constitutes a paradoxical fear of the real (the absence of total security, understanding, comfort, etc.), which Jean Baudrillard illustrates using a speculative fake bank robbery in *Simulacra and Simulation*; this scene is used to illustrate how, in order to maintain comfort and security in the confusing postmodern world of terrorism and ubiquitous information, the system and by proxy its citizens must always treat the appearance of threats to its universalizing tendency as 'real' (hence as a contradictory product of that tendency) and respond to them as such, lest one be treated as fake

⁵De Man, Paul: *Allegories of Reading*. 3

⁶ Ibid. 8

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Breton, Philippe: *The Cult of the Internet and the Internet as Cult*.

⁹ This particular reading is pertinent as much for Critchley's role in co-founding the International Necronautical Society alongside Tom McCarthy as for its precision.

¹⁰ Critchley, Simon: *The Ethics of Deconstruction*. 5

¹¹ Levinas, Emmanuel: *Totality and Infinity*. 50

¹² Critchley, Simon: *The Ethics of Deconstruction*. 5

and a *rea/catastrophe* result. The troll is an 'other' masquerading as the Same; sameness is the bait that draws out the self-doubt that is meant to be elicited from the encounter with the other. The troll starts looking the same, but eventually reveals its intolerable difference, thereby resulting in the encounter with the 'face' as described by Levinas. The narrator of McCarthy's *Remainder* establishes a subject position that problematizes the encounter with a traditional kind of 'other' (Africans and women, in this case¹³); his encounters with these produce a feeling of neutrality. What will be shown is that McCarthy's narrator has moved beyond the human-as-other of traditional philosophy and literature; instead, the narrator locates the face of the other in the unexpected intrusion of the world into his carefully modelled re-enactments. The ethical for this narrator is merged with the idea of 'reality'. The encounter with the material 'other' of his world produces not self-doubt, but rather the intellectual serenity of an ethical and ontological deproblematization. The internet, as mode or form of digital citizenship, risks accelerating this process of deproblematization, as users become more and more detached from what its streams of information hides from them, as they become less aware (for what some might argue are good reasons) of the remainder, of what exceeds the understanding it provides/generates of the world.

The global citizen, as it is described in discourse and in this call for papers, is an ideal subject position premised on a universalizing technology capable of transcending or revising basic relations of society like political borders, or the concept of the 'social bond'. The figure of the troll represents an obstacle for the progression of the global citizen, in that it reveals a contradiction between the capacity for online freedom of expression and freedom from emotional and intellectual discomfort. These antinomies are technologically bridged, and the consequences of their antinomy deferred, by the accompanying ideological drive to produce and manipulate moments of reality—moments in which 'understanding' itself is never a problem—which might allow for the coming together of these two contradictory desires. In seeking freedom from discomfort online, we risk dissolving encounters with the other into unproblematic encounters with the same, we risk making ethical disagreement a remainder hidden behind the total image of the world produced by data and digital information. This ontological and ethical dilemma can be transposed onto the contemporary issue of the online right to the expression of 'low' forms of speech in digital forums. It is also to be found in *Remainder*, in which the narrator is driven to an incessant pursuit of absent-minded pleasure through the technological production of, investment and immersion in, a detached, serene 'reality' that is a constant challenge to the memory of its traumatic origin (the trauma of not knowing what is going on behind the scenes of language, or in this case, the digital image). What we will see in *Remainder* is a context within which the ethical is an ideal-but-accessible, sensually-intense but intellectually-serene reality; the ethics of a subject absent thought (a reflection of his inability to locate thought in other humans), in which the social bond (along with its productive contradictions) is deproblematized by the enforced absence of the Levinasian 'other'. In the subject position that McCarthy establishes, that of the subject entombed in communication technology, concrete, knowable reality is both the means and the end. This is the contradictory strategy being popularly employed against trolling: a legally, socially, and culturally compulsive performance of other-less, transparent subjectivity. And it is the very rigour of this performance that undercuts its eventual totalization, exposing the irrevocable relation of thought and ethics through the figure of the unpredictable, or the world thinking itself.

The Ethics of Remainder

McCarthy's narrator, who is also the main character, has a certain traumatic relationship with the idea of 'reality'. *Remainder* opens with the declaration of an accident: "About the accident itself I can say very little. Almost nothing. It involved something falling from the sky. Technology. Parts, bits. That's it, really; all I can divulge."¹⁴ We begin with a technological accident that strikes the entire past from the nameless character, including the event of the accident itself; he has no recollection of the time before the accident, except for the, "images, half-impressions: of being, or having been – or, more precisely, being about to be – hit; blue light; railings;

¹³ McCarthy, Tom: *Remainder*. 36-7

¹⁴ McCarthy, Tom: *Remainder*. 5

lights of other colours; being held above some tray or bed.”¹⁵ The accident takes away all memory, both of the character (who remains nameless throughout, a representation of anonymity in a collective world, and the online use of pseudonyms) and of the accident itself; it does this first as a physical strike, half-remembered through images of railings, multi-coloured lights, trays and beds, all objects that serve to recall a hospital or delivery room. The strike that is at first identified as the accident itself serves as birth-trope, the doctor’s slap that brings the wail of a new human voice into the world. The accident to which the protagonist refers is that of his birth, of the production of a new human subject from within the traumatic explosion of medical science and communication technology of the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

If digital birth-imagery is to be found in the character’s recollection of the accident, this initial focus is quickly shifted towards an intimately related concept, called the ‘Settlement’. He mentions having heard about it from his lawyer before gaining consciousness after the accident: “...during the months I spent in hospital, this word planted itself in me and grew. *Settlement*. It wormed its way into my coma...Later still, during the weeks I sat in bed able to think and talk but not yet to remember anything about myself, the Settlement was held up to me as a future strong enough to counterbalance my no-past, a moment that would make me better, whole, complete.”¹⁶ The accident that opens *Remainder* is un-recollected, actual but repressed and opaque, both because of its effects—a loss of control, of memory—and because of the restrictions compelled by the social solution to the accident: the *settlement*.

The accident is a metaphor for birth in a technological world¹⁷, or if we want, the citizen who is defined by its interpellation by the digital form, one that fits in precisely with the concept of the child/adult dialectic described by both literary surrealist Georges Bataille and theorist Jean-Francois Lyotard. Within this dialectic, the child represents both ontological misery and potential, a subject-position we can easily connect to the dual potential of reading online signs and discourse. The adult, or the settlement, represents culture and language’s attempts to ease that misery and control that potential through what de Man calls ‘controlling the trope’¹⁸. The same can be said of the recent backlash against trolling and the uncontrolled negativity of sites like Reddit: the community of internet user have no time for the misery of misunderstanding or aporia, they seek a consensual clarity that facilitates their self-understanding, and their construction of subjective sameness.

The settlement therefore represents the act of enforced understanding that appears after the act of erasure is accomplished through the accident; in truth, both contribute to a kind of forced forgetting. The accident serves to produce the need for the settlement, and yet, it is not the necessity of understanding that is effaced (else there would be no remainder, no settlement) but rather, the memory of a serene, intense existence prior to the accident. The settlement serves to fill in the space of ‘potential’ evacuated by the accident: it settles the future, and what the narrator’s place in it might be, before he wakes. It consists of £8.5 million and agreeing to never speak about the accident he cannot remember—not erasure but decontamination of potential. It seems as though the dialectic is at this point already-accomplished: the accident erases the memory of pre-digital existence and imposes a legal and economic settlement which reinforces the mandatory forgetting of the trauma of the accident, and that which came before it, by virtue of fully inculcating the character into 21st century digital society.

Yet, Lyotard argues that this dialectic necessarily leaves a remainder, in the form of, “what... passes as institutional: literature, the arts, philosophy.”¹⁹ In other words, this dialectic does not resolve itself, but continually produces an excess; what Lyotard associates with institutional products, and what Bataille describes in terms of an irrational, unproductive refusal of the subject to give up the potential of childhood²⁰. This remainder is

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid. 6

¹⁷ And at the same time, ‘of’ a technological world.

¹⁸ De Man, Paul: *Aesthetic Ideology*. 167

¹⁹ Lyotard, Jean-Francois: *The Inhuman*. 3

²⁰ Bataille, Georges. *Literature and Evil*. 13

an obstacle to power/settlement/understanding/knowledge, and hence at the same time stands as an essential ingredient to the development and expansion of power/understanding/knowledge. We can understand the encounter with the 'face' of the other as an instance of remainder; the internal thought of the other as the *excess* of our plan or model or understanding or social network 'profile', of it.

The remainder appears when the character is first told of the total of his settlement: "It took another second or so for me to take in just how much money that was. When I had, I took my hand off the wall and turned suddenly around, towards the window. The movement was so forceful that it pulled the phone wire with it, yanked it right out of the wall...I stood there for some time, I don't know how long, holding the dead receiver in my hand and looking down at what the wall had spilt. It looked kind of disgusting, like something that's come out of something."²¹ This scene is instructive in that it serves as a series of tropic turns, a movement from wall to window, from obstacle to portal, from the relatively stable child/adult dialectic, into the problematic field of the digital social bond. At the very moment he receives the details of his settlement (the metaphorical social bond), his connection to that larger society (the telephone) is immediately cut off, although he remains connected as a voyeur through his window, itself a trope that turns from glass, to digital screen to binary code, to transparency itself. Settlement completed, he now experiences the state of living it guarantees: community consensus through *isolated* technological communication through Microsoft Windows© that are neither glass nor transparent. And it is consensus that is at the heart of this settlement: Bataille argues that communication requires loyalty, and this character is loyal to a very particular kind of communication.

"Things I don't understand make me feel dizzy."²² These feelings are caused by the phrase 'I'm putting you through'; he doesn't know who 'you' is meant to refer to. Linguistic uncertainty makes him dizzy, serene detachment feels real; he is a figure of the pursuit of utopian communication, he reacts to the undecidability of language and prefers the isolated mental serenity of technological representation. This ontological preference is highlighted in his adulation of Robert De Niro's onscreen actions: "I mean that he's relaxed, malleable...He doesn't have to think about them, or understand them first. He doesn't have to think about them because he and they are one. Perfect. Real."²³ Reality, and his utopian destiny, is in the unity of subject and action. The narrator has no access to the thoughts behind the image; which is why the actions of the scripted film star are by definition more 'real' than his actions, made different by the fact that the accident forced him to 'know' all of his movements and how they worked beforehand: "No Doing without Understanding: the accident bequeathed me that forever, an eternal detour"²⁴. This is the remainder left by erasure of the accident: in order to do he must first understand. This is also a way of articulating the impossibility of managing unpredictable potential in a digital society that seeks to control its tropes.

Armed with his money, and this ideal image of 'being real', the narrator sets out to re-enact the world of his memories (which are returning, or maybe simply arising, ad hoc in his mind like pop-up ads). He invests in technology and communication futures, creating a steady flow of capital. He dreams of a flat he used to live in, and reproduces it and its tenants. He scripts their movements while he repeats the same motions over and over in this artificially managed setting. He is trying to achieve the perfect reproduction of the flat from his dream, and in doing so discovers that the utopian serenity he seeks—freedom from understanding and all that accompanies it—cannot be intentionally produced. While initially he exalts in the perfectly planned scene, one of his first moments of intense and serene 'reality' occurs when an actor and he exchange spontaneously thought-of greetings. Instead of being thrilled by a precision copy of his scripted action, he enters a serene trance upon both experiencing and performing spontaneity: Levinas' other. We can define this shift in terms of a contradictory passion for artificial intelligence, or the re-enactment of thought, which is "everything except

²¹ Tom McCarthy: Remainder. 9

²² Ibid. 7

²³

²⁴ Ibid. 22

artificial”²⁵ according to Baudrillard, thanks to “the fact that artificial intelligence is a matter of the hyperrealization of thinking, of the objective processing of thinking”.²⁶ What he means by “objective processing,” is thought processed through objects; it is the world thinking itself, taking the reins relinquished by human thought. The narrator wants to eliminate thought in the sensuous serenity that he produces through perfectly coordinated action; yet what eventually produces these moments of intense serenity is the invasion of an ‘other’ thought. He achieves moments of utopian serenity only when his plans and models are invaded by unpredictable, spontaneous disruption; it is in these moments that he no longer thinks himself or his world but is rather ‘thought’ by the scene itself. This progression is capped in the novel by a re-enactment of Baudrillard’s bank robbery scene. The narrator rehearses the scene with several actors over and over again; at one point during rehearsal an actor trips over a wrinkle in the carpet. The narrator becomes obsessed with this unexpected irruption, eventually re-enacting the wrinkle and the trip on purpose, making it part of the modelled scene. When the real fake robbery occurs, the absence of the wrinkle in the real banks carpet unexpectedly trips the actor and he falls, accidentally shooting and killing another actor. Even when the accident is planned and prepared for, the bare reality of death comes flowing in of its own accord, and the narrator experiences a transcendent rush of serene realness; an unproblematic ethical relation to an inhuman other.

Conclusion

Remainder’s narrator is a citizen for whom understanding is a reminder of his own artificial identity; for him what is ethical is real and what is real is only that which happens absent human thought or understanding. On the other hand, according to self-described troll Zack, interviewed by Jamie Bartlett for an op-ed on the BBC website, “Trolling is not about bullying people...It’s about unlocking situations, creating new scenarios, pushing boundaries, trying ideas out, calculating the best way to provoke a reaction.”²⁷ Both figures represent ontological or ethical transparency; it is the context, performed or actual, from which they emerge. Each are operating on the premise that intellectual serenity and ‘reality,’ or the passion for artificial thought, are not just related, but paradoxically standard and idealized notions of the internet, capable of extending beyond the realm of communication into the world of ‘external politics’. The troll and the narrator are the same in the sense of their knowledge of their shared subject position; each has a bitter relation to understanding and a desire to disrupt it. They differ however, in their relation to thought. The troll, based on my intentionally narrow concept of that identity, desires the provocation of negative or self-critical thoughts in a subject who must necessarily be able to think. The narrator, on the other hand, seeks to provoke the automated thought of the external world; he wants the world to think itself on his behalf. This is his utopian scene, and it inspires in him a kind of science-fictional turn towards the ethics of an artificially intelligent system; a world managed by an external agency to which he and all other citizens are subject. This is the ethic of a kind of passive curiosity that has been located largely within, and connected to, the reading of literature²⁸, but can now be easily related to the techno-dependent, to the ‘thinking’ and choosing done by algorithms, to the listless socializing and browsing happening right now online.

The troll, in the end, is an irrevocable product of the push towards controlling the trope; as are the actions of the narrator of Remainder. In truth however, if there is a troll to be identified in Remainder, it is the wrinkle in the carpet, the unexpected intrusion of the world into the space of the models designed by the narrator, and in a sense, the author. This wrinkle serves as a final scene of semantic reversal, one which flips the script on the narrator who at this point begins to plot this unpredictable disruption into the coordinates of his model; in the end, it is the absence of this troll, or wrinkle, that causes death and catastrophe. However, the troll implicitly occupies a humanist ethical position, given the necessity of a thinking human subject to its endeavours. Each

²⁵ Baudrillard, Jean: *Art and Artefact*. 26

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Bartlett, Jamie: *Viewpoint: Who are the People in the Dark Corners?*

²⁸ Nandrea, Lorri: *Objectless Curiosity*

figure's ethical stance is informed in some way by this mandatory division of real and false that keeps them longing for reality-through-obfuscation; that is, the division set in place by the accident and settlement. The desire to legislate or censor disruptive thought away can be understood from the bio-political perspective of safe-guarding life; it retains the potential to do more harm than good. However the figures of the troll and the narrator establish a relation to reality that confirms both the presence and the value of fixed meaning; the troll can't troll without it, nor could the narrator provoke the unexpected or accidental. The troll is meant to provoke a reaction in the form of discourse and doubt. The one reaction which would negate all value in the troll, rendering it nothing more than a malfunctioning unit in McCarthy's narrative, is to treat the troll's introduction of doubt and excess (the other) as if it were an unnatural, artificial wrench in the otherwise 'real' gears of digital society. In an extension of the contradiction between freedoms that framed this discussion, the troll can be seen as an opportunity to reflect as opposed to react, to double-back to the origin, to the moment, uncomfortable as it is, when thought found purchase in the subject, to the moment when it was the human that thought its world, and not the other way around (which means accepting the risks inherent in reading and thinking). It is in this moment that the troll, the narrator, or the speculative global citizen finds what minor access to power they may still have within the context of digitally-dissolved borders; the power to change established meaning, the power to actualize the 'external politics' of literature (the technology of a different kind of citizen), which are reframed but not abandoned by the technology of digital communication. The troll becomes a kind of satyr, a kind of digital shepherd of the empty center, ostensibly trying to reinvigorate the very freedoms and individualisms that are meant to be secured by a digital citizenship, but which are in fact depleted by the obsession with consensual communication and transparency.

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Marina Pantoja Boechat, Débora de Carvalho Pereira:

Reverse mediations: digital methods of social research for digital citizenship

Abstract:

Our society is heavily mediated by information technologies, so the simplest interactions become traceable, which collaborates to a deluge of data. They represent an abundant source for social analysis and an unparalleled opportunity for citizens to access, produce and disseminate information. Nevertheless, all this affluence of data, for presenting itself in a scattered way, also poses significant difficulties for achieving an integrated view of social reality and its interactions, and is organized in many competing interfaces and information architectures, that may produce, reinforce and disseminate ideologies, hegemonic discourse and platform biases. We identify an emerging field of dispute of the place of mediation of the many flows of information, and efforts for repurposing and restructuring these flows over the seamless structuring of different competing architectures. In order to describe some of these efforts, we draw examples from the field of controversy mapping, and propose the concept of reverse mediation.

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Authors:

Dr. Marina Pantoja Boechat:

- PhD in Communications and Culture, Escola de Comunicação da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (Eco-UFRJ), Brazil.
- ✉ marina.boechat@gmail.com

Dr. Débora de Carvalho Pereira

- médialab Sciences Po Paris
- ✉ debcarpe@gmail.com

Introduction

The emergence of the internet is celebrated not just for broadening access to information, but also for redistributing the tools for producing, publishing and sharing information, therefore providing a wider range of resources for citizen participation and public debate in general. For the most part of the last thirty years since the internet has been made broadly available, this signalled to the creation of new independent media outlets that would question hegemonic flows of information and develop critical standpoints to the biases in mass publications. Achieving better representations of social events would involve giving room to independent voices and a wider variety of sources of information. Traditional media companies, in turn, no longer had the exclusivity of publication means, so were forced to reposition their activities and procedures, mostly developing strategies for reader participation and for improving the penetration of their content in social media and other collaborative platforms (see, for example, The New York Times, 2014). Both these developments — the multiplication of information sources and repositioning of media companies' strategies — are set against a complex background of dispute regarding the interpretation and contextualization of social events and interactions, regarding the way in which society is technically mediated.

This radical reorganization of the media landscape will, of course, lead to a dramatic increase in the production of online data, either by content produced by specialists or common citizens, either by data and metadata about our activities as we interact with information systems. With more channels and tools there is also a disaggregation of the media landscape in ever more fractured narratives and competing information architectures, which amounts to an emerging field of dispute, not exactly of the origin or property of information, but of the place of mediation and organization of the many flows of information. This dispute is present in part of the work of traditional media and their strategies for information production and dissemination, but is also present inside new models like social media – think of the algorithms that organize feeds in Facebook, for example.

For the purpose of our work, we are pointing to the fact that these features and structures — like hashtags, character limit in Twitter messages, the fields we should fill to build our online profile and so on — seamlessly organize and structure debate and messages in the making, but are seldom perceived by users as such. We understand that this has profound political effects, such as creating incompatible discursive spaces, with incompatible discursive resources, and framing the ways in which socially shared meaning is produced. We believe that research methods that repurpose circulating information and question and reveal platform biases in order to get to more integrated descriptions of social events can have a deep effect in citizenship and public engagement.

Therefore, besides the very relevant challenges related to adequately storing and recovering all this deluge of data and the necessary discussion about privacy and surveillance in today's digitally mediated societies, we will draw attention to the ways in which this affluence of data may be harnessed, at the same time, as an abundant source for social analysis, and as an unparalleled opportunity for recomposing spaces for debate and citizen participation. Our general goal is to explore this field of dispute about the place of mediation of information flows by proposing the concept of *reverse mediation*: a set of procedures we see emerging in methods of digital social research and in some of their appropriations for digital citizenship. As we are going to see in detail in the next section, these methods involve extracting data from varied online sources, taking advantage and transforming the architectures in which they are published, and afterwards building visualizations that serve as analysis and communication tools. We understand that this reprocessing and repurposing of information reverses mediations, not in the sense of inverting flows, but in the sense of problematizing and surpassing information structures.

We will be discussing controversy mapping, a method of digital social research that is largely based in ANT (actor-network theory) and was developed initially at SciencesPo Paris, from the work of Bruno Latour. It aims at building visual tools based on data that would display controversies and their complexity. Controversies are regarded as situations where the complexity of social issues becomes evident, where stabilized assumptions and social assemblages are questioned and can therefore be better described. Latest developments of the method have been pointing to integrating the actors of the controversies into the map-making process, easing

the adoption and the improvement of maps of controversy outside the walls of the academia, as tools for citizen participation in collective concerns. As other research centers start working with controversy mapping and similar methods, we see variations that are more directly aimed at equipping social movements and protesters, mixing social research with direct efforts towards social change.

So we have three main issues: the fragmentation of the media landscape and the role of information architectures in shaping public debate; the role and challenges of digital methods of social research, especially controversy mapping; and the possibilities offered by procedures that reverse mediations. In the pages that follow, first we detail the first two issues and how they appear in the literature of digital methods of social research and controversy mapping, while also using references of information sciences and media studies. Second, we discuss examples of maps of controversy that were produced in Emaps, a European research project dedicated to mobilizing online data to produce maps to foster public debate. This will give us the opportunity to clarify and discuss the challenges and importance of reversing mediations. We conclude by pointing to the political importance of reversing mediations.

Architectures of information and their encodings

While medias and information systems constantly propose structures and specific contextualizations to describe events and organize data flows, researchers like the ones who work with controversy mapping extract data from circulating information and build tools for analysis and new syntheses about social life. These processes repurpose and restructure the available flows and interfaces of communication, and have at their core the deep concern for the effects of platforms in framing discourse. This leads us to advance the concept of reverse mediation, where social complexity is not only filtered or structured for exploration, but also reprocessed.

First we should refer to Stuart Hall (1993) in order to describe the role of these different information architectures in structuring discourse, circulation and interpretation, and attributing meaning in heavily mediated societies. While discussing mass media messages, the author describes the articulation of four moments: production, circulation, distribution/consumption and reproduction of messages. They represent a set of interconnected practices that influence the other moments without fully defining them. They form social practices and inform further reproduction of messages:

"Once accomplished, the discourse must then be translated – transformed again – into social practices if the circuit is to be both completed and effective. If no 'meaning' is taken, there can be no 'consumption'. If the meaning is not articulated in practice, it has no effect." (p.91).

So messages are encoded in their production and decoded in their consumption, but, for Hall, the codes used at each moment will not be equal: there are many differences of position, once the relation between the public and the medias is not horizontal and the situation of those moments differs greatly. Hall also posits that the possibility of a closer alignment between the codes used in encoding and decoding moments does not point to a more natural, transparent or realistic representation, but to the presence of deeply rooted habits in which this dominant code is set.

However changing and polysemic the many socially shared codes may be, any culture tends to impose its classifications of the social, cultural and political world in a dominant cultural order that organizes different discursive spaces of dominant meanings, that will reflect the continuation, reinforcement or challenging of power and ideology. Every new event, however disruptive of this order it may be, will have to be assigned to a certain discursive domain in order to make sense in general terms. According to Hall, this assignment mobilizes a set of performative rules, that develop competences and uses, in order to reinforce one semantic domain over the other at each situation, and move items from one setting to another, transforming their affiliation and meaning.

Of course, in a communicational environment dominated by mass media, the major flows are more visible, but, at the reception and consumption moments, the processes of decoding are not really visible in their complexity,

hidden as they are under the dominant flows and encodings. Therefore, dominant codes are more easily regarded as transparent, their strategies hidden in plain sight. Online media, on the other hand, connects the decoding practices to publishing and social indexing (Guedes, Moura, & Dias, 2011) tools, and collaborates for multiplying discursive spaces and the criteria by which they might be organized. This highlights the importance of communication infrastructures and interfaces for the constitution of cohesed discursive spaces that become frames for what can be said and how it should be said. They participate in structuring discourse and information through many different matrixes, in general relying on different codes, inside varied maps of meaning.

A few of the tools that are proposed in online platforms are not exactly aimed at publishing, but connected to organizing the ways in which the content will be stored and will circulate. To an extent, the user activity channeled through these tools will create information flows and networks of related content. For example: tools of social tagging allow users to collaborate for the representation of web content by assigning personalized tags to items in collaborative platforms. On the other end, the tags created by individual users are available for the use of the whole community and they also organize and provide access to the items tagged. A collaborative indexing system always has to be matched to a representational system that interprets and fits the set of tagged items into an interface. This is a kind of bottom-up indexing system that allows for informal and natural language use inside information systems (Noruzi, 2006). Nevertheless, it also gives detailed and relational information about patterns of use and user preferences, feeding strategies of content structuring and distribution according to interpretations and translations of online activity that are once more out of the reach of the users. It also creates a landscape of connected content that is usually not visible in its complexity: the representations in the interfaces do not give access to the exploration of possible patterns that would help building critical standpoints about the indexes.

The strategy of using the traces left by users inside online platforms has been used by many fields, in order to organize representations of content, sell products, target services and advertisement and so on. It is part of this dispute we have been referring to, about the place and shape of the mediation of information flows. Nevertheless, harnessing these objects for scientific research involves different concerns than the ones present in commercial use, and these concerns, especially in controversy mapping, will set the tone to some very interesting innovations, which we will discuss later on.

Digital social research and online media

Speaking in general terms, the research in the growing area of the Digital Humanities combines methodologies from the humanities with computing tools to analyse both digitized and digitally native (Rogers, 2013) material. Of course, this promising approach generates quite a few challenges for equalizing the largely quantitative approach of computational methods with the critical and qualitative traditions of humanistic fields. Digital social research, especially through the recent works of Rogers (2013), Latour (2012), Venturini (2015), Marres (2015) and others, takes one step further by going beyond the analysis of circulating content and using data derived from digital networks as a source for descriptions and analyses of society in general. Bruno (2012), for example, posits that the data generated from the interactions in digital media can be sources for approaches that differ from the critical studies of cyberculture and from the broad and relevant discussion about the strategies for sale, surveillance and control through data. She advocates an approach towards a knowledge of traces (p.3): as more and more of our lives is described as data and more of our actions are connected and tracked by information systems, the traces we leave in these systems can tell us much about the interactions that compose social life, helping us to describe and analyse it (Venturini & Latour, 2010). Working along the same lines, Rogers (2013) posits that, instead of using digital technologies to further traditional methods of social research, or even discussing the specificities of social relations inside digital culture, social sciences should approach the data produced through digital media as evidence for the analysis of social concerns in general.

Venturini & Latour (2010), on the other hand, ponder that social sciences have done nothing to merit such an abundance, and now face the difficult challenge of adapting and repurposing data that was not originally recorded for the interests of scientific research, let alone for specific inquiries. It becomes necessary to ground (Rogers, 2013) these digital traces so that scientific findings may really refer to social interactions and not just

be effects of the prestructuring of data that is carried out in platforms and devices. So one needs to develop a critical understanding of the workings of the media where the data are extracted and equally of the devices produced to analyse data. This will also entail a return to media theory, semiotics, discourse analysis, cultural studies and aesthetics. We understand that the need for this critical understanding is not restricted to digital methods of social research: it is nowadays in the center of public debate. It happens necessarily through a critical approach of the media outlets and of their role in building public opinion or feeding public debate, and also through a dispute regarding the interpretation and contextualization of social events and interactions, that is, regarding the way in which society is technically mediated.

Controversy mapping is a digital method of social research developed initially at Sciences Po, from the work of Bruno Latour. The method uses digital traces left by actors as they interact with today's information and communication networks to map out controversies and develop descriptions of social reality. According to Venturini & Latour (2010), the importance of using these digital traces and of their recent availability with the internet derives from the fact that these can help researchers track and represent the social fabric in its processes. Traditional empirical methods in the social sciences would have to work mostly with stabilized documents, institutions or social assemblages and, from there, try to picture the many disputes and transformations involved in making and maintaining them. These digital traces, on the contrary, are unfinished, fleeting, they stand for exchanges, interactions, tiny relations and, when harnessed and treated, can help visualizing debates, disputes and all the effervescence and controversy that happens until some social entity is stabilized, and also the efforts for keeping it that way. Using digital traces also helps building relational approaches while assembling representations of social reality: differently than the aggregated view of traditional statistics, they seek to focus on interactions between actors.

So the use of digital tools and online data is praised for allowing the analysis of controversies while they are hot and in the making, therefore the progressive entanglement of controversy mapping with media processes and sources, like news outlets, online forums and social media sites, where much of today's debates can be tracked. From that also comes their effort for developing maps with which the actors of the controversies may engage: they understand that representations of social life are part and instruments of the social interactions. Therefore, an important discussion among its practitioners is how to integrate the actors of controversies in the production of the maps, returning them as instruments for the controversies themselves. As we discussed elsewhere, some of the appropriations of this method (and of social network analysis in general) have been taking up more engaged roles, somehow blurring the separation between social research and activism, the academy and digital citizenship (Carvalho & Boechat, 2014).

Venturini (2012) advances that controversy mapping is not a method for social intervention, which is a very innovative and powerful claim, but, on the other hand, we should keep in mind that the adoption of those maps by the engaged publics must include political action of citizens inside the controversy. We are using the term political in its broader sense, that runs across states, institutions and everyday life. This comes to emphasize the role of the visualizations as tools for debate, for gathering people around pressing issues. Like Virno (2008) explains, in heavily mediated societies, political action gets intertwined with the basic features of language and cognition, and disputes take place mostly in a symbolic level, precisely in the encoding and decoding processes. These set the stage for the disputes that define how to frame collective issues and the resources to debate them, like in the maps of meaning as defined by Hall (1993). When visualizations that aim at creating shared landscapes are appropriated by concerned publics, one should expect, and aim for, a coincidence between debate and political action.

Repurposing the platform, revealing the debate

The very specific perspective developed in controversy mapping will entail two main challenges that are relevant to our discussion: first, dealing with the biases present in every platform and the ways in which they organize the information that is going to be used for research. Second, the challenge of building representations that will power discussions and foster participation of concerned publics. Facing these challenges will put forward two corresponding innovations, that we describe in the following lines.

Platform bias should be a constant concern for scholars in digital social research in general. As they adapt data that was not produced for the goals of the specific inquiry they are working on, the criteria of the platform where the data was produced or initially organized will be transferred to the context of the inquiry and must be carefully considered. The hashtags in Twitter, for instance: on the one hand, they are very useful because they allow the selection of related tweets and the mapping of them into networks for analysis. On the other hand, these maps will not show posts with other related hashtags that might be part of the discussion, neither will they account for ironic or misplaced use of them. In other words, the formation and use of such hashtags inside the exchanges between users is seldom discussed. As Marres (2005) points out, to an extreme, scholars might end up studying the platform and not the social issues at stake in the inquiry, because the platform biases affect the framing of the issues that are being studied. On another extreme, we could say that there is the danger that scholars do not succeed in identifying the disputes and power struggles present in the structuring of the data they are appropriating. So digital methods, at the same time, profit from information architectures in order to track social interactions, but must develop a deep concern for revealing the constraints of these structures and, to a certain extent, the power struggles involved in it.

We draw attention to the fact that the platform biases can cause distortions in the data and its interpretation, but are fundamentally part of the process of technical mediation: each interface or information architecture organizes a certain set of rules and offers some tools for enunciation, like an ethos that is meant to fade to the background for the sake of usability. Again, a strong example comes from social media: sites like Facebook, for example, are constantly making improvements in their interface's structure and adding new features. For a while along its first years, there were many of such updates, and at each one we had the impression that it would be hard to adapt, but soon found ourselves not remembering how the interface was structured previously. The features had quickly faded into the background, as an encoded base structure that maps the means for our exchanges and debates. And that is why developing a critical stance for working with data that is bred according to these discursive codes can be quite tricky. Because of that, in a more general aspect, this will also involve understanding the many processes of mediation and encoding and decoding that go through in the circulation of messages and their appropriation in social practices, something that will in many instances guide the process of visual data analysis itself during the exploratory stages of the inquiries.

So on the one hand we have the use of these objects (tags, hashtags, classifications, entries, hierarchies, orders etc.) of information architecture as starting points or handles to draw data from the flow of online media, and, on the other hand, we have the effort for creating critical standpoints towards them, revealing and working productively with their biases, as part of the issue being discussed. We believe this lays out an important path for the development of methods like controversy mapping, because it enables scholars to address issues that are often left on the background, even in traditional social research. We understand that this effort reverses mediations because it uses information architectures to draw data, but also, considering that an ideal of overcoming them would be not only impossible but undesirable, may reveal the biases and the power struggles that may structure them, pushing the inquiry forward.

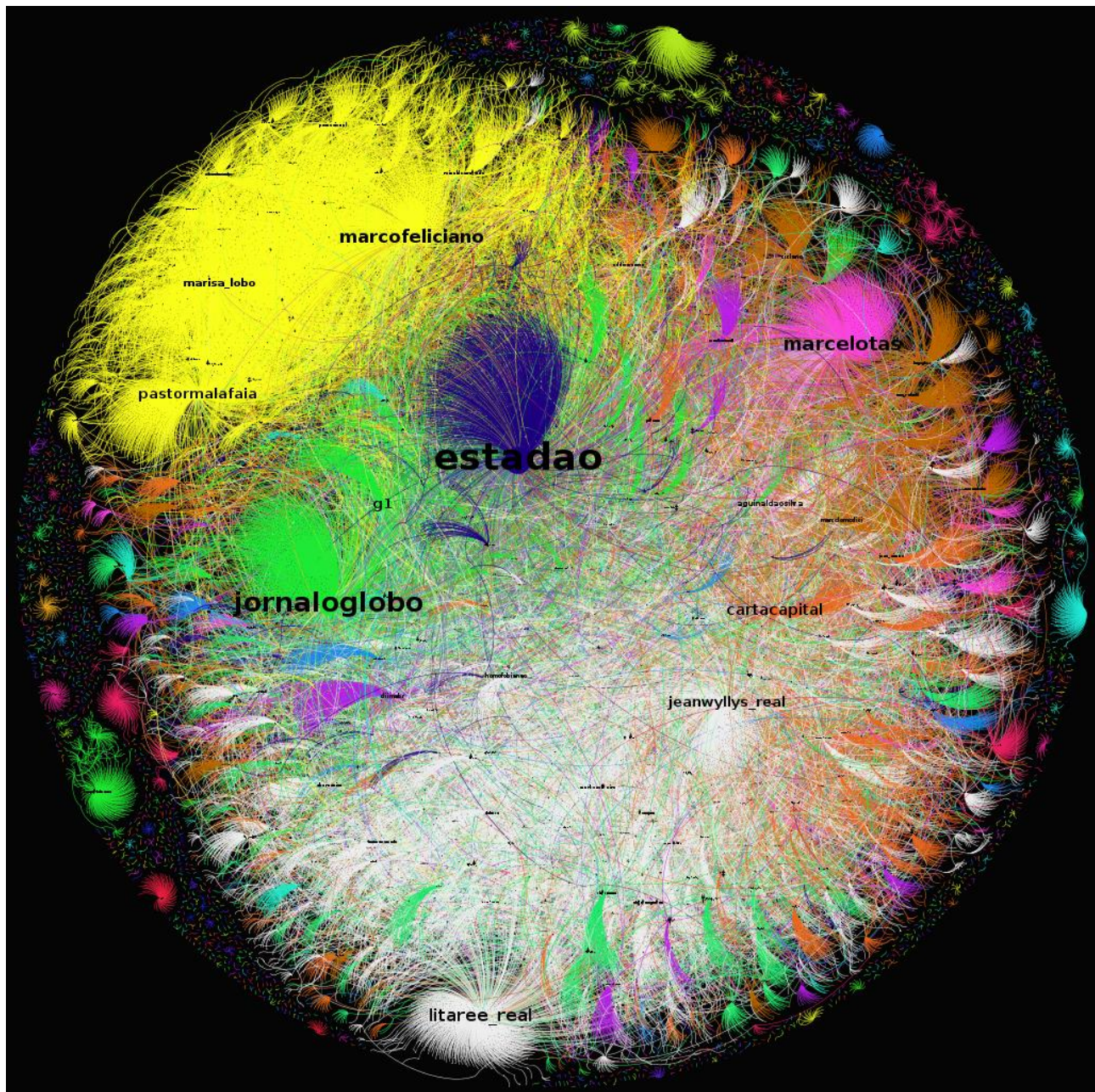


Figure 1. Network showing the sharing of Twitter posts tagged #Feliciano, by Fabio Malini. Source: <http://www.labic.net/imprensa-nas-redes-sociais-autoridade-sem-centralidade>

The second challenge we would like to draw attention to is directly connected to visual data analysis, and to producing and sharing the maps of controversy. Indeed, visualization is a central issue for the practice in controversy mapping: it reveals and even orients a careful work of extracting data that is circulating in the medias and reprocessing and repurposing it in new informational forms, the controversy maps. According to Munk, visiting professor at the médialab Sciences Po and researcher at Emaps Project (*apud* Boechat, 2015), visualization is in the very roots of the method and, at the same time, brings a whole new sense to scientific inquiry, because it allows for the participation of a wider range of specialists and actors, and becomes a space in which the inquiries become visible and are collectively developed. Meunier, project manager of Emaps Project at médialab Sciences Po (*apud* Boechat, 2015), believes visualizations should come into the research process as early as possible: they should be specified and streamlined iteratively, together with the research questions.

In fact, the aim of controversy mapping seems to be to take on a very bottom-up approach to social analysis through visualization (see, for example, Venturini *et alii*, 2015, p.6-10).

One last important aspect of the use of visualization is its dissemination for the engaged publics: those are people that may gather around artifacts like controversy maps because they are engaged or affected by a certain issue. Munk understands that involving actors of the controversy in the mapping process gives scholars important hints about platform biases and of how to interpret and treat the data. Venturini *et alii* (2015), on the other hand, point to the possibilities of participatory design methods and to improving the maps according to the ways in which they are adopted, creating iterative cycles. So the maps themselves must be seen as part of the controversy and, if they succeed in being adopted by concerned people, they can also become an axis for following its development.

As might have become evident, this work of controversy mapping is not straightforward, neither is the effort we see in it, of reversing mediations. Building network maps based on tweets and retweets that use a specific hashtag, for example, where each node is a profile and each connection is a retweet will tend to show the relevance of the most popular profiles like the ones of major news outlets and media personalities. This approach does show the penetration of large media companies and their encodings in social media, but much of the exchanges themselves gets masked behind the central sources, and also there is no hint of how these dominant encodings are being decoded and incorporated into more distributed discursive practices.

See, for example, the graph built by Malini (2013) in figure 1, showing a network of tweets with the hashtag #Feliciano, formed by profiles in twitter (nodes) and the retweets of their tweets (vertices). That is: raw data listing posts in Twitter that were tagged with #Feliciano for a certain timeframe was downloaded. For every post, the data showed its author and the reposts, that is, when other users forward the post to their own network of followers. Bigger nodes show users whose posts were forwarded the most, as a measure of popularity, and lines connect the users that forwarded posts. The different colors show the different communities present in the network. The hashtag #Feliciano refers to Marco Feliciano, a Brazilian politician that aims at passing laws and making state policies that threaten the separation between church and state, as well as the safety and equal rights for minorities, especially the homosexuals. When he was nominated chair for the Human Rights Commission of the Deputies Hall in Brazil this generated much controversy and disputes between activists from religious groups and human rights groups.

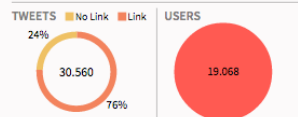
By itself, this network highlights the popularity of certain profiles (in general from large media outlets and celebrities), and the proximity between profiles that forward similar posts, but it fails to display the real conversation and the exchanges between profiles, the public debate. Seen isolatedly, this graph displays the surface of the concentrations of power, in terms of organizing main information flows, displays the surface of the platform structure. It does not reach the layer of the real controversies and, to use Hall's (1993) words, the decoding moments, where media messages are translated into practices. So, even though this graph relates many elements, we start to wonder if it would not have a clearer impact if presented, for example, as a series of column graphs, showing the amount of retweets for each main profile.

For Malini, this should be addressed by taking into account the difference between two metrics that are used in network analysis: authority and centrality. In the case of Twitter, large and professional news outlets have much authority, because they are dedicated to reporting, and have privileged access to many sources, so people tend to follow their profiles and frequently forward the content they post. They are seen as references for specific kinds of news. Centrality, on the other hand, refers to the proximity a profile has to others, in the sense of having his content forwarded but also of forwarding content. This means that profiles that really engage in the conversation will be more central: they may not generate as much content, but their participation will be more determinant for building discourses and shaping debate. Malini explains that profiles with great centrality have their messages circulating longer and across more connections than profiles with only large authority, because their networks are tighter and more interconnected. Therefore, to better analyse the debates about Marco Feliciano from the dataset, one should build series of graphs, in order to deploy different aspects of the data.

PROFILES OF SCEPTICISM, MITIGATION, ADAPTATION, AND CONFLICT IN TWITTER

Scepticism

QUERY
Skeptic



TOP 10 HASHTAGS

climate [2674]
ClimateChange
globalwarming
tcot
auspol
ClimateCrisis
p2
agw
science
skeptics

TOP 10 MENTIONED USERS

Skepticscience [2684]
dana1981
Elonmusk
Bencubby
Al Gore
Huffpostgreen
Fxnscitech
Michaelmann
Huffpostpol
Climatepot

TOP 10 ACTIVE USERS

Dana1981 [222]
Drtucker
Iluvco2
Kerns501
Sydnets
Dclarediane
Michaelmann
Skepticscience
Climatepot
MS89roger

TOP 10 HOSTS

skepticalscience.com
huffingtonpost.com
foxnews.com
forbes.com
thehill.com
washingtonpost.com
guardian.co.uk
blog.algore.com
wattsupwiththat.com
youtube.com

MOST LINKED URL

610

Peer-reviewed survey finds majority of scientists skeptical of global warming crisis

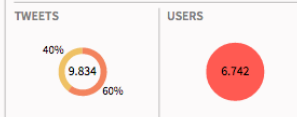
MOST RETWEET

503

RT @elonmusk: In reality 97% of scientists agree that we face serious human generated climate change
<http://t.co/soQcnJB61B>

Mitigation

QUERY
Mitigation



TOP 10 HASHTAGS

Climate [1234]
climatechange
Mitigation
COP18
adaptation
flood
UNFCCC
Agriculture
Doha
auspol

TOP 10 MENTIONED USERS

Green_Register [347]
WorldBank
Cgiarclimate
UN_ClimateTalks
RepJBridenstine
FAOclimate
SEclimate
CFigueres
UNESCO_AsiaPac
UNDP

TOP 10 ACTIVE USERS

Ironsiderwater [45]
Kidbrightwillow
Seiclimat
Adbclimate
Qldaaah
Kings_cambridge
Qwadia
Life_sciences
Strategikas
Stacydvandever

TOP 10 HOSTS

thegreenregister.com
ccafs.cgiar.org
sciencealerts.com
facebook.com
climatechange.worldbank.org
youtube.com
abc.net.au
trust.org
triplepundit.com
thinkprogress.org

MOST LINKED URL

355

Climate change mitigation and adaptation equally critical for global food security

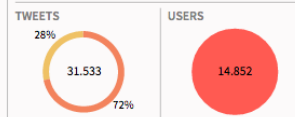
MOST RETWEET

70

RT @RepJBridenstine: Pres. Obama is pledging billions of your hard-earned dollars for "international climate mitigation and adaption projects"

Adaptation

QUERY
Adaptation



TOP 10 HASHTAGS

climate [5423]
adaptation
climatechange
COP18
agriculture
resilience
CBA7
mitigation
climateadaptation
africa

TOP 10 MENTIONED USERS

IED [348]
Green_register
Guardian
Cgiarclimate
Alertnet
Weadapt1
Seiclimat
Euenvironment
Worldresources
Joerogan

TOP 10 ACTIVE USERS

Mkiosdeveloper [357]
Maskafrika
Jozmans
Seiclimat
Weadapt1
Acclimatise
Adbclimate
Nccarfan
Apanadapt
Alertnetclimate

TOP 10 HOSTS

trust.org
guardian.co.uk
mask-africa.com
itunes.apple.com
grist.org
thegreenregister.com
ccafs.cgiar.org
weadapt.org
sciencealerts.com
allafrica.com

MOST LINKED URL

531

Food Security through Investors and Government

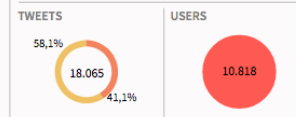
MOST RETWEET

367

Alarming climate change effects on fl. "managing the risks of extreme events and disasters to advance climate change adaptation" is out...

Conflict and violence

QUERY
Conflict OR Violence



TOP 10 HASHTAGS

ClimateChange [1995]
climate
violence
globalwarming
waleg
nra
autism
conflict
obesity
add

TOP 10 MENTIONED USERS

LOL.GOP [574]
MotherJones
CainTV
THEHermanCain
guardian
QuestionMarque
FredZeppelin12
Greenpeace
hrw
Oxfam

TOP 10 ACTIVE USERS

Donbeeman [4155]
Intlpolitical
Danielsbuk
Gcmcdrought
Questionmarque
Stacydvandever
Ei_climate
Global_policy
Whohatesobama
Seedbomz4changea

TOP 10 HOSTS

guardian.co.uk
motherjones.com
theguardian.com
bloomberg.com
trust.org
wagingnonviolence.org
thinkprogress.org
youtube.com
news.yahoo.com
sciencedaily.com

MOST LINKED URL

230

Climate change's links to conflict draws UN attention

MOST RETWEET

550

RT @lolgop: fun fact: the same people who oppose doing anything about gun violence are also wrong on climate change the economy everything else.

Figure 2. Profiling Adaptation And Its Place In Climate Change Debates With Twitter (I). Source: <http://cli-maps.eu/#!/map/profiling-adaptation-and-its-place-in-climate-change-debates-with-twitter-i>

Comparing the metrics of authority and centrality in networks will help us reach an idea of the actual conversation that is happening on Twitter by emphasizing relational aspects of the data, rather than solely quantitative ones, like popularity. This is in the core of the quali-quantitative methods that are in the base of digital social research, and allows describing social issues according to interactions between actors. But, still, we should aim at a deeper layer of analysis if we want to seek ways in which to reverse mediations: we should take profit and question the information architecture of the platform.

The Emaps project was carried out by a consortium of European research centers between 2010 and 2014, and we were able to follow some of the work of cartography that is displayed in the site with the final results of the project. They face the challenge of mapping controversies and questioning the effects of the platforms from a different perspective. One of the maps published as results of the project display a profile of Twitter accounts (figure 2) made at the DMI Summer School 2013, where the emphasis was in revealing how the subject of climate change was made into a matter of concern to be shared, that is, how it was framed and how the correspondent discursive features were built in Twitter. For that, they captured tweets from November 2012 to May 2013 that contained either hashtags or keywords in their content that were related to climate change. From this corpus, they defined four major climate change issues, queried by the terms [skeptical], [mitigation], [adaptation], [conflict OR violence], in order to generate some metrics for profiling. The graphic shows the popularity of each issue and informations like the main related hashtags and how they compare across issues. It also shows the main sources linked and the most active profiles, which gives us interesting information on the subject. The main difference here is that hashtags are not taken by face value: all these correlations aid in developing a better understanding of actually what they mean in the space they assemble. The emphasis stays on the debate and on how it is shared on Twitter.

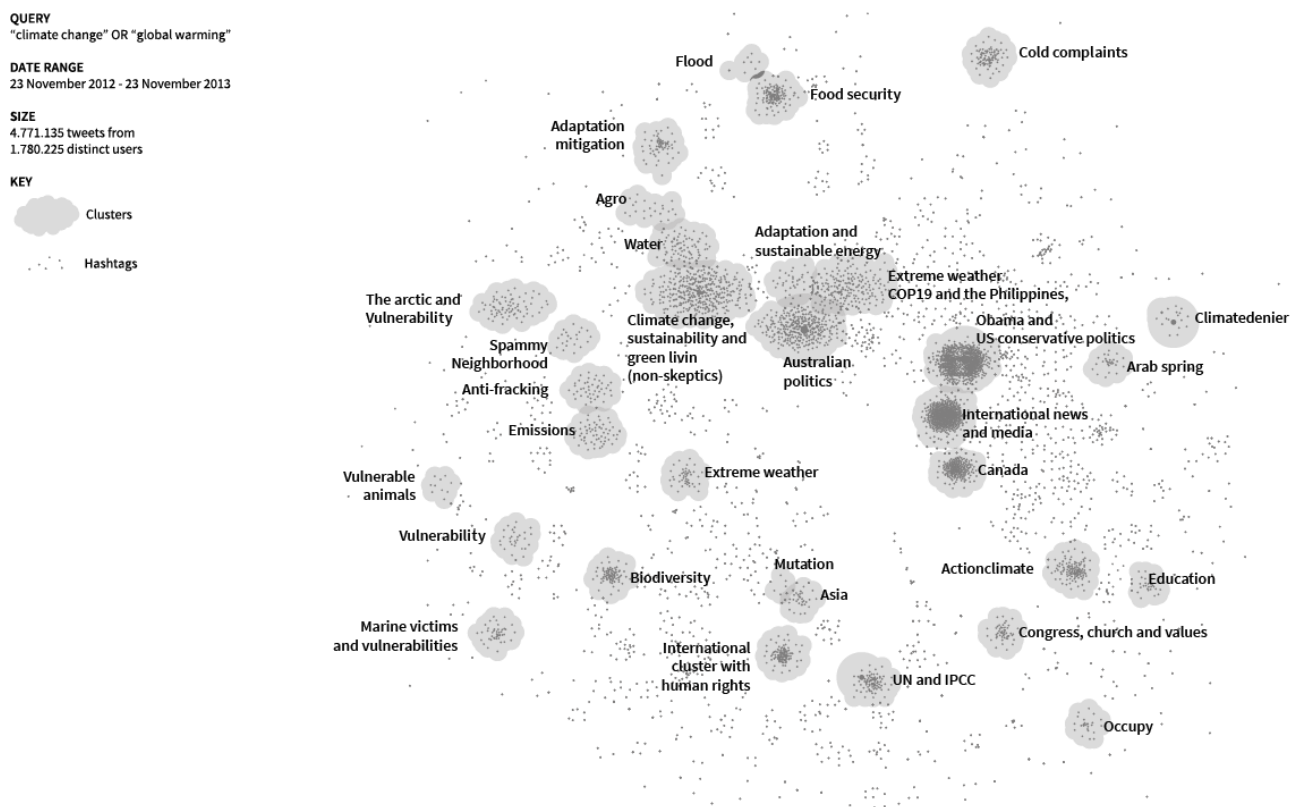


Figure 3. Profiling Adaptation And Its Place In Climate Change Debates With Twitter (I). Source: <http://climaps.eu/#!/map/profiling-adaptation-and-its-place-in-climate-change-debates-with-twitter-ii>

On the results of the Emaps project, on the Climaps.eu site, this graphic is associated to a map (figure 3), that displays the main hashtags found and their proximity according to co-occurrence in tweets, inside the set of tweets that contained the hashtags or keywords "climate change" or "global warming" between November

2012 and November 2013. This gives us yet another point of access to examining the debate on Twitter, that helps us understanding how different hashtags may be related, and thus translated in their use. The chosen theme (climate change) organizes a Twitter space, a landscape to be explored for its specific issues. Both visualizations highlight hashtags and keywords as powerful traces for organizing maps of debates, and, as their positions may shift and get reorganized, so may the positions of the many actors involved.

This comparative and relational approach also enriches the discussion because it favours a critical approach on the hashtags as platform-specific resources, in order to take a step back and evaluate also their effects and biases. This work reveals a more relational, qualitative network of arguments and gives us material to discuss the processes of attribution of signs in different maps of meaning that are involved in every decoding process. The effort of this inquiry using Twitter data reverses the mediation of the platform in order to reach new understandings. It does not replace the platform or dissolves its architecture, but proposes new and more cohesive access and interpretation.

Conclusions

Instead of working with the contents of the messages and the dominance of the distribution channels, information architectures can offer the means for yet another kind of strategy for stabilizing hegemonic discourse and encodings, in the heart of information networks. This time, this is brought on by the communicational infrastructure itself: it is in the effects of the information architectures and of the many features for managing the information flows. With online media we have both complementary aspects: more visibility and more structuring to canalize discourse and debate into the informational flow. There is a stage of dispute of meaning attributions that is displayed in how the computer interfaces are organized, how data is visualized, how the places of mediation create paths and structures and participate in broader and collective production of representations of social reality. We believe that most of the concern for the effects of the platform in the digital methods of social research comes from this entangled relation between public debate and dominant information architectures, that are fundamental for professional outlets as well as for individual users of social media or self-publishing platforms.

While traditional print and broadcast media had almost exclusivity on publishing channels, it might have been adequate, even though not precise, to describe the production and circulation of messages in society in two levels: on the one hand, the major channels and codes, the hegemonic content producers. On the other hand, the decoding level as an individual activity, either seen as a psychological behaviour, or fit into a frame of statistical behaviour that could be extrapolated into conclusions about collective message reception. Substantially, the sphere of public debate as a social phenomenon, in the level of the interactions and of the collective exchange that produces meaning, was seen as an uncharted and messy terrain where interactions and encodings were impossible to track. It is like debate could only be approached in relation to major flows of information. These approaches, even though they do bring much insight to the table, miss the point that communication has always been technically mediated, in every level, and that mediations are multidirectional. With the spread of online platforms it becomes unavoidable to carefully consider other distributed mediations as part of the media landscape, but there is no actual modification of communication flows, just intensification of exchanges and an increase in their records.

The work conducted in digital social research in general, and in initiatives that apply their methods to activism and digital citizenship, is creating new mediations, new interfaces in the form of maps, that repurpose information flows. Once there is a general recognition that technical mediation produces traces that can be used for describing society in general, these methods are discovering the strength of extracting data from information to reassess information: this translates many encodings, many structures, many discursive spaces into an assembled landscape. We understand that this reprocessing and repurposing of information reverses mediations, not in the sense of inverting flows, but in the sense of problematizing and surpassing information structures. After all architecture, there might be a recovery of the plasticity for information through data extraction and visual analysis.

We stress terms like “reversing” or “repurposing” in order to avoid thinking of visualizations, in the context of reverse mediations, as yet another layer that piles up our already overlaid experiences. We have found that, when one seeks to map debates, there is the risk that the representations start to be seen mostly as meta-debates, the debate about the debate, accumulating indefinitely layers of representation of debates about debates. Indeed, even without mapping, debates will of course take place with the use of many and contradictory representations of a certain issue, and there would be neither an issue nor an engaged public if all the representations and codes coincided. So we believe this movement of reversing, or bringing the informational structures inside out, is crucial for equipping citizenship in heavily mediated societies, not exactly because of what is represented, but because of the many points of access it offers to a complex communicational landscape.

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