SURVEILLANCEandCITIZENSHIP

STATE-MEDIA-CITIZEN RELATIONS AFTER THE SNOWDEN LEAKS

18-19 JUNE 2015

Cardiff School of Journalism,
Media and Cultural Studies
Cardiff University

CARDIFF
UNIVERSITY

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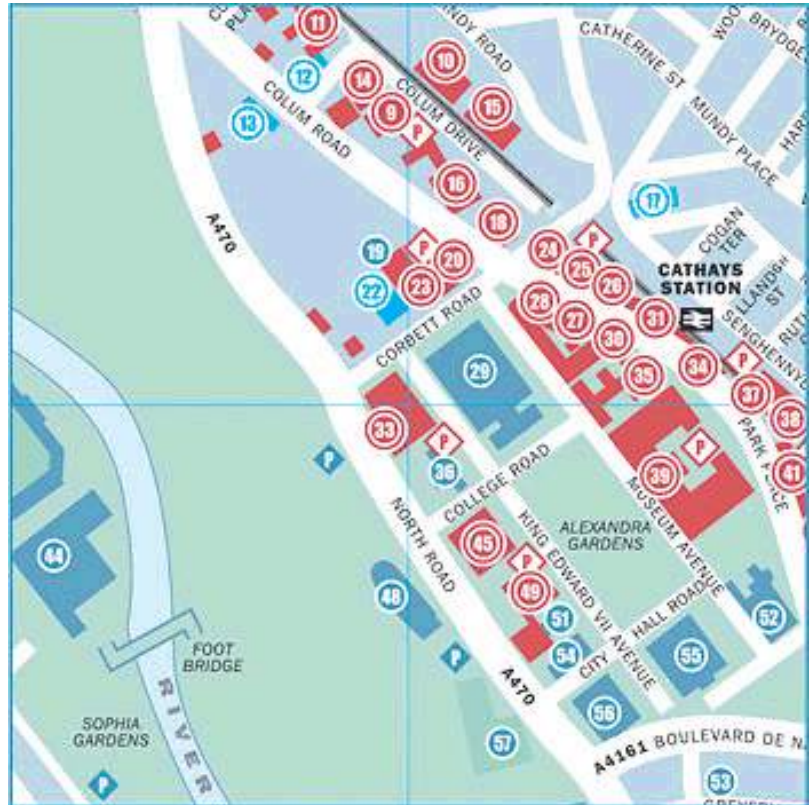CAERDYD
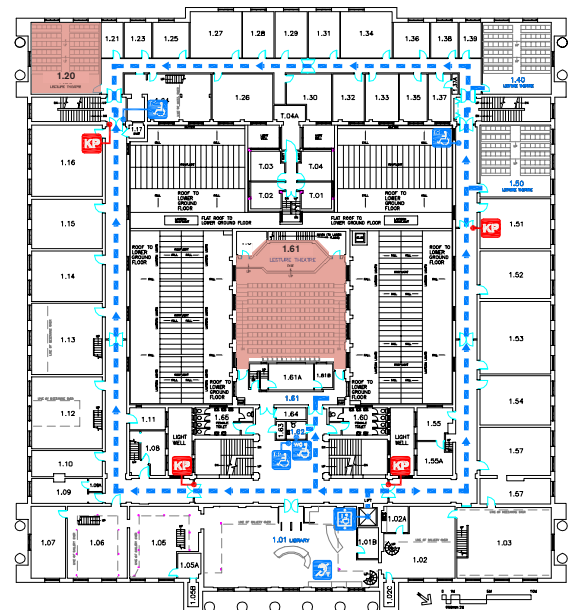
E·S·R·C
ECONOMIC
& SOCIAL
RESEARCH
COUNCIL

MAPS

Map of Campus:
Bute (45)
Aberdare Hall (22)

Maps of the Bute building

WELCOME NOTE BY THE HEAD OF SCHOOL

Dear conference participants,

as Head of the School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies (JOMEC) here at Cardiff University, it gives me great pleasure to welcome you to Cardiff and to the conference 'Surveillance and Citizenship'.

The Snowden revelations on mass surveillance have changed our understanding of our everyday communication and raised serious questions regarding civil rights in online environments, but also the role of the media in reporting controversial issues. Just over two years after the revelations began, this conference provides a necessary occasion to reflect on their implications, challenges and opportunities.

JOMEC is an excellent place for this reflection as it combines established research interests on media and journalism with new concerns of digital environments. It is a place of world-leading research with both practical training and engagement with industry and civil society. JOMEC ranked 2nd in the United Kingdom in the Research Excellence Framework (REF) for the quality of its journalism, media and communications research. The Communication, Culture and Media Studies assessment panel awarded the school the highest possible score of 100% for the impact of its research on the wider world.

The School addresses the challenges of current and future digital environments through a variety of initiatives, including its new research group 'Digital Media and Society', new MA/MSc programmes in 'Digital Media and Society' and 'Computational Journalism', its Centre for Community Journalism, and a breadth of research on topics ranging from online citizen media and digital activism to digital culture and creative industries, and to internet governance, humanitarian communications and the protection of civil rights on the internet.

I wish you an inspiring conference and a good time here at JOMEC and in Cardiff.

Professor Simon Cottle,
Head of School

DIGITAL CITIZENSHIP AND SURVEILLANCE SOCIETY

The revelations by whistleblower Edward Snowden have provided unprecedented insights into contemporary mass surveillance. They have demonstrated how social media platforms are used to gather data on us, how data travelling through the backbone cables of the internet is intercepted, how security agencies weaken the security standards of communication platforms and how they hack into corporate networks and personal computers, as well as the extent to which all this data is analysed. Perhaps even more significantly, the leaks have prompted debates on the nature of civil rights in digital environments; the challenges of secure communication; the nature of the security state; the quality of media coverage; and new threats to press freedom and political dissent.

"On the Internet, nobody knows you're a dog."

Two years after the revelations started, this conference will review their impacts and consequences for a wide range of social, political, technological and rights-related areas. We will discuss the state of surveillance in different countries; explore regulatory frameworks and reform proposals; analyse technical challenges for secure communication, and learn about tools and strategies that are being developed; discuss the level of public reaction and activist responses; and review the media coverage of the leaks. Through all this, we will explore the challenges and opportunities for (active) citizenship and democracy in the 'Snowden Era'.

The conference is part of an ongoing research project called "Digital Citizenship and Surveillance Society: UK State-Media-Citizen Relations after the Snowden Leaks". The collaborative project, hosted by Cardiff University, explores the nature of digital citizenship in light of mass surveillance. Four teams of researchers investigate the implications of the Snowden revelations for the areas: policy, law and regulation; technological infrastructures; civil society, advocacy and activism; media coverage and press freedoms. We are trying to address questions such as: How do regulatory frameworks need to be revised? What roles do technical standards play in enabling or hindering surveillance? Does surveillance have a chilling effect on activism and civil society engagement? What are the biases in news reporting on the Snowden leaks? We will present preliminary results at this conference and we are looking forward to discussing these issues with all of you.

But most importantly, this conference is a conversation between academics and practitioners, and it is a space to bring together scholarly research, strategic debate, and technological development. We are lucky to have at this event leading international experts on surveillance and whistleblowing, representatives of digital rights organisations, developers of secure communication tools, and academic scholars. And we hope you will all take the opportunity to explore areas that you may be less familiar with – whether it is an academic session on digital citizenship, a strategic workshop on policy reform, or a lightning talk presenting new technological tools. In our view, all these (and many more) are important components that belong together if we want to both understand and intervene into the 'Snowden Era'.

Arne Hintz
Principal Investigator 'Digital Citizenship and Surveillance Society'

CONFERENCE ORGANISING COMMITTEE

The Conference 'Surveillance and Citizenship' has been organised by the research team conducting the project 'Digital Citizenship and Surveillance Society: UK State-Media-Citizen Relations After the Snowden Leaks':

Arne Hintz (Cardiff University)

Karin Wahl-Jorgensen (Cardiff University)

Lina Dencik (Cardiff University)

Ian Brown (Oxford University)

Michael Rogers (Technical University Delft)

Jonathan Cable (Cardiff University)

Grace Eden (Cardiff University)

Lucy Bennett (Cardiff University)

Josh Cowls (Oxford University)

PROGRAMME OVERVIEW

Thursday, June 18th

8:30-9:30	**Arrival and registration**		
9:30-9:45	**Welcome and opening** *Room: Birt Acres*		
9:45-10:15	**Keynote:** Ben Wizner (ACLU, Lawyer of Edward Snowden) *Room: Birt Acres*		
10:15-11:15	**Plenary 1: State-Media-Citizen Relations in the Surveillance Society** Kirstie Ball (Open University), James Ball (The Guardian), Tony Bunyan (Statewatch) *Room: Birt Acres*		
11:15-11:30	Coffee break		
	Room 0.53	**Room 0.14**	**Room 0.31**
11:30-1	Digital Citizenship and Surveillance Society: Project Presentation	(Anti-)Surveillance Policies and Privacy Protection	Information Security for Journalists and Activists
1:00-2:00	Lunch		
2:00-3:30	Journalism and Media Representation	Global Perspectives on Surveillance, Security and Communication Policy	Creating Usable and Secure Software
3:30-4	Coffee break		
4-5:30	The PRISM of NSA: Security, Privacy and Journalism in the Global Debate on the Snowden Affair	Digital Rights, Activism and Advocacy	Technology for Secure Communication and Counter-surveillance: Lightning Talks
5:30-6:30	The Politics of Investigating the Innocent	Snowden Files for All	Fighting Mass Surveillance in Europe and Beyond: the EU Passenger Name Record (PNR) Directive

PROGRAMME OVERVIEW

9:30-10	**Code Red:** Annie Machon (MI5 whistleblower) *Room: Birt Acres*		
10-11	**Plenary 2: Policy, Technology, and the User in the Surveillance Society** Mark Andrejevic (Ponoma College), Gus Hosein (Privacy International), Seda Gürses (New York University) *Room: Birt Acres*		
11-11:30	Coffee Break		
	Room 0.53	**Room 0.14**	**Room 0.31**
11:30-1	Dimensions of Digital Citizenship: Concepts and Challenges	Strategies for Change and the Politics of Digital Rights	Reforming Surveillance Policy after the UK General Election
1-2	Lunch		
2-3:30	Public Attitudes, Perception and Everyday Surveillance	Exploring Intersections: Surveillance between Technology, Policy and Politics	Disrupting the Surveillance Ecosystem
3:30-4:30	Investigating Surveillance: The German Parliamentary Inquiry on the Work of Security Agencies	Digital Footprint Analysis: A Data Privacy Workshop	Implementing the International Principles on the Application of Human Rights to Communications Surveillance
4:30-5	Closing Plenary		

Thursday/Friday

"HUSH": Usability and Security Hackathon
Room 0.52

KEYNOTES, PLENARIES, EXHIBITION, HACKATHON

Special Sessions

Keynote
Ben Wizner (ACLU, Lawyer of Edward Snowden)
Thursday June 18th, 9:45am

State-Media-Citizen Relations in the Surveillance Society
Kirstie Ball (Open University), James Ball (The Guardian), Tony Bunyan (Statewatch)
Thursday June 18th, 10:15am

Code Red
Annie Machon (MI5 whistleblower)
Friday June 19th, 9:30am

Policy, Technology, and the User in the Surveillance Society
Mark Andrejevic (Ponoma College), Gus Hosein (Privacy International), Seda Gürses (New York University)
Friday June 19th, 10am

All plenary sessions take place in the Birt Acres Lecture Hall

The Portable Snowden Surveillance Archive

The Portable Snowden Surveillance Archive is an autonomous version of a fully text-searchable Internet-based archive created by Canadian Journalists for Free Expression and researchers at the University of Toronto. It is a stand-alone wifi network and web server that permits you to research all files leaked by Edward Snowden and subsequently published by the press. The purpose of the portable archive is to provide end-users with a secure method for individuals to use this database without the threat of mass surveillance. The archive will be available to all conference participants in the entrance area of the Bute building.

HUSH! Usability and Security Hackathon

During the conference, a two-day hackathon for usable and secure software will serve to build relationships between designers, developers and users of security tools; share ideas, experiences and skills for creating usable and secure software; and understand the communication needs of activists, journalists and civil society groups.

DETAILED SESSION DESCRIPTIONS

Technology
Michael Rogers (Technical University Delft), Grace Eden (Cardiff University)

(Anti-)Surveillance Policies and Privacy Protection
Chair: Evan Light

Illusions of Symmetry? EU Privacy Rights vs US Privacy Rights for EU Citizens
Gloria Gonzalez Fuster (Vrije Universiteit Brussels)

Meaningless Consent as a Backdoor to Surveillance
Morana Miljanovic (Hertie School of Governance)

Social Media User's Awareness of Privacy Policies and Privacy Laws
Katherine Sarikakis, Lisa Winter (University of Vienna)

The Link Between Inequality and Domestic Surveillance
Sarah Harney (Carleton University): Turning the Lens Inward

Information Security for Journalists and Activists
Workshop by Arjen Kamphuis (Centre for Investigative Journalism)

1:00-2:00
Lunch

2:00-3:30
Journalism and Media Representation
Chair: Karin Wahl-Jorgensen
Journalism After Snowden
Jennifer R. Henrichsen (Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press)

Post-Snowden Surveillance Journalism in Scandinavia
Christel Backman, Erica Johnson (Linkoping University), Ann Rudinow Saetnan, Gunhild Toendel (Norwegian Institute for Science and Technology), Ola Svenonius (Soedertoern University), Susanne Wigorts Yngvesson (Stockholm School of Theology)

'Not Interesting Enough to be Followed by the NSA': A Frame Analysis of the Dutch Public Debate About the NSA Revelations in 2013
Anouk Mols (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

Resetting the Agenda? NSA Coverage in Traditional and New Online Media
Mario Haim (Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich)

Behind the Lines: Press Freedom and the Security State
Justin Schlosberg (Birkbeck College), Edmund J. Safra (Harvard University)

Global Perspectives on Surveillance, Security and Communication Policy
Chair: Ian Brown

Canada post-Snowden: Canadian Surveillance and the C-51 Anti-Terrorism Act
Andrew Clement (University of Toronto)

Data Retention & National Security: The Australian Debate in a Global Context
David Lindsay (Monash University)

The Price of the Club: Surveillance, Security and Contested Citizenship in Contemporary New Zealand
Kathleen Kuehn (Victoria University Wellington)

Snowden Era Challenges: The Story of Surveillance in Pakistan
Shahzad Ahmad, Furhan Hussain (Bytes for All)

Public Perception of Online Surveillance and Censorship in Pakistan
Arzak Khan (Internet Policy Observatory Pakistan), Laura Schwarz-Henderson (University of Pennsylvania

Creating Usable and Secure Software
Chair: Michael Rogers
Roundtable discussion with:
Dave Hrycyszyn (Head London)
Lola Oyelalo (Head London)
George Danezis (UCL)
Blaine Cook (Poetica.com)

3:30-4
Coffee break

4-5:30
The PRISM of NSA: Security, Privacy and Journalism in the Global Debate on the Snowden Affair
Chair: Risto Kunelius

The Prism of NSA. Security, privacy and journalism in the global debate on the Snowden affair
Risto Kunelius & Heikki Heikkilä (University of Tampere)

Covering the Snowden revelations: hybrid news environments and expanding spheres of legitimate debate
Adrienne Russell (University of Denver)

Anonymous politicians and autonomous journalism? A discussion of journalist ideals as revealed by the "Snowden affair"
Elisabeth Eide (Olso & Akerhus University College)

Politicizing media technologies? Framing 'technology' within the German NSA case press coverage
Anne Mollen and Johanna Möller (University of Bremen)

The role and strategy of media diplomacy in the Snowden event: An empirical research based on four newspapers in China
Haiyan Wang & Ruolin Fang (School of Communication and Design, Sun Yat-Sen University, China)

Digital Rights, Activism and Advocacy
Chair: Lina Dencik

Perspectives on the Relative Importance of the Snowden Leaks from Human Rights Defenders and Activists outside the US and Europe
Becky Kazansky (Tactical Tech)

Ethics and Rights in Cybersecurity: New sociopolitical formations and their influence
Athina Karatzogianni (University of Leicester)

Off the Radar: Understanding Privacy, Activism and Threat in Civil Society and the State
Lee Salter (Sussex University)

and Einar Thorsen (Bournemouth University)

Framing Resistance Against Surveillance – Political Communication of Privacy Advocacy Groups in the 'Stop Watching Us'- and 'The Day We Fight Back'-Campaigns
Till Waescher (Technical University Dortmund)

From lessons of love to crypto wars: Contemporary dissent to state surveillance
Patricia de Vries (Institute of Network Cultures, Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences)

Technology for Secure Communication and Counter-surveillance: Lightning Talks
Chair: Michael Rogers

Presentations of projects, tools and platforms, including: LEAP, Pixelated, Briar, IXmaps, SurveillanceWatch, and others

5:30-6:30
The Politics of Investigating the Innocent
Workshop by Gavin MacFadyen (Centre for Investigative Journalism)

Snowden Files For All?
Workshop with Morana Miljanovic (Hertie School of Governance) and Andrew Clement (University of Toronto)

Fighting Mass Surveillance in Europe and Beyond: the EU Passenger Name Record (PNR) Directive
Workshop by Estelle Masse (Access)

DETAILED SESSION DESCRIPTIONS

Friday, June 19th

9:30-10
Code Red
Annie Machon (MI5 whistleblower)

10-11
Plenary 2: Policy, Technology, and the User in the Surveillance Society
Mark Andrejevic (Ponoma College), Gus Hosein (Privacy International), Seda Gürses (New York University)

11-11:30
Coffee Break

11:30-1
Dimensions of Digital Citizenship: Concepts and Challenges
Chair: Arne Hintz

Debating and Assessing Transparency Arrangements: Privacy, Security, Surveillance, Trust: Evaluating Perspectives on Surveillance in the Post-Snowden Leak Era
Vian Bakir, Andrew McStay (Bangor University)

Jus Algoritmi: How the NSA Remade Citizenship
John Cheney-Lippold (University of Michigan)

The Privacy Parenthesis: Citizenship in Late Capitalism and the Digital World

Leighton Evans (Maynooth University)

The EULA-fication of the Social World
Bryan Sacks (Rutgers University)

Strategies for Change and the Politics of Digital Rights
Chair: Lina Dencik

Telecoms are not our enemies and other post-capital fairytales: New strategies for activism and analysis
Evan Light (Concordia University)

The Process of Dividuation and the Nebula of Anonymity
Oliver Leistert (University of Paderborn)

Revisiting Transparency Reports as a Tool for Transparency and Accountability
Eleni Kosta (Tilburg University)

Surveillance Aesthetics: The Politics of Televisualizing Urban Data
Anne Kustritz (University of Amsterdam)

Fear ART: If we call activism by any other name, is it still art?
Freyja Vandenboom (KU Leuven)

Reforming Surveillance Policy after the UK General Election
Workshop with Gus Hosein (Privacy International), Ed Paton-Williams (Open Rights Group), Chris Marsden (Sussex University), Ian Brown (Oxford University)

1-2
Lunch

2:30-4
Public Attitudes, Perception and Everyday Surveillance
Chair: Jonathan Cable

The Importance of the Sociopolitical Context and Ideology in Explaining Citizens' Attitudes Towards Digital Surveillance and Citizenship
Dimitris Tsapogas (University of Vienna)

Do We Really Care? Trust, Democracy and Attitudes Towards Sharing Personal Data and Online Surveillance in Cross National Perspective
Anja Franczak (Polish Academy of Sciences)

Exploring Subjective Experience of Everyday Surveillance: The Case of Smartphone Devices as Means of Facilitating 'Seductive' Surveillance
Pinelopi Troullinou (Open University)

Militarization, Surveillance and Everyday Life: How the 'War on Terror' and Digital Media are Redefining Democracy
Victoria Bernal (University of California)

Structural Surveillance: Its History, Means and Effects
Jeffrey L. Vagle (University of Pennsylvania)

DETAILED SESSION DESCRIPTIONS

Exploring Intersections: Surveillance between Technology, Policy and Politics
Chair: Grace Eden

Techno-Politics as Network(ed) Struggles
Laura Fichtner (University of Twente): Scientia est Potentia

Examining OSINT: A Positive Vision for Government Surveillance
Matthew Edwards (Lancaster University)

Safety over Liberty: CALEA, Net Neutrality and the FCC's Double-Standard for U.S. Broadband Reclassification
Christopher Terry (UW-Milwaukee)

Legislational and Technological Options for a Democracy-Preserving Internet
Carlo von Lynx (gnunet.org)

Mass Surveillance and the Lost Art of Keeping a Secret
Theo Tryfonas (University of Bristol), Tom Crick (Cardiff Metropolitan University)

Disrupting the Surveillance Ecosystem
Workshop on anti-surveillance activism by Estelle Masse (Access), with Becky Kazansky (Tactical Tech), Ed Paton-Williams (Open Rights Group) and others.

3:30-4:30
Investigating Surveillance: The German Parliamentary Inquiry on the Work of Security Agencies
Anne Roth (Parliamentary Inquiry on Mass Surveillance at the German Bundestag)

Digital Footprint Analysis: A Data Privacy Workshop
Kathleen Kuehn (Victoria University of Wellington)

Implementing the International Principles on the Application of Human Rights to Communications Surveillance
Workshop with Estelle Masse (Access) and others

4:30-5
Closing Plenary:
What next for digital citizenship and surveillance?

Throughout the 2 days of the conference

"HUSH": Usability and Security Hackathon
Lightning Talks of Tech projects

DIGITAL CITIZENSHIP AND SURVEILLANCE SOCIETY

Food and Drinks

Coffee, tea and biscuits are available during the coffee breaks in the cafeteria of the Bute building.
A lunch buffet is offered to all conference participants in Aberdare Hall (5 minutes walk from Bute building).

Hosts

The conference 'Surveillance and Citizenship' is hosted by the **Cardiff School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies** (JOMEC). The School is a world-leading centre for media teaching and research. It offers a wide range of courses at both undergraduate and graduate level, from journalism training courses to academic programmes in media and communication studies, including new Master degrees in *Digital Media and Society and Computational Journalism*. JOMEC was ranked the 2nd school in the UK for the quality of its journalism, media and communications research in the 2014 Research Excellence Framework (REF).

Cardiff University is one of Britain's leading teaching and research universities and is a member of the Russell Group of the UK's most research intensive universities. It was ranked 5th in the UK in the 2014 REF. Founded by Royal Charter in 1883, today the University's breadth of expertise encompasses: the College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences; the College of Biomedical and Life Sciences; and the College of Physical Sciences and Engineering, along with a longstanding commitment to lifelong learning.

Funding for this conference was provided by the **Economic and Social Research Council** (ESRC). The ESRC is the UK's largest organisation for funding research on economic and social issues, and it supports independent, high quality research which has an impact on business, the public sector and the third sector. It has funded the research project 'Digital Citizenship and Surveillance Society' under its 'Global Uncertainties' programme and the specific grant programme on 'Ethics and Rights in a Security Context'.