

# SECURITY, SURVEILLANCE, FREEDOM, AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN A DIGITAL AGE

**Professor : Didier Bigo**

**Academic year 2018/2019: Common core curriculum – Spring semester**

## COURSE DESCRIPTION

This common course will combine various approaches and scholarship in critical security, surveillance, freedom and human rights studies with specific reference to the intersection of these issues in the digital sphere. This course will draw from a variety of digital data and primary sources, combining political theoretical knowledge with an understanding of what is at stake in the 'digital' and data politics. The aim is to develop a reflexive understanding of the main categories of security, surveillance and human rights, such as deconstructing the claims that so-called 'fake news' is novel. This reflexion will be led by academics, high level practitioners who are faced with these issues and students themselves who will participate in three debates on central cases and work on research papers. Throughout the course, central concepts and political stakes will be theorised and historicised, and hypotheses will be formulated. Students will then analyse themselves various cases, connecting them to the hypotheses and central theoretical concepts at stake in these discussions. Several experts will be invited to give lectures on central issues, and students are invited to engage and lead an interactive discussion. This course will rely on an interactive form of teaching, encouraging students to participate in debates, providing an array of video sources and discussing central issues with guest speakers.

## OVERVIEW OVER SESSIONS

### Session 1: Introduction to the course - The Internet: Where is the world, where is the globe?

Presentation of the course: Aims, assessment and interactive format

- Where suitable, guest speakers will give a 20-30 minute lecture during the second half of the session, followed by a 30 minute debate with students

- The course will be interactive and students will be invited to participate in three debates. At the end of each debate, all students will vote for the most convincing argument. The debates will not be assessed, but good interactive participation is expected.

Being online/offline: Where is the world, where is the globe?

- The novelty of digitisation of data, the ideology of the interconnected world, imagining life without the Internet, back to the past?
- The origins of telecommunications, telegraphs, internet cables, uses of SIGINT, 'the Internet' as such, smart phones, social networks, digital intimacies, friends 2.0
- Impact of the online world on security, surveillance, human rights and freedom

Background reading:

- Oxford Handbook of Internet Studies:
- <https://global.oup.com/academic/product/the-oxford-handbook-of-internet-studies-9780199589074?cc=us&lang=en&#>
- Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics  
[https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=GJdfuGSa1xUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=GJdfuGSa1xUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)
- Arthur Kroker and Marilouise Kroker (2013) *Critical Digital Studies: A Reader*, Second Edition, Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press  
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- Walter S. DeKeseredy, Molly Dragiewicz (2018) *Routledge Handbook of Critical Criminology* Routledge
- <https://www.routledge.com/Routledge-Handbook-of-Critical-Criminology-2nd-Edition/DeKeseredy-Dragiewicz/p/book/9781138656192>
- David M. Berry (2014) *Critical Theory and the Digital New York and London: Bloomsbury Academic*

Readings

- Chris Anderson (2008) 'The End of Theory: The Data Deluge Makes the Scientific Method Obsolete' via <https://www.wired.com/2008/06/pb-theory/>
- Berry, D. M. (2011) *The Philosophy of Software*. London: Palgrave

- Walker, Rob BJ. *After the globe, before the world*. Routledge, 2010.
- Norman, Jeremy M. "The Origins of Cyberspace: From Gutenberg to the Internet: a sourcebook on the history of information technology." (2002).
- Churchill, E. "Illusory Boundaries in the 'Cyber-sociality' of Virtual Teams: Ethnographic Methods, the Offline in the Online and Cautionary Tales of Business Cyber Ethnography." Xeemusing (18 March 2008).

## Session 2 : (In)security and the digital I: Cases of cyber warfare – myth, realities, and a political imagination

Many debates exist around the effectiveness of the distinction between cyberspace and territorial space. Can cyber affect territory, and the other way round? Is cyber a tool for technological war or a radically new type of war? Are cyber attacks and defenses a form of war, or not? What is the meaning of war in a digital age? Could you do war only via manipulation of the web or by accident? This second session will be led by student debates around cases commonly referred to as "cyberwars".

Cyber wars: **First student debate on three cases:** US/Iran, Baltic States and Y2K. Are these instances cases of cyberwar?

- Students will divide themselves into three groups (email choice to TA, discuss through email or google docs), choosing one of the cases. In each group, two representatives will be identified to present the debate and argue for or against the proposition that the case is a "cyberwar". At the end of each debate, all students will vote for the most convincing position
- Recovering various possible stories to narrate these instances & assessing to what extent 'the cyber' constitutes a new way to conduct war or whether there are new forms of war in the revolution of military affairs -- the Internet as a part of the military political imagination?
- Deconstructing the polemics around cyberwars

Readings/Resources:

- Thomas Rid (2012) 'Cyber War Will Not Take Place' *Journal of Strategic Studies* 35(1): 5-32. [https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01402390.2011.608939?journalCode=fj\\_ss20](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01402390.2011.608939?journalCode=fj_ss20)
- Stone, John. "Cyber war will take place!." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 36, no. 1 (2013): 101-108.
- Kirsch, Cassandra M. "Science fiction no more: cyber warfare and the United States." *Denv. J. Int'l L. & Pol'y* 40 (2011): 620.
- May Ellen O'Connell (2012) 'Cyber Security without Cyber War' *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, 17:2, pp. 187-209, via
- <https://academic.oup.com/jcsl/article-abstract/17/2/187/852785>

- Ellen Ullman (1999) 'The Myth of Order' Wired, 04/01/1999, via <https://www.wired.com/1999/04/y2k/>
- Patrick Tucker (2017) 'The Future the US Military is Constructing: a Giant, Armed Nervous System' Defense One, 26 September 2017, via <https://www.defenseone.com/technology/2017/09/future-us-military-constructing-giant-armed-nervous-system/141303/>
- 'How Israel Rules the World of Cyber Security' via VICE on HBO, 14 March 2018 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ca-C3voZwpM>
- Lindsay, Jon R. "Stuxnet and the limits of cyber warfare." Security Studies 22, no. 3 (2013): 365-404.
- Kaiser, Robert. "The birth of cyberwar." Political Geography 46 (2015): 11-20.
- Di Camillo, Federica, et Valérie Miranda. Ambiguous Definitions in the Cyber Domain: Costs, Risks and the Way Forward. Istituto affari internazionali, 2011. <http://www.iai.it/pdf/dociai/iaiw1126.pdf>.
- James Der Derian (2000) 'Virtuous War/Virtual Theory' International Affairs, 76:4, pp. 771-788, via <http://www.csun.edu/~snk1966/Der%20Derian%20-%20Virtuous%20War-Virtual%20Theory.pdf>
- Debrix, François. Tabloid terror: war, culture and geopolitics. London: Routledge, 2008.
- 'Y2K – Movie Trailer': Nuclear disaster in the Hollywood imaginary [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s-xZbDDwev8&fbclid=IwAR1ZRD1BYzIb6\\_0ldFS\\_q-vmbIQQ7123ej7Nj21-TvVP\\_3aN1u\\_tCw2sY4nM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s-xZbDDwev8&fbclid=IwAR1ZRD1BYzIb6_0ldFS_q-vmbIQQ7123ej7Nj21-TvVP_3aN1u_tCw2sY4nM)

### Session 3 : (In)security and the digital II: Thinking military activities today through war studies and strategic studies

This session will Interrogate the concepts of 'cyber' and 'war' as part of a new agenda by historicising the transformation of war and technologies. How is the current technology different, and how is its use novel?

- Traditional analysis of war (Westphalian state model and realist IR tradition) and its construction after the World Wars, in which war figures as external to the nation; Nationalism and survival of the nation; the state as a shadow actor embodying the nation; countering this narrative by a description of the state as a field of power configurations
- The war matrix and Michel Foucault, reversing Clausewitz's 'war is the continuation of politics by other means', viewing politics as a continuation/attenuation of war; wars and struggles as invasions and their internal dimension (e.g. civil wars)
- The war, peace and security nexus: analysing military interventions in the name of peace, flows of changes and regulations, the smooth governance of changes; 'cyber' as a deterritorialised place and subsequently reterritorialized in networks of enemies

- Military doctrine is a system of knowledge the contemporary "spirit of war" is characterized by the organizing concepts of "culture" and "network"-seeing like a military in the twenty-first century is seeing a world of networks. Cyber is only its prolongation.
- the notion of the 'enemy within' and its relation to terrorism (which will be explored in Session 4).

### Reading:

- Van Creveld, Martin L. *Technology and war : from 2000 B.C. to the present*. New York: Free Press, 1989.
- Van Creveld, Martin. « The Transformation of War revisited ». *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 13, no 2 (2003): 3- 15..
- Tilly, Charles. *Coercion, capital, and European states, AD 990-1992*. Rev. pbk. ed. *Studies in social discontinuity*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992.
- Aron, Raymond. "Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations, trans." Richard Howard and Annette Baker Fox (Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1967) (1966): 637-43.
- Nicolas Guilhot (2008) 'The Realist Gambit: Postwar American Political Science and the Birth of IR Theory' *International Political Sociology*, 2:4, pp. 281-304 via <https://academic.oup.com/ips/article-abstract/2/4/281/1823531>
- Kaldor, Mary. *New and Old Wars : Organised Violence in a Global Era*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999.
- Leech, John. *Asymmetries of Conflict: War without Death*. London: Frank Cass, 2002.
- Jabri Vivienne (2006) 'War, Security and the Liberal State' *Security Dialogue*, 37(1), pp. 47-64, via [https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0967010606064136?casa\\_token=bab7M4hojL4AAAAA%3AihlgwWFTxl7TJt2lyMn0\\_3Cr-AXpeNCTo8RDNBT2PuLTdomp1gdZcCoedzbtbJuvvyMXaB66dr50J](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0967010606064136?casa_token=bab7M4hojL4AAAAA%3AihlgwWFTxl7TJt2lyMn0_3Cr-AXpeNCTo8RDNBT2PuLTdomp1gdZcCoedzbtbJuvvyMXaB66dr50J)
- Jabri, Vivienne. *War and the transformation of global politics*. Springer, 2007.
- Olsson, Christian. « Military interventions and the concept of the political: Bringing the political back into the interactions between external forces and local societies ». In *Terror, Insecurity and Liberty*, 156–187. Routledge, 2014.
- Ansorge, J. T. (2010). "Spirits of War: A Field Manual." *International Political Sociology* 4(4): 362-379.
- Rigouste, Mathieu. *L'ennemi intérieur : La généalogie coloniale et militaire de l'ordre sécuritaire dans la France contemporaine*. Editions La Découverte, 2009
- Chamayou, Grégoire. *Drone theory*. Penguin UK, 2015.
- Andrejevic, Mark. "Theorizing drones and droning theory." In *Drones and Unmanned Aerial Systems*, pp. 21-43. Springer, Cham, 2016.
- Tognocchi, Martino. "Drone warfare and the metamorphosis of battlefield: security, space and technology." Master's thesis, 2018.

### Session 4 : (In)security and the digital IV: Cyber crime Cyber security and everyday crime

This session will explore various cases of cyber-crime, such as ransomware, everyday crimes on the Internet (identity theft, cyberstalking, harassment, copyright infringements, etc.)

- Specific agencies tackling these issues: e.g. US cybercrime units (such as the FBI cyber division), ENISA (The European Union Agency for Network and Information Security), Europol, ANSI cybersecurity portal
- Reporting Crime - Trends on crime: history of violent crime, crime against persons and property
- Theories of crime and their application to "cyber" crime
- Predicting cyber-crime with Artificial Intelligence: The case of predpol - a utopia in the making? A money making activity? New astrologists?
- The notion of the politics of unease and 'cyber' in practice: What does this approach offer? How is anonymity here constituted as irresponsibility, giving opportunities for petty crime?
- Literature on critical criminology and police studies, critical digital studies, critical security studies

#### Guest lecture around Predictive Policing

##### Readings

- Jaishankar, Karuppanan, ed. *Cyber criminology: exploring internet crimes and criminal behavior*. CRC Press, 2011.
- 'This is How Easy It Is To Get Hacked' via VICE on HBO, 28 March 2018  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G2\\_5rPbUDNA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G2_5rPbUDNA)
- FireEye Cyber Threat Map: <https://www.fireeye.com/cyber-map/threat-map.html>
- Farwell, James P., and Rafal Rohozinski. "Stuxnet and the future of cyber war." *Survival* 53, no. 1 (2011): 23-40.
- Brenner, Susan W. "State Cybercrime Legislation in the United States of America: A Survey." *Richmond Journal of Law & Technology* 7, no. 3 (2001): 28.
- Sliwinski, Krzysztof Feliks. "Moving beyond the European Union's weakness as a cyber-security agent." *Contemporary Security Policy* 35, no. 3 (2014): 468-486.
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- Takabi, Hassan, James BD Joshi, and Gail-Joon Ahn. "Security and privacy challenges in cloud computing environments." *IEEE Security & Privacy* 6 (2010): 24-31.
- Dupont, Benoit. "The proliferation of cyber security strategies and their implications for privacy." *Circulation internationale de l'information et sécurité*, Montréal, Les Éditions Thémis (2013): 67-80.

- Dunn Cavelty, Myriam. "From cyber-bombs to political fallout: Threat representations with an impact in the cyber-security discourse." *International Studies Review* 15, no. 1 (2013): 105-122.
- Dua, Sumeet, and Xian Du. *Data mining and machine learning in cybersecurity*. Auerbach Publications, 2016.
- Taddeo, Mariarosaria. "On the risks of relying on analogies to understand cyber conflicts." *Minds and Machines* 26, no. 4 (2016): 317-321.
- Betz, David J., and Tim Stevens. "Analogical reasoning and cyber security." *Security Dialogue* 44, no. 2 (2013): 147-164.
- Balzacq, Thierry, and Myriam Dunn Cavelty. "A theory of actor-network for cyber-security." *European Journal of International Security* 1, no. 2 (2016): 176-198
- Huey, Laura, and Richard Rosenberg. "Watching the web: Thoughts on expanding police surveillance opportunities under the cyber-crime convention." *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* 46, no. 5 (2004): 597-606.

### Session 5 : (In)security and the digital III: Preventing cyber war crime and terrorism, a cyber security success or a politics of fear and unease ?

This session will deconstruct the notion of "cyber terrorism", where terrorism becomes increasingly mobilised as a fusion of war and crimes. We will also focus on 'the war on terror' and its legacy, shaping the notion of cyber terrorism.

- Links to the 'enemy within' and the politics of fear: fear of foreigners, fear of majorities to become minorities at home, deconstructing a particular form of populism around the fears of the future; genesis of the notion of the 'enemy within'
- What precisely is done in the name of countering cyberterrorist attacks? What are the narratives of justification of today's policies which enable military operations, CIA operations, drone killings and cyber activities?
- Prevention and prediction of interventions abroad, connecting the figures of the enemies both abroad and within; criminal justice applied 'inside' and military operations against the same figure outside, enabling the killings of suspected terrorists
- Critical security studies as an alternative to think about security and insecurity, the external and the internal. Surveillance studies, a way to combine critical security studies and critical technology studies.

Readings:

- Taylor, Robert W., Eric J. Fritsch, and John Liederbach. *Digital crime and digital terrorism*. Prentice Hall Press, 2014.

- Denning, Dorothy E. "Cyberterrorism: Testimony before the special oversight panel on terrorism committee on armed services US House of Representatives." *Focus on Terrorism* 9 (2000).
- Lewis, James Andrew. *Assessing the risks of cyber terrorism, cyber war and other cyber threats*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic & International Studies, 2002.
- Prichard, Janet J., and Laurie E. MacDonald. "Cyber Terrorism: A Study of the Extent of Coverage in Computer Science Textbooks." *Journal of Information Technology Education: Research* 3 (2004): 279-289.
- Gable, Kelly A. "Cyber-Apocalypse Now: Securing the Internet Against Cyberterrorism and Using Universal Jurisdiction as a Deterrent." *Vand. J. Transnat'l L.* 43 (2010): 57.
- Sandywell, Barry. "Monsters in cyberspace cyberphobia and cultural panic in the information age." *Information, Community and Society* 9, no. 1 (2006): 39-61.
- Claudia Aradau, Rens van Munster (2007) 'Governing Terrorism Through Risk: Taking Precautions, (un)Knowing the Future' *European Journal of International Relations*, 13:1, pp. 89-115
- Eriksson, Johan, and Giampiero Giacomello, eds. *International relations and security in the digital age*. Routledge, 2007.
- Jackson, Richard. "The core commitments of critical terrorism studies." *European political science* 6, no. 3 (2007): 244-251.
- Jackson, Richard. "The ghosts of state terror: Knowledge, politics and terrorism studies." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 1, no. 3 (2008): 377-392.
- Hansen, Lene, and Helen Nissenbaum. "Digital disaster, cyber security, and the Copenhagen School." *International studies quarterly* 53, no. 4 (2009): 1155-1175.
- Wæver, Ole. "Aberystwyth, Paris, Copenhagen New 'Schools' in Security Theory and their Origins between Core and Periphery." In annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Montreal, pp. 17-20. 2004.
- Vaughan-Williams, Nick, and Columba Peoples. *Critical security studies: An introduction*. Routledge, 2014.
- Collective, C. A. S. E. "Critical approaches to security in Europe: A networked manifesto." *Security Dialogue* 37, no. 4 (2006): 443-487.
- Taureck, Rita. "Securitization theory and securitization studies." *Journal of International Relations and Development* 9, no. 1 (2006): 53-61.
- Bigo, Didier. "Security and immigration: Toward a critique of the governmentality of unease." *Alternatives* 27, no. 1\_suppl (2002): 63-92.
- Bigo, Didier. "Globalized (in) security: the field and the ban-opticon." In *Terror, insecurity and liberty*, pp. 20-58. Routledge, 2014.
- Corey Robin (2004) *Fear: The history of a political idea* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press  
<https://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=dyEZhA3ptyAC&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq>

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- Arjun Appadurai (2015) 'Fear of Small Numbers' in Steven W. Ramey (ed.) Writing Religion: The Case of for the Critical Study of Religion, Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press via <https://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=3acQCgAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA73>
- &dq=Arjun+Appadurai+fear&ots=9LZJ\_eU2qW&sig=yz3haM6ZFd8LT1auZh15Ob7qZrA#v=onepage&q=Arjun%20Appadurai%20fear&f=false

## Session 6 : Surveillance I : The case of Cambridge Analytica – Data capitalism, digital surveillance, junk news and its political impact

### Analysis of Cambridge Analytica case: **Second Student Debate**

- The second student debate will divide students in three groups: Group A assessing to what extent the Cambridge Analytica case can be seen as a form of data capitalism (one for yes, one for no); Group B assessing to what extent it can be seen as a part of the development of digital surveillance (one for yes, one for no); Group C assessing to what extent it can be seen as junk news and its political impact (one for yes, one for no). Two representatives per group will present the debate and students will vote for the most convincing arguments.
- The rest of the session will assess the relations between these three dimensions: Cambridge Analytica and its links to data brokers and GAFAM (the five most popular US tech stocks: Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon and Microsoft): How has this form of data capitalism shaped a new economy? What is the importance of 'political opinion' in framing votes and giving rise to political surveillance? What are the intersections between commercial and political surveillance?

### Reading:

- Cadwalladr, Carole, and Emma Graham-Harrison. "Revealed: 50 million Facebook profiles harvested for Cambridge Analytica in major data breach." *The Guardian* 17 (2018).
- Persily, Nathaniel. "The 2016 US Election: Can democracy survive the internet?." *Journal of democracy* 28, no. 2 (2017): 63-76.
- Cadwalladr, Carole, and Emma Graham-Harrison. "How Cambridge Analytica turned Facebook 'likes' into a lucrative political tool." Retrieved on April 10 (2018).
- Paul Lewis and Paul Hilder (2018) 'Leaked: Cambridge Analytica's blueprint for Trump victory' *the guardian*, 23 March 2018 via
- <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/mar/23/leaked-cambridge-analyticas-blueprint-for-trump-victory>

- Analytica, Cambridge. "Cambridge Analytica responds to false allegations in the media." (2018).
- Jennifer Cobbe (2018) 'The problem isn't just Cambridge Analytica or Facebook – it's "surveillance capitalism" Open Democracy, 20 March 2018 via <https://www.opendemocracy.net/uk/jennifer-cobbe/problem-isn-t-just-cambridge-analytica-or-even-facebook-it-s-surveillance-capitali>
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- <https://doi.org/10.4000/conflits.19779>.
- Zuboff, Shoshana. "Big other: surveillance capitalism and the prospects of an information civilization." Journal of Information Technology 30, no. 1 (2015): 75-89.
- Pasquale, Frank. "Two narratives of platform capitalism." Yale L. & Pol'y Rev. 35 (2016): 309.
- David Lyon (2014) 'Surveillance, Snowden, and Big Data: Capacities, Consequences, Critique' Big Data & Society, July-December 2014, pp. 1-13 <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/2053951714541861>
- Bounegru, Liliana, Jonathan Gray, Tommaso Venturini, and Michele Mauri (2018) A Field Guide to Fake News and Other Information Disorders. Amsterdam: Public Data Lab [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3024202](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3024202)
- Howard, Philip N., Gillian Bolsover, Bence Kollanyi, Samantha Bradshaw, and Lisa-Maria Neudert. "Junk news and bots during the US election: What were Michigan voters sharing over Twitter." Computational Propaganda Research Project, Oxford Internet Institute, Data Memo 2017.1 (2017).
- Howard, Philip N., Samantha Bradshaw, Bence Kollanyi, Clementine Desigaud, and Gillian Bolsover. "Junk news and bots during the French presidential election: What are French voters sharing over Twitter?." COMPROP Data Memo (2017).
- Narayanan, Vidya, Philip N. Howard, Bence Kollanyi, and Mona Elswah. "Russian involvement and junk news during Brexit." [comprop.oii.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/93/2017/12/Russia-and-Brexit-v27.pdf](http://comprop.oii.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/93/2017/12/Russia-and-Brexit-v27.pdf) (2018).
- Ott, Brian L. "The age of Twitter: Donald J. Trump and the politics of debasement." Critical Studies in Media Communication 34, no. 1 (2017): 59-68.
- Daniels, Jessie. Cyber racism: White supremacy online and the new attack on civil rights. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009.

## Session 7 : Surveillance III : intelligence and surveillance : the diagonal of power

This session will build on the empirical analysis of the previous sessions and draw out more

theoretical questions around the connection between security, intelligence and surveillance. We will compare and contrast security studies and surveillance studies, as well as their different approaches to the same research questions and objects. The two fields of studies bear different assumptions about the state, violence, democracy and policing which will be analysed in this session. They also disagree on the links between capitalism and neoliberal influences on intelligence and tools of surveillance, as well as the role of internet providers

- What is surveillance for surveillance studies? Surveillance studies and security studies. Order and democracy. Stability and change. Identity and Flows.
- Origins of surveillance studies: sociology of state making, sociology of policing, political surveillance by undercover activities, practices of identification
- Epistemological questions about state and protection of populations: How far do you embrace “your” population? - Knowledge, statistics, probability, great number and governmentality
- The hybridisation of state intelligence: Public and private collaboration and fights. Is it possible to oppose state political surveillance and private commercial surveillance?
- The CIA open venture: an arms industry transposed into the digital and its export strategies; France and Germany in Libya and Syria
- GAFAM: Internet providers as intermediaries and private actors complying to state legislations with reticence or powerful non-elected politicians shaping the future and restructuring politics and the role of politicians as well as elections
- The boundaries patrolled by “data brokers”: the wild wild west or the place for the construction of transnational meta capital (electronic money, electronic state and international organisations...)

### Readings:

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- Marx, Gary T. "Varieties of personal information as influences on attitudes toward surveillance." *The new politics of surveillance and visibility* (2006): 79-110.
- Torpey, John C. *The invention of the passport: surveillance, citizenship and the state.* Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Noiriel, Gérard. *La tyrannie du national: le droit d'asile en Europe (1793-1993).* Calmann-Lévy, 1991.
- Hacking, Ian. *The taming of chance.* Vol. 17. Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Hacking, Ian. "Biopower and the avalanche of printed numbers." *Humanities in society* 5, no. 3-4 (1982): 279-295.
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- David M. Berry. 'Introduction' in *Life in Code and Software: Mediated Life in a Complex Computational Ecology*, Lyon, David. *The electronic eye: The rise of surveillance society.* U of Minnesota Press, 1994. <http://livingbooksaboutlife.org/pdfs/bookarchive/LifeinCode.pdf>

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- Allmer, Thomas. Towards a critical theory of surveillance in informational capitalism. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012.
- Fuchs, Christian. Foundations of critical media and information studies. Routledge, 2011.
- Cinquegrana, Americo R. "Walls (and Wires) Have Ears: The Background and First Ten Years of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978." U. Pa. L. Rev. 137 (1988): 793.
- Brooks, Douglas. "The Business End of Military Intelligence: Private Military Companies." Military Intelligence Professional Bulletin 25, no. 3 (1999): 42-47.
- Moesgaard, Christa. Private military and security companies: From mercenaries to intelligence providers. Danish Institute for International Studies, 2013.
- Aas, Katja Franko, Helene Oppen Gundhus, and Heidi Mork Lomell, eds. Technologies of inSecurity: the surveillance of everyday life. Routledge, 2008.
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## Session 8: Surveillance III: Practices of five eyes & Snowden disclosures of NSA shared secrets

This session will focus on the Snowden disclosures and an international political sociology of the practices of the "five eyes".

- The five eyes plus: what are the bases of solidarity between intelligence services: cultural (the anglo world), material (geopolitics of cables), know-how and dispositions
- National security in a transnational world and a digital age
- What is left of national if we have shared secrets and transnational guilds
- Data politics: data interception, raw data, the social construction of data intelligence
- Interrogating the infrastructure of data collection, storage, sharing, alteration and destruction
- Data mining, data extraction from data analytics, predictive software and speculation
- Surveillance "tools": relations with intelligence black boxing, technology of control, and the Internet? Mass surveillance and targeted surveillance by intelligence services
- The social use of large scale surveillance; What for? Politics of needs or bureaucrat's precautionary logics?
- The Snowden paradox? Reinforcement of some intelligence services tools and power? Taming the US surveillance, used to reinforce other secret services in order to fill the gap? Introducing publicity

into secrecy: the legalisation of intelligence bodies and the end of immunity. Accountability even for secret activities

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## Session 9: Human Rights I: Privacy - A society of surveillance, whither privacy? Legal challenges

This session will analyse the Snowden controversy and its impact on international human rights law cases. We will host a third Student Debate on the Snowden legacy: Reinforcement of technology of intelligence? Safeguarding privacy and democracy. What are the arguments of the Courts and the philosophers?

- In line with the previous sessions, the third student debate will divide students into three groups:
- Group A will analyse discuss the way domestic surveillance is performed and how different courts and especially the ECtHR and CJEU examine the limits of state surveillance. They can begin the debate with the Tele2/Watson case but also the EU-Canada PNR case;
- Group B will discuss how foreign intelligence, external surveillance beyond the jurisdiction of the state are or not under constraints. They may begin with the Big Brother Watch case as well as the CJEU Schrems cases;
- Group C will examine the question of biometrics identification and anonymity. Do biometrics have the capacity to de-anonymize data? They may begin with the Digital Rights Ireland case.

Each group has to discuss the central implications of the Courts on these subjects, including philosophical, ethical and legal backgrounds, as well as the relations between a permanent state of exception and the democratic mechanisms of representative democracies (and their uneasy relation with democratic principles). What are the effects of rulings with regards to sovereignty and democracy? What do the rulings mean in terms of privacy and human rights for all internet users, and what do they do for better regulations of the activities of intelligence services?

For each debate, we will have this time, not two but three representatives of each group as they will present the debate along 3 positions: one in favour of government positions, another one in favour of

privacy and friends of claimants, and a third one on the position of the court itself.

- This will be followed by a general discussion and a vote between the three positions after a debate.

### Readings:

- The specific legal database and comments on the different cases prepared by the researchers of UTIC and QMUL will be accessible to students.
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- Lyon, David. "The border is everywhere: ID cards, surveillance and the other." In *Global surveillance and policing*, pp. 78-94. Willan, 2013.
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- Van Hoboken, Joris VJ. "Privacy and security in the cloud: Some realism about technical solutions to transnational surveillance in the Post-Snowden Era." *Me. L. Rev.* 66 (2013): 487.

## Session 10: Human Rights II: Democratic Oversight and privacy as forms of resistance against surveillance and the revival of democracy?

This section will analyse how democratic oversight and privacy can be established and guaranteed.

- Are we sleepwalking into a society of surveillance? Are we slowly turning into a society of exhibition? Does the pleasure of social communication trump privacy?
- Friends 2.0: Who are our friends on social media and offline? What guides our relations, trust or privacy, individual rights or collective rights?
- Framing privacy rights: Who owns data? Those who construct datasets for their own purposes, the persons from which data has been built (with or without agreement).
- Examining international legal struggles at the Transatlantic scale: Privacy in the US and in Europe; the GDPR in Europe and the European Courts. US answers by the executive branch and the courts.
- Reorganising the ownership of the Internet. California rules?
- Navi Pillay and the UN project of "Privacy in a digital age": the human rights of Internet users: deconstructing the difference of protection between foreigners and citizens on the web; putting the reason of state and spying under control?
- Democratic Oversight over the tools and practices of intelligence services? Democracies at their limits

Guest lecture around Transatlantic debates on privacy and oversight.

Readings:

- Harcourt Bernard :Exposed: Desire and Disobedience in the Digital Age, Harvard University Press, 2015
- Gill, Peter. Policing Politics: security intelligence and the liberal democratic state. Routledge, 2012.
- Born, Hans, and Ian Leigh. Legal Standards and Best Practice for Oversight of Intelligence Agencies. Oslo, 2005.
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- La Rue, Frank. "Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression." (2011).
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## Session 11 : Human Rights III: Techno-science as forms of resistance against the development of data suspects

The critique of legal forms of resistance: always too late. A maginot line? In a technological society, can surveillance only be blocked by counter-surveillance measures?

- Cryptology: from war secrets to garage games
- Encryption as a counter-surveillance measure? Counter-surveillance and sousveillance
- The Thor project and Pretty Easy Privacy: Slowing down interception of data and identification - localisation processes.
- The old synopticon revived - Surveillance of the powerful
- Gulliver and lilliputians: how to limit or to control the technologisation of surveillance and its scale and speed
- The mobilisation of decrypting algorithms: breaking the malicious codes of surveillance by companies and states
- The anonymous: Hackers for freedom or criminals of a new kind? The celebrity problem of anonymity.
- Demonopolisation of intelligence forms of know-how
- A critical theory of algorithms: a series of rules, a computational process? Unpacking the concept of algorithm into specific material instances to critically engage with computation

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- Manion, Mark, and Abby Goodrum. "Terrorism or civil disobedience: toward a hacktivist ethic." *ACM SIGCAS Computers and Society* 30, no. 2 (2000): 14-19.
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- Susanne Krasmann (2017) 'Imagining Foucault. On the Digital Subject and "Visual Citizenship"' *Foucault Studies*, 23: 10-26.
- <https://rauli.cbs.dk/index.php/foucault-studies/article/view/5339>
- Louise Amoore (2013) *The Politics of Possibility: Risk and Security Beyond Probability* Durham and London: Duke University Press
- Guittet, Emmanuel-Pierre. "Unpacking the new mobilities paradigm: lessons for critical security studies?." *Security/Mobility: Politics of Movement* (2017): 209-216.

- Tréguer, Félix. "Internet Surveillance in France's Intelligence Act." (2016).
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- Danaher, John (2016). *The Threat of Algocracy: Reality, Resistance and Accommodation.* *Philosophy & Technology* vol. 29 (3), 245-268.
- Gros, Frédéric. 2017. *Désobéir.* Paris: Éditions Albin Michel.

## Session 12: Artificial intelligence: Enhanced humanity or humans as "errors". Utopian and Dystopian futures.

The future fights: Adding artificial intelligence into computational processes?

- The Californian utopia: enhanced humanity or humanity "plus", cyborgs as our future
- Humans are already cyborgs: medicine, nanobots
- Artificial intelligence and inclusion of neurons in mechanical systems
- Budgets for these projects
- Avoiding human face-to-face relations?
- Science fiction movies about mass surveillance, techno totalitarianism, the cyborg culture
- A critical theory of media and film studies: Taking fiction seriously as a cultural phenomenon
- Popular culture and "Do It Yourself Surveillance", Artistic practices: the pleasure to obey or a way to fight (through uses of irony) the massive film industry
- Realist Fictions: refusing to play the science fiction and eroticisation of secret services
- Critique of James Bond: secret agents and women roles
- John le Carré: shaping popular culture; the french series: "Le bureau des légendes"
- Surveillance for data intelligence:
  - Killing abroad? Techno-spying?
  - Preventive counter-terrorism and infiltration operations
  - Fictionalisation of practices.

**Guest speakers:** around le bureau des légendes from DGSE, from the series producer, from critical media studies

Readings

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- Deutsch, Morton, and Harold B. Gerard. "A study of normative and informational social influences upon individual judgment." *The journal of abnormal and social psychology* 51, no. 3 (1955): 629.
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