

# ACTA: Active Citizens Take Action



## Essays

Practitioners, scholars, and students wrote interesting pieces on ACTA, the Internet, digital technology, and their links to democracy.

## Research

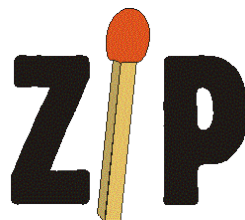
High school students embarking on the path of higher education performed field research on issues such as online privacy and political participation.

## Multimedia

Organizations and individuals participating in the project prepared various project-related multimedia materials.

## Compendium of Project Materials

Edited by  
Samo Novak



Education and Culture DG

'Europe for Citizens' Programme

HEKOVNIK STARTUP SCHOOL

Lugos

ARDOR - MUNTENIA

ASOCIATIA REGIONALA  
DE DEZBATERI,  
ORATORIE SI  
RETORICA - MUNTENIA

МЛАДИНСКИ  
ОБРАЗОВЕН  
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YOUTH  
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FORUM

HERMES  
COMMUNI ACTION

STUDIO 12



asociace debatnich klubů  
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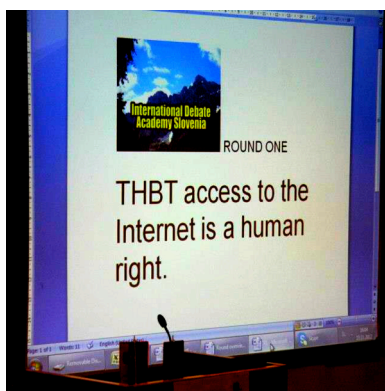
METAMORPHOSIS  
Foundation for Internet and Society



kiberpipa

SdDÜP  
Sociedade de Debates Universidade do Porto

INŠTITUT  
ZA  
ELEKTRONSKO  
PARTICIPACIJO



## An Introductory Word from the Project Coordinator

By  
Bojana Skrt, director of Za in proti – Zavod za kulturo dialoga

The present publication includes some of the presentations, essays, and researches prepared during the international project ACTA – Active Citizens Take Action. The project gathered citizens from Portugal, Romania, Macedonia, Croatia and Slovenia – members of 13 civil society partner organizations and others to discuss Internet-related issues and active European citizenship. The project was supported by the European Union's Europe for Citizens program, Action 2 – Active Civil Society in Europe, Measure 3 – Support for projects initiated by civil society.

The project activities on the one hand focused on the empowerment of participants in exercising their European citizenship and becoming active citizens in their environment by giving them knowledge, information and skills required for the organization, implementation, participation at different types of public discussions and for using the Internet when exercising active citizenship. On the other hand, the project equipped them with knowledge

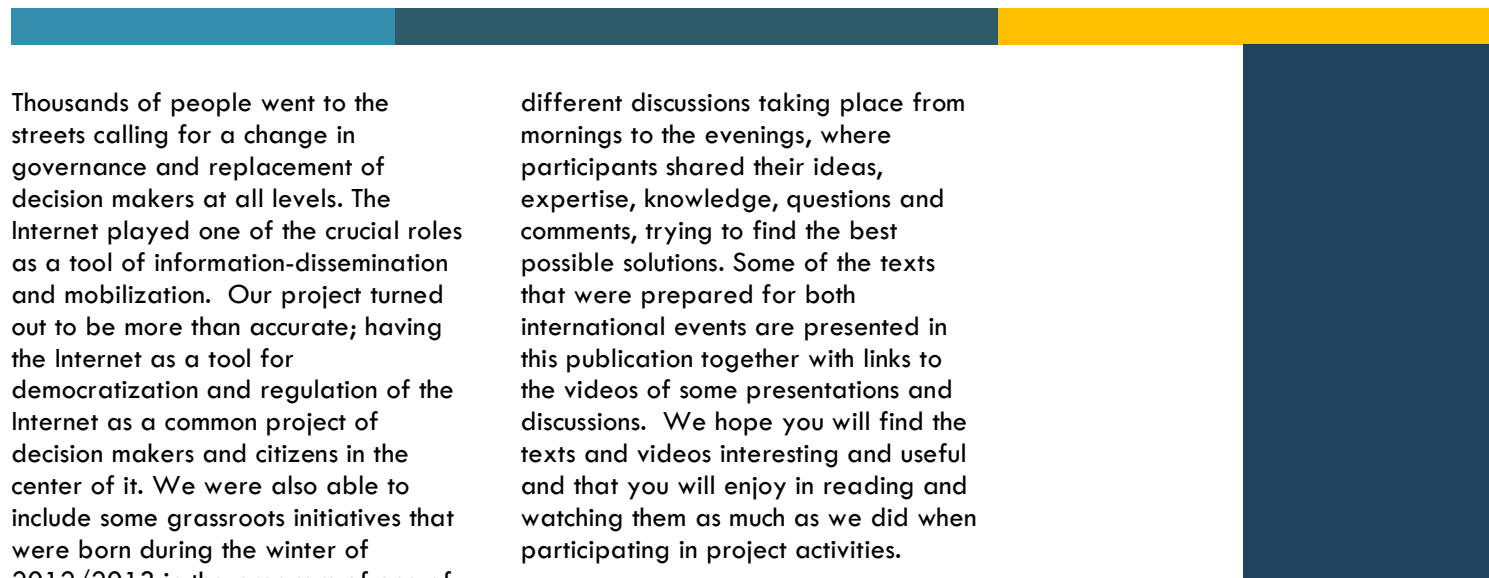
on and understanding of citizen participatory strategies, communication with decision makers, importance, controversy, and the dilemmas posed by ACTA-related issues and the necessity of finding the solution that can satisfy people, governments, and corporations.

We developed the project idea when Slovenia and the entire EU were experiencing protests and demonstrations against ACTA. People from Portugal to Latvia, from Romania to Slovenia were demonstrating and demanding free and unregulated Internet. We wanted to investigate the challenges that ACTA put in front of decision makers and EU inhabitants, compare different practices, research different strategies and solutions. We also wanted to explore further the role of the Internet in mobilizing people to exercise active citizenship on different levels, from local to European.

We were implementing the project when Slovenia experienced the biggest expression of dissatisfaction with decision makers at all levels in contemporary Slovenian history.

### LIST OF PROJECT PARTNERS in alphabetical order:

ARDOR Muntenia, Asociace debatnich kulu ceske republiky, HEKOVIK Startup School, Hermes Communication, Kiberpipa, Inštitut za elektronsko participacijo, Leo Club Murska Sobota, Lugos, MetaMorphosis – Foundation for Internet and Society, Sociedade de debates da Universidade do Porto, Splitska debatna unija, Studio 12, Youth Educational Forum, Za in proti – zavod za kulturo dialoga



Thousands of people went to the streets calling for a change in governance and replacement of decision makers at all levels. The Internet played one of the crucial roles as a tool of information-dissemination and mobilization. Our project turned out to be more than accurate; having the Internet as a tool for democratization and regulation of the Internet as a common project of decision makers and citizens in the center of it. We were also able to include some grassroots initiatives that were born during the winter of 2012/2013 in the program of one of the international events and public discussions. The project reflected, observed, researched, discussed and analyzed the happenings when they were going on – we feel this is an important achievement and we are proud we were able to do it. We feel it brought the participants new insights, tools, and skills to exercise active citizenship.

The majority of participants in the project were less than 30 years old, they grew up with computers and the Internet, they use the Internet every day, and they cannot imagine their lives without it. On-line reality and the digital world are as important for them as the material, offline reality. They are aware of many challenges which Internet brings, but not all of them. It was therefore important that we also touched upon some of the not so popular topics such as the notion of the Internet as a place of freedom and no regulation. After all, in the 'post-Snowden' days, it is not hard to identify the necessity (and the possibility) of certain laws, like hate speech, becoming global – and this was an eye opener for a lot of participants.

There were two international events organized within the project, both in Slovenia, with almost 200 project participants and more than 150 other individuals being involved. At both international events there were

different discussions taking place from mornings to the evenings, where participants shared their ideas, expertise, knowledge, questions and comments, trying to find the best possible solutions. Some of the texts that were prepared for both international events are presented in this publication together with links to the videos of some presentations and discussions. We hope you will find the texts and videos interesting and useful and that you will enjoy in reading and watching them as much as we did when participating in project activities.





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## Where it All Starts: Students' Essays on ACTA, the Internet, and Contemporary Challenges to Democracy in Europe

### Demokracija v Evropski uniji

Luka Arvaj in Martin Lipovšek

Evropa je dandanes pred velikimi preizkušnjami. S tem pa demokracija v njej. In to prava demokracija, ne demokracija kot v Mukbarakovem Egiptu ali Demokratični republiki Kongo.

Kaj pa je prava demokracija? Demokracijo v Evropi razumemo kot politični sistem, kjer ima prvo in zadnjo besedo ljudstvo, kjer se spoštuje človekove pravice in s socialno državo zagotavlja splošno blaginjo.

Dandanes je demokracija v mnogih pogledih načeta. Mnoge velike medijske hiše zavračajo ljudi, politiki ne izpolnjujejo predvolilnih obljub, monetarne in še katere politike državljanji ne morejo več spreminjati, ker so v rokah nadnacionalnih organov.

Na Evropsko unijo se vseeno na splošno gleda kot na tvorbo, ki pomaga ohranjati in celo izboljševati demokracijo. Države se demokratično odločajo, kaj bodo skupaj naredile, pa še Evropski parlament doda glas vseh prebivalcev unije.

Veliko vprašanje, ki se postavlja, pa je, ali bo demokracija v Evropi ostala in katere velike odločitve bodo k njej doprinesle in katere ne. Ali je koncept Evropske unije kot združenja držav primeren ali je za demokracijo boljša federacija s centralno oblastjo, ki drži v rokah vse ključne vzvode moči. Ideja evropske federacije se vse pogostejše pojavlja v govorih politikov, v javnem diskurzu pa je redko zaslediti, kaj bi to pomenilo za naš družbeni sistem.

Je mogoče slednje nujno zaradi globalne situacije ali bi jo ravno združitev še zaostрила?

#### Pogled od znotraj

Evropska unija je naddržavna tvorba, ujeta med konceptoma konfederacije in federacije. Vpliv na državno politiko je podoben federativni ureditvi (dva pravna

reda, dva zakonodajna organa, skupna valuta...). Obenem pa države vztrajajo pri konceptu majhnih nacionalnih držav, ki naj bi suvereno nastopale v mednarodnem področju in so pripravljene le na neko ohlapno povezavo na podlagi mednarodnih pogodb, ratificiranih na državni ravni. Ker zaradi takšne povezave ne moremo kvalificirati Evropske unije kot eno ali drugo, pravimo, da je Sui generis, edinstvena tvorba.

Takšna ureditev pa pomeni poseben odnos med organi. V federativnem slogu daje navodila državam članicam in deluje kot oblasten organ. Pravo Evropske unije ne vpliva le na države (kot mednarodno pravo ponavadi vpliva), temveč tudi direktno na državljanke držav članic (načelo avtonomnosti). Vzpostavljen je nadzor s strani Evropskega parlamenta. Imamo skupne institucije (npr. Europol, računsko sodišče), imamo skupno banko in denar. Vsa evropska politika je pod "nadzorom Bruslja" in vpliva na celotno Evropo, vprašanje pa je, kdo nadzira Bruselj?

Tu pride v igro »druga plat« Evropske unije. Zaradi svoje konfederacijske narave je Evropska unija pod nadzorom držav in ne državljanov, kot bi bilo spodobno za neko demokratično tvorbo. Ustavna materija oz. primarno pravo Unije se sprejema z mednarodnimi pogodbami, ki so ratificirane s strani držav članic. Zato je večina organov Evropske unije (Svet EU, Evropski svet, Evropska komisija) prikrojena izvršilni oblasti v državah članicah. Politike v centrih Unije naj bi torej nadzirali domači politiki, vendar se zaradi nesorazmerja moči med državami članicami pripeti, da politika močnejših držav dominira in nadzoruje politiko šibkejših držav (primer: zlato fiskalno pravilo).

Evropski parlament, ki je edino telo, ki črpa svojo legitimnost iz volitev, ima v razmerju do ostalih institucij najmanj moči. Sicer

omogoča transparentnost zakonodajnih postopkov, vendar najpomembnejše odločitve sprejmejo v ostalih organih.

V praksi to pomeni, da so "nepriljubljene" odločitve in dogovori sprejeti v sencah, brez vednosti prebivalcev. Demokratična volja postane ovira namesto temelj ureditve. Kot recimo ponavljanje referendumov, ker so se po mnenju komisije ljudje "zmotili" (Lizbonska pogodba). V Evropski parlament se nek zakon pošlje večkrat, ker se je po mnenju komisije parlament "zmotil". Takšna koncentracija moči sicer pomeni učinkovitost v delovanju, vendar če je naš cilj demokracija, je bolj pomemben diskurz do skupne rešitve, kot neko hitro zadovoljevanje trenutnih potreb politike.

Politika na domačih tleh pa ne spodbuja dialoga o evropskih "ukazih", temveč jih postavlja kot neko že sprejeto merilo za uspeh, oz. kot pogoj za delovanje. Dejansko suverenost bolj kot nadrejenost organov Evropske unije ošibita reakcija politike in pritisk na javno mnenje, kar za neko "demokracijo" ni najbolj zdrava praksa. Zaradi takšnega boječega odnosa ne pride do diskurza o evropskih odločitvah. Prav javni diskurz pa je tisti najbolj ključni element demokracije.

To pripelje do demokratičnega deficita s strani ljudi, ki so nezainteresirani za skupno politiko. Do tega pride, ker se diskurz o evropski politiki v državah članicah ne spodbuja in ker se ljudim ta politika zdi tuja. Menijo, da se jih ne tiče, razen ko gre za njihovo osebno dobro. Ne razpravlja se o rešitvah, ki bi pripeljale iz krize in o pristopih k skupni politiki, temveč le o tem »da Grkom ne bomo dajali našega denarja pa pika«. Obnašamo se, kot da svet izven meja države ne obstaja in ne vpliva indirektno na naše življenje. Ljudstvo se zgane le, ko se tema dotakne njegovih trenutnih koristi. Demokracija na takšen

način stagnira in ne doprinese k razvoju dialoga in demokratičnega diskurza.

Fiskalni pakt in EMF sta odraz te permisivnosti na mednarodnem nivoju, ki povečuje nadzor in vpliv organov Evropske unije pri pomembnih notranjih zadevah, kot so fiskalna politika in varčevalni ukrepi, ter jih jemljejo iz rok bolj ali manj demokratično izvoljene oblasti in jih prenašajo na organe, ki niso direktno odgovorni volilcem. Tako demokratično izvoljeni organi postajajo vedno bolj omejeni, s tem pa tudi mnenje in volja prebivalcev izgubita na vrednosti.

Poteka erozija demokratične moči ljudstva, ki ne more več vplivati na reforme v lastni državi, in sicer zaradi pritiska s strani birokracije. V imenu krize se zahteva odpravo socialnih pravic, jeza ljudi pa je usmerjena navzgor in prihaja do nasilnih protestov, ki se v neki demokratični državi, kjer ima ljudstvo vpliv na politične odločitve, ki zadevajo njegovo življenje, možnost diskurza in kompromisa, ne bi zgodili. (Grčija, Španija).

Način, da se preseže ta odnos, ki je škodljiv za demokracijo, je, da naredimo korak naprej v federacijo in vzpostavimo organe oblasti, ki bodo direktno odgovorni Evropskemu parlamentu oziroma volilcem ali pa stopimo nazaj v skupnost suverenih demokratičnih držav.

Trenutni trendi kažejo na federalizacijo Evrope, kaj to pomeni za demokracijo, pa je vprašanje tega, na kakšen način bomo stopili skupaj. Bomo našli neko skupno evropsko povezovalno identiteto in delovali na podlagi sloga in sožitja ali pa bomo stopili skupaj zaradi trenutne nuje, se šli notranjo politiko na podlagi moči regij in končali kot hlapci močnejših evropskih držav. Seveda pa je odprta tudi možnost, da demokracijo poljubimo za lahko noč in poiščemo naslednji korak v razvoju civilizacije.

V primeru tesnejše združitve je veliko vprašanje skupne identite v Evropi je malo verjetno, da bo po stoletjih vojn, političnih delitev in utrditve nacionalne identitete prišlo do stapljanja prebivalstva (ti. "melting point- a"), kot se je zgodilo v Združenih državah Amerike. Upi za združitev in sodelovanje ljudstva za skupno evropsko demokracijo brez vezi nacionalnih in teritorialnih okvirov torej ležijo v tem, da gradimo na intelektualnem izročilu evropske civilizacije, vlagamo v izobrazbo in diskurz, da presežemo

tradicionalne delitve. Razmišljati moramo v evropskem kontekstu ne le za državno ali osebno dobro - to je predpogoj za zdravo demokracijo v Evropski uniji.

Čeprav se sliši lepo, je takšno "utopično" slogo težko doseči. Veliko bolj verjetna bo združitev zaradi trenutne nuje: da rešujemo krizo, da postanemo močnejši akter v svetu. Vendar takšna združitev brez spremembe mentalitete pomeni, da bo evropsko dobro vedno na drugem mestu in bo evropska politika ostala odraz interesov močnejših držav. To generira trenja, ki pa postanejo hitro izgovor za večjo centralizacijo oblasti in odteganje demokratičnega odločanja ljudem.

#### Pogled od zunaj

Skladno z notranjimi zadevami pa je za demokracijo v Evropi pomembno tudi mednarodno okolje in s tem njena zunanja politika. Odločitve ali Evropa ostane v sedanji ureditvi ali se centralizira v evropsko federacijo ima različne efekte na zunanjem področju, s tem pa posledično tudi na notranjem.

Seveda so notranji in zunanji dejavniki prepleteni. Navadno so zaradi narave demokracije same za njen nadaljnji razvoj odločilni prvi. Vendar pa je v situaciji, ko je država ogrožena s strani zunanjih dejavnikov, mogoče argumentirati, da v tem primeru postanejo ti zunanji dejavniki izredno pomembni, škodljivo vpliva na demokracijo (ne pa seveda na obstoj države same).

Dandanes je lahko država ogrožena, če ji druge škodujejo tudi manj smrtonosno kot nekoč – torej diplomatsko, ekonomsko, informacijsko (virtualni napadi, kot so bili pred kratkim napadi z virusom Stuxnet in Flame), s tajnimi službami ali v končnem primeru s kopičenjem orožja, ki nevtralizira princip vzajemnega uničenja – primer tega bi bil ameriški protiraketni ščit, ki stoji nasproti Rusiji in naj bi bil sposoben uničenja dela ruskega arzenala.

Ob zunanji ogroženosti je demokracija prizadeta iz več razlogov, a najpomembnejši je že zapisan v temeljnih zakonih, ki v tem času dovolijo ukinitve dela demokratčnih svoboščin in človekovih pravic. V slovenski ustavi to nedvomno kaže 16. Člen, ki pravi: „S to ustavo določene človekove pravice in temeljne svoboščine je izjemoma dopustno začasno razveljaviti ali omejiti v vojnem ali izrednem stanju“. Pri tem državljani lahko izgubijo volilno pravo, varstvo osebne

prostosti ter omejitev trajanja pripora, svobode gibanja, zasebne lastnine, govora, združevanja in zasebnosti, če omenimo le najbolj vpadljive.

Naslednji argument, ki govori v prid zgornjemu, je postavila Naomi Klein s tezo, da krizne razmere dajejo politiki izgovor, da legitimno ali nelegitimno krati deokratične pravice, hkrati pa je pri tem manj nadzirana s strani državljanov. Kot primer avtorica navede cunami v Indoneziji, kjer je država kmalu po katastrofi izkoristila okno priložnosti ter sprejela nepriljubljene ekonomske reforme.

Gledano iz vsakdanje prakse je lahko že zmerno zaostrovanje v gospodarskih/ekonomskih odnosih problematično. V manj zaostrenih razmerah torej velja Naomin argument, v bolj zaostrenih pa prvi.

Stanja nedemokratičnosti pa si seveda ne želimo. Nič nam ne jamči, da se bo po končanju konflikta raven demokracije povrnila na isti nivo. Na primeru Združenih držav Amerike vidimo, da je Patrot act, ki ukinja velik del zasebnosti državljanov, že enajst let v uporabi, čeprav v tem času ni bilo več večjeega napada na državnem ozemlju.

Evropa je eden izmed ključnih akterjev, ki s svojim delovanjem določa naravnost – sovražnost ali nesovražnost - mednarodnega okolja do nje. Zavedati se moramo, da je Evropa kot celota eden najbogatejših in najbolj razvitih delov sveta. Prav tako imamo že zdaj spodobno diplomatsko in vojaško moč. Iz tega se vidi, zakaj je delovanje take tvorbe ključno, še posebej, če je usklajeno in homogeno – kot bi bilo v Evropski federaciji.

Naslednje vprašanje, ki iz zgornjega naravno sledi, se tiče obravnavanih možnosti Evrope – unije ali federacije. Kakšno bo / bi bilo njuno delovanje in s tem odziv na to delovanje. Da je možno problematiziranje delovanja potencialne evropske federacije, torej druge opcije, je potrebno sprva analizirati delovanje sedanje Evropske unije.

Kot že rečeno, ima Evropa kot celota kar znaten vpliv, vendar pa v trenutni obliki ne deluje vsklajeno, s čimer pa se njen vpliv realizira dosti manj kot recimo vpliv Združenih držav Amerike. To vidimo na primeru vojne na Bližnjem vzhodu, kjer je Velika Britanija prispevala veliko vojaških sil, nekatere druge države pa so se temu uprle ali pa so enote umaknile. Prav tako

ima na primer Nemčija velik interes sodelovati z Rusijo, vzhodnoevropske države pa veliko manjšega.

Kot že rečeno, so si države Evrope v marsičem zelo različne in verjetno se da sklepati, da bo tako ostalo vsaj v naslednjih desetletjih, če pri tem ne bo močne oblasti, ki bo poenotila voljo vseh. Težko bi bilo sklepati, da bi države začele na lepem delovati povsem usklajeno, če vse do sedaj tega niso storile in so se temu celo upirale.

Povsem drugače je seveda z evropsko federacijo, kjer bi centralna vlada težila k usklajenim dejanjem v mednarodni politiki, vsaj pomembnejšim. To pomeni, da bi se potencialna skupna moč uresničila in delovala v smeri ene zunanje politične strategije.

Samo zunanjemu opazovalcu bi se morda zdelo, da bi evropska federacija delovala neagresivno in neimperialno. Če si pogledamo že delovanje sedanjih najmočnejših držav, lahko vidimo, da bi se interesi po surovinah, vplivu in kapitalu v taki tvorbi le povečali, saj bi bilo mogoče marsikaterega uresničiti.

Iz vsega skupaj je mogoče najprej sklepati, da bi se Evropska unija v mirnih in normalnih razmerah normalno obnesla, torej ne kot uspešna velesila ampak kot urejena skupnost držav. Zaradi pomanjkanja učinkovitosti in jasne politike bi dosegala strateške cilje manj uspešno, ne bi pa bila ob tem izpostavljena tveganju, kakršnega smo ugotovili zafederacijo. Povsem drugače bi seveda bilo, če se bi se odnosi med državami izredno zaostri in privedli do napetosti. V taki situaciji so pomanjkljivosti neenotne Evrope očitne. Res pa je verjetno, da bi v času nuje iz urejene demokratične unije hitro in po demokratični poti prišlo do tesnejše združitve.

Evropska federacija ima prednosti, če parafriziramo Barosa prav zato, ker se lahko bolje bori proti vsem trenutnim grožnjam. Seveda so njegovi argumenti v tem pogledu močni. Večje gospodarstvo bi se lažje ubranilo krize kot mala in tudi skupna vojska bi bila samoumevno močnejša kot sedanje skupne enote EUFOR-ja, ki so namenjene le manjšim operacijam.

Vendar pa bi federalna ureditev poleg težje koordinacije demokracije znotraj federacije v mirnih časih tudi zelo verjetno povzročila več trenj med njenimi državami članicami ravno zaradi večje moči centra

in imperialnih nagnjenj ter s tem posredno ogrozila svojo lastno demokracijo. Očiten primer za to so Združene države Amerike - država, ki je zelo enotna v svoji agresivni zunanji politiki in kjer je demokracija močno erodirala v zadnjih enajstih letih. Zadnji veliki udarec je bila ukinitve t. i. habeus corpora, ki je bil sprejet z namenom, »da omogoči boljši spopad S terorizmom«. Vprašanje evropske federacije torej ni samo, kaj morda pridobimo, ampak tudi katerim novim tveganjem se izpostavimo, če nismo previdni.

#### **Za konec**

Evropska unija bo morala dobro razmisliti, v kakšno prihodnost hoče stopiti. Bo to neka razsvetljena demokracija ali bomo postali še ene "Združene države Amerike". Moramo razčistiti, kaj si želimo, in si začrtati smernice razvoja. Bomo močna velesila ali skupek mirnih držav? Bomo ostali pri trenutnem sistemu koncentracije moči v Evropi ali ga bomo spremenili, ga približali ljudstvu oz. oddaljili zavoľjo efektivnosti. Ampak pred temi vprašanji se moramo vprašati, ali smo dejansko sposobni preseči tradicionalne ovire in stopiti v novo dobo.

### **Inside the World of Piracy: The Other Side of the Story**

*Jernej Fink*

Whichever activity people have employed themselves with, the internet or rather web has probably made it easier. Think shopping, meeting new people, gathering information. And the more obscure ones, such as transportation, genetic research, income tax reports and so forth. Some link the web as the next big thing since the wheel, owing it to the versatility it offers. And sure, even the piracy made its way online. Internet and piracy have in fact been so successful together that the mere use of the word piracy changed the previous association with the mean seamen hijacking a nice boat to that of regular people using the web to download the latest episode of the Simpsons.

Piracy is either a one time act or an ongoing activity where an individual or a community engage in obtaining goods thru means, including illegal, that were not designed for such use. Initially, the act of piracy as an act of hijacking ships was a grave instance of an armed robbery, but now the word denotes an act which is not a

subset of stealing but is rather a distinct type of behavior. Yet stealing and piracy do have one thing in common and it is the economic motive. It's cheaper to steal or pirate.

The difference between stealing and pirating is that stealing is an act of one or small number of individuals and targets one particular item. Piracy is rather taking an idea, a piece of culture, an intellectual good and making it widely available. It is commonly said that stealing pertains to taking away ones car, where as piracy only makes a copy of a CD. Piracy is a systemic phenomenon and even though it seems counter-intuitive, it is vertically organized and it needs a fundamentally different approach than petty crimes of stealing do.

Essentially there are three groups of pirates, with the ones at the top being the most exclusive, secretive, skilled organized and efficient, no matter what content we are speaking of; be it TV-series, music, software or e-books, though each requires a different set of skills.

The first group are the "release groups" such as RELOADED, SKiDROW, LOL and so forth. They have an internal structure with different responsibilities, such as obtaining the originals, cracking, further distribution, communication and scouting for new members. It is important to note that for each type of content, there is plethora of groups who are in competition with each other in terms of which makes a release earlier. With movies, rips of DVDs and BluRays sometimes even occur a couple of days earlier before the actual retail release, as groups tend to have insiders in the studios, warehouses, etc. With software and games, the process takes from a couple of minutes to even months, depending on the type of anti-piracy software that a distributor decides upon. Eventually, given the highly organized and competitive nature of the pirate groups, such software is going to be cracked due the same principle that applies to hackers and virus-makers. To be successful, people trying to prevent an entry always have to think of all the potential security holes, where as the crackers only need to find one. The advantage this poses is incomparable.

The first group is also the hardest to crack down on as they have virtually no contact with the end-users, they are also difficult to trace. It's even harder to grasp as to



what is in it for them, what makes them distribute the content further, knowing fully well they make zero profit from such behavior yet risk quite a lot. There are various explanations for that. One might be the reverence they get from the piracy community thru distributors' channels. The other might be that they have been influenced by the open-source philosophy, which promotes greater access to digital and intellectual goods in general. The third might be that they want to show that it can be done and this become more valid the harder to obtain, crack and distribute a particular good becomes.

The second group are the "distributors". These include torrent-trackers (TorrentBytes, ThePirateBay), torrent sites (the difference is a consequence of the BitTorrent architecture), filesharing forums and discussion boards (Warez-BB, Slo-Filesharing), file-hosting websites (Rapidshare, Megaupload), software (eMule) and oversight websites (NFOrcе). These are the mainstream distributors, with whom the release groups tend to have no contact with, though there is an increasing amount of evidence to the contrary. The trend has been changing the last couple of years, yet this model still pretty accurately describes what goes on after a release group does their work. Before the content reaches mainstream distributors, it goes thru various procedures. The group releases the content to secretive FTPs<sup>1</sup>, to which only a couple of people have access. The release is recorded in a pre-database from which bots get information and pass it on to IRC channels, where more users can see when (in terms of seconds) a group a release. After that, "couriers" race with each other to transfer the content between top FTPs to ones that have a wider audience, though they are still quite secretive and exclusive. Couriers thus gain credits that they can spend on releases that have been put to these lower-level sites by other couriers and so it works as an incentive. Generally they provide (in terms of file-size) as much content as they get in return. Once content is on these lower-level FTPs, they are distributed further to torrent-trackers, usually to private<sup>1</sup> ones at first and then further by the users of such trackers to publicly accessible ones. Private torrent-trackers have their own hierarchy, where only a small minority of users are trusted with the privilege to upload torrents and they must have a connection with at least the lower-level FTPs so that they can

transfer the content as fast as possible.

Coincidentally with the distribution process, there is an ongoing evaluation. Even though the anti-piracy groups spread information that pirated content is potentially dangerous and harmful, there are actually where strict rules as to what constitutes a credible release and what should be discarded as "nuke". The malware that does creep their way into the release does so at the bottom of the scheme, usually with releases that haven't even come from the real release groups, however untrained users often do not know the difference.

Most nukes occur soon after the release, yet some take a longer time. Nukes are visible on the IRC<sup>1</sup> channels put there by scripts from databases that log FTP activity and make their way to publicly accessible oversight websites which only host a release information file (which includes their ASCII logo and instructions on how to use the release) and denote whether a release was okay from the beginning, if it was "nuke"d or if there was a "proper" one released afterwards.

The natural, third group of this scheme are the end-users, sometimes denoted as "leechers". There are either no common denominators or characteristics of this groups and the ones that exist are very general. The skills needed for accessing and downloading pirated content are minimal and the instructions are widely available. Most users are not aware of how the Scene works like and rarely bother to find out as long as the content keeps on coming. With the growth of the capacity and recognition of trackers such as ThePirateBay, so has grown the user-base.

The difference between users on private trackers and public trackers is that private ones have an additional component of community building on message boards. Such trackers are continuously supported by donations from their committed user base who feel very strong about that community and the discussions transcend that of mere releases to very serious ones regards politics and world issues.

Private trackers also have a better system of assuring that everyone give as much as they receive by forcing users to maintain their "ratio" of uploaded against downloaded content. Prestigious trackers rarely offer free-leech torrents and never provide upload credit in exchange for

donations, where as less respected ones whose owners usually do not follow the original philosophy of the Scene often provide generous rewards for donations or payments.

Legal efforts against piracy have always, always been particular and never addressed the issue at large. Crackdowns that had occurred often backfired where after taking down one site, three new have popped up as a retaliation which can only exist if there is a strong, organized community which we have seen that in this case is very much so. Trade agreements such as ACTA and other legislature options such as SOPA and PIPA target only two groups, distributors and end-users by heavily infringing upon all of the web users' privacy by filtering their content and changing the burden of proof from that of "innocent until proven guilty" to that of "guilty until proven innocent".

One example attests very clearly how absurd such actions are. A case against LimeWire, a peer-to-peer piece of software, pressed by one of the record labels demanded such high settlements that exceeded the gross domestic products of all of the countries combined. It goes to show that it might now be the problem that pirates are taking the profit away from the music industry and the artists but rather that such value was not even there in the first place. It shows that record labels are taking too big a cut from the artists, which push up the whole price as artists demand a decent share for themselves. Pirates are not distorting the market, they are rather balancing. It is not the piracy that needs to be tackled as the enemy, it is the business models that need to be changed and when cultural goods become more accessible, the need for such fight against piracy will cease to exist as piracy itself will become less and less attractive for most users.

## **On the Application of Conventional Concepts of Democracy to the Internet**

*Jure Hederic*

Internet is oftentimes perceived as a tool of everyday life. Since we live our everyday life in a material world, it is logical that we shape models, rules and laws into which we want our lives to fit. Thus, concepts like democracy, freedom, free speech and privacy are pretty straightforward when discussing a real life situation. However, it is rather intriguing how these concepts translate to their corresponsive clones in

another space, which is similarly unlimited, powerful and widespread: the internet.

The problem arises, because some things simply cannot be just applied to Internet. Just for the sake of illustration let us consider the following example, dealing with the question of privacy: A man is driving a car in the street and a police officer stops him for a regular check. He looks at the driver's license, license plates, checks if the driver is sober and then wishes him good day and leaves. It seems as a reasonable deed, as the police officer is serving the law, which has to be respected in order to maximize equality, security etc. However, if one thinks about an officer (or any qualified employee for that matter) browsing through random people's internet history, reading articles that someone read and monitoring online purchases, all at random and once in a while, one cannot help but to feel at least a bit uneasy. Now, the question remains. Instinctively, the latter is much greater intrusion to one's privacy than the former, but why is it so, if the same principle applies in both cases? An officer is monitoring your deeds in the name of law. It simply seems that the balance between intrusion to one's privacy and guaranteeing the well being of society is not the same, when applied to Internet, because it simply seems disproportional.

The question that arises and will be considered in this essay is the following: Can Internet in its current state at all be a tool of maximization of democracy, regardless of its use? In other words, I'll be examining the meaning of the word democracy in the world of Internet, as it seems that it can't be directly translated from the "real life".

To see how conventional principles can apply to Internet, we must first ask ourselves, what is an inherent difference that Internet bears in comparison to other media or to real life.

The first and most important is the widespreadness and rate at which the information flow occurs. Anything can be uploaded instantly, potentially reaching millions of people in matter of hours or days. Never has spread of information been so fast and easy. In comparison to conventional media, no censorship is present, at least at the time the content has been posted. Oftentimes, when considering content of importance or interest, it may be downloaded or seen by masses, before it can even be censored.

From this follows the second characteristic, which is that, effectively, things can be duplicated and distributed without hindering the original. Unlike the real world, where if I steal a cookie from my friend X, X will no longer be able to enjoy the pleasures of the cookie. However, if I listen to Beethoven's Moonlight sonata on the Internet, no one will be deprived of this experience for the sake of my enjoyment. This also brings the concept of possession and theft into the question. Even though such duplication was already possible with conventional media, the difference that makes Internet special derives from its users. If a media house would stream a video that it doesn't have the rights to stream, it would simply be sued by the author. However, users of Internet are oftentimes people, who do not claim ownership rights or simply distribute material, but can hardly be punished because of loose regulations and incapability of authorities to trace them.

Thirdly, Internet is a relatively anonymous space. Considering its freedom and versatility, in comparison to e.g. radio, where other people choose what you will be told, internet provides its users with high measure of privacy by itself. You are usually not told to provide any personal data, when you visit a webpage and even if you were, in vast majority of cases, dishonesty is still an option frequently opted for. Again, to contrast: If I visit a doctor in pulmonary department, people will see me; doctor will have my data and will listen to my symptoms. Conversely, if I check my symptoms on Wikipedia.org, no one has to know that I've been coughing very frequently in the recent time.

It seems that these things are simply taken for granted by the Internet users.

Whenever some regulation is proposed, reactions are quite vigorous. This has been quite clearly shown on the examples of SOPA, PIPA and ACTA, where large numbers of people have gathered in protest. Supporters of such acts will often argue that by monitoring the content of your web search or restricting some pages, the government is diminishing the democracy of a state.

However, it seems that all the regulations intend to do is prevent potential harm. We have to concede that even though, the Internet has brought many positive attributes to the society e.g. possibility of fast critical dialogue, it has also made

unconstructive or even immoral deeds easier. Many blogs or forums are an ideal site for hate speech, spread of intolerance and insult. Problem is similar to benefit. Even though, hate speech is illegal, censorship is often times too clumsy and comes too late. This in turn means that the possibility to inflict damage on people is greater with the use of Internet as a tool. Also, spread of personal material, uploaded on the Internet can be seen as a problem. Image, uploaded on the internet that may seem funny to some, as it depicts a person in a specific act, e.g. being drunk, lying on the floor at a party, can (and often is) be quickly spread through blogs and webpages, until it gets out of hand. There are examples of so called "memes" which depict a person, whose picture was unfortunately at someone's disposal at the time, with a specific attribute. These images have become symbols of some human characteristics, most probably non-voluntarily. At the end of the day, also downloaded material has to be considered. Many people argue that the term used should be sharing and not stealing, when talking about downloading data illegally. However, it is pretty straightforward that by this the "pirate" reduces the benefit of author himself; therefore he deprives him of something.

These scenarios bring in question the extent to which Internet should be regulated. Probably no one would agree that hate speech on Internet is desired, that a copying and photoshopping picture of other people is desired. However, to regulate such violations strictly, some control of Internet should be needed, unless we assert that every citizen is a vigilante, who will report every violation to the police, which he isn't.

But we then see that the problem with applying regulations to Internet is much greater; because we have to, more or less, regulate it in an all-or-none manner. We cannot know if someone is frequently insulting, unless we engage in an in depth investigation every time there is hate speech present. And here I believe that we have to concede some form of a dichotomy. Either we restrict freedom, to maximize democratic principles, which undoubtedly include a great deal of laws and regulations, or we allow total freedom, but have to acknowledge the fact that many violations will not be mitigated at a soon enough time.

In total freedom on Internet, we cannot expect the equality and respect between people that we can hope for in real life. This derives from a fact that intrinsically people often times do feel superior, or at least want to give that impression to others. Also much intolerance is still present between races, genders, nations etc., and all these are only facilitated by the presence of widespread, unregulated medium. In turn, this hinders the democratic principles of equality and tolerance.

On the other hand, there is a thin line between regulation and control. If we hinder freedom in just a right way, we may achieve greater democracy, but this seems very unlikely to happen, as regulation can soon result in selective censorship, which now not only impedes the principles of freedom and free speech, but also that of democracy again. Probably it is safe to state that selective acceptance of well-argued opinions drifts quite far away from democracy itself.

In conclusion, I believe that democracy is a concept that is very different when talking about Internet. Unlike in real life, the best way to maximize democracy on the Internet is not to regulate and impose it, but let it be embraced by the people themselves at the expense of some injustice, in a way, opting for a lesser harm.

## **Internet – A Dream or a Lawless Abyss?**

*Ivan Koruza*

The Internet is, at least for now, a place of relative freedom. Apart from certain content like child pornography there are few laws in place that actually limit the user. Most of the restrictions actually come from real life consequences of those pages and are not only there because of the content. In this essay I will look at different aspects of this freedom and try to conclude if this freedom is in fact good or should it be limited. I will look at the Internet from three perspectives. Firstly I will consider the moral aspect of a free Internet. I will continue with the analysis of the practical implications of this concept and conclude with an analysis of the current legal implications to this notion. For every point made against a free internet I will first try to discover if a limitation of the internet will solve this problem and then think about the justification of such action.

One strong and very common argument

against a free Internet is the idea that such a free environment will always attract people with questionable motives. These range from pedophiles to bank security hackers and are a constant threat to our society. It is obvious that both of these groups make heavy use of the Internet and it is also apparent that limiting the internet in certain parts would greatly damage their ability to communicate and to reach their victims. However the problem poses itself with the fact that these 'certain parts' are some of the most used features of the Internet, it is therefore impossible to limit these groups without greatly reducing the overall usefulness of the internet. Together with the fact that there are other effective methods of prosecution this greatly undermines any kind of justification for censorship based on such an argument.

The second question posing itself when it comes to the morality of the Internet is the question of copyrighted material and file downloading. Any piece of music, art, literature etc. is, if protected, considered intellectual property and it is forbidden to use it without the consent of the author. The Internet presents an interesting problem on this field. First of all it is very easy to transfer large amounts of data without any cost. This is not just a reason for more law breaching but also punches holes into the logic of information ownership. Before the Internet it was impossible to share such amounts of information without great costs. Therefore it was almost always done as a business with some sort of interest. In other words if someone wanted to publish books, the cost of the entire operation was far too big to be just a hobby or a quest for an informed public. Also acquiring this information, like buying a book, took a lot more time and effort than it does now with the appearance of the Internet. These consequences beckon two important considerations. First of it raises the question if Internet file sharing is giving away information or sharing information. Why libraries are for example allowed to buy a book and then lend it out to people. A library does not have to pay a fee to the writer every time someone borrows the book. What's more they are even allowed to charge a fee for it. The second point raised is the fact that every time someone downloads for example a computer game, the production company loses a customer. On paper this logic seems sound but it has several flaws. The first being the assumption that somebody who downloads

game on the Internet would actually go and buy a copy in the store. First of surveys show that some 75 percent of the people downloading games only do it because it is free and would not actually bother with the game if they had to pay for it. Secondly we can probably assume that some sort of peer sharing would develop between friends so that one copy of the game could be played by several people. While these two points don't negate the 'loosing customers' logic they greatly undermine the negative impacts companies are trying to portray. The amount of customers they are losing is not equal to the amount of people who download the game. At last we need to consider the actual situation. Are companies losing some customers because of the Internet? Yes they are. Is there a way around it? Yes there is. So we are left with a questionable moral justification of intellectual property with practice showing that the negative consequences can easily be avoided.

We have already mentioned that the consequences of the Internet on the entertainment industry are actually positive, but how? If people really download content they would normally pay for, does the industry not lose money? The issue is of course far more complex than that. We will again divide our discussion into 2 parts first we will look at computer games and then at the rest of pop culture and how the Internet affects them.

So is there a way for companies to make money even if the users can download content on the Internet? The answer to this is surprisingly the Internet itself. Most modern games have an Internet component to their gameplay. This shifts some of the game parts on the company servers from the personal computer. This basically means that part of the game is running on the computers of the production company making gameplay without the consent of the company impossible. World of Warcraft is an example of such a game. Peaking at 12 million players this game had a monthly subscription of 15 €. It was however completely Internet based and therefore impossible to download. Which means all 12 million players paid for it, the average player spending 300 € on the game. An now up and coming system of game purchase management is the so called 'micro-transactions' game management. These games don't get



request money to play the game and the games are freely accessible on the official developer's websites. The companies get money from small purchases of in-game items usually of cosmetic nature. For example if you play an imaginary wizard you can buy a purple hat instead of a red one. While this may sound counter intuitive at first the system is very successful with more and more games joining in. The system is based on the fact that because the game is free to play everyone will download and try it. The calculation is that even if only 5 out of 100 people actually buy a different hat, the company still makes more money than the company which charges for playing since only 1 out of the 100 people bought the game. The system has spawned the most successful game ever launched called 'League of Legends'. Currently at 34 million players 'LoL' is still on the rise and making more money for its publisher Riot Games than any game ever before.

So we can see that the games are not really the product the company makes anymore. They can be viewed as a sort of advertisement to sell the company's product, in our case a purple hat. A similar concept can be seen in the music and film industry. While these industries are a lot slower to adapt probably because they are older and established in contrast to the video game industry, they are already shifting their focus from trying to prevent piracy into using free downloading as a 'free sample' which helps to sell their product. Videos on the site 'You tube' are a great example of this.

The practical use of Internet to companies should therefore be clear. I will not go into length on the educational value of the Internet. Courtesy to this is the sheer amount of university and science work being shared and consumed over the Internet. There are few who claim the Internet is not a great addition to the learning and academic process and their views are generally rejected as unsupported. Also the Internet is a very democratic media by nature as it is created by the people. We have already seen paramount change regarding democratic movement with the help of the Internet. The Arab spring and Chinese freedom fighters can serve as excellent examples. The Internet and above all a free Internet is a great medium for the sharing of ideas and values and is

therefore irreplaceable for our society.

At the end we should take a look at the way current legislation handles these issues. First of all there are certain contents which are already banned on the internet. An example of this is child pornography. But the important thing to note here is that this content is not specifically banned for the things it portrays but because it necessarily implies that basic human rights were broken. Cartoons depicting minor's having sexual intercourse are not banned for example because of that we can conclude that child pornography is banned because children are forced to perform these acts in real life and not because of the depiction of such acts on the internet. So what are the rules regarding content on the Internet? The current consensus is that if a site wishes to contain questionable content it has to warn the user before he enters. So sites with adult content have to have a warning that only adults should enter these sites. Apart from that there is little limitation regarding what can be posted on the Internet. When it comes to copyrighted material the situation is more complicated and less clear. Some countries consider Internet piracy a crime and prosecute downloaders. In most countries the person or company who provides the downloaded content is considered the criminal. The most liberal way countries handle is that they allow peer to peer downloading as long as nobody makes any kind of profit from the deal, much like a library.

So do we support Internet freedom or should we limit the free use of Internet. The internet definitely provides some room for criminals to work in, however we can safely say that the benefits it provides greatly outweigh these abuses, to borrow a term from Roman law 'Abusus no tollit usum'. Secondly we can conclude that in fact the question of intellectual property is not black and white and there are examples from non-internet life which support information sharing. While some companies do lose some customers there are ways to make even more money with the use of the Internet and we should not be providing companies with excuses for not developing new business models. Lastly an undisputed fact is that the Internet is the only truly democratic media, which supports sharing ideas like no other. So we can conclude that the arguments made by the members of our society who wish to limit the internet do have some weight, however there are

strong points to be made against every concern raised and together with the amazing ability of the internet to spread ideas we can safely say that the internet should remain as free as possible.

## **Kaj nam ACTA pove o demokraciji v Evropi?**

*Miha Medvešek*

ACTA je bila vsekakor fascinanten sporazum 84 straneh mučnega branja. Acte sem o tej pravniški mojstrovini vedel toliko kot prej: ni vsi drugi akterji so vedeli prav vse, in krčevi opozarjali na posledice; razprava je bila še kako živa in goreča. Na eni strani so nam podporniki čarali idilo. Oteženo naj bi postalo trgovanje s ponarejenimi proizvodi, česar morali biti veseli prav vsi. Ljudstvo se ni dalo. Med protestom v Ljubljani 4. februarja smo videli transparente, kot so "Acta = Gestapo" "Raje sem truplo upornika kakor života brezglasu." Nekaj je bilo močno narobe.

Tedne kasneje je Evropski parlament razbil zadnje upe zagovornikov Acte. Svet je šel naprej, a sam o Acti nisem nehal razmišljati. Pamet mi ni prišlo, kako se lahko zgodi, da en zakon interpretiran na stotine povsem različnih načinov. Ni mi bilo logično kako je lahko tak sporazum prišel tako daleč, kljub takšnemu nasprotovanju ljudi. Ni mi bilo jasno. Naj bo Acta dobra ali slaba, nekaj je bilo močno narobe.

Problem ni bila Acta, problem je bila demokracija oziroma pomankanje le te. Acta bila posledica, ne vzrok. Sistem skozi katere se je premelela Acta in sistem v katerem se je njej pogovarjal enostavno ni kazal lastnosti znakov, ki se nam pričarajo v glavi ko zasliši besedo demokracija. Pokazalo se je, da netransparentnost v političnih procesih še kar obstaja, da je pristnega dialoga v naši družbi malo, hkrati pa izpostavila vrsto drugih problemov, ki jih bom orisal v tem eseju, a k temu izpostavila tudi nove rešitve.

Posebej problematična se mi je zdela interpretacija Acte. Ko se napiše nek zakon, sporazum, ali kakršnokoli pravno listino, ki k določenemu dejanju zavezuje več strani, naj ponavadi povsem jasno za kaj gre. Nato jo podlagi naših vrednot in načel sprejememo, v kolikor menimo, da ob sprejetju naša družba naredi korak naprej. V tem primeru ni bilo jasno za kaj gre. Posamezniki so jo interpretirali na mnoge načine. Vsekakor si nobena civilizirana družba ne more privoščiti sprejemanja sporazumov, ki so nejasni. To je zagotovo izredno slabo, saj lahko tako služijo tistemu čemur si negdo zaželi, da morajo služiti. Še

hujše je to zaradi dejstva, da si ljudje ob poplavi nasprotujočih informacij težje predstavljajo za kaj gre, a v tem primeru so oprijeli predvsem skrajnega pogleda, ki ga promoviral Anonymous.

A Evropska komisija se ni dala in kmalu zato izdala dokument *10 mitov o Acti*. Na tej točki kot so dejali, nam bi moralo biti vse jasno, dvomov o pomenu ne bi smeli imeti več. A tu če bi to bilo res, še zmeraj naletimo na situacijo ki o naši družbi ne pove nič dobrega. Če je vse jasno, bi morali pričakovati umirjeno razpravo na visokem nivoju. Tega nismo bili deležni. Podporniki so Acto prikazali kot ne nujnega v današnjem svetu, tisti proti pa so strašili povsod naokrog, kako gre sporazum proti osnovnim človekovim pravicam. Če je Acta res jasna, kot nam je hotela povedati Evropska komisija, kako je potem možno da strani zagovarjata tako nasprotujoči si stališča? Če so imeli prav podporniki, bi to pomenilo se je celotno gibanje proti Acti zateklo v uporabo strašenja in skrajne retorike. Če so imeli prav tisti, ki so Acti nasprotovali, je to pomenilo, da so predlagatelji enostavno laž o vseh učinkih sporazuma. Kdorkoli je imel pravega je povsem vseeno, v vsakem primeru je ena strani uporabljala metode, ki si jih v demokratični družbi ne bi smeli privoščiti in zaskrbljujoče je, da takšne metode politične propagande še zmeraj vztrajajo v političnem prostoru.

Ne glede na jasnosti in nejasnosti Acte, medij vsekakor niso znali odigrati prave vloge. Naloga medijev v demokratični družbi je, da prikažejo kaj se dogaja in ljudem v luči res osvetlijo dogajanje, ker demokracije lahko deluje le, če so posamezniki ozaveščeni o dogajanju v svetu okoli njih. Problem je bil, mediji niso nikoli jasno definirali in razložili Acte. Sprejeli so razlage drugih, a le te so druga za drugo prihajali iz različnih interesnih skupin, zato so bile razlage mnogokrat neobširne in pristranske. Mediji, bi morali v skladu s principi svoje neodvisnosti te stvari narediti sami. Po drugi strani, pa so mediji naredili tudi boljše poteze. Podpis Acte veleposlanice Helene Drnovšek Zorko je bil vsekakor obravnavan na kritičen način. Kljub temu, so se na žalost spet znašli nekateri mediji predvsem Večer, ki so podpis obravnavali povsem senzacionalistično.

Posebej pomembna stvar, ki se je še enkrat potrdila je, da si "predstavniki ljudstva" tega naziva mnogokrat ne zaslužijo. Usklajevanje Acte je v samem začetku potekalo samo med Japonsko in ZDA, nato pa so se na 9 kratkih srečanjih zbrali še predstavniki drugih držav. V samem začetku je bila Acta spisana tako,

ugaja velikim korporacijam, predvsem tistim farmacevtske industrije, ki je bila glavna pri lobiranju. Vsa usklajevanja so potekala v ozki daleč stran od oči javnosti. Prvič ko se je za govorilo o Acti, je bilo šele po podpisu veleposlanice na Japonsem. To vsekakor pomeni, da se lahko ob privatnih interesih "demokratične strukture" izrablja v osebne namene.

Kljub temu le te niso povsem odpovedale. Če pritisku javnosti in ob realizaciji morebitnih posledic Acte, se je diskurz spremenil. Proti je stopila večina strank, zavrnil jo je Evropski parlament, Drnovšek Zorko pa je izrazila globoko obžalovanje, kar je povrnilo nekaj upanja v delovanje te institucije.

Ključna pri tem je vsekakor bila predvsem iz nasprotovanje Acti. Čez 3000 ljudi je protestiralo v Ljubljani, v Mariboru pa se jih zbralo okoli 400. Te številke so dokazale, da ljudem ni vseeno. Še posebej je bilo pomembno dejstvo, da je bilo med protestniki veliko števil mladih. To je resno dokazalo, da mladi niso pasivni državljani in da jim ni vseeno za državno politiko. Posebej se mi zdi pomembno dejstvo, da je tukaj šlo za ohranjanje svobode interneta. Ker marsikateri mladi zaradi deljenja svojega političnega mnenja uporabljajo prav internet, so se zganili predvsem zato, ker bi ta platforma lahko ob sprejetju Acte izgubila svojo moč.

Tudi zato nismo videli protestov le na ulicah ampak so se dogajali tudi na internetu sajer Anonymous je bil tukaj glavni igralec. V sporočilu na YouTubeu so dejali: "Slovenskim vladnim uradnikom, ki so se na televiziji bal da se nas ne bojijo, sporočamo: 4. februarja boste videli, da mislimo resno." Tistega dne vdrli v strežnik NLB, saj so banko izpostavili glavo korupcije v Sloveniji. Vladnih strani ni napadli, so pa sporočili, da bi ob morebitni ratifikaciji Acte to naredili. Anonymous se je tako izkazal za močeno silo, saj smo videli, da lahko z njihovimi akcijami osmeši in onesposobi delovanje institucije. Hkrati je dal protestniki sporočilo, da za njimi stoji sila, ki lahko vpliva na dogajanje. To je bilo posebej pomembno. Anonymous ni imel samo moči, ampak tudi moralno avtoriteto, ki si jo je pridobil s podobnimi akcijami za boljšo družbo v preteklosti.

Če pogledamo Acto, lahko rečemo, da je opozorila na mnogo problemov v naši družbi. Videli smo da sporazumi lahko nastanejo v senci političnega dogajanja, da lahko služijo v dobro le določenim akterjem in da so takšni dokumenti lahko zelo nejasni. A demokracija se ni podrla. Slišali smo močan glas ljudi in videli številne

proteste ter nove načine političnega boja kot je haktivizem. Tako je Acta padla in se le neslavno zapisala v zgodovino. Konec dober, vse dobro, bi rekli nekateri, a s tem se ne morem strinjati. Videli smo luknje v sistemu in če hočemo demokracijo, je treba te luknje nujno zakrpati, saj le to vodi v boljši svet.

## Anonymous – resnica za masko svobode

Manja Munda

Guy Fawkes, ime marsikomu neznano, a pogosto skrito za podobo danes zagotovo najbolj slavne hekerske mreže »Anonymous«. Združba, ki se skriva za obrazom propadlega atentatorja iz leta 1605, se je v zadnjih letih razvila iz peščice ljudi, ki odločno zavračajo cenzuro, v tisoč glavo množico, ki protestira proti tiraniji elite. Sami člani te organizacije delujejo v anarhiji in se postavljajo z geslom, da smo del »Anonymousa« vsi in nas ne morejo uničiti, saj so ideje neuničljive. Že prvi pomislek ob uspešnosti delovanja skupine je razviden iz dejstva, da »Anonymous« ne služijo več prvotnemu namenu – hekerizmu, temveč so se razširili na vsa področja, kjer ljudje čutijo, da je potrebno nekaj spremeniti. Tako smo jih lahko videli kot glavne aktiviste v protestih proti obsodbi v zadevi The Pirate Bay, Megaupload, SOPA, verjetno enem izmed slavnejših protestov »Occupy Wall street«, skupina pa je prav tako asociirana z mnogimi »cyber« napadi na Pentagon, vladami po svetu, FBI-jem, in še precej sveže izveden atentat na GoDaddys Domain Name Server, ki je vplival na mala podjetja po celotnem svetu. Četudi je marsikdo ponosen samooklican član skupine, še vedno ostaja dvom v digitalne Robin Hoodove in njihova dejanja. Vsaka zgodba ima dve plati in tako se poraja vprašanje ali je hitro rastoča družba anonimnih naš heroj ali jim tega, da kršijo zakone s hekanjem preprosto ne moremo odpustiti? Jim bo uspelo prinesiti svobodo?

Najprej ne moremo spregledati dejstva, da je Anonymous vpleten v dejanja, ki zadevajo celotno geo-politično sfero. Po izpustu podatkov s strani Wikileaks, ki je prav tako znana organizacija, ki se bori proti cenzuri dogajanja v državah, je Anonymous odigral precej veliko vlogo v pomlad Arabskih narodov. V primeru Tunizije so pomagali revolucionarjem z blokiranjem strani (najpogostejša tehnika delovanja DDoS), ki niso podpirale vstaje in

jih oskrbovali s podatki, tudi po pobegu Ben Alija iz države. V teh okvirjih bi se lahko strinjali, da počnejo nekaj boljšega. A vendar, kako lahko podpirajo svobodo, ko pa ne dovolijo ljudem, da bi svobodno mislili? Podpiranje revolucije v Arabskih državah je seveda »pravilno« dejanje, tega skoraj ne moremo zanikati, vprašanje pa je, če je način vdiranja v medmrežje tisti podporni kamen, ki bo rešil male ljudi? Njihovo posredovanje je obrodilo sadove, vendar so s tem, da ljudem niso dali možnosti videti protirevolucionarnih strani, padli v paradoks s svojo najvišjo vrednoto – svobodo. Niso dopustili, da bi ljudje dostopali do vseh informacij, četudi bi to pomenilo, da so podporniki sistema. V želji, da dosežejo boljši svet, so tako kršili temelj demokracije, temelj človečnosti in ultimativni cilj njih samih. Morda je to žrtev, ki jo moramo sprejeti za boljši svet, a potemtakem bi Anonymous morali stati za gesli »za male ljudi«, proti cenzuri, kot je bila tudi originalna ideja za skupino, definitivno pa ne za pojmom svoboda, kot so definirali v zadnjem intervjuju za Al Jazeera.

V naslednjem koraku se moramo vseeno vprašati, če je njihovo poseganje v svobodo izbire in dostopanja podatkov lahko utemeljeno? Četudi je v modernem svetu vrednota svobode že skoraj izrabljena s strani zagovornikov sovražnega govora, ki se vedno znova sklicujejo na svobodo govora, nam že racionalna misel pove, da je tudi naša svoboda do določene mere uokvirjena, saj se konča, ko z njo kršimo pravice in svoboščine druge osebe, kot je to tudi jasno vzpostavljeno z zakoni, ki nam omogočajo lažje življenje. V primeru Tunizije to sicer ni zadeva, saj z dostopanjem do protirevolucionarnih strani ne posegamo v svobodo drugega, še manj pa zgolj obstoj strani ne more škoditi naši možnosti izbire. Na drugi strani je ravno ta poseg v svobodo izbire pripeljal do večje izobraženosti množice, s preusmerjanjem pozornosti na dejansko dogajanje v državi in jih tako povezal z enako mislečimi. Odločitev, če so imeli Anonymous res pravico blokirati strani, tako ostane v rokah posameznika. Zagotovo pa so s tem dejanjem spodleteli z zagovarjanjem lastnih vrednot.

Jim lahko spregledamo to, da padajo v nasprotje sami s seboj? Popolnost je meja, ki je ne moremo pričakovati in tudi Anonymous lahko počnejo napake, saj so

brez vodstva in določenega manifesta. Na drugi strani pa s takšnimi kontradiktornimi dejanji vplivajo na podobo samih. Z zagovarjanjem čistih svoboščin s kršenjem le-teh je le vprašanje časa, kdaj se bo pričela krhat zaveza, v kateri se sprehajajo po tanki meji z utemeljenostjo svojih akcij. V statusu quo so zaradi anonimnosti marsikdaj žrtve zlorabe. Vsak z masko je lahko njihov pripadnik, ideje pa morda niso vedno v skladu s prvotnim poslanstvom. Tako najdemo na internetu marsikatero grožnjo s strani samooklicanih pripadnikov, ki dosega ekstreme in zgražanje med množico. Kako lahko potem ločimo lažne Anonymous-e od tistih, ki so dejansko pripadniki prvotne ideje? To je vprašanje na katerega do sedaj nimamo jasnega odgovora, tako da je to stvar Anonimnih, da v dobro svojega »poslanstva« razjasnijo kaj natančno je njihov cilj. Hekanje vladnih strani? Hekanje strani multinacionalk? Organiziranje protestov proti vladajočemu sistemu? Seveda je vse te stvari težko doreči brez vodje in sistema znotraj organizacije, čemur se vztrajno izogibajo. Jasno je tudi, da bi v trenutku ko bi iz anarhije prešli v organiziranost, propadli pod roko pravice, ki bi zagotovo kaznovala blokiranje in vdiranje v spletne strani kot kriminalno dejanje.

Analiza dejanj prikaže, da slaba organiziranost hektivistov pripelje do kršenja svobode in še pomembneje, kršenja njihovega lastnega poslanstva. Na tej točki je nujno izpostaviti, da kljub vsemu počnejo nekaj pomembnega za današnjo družbo – pošiljajo sporočilo. Kratkoročno blokiranje spletnih strani multinacionalk tako samo po sebi ne prinese prevelike škode. Izgubi se del profita, kar pa je samo kaplja v morju dobička, ki ga letno proizvedejo žrtve napada hektivistov. Zakaj je torej tako pomembno, da to počnejo? Pošiljajo sporočilo, ne le CEO-jem, temveč tudi širši množici, da je nekaj narobe z dogajanjem v podjetjih in ne nazadnje tudi v državi. S takšnimi dejanji pritegnejo pozornost medijev, ki poročajo o blokiranju strani. Javnost, ki se morda prej ni zavedala, da obstaja kakšen problem, postane tako bolj pozorna. Vodje firm ali države se zavejo, da ljudje niso zadovoljni in je potrebno nekaj spremeniti. Na žalost v realnosti ne požanjejo aplavza s strani ljudi, ki bi morali podati stoječo ovacijo takšnim sporočilom in jih videti kot priložnost za izboljšavo. Najbolj znano sporočilo, ki so ga želeli podati je zagotovo to, da se

ljudje ne strinjajo s sistemom vodenja države, s kapitalizmom. To smo lahko videli v protestih Occupy Wall Street, kjer protestniki niso pričakovali sprememb, niso imeli izboljšav, a so vendar stali in vztrajali na tem, da je v sistemu v katerem 1 % ljudi drži v rokah večino bogastva nekaj zelo narobe. Ljudje, ki so predstavljali 99%, so tako podali sporočilo, ki pa je bilo slišano po celem svetu. Podobne situacije v bistveno manjših razsežnostih se še pojavljajo v The Pirate Bay primeru, kjer so Anonymous podporniki po obsodbi soustanoviteljev zaradi kršenja avtorskih pravic zagnali blokiranje strani International Federation of the Phonographic Industry, organizacije odgovorne za spoštovanje pravic glasbenikov in umetnikov, saj so jih imenovali za parazite. Večina dobička v glasbeni industriji se pridobiva skozi koncerte in pojavljanjem v javnosti, tako je postalo sporno, če internetno piratstvo sploh povzroča takšno škodo ali samo promovira glasbenike, kateri razprodajajo polne stadione kart ljudem, ki so v stik z njihovo glasbo najverjetneje prišli prav preko interneta.

Anonymous je skupina, ki je razširjena na veliko sfer v današnji družbi, predvsem pa predstavlja simbol upora proti krivicam. Kdo so ljudje za masko in kaj želijo? Ob koncu eseja lahko tako trdim, da smo za masko vsi, ki se borimo proti cenzuri in napakah v političnih sistemih. Skupina hekerjev se je tako razvila do kulturnega simbola, ki pa brez spremembe v samem delovanju najverjetneje ne bo zdržal. Želijo svobodo in jo tudi prinašajo, a za svojo ceno. Še več, v družbo pošiljajo sporočilo, tako državam Arabske pomladi, kot tudi državam zahodnega sveta, da je čas za boj za drugačen sistem. Brez maske so samo hekerji, ki kršijo zakone in prihajajo v navzkriž z največjimi vodji, z masko pa postanejo ideja.

**Hello Democracy, Goodbye ACTA**  
*Petra Petan*

Reading media coverage of the ACTA dispute, one is left with the impression that there are two forces in the world: the bad guys (needless to say with corporate background) forcing ACTA upon us to enslave humanity and obliterate the last traces of a free thinking human mind in a Matrix-like spectacle and then there are the good guys – altruistic activists firmly believing in the free flow of information



which equals democracy which equals the betterment of society at large. It frighteningly resembles a very bad debating round; with the two so-called black and white argumentative lines jumping from one statement to the next without any decent analysis, let alone mechanism.

As I learned from a couple of articles from the New York Times and the Guardian, the many millions of people who signed petitions against this international Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement believe it would stifle internet freedom and infringe on their sacred rights of free speech and unmonitored communication, that it would allow the internet providers to censor and remove unwanted content and on a broader scale, seriously impede the democratic process – also by the mere fact that they, as the representatives of the civil society, have been excluded from negotiations kept behind the closed doors for many years before the leakage. Logically stemming from this is that ACTA is something people would naturally oppose, as the majority does. But on what grounds? I'm not suggesting we shouldn't flinch at the ideas such as the threat to freedom of speech, just that we should first get enough concrete facts to connect the dots between the content of the treaty and such conclusions. It seems we will have to do that by ourselves; the media have again proven inadequate in providing arguments that go beyond sound bites such as Hello Democracy, Goodbye ACTA.

Similarly, its proponents haven't provided any more in-depth analysis. Statements such as "ACTA is about enforcing existing intellectual property rights and about acting against large-scale infringements often pursued by criminal organizations, and not about pursuing individual citizens" don't offer any answers as to how and why. What is it about this treaty that could apparently be interpreted both ways? What ingredient that the legislators find not only harmless but necessary worries the activists so much? I'm sure we can all imagine, but the media just won't fill out the blanks for us. And it's not enough just to imagine and blindly embrace a position that seems more in sync with our political convictions. Believing everything or disagreeing with everything are equally comfortable positions: both don't require any thinking on our part. It seems the media are encouraging us to do just that:

sit back and relax, absorbing weak arguments appealing to our pre-constructed notions of life, while the unelected policy makers go undisturbed about their jobs, passing laws and accepting treaties we honestly know nothing about.

### Some Notes on Intellectual Property *Boštjan Petrič*

All roads lead to Rome, and if pressed to write down a free flow of associations on the theme of copyright, one would eventually get to »USA« as the term that links together all the otherwise dissociated threads: companies, judicial battles, brand names, so much that decides the copyright politics of today can be traced back to a single origin. Hence, it would do good to first present some examples of the US legal system \*not\* providing copyright protection: starting, perhaps, with Cuba, the last country in the world still restricted from economic relations with USA under the Trading with the Enemy Act of 1917. According to the act, all copyright of Cuban citizens' works belongs to the American state, which then decides to whom to transfer it further on. (This was also the case with citizens of Nazi Germany during WWII and due to this act, the US is one of the few places in the world where Mein Kampf can be printed and sold freely, without fear of litigation from the State of Bavaria, since the States' government sold its rights in the 70s. A brief reference to Lenin's quote that a capitalist will sell you the rope with which you'll hang him, might be in order.) In another kind of situation, the American government owns the copyright in the first place, and then decides to pass it on freely: such is the case with images made by NASA (i.e., its telescopes and probes), which can be used and disseminated free of charge. These surprising manifestations of, respectively, hatred and altruism, have a common unifier which is that copyright is not a universal, god-given right, from which I'd like to start this essay.

Perhaps the main question to be asked is »Does copyright really work?«, i.e. is it a) fair and b) does it incentivize scientific, cultural and industrial production, thus supposedly also working for the common good. In support of the first of these statements, advocates conjure up the images of the starving artist and the poverty-stricken scientist, both receiving no

kind of compensation for their outstanding work. Crude – too crude, indeed, since the quintessential examples of such failures date to the time \*after\* widespread copyright enforcement began. Just think of Nikola Tesla or, to those familiar with Slovene literary tradition, the poets in Cukarna. Apparently, the system failed when it comes to fairness then, and still does now, in the sense that authors don't get their just desserts. Who does, then? Why, the large businesses which own the copyright, of course. In another historical quirk, when the legal criteria for personhood were expanded in the aftermath of the US civil war to account for former slaves, companies were the ones to grasp this unfortunate opportunity to declare themselves as legal persons, with all the rights of actual living ones. What happens today is absurd, but completely legal: the patent produced by a group of engineers does not belong to these individuals in any way, but merely to the company which they designed it for. Even worse, it is completely legal for companies to buy and sell their patents, where the buyer ends up with the same rights as the original claimant. This may still make sense on the lowest level, but when thousands of patents are shifted in bulk between companies, the sense wanes somewhat. With respect to this, the second above point may also be answered negatively, i.e. the function of copyright protection as an incentive for further work is clearly absent when so much of the individual's work is transferred away from them, to an impersonal organization (a reference to Marx' theory of alienation would clearly be in order here). This doesn't only work with engineering, but also e.g. with writers who transfer a significant amount of copyright to publishing houses. Hence, does the system at least work with reference to the large conglomerates, which would otherwise put less effort into building research teams or producing new movies? Here, one might say no both with regard to theory and practice. In theory, less copyright protection gives less of an opportunity for a company to rest on its laurels and merely collect royalties from its previous endeavors without producing anything new, thus providing considerable stimulation. In practice, one would be pressed hard to find any significant decrease in movie or music production in the last few years despite the widespread use of downloading (reasons: most revenue

is still generated from concerts and cinema performances, increasingly so in case of smaller productions, and as long as a profit is generated, it in a sense doesn't matter if it's 10 or 100 percent). Lastly, the question may be asked whether the copyright system would at least work in its ideal form, i.e. in a system where all the revenue went to the actual individual producers. Wouldn't this be the best possible system?

What I want to argue as the key point of the essay is that this is not necessarily so. Firstly, for obvious historical reasons, as property rights seem to get concentrated quickly into the hands of a select few. But let's look at the matter from the point of view of productions that, one might say, cannot be traced to a closed set of individuals (to which copyright would then be extended), but must necessarily be run by an organization – e.g. the production of large movies. What to do in this case? I would suggest a stronger role of the state, in accordance with the model already present in several states which put a high emphasis on national culture and cultural production (again, the Slovene example is the one I'm most familiar with). The idea is that since cultural production in the Slovene language is the cornerstone of citizens' national identity, it should be supported financially for its own sake – this means that the state not only subsidizes films and book printings, but also finances culture workers' trips abroad and, most importantly, often provides cheap housing and state pensions to prominent individuals. Thus, the idea is this – what if the state put each prominent artistic, cultural, scientific or technological producer on its paycheck, which was related to how much they produced (thus keeping the incentive), but in return demanded that within the borders of the state, these people's productions should be free of copyright protection, i.e. one could use and disseminate them free of charge. With regard to culture, this would make domestic cultural production considerably more financially accessible to the citizen, thus fulfilling the role of the state. Within the realms of science and technology, on the other hand, it would give domestic companies a considerable advantage over foreign ones in being able to use whatever cutting-edge technology the country's researchers produced without being burdened by costs (especially important for start-ups), thus increasing their productivity, which would generate extra tax money for the state and once

again justify such a partial abolition of copyright. Lastly, I claim that while this strategy may seem restrictive towards the actual producers (the fact that the USSR had a similar system wouldn't exactly attract applause), this is again not necessarily the case. I claim that any true scientist or artist will favor to spend their time working in their field than dealing with finances, yet in a world where scraping together a living is harsh one cannot do otherwise but try to squeeze as much copyright money out of their creations as possible. The model I propose would allow people to focus full-heartedly on their work while being provided with constant financial security and stimulation for increased effort. Instead of repeating the mantras of intellectual property rights, this is what a responsible 21st century state should indeed be doing.

## **ACTA 2.0: Reframing and Rethinking the Political Discourse Following the Rejection of ACTA**

*Teo Radetič*

The social reality of modern societies is not just mirrored, but also created, by the mass media. The media discourse surrounding an issue does not objectively mediate between the facts of an event and the media consumer, thus facilitating in a clinical or scientific manner the transfer of knowledge from the former to the later. Rather, it distorts, misrepresents and abandons the authenticity of the real, to create and fabricate a self-proclaimed reality, which – when portrayed by the media – stands in front of the viewer more real than reality itself. Anyone seeking to unveil the truth must, therefore, take a step back from an issue and scrutinize its many aspects before accepting the discourse surrounding it.

It is within this sceptical framework of withholding presumptuous conclusions that I wish to analyze the aftermath of rejecting ACTA (The Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement) within the EU, as to elucidate the nature of the underpinning political culture, which led to it. It is not my intention to side with either the proponents or opponents of the multinational treaty as to whether the rejection or ratification of ACTA would have been more detrimental for our common future in terms of civic, legal, pragmatic or economic aspects. Instead, I wish to delve deeper into the

process of rejecting ACTA, unveiling it and thus arguing it bears testament to an undemocratic, uninformed and egotistical political culture.

In order to make my argument, I must first clarify the multifaceted process, which led to the rejection of ACTA. Despite the endorsement from the European Committee, 22 EU member states signing (but not ratifying) ACTA and an overwhelming support from the business and economic sector, ACTA was rejected by the European Parliament on 4 July 2012 following five prior parliamentary commissions all issuing recommendations against the ACTA treaty. Beforehand, on 12 April 2012, David Martin, the current European rapporteur for ACTA, argued strongly against the treaty, for its harms allegedly outweighed the benefits, and added "given the vagueness of certain aspects of the text and the uncertainty over its interpretation, the European Parliament cannot guarantee adequate protection for citizens' rights in the future under ACTA." His predecessor, Kader Arif, resigned from his position on 26 January 2012 stating "I want to send a strong signal and alert the public opinion about this unacceptable situation. I will not take part in this masquerade.", thus further fueling the anti-ACTA sentiment rooted in the hostility towards the secrecy and lack of political transparency, which allegedly characterized the signing of ACTA. Foregoing the rejection, Europe witnessed an outburst of numerous internet and public protests spurring across several cities and countries demanding either the local government or the EU rejected ACTA and stopped in its attempts to regulate the internet, for such actions violate the fundamental civil and digital rights, including freedom of expression and communication privacy.

Thus the public discourse, which was reported by the media, centred around three themes: (1) the perseverance of fundamental privacy rights, which would supposedly have been alienated if ACTA was ratified and thus made legally binding, (2) the repair of the undemocratic process, which allegedly lacked transparency and accountability for it excluded the European Parliament and public from the decision-making process, (3) the awakening of the general public interest for civil issues. As I mentioned before, independently of whether rejecting

ACTA was good or bad, I believe the process has been misrepresented in the public discourse, and the rejection is indicative of our undemocratic, uninformed and egotistical political culture.

The process was undemocratic for even though the rejection was achieved through what seem democratic mechanisms (protests vocalizing the peoples' political will, the European Parliament using its veto power to overrule the European Committee's decisions), it lacked the establishment of a necessary and pivotal democratic mechanism: accountability.

Through the rejection of ACTA no mechanisms have been established to prevent the further alienation of the public from the decision-making processes of their governments or EU institutions. Even more, no call was made for the establishment of such mechanisms in the future, be that via a higher media surveillance and reporting, special committees or even increased interest in the current working of beforementioned structures. The lack of accountability is exemplified even further by the insequentness of ACTA's rejection, because currently, the issue of regulating intellectual property remains not tackled and the sanctity of internet freedom has not been set in stone.

Moreover, other ACTA signatories (for instance USA and Japan), with whom the EU is in established trade agreements, will influence EU's economic policy-making once they ratify ACTA, for the EU will continue to economically collaborate with them, thus the member states will have to indirectly abide to certain aspects of ACTA anyways. Because of the lack of accountability it seems that the treaty's rejection was but a short stop on the way of political elites achieving their goals, thus showing that the political culture of ACTA's rejection is characterized by an undemocratic process.

Further, I believe the process of the treaty's rejection shows how uninformed our political culture is. Content-wise it is clear from the reasons cited for accepting/rejecting the treaty: ranging from politicians, such as (among others) Helena Drnovšek-Zorko, Slovenian ambassador to Japan, who signed ACTA »out of civic carelessness«, because she »did not pay enough attention«, to protesters who foamed only about internet censorship, while the public discussion lacked information about other aspects of ACTA (e.g., disproportionate enforcement

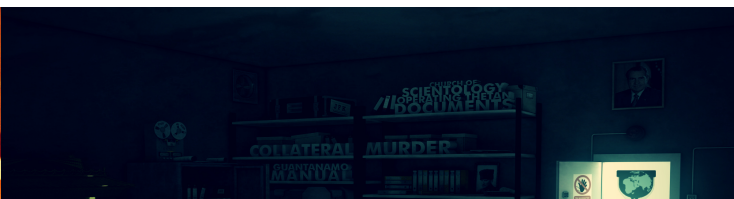
provisions, criminalization of generic medicine, intellectual property legislation abiding to physical goods)<sup>1</sup>. The media discourse around the treaty was epitomized by being centred on contents, which were either lacking the full scope of ACTA or failed to address the scope of ACTA beyond internet censorship. Likewise, even outside of the treaty's content, the uninformed discourse is exemplified by the lack of knowledge about political structures and mechanisms, which are necessary to prevent ACTA being put in place, as shown in the paragraph above.

Lastly, even if one accepted the treaty's rejection as a democratic and informed act, one cannot argue that it was not a sign of an egotistical political culture. On a very superficial level, since the official treaty rejection by the European Parliament, the media, the former protesters and even civil-right groups ceased discussions about ACTA. However, the process of accepting ACTA by other countries has not ceased as a consequence. Thus, one can infer, the fundamental and inalienable rights to privacy and internet freedom, which were so absolute and worth fighting for, are not interesting anymore, once the 'masquerade' has been prevented in our region, once our rights are seemingly secured and our people are allegedly protected. The sudden lack of will to fight for the rights of others just indicates how the political fight for securing the so called »fundamental civil rights« was empty rhetoric justifying the protection of one's own rights. If our political culture were to be truly based on ideas of rights, which are absolute and inalienable, this would not have happened; rather one can only conclude it denotes an egotistical political culture. This is evident on an even deeper level if we scrutinize the content of the media discourse surrounding ACTA in the EU. As mentioned above, the discourse revolved around privacy rights being violated, while the question of countless people dying in case generic medicine would become criminalized, therefore its trademarked (more expensive) equivalent would have taken over the market, which would not be (as) accessible to developing countries, did not even factor in the public protesters' outrage or the politicians decision-making processes. Again, I am not arguing that the criminalization of generic medicine is a now avoided consequence of ACTA, but I am arguing that given the non-governmental organization Médecins Sans Frontières and

the former rapporteur Kader Arif strongly argued about the danger of generic medicine criminalization, there must be a reason why this issue did not enter (or at least not even close to the same extent) the EU discourse about ACTA as did internet censorship. I firmly believe this reason is the general disinterest in rights violations which do not apply to the general European individual, for (s)he is not at threat of losing her/his health security.

In conclusion, I can hardly view ACTA as a success story of modern democracy, as a stepping stone to future more direct democratic mechanisms via the internet, or as an epitome of the reawakened European electorate, fueled by the passion for civil rights. I see the story of ACTA as a misframed and not thoroughly thought misrepresentation; a false discourse, which – when unveiled – shows the true masquerade Kader Arif was so worried about. A masquerade of an undemocratic, uninformed and egotistical political culture, which I find worrisome, if not frightening.





## Young Slovenian Researchers at Work

Two studies on political participation and privacy on the Internet made by Slovenian high school students

### Political Participation of the Youth in the Pomurje Region

Politična participacija mladih v Pomurju

Zoran Fijavž

#### Abstract

Slovenia is undergoing modernization. This is shown in the individualisation of people's behaviour, ranging from the field of food to preferences for specific forms of political participation. Since the beginning of the economic crisis and more intensely in 2012 Slovenia is facing a shift in its democratic culture and thus new forms of engagement, or lack thereof, are being created. The aim of this report is to unveil the processes unwinding in the stagnating region of Pomurje. The assumptions of the influence of gender, economic status and family ties are applied to the context of Pomurje. Finally, the data is also compared with the contemporary findings of Mladina from 2010.

*Key words: political participation, youth, Pomurje, Slovenia, Mladina 2010, factors of political participation, forms of political participation*

#### Povzetek

Slovenija se sooča z modernizacijo. Odsev tega je individualizacija obnašanja posameznikov od prehrane pa do politične participacije. Hkrati pa se od začetka ekonomske krize leta 2008 in še intenzivneje leta 2012 Slovenija spogleduje z obnovitvijo demokratične kulture ter posledično ustvarja nove oblike dinamike med državljani ter državnimi organi. Pri raziskovanju me zanima, kakšni procesi se odvijajo v stagnirajoči regiji Pomurja. Preko analize dejavnikov spola, ekonomskega statusa ter družine preverjam veljavnost različnih razlag politične participacije v kontekstu Prekmurja. Prav tako primerjam pridobljene podatke z obstoječimi izsledki raziskave Mladina 2010.

*Ključne besede: politična participacija, mladi, Pomurje, Slovenija, Mladina 2010, dejavniki politične participacije, oblike politične participacije.*

[Click here for full text \(in Slovenian\)](#)

### Fairness on the Internet and Unauthorized Access to Classified Information

Internetna poštenost in nepooblaščen dostopanje do zaščitene podatkov

Eva Nike Cviki

#### Uvod

Wikileaks je novinarska organizacija poznana po vsem svetu. Ustanovljena je bila leta 2006 in od takrat je objavila številne kontroverzne dokumente, ki so jih svetovne vlade klasificirale kot tajne in zaupne in jih je spletna stran Wikileaks pridobila neavtorizirano. Nepooblaščen dostopanje do zaščitene podatkov je lahko kriminalno dejanje, kadar pa nekdo dostopa do podatkov značaja državne varnosti, lahko tako dejanje država označi tudi kot državno izdajstvo. Pogled na Wikileaks in dejanja ustanovitelja strani, Juliana Assanga, je v izobraženih liberalnih družbah (kot je na primer slovenska debatna skupnost), prevladujoče pozitiven. Dejanja nepooblaščenega dostopa in distribucije zaščitene podatkov posamezniki običajno upravičujejo s principi svobode govora, pravico državljanov do obveščenosti v demokracijah, in utilitaristično koristjo, ki jo je objava informacij prinesla.

Pričujoča anketa je bila izvedena na Medicinski fakulteti Univerze v Mariboru. Razdelila sem 100 anketnih vprašalnikov, vsi so bili vrnjeni. Reševali so jih študentje 2., 3., 4. in 5. letnika, pri tem pa so bili vprašalniki popolnoma anonimni (niso me zanimali niti demografski podatki, kot so spol, starost in kraj bivanja).

Z vprašalnikom sem želela ugotoviti, kakšno je splošno poznavanje fenomena Wikileaks in Juliana Assangea med študenti, in kakšna je njihova moralna sodba o nepooblaščenem dostopanju do zaščitene podatkov v različnih kontekstih.

[Click here for full text \(in Slovenian\)](#)



## Conference ACTA – Active Citizens Take Action 14-17 March 2013, Maribor, Slovenia

### Final Conference Schedule with Contribution Abstracts

#### Thursday, 14th of March 2013

17.00 – 19.00 Welcome and getting to know each other.  
19.00 Dinner  
20.00–22.00 Overview of the program, finalising last details and responsibilities.

#### Friday, 15th of March 2013

Kino Udarnik 10.00–14.00, Grajski trg 1, Maribor  
10.00 Opening remarks, overview of the program

#### Keynote: József Györkös, “Few dilemmas of prevailing information society”

Historically, technologies with high societal influence show that they become an inevitable long-term infrastructure. Infrastructures need reasonable regulation. What is reasonable? Is it measurable or it just serves the interests of market leaders and/or governments? The omnipresence of information and communication technologies sets higher requirements for research and innovation. Isn't already an asymptote reached? Is convergence just a buzzword or finally a viable tool for needed multidisciplinary? Open access sounds as a Holy Grail of freedom on the Internet. Re-use of public data should propel the economy and expand participatory democracy. Why are we at the same time faced with ACTAs, SOPAs, PIPAs etc? Who is going to be the new prophet of the utterly needed different approach to the intellectual property in information society?

*\* Dr József Györkös is a professor at the University of Maribor, Faculty of electrical engineering and computer sciences teaching media communication and information society related courses. He was a deputy minister / state secretary in mandates of two governments in Republic of Slovenia with responsibility on higher education, science, technology and information society. By European Commission, DG Communications Networks, Content and Technology (former DG Information Society and Media) he is appointed as a member of theCONNECT Advisory Group.*

#### 11.00 – 12.30 Pannel discussion “Electronic direct democracy and popular uprisings on internet”

Speakers: Tamara Atanasoska, Metamorphosis, Simon Delakorda, INEPA, Filip Dobranič, Hekovnik, Sašo Miklič, Pirat party.  
Moderator: Matej Delakorda.

#### 12.30 Keynote: Filip Dobranič, “Making internet activism work”

The Internet and services it spawned present an invaluable tool for citizen activism. However, the Internet itself has brought change in

the way we cooperate, socialize and organize. The way citizens expect us to communicate with them have changed drastically. Lastly we must not forget about the perils of clicktivism. It is therefore imperative to examine what the specifics of Internet activism are and how to maximize its impact.

*\*Filip Dobranič is about to finish his studies of philosophy and sociology of culture at the Faculty of arts in Ljubljana, he is an expert and a researcher of social movements and Internet, a hacker, one of the funder and co-creators of the on-line platform »Danes je nov dan.«*

#### 13.30–14.00 Presentation of Europe for Citizens Program by Tiphane Spanier

Project Officer, European Commission, Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA), Managing programmes and activities on behalf of the European Commission, Citizenship Unit

14.00 – 15.30 Lunch in Kavarna Astoria  
Druga gimnazija Maribor, Trg Miloša Zidanška 1, Maribor  
16.00 – 17.30 Presentations

#### Room 1

#### Simon Delakorda, “Internet as an enabler of popular uprisings?”

Presentation will confront normative assumptions of electronic public sphere with Internet practices of popular uprisings. Both perspectives will be linked by grass-roots digital democracy model. An overview of internet tools used by citizens during public protests in Slovenia will be presented in terms of resource mobilization, virtual struggles and alternative knowledge production. Issues with an on-line slacktivism and clicktivism will be addressed from uprisings impact perspective.

*\* Simon Delakorda, M.Sc. is a full time eDemocracy / eParticipation practitioner & researcher and founding director of non-governmental organization the Institute for Electronic Participation from Ljubljana ([www.inepa.eu](http://www.inepa.eu)). Starting in 2000, he participated in an early internet democracy projects within university and NGO's sector in Slovenia. He is an author and co-author of articles and case studies and conference speaker on democracy, political participation, active citizenship, non-governmental organizations and governments on-line. Currently, he is Ph.D. student of Social Informatics at the Faculty of Social Sciences in Ljubljana. During 2006-2007 he coordinated and managed the E-participacija web portal and facilitated the first successful e-democracy project in Slovenia - the Citizen's Forum. His current projects and research focus include political informatics, democratic challenges of digital society, e-participation at the EU level and civil society e-democracy. His memberships include the Slovenian Political Science Association, Demonet: the eParticipation network of Excellence, CEE CN eParticipation experts group and Association of the Slovene NGO's managers. He received awards and experts recognitions as an e-democracy student, expert and facilitator.*

### Tamara Atanasoska, **"Offline vs. Online activism – or why we shouldn't rely on Internet alone"**

Every day in the media we hear about some nation's »spring«, about some internet mobilised protest that roams the streets. We are motivated, encouraged and constantly bombarded with the Internet put on a pedestal as the new tool that will change the world – and yet, so many years we have it, and the same fights are being fought. Myself being an active participant in several protests and movements that started online and moved to the offline world in the past several years, I have seen how they rise and how they fall. We have learnt many things, and we keep the fight up. We learned that we celebrate victory too soon, and that the Internet is the place where the arrow starts towards the target and not the target itself. We learned that no matter how loud on the internet, the parliaments will not take us if we don't show some seriousness in the offline world. And beside what we can't do, we also learned what works. I am going to tell you those stories.

*\*Tamara Atanasoska: civil rights activist based in Skopje, Macedonia. She's been part (and still is) and an initiator of many grass-roots movements and civil initiatives in the last few years. She is mostly known for "Stop police brutality" movement. She is also a columnist for the Youth Online Column project of Radio Free Europe for over a year. Tamara currently works as a web developer in Reactor - Research in Action, creating web solutions for awareness and advocacy of different questions, for the needs of Reactor itself and other NGOs (like React - Be safe! <http://www.reagiraj-bidibezbedna.mk/>). She is also an active member of Free Software Macedonia, and she is contributing in the free software world through advocacy and code for a few years. Tamara is currently pursuing a Masters degree in Software Engineering.*

#### Room 2

### Barbara Zagorc and Andrej Kirbiš, **"Two way communication? Analysis of websites of Slovene parliamentary parties"**

Two-way online communication between political parties and citizens has a positive effect on citizens' political involvement (Kruikemeier et al., 2013) and studies show that Slovenian citizens would like to have direct online communication enabled and would make use of it (Lenarčič and Trček, 2003). Past content analysis of web pages of Slovenian political parties (Franz, 2003) shows that political parties mainly make use of top-down communication. The aim of our research was to examine online communication possibilities and information provided by the Slovene parliamentary political parties on their official websites and to compare the results with Franz's (2003) study. First, the results showed party websites are still mostly dominated by providing information, and less with enabling communication channels. Secondly, compared to 2002, there are presently more opportunities for two-way communication, although top-down communication still seems prevalent. In sum, communication options are still limited. The main limitation of our study is that we have not analyzed whether provided communication channels are actually used by parties and citizens. In addition, according to some past studies differences often exist between non-election and election period (Semetko and Krasnoboka, 2003; Oblak Črnič, 2010). Future studies could extend our study in the following ways: by analyzing more Slovene political parties (and movements), by analyzing other relevant indicators in accordance with past studies (e.g., Norris, 2001), and by adding other indicators in the content analysis. Implications of the results are discussed.

*\*Barbara Zagorc is a Master's student at the Department of Sociology, University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, Slovenia. She is a political activist and active in bodies of University of Maribor. Her main research interests are political socialization, political participation, political parties and movements, protests, neoliberalism and hip hop culture.*

*\*Andrej Kirbiš, Ph.D., is an assistant professor at the Department of Sociology, University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, Slovenia. He has authored or co-authored numerous scientific articles and book chapters in areas of political participation, political culture, democratic consolidation, value change, religion and New Age, adolescent development, health and well-being, youth media use, leisure activities and educational success.*

### Ognenovska Simona, **"CSOs & e-tools: Spark of hope for increased democracy in Macedonia"**

Macedonian center for international cooperation (MCIC) since 2008, throughout its programme "Good Governance in Macedonia" implemented as part of one of the MCIC's long-term objectives "Good governance, participation and people-based policy" has been making efforts to contribute to good governance, participation and policies directed from and towards the people. MCIC during the last 3 years throughout this programme has focused its activities on researching and advocating citizens' participation and strengthening the capacities of citizens, CSOs and civil servants for ensuring future public participation in policy and law making processes and has intention to continue contributing to the field even more on national, as well as EU level.

Since 2011, MCIC recognizes the importance of internet for direct civic engagement and increasing influence of the civil society organizations in the process of policy making and has implemented two important and innovative internet tools. "My Choice: Integrated Election Monitoring Platform in Macedonia (2011)" and "Government Mirror: Public Participation in Legislation Preparation Procedures (2012)" are two projects where web platforms are developed to enable/support e-democracy. MCIC will continue using and improving the developed web platforms, as well as design new e-tools that would spark hope for the democracy.

*\*Simona Oggenovska works as junior project officer in the Department for Civil Society and Democratization. Born on 14.7.1987 in Skopje, she graduated from the Faculty of Economics, department marketing management, at the European University - Skopje, where she continues her master studies in the field of marketing management. Currently preparing her master thesis and researching the effect of social responsibility of small and medium sized businesses upon the consumer buying behavior in Republic of Macedonia. Her focus is mainly to support the activities for development of a strong civil society actively involved in public policy creation.*

#### Room 3

### Jure Hederih, **"On the Application of Conventional Concepts of Democracy to the Internet"**

Internet is oftentimes perceived as a tool in everyday life. Since we live our everyday life in a material world, it is logical that we shape models, rules and laws into which we want our lives to fit. Thus, concepts like democracy, freedom, free speech and privacy are pretty straightforward when discussing a real life situation. However, it is rather intriguing how these concepts translate to their corresponding clones in another space, which is similarly unlimited, powerful and widespread: the internet.

*\*Jure Hederih is the last year student at II. gimnazija Maribor. In his future studies he aspires to be a scientist with professional expertise in the field of medicine. Despite his keenness for natural sciences, he, in many aspects, engages in human sciences as well. As a member of WSDC team of Slovenia*



in 2013 he reaffirmed his status as a debater, while also engaging in other projects of non-competitive nature, such as volunteering. Majority of his studies and work are driven by the feeling of moral obligation to at least try to change the world for the better.

#### Zoran Fijavž, **"Political participation of youth in the Pomurje region"**

I have made a survey on the political participation of young people in the Pomurje region. It was made for the purpose of the ACTA project, as well as for the final Matura exam in sociology.

The data generated by the survey is used in the following ways:

1. For comparison with already existing research (for example European Values Survey)
2. To analyze the role of gender, family and socioeconomic status in comparison to political participation
3. To see whether young people in Pomurje see the Internet as a viable tool for political participation

Main focus in the presentation will be given to the third point.

*\* Zoran Fijavž is the last year student at Gimnazija Franca Miklošiča Ljutomer, one of the best debater in Slovenia, active member of Leo club Murska Sobota.*

#### Room 4

#### Matej Delakorda, **"On-line tools for discussing immigration policy in the EU"**

Workshop is aiming at people attracted by immigration issues at national and the EU level as well interested to use on-line tools for discussing them. Opinions and views on immigration for employment, study and family reunification purposes as well problems with illegal immigration will be profiled by workshop participants with the help of on-line tools and visually compared in relation to other citizens and institutions. What is more, facilitated on-line discussion about immigration issues will be introduced and web 2.0 social media for building immigration community of interest will be presented. Workshop is organized as a part of Puzzled by Policy project <http://join.puzzledbypolicy.eu>.

*\* Matej Delakorda (B.Sc.Sociology) is a Chief information / technology officer at Institute for Electronic Participation (INePA). He has 5 years of experience in developing, maintaining e-democracy tools and moderating communications protocols on various e-participation platforms. He has experience with 2 international projects aiming to impact the policy making processes (Visualising the impact of the legislation by analysing public discussions using statistical means - 2009-2010 and Puzzled by Policy - 2010-2013), both part of European Commission 7th Framework Programme (FP7 ICT). Researcher of Gamification - game-thinking and game mechanics in non-game contexts in order to engage users and solve problems. From 2010 - 2013 he participated in various international and national social innovation camps and conferences exploring how technology solutions can address real social problems. Facilitator and moderator on topics of social challenges.*

#### Room 5

#### Julia Mikić, **"British Parliamentary - from Zero to Hero!"**

This workshop is intended for those switching from other debate formats as well as those who have never debated before and need to decode the language of British Parli. Making our way through extensions, squirrels, tables and whips, we'll emerge versed at debating BP-style!

*\* Julia Mikić has been active in parliamentary debate since 2001, and has since competed at Worlds, Euros, and more than 30 international competitions (speaking as well as adjudicating), given numerous BP*

*workshops and lectures (most recently at IDAS), run tournaments, translated debating material, and preached debate as a religion (or a social activism tool at least). She's notorious for giving long feedback - debater beware. Currently she's running HERMES (Croatian education and development network for the evolution of communication), using knowledge and skills learned in debate to help improve the world, one project at a time.*

17.30 Announcement of the draw and debate topic for Debate 1  
18.00 Debates and evaluation of debates

#### **Debate workshops for non debaters: Public speaking lecture and exercises.**

19.30 Dinner in Dijaški dom Lizike Jančar Maribor

#### **Saturday, 16th of March 2013**

9.00 Role call, announcement of the draw and debate topic

9.30 Debate 2

#### **Debate workshops for non debaters: Introduction to Worlds Schools Debate Format. Points of information lecture&exercises.**

11.00- 13.00 Presentations

#### Room 1

#### Filip Dobranić, **"Communicating internet issues"**

The Internet is a vital piece of infrastructure provided to citizens. The European Union even pledged in its Europe 2020 goals to provide high-speed Internet access to all citizens. Given all that, issues concerning the Internet and decisions governments make have multiplying effects. However, it is very hard to communicate Internet issues with the general public, not least due to their technological nature. This paper examines the possibilities of effective communication and giving citizens the tools and knowledge to empower them to make decisions about the Internet.

#### Tomaž Gregorc, **"Internet? But what about hardware?!"**

It's nowadays common to say that we live in an age of information and the ultimate tool of communication on all levels (from personal to corporate) in this era is The Internet. Debates about regulation of internet are widespread, policies about its regulation everyday stronger. By the same means grow also critiques (and even movements – note the Anonymous) of internet regulation. So it opens the debate of internet as a tool of democracy.

But whose democracy? And we all know that without the material (meaning computer, doesn't matter how it looks, from a stationary PC to the little pocket devices) – hardware – is impossible to connect to the internet. So what about the "hard side" of internet (regulation)?

The proposed presentation will stress and critically analyze the above mentioned "ideologies" (common senses) and propose some possible answers/different visions and practices. To achieve this we'll expose the Za-nič kišta ("Zero Dollar Laptop") project which was carried out in Maribor in 2012.

*\* Gregorc Tomaž (1981) holds a bachelor degree in cultural studies and social anthropology. In the years 2007 to 2010 he was a teaching assistant and researcher in the field of social anthropology on the University of Primorska, Faculty for humanistic studies and the Institute for inter-cultural studies, University of Primorska. In years 2006-2010 he was organizer, facilitator and workshop leader of different international seminars, summer schools and workshops held by different universities in Europe. From the year 2011 (till June 2013) he works at the Public institute Maribor 2012 – European capital of culture (ECOC) as program producer and coordinator*



for the field of migration in Urban Furrows, an socio-ecological strand of ECOOC.

Recently he co-authored the booklet "The compass of civil and workers' rights for migrants in Maribor or How can you become integrated with your own rights?", the handbook "Za-nič kišta [Zero dollar laptop]" and the book "Prihodnost znanosti: neoliberalizem, univerza in politika sodobnega znanstvenega raziskovanja [The future of science: neoliberalism, University and contemporary scientific research policies]". In 2011 and 2012 he facilitated and leaded more than 90 workshops in migrants and workers' rights and digital literacy on open-source software. His primary filed of action and researches are radical education, critical thinking, theoretic psychoanalysis, militant research, autonomous social action and the topic of social exclusion/inclusion with a specialization in migration questions/policies, worker's rights, precarious work and formation of collective processes. In his free time he endeavours the path of experimental sound art and writes articles about noise/glitch/experimental electronic music.

#### Predrag Tasevski, "Bullying of digital divide or not?"

The Internet is changing the average citizens as much as did other technologies, for instance: telephone, TV, computers, mobile phones etc. The mainly province was to help the science, engineering, and business. Many scholars, technologists, and social critics believe that these changes and the Internet, in particular, are transforming economic and social life (Robert , Micheal, Vicki, Sara, Tridas , & William , 1998). In the past few years, the scholars have done many researches to make a conclusion of difference in psychological and social tend of the Internet to the citizens. Therefore, the term "digital divide" is the gap that exists between those who have access to electronic and Information Technology – Internet and those who do not (University of Minnesota Duluth, 2011).

Whereby the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA) set up could result in an order of restricting the universal access to the Internet. And representing a barrier to European development as an information, knowledge and technology society. In other words, could lead to the censorship of online content and control-restriction to the Internet's freedom, by intimidation the growth of electronic business, cultural exchange, as well as digital creativity.

In order to safe the Internet and to provide shelter to digital divide culture we will have to take actions.

*\*Predrag Tasevski: Master of Science in Engineering, in a field of Cyber Security. His objective research interests are in the field of cyber security as part of national security, cyber attacks, cyber conflicts, international security, cyber terrorism, critical infrastructure security, information warfare, risk assessment, identity/risk management, awareness of cyber security, strategy framework and socio-technical aspects. Predrag is an author of two paper-back books: Messenger-Pigeon and Interactive Cyber Security Awareness Program. As well as an author in PenTest and Hackin9 magazines. Also he is a Microsoft Certified Trainer.*

#### Room 2

##### Jure Čuhalev, "Empowering citizens through online visualization"

Storytelling through visualization (and with extension - infographics) is gaining popularity due to accessibility of online visualization tools and lowering cost of production. This talk will showcase effective example produces by different advocacy and news organizations. Second part will provide a view into behind the scenes work that has to be done in order to start producing such visualization from data gathering and analysis point of view.

*\*Jure Čuhalev, Kiberpipa, works in the web industry, where he helps different startups with product management. He produces different visualizations that are sometimes based on governmental data at night.*

##### Dona Dzambaska, "Activism through the lens"

Photography has always been a powerful and universal tool used to achieve great impact. The proper use of photography in our everyday lives for documenting events and capturing moments in time can have an enormous impact and bring positive changes to the world.

As far back as we can remember, the camera has always been one of the most used instruments in the world of activism. Today, the impact that each of us can have through photography is increasing with the use of the Internet and social media. It's important to take the "right" photo, but so is the proper way to share it, so the rest of the world can understand the message you are trying to convey. There are more then few examples from any country that can be numbered for such activism, lets say from Macedonia there is the »Protest over police brutality« (<http://tinyurl.com/bok3hgax>); »The opposition in front of Ministry of Internal Affairs« (<http://tinyurl.com/c2pw9sf>) ; the »Protest for air pollution in Skopje« (<http://tinyurl.com/c7ekx6w>) and many more.

*\*Dona Dzambaska: a volunteer at Metamorphosis Foundation. Studied Environmental Engineering and resource management at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, faculty of mechanical engineering in Skopje and at the University of Florence, in Florence, Italy. She is currently working on her thesis and plans to enroll in a post-grad program in order to enrich her knowledge in environmental engineering.*

##### Jaka Kukavica, "The First Amendment, Wikileaks, and Democracy"

Amid the tireless and continuous attacks and pressures exerted upon Wikileaks and Julian Assange throughout the past few years, this presentation argues that Wikileaks is an organisation, which, through opening new information channels, fundamentally enhances and purifies democracy. In this light, the persecution and prosecution of Wikileaks, Julian Assange and Bradley Manning will be put into a comparative context by examining a landmark decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in New York Times Co. v. United States.

*\*Jaka Kukavica is a debater and a law student at University of Ljubljana.*

#### Room 3

##### Elena Ignatova, "Informed Voters for a Stronger Democracy"

Metamorphosis Foundation has developed and maintain two groundbreaking websites designed to increase the accountability of public officials and inform citizens. The Vistinomer/Vërtetmatës (Truth-O-Meter) serves as a comprehensive political fact-checking database, providing nonpartisan information on the truthfulness, consistency, and degree of implementation of public officials' statements and promises. The Glasomer/Votëmatës (Votemeter) tests issue-oriented voter preferences and inform voters about political party programs. The Vistinomer project focuses on promoting accountability of public office holders and political parties as well as all actors in the political and public sphere, who through their functions carry responsibility towards citizens. Truth-o-meter aims to direct the political and public discourse towards accountability as a basic principle of democracy.

Glasomer is a computer application for checking voter preferences

and it is designed so that the user, answering set of questions can check for themselves the degree of compatibility of their own thinking with the thinking of political parties in. As an extension to the Glasomer, the application Political Compass was developed, enabling individual users to determine their political positions by placing them upon one or more geometric axes symbolizing independent political dimensions, akin to the Political Compass.

*\*Elena Ignatova: Project Coordinator at Metamorphosis Foundation. Holds a Bachelor degree in Internet and Mobile Technologies and Master degree in Communications and New Media. She is certified CompTIA Linux specialist and has extensive experience in the area of FOSS applications and development. Her expertise covers use of PHP-based CMS systems (Joomla, Drupal, Wordpress), both in the areas of implementation and trainings, in classroom environments and as e-raider. Within her engagement in Metamorphosis, Ms Ignatova is responsible for the development of the several tutorials for computer literacy. She is also responsible for the cooperation with Global Voices Online, and in particular the Macedonian and Albanian version of this influential citizen journalism portal.*

#### **Tvrtko Pater, "A comparative analysis of emotional and rational attitudes of Croatian internet experts about the protection of copyright on the internet and its effect on democratic processes"**

In this presentation we'll be exploring how and when changes in society occur on the examples of ACTA protests in Europe and answering key questions concerning how we ourselves can participate in social change.

*\*Tvrtko Pater, Debate trainer, HERMES member, participated in ACTA-related research in Croatia.*

#### **Bojana Šekeljčić, "Government 2.0 in the Balkans – solution or a new challenge?"**

One thing that all Balkan countries have in common is corruption of officials on all levels of government. Lack of their accountability towards the civil society is crippling these countries on their path of overcoming, now so distant in time but ever-present in mindset, heritage of collectivism, undisputed ideologies and demonising individual initiatives and responsibilities. Trend of increasing divide between governments and their citizens is not solely problem of the Balkans. In other parts of the world this trend was/is also present but reasons behind it, in variety of cases, were different. Whatever the cause, the consequence is the same - citizens are not empowered to set political agendas. Technology is too often considered as deus ex machina capable to instantly involve citizens in the decision-making process. But software is nothing without people. Hardware is nothing without people. Social matters! By incorporating technology in political arena of our lives we are stepping in a new uncharted territory we call "Government 2.0". This paradigm-shifting concept has nothing to do with the technology, in its essence, but with the new roles and responsibilities of both governments and citizens. Government 2.0 should work as Android platform. Going deeper into this analogy, governments' responsibility should be to provide usable SDK and citizens' responsibility should be to use it to create apps that will assist them in their everyday lives. Challenge is teaching citizens "how to code".

*\*Bojana Šekeljčić is a regional innovation director in Foundation for new communication Dukokino, Serbia.*

#### **Room 4**

#### **Antonio Tokić and Julia Mikić, "Exploring synergies between civil society and business sectors: how debate can assist business**

#### **and vice versa - an online project"**

We'll be presenting a potential start-up aimed at providing both debaters, and businesses and general public with a new way of interaction, helping to both popularise debate and put it to wider social use.

*\*Antonio Tokić -A student, programmer, and a philosopher-theologian, Antonio has always seen himself in the IT-sector, while maintaining an interest in all things transcendental. Firm in his belief that there is too little real dialogue among people out there, he has decided to start an initiative that could help spread the debating virus, using the internet of course.*

#### **Blaž Leban, "Net neutrality and why it is important for democratic discourse"**

I will be discussing what is net neutrality. How it effects the democratic discourse. What are the dangers of loosing the neutrality of the Internet.

*\*Blaž Leban BA in social informatics, associate of ZIP Debater and judge.*

#### **Tina Gorjanc and Mia Vuknić, "Media Manipulation Strategies"**

We will present ten of most powerful and efficacious strategies used by world dominators to establish a manipulation of the population through the media. The strategies are so well-elaborated that even the countries with the best educational systems, succumb to the power and terror of those mafias. Many things are reported in the news but few are explained.

*\*Tina Gorjanc and Mia Vuknić are university students at University of Split, Croatia and members of Splitska debatna unija.*

12.45 –13.45 Lunch

#### **14.00 Debate 3**

#### **Debate workshops for non debaters: Preparing proposition and opposition case.**

16.0 - 17.30 Presentations/workshops

#### **Room 1**

#### **Public Assemblies Initiative (Iniciativa mestni zbor), "Crisis of democracy in EU and national states, direct and indirect democracy"**

The idea to form Public district assemblies in Maribor, Slovenia is a direct result of our everyday experiences in the town and important consequences this experiences produce:

- We believe that in Maribor and all across Slovenia, various acts of civil disobedience should be followed by direct participation platforms for long term solutions development, which will change the way we think, work and coexist in a community thus improving the quality of life for all.
- We have found out that in our city there are no proper tools that would enable people to inform the city government about what the people really want and need. Public assemblies and agreements that will derive from them ARE that proper tool!
- We strongly believe that people should be the ones who decide about common public development policies in cities, towns, villages as well as in the whole country. Not various city councils and politicians, who had so clearly showed the lack of interest in people's actual needs and desires.
- We intend to disable once and for all the arbitrary decision-making of the governing city power structures which have shamelessly exploited the entrusted people's mandate to feed

of and steal from what is our common good and thus gradually destroying our lives, environment and everything the previous generations struggled so hard to build.

The result of people's ideas gathered on assemblies and elaborated through the methodology of consensus can be (among other things): efficient public demands, alternative projects and sustainable views. Due to wide public support (build through solidarity actions), this people's initiatives will carry significant weight and will therefore be able to exert efficient pressure on the city government as well as provide a public, transparent control (and possible sanctions) if the governing structures will not consider and follow the public will.

In the proposed workshop, 3 members of Public Assemblies Initiative (Iniciativa mestni zbor) will try to directly introduce (through a simulation of an assembly) the participants to such form of direct democracy by:

- introducing possible forms of efficient communications in group discussions / debates
- introducing the role of moderators in group discussions / debates
- introducing the practice of direct action
- introducing methods of gathering views, ideas and opinions in relation to group dynamics and number of participants
- presenting how to establish an egalitarian decision making process (reaching an agreement through consensus)

*\* Public Assemblies Initiative (Iniciativa mestni zbor) is a grassroots movement of politically engaged individuals, interest groups and other formal or informal organizations, who wants to co-create and facilitate the development of positive practices for a better Maribor and, through this, a better Slovenia. Despite the fact that the group is highly political (politically engaged), we have no ambitions to participate in the system of parties but to build a grass-root politically engaged movement. Our work is based on the bottom up perspective, involving all interested and active citizens, because we believe this is the only way to achieve long-term (sustainable) positive political change. Workshop facilitators will be: Maja, Aljoša and Tomaž.*

## Room 2

### Simon Delakorda, "Drafting ACTA project recommendations for decision-makers"

The purpose of this workshop is to present and further discuss results from two facilitated on-line discussions in frame of ACTA project - Internet privacy and On-line forums as democratic tool. Different aspects of these two topics relevant for young people will be further addressed and consequently drafted in form of a key conclusions and recommendations from ACTA project. Workshop results will be delivered to decision-makers at the European and national level by project partner organizations asking them to provide feedback.

### Elena Ignatova, "Anonymous browsing with TOR"

The workshop will focus on particular set of tools – Tor, WordPress and various free email accounts – which used in combination can provide a very high level of anonymity. Tor is free software and an open network that helps you defend against a form of network surveillance that threatens personal freedom and privacy, confidential business activities and relationships, and state security known as traffic analysis.

## Room 3

### Romanian youth about "The issue of privacy on the internet. Internet as a democracy tool. On-line activism and the internet"

Dijaški dom Lizike Jančar  
17.45 – 19.30

#### Debate 4

#### Debate workshops for non-debaters: Debates

19.30 Dinner

## Sunday, 17th of March 2013

9.30 – 13.00

Final thoughts, preparation of recommendations – different methodologies will be discussed and voted on, evaluation.

13.00

Lunch and departure

## Conference Contributions

### Full Text Papers

### Bullying of digital divide or not?

Predrag Tasevski

#### Abstract

The Internet is changing the average citizens as much as did other technologies, for instance: telephone, TV, computers, mobile phones, etc. The main province was to help the science, engineering, and business. Many scholars, technologists, and social critics believe that these changes and the Internet, in particular, are transforming economic and social life (Robert, Micheal, Vicki, Sara, Tridas, & William, 1998). In the past few years, the scholars have done many researches to make a conclusion of difference in psychological and social trend of the Internet to the citizens. Therefore, the term "digital divide" is the gap that exists between those who have access to electronic and Information Technology – Internet and those who do not (University of Minnesota Duluth, 2011).

Whereby the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA) set up could result in an order of restricting the universal access to the Internet. And representing a barrier to European development as an information, knowledge and technology society. In other words, could lead to the censorship of online content and control-restriction to the Internet's freedom, by intimidation the growth of electronic business, cultural exchange, as well as digital creativity. In order to save the Internet and to provide shelter to digital divide culture we will have to take actions.

#### Introduction

Enormous continuing and boosting usage of information and communication technologies in an economic inequality between groups, broadly construed, in terms of access and knowledge has created the term digital divide. Additionally, divide inside countries also could refer to individuals, households, business and geographical areas at different socioeconomic and other demographic levels. On one hand the Internet is changing the average citizens. As much as on the other hand the other

technologies, such as: telephone, TV, mobile phones, etc. The main idea and purpose was to aid to and benefit the science, engineering, and business. However, many scholars, technologists, and social critics believe that these changes and the Internet, in particular, are transforming economic and social life [1]. In the past, the scholars have done many researches to make a conclusion of difference in psychological and social tend of the Internet to the citizens. Therefore, the term “digital divide” is the gap that exists between those who have access to electronic and Information Technology – Internet and those who do not [2].

Moreover, interesting is to point out that to break the gap between the digital divide the scholars and societies have created a new approach and technology for delivering laptop per child. The project name is one laptop per Child and significant fact is that as of 2011 there were over about 2.4 million XO laptops delivered elsewhere [4].

Whereby the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA) could result in an order of restricting the universal access to the Internet. And representing a barrier to European development as an information, knowledge and technology society. In other words, could lead to the censorship of online content and control-restriction to the Internet’s freedom, by intimidation the growth of electronic business, cultural exchange, as well as digital creativity.

Therefore, in this article we have introduced the readers within the basic concept of digital divide. In addition we illustrate to the readers a map of digital divide and example countries that have stress out the digital divide. In contrast to digital divide we would emphasis on the secret negotiations of ACTA agreement. Moreover, why we should care about it, as well as in order to safe the Internet what kind of actions we should take into consideration. At least we deliver to the readers a conclusion.

## Digital divide

As we mentioned previously it is a term to determine the gap that exists between those who have access to electronic and Information Technology – Internet and those who do not [1]. Thereby in the next subsection we introduce the readers within the concept and basic approach of determining and criteria to define the digital divide. Least we also provide the example country of digital divide.

### Concept

The main concept and criteria of digital divide is shown below [3]:

1. Subjects of connectivity, or who connects: individuals, organizations, enterprises, schools, hospitals, countries, etc.
2. Characteristics of connectivity, or which attributes: demographic and socio-economic variables, such as income, education, age, geographic location, etc.
3. Means of connectivity, or connectivity to what: fixed or mobile, Internet or telephony, digital TV, etc.
4. Intensity of connectivity, or how sophisticated the usage: mere access, retrieval, interactivity, innovative contributions.
5. Purpose of connectivity, or why individuals and their cohorts are (not) connecting: reasons individuals are and are not online and uses of the Internet and ICTs.

### Example

One of the best example of digital divide is a North Korea. The broadband infrastructure is with optical fiber links up to 2.5Gbits/s

[5]. Additionally the Internet in North Korea is more or less is recalled as “Intranet”, because of implementation of the Kwangmyong network, in English “walled garden” [6]. The most significant fact was the news have spread information that one of the most known torrent sites has been moved to and relocated in North Korea, March 4 2013. However this information was no correct. For more details please refer to the following source [7]. Nevertheless the above are just simple examples and in the Figure 1 we have illustrated you with the map of digital divide.

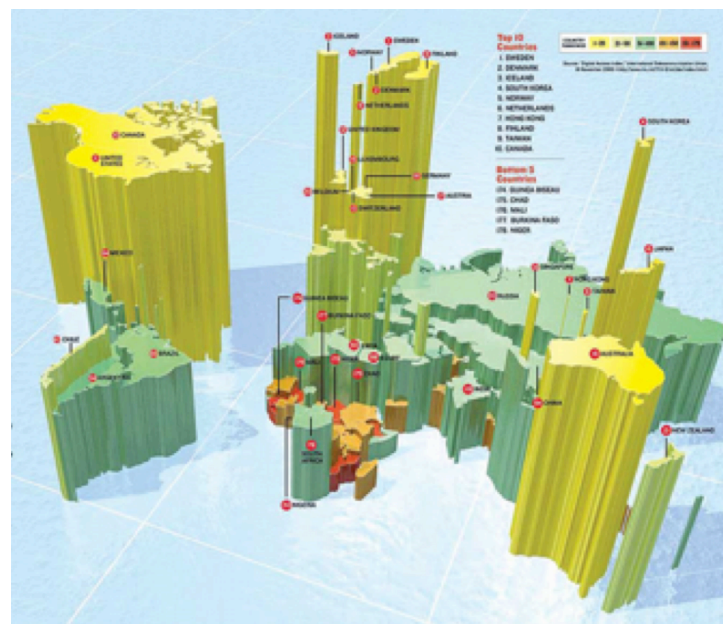


Illustration 1: Illustration map of digital divide.

## ACTA: Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement

Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement has been negotiated from 2007 through 2010 by the United states, the European Union, Switzerland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Mexico, Singapore, Morocco, Japan and South Korea. And it has been signed 8 of 11 agreements in October 2011. Moreover, in October 2012 it was ratifies by Japan as well [8]. In addition in Figure 2 we have illustrated you the map of ACTA countries involved in drafting the convention.



Illustration 2: Countries that has been involved in drafting the convention.



## Why should you care?

When we look over the both maps we can come to conclusion that the strongest countries that has less digital divide is the ones who has drafted the convention of ACTA. So we should care, because of the process how it was negotiated, indeed in secret. And the first text was officially released in 2010. It has been roundup within eight closed-doors negotiations. As well as the provisions, where the new IP enforcement measures that raise potential concerns for users free speech, privacy, ability to innovate and due process rights. And finally, the enforcement it creates a new ad-hoc institution, an "ACTA Committee", constituting non-elected members to oversee ACTA implementation and interpretation with no legal obligation to the transparent in their proceedings [8].

## Digital divide vs ACTA

Anyhow, when we compare digital divide versus ACTA agreement we can see that they overlap into one opposite directions. Such as explained in the below table:

Digital divide	ACTA
Access to ICT – Internet	Restriction to Internet
Freedom of Speech	Censorship and control-restriction to freedom
Economy growth	Privacy
Culture exchange	Demoralizing:
Digital creativity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- the economy</li><li>- cultural exchange</li><li>- digital creativity</li></ul>

## Conclusion

In short summary is we have introduced the reader with the terminology of what is digital divide coupled with examples. As well as the linked connection between the two topics, digital divide versus ACTA agreement. Therefore, we come to the conclusion is that indeed the ACTA convention is bullying the digital divide.

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## Two-way communication?

### Analysis of websites of Slovene parliamentary parties

Barbara Zagorc & Andrej Kirbiš

## Introduction – opportunities on the Internet

New information and communication technologies bring questions about new options to participate in politics. It is argued that the Internet has the potential to encourage citizens to participate in politics. Despite often-detected apathy (disinterest) of the public, many positive expectations exist regarding more equal and democratic communication with regard to Internet opportunities (e.g. geographical distance lost its significance, two-way communication, etc.) (Vreg, 2004). The Internet brings to political parties new arena for shaping the content they choose to provide according to their wishes (Kruikemeier et al., 2013; Oblak Črnič, 2010). In her study, Oblak Črnič (2010) carried out interviews with online strategists and found that political parties can make use of a wider range of possibilities when using the Internet. Indeed, the Internet is a space where they can, to a large degree (more than within any other media), form the content as they want to. Political parties can use the Internet to present their opinions, views, ideas and much more – it is the arena that they can tailor according to their needs (for a study of EU 15 countries, see Norris, 2001). In short, pluralism exists on the Internet to a larger extent. However, some of the parties use Internet only to provide information and less or even not at all to communicate with citizens. In addition, Kruikemeier and colleagues found that both personalization and interactivity in online political communication have a positive effect on citizen political involvement (Kruikemeier et al., 2013).

However, we should not forget certain problems that occur with the usage of new technologies. Anonymity of the public on the Internet may lead to instances of discreditation, contempt, insults, etc. (Vreg, 2004). Another issue is that, according to some studies (Norris, 2001), not many Internet users visit web pages of political parties.

One important element in discussion of opportunities on the Internet is that young people are much more active online (even politically) than older age groups. Therefore, it seems important to take into account how websites of political parties address young people (Norris, 2001; Ward, 2005; Ward, 2008). Ward (2008) has noted a decline in youth interest in politics and recent studies by Kirbiš and colleagues have shown this to be the case for European youth and general public as well (see, among others, Kirbiš, 2011; Kirbiš and Flere, 2011; Kirbiš, 2013). When studying political participation and youth participation in particular, technology plays an important role, because youth uses technology more often (Kirbiš and Naterer, 2011).

## Short literature review

In some cases the impact of Internet in political operation turned out to be crucial. For example, in South Korea discussions on the Internet are integrative element in generating political life (Kim, 2006). In some other cases, parties' online activities are limited and not decisive (March, 2004; Turčilo, 2004). For example, in Russia in 2003-2004 election period there was a rise in online activities by parties and politicians. But this did not turn out to be a decisive factor in elections, because only 1 % of all Russian Internet users visited parties' website(s) in 2002 (March, 2004). Similarly, in Bosnia and Herzegovina the Internet is not involved in political

communication. Political parties use the Internet for monologue and not for dialogue. Indeed, their main interest is to provide information (Turčilo, 2004).

In addition, in the U.S., Russia and Ukraine large parties are more prominent online. Sometimes, this also holds true for newer political parties and the quality of their websites is sometimes higher than the older parties'. But links on these websites are often missing and there is little or even no promotion of websites in traditional media. In addition, in non-election period there is much lower interest for visiting websites of political parties (see Semetko and Krasnoboka, 2003).

Past studies mostly focused on pre-election period. Irrespective of the country, websites of political parties largely show that politician's priority is not two-way communication but merely to inform website visitors, which is confirmed by many studies using diverse methods (e.g. content analysis of web pages, theoretical methods, interviews with web strategist and managers, survey researches, etc.) (Cabezuelo-Lorenzo and Ruiz-Carreras, 2010; Crossland and Chigona, 2010; Gibson et al., 2003; Mustić et al., 2011; Schweitzer, 2005; Valtenbergs, 2007; Ward, 2005).

More recent studies in some cases show a shift from a promotion model of web pages to more communication model (Lilleker et al., 2011; Oblak Črnič, 2010). But these options, and especially the usage usually fall after election campaign (Oblak Črnič, 2010) and strength of communication depends on a country and / or a party (Lilleker et al., 2011). Lilleker and colleagues (2011) studied French, German, British and Polish political parties during pre-election period for the European Parliament in 2009. They found that offline inequality of parties within and between nations determines differences in their strategies. Major political parties in countries with a long history of democracy and EU membership offer more interactive and innovative designs. In short, interactivity is not rare any more, but on the other hand, smaller parties, especially in Poland, offer more information models on the website. The differences also exist according to parties' ideologies. Extreme left party use the Internet mainly to provide information, while extreme right is much more interactive online. In sum, the function of websites varies throughout the country and between countries.

### **The Slovenian case**

Slovene citizens believe that they have access to information about political institutions, but interactive options are limited. In this way political parties use the Internet mainly for promotion (Franz, 2003; Oblak, 2003). Oblak (2003) believes that technology is not the problem – we already have technology – the problem is in politics that dictates the usage of new technologies. Respondents in Oblak's study realized the potential of Internet usage, but they also believed political parties have not (yet) opened interactive opportunities to a great extent and consequently individuals cannot easily use it. Another study shows that Slovene parliamentary political parties mainly make use of top-down communication (Franz, 2003). World Wide Web is a good place to open communication channel, but possibility to establish stronger communication channel mainly remains unutilized.

In recent years political parties and politicians have enabled more interactive forms with their audiences. But options and usage often decline after election campaign. Political actors often do not trust the Internet and its communication channels, and consequently do

not make use of it. One limitation may be that visitors of these web pages might not use the communication channels because of negative past experiences and because of a sense of civic helplessness and political inefficacy (Oblak Črnič, 2010).

With regard to the abovementioned, a basic question must be answered: why is online communication in Slovenia considered as beneficial? Because, among others, research shows that Slovenian citizens trust the Internet and they would like to have direct online communication enabled and would make use of it. Respondents in Lenarčič and Trček's (2003) study stated that Internet as medium is effective and simpler than most previous forms of political practice.

The aim of our research was to examine online communication possibilities and information provided by the Slovene parliamentary political parties on their official websites and to compare the results with Franz's (2003) study.

### **Hypotheses:**

H1: *Priority of websites of political parties still seems mainly to inform and not to communicate.*

H2: *Communication on websites of political parties remains top-down oriented.*

### **Method**

#### Sample

Our sample consists of official websites of five Slovene parliamentary parties. These five parties are Social Democrats, Slovenian Democratic Party, Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia, Slovenian People's Party and New Slovenia – Christian People's Party. Following past study (Franz, 2003), we analyzed only these five parties, because we were interested in longitudinal comparison.

#### Measures

Proceeding from Franz's (2003) past study we analyzed the content of websites of political parties on the basis of two criteria. One criterion was information transparency and the other was communication interactivity. Firstly, we analyzed presence or absence of four indicators which indicate information transparency. These were: party organization, press releases / media section, schedule of events, and political program. Secondly, we analyzed the presence or absence of six indicators which indicate communication interactivity. These were: could a website visitor email party officials, join a political party, email elected members of parliament, join a discussion, and sign up to receive electronic newsletter. The last indicator was whether a search facility was enabled on the website.

### **Procedure**

Firstly we carried out content analysis of websites of five Slovene political parliamentary parties on 28<sup>th</sup> of February 2013. Analysis was limited to two dimensions and its ten indicators. The date ought to be contextualized – it was a pre-election period for the mayor of Maribor and for four city councilors. After the data gathering, we compared the results with Franz's (2003) study.

### **Results**

Results are divided in two categories – information transparency and communication interactivity. When we compared both categories in both years (2002 and 2013), we found that there

was an improvement (increase) in both categories. In 2002 political parties were providing information on web pages in 75 % of cases and in 2013 this increased to 95 %. In 2002 communication possibilities were available in 50 % of cases and in 2013 there was a slight increase to 56.7 %. In brief, we see there was a 20 % of increase in providing information and 6.7 % increase in communication possibilities.

In Table 1 we see the number of websites of political parties with the presence of each criterion regarding information transparency, where we analyzed party organization, press releases, schedule of events and political program. Some kind of party organization is in 2013 (similar to 2002) available on all five web pages. The party New Slovenia stands out for its emphasis on images of all the major party members (e.g. the party president, leadership members, mayors, etc.). Media section exists on all party web pages. Compared to 2002, Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia has also stepped onto this path. Slovenian Democratic Party has a lot of news on the webpage, especially on the first page. In addition, Social Democrats, Slovenian Democratic Party and New Slovenia also have tweets on their own websites. What is more, New Slovenia provides the possibility to download application for Android and iOS on its official website. This seems in accordance with party's slogan "Close to people". In 2002 only Social Democrats and Slovenian People's Party provided schedule of events. In 2013 all five parties have some kind of schedule of events available, but there is a difference whether they include the possibility of upcoming events and / or past events. Slovenian Democratic Party and New Slovenia have both, while others provide only information about past events. In 2002 there was only Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia without online political program, now only Social Democrats do not have it.

**Table 1: Information transparency in year 2002 (Franz, 2003) and 2013.**

Political party	Party organization		Press releases / media section		Schedule of events		Political program	
	2002	2013	2002	2013	2002	2013	2002	2013
SD	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
SDS	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
DeSUS	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
SLS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NSI	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
Total	5	5	4	5	2	5	4	4

In Table 2 we see the number of websites of political parties with the presence of each of six criterion regarding communication interactivity, where we analyzed the possibility of emailing party officials, joining the political party, option to email elected members of parliament, joining a discussion, possibility to sign up to receive electronic newsletter and the presence of a search facility. In 2002, only the Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia did not provide the possibility to email party officials and in 2013 all parties do. Slovenian Democratic Party and New Slovenia, which both offer the most contacts with major members of the party, also enable the possibility to contact their presidents. All five parties offer the possibility to join the party. In 2002, only Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia did not provide that possibility. Unlike other parties, Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia and New Slovenia do not offer e-filling option to become a party member; therefore more effort is required to join the party. It is also important to add that in application form only Slovenian People's

Party and New Slovenia offer areas to choose from in which a potential party member wants to work within the party.

Search engine is in 2013 accessible on all web pages except on the website of Social Democrats. In the past that option was provided only on web pages of Slovenian Democratic Party and New Slovenia. These two parties also provided the possibility to email elected members of parliament; in 2013 Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia also provides this possibility. Directly on the official website none of them provides access to join a discussion. In 2002 Slovenian Democratic Party and New Slovenia offered this option. Presently Social Democrats offer an external link to their Redbook – a portal, which enables discussions. Social Democrats, Slovenian Democratic Party and New Slovenia also provide an external link to their own Twitter and Facebook profile, where visitors can take part in the debate. Last but not least, the possibility to sign up to receive electronic newsletter was in 2002 provided only by New Slovenia and in 2013 none of analyzed parties provide the possibility to newsletter, although Slovenian Democratic Party, Slovenian People's Party and New Slovenia provide the possibility to subscribe to RSS (Rich Site Summary).

**Table 2: Communication interactivity in year 2002 (Franz, 2003) and 2013.**

Political party	Can email party officials		Join party		Search facility		Can email elected members of parliament		Join discussion		Can sign up to receive electronic newsletter	
	2002	2013	2002	2013	2002	2013	2002	2013	2002	2013	2002	2013
SD	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SDS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
DeSUS	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
SLS	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
NSI	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
Total	4	5	4	5	2	4	2	3	2	0	1	0

## Discussion and Conclusion

This study examined the content of websites of some Slovene parliamentary political parties. We have analyzed the presence or absence of ten indicators on these websites, which were, following the past study (Franz, 2003), grouped into two dimensions – information transparency and communication interactivity. The main conclusions are as follows: firstly, in Slovenia party websites are still mostly dominated by providing information and less with enabling communication channels. Secondly, compared to 2002, there are presently more opportunities for two-way communication, although top-down communication still seems prevalent.

Two-way communication between political parties and citizens have a positive impact on citizens political involvement (Kruikemeier et al., 2013) and studies show that Slovenian citizens want to have online communication enabled and would use it (Lenarčič and Trček, 2003). But our research has shown that realization of these possibilities remains limited.

We also found that right-wing political parties (especially Slovenian Democratic Party and New Slovenia) seem to invest more in web technology than left-wing political parties (e.g., Social Democrats). In this sense, our study does not deviate from results of previous studies (Lilleker et al., 2011). Another important finding of our study is that the right-wing parties provide more information and communication on their websites, in comparison to the left-wing parties, which corroborates results of previous studies (e.g., Norris,

2003). Kruikemeier and colleagues (2013) also found that personalization and interactivity in political communication have a positive impact on involving citizens in politics. If this also hold true for Slovenia, then New Slovenia and Slovenian Democratic Party probably activate the most visitors.

One limitation of our study is that we have not analyzed the actual use of two-way communication channels by political parties and citizens. For instance, one of the questions that can be asked in this regard is: How important are web pages of political parties in Slovenia with regard to their impact on political participation? It would be also interesting to examine for whom those web pages are designed for – for already convinced individuals (e.g., party members) or to undecided voters or even those who lean more toward other political parties. Providing answers to these questions is one of the recommendations for future research. If studies find a strong link between providing information and/or communication on the one side and political participation on the other, then the goal of the political parties will likely be to inform their visitors and to communicate with them. Let us again note that according to previous studies (Oblak Črnič, 2010; Semetko and Krasnoboka, 2003), there are potential differences between election and non-election period.

Secondly, in our study we did not explore political movements. Future studies should include the analysis of official websites of other political parties and movements in Slovenia. For instance, are there any differences between web pages of political parties and political and/or social movements? What about differences within political parties and differences within political movements? Also, following past research (Norris, 2001) future studies could analyze other relevant indicators and/or add some other indicators in the analysis, for example visual analysis of websites (Mustić et al., 2011).

Lastly, another important limitation of our study is a limited operationalization in previous study (Franz, 2003), from which we proceeded. The comparative analysis was therefore also limited. In addition, longitudinal analysis with short period of websites comparison could be carried out. Future research should take into account these possibilities in order to extend our understanding of websites of political parties. In sum, our study results and previous studies (e.g. Kruikemeier et al., 2013; Lenarčič and Trček, 2003) suggest that political parties should strive to provide more opportunities for two-way communication on their websites, if reaching wider audiences is one of their goals. Our study indicates that there is much room for improvement.

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## **A Comparative Analysis of Emotional and Rational Attitudes of Croatian Internet Experts About the Protection of Copyright on the Internet and its Effect on Democratic Processes and the “Dynamics of Social Protests and the Motivation of Protesters” Workshop**

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### **The Premise**

The Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA) is just one in a series of ongoing regulatory attempts to solve the problem of intellectual property rights in a world that has rendered the traditional idea of counterfeiting obsolete through the widespread use of the internet.

The goal of our research and of this paper is not the dwell on the document itself but rather to analyze the impact it had on society, how it was received and interpreted by both experts and the general public and what it teaches us about the social dynamics of civic action and protests.

### **Research Method**

The method we decided to use was memetic analysis. Memetic analysis is a form of analysis focused on finding meanings and cultural discourse on a subject. The process begins by gathering memes<sup>1</sup> about the subject from the public discourse. These memes can be found in structured interviews, web-pages and social media feeds, public and commercial media etc.

These memes are then read, validated and ranked by a human coder and then statistically analyzed to reveal correlations across them. The output of the statistical analysis is then interpreted by the researcher relying on pattern language used to characterize the subject of the research.

The research for this project was done gathering semi-structured interviews from social actors relevant to the ACTA implementation process – copyright lawyers, anti-copyright advocates and Internet experts. When it comes to declarative statements about whether

ACTA is good or bad, the answers were (quite logically) given through the lens of what the participants' vocation is. However, through the research we came to three different groups of conclusions regarding ACTA.

### **Research Results**

The first group of memes strongly present in the interviews is about how “domestic” ACTA is – the participants think that it is something imposed from the outside, not a natural development process – it is foreign and uncouthly. The second conclusion is about the emotional investment in the process – ACTA is cold, strict, formal and calm. In other words, while not all of the attributes describing it are negative, all of them point to a low emotional investment of the participants. The third group of memes has to do with transparency – they consider the process to be “messy”, deceptive and professional. Again, while “professional” isn't a bad adjective, it points to a “higher ground” the process was taking place on, and not to accessibility of the decision making process.”

The results strongly reflected what was already widely known, among most experts the document was considered to be too invasive and broadly defined, therefore unsuitable to form a clear normative system that would at the same time protect the rights of copyright holders as well as other individuals seeking to use the internet for both commercial and non-commercial use. Most experts agreed that there exists a need for creating a legal framework, but thought that ACTA was a rather questionable way of going about it.

### **Aftermath**

The reaction of the public was far less charitable, and the document was for the most part perceived as foreign aggression aimed at taking away basic internet freedoms that people had started taking for granted. The reaction in Croatia was very similar to that of other European nations, general outrage culminating with protests in the street.

Ultimately this became ACTA's downfall, the widespread negative perception of its rules and the public outcry that followed.

During the course of our research we were left with a new set of questions. In a different country a widespread public outcry and people gathering in the streets may have been an expected reaction, however in Croatia this was not the case. In Croatia large protests are few and far in between. While there are occasionally gatherings of specific groups such as the disgruntled workers of a specific factory or certain specific professions such as teachers, a protest which attracts people from different walks of life is a rarity indeed. At this point we were faced with a rather basic but very relevant question: Why do people protest?

After looking into the subject we discovered that extensive research had already been conducted on this topic. The results were both interesting and insightful but also rather obscure to people who did not study social psychology. We realized that while this information was important to anyone who was looking to stimulate more active citizenship or gather people for a cause it was only available to a select few who more often than not used it only for theoretical purposes.

And thus the idea for the workshop was born. When it comes to active citizens taking action one of the most crucial elements is getting more people to become engaged and participate. In order

to do that understanding the way people think and react is crucial. The answer behind the question of „Why people protest?“ was an important tool in the activists toolbox, yet it was one few had access to. We hope to change that.

### **The Workshop “Dynamics of Social Protests and the Motivation of Protesters“**

The workshop itself is an interactive experience that aims to clarify the theory behind the social psychology of protest by using contemporary practical examples. It requires a minimum of four hours to complete, but as with most complex topics is better served when participants have a whole workday dedicated to this specific topic. The goal is to teach participants how to identify specific elements relating to a cause, how to present them and how to best reach a wide target audience of people who will be interested in fighting for this specific cause.

What follows is a short summary<sup>2</sup> of the topics that are discussed during the workshop.

There are five main concepts that need to be understood in order to have a grasp of why some people choose to participate in a specific protest in the hopes of creating social change while others who share the same beliefs decide to stay at home rather than have their voices be heard.

However before we delve any further it is important to emphasize one of the main tenants of social psychology, namely the idea that people live in a „perceived world“ rather than the actual one. How a person interprets the world around them is more important than what the actual state of affairs is. Things are judged according to how they are perceived not what they actually are.

### **Grievances**

In order for a person to take to the streets, be it in the form of normative action (demonstrations, petitions) or non-normative action (civil disobedience) there must exist a perceived attack on the values and rights the person holds dear.

There are two main theories that apply to grievances:

a) Relative deprivation theory – according to which one’s own position is compared to either a past standard, to other people or to a cognitive standard such as equity or justice. If the comparison results in the conclusion that one is receiving less than one should, the person then experiences relative deprivation. This in turn leads to an emotional response which stimulates the person to act.

Depending on whether the comparison is personal or group based deprivation falls either into the egoistic or fraternalistic category.

b) Social justice theory – this theory distinguishes between distributive judgement which is similar to relative deprivation theory in that the person assesses the justice of the end result of social interaction (such as wealth) on one hand and procedural justice on the other. Procedural justice focuses on the fairness and the treatment people receive in society unrelated to the end result (the way law enforcement treats minorities for example). It is interesting to note that according to some theorist procedural justice is much more likely to affect people’s decisions on whether to protest or not.

The thing to note about grievances is that they are in themselves not enough to mobilize people, there are a lot more grievances than actual protests, furthermore conflicts of principle tend to resonate

much more strongly with people that conflicts of material interest.

### **Efficacy**

In the simplest of terms efficacy deal with the question of whether or not people believe social change can be achieved through their actions. If an individual believes that protest are an effective way of creating change in society they are more likely to participate. It is divided into two categories:

a) Group efficacy – the belief that the group can efficiently unite around a certain issue and fight for that same issue.

b) Political efficacy – the belief that society works in such a way that the group’s effort will have a real impact on how society works, that the political climate is such that change is possible. This is further divided into internal efficacy – how much a person believes that they understand the political system and external efficacy – how much trust the person places in government.

Efficacy is reversely proportional to cynicism, people who have no faith in the possibility of change are much less likely to participate in any sort of civic action.

### **Identity**

Identity is an individual’s perception of who they are, their place in society. It defines both the person himself and other people within the context of society. Personal identity relates to personal traits and attributes, while social identity deals with a person’s position in society and membership with a certain social group.

Perhaps the most important type of identity when dealing with social movements and protest is collective identity, when people become more inclined to act and perceive themselves as members of a certain group with shared beliefs at which point „we“ becomes more important than „I“ at least in a certain social context.

### **Social Identity Theory**

There are two social structural characteristics that influence how people define their identity in relation to groups:

a) Permeability of the group boundaries – the possibility of becoming a member of a more higher-status group. The less likely the possibility of crossing over to the higher-status group, the stronger the identification with the current group becomes.

b) Stability – how rigid the status positions of groups are, if a person believes that it is possible to elevate the status of a certain group they are much more likely to protest.

Group identity plays an important role in protests, the stronger the bond between members and the values of the group the more people are inclined to participate and fight against what they perceive to be injustice. Furthermore cohesion increases the internal obligation members feel towards the causes of the group.

It is important to note that a single person can have a dual identity, at the same time being part of the oppressed and the oppressor group.

### **Emotions**

In the past often regarded as less important, emotions have become recognised (in our own research as well) as an important factor and motivator when individuals choose whether or not to join a cause. While rational arguments may seem to be more persuasive, the actual act of going out of your daily routine to challenge the way

society works requires a bit more investment on the part of the individual.

a) Appraisal theory of emotions – an event is judged by the perceived effect it has on our values and goals. It needs to be emphasized however that the concept of „self“ need not necessarily only include the individual, if the person identifies strongly with the group he will empathize with the groups interests as well.

b) Group-based emotions and protest – Anger is the most dominant emotion when it comes to protesting, however guilt can also be a strong motivator for people belonging to the privileged group. It should also be noted that while anger usually leads to normative action, contempt can be a strong motivator when it comes to non-normative action as a people are more likely to take extreme measures if they believe that a standard legitimate route is closed to them.

### Social Embeddedness

Social embeddedness is the final category, however when viewed from a logistical standpoint it is one of the most important ones when it comes to motivating people to join your cause. Social embeddedness is in direct correlation to social capital (the potential within a social structure that can be accessed in order to mobilize people) in that a more well informed and intertwined structure is more likely to result in members taking an active role in social change.

Social capital has three main components:

a) Structural – social ties within a certain structure, deals with the question of who people can reach, how interconnected people are.

b) Relational – how closely knit the community is, how likely it is the people will reach out to each other, trust.

c) Cognitive – a shared system of meaning, synthesized motivational concepts that form a sense of similarity and collective purpose.

A high amount of social embeddedness gives people a place to discuss ideas and politics to create personal bonds which in turn strengthen group integration and as a result increases internal obligation. Also the knowledge about the issues in question is greatly increased by such interaction further strengthening the persons desire to participate in change.

The final part of the workshop deals with practical examples and methods of mobilization. It synthesizes all the previously mentioned categories into a single strategy that can be used to promote a cause. It needs to be said however that the methods described mostly focus on mobilizing people who already share the belief system in question but are not personally sufficiently engaged to take action.

### The Goal

The workshop is structured in an interactive way in hopes of giving participants a set of skills that enable them to use all the aforementioned concepts in practice. A deeper understanding of what internal forces influence a person to either take to the streets or stay at home are useful in their own right, but this workshop aims to take it a step further by giving people a set of tools that can be used to reach a broader base of supporters. A social movement is only as strong as its members and our hope is that this knowledge can be used to create more informed and more active citizens.

### Endnotes

(1) A meme according to Wikipedia is "an idea, behavior, or style that spreads from person to person within a culture." A meme acts as a unit for carrying cultural ideas, symbols, or practices that can be transmitted from one mind to another through writing, speech, gestures, rituals, or other imitable phenomena. Supporters of the concept regard memes as cultural analogues to genes in that they self-replicate, mutate, and respond to selective pressures.

(2) For a more in-depth analysis of each category refer to "The social Psychology of protest" by Jacqueliën van Stekelenburg and Bert Klandermans.

### Hactivism made in Portugal

Tiago Laranjeiro

#### Why the Topic?

Portugal is facing an uncertain social period, followed by the troika's (International Monetary Fund+European Commission+European Central Bank) bailout, which has tried to tackle on the sovereign debt problem, common to some southern European countries (Spain and Greece) and Ireland.

Being in the Euro-zone, Portugal doesn't have monetary authority to leverage with the austerity measures, which led to harsh cuts in education, in the health care system, and privatizations.

With taxes raising sharply and with workers losing their thirteenth salary, the people turned to street protests to express their disappointment on the politics that were being implemented, but in the twenty-first century, the Internet also helped, by playing a great role in amplifying the demonstrations and the general social discomfort, specially to the younger generations.

Hactivism defined as gaining unauthorised access to a computer to pursue political objectives, was indeed one of the ways with which people aimed the political actors, involved in the 2010-2013 financial crisis.

Historically the first Portuguese hactivists date as far back as to 1997 and 1998, when they turned to Indonesian websites for their invasion of Timor.

Despite the movement's fight against "the current system" may be motivated by concrete situations, the fight itself may be different from country to country.

#### The IMF Bailout

The European sovereign debt crisis started in Greece after the 2007 global financial crisis and soon expanded to other countries, such as Portugal. In an effort to keep the economies afloat, Governments spent large amounts of money to save banks and strategic economical sectors, such as tourism.

The Portuguese budget deficit went as far up as 10% in 2009, jumping from 3,7%.

Meanwhile, rating agencies like Moody's and Standard & Poor's downgraded sovereign public debt ratings to "junk" status, which increased the interest rates (yields) of bonds (a kind of loan used by public authorities to pay to their creditors) and led to an unsustainable situation, where governments were facing short term difficulties in paying up salaries, for example.

This forced countries to take loans from the IMF with lower interest rates, while applying austerity measures which had deep effects on the economy.

In Portugal, in the first semester of 2012 (after the 2011 IMF bailout), 3183 companies opened bankruptcy. Putting it into perspective, there were 500 bankruptcies filled each month. Comparatively, there were 4.731 bankruptcies through the year of 2011.

Another indicator is unemployment, which rose from 10,8% (2010) to 15,7% (2012).

### Public Reaction

As one might expect, there was a great commotion around the impacts of the financial crisis, with new elections, big rallies and demonstrations.

Surprisingly, the Internet played a great role in expressing the people's anxiety towards the austerity measures.

Protests started to be called out spontaneously by small groups of people in social networking websites, some with just a small impact, but others with more followers and adherents.

This situation was completely new and was followed closely by the traditional media that helped this movements grow in numbers.

Hitherto there had been street protests that were organised mainly by political parties and trade unions, but as the austerity measures affected most of the population, this online protests, that sometimes jumped to the physical world, had normally no ideological backgrounds, considering that the abstention rate in legislative elections was higher than 40%.

As an example of this, the Portuguese precarious generation movement organised a street protest in 2011 with the participation of 200.000 to 300.000 people in Lisbon and more 200.000 in other cities. This movement is often associated with a Portuguese song (Deolinda – Parva que sou: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CtBUeuiYY1M>) that also spread to Spain.

Another form of protests in the digital world is through the ridicule of the politicians.

Miguel Relvas is the former Minister of Parliamentary affairs and was known for his questionable degree (which was taken after investigations), among other things. Relvas completed a degree in Political Science and International Relations, a three-year course that he completed in one, obtaining 32 equivalences in a total of 36 modules. This led to Relvas becoming an all time joke on the media, like the time that he spent on the University were the 10 funniest minutes in the History of Portugal.

Other case that flooded the Internet, including social networks, is associated with the current Portugal's President, Cavaco Silva, which was widely criticised after complaining to journalists that his pensions wouldn't cover his expenses.

### Hacktivism

The cyber-activism is not, at first glance associated with something negative, can be simply interpreted as the use of new technologies to express a point of view and eventually put together a set of individuals with a common purpose. However, the incorrect and constant use of the term to classify criminal actions and malicious

hacker groups, has contributed to the same pass being interpreted as something illegal and unethical. These attacks fall into what is called of hacktivism, a conjunction of the words "hack" (the act of attacking, invading something foreign) and "activism" (in the sense of exposing / impose ideas).

The interpretation of the term cyber-activism changed completely, not only the phonetic similarity between the two terms, as the increasingly blurred line that distinguishes "activism" of "hacktivism" with their parallel boundaries of crime.

This becomes particularly relevant when start to exist new hacker groups specialized in theft of personal information that afterwards put online. This information is obtained from companies with poor security, as well as through denial of services, such as against the CIA website.

### Hacktivism Made in Portugal

The existence of this new way of operating in Portugal appears to be linked to the existing social contestation within the country, as a result of the austerity measures.

In 2011 there were several attacks to computer networks and websites of state institutions, such as political parties, the police, the finance portal, the public ministry... For example, there was an attack to the police website through stealing personal information of 107 agents and putting it online after a strike had escalated into violence by the police.

There was also an attack to the political party website of José Sócrates (former prime minister) after the leak of an offshore account belonging to him.

Also with the sense of defending and representing the Portuguese citizens, a group attacked the rating agency Moody's after they downgraded Portugal's debt as junk status.

### Privacy on the Internet Big Brother or Big Business

*Bento, Edgar Filipe da Cruz*

#### Introduction

This article was made as a support document for the presentation held in November 2012 at Slovenia, regarding the Active Citizens Take Action (ACTA). The main objective was to create awareness and discussion about the relevant topics address below. Some opinions are personal, and should not be considered without context.

#### General Concepts

Every day technologies are being used to monitor us with unprecedented scrutiny – from driving habits to workplace surveillance. Internet searches are monitored and used as evidence in court. It is a big business that collects most of the data about us. But increasingly, it's the government that's using it. Furthermore I will address some of these issues. Let's start with some definitions:

#### Internet privacy

Involves the right or mandate of personal privacy concerning the storing, repurposing, providing to third-parties, and displaying of information pertaining to oneself via the Internet.



Privacy can entail either Personally Identifying Information (PII) or non-PII information such as a site visitor's behavior on a website.

#### Internet security

It is a branch of computer security specifically related to the Internet, often involving browser security but also network security on a more general level as it applies to other applications or operating systems on a whole.

Its objective is to establish rules and measures to use against attacks over the Internet

#### Big Brother

Big Brother is a reality TV game show. The premise of the show is that a group of people lives together in a large house, isolated from the outside world.

In the Internet the concept is similar, except it's not what you do in a house, but what you do on the Internet. And one big issue here is that your actions, selections, likes and comments, are like footprints that are going to stay saved for many years in different servers.

#### SOPA

The Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA) is a United States bill introduced by U.S. Representative Lamar S. Smith to expand the ability of U.S. law enforcement to fight online trafficking in copyrighted intellectual property and counterfeit goods. Provisions include the requesting of court orders to bar advertising networks and payment facilities from conducting business with infringing websites, and search engines from linking to the websites, and court orders requiring Internet service providers to block access to the websites. The law would expand existing criminal laws to include unauthorized streaming of copyrighted content, imposing a maximum penalty of five years in prison.

#### PIPA

The PROTECT IP Act (Preventing Real Online Threats to Economic Creativity and Theft of Intellectual Property Act, or PIPA) is a proposed law with the stated goal of giving the US government and copyright holders additional tools to curb access to "rogue websites dedicated to the sale of infringing or counterfeit goods", especially those registered outside the U.S. The bill was introduced on May 12, 2011, by Senator Patrick Leahy and 11 bipartisan co-sponsors. Committee passed the bill, but Senator Ron Wyden placed a hold on it.

The PROTECT IP Act is a re-write of the Combating Online Infringement and Counterfeits Act (COICA), which failed to pass in 2010.

#### ACTA

The Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA), is a multinational treaty for the purpose of establishing international standards for intellectual property rights enforcement. The agreement aims to establish an international legal framework for targeting counterfeit goods, generic medicines and copyright infringement on the Internet, and would create a new governing body outside existing forums, such as the World Trade Organization, the World Intellectual Property Organization, or the United Nations.

#### **Location Based Services (LBS) and the Privacy Bargain**

Location-based services are a general class of computer program-level services used to include specific controls for location and time data as control features in computers, smartphones and Pda's.

LBS are used in a variety of contexts, such as health, object search, entertainment, work, personal life, promotions, finding close friends, cultural, etc.

Examples: Runkeeper, FACEBOOK, HotPotato, Gowalla, MyTown, Foursquare, Loopt, Where, Google Places, Google Latitude, DATING SITES, MyTracks, Foodspotting – And lots of smartphones apps.

A report says that almost two-thirds of mobile users that don't have location-based features would like to start using the feature, showing that there is huge potential for these services.

At this moment, 35% of all telephones are smartphones. 47% of all telephones in the world will be a smartphone in 2015 (two thousand and fifteen). 63 million users used LBS in 2009, this will grow till 468 million users in 2012. 95% of the smartphone users are looking for location information. Android grows as the most popular OS platform and it is expected that 48% of smartphones will run on Android by 2015.

So there's a huge market for this applications and related services based on proximity promotions, and interests for local and major companies.

#### Privacy bargain

Give me your data and I will help it serve you. Or don't.

Why do we accept this bargain? Why do we trade our privacy for services?

The idea is that your private information is less valuable to you than it is to the firms. This happens because we do not perceive our information as having value and so we tend to give it for free. On the other hand the companies by having millions of users can profit a lot of money by selling this information. This is the mythic proportions idea. So they catch it out of your browser and turn it into value. These ideas will be developed also in the Ill topic.

Example: "In a commercial setting, it used to be that if you go into a store, the store knows what you bought, and if you buy with credit cards they can tie it to your name, and if you pay cash they may not even know who you are,"

"But they didn't know all the things you took off the shelf, manipulated, put back on the shelf, thought about. On the Internet, they all have that." Due to that online dossier about your habits, likes and dislikes, sites can serve up advertisements targeted directly to you.

Are these services doing these actions without our consent? No.

Plenty of websites offer privacy policies that explain what they will and won't do with any personal information. But studies shows that people typically ignore them and don't understand the legalese, anyway. And simply seeing a privacy policy without reviewing often provides a false sense of security to consumers who might assume that "privacy" inherently implies protection from third-party intrusion.

And also we can ask our self's how many times do we read the privacy policies agreements to the end or at list the headlines?

Example:

By reading this agreement, you give Technology Review and its partners the unlimited right to intercept and examine your reading choices from this day forward, to sell the insights gleaned thereby, and to retain that information in perpetuity and supply it without

limitation to any third party.

Even if you read, we are awful at pricing out the net present value of a decision whose consequences are far in the future. No one would take up smoking if the tumors sprouted with the first puff. Most privacy disclosures don't put us in immediate physical or emotional distress either.

### Is the Internet Destroying Privacy?

Do you believe that your privacy is being invaded or destroyed? Who is destroying Privacy, Who is the Enemy?

In one point of view: We met the enemy and He is Us.

Example of Facebook started out as a directory of what were essentially personalized business cards, but has now turned into a social necessity and, for many, an obsession.

What do we like so much about sharing every aspect of our lives with people we hardly know?

Need for Social Acceptance - Perhaps we like it because it asks the question "what's on your mind?" or because it gives us the impression that everyone wants as much information about us as we'd give them on a first date.

Facebook is no longer a way to connect with all of your friends, it's the way that everyone you've ever met tells you every detail about their life.

In the other hand: Internet Companies are doing that each actualization after another.

Why do we seem to value privacy so little regarding this companies?

In part, it's because we are told to. Facebook has more than once overridden its users' privacy preferences, replacing them with new default settings. Facebook then responds to the inevitable public outcry by restoring something that's like the old system, except slightly less private. And it adds a few more lines to an inexplicably complex privacy dashboard.

### World War 3.0

When the Internet was created, decades ago, one thing was inevitable: the war today over how (or whether) to control it, and who should have that power.

Battle lines have been drawn between repressive regimes and Western democracies, corporations and customers, hackers and law enforcement.

Control:

The U.S. and most of its allies basically want to keep Internet governance the way it is: run by a small group of technical organizations, most of them based in the United States.

On the other side countries where governments want to place restrictions on how people use the Internet. These include Russia, China, India, Iran, and a host of others.

A number of countries have openly called for the creation of a "new global body" to oversee online policy. At the very least, they'd like to give the United Nations a great deal more control over the Internet.

There is a war under way for control of the Internet, and every day brings word of new clashes on a shifting and widening battlefield. Governments, corporations, criminals, anarchists they all have their

own war aims.

The Swedish Supreme Court refused to hear appeals from three founders of the Pirate Bay. The same day, one of the founder's said "Stop seeing their movies. Stop listening to their music. Remix, reuse, use, abuse."

Some say The War for the Internet was inevitable a time bomb built into its creation because of the trust issue.

The system is now approaching a state of crisis on four main fronts.

The first is sovereignty:

By definition, a boundary-less system flouts geography and challenges the power of nation-states.

The second is piracy and intellectual property: information wants to be free, as the hoary saying goes, but rights-holders want to be paid and protected.

The third is privacy: online anonymity allows for creativity and political dissent, but it also gives cover to disruptive and criminal.

The fourth is security: free access to an open Internet makes users vulnerable to various kinds of hacking, including corporate and government espionage, personal surveillance, the hijacking of Web traffic, and remote manipulation of computer-controlled military and industrial processes.

### What Has privacy Got to Do with ACTA, SOPA, and PIPA?

All though SOPA and PIPA are US internal bills/laws because of ACTA its international implications and wider effects all of these issues are being raised and brot to discussion all over the world. But, let's talk about its effects on Privacy and on Internet users, services and other issues related.

"Imposing restrictions on the internet, such as the proposed "Stop Online Piracy Act" (SOPA) in the United States, will only hamper technological developments", writes Bulgarian MEP Ivailo Kalfin MEP (S&D). He is also the EP's rapporteur on critical information infrastructure protection.

Can you live without Twitter, YouTube, Facebook, LinkedIn, Wikipedia, Wikimedia, etc?

Maybe, but the benefits are clearly less than the constraints. Furthermore, it is not only about these popular sites but about any website that might unwillingly contain an offer or a link to a counterfeited product or a product whose intellectual property rights are not covered and faces blocking by the US Attorney General or other International Law Enforcement.

The draft provisions include barring advertising networks and payment facilities from conducting business with allegedly infringing websites, barring search engines from linking to the sites and requiring the internet service providers (ISP) to block access to these sites. The bill also criminalizes web streaming of such content.

For sure the **intellectual property rights (IPR)** have to be protected on the internet. Undoubtedly this is not easy given the rapid development of the technologies. But imposing restrictions on the internet and on the development of these very technologies is certainly not the right approach. Such a policy could only hamper the technological development without stopping the malicious actions.

Maybe in some countries or in some aspects the adoption of such Draconian measures would restrict the free use of products that are

covered by the intellectual property rights. But at the same time it opens wide the possibility to restrict the use of Internet whatever the motivation might be - legal, commercial, political, etc.

One of the founders of the internet, Vint Cerf, wrote in a letter to the congressman who introduced the **SOPA** bill, Lamar Smith, "Requiring search engine to delete a domain name begins a worldwide arms race of unprecedented 'censorship' of the Web." Together with the Protect IP Act (**PIPA**), if adopted, would give the possibility to the authorities to block the work of websites.

The adoption of SOPA would harm the development of cloud computing and undermine the efforts to increase the security of the Internet through the recent adaptation of secured extension of the domain name system.

#### Dangers for freedom of expression and access to culture

The interests of copyright holders have clearly been placed above freedom of expression, data privacy and other fundamental rights.

ACTA would place the regulation of freedom of expression in the hands of private corporations since the agreement requires third parties, like Internet Service Providers (ISPs), to monitor online content, even though it's not their place or role to make determinations in issues of freedom of expression.

ACTA could impede access to the cultural inheritance of a society since it increases the penalties and risks of using works whose owners or copyright holders are either difficult to identify or find (so-called "orphan works").

The final shape of the agreement is still vague and much of its meaning won't be clear until the final ratification, but could easily mean that large numbers of citizens would be criminalized for minor offenses.

#### Dangers for data privacy

ACTA forces ISPs to monitor the content on their networks and to disclose the private data of alleged infringers. Lawyers and putative copyright holders in Europe already use strong-arm tactics to exploit innocent users by trying to charge them with huge sums in the form of "severance payments" in order to avoid court procedures. The EU should seek to forbid such politics rather than export them to other countries.

Unfairly increasing the liability for ISPs would create not only an incentive to increase overall monitoring but also to use ever more invasive techniques to identify alleged infringers such as, for example, extensive monitoring of communications like **"Deep Packet Inspection"**. All of these means are gross encroachments of a user's privacy.

#### An unclear legal situation

The vague wording of some of the central definitions of ACTA makes the actual legal ramifications unclear. Since the agreement would introduce much higher implementation standards than existing agreements and contains only vague and unenforceable references to guarantees, ACTA is not in line with current international legal standards. ACTA is not compatible with European standards for protection and advancement of universality, integrity and openness of the Internet, as designed by the European Parliament. This law empowered states with "the responsibility to ensure that their actions conform to accepted standards of international human rights and the fundamental rights of citizens and do not have any adverse

or over-reaching effects on access to or the use of the Internet".

The European Parliament has repeatedly voted in support of internet neutrality, data privacy and the freedom of internet. These principles are considered to be the cornerstones of the technological development.

#### **Conclusions**

ACTA could have a severe, negative impact if it cannot strike the right balance between protection of copyright and guaranteeing fundamental rights for the rest of society such as freedom of expression, access to information and culture, and data privacy.

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## Conference Contributions (II)

*PowerPoint Presentations (click on titles to view)*

### CSOs and E-Tools: Spark of Hope for Increased Democracy in Macedonia

*Simona Ognevska*

### A Few Dilemmas of the Prevailing Information Society

*József Györkös*

### Drafting ACTA Project Recommendations for Decision Makers

*Simon Delakorda*







## Additional Multimedia and Other Materials Prepared by Our Partners

**Videos by Studio 12**  
(click on title to view)

### **Electronic Direct Democracy and Popular Uprisings on the Internet**

The panel discussed electronic direct democracy concept as model for political and community organization of digital society. What lessons have we learned from its practical examples, how does the popular uprisings on internet impact electronic direct democracy and how we think about the future of the Democracy with overwhelming growth of digital society.

### **Can Technology Really Bring Back Direct Democracy?**

In some aspects, electronic direct democracy is already a part of our decision making process, yet the future prospects of its usage are vast. E-government, online consultations about policy drafts, public online forums and e-petitions are some of the already functioning means of communication between the citizens and the government. The efficiency and immediate results of electronic direct democracy are more visible on a small scale, we have yet to learn a lot though in order to be able to efficiently apply it nationally and globally. There are already various organizations as well as some political parties that are uniting across borders to achieve common global goals. Technology is very useful and plays a big role in development of electronic direct democracy. The human factor is however even more important.

### **Glas skupnosti/Community Voices – Sašo Miklič**

Odločiti se moramo za smer razvoja. Posledično se je potrebno tudi politično organizirati in dvigniti obstoječo politično kulturo. O izzivih aktivnega vključevanja v procese odločanja na ravni države je spregovoril Sašo Miklič.

### **Glas skupnosti/Community Voices – Simon Delakorda**

Povezovanje spletnih peticij z zahtevami protestnikov z ulice ustvari sinergijo fizičnega in elektronskega prostora. Učinek je lahko zelo velik in vpliva na spremembe pri nas in v globalnem prostoru. O vplivu tovrstnih demokratičnih pritiskov na odločevalce je spregovoril Simon Delakorda iz Inštituta za elektronsko participacijo.

### **Glas skupnosti/Community Voices – Mreža za neposredno demokracijo**

Vsi bi morali biti politično in družbeno bolj aktivni. Pomembno je vedeti, kam gre naš denar, kam se usmerja skupna energija. S svojo angažiranostjo bi lahko preprečili sleherno možnost ugrabljanja denarja in družbene moči. Je pa to kar velik izziv. Lahko je biti proti

vsemu, ko pa se soočimo s konkretnim delovanjem, entuziazem uplahne.

### **The Power and Internet**

If you use the Internet this discussion concerns you. It concerns all of us. Listen to an extract of a much-needed public debate on legal rights, privacy, data protection, usage of internet. To whom does Internet give the power? Is it a tool of the public to make its voice heard? Is the power in the hands of big corporations dealing with (personal) data? Two hundred million photos are being uploaded on Facebook every day. And do you know who owns the rights for those?

### **Active Citizens Take Action**

Studio 12 is one of the partners of an international project ACTA – Active Citizens Take Action, lead by Za in proti, zavod za kulturo dialoga. The project brings together 14 different NGOs from 5 countries and is a combination of NGOs that deal with young people and debate and NGOs working with Internet in various ways. During 22nd and 25th November 2012 several activities took place, amongst them a round table "The power and the Internet", workshops, discussions etc. Debaters were discussing privacy and data protection on the Internet, ownership, Internet usage, active citizenship, e-democracy...


**Videos by Kiberpipa**  
(click on title to view)

### **Protestno gibanje in internet/Protest movements and the Internet**

Na okrogli mizi bomo spregovorili o različnih iniciativah nastalih v slovenskih protestih (Protestival, VLV, Danes je nov dan, Gibanje za neposredno demokracijo, Gibanje za osvoboditev kluba K4 ...) in njihovi uporabi interneta. Kaj točno z njim počnejo, kako ga uporabljajo, ali imajo samo Facebook page, kako komunicirajo z vstajniki, kako si predstavljajo organizacijo protestov brez teh orodij ...

### **Privatizacija internet/Privatization of the Internet**

Poteze, ki jih zadnje čase vlečejo Google, Facebook in Twitter internet kot odprto polje vse bolj pretvarjata v mesto zagrajenih vrčičkov, kjer se morajo uporabniki in razvijalci prilagajati njunim pravilom igre. Kam to vodi? Ali nas čaka internet dveh (ali večih) "operacijskih sistemov" ali pa ostaja upanje za odprt internet. Nikakor ne gre



pozabiti, da odprtost interneta pomeni tudi dostop do bitov ter omrežja. Ali nam grozi izguba interneta kot ga poznamo danes?

### **Ženske in Internet/Women and the Internet**

Na okrogli mizi smo spregovorili o tem, zakaj je med programerji in računalničarji tako malo žensk. Kje so ženske na internetu? Ali velja stereotip, da se skrivajo za delovnimi mizami organizatork, dizajnerk? Pridružili se nam bosta tudi predstavnici iniciative Č I P k e, ki bo raziskovala situacijo žensk v znanstvenotehničnem kontekstu in intermedijski umetnosti.

### **Okrogla miza o odprti kodi/Open Source Codes Roundtable**

Na tokratnih Pipinih odprtih terminih je v okviru mednarodnega projekta ACTA potekala javna razprava o odprti kodi. Na okrogli mizi se je odgovarjalo na vprašanja kot so: Zakaj v državni upravi še ne uporabljamo odprtih formatov? Zakaj podatkov ne naredimo dostopnih državljanom v računalniško berljivi obliki? Zakaj še kar naprej plačujemo licenčnine Microsoftu, če bi lahko uporabljali Libre Office in podobne rešitve?

### **Report from ACTA Project Online Discussion** *Institute for Electronic Participation*

Click [here](#) to read full report.