# ANARCHY, STATUS UPDATES, AND UTOPIA

James Grimmelmann 11-11-11 What will it take to bring the rule of law to social software?

# COUNTDOWN

### THREE STORIES

- \* Privacy on Facebook
- \*\* Banishment from Google+
- \* Censorship in The Sims Online

## TWO ANXIETIES

- \* The God problem: technical power
  - \* Code is law
  - \* And the platform owner controls the code
- \* The *Cheers* problem: social lock-in
  - \* Social software is social
  - \* No one wants to be the first to leave

## ONE CLAIM

- \* These anxieties are closely linked
  - \* Technical power is inescapable ...
  - \* ... and inescapably social

# ARGUMENT

#### THE MASTER SWITCH

- \* Protests against the "new Facebook" in 2011
  - \* ... and 2009 and 2008 and 2006
  - \* Unceasing privacy-architecture churn
- \* Google suspends accounts, often without warning
- \* Censorship rumors outpace reality, but there is some

### REACTION

- \* "Like the Internet itself, Diaspora isn't housed in any one place, and it's not controlled by any one entity (including us)."
- \* "Bitcoin uses peer-to-peer technology to operate with no central authority ...."
- \* "A central objective of Solipsis is to create a virtual world which is as independent as possible from the influence of private interests, such as server ownership."

### INEVITABILITY

- \* Code is law
  - \* Online social media can't not have software
- \* Freezing the code forever is not a realistic option
  - \* Bugs are inevitable
  - \* Unexpected use cases mean contested use cases
  - \* So someone has to be able to make changes

### SOCIAL SOFTWARE

- \* Social software enables social connections
  - \* But it also requires social agreement
- \* What makes Facebook Facebook? Facebook.
- \* What makes Diaspora Diaspora? Diaspora?
- \* What makes Bitcoin Bitcoin? User consensus.
- \* These issues do not arise with non-social software

#### SO?

- \* The God problem is more immediately dramatic
  - \*\* But the *Cheers* problem has real bite in the long run
  - \* God can't be nerfed; exit can never be made costless
- \* To join a platform is to commit to a community
  - \* Technical change over time is inevitable
  - \* And those technical choices are inherently political

## IMPLICATIONS

### ANARCHY

- \* Ex ante contracts can't possibly be complete enough
  - \* Even when embedded in software
  - \* Especially when embedded in software
- \* The choice among communities is "free and forced"
  - \* Don't just think of Facebook dictating terms
  - \* It's also Facebook's other users dictating them to you

# STATE (ONLINE)

- \* Evil BigCo rhetoric is (mostly) overblown
  - \* Zuckerberg doesn't set a daily oppression quota
  - \* There are petty tyrants, too
  - \* User drama is a customer support cost
- \* Platforms don't want to be in the adjudication business
  - \* But social media, by their nature, create conflicts

# STATE (OFFLINE)

- \* Governments stand for popular will and rule of law
  - \* Except for jurisdictional mismatches
  - \* Except when they don't understand the problem
  - \* Except when they are the problem
- \* The mountains are high, and the Emperor is far away

#### UTOPIA

- \* Formal rule of law will be in platforms' own interest
  - \* Even if they're not always good at recognizing it
- \* A rule-of-law culture must come from the users
  - ★ Governance = cart, polity = horse
  - \*\* Broad debate and "civic" engagement are essential
- \*\* Restraints on the abuse of technical and social power will come from the community, not from the software

The rule of law will come when we, the users, build it.