

digitaal soeverein en weerbaar

Marleen Stikker
14 juni 2025

technologie = macht = politiek

“Informatie behoort de mensen toe
en wordt door de mensen gemaakt.”

“

Computerwetenschappers en
-ontwikkelaars staan
ten dienste van het volk en mogen
zich niet ontwikkelen tot [...]
bevoorrechte en
onverantwoordelijke technocraten.”

“

[We eisen] dat er geen persoonlijke informatie wordt opgeslagen en opgehaald via elektronische middelen. Maak openbare gegevens vrijelijk beschikbaar, bescherm privégegevens gedegen is ons motto.

”

PARADISO
THE GALACTIC HACKER PARTY



& ICATA '89
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE ALTERNATIVE USE OF TECHNOLOGY

WEDNESDAY AUGUST 2ND 'TO BYTE OR NOT TO BYTE' THURSDAY AUGUST 3RD 'THE HACKER IN THE LION'S DEN' FRIDAY AUGUST 4TH 'THE FUTURE BEHIND THE COMPUTER' IN CO-OPERATION WITH HACK-TIC, 2600 MAGAZINE NEW YORK, TERMINAL CIII PARIS, CHAOS COMPUTER CLUB

GUESTS: CAPTAIN CRUNCH, LEE FELSENGSTEIN, WAU HOLLAND, PENGU, DANIEL DE ROULET & P.M., BATTILO WARRITAY & STUDENTS, CEES HAMMELINK A.O.

PLACES: GERMANY, USA, NEW ZEALAND, USSR, KENYA AND FRANCE

ENTRY: F 10,- DAYTICKET, F 25,- 3 DAYS PASS, F 20,- HACK-TIC SUBSCR., F 100,- CORPORATE FEE, VOORVERKOOP: AUB TICKETSHOP, WWW
PARADISO WETERINGSCHANS 6-8, 1017 SG AMSTERDAM, THE NETHERLANDS, TEL +31 20 264521 +31 20 237348, FAX +31 20 222721

Uit het manifest
van de Galactic
Hacker Party in
Paradiso in
1989 !

Kans voor publieke domein ...

“ Naast de marktsector bestaat er immers een publiek domein, waarvoor de overheid een bijzondere verantwoordelijkheid heeft. Het bestaan en de omvang van het publieke domein komen voort uit de grondrechten van de burgers. Drie aspecten zijn daarbij van belang: het recht op vrijheid van informatie en communicatie, het recht op bescherming van de persoonlijk levenssfeer en het recht op ordelijke regels (door de overheid op te stellen) voor het maatschappelijk en commercieel verkeer. ”

Nationale Actieplan Digitale Snelwegen: van Metafoor naar Actie. (1994)

1994

Markt eigent zich publieke domein toe

“

[...] the Internet has been founded on public domain protocols and products which generally included source availability at no charge. It has been only recently that vendors have suggested profiting from the Internet by selling the browsing tools and technologies, and offering commercial services on the Internet itself. The information and software has been free for 15 years, we need to be careful to embrace the current technologies and community before we attempt to reshape it.

”

Interne memo microsoft J Allard "Windows: The Next Killer Application on the Internet" 1994

1994

Embrace, Extend and Extinguish strategy

Expliciete strategie van Microsoft sinds 1994

Embrace product categories involving widely used open standards

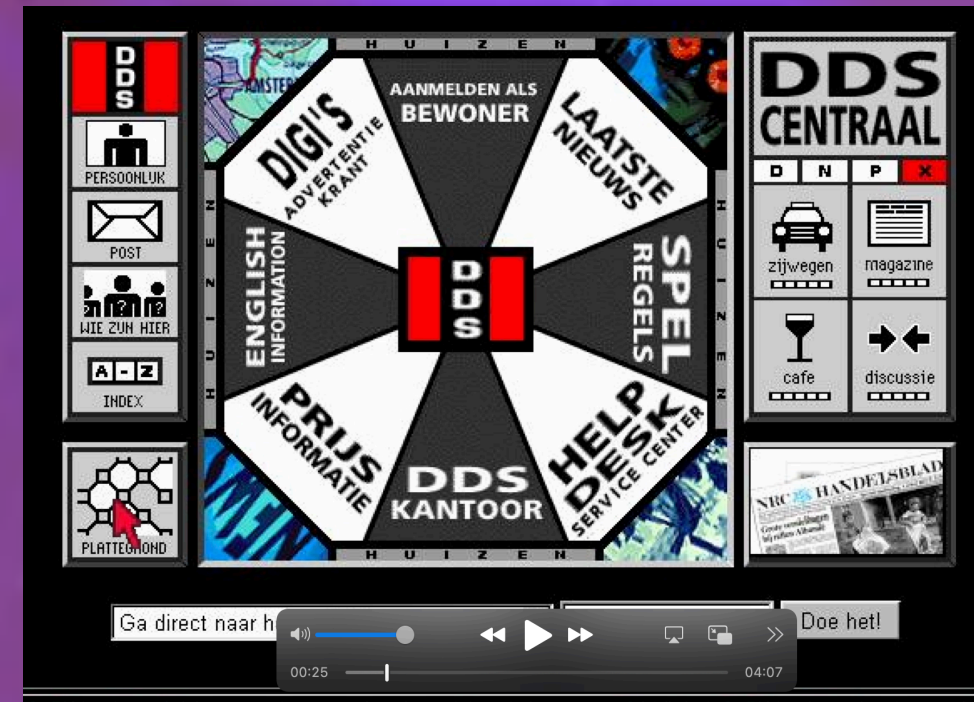
Extend those standards with proprietary capabilities

Extinguish by using the differences to strongly disadvantage its competitors.

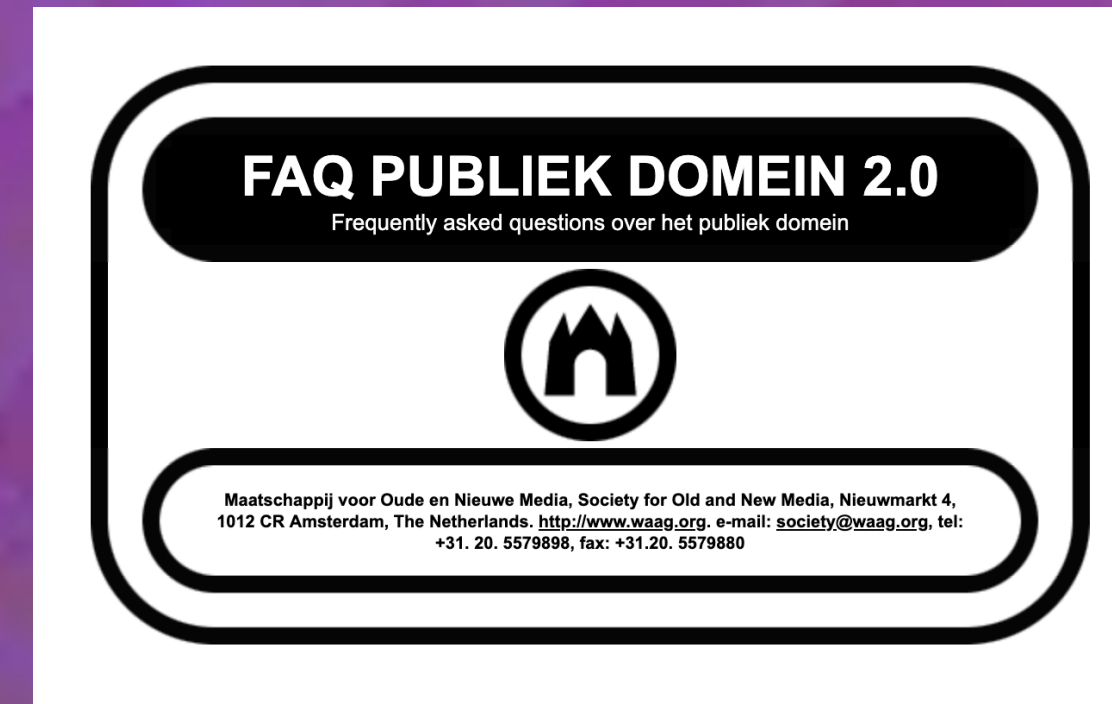
1989



1994



1996



1997



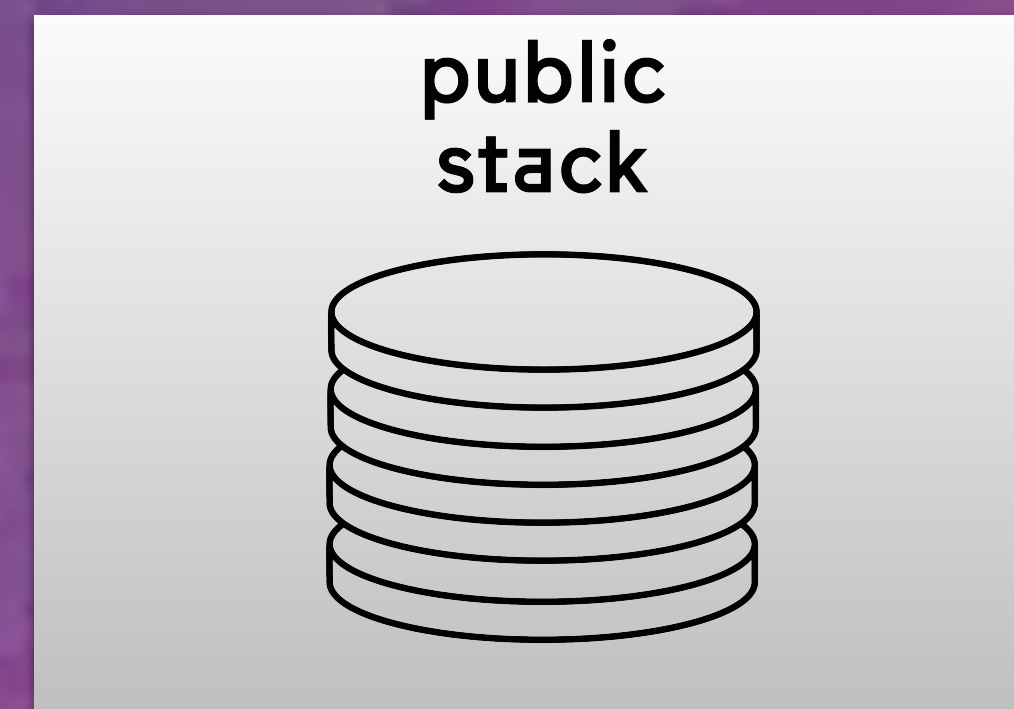
... pleidooi voor erkenning digitale publieke ruimte



2010



2015



2019

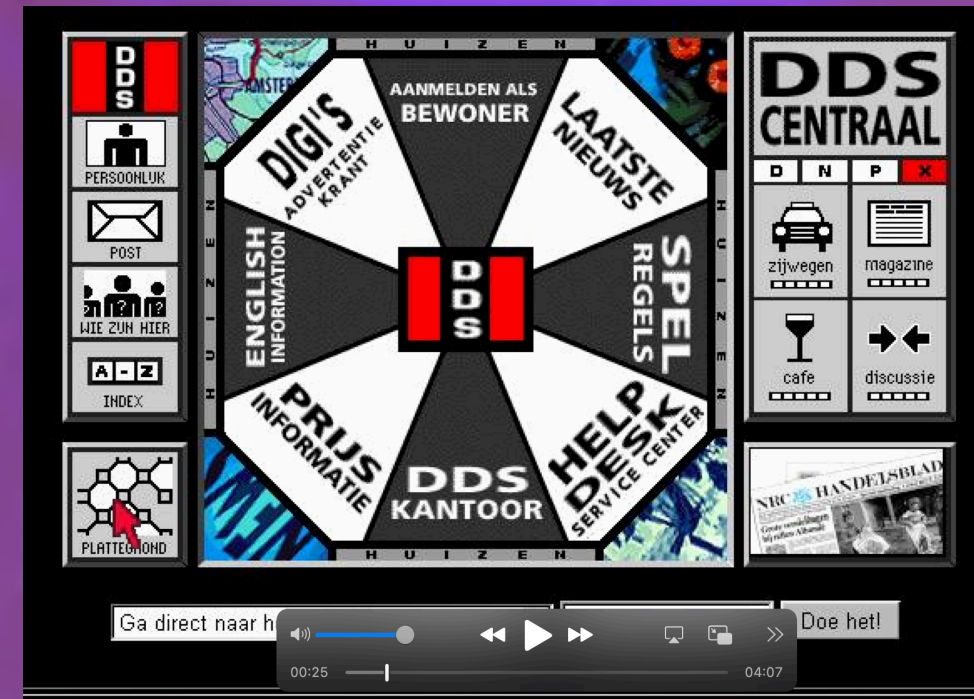
...

2024

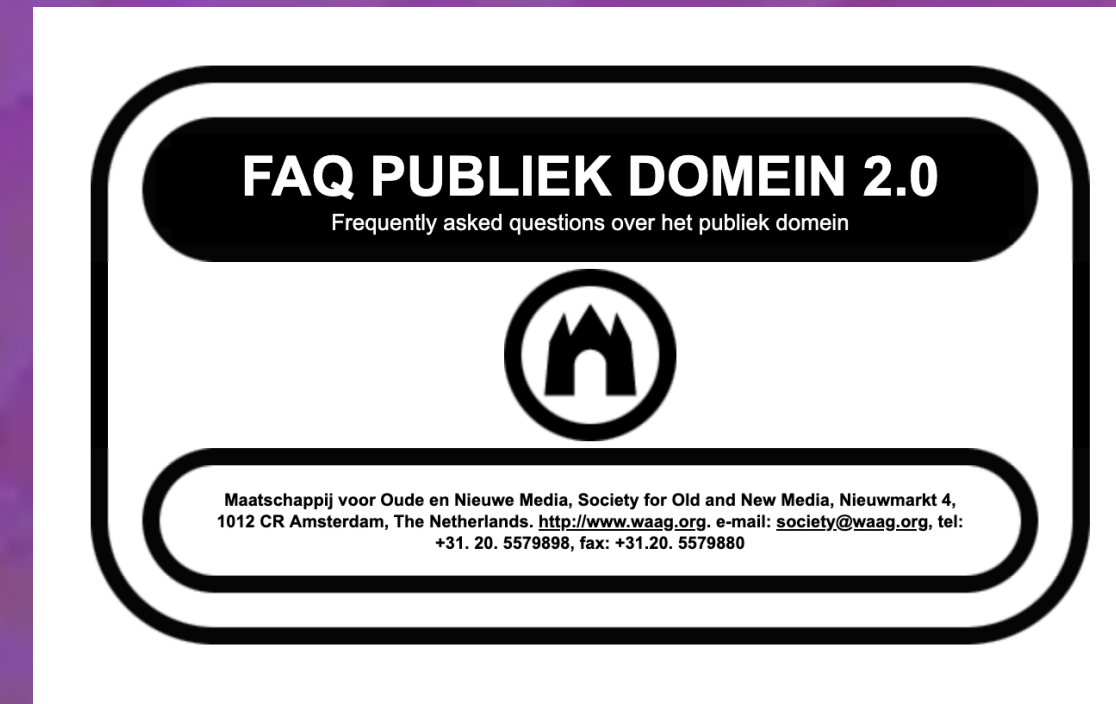
1989



1994



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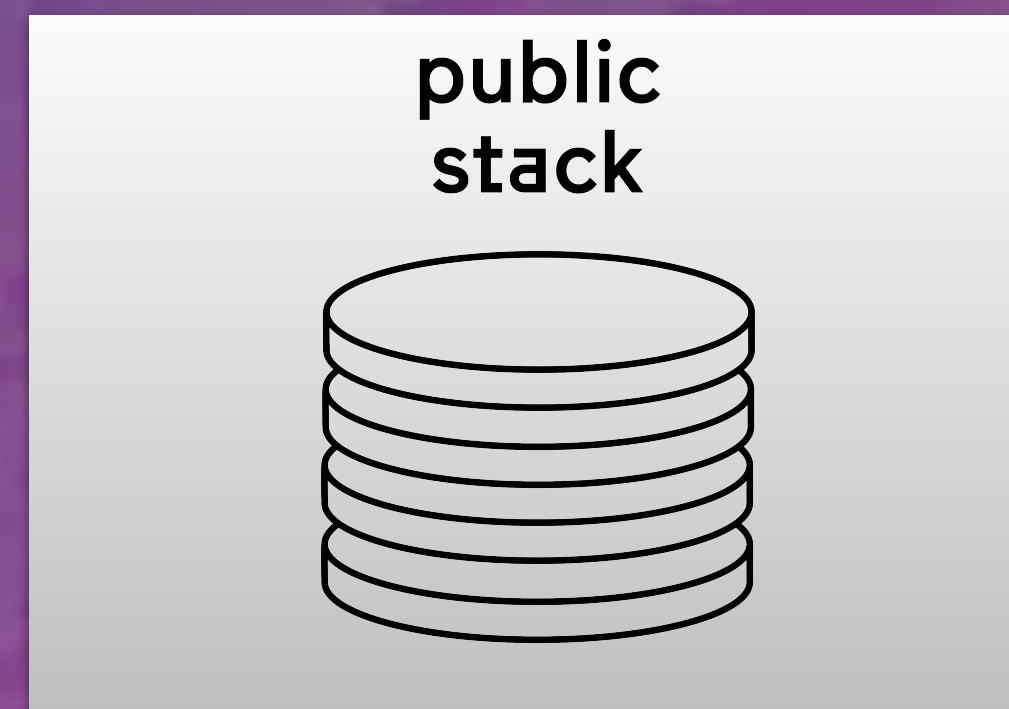
... heeft weinig opgeleverd tot



2010



2015



2019



2024



bron: AP, bewerking: Waag Futurelab



Wat staat er op het spel ?

Democratie en rechtstaat

- (social) warfare, desinformatie, ondermijning, macht disbalans

Mentale gezondheid

- verslavende algoritmes, dark patterns

Strategische autonomie

- toeigening van data, content, arbeid en compute

Oorzaak = giftige combinatie

1. Extreem doorgevoerd marktdenken

- Primaat ligt bij verdienvermogen van private partijen
- Waarden zijn ondergeschikt
- Naïviteit over technologie, macht en rol kapitaal

2. Ontmanteling van maatschappelijke instituties

- Primaat ligt bij de staat
- Ontkenning van maatschappelijke democratie als voorwaarde representatieve democratie
- De burger als klant en consument, niet als actor

Maatschappelijke instituties

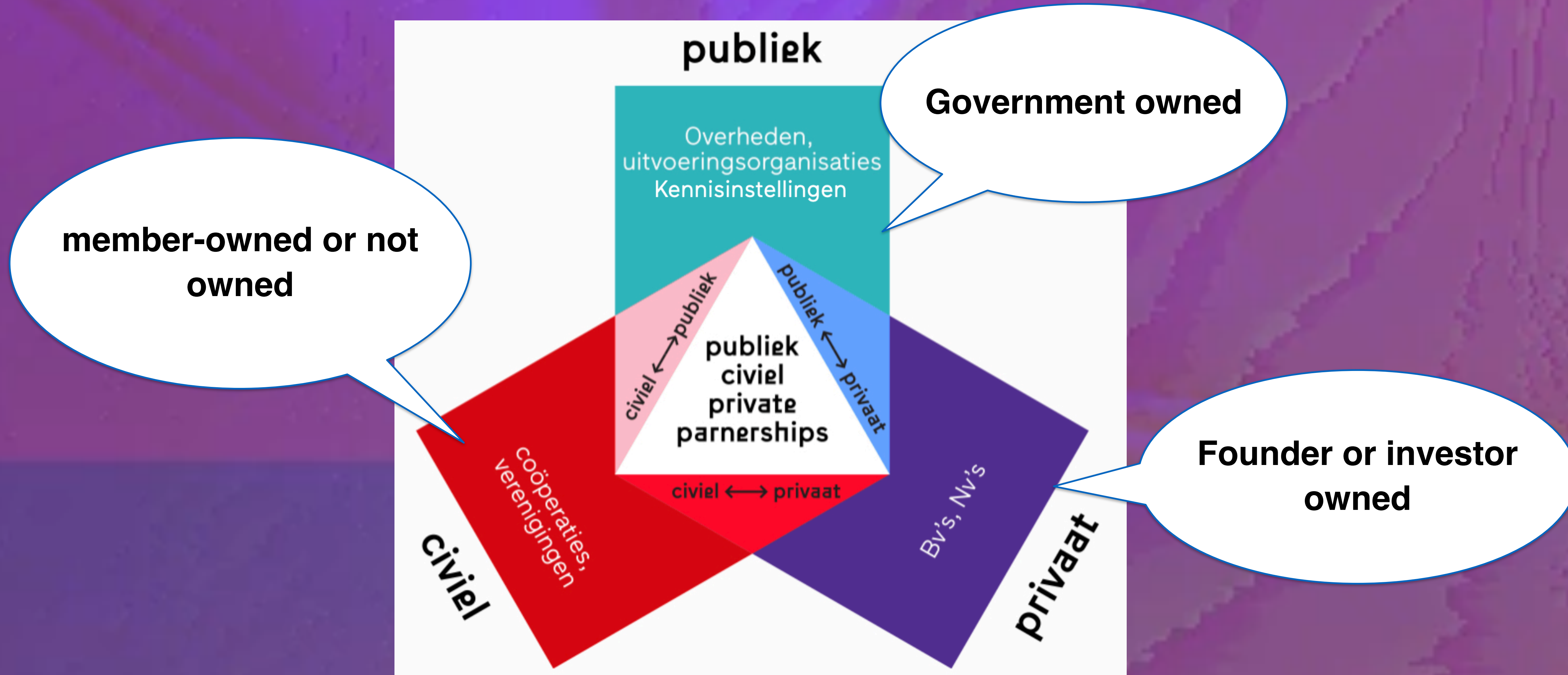
1. Vormen de basis van de democratie

- Het verenigt individuen in juridische handelende entiteiten
- Politieke partijen zijn ook maatschappelijke entiteiten !!
- Hebben een cruciale rol in publieke waarden

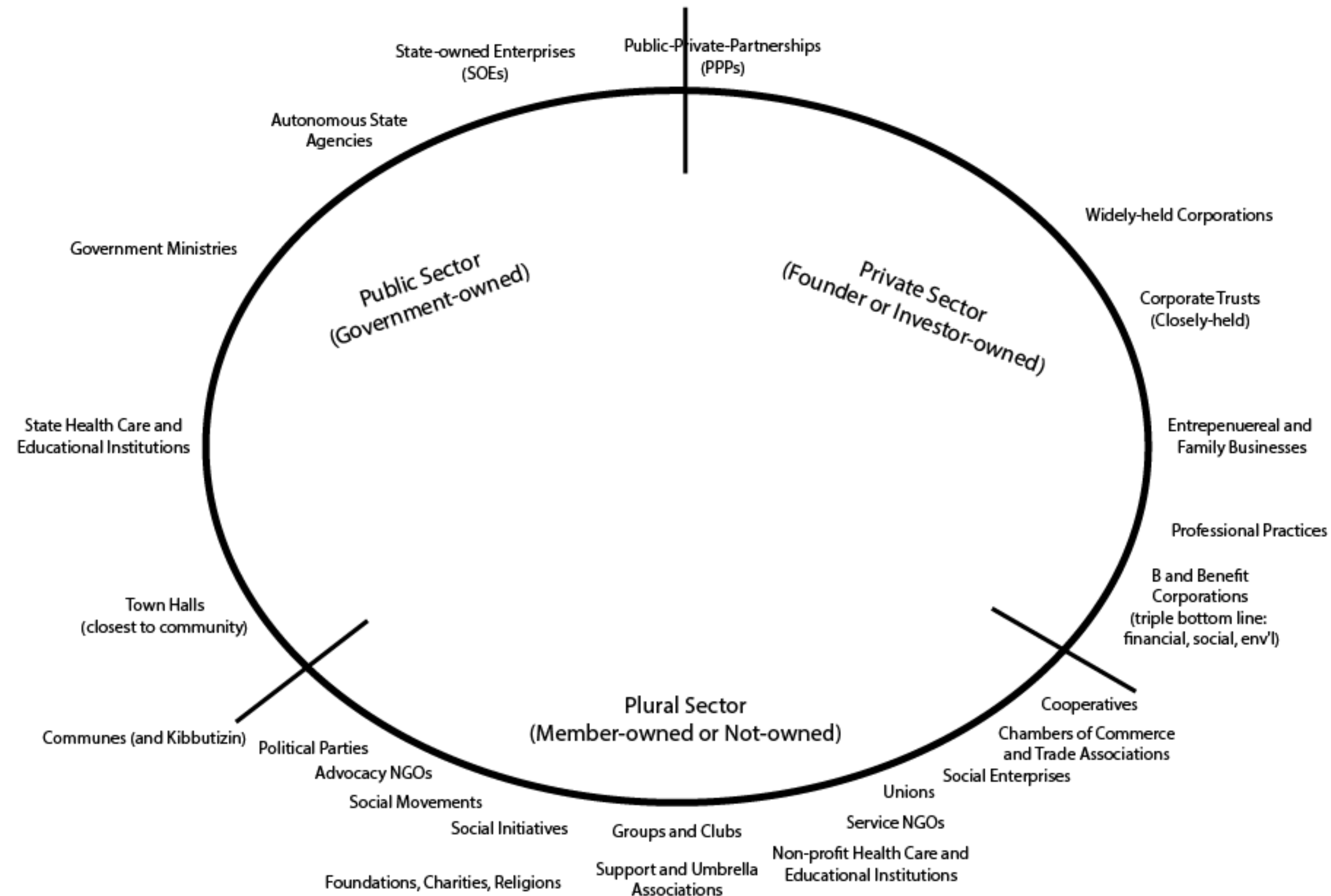
2. Vormen de basis van de economie

- Geen extractie of waarde toe-eigening
- Waarborgt continuïteit en beheer commons
- Betrokkenheid van diverse stakeholders

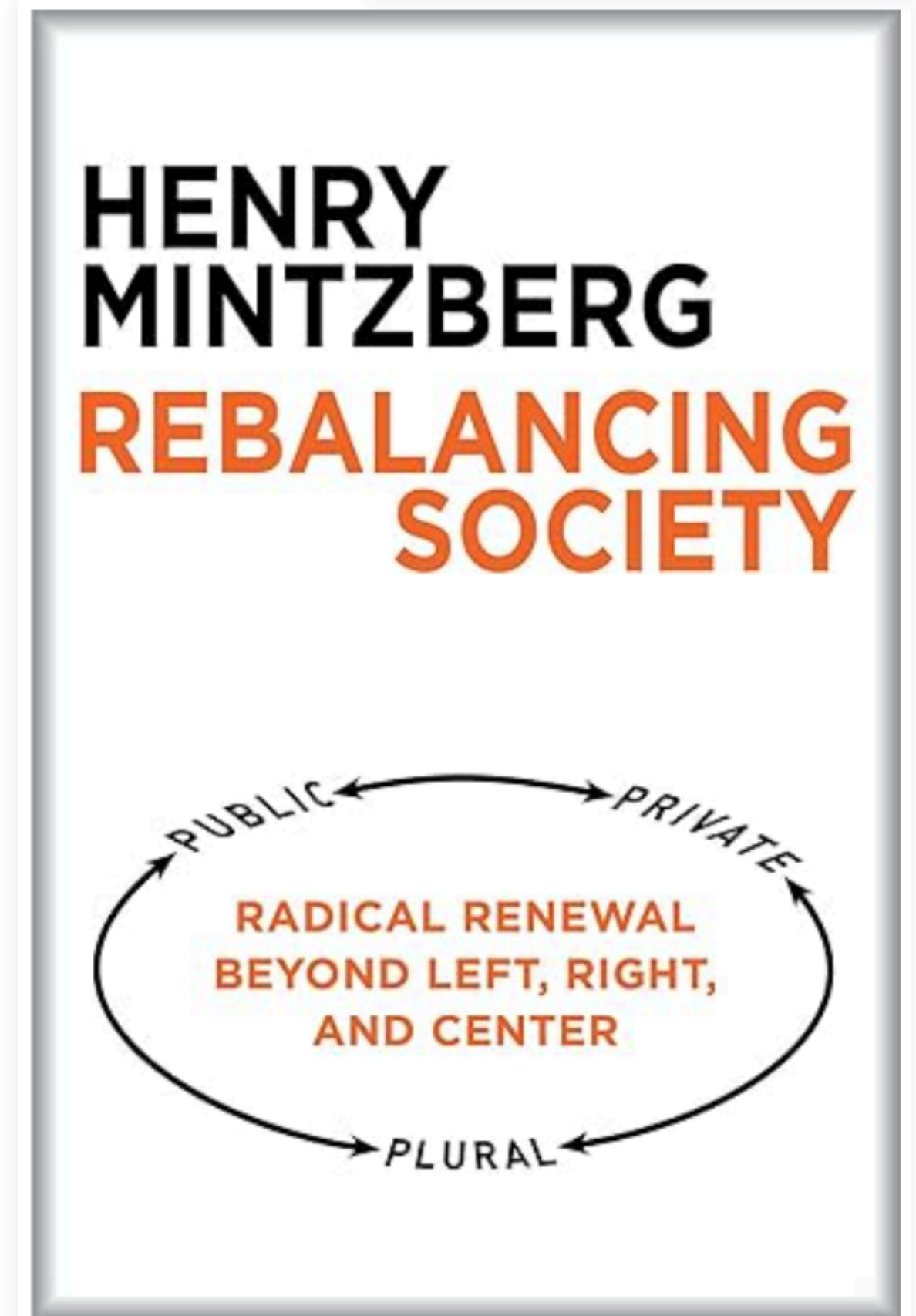
publiek – civiel – privaat



Public-private-plural - Henry Mintzberg



©Henry Mintzberg 2016



De commons is een essentiële economische factor

“ Commons are shared resources, maintained and/or created by a community, organised around commonly defined shared rules.”

Nature

Air...water...dna...photosynthesis...seeds...topsoil...airwaves...minerals...
animals...plants...antibiotics...oceans...fisheries...aquifers...quiet...
wetlands...forests...rivers...lakes...solar energy...wind energy...

Community

Streets...playgrounds...the calendar...holidays...universities...libraries...museums...
social insurance...law...money...accounting standards...capital markets...
political institutions...farmers' markets...flea markets...craigslist...

Culture

Language...philosophy...religion...physics...chemistry...musical instruments...
classical music...jazz...ballet...hip-hop...astronomy...electronics...the internet...
broadcast spectrum...medicine...biology...mathematics...open source software...

**The
Commons**



Anatomy of an AI system

“... each small moment of convenience – be it answering a question, turning on a light, or playing a song – requires a vast planetary network, **fueled by the extraction of non-renewable materials, labor, and data** ...”

Kate Crawford, and Vladan Jole
<https://anatomyof.ai/>

Wat moet europa doen?

Radicaal kiezen voor commons: open source, federatie en open standaarden



Next Cloud - NRC 14 juni 2025



Publieke waarden in technologie

Ja

Interoperable

Public data & compute

Privacy by design

Federatief

Regeneratief

Publieke waarden

Democratie in controle

Nee

Locked in

Private Data and Compute

Surveillance by design

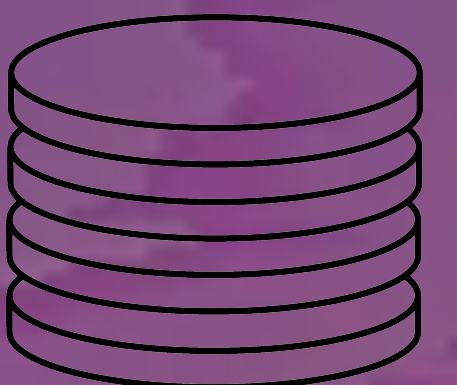
Gecentraliseerd

Extractief

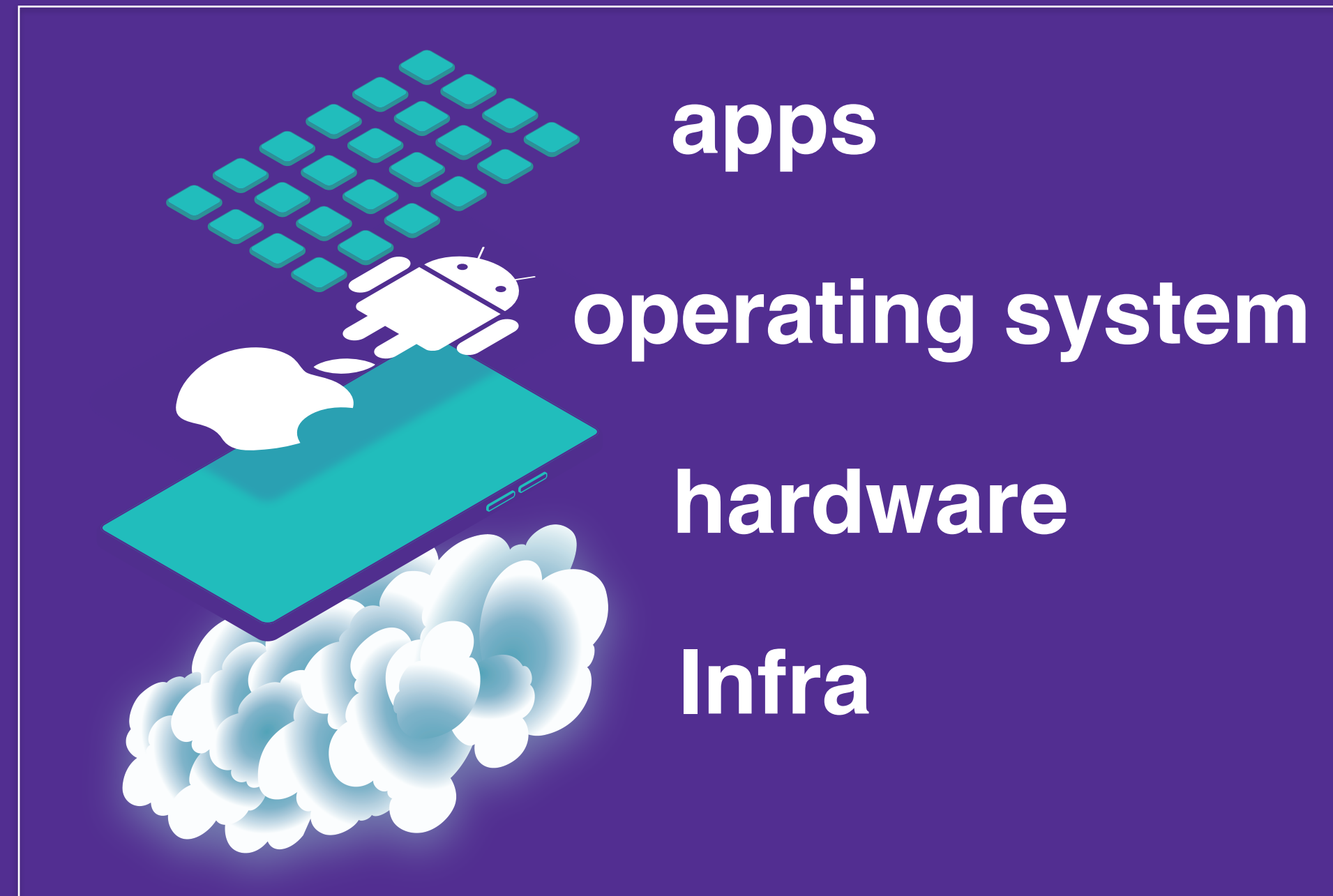
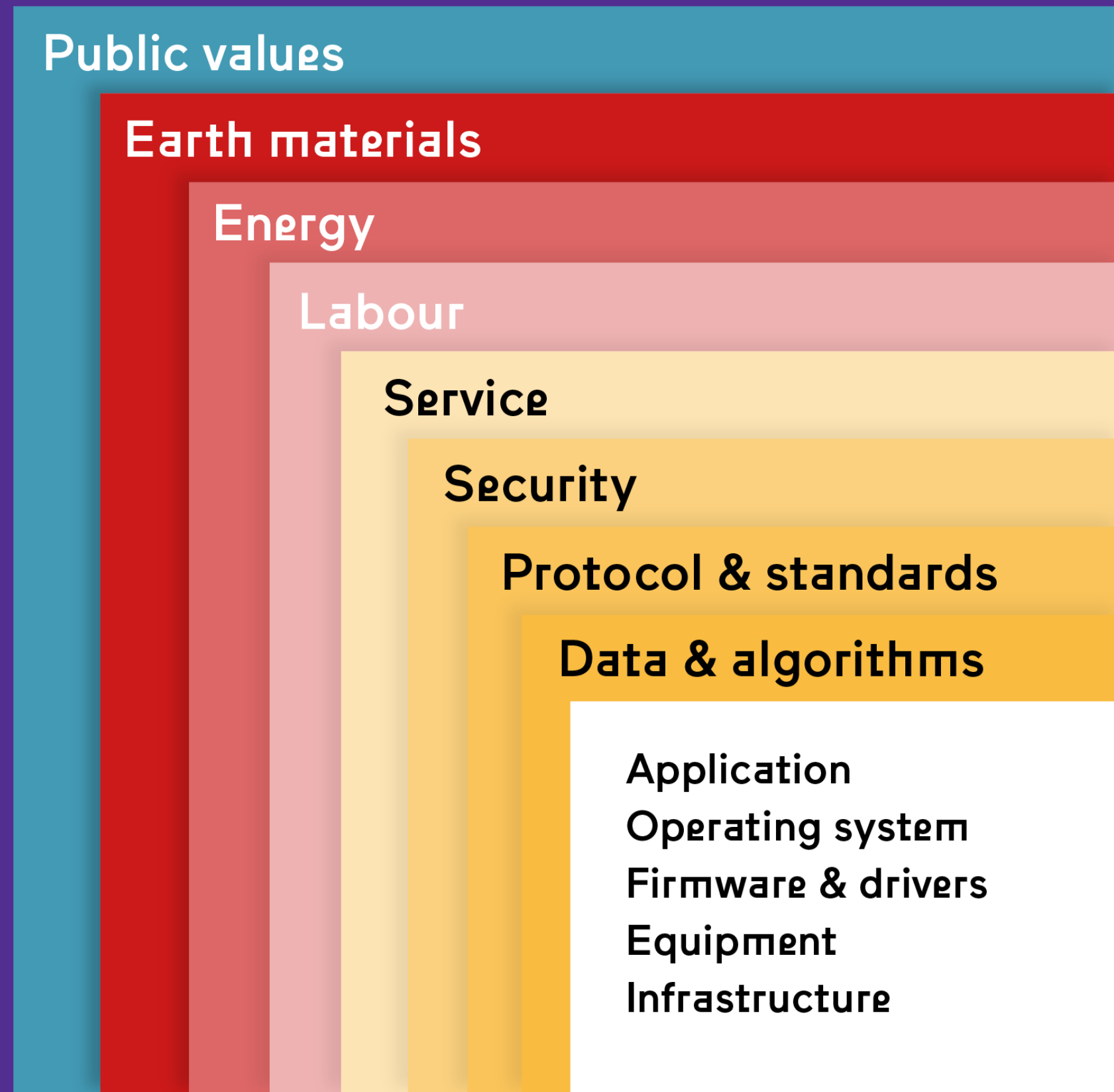
Aandeelhouders belang

Big tech in controle

public
stack



Geen State, Private maar Public Stack !



Ontgoogde smartphone bestaat.
Hoogwaardige publieke tech is
mogelijk

<https://waag.org/nl/project/public-stack-het-alternatieve-internet/>

Public EuroStack

6 dimensies

Wie ontwerpt?

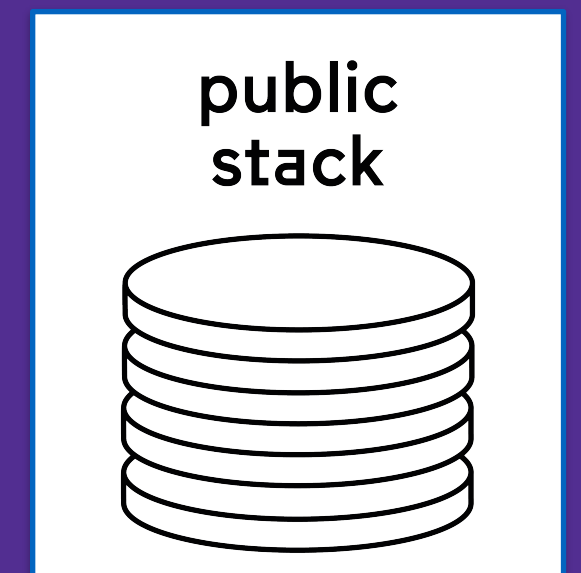
Waar optimaliseer je voor?

Eigendom

Toezicht

Ecologische voetafdruk

Grondrechten en wetten



Transitie is al gaande



Towards digital public futures

JRC XXXXXX



SCIENCE FOR POLICY BRIEF

Democratic and societal resilience

Towards digital public futures?

HIGHLIGHTS

- Delegating to few private tech companies the power to shape public discourses and social relations poses serious risks to people's and public institutions' independence and sovereignty.
- The EU should invest in digital public infrastructures, supporting the adoption of open-source and open-data AI frameworks to build a secure, independent and inclusive online public sphere.
- A deeper understanding of the interplay between physical and digital spaces and how citizens navigate between them is needed for long-term democratic resilience and social cohesion.
- Community-led innovation, taking place in everyday public spaces, enables citizens to become politically and socially engaged, to shape technological development and gain agency over technology.

"Whereas in its early days the internet was a public space, based on reciprocity and open exchange, we are now faced with an extreme privatisation of the digital sphere. Our conversations, social exchanges and political debates online are defined by the rules of Big Tech, whose business model, centred on users' data, poses fundamental threats to democracy." Marleen Stikker and Max Kortlander

POLICY CONTEXT

Existing EU policies related to physical and digital public spaces reveal a significant gap: despite their ambition in fostering resilient democracies, current policies prioritise security concerns over the importance of preserving and promoting public spaces to counter democratic erosion.

The erosion of public spaces poses a significant threat to the exercise of democratic life, as it can effectively undermine the realisation of fundamental rights enshrined in EU treaties and the EU Charter on Fundamental Rights. For example, by constraining or limiting citizens' ability to participate in democratic

processes through public spaces (be it physical or digital), the very foundations of democracy are compromised, ultimately affecting its resilience.

Democracy requires physical public spaces to be, and democratic politics demands bodily interactions (Machin, 2022; Diehl and Saward, 2024). While digital environments and technologies cannot replace physical spaces and embodied participation, they undoubtedly influence and shape contemporary politics, democracy and social ordering. It is thus necessary to critically analyse online spaces and digital tools to understand how to make them more public and democratic, while enabling citizens to have a meaningful voice in digital and technological policy discussions.

MAKING DIGITAL SPACES PUBLIC: HOW?

Citizen participation is not limited to policymaking but also encompasses techno-scientific developments that affect societies and individual citizens' lives. However, individuals have limited influence over these processes and the design and implementation

of digital policies and tech regulation, which are often shaped by closed institutional settings and dominated by few capitalist players. Growing concerns over digital technologies and infrastructures ownership and geopolitical tensions exacerbate this issue.

Technology is not neutral (Winner, 1980; Burrell, 2015) and embeds certain kinds of values. Proprietary and authoritarian values may be embedded within technology, and this is the case of current mainstream technologies (Stikker and Kortlander, 2025). The development and deployment of alternative and independent digital technologies, free from both corporate and state control, are fundamental to ensuring and maintaining truly democratic digital public spaces and infrastructures (Badouard, 2025). Democratic values must thus be central in technological development processes to preserve democratic practices. Democratic practices must regain centrality in the ways that emerging technologies impact societies. The good news is that alternative technologies and practices already exist, as exemplified by the following two case-studies.

Can technology be democratised?

The case-study addresses how we can ensure **democratic participation over technological development**, rather than passively adapting to corporate-driven trajectories and technocratic futures. It explores the process of democratising technology through participation, applying hacker ethics, DIY methods, and open platforms. Through provocative proof-of-concepts with Artificial Intelligent (AI) agents serving as prototypes for deliberation, this case-study suggests a pathway for **makerspaces and hackerspaces to act as platforms for shaping ethical and regulatory debates**.

How are these spaces 'public'?

Hackerspaces are not public in the conventional sense – they do not necessarily provide unrestricted physical access, nor do they function as traditional civic spaces. Their public nature emerges from their function as **arenas for collective experimentation with technological futures**. What makes them public is not their openness in space, but their openness in time,

treating the future as a shared, contested domain (Kera, 2021).

Hackerspaces allow communities to test, modify, and challenge the AI infrastructure and regulatory mechanisms, **reclaiming the future of technology as a matter of public interest**. This is not just about access to tools, but about the ability to experiment with different scenarios of use, governance, and resistance.

Figure 1 – DIY science at the JRC makerspace (*)



Polymakers can learn critical lessons from hackerspaces and other experimental spaces when shaping technology governance and regulatory frameworks. Public policies must be designed to empower communities to shape their own technological futures. By observing how communities self-regulate AI use, policymakers can design more democratic, adaptive, and inclusive policies that reflect real-world practices.

To know more see section 4.10 of the report - **Public spaces for public futures: hackerspaces as exploratory sandboxes for AI futures**.

Denisa Reshef Kera (Bar-Ilan University)

¹ <https://cop-demos.jrc.ec.europa.eu/jrc-collab-and-makerspace>. Last accessed on June 4, 2025.

QUICK GUIDE

The upcoming JRC Science for Policy report Democracy as it happens. Citizen participation in public spaces investigates the role of public spaces in facilitating citizen participation, emphasising their critical importance for democratic functioning, while also highlighting their notable underrepresentation in EU policy frameworks. Using a qualitative and interpretive approach, the report explores the significance of public spaces through 11 in-depth case studies from around the world, each presented by a leading expert in the field. The report offers **10 key insights** and **10 key policy recommendations** to further protect and promote public spaces and everyday citizen participation.

Can there be digital public spaces?

What is this story about?

The case study looks at digital public spaces and infrastructure, considering the unique dynamics that pertain to online forums. The research offers an analysis of what makes online spaces 'public' and 'civic'. The former corresponds to open and accessible spaces, where citizens interact, while the latter refers to forums where citizens and public institutions engage for general interest purposes (e.g., Citizen Engagement platform).

Today, online spaces that are used for civic or public purposes are mainly commercial platforms, whose economic model and toxic design have proven to be harmful for democracy. Interest and efforts in building digital public and civic spaces and infrastructure move precisely from the need to **create alternative online forums** to those owned by the so-called Big Tech.

Is it possible to create public alternatives?

Yes, it is possible, but it is also urgently needed. It is important to explicitly search and select technological solutions that guarantee transparency and accountability (e.g., Open-source software and digital commons) together with a governance structure that enables independence from political and economic interests and participatory oversight of its management and use (Decidim and PubsHub are good examples). Digital public spaces need to **part of a broader digital public infrastructure to be properly 'public'** – both of which need public

investments to properly develop (both in terms of adoption and funding). At the same time, they need to maintain the independence from public authorities too.

To know more, please see section 4.9 of the report - "Public" and "Civic" Spaces Online. **Design, participation and governance**.

Romain Badouard, Université Paris Panthéon-Assas

KEY CONCLUSIONS

Digital spaces and, more broadly, technological development, raise specific challenges, calling for *ad hoc* policy measures.

- Digital public infrastructure:** most public institutions rely on privately controlled digital infrastructures owned by non-EU tech players (e.g., by Microsoft, Google, Amazon). Without alternatives, public discourse and civic engagement remain subject to corporate control. In other words, online civic/public spaces, to operate freely, need to develop as part of a broader digital infrastructure that is public too. 'Public', however, is not here intended as a synonym of State but rather of commons: digital public infrastructures (DPIs) should serve the interest of the people by reflecting shared public values and should not by default entail state monopolies. The European Commission and Member States should invest in the development, adoption, and implementation of DPIs that underpin online public and civic spaces at the European and national scale. The DPIs should comprise non-profit, open-source, independent, and

community-developed protocols, software, algorithms, and design libraries, that prioritize inclusivity, transparency, security, and the promotion of human well-being and dignity on online public and civic spaces.

- Exploratory sandboxes:** the realisation of the European Declaration on Digital Rights and Principles towards the making of a European digital public space demands that principles are coupled with **practices of shared and inclusive governance**, that enable greater ownership over technology and its future by people and civil society, thus enhancing accountability and technological transparency. More **transparent, adaptive, and inclusive governance processes** for emerging technologies can be achieved. **The European Commission can mandate embedding exploratory sandboxes in policy design and regulation of emerging technologies**. Informal spaces like makerspaces and hackerspaces can act as **exploratory sandboxes beyond regulatory ones**, supporting **collective experimentation, critique, and adaptation** (see also European Commission. Joint Research Centre, 2018). These spaces not only drive technical innovation but also facilitate inclusive discussions involving citizens on negotiating the social, ethical, and political implications of emerging technologies like AI.

Figure 2 – How can we make the Internet more open, fair and inclusive?



- Open-source and open-data AI:** the world is witnessing several developments in AI and applications using AI, but the underlying assumptions behind the AI models are not often clear, for example, how the algorithm works, and which data were used to train the system. The limited transparency and **explainability** of AI systems undermines trust

in their decision-making processes, fuelling concerns about fairness, bias, and accountability. The European Commission should invest in the development, adoption and use of **open-source and open-data AI frameworks**, ensuring their accessibility and applicability for public institutions, researchers, developers, and industries across the EU. Dedicated funding should be allocated for this purpose (e.g., Digital Europe Programme, Horizon Europe and InvestEU), with the aim to drive research and development. Furthermore, it is essential that these AI frameworks are designed with core principles of **explainability**, transparency, accountability, and social responsibility at their forefront, to ensure these can be beneficial to society.

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EU Science Hub
Joint-research-centre.ec.europa.eu

waag  futurelab

**#MakeSocials
SocialAgain**

#MakeSocialsSocialAgain

Maak sociale media weer sociaal. Gebruik alternatieven.

Meta, het moederbedrijf van Instagram, Whatsapp en Facebook, heeft aangekondigd te stoppen met *factchecking* in de VS en wereldwijd de moderatie drastisch te verminderen. Daarmee zet het de deur open voor seksisme, homofobie, transfobie, racisme en andere vormen van discriminatie.

Met deze stap treedt Meta in de voetsporen van X. Sinds de overname van Twitter door Elon Musk is dit platform een broedplaats geworden voor desinformatie, haatspraak en politieke manipulatie. In navolging van Musk lijkt nu ook Mark Zuckerberg, de CEO van Meta, de kant van Trump op te bewegen. Niet eerder was de macht van Big Tech en hun eigenaren zo nauw verweven met politieke macht. Dit heeft grote gevolgen voor onze vrijheid in Europa en onze democratie.

Hoe kunnen wij nog op sociale media vertrouwen om onze verhalen te delen, als die platforms steeds meer ruimte geven aan desinformatie en haat? We lijken onder de plak van Big Tech platforms te zitten, maar die afhankelijkheid kunnen we doorbreken.

Er zijn namelijk al alternatieven - sociale media die écht sociaal zijn. Wij geloven in platforms die gebouwd zijn op publieke waarden zoals transparantie, privacy, en duurzaamheid.

Hoe kun jij bijdragen?

Je kunt op verschillende manieren helpen om de beweging voor betere sociale media te versterken. Samen maken we impact met vier eenvoudige stappen:

1. Deel onze boodschap online

Gebruik je eigen socials om anderen te inspireren. Post onze visuals, deel onze oproep, en gebruik de hashtag **#MakeSocialsSocialAgain**.

1. Download de hele **[socialkit als zip bestand](#)**

2. Download de visuals: **[Algemene banner](#)**, **[LinkedIn](#)**, **[Twitter](#)**, **[Facebook](#)**, **[Mastodon](#)**, **[Bluesky](#)**, **[Instagram story](#)**, **[Vierkant](#)**

2. Maak een campagnefoto en deel die op je eigen socials

Zet een zwart-wit filter over een selfie en voeg onze transparante sticker toe. Post je foto met de hashtag

Acties & Agenda

Maandag 3 februari 2025

Spreekuur: Alternatieven voor Big Tech

Locatie: Het DigiLab/De Bibliotheek, LocHal, Burgemeester Brokxlaan 1000, Tilburg
Tijd: 14:00-16:00 uur

Tijdens ons spreekuur 'Alternatieven voor Big Tech' kun je zonder afspraak langskomen: wij helpen je graag op weg!

Maandag 10 februari 2025

Spreekuur: Alternatieven voor Big Tech

Locatie: Het DigiLab/De Bibliotheek, LocHal, Burgemeester Brokxlaan 1000, Tilburg
Tijd: 14:00-16:00 uur

Tijdens ons spreekuur 'Alternatieven voor Big Tech' kun je zonder afspraak langskomen: wij helpen je graag op weg!

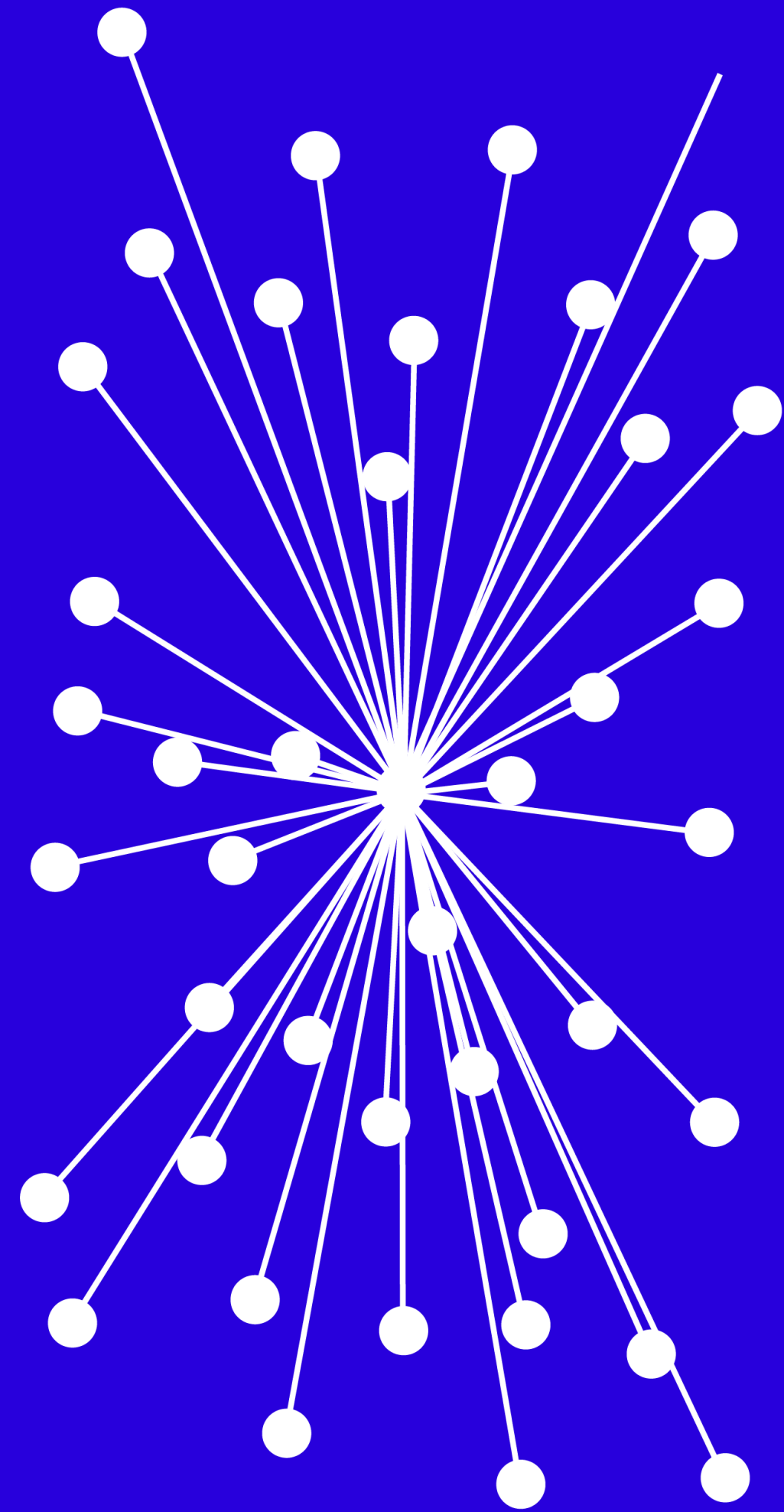
Donderdag 13 februari

Helpdesk: Social Socials

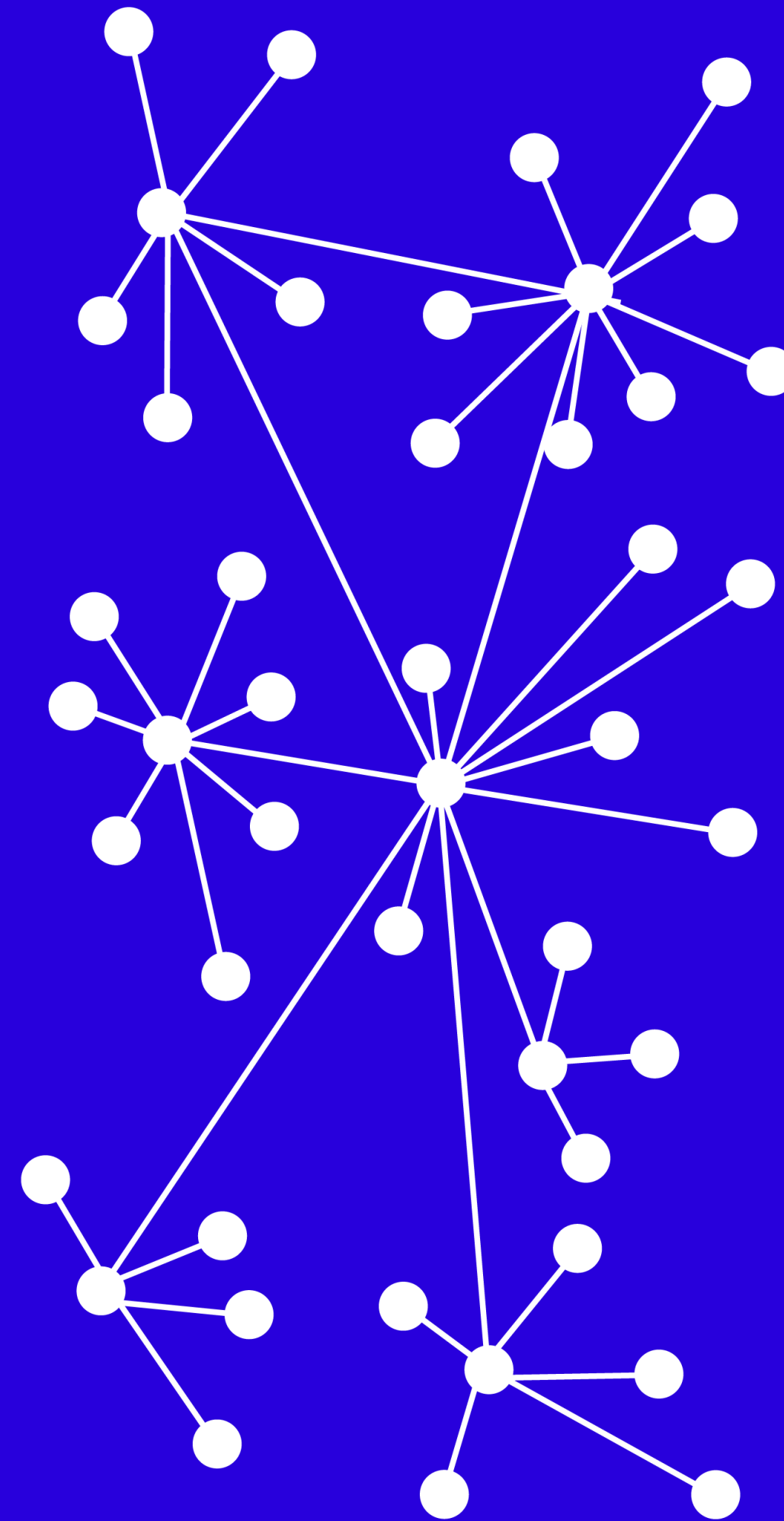
Locatie: Waag Futurelab, Nieuwmarkt 4, Amsterdam
Tijd: 16:00 - 17:30 uur

Klaar met je afhankelijkheid van Big Tech's social mediaplatforms? Waag Futurelab helpt je op weg!

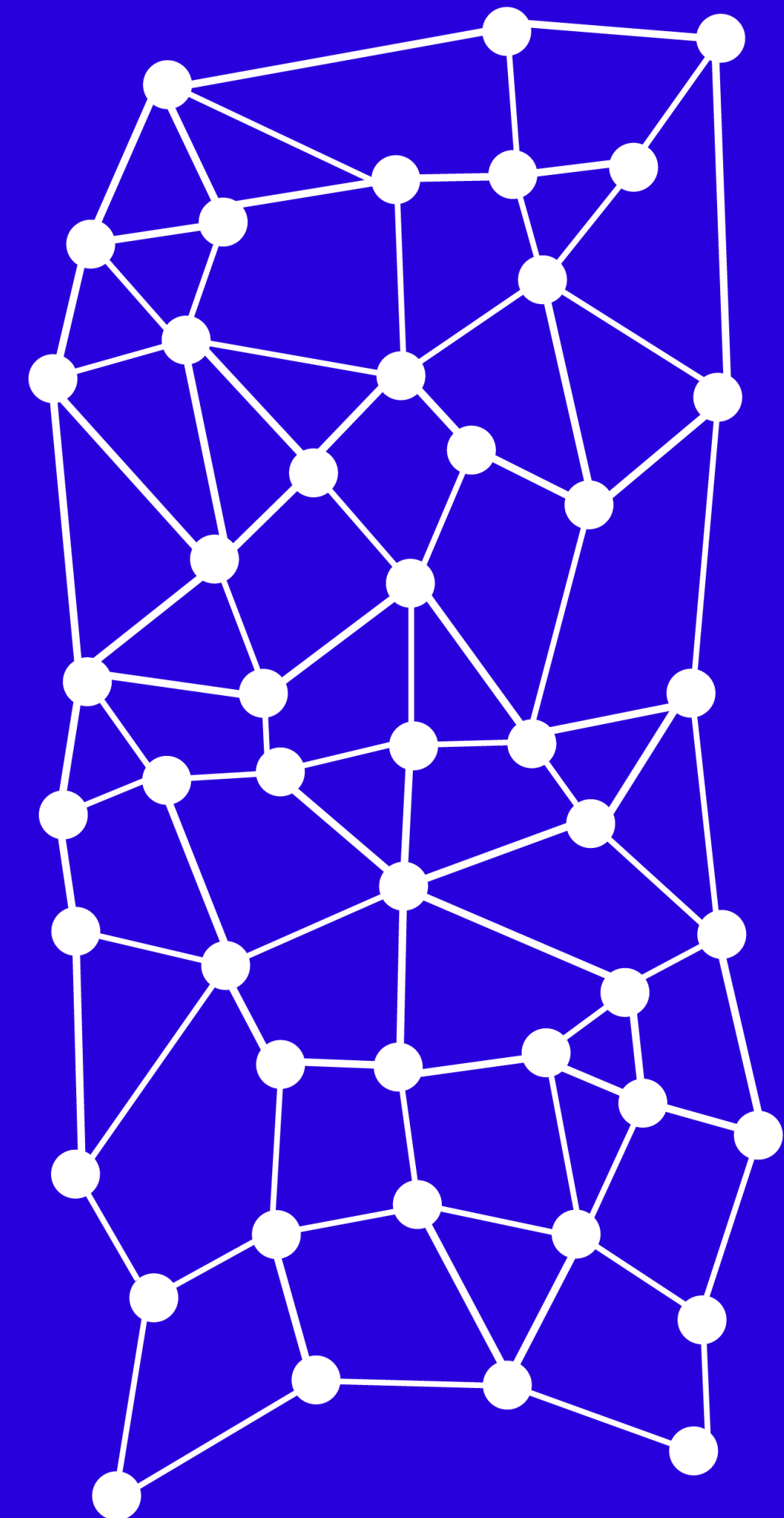
Meer informatie



Centralised



Decentralised



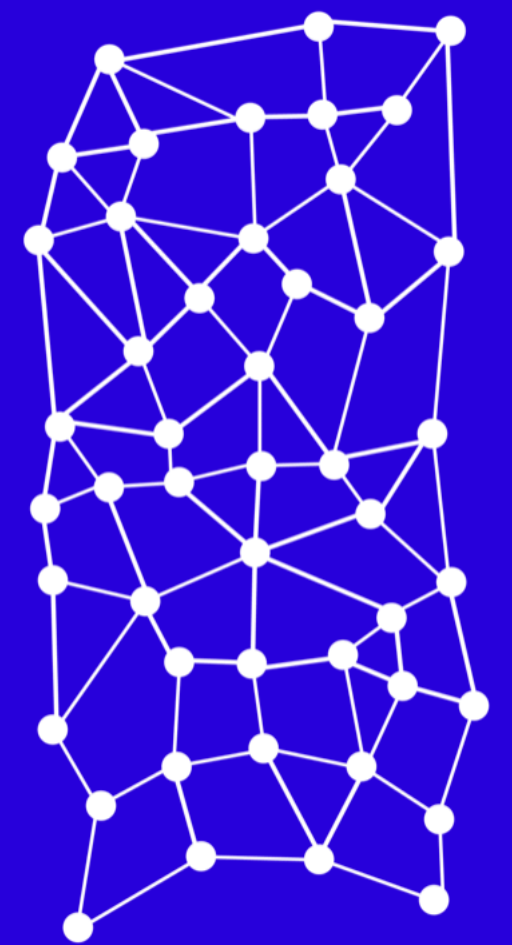
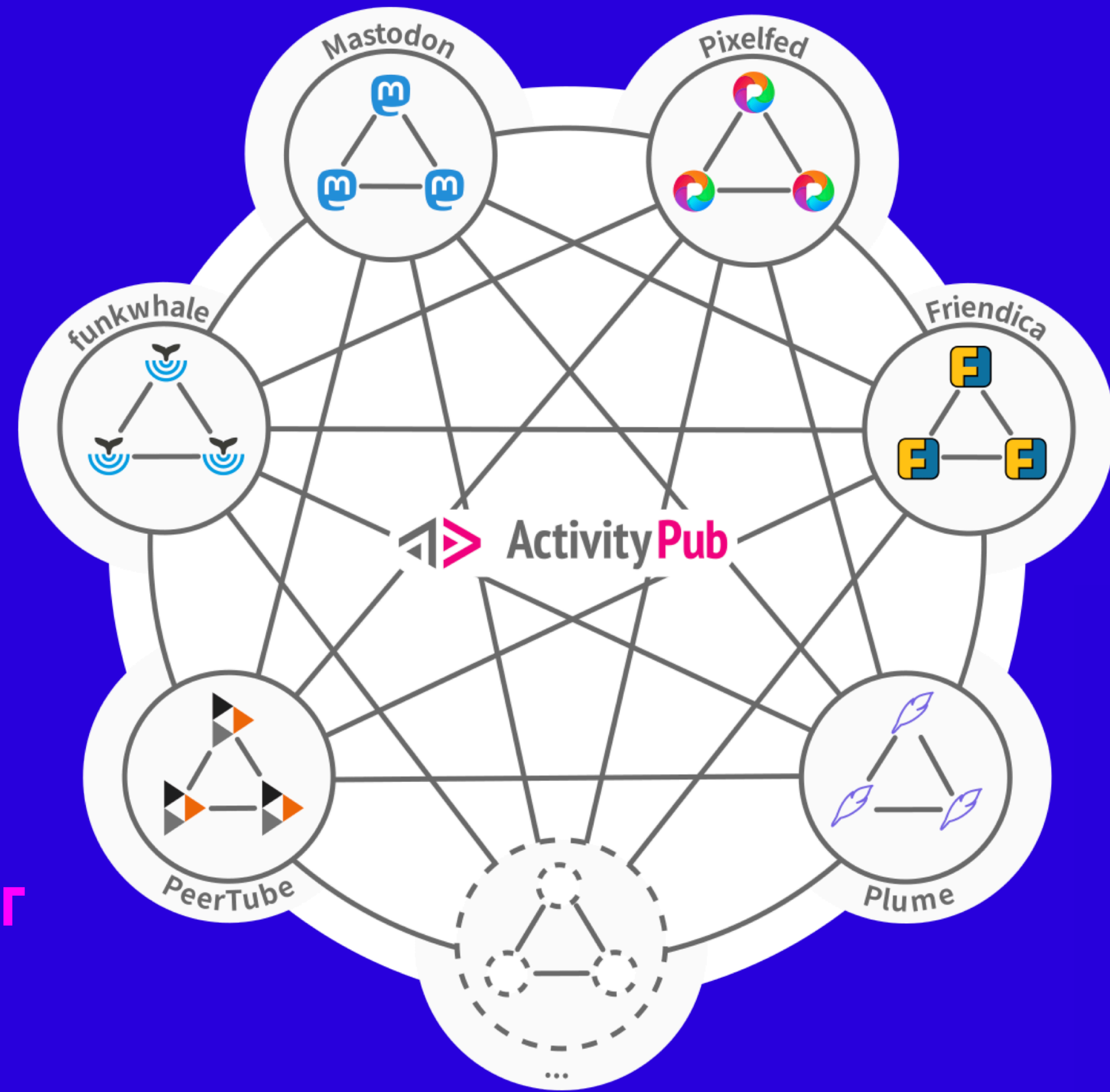
Distributed

Next socials is federatief

De fediverse is een sociaal media netwerk

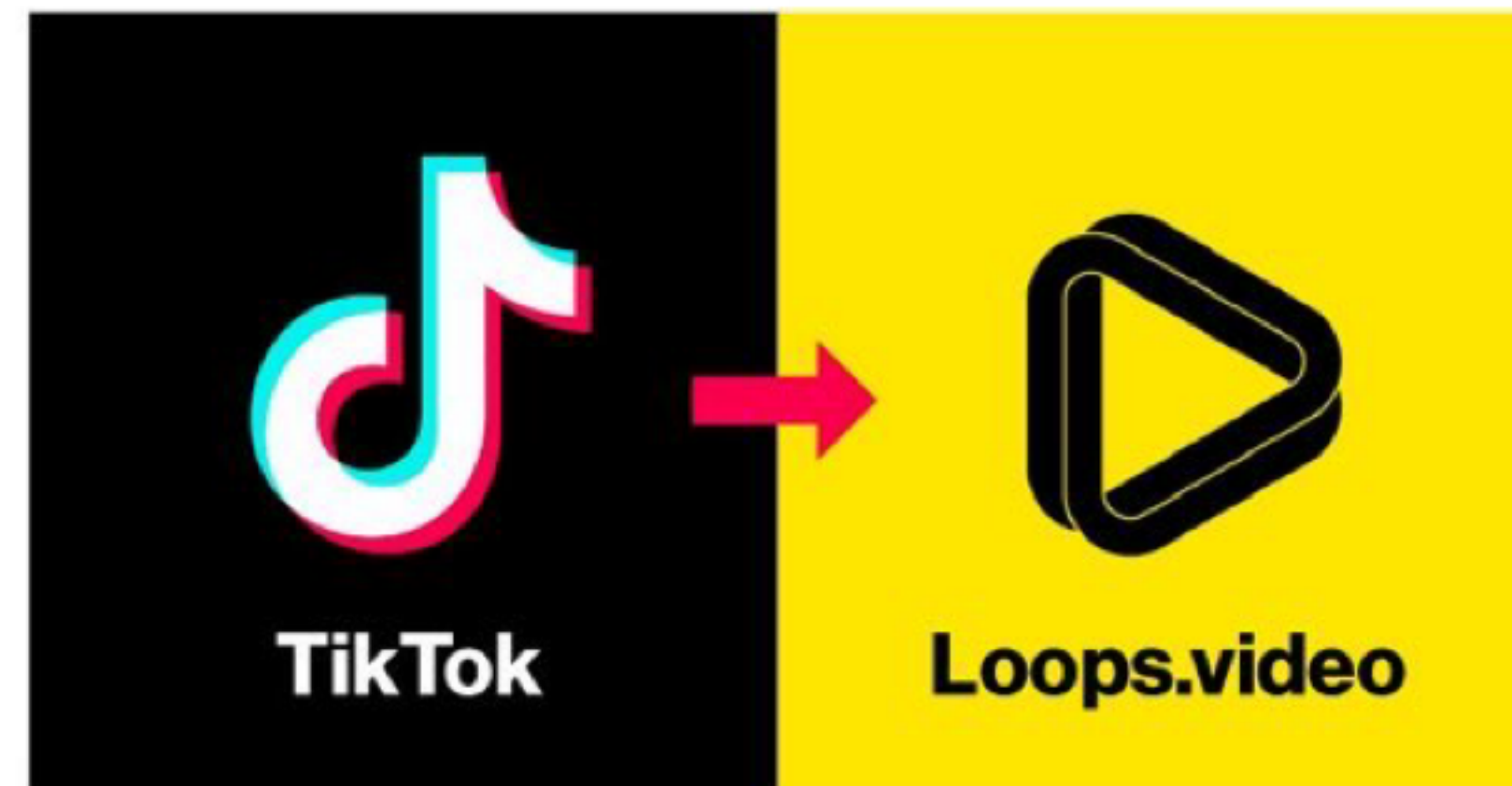
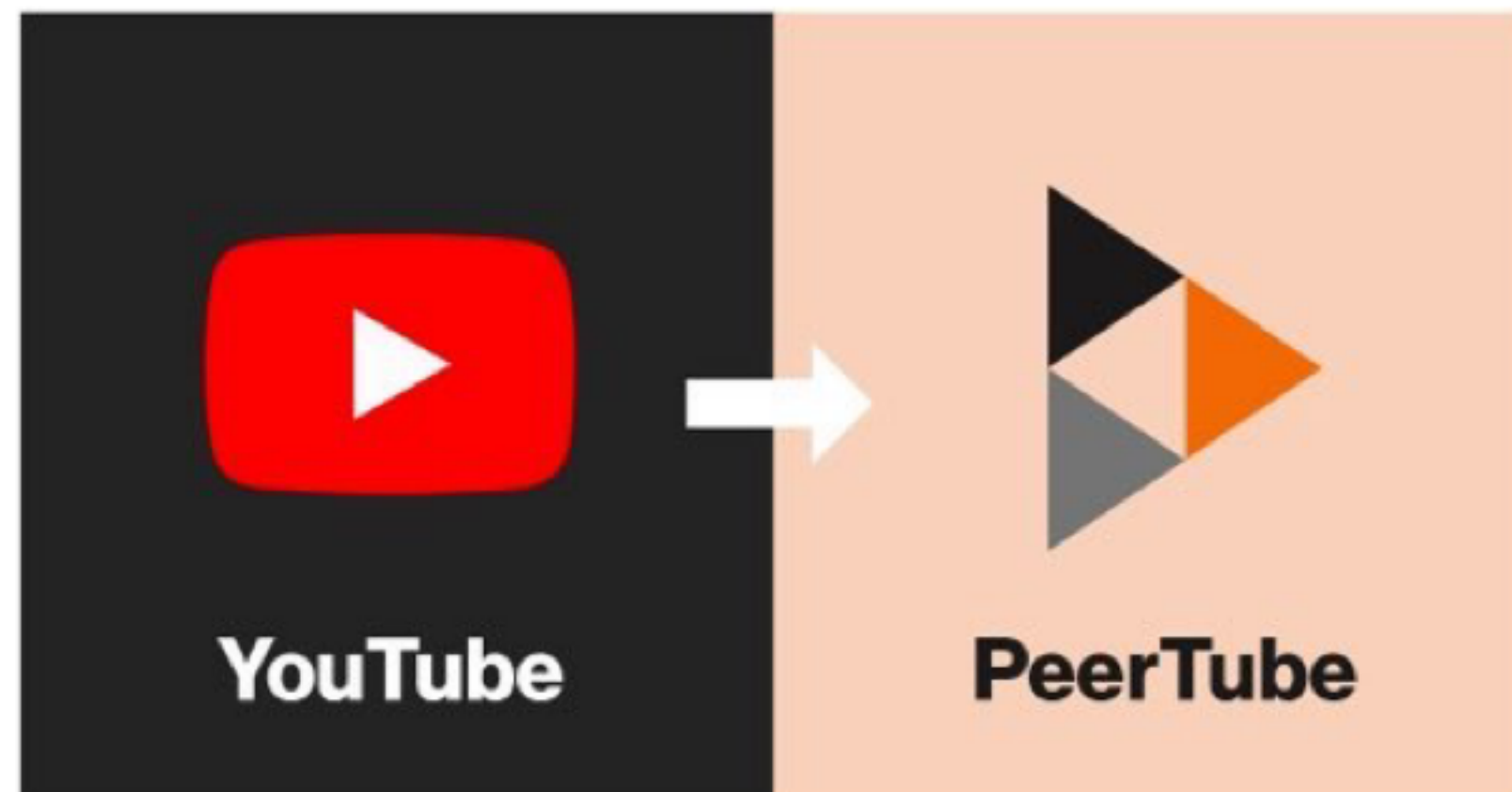
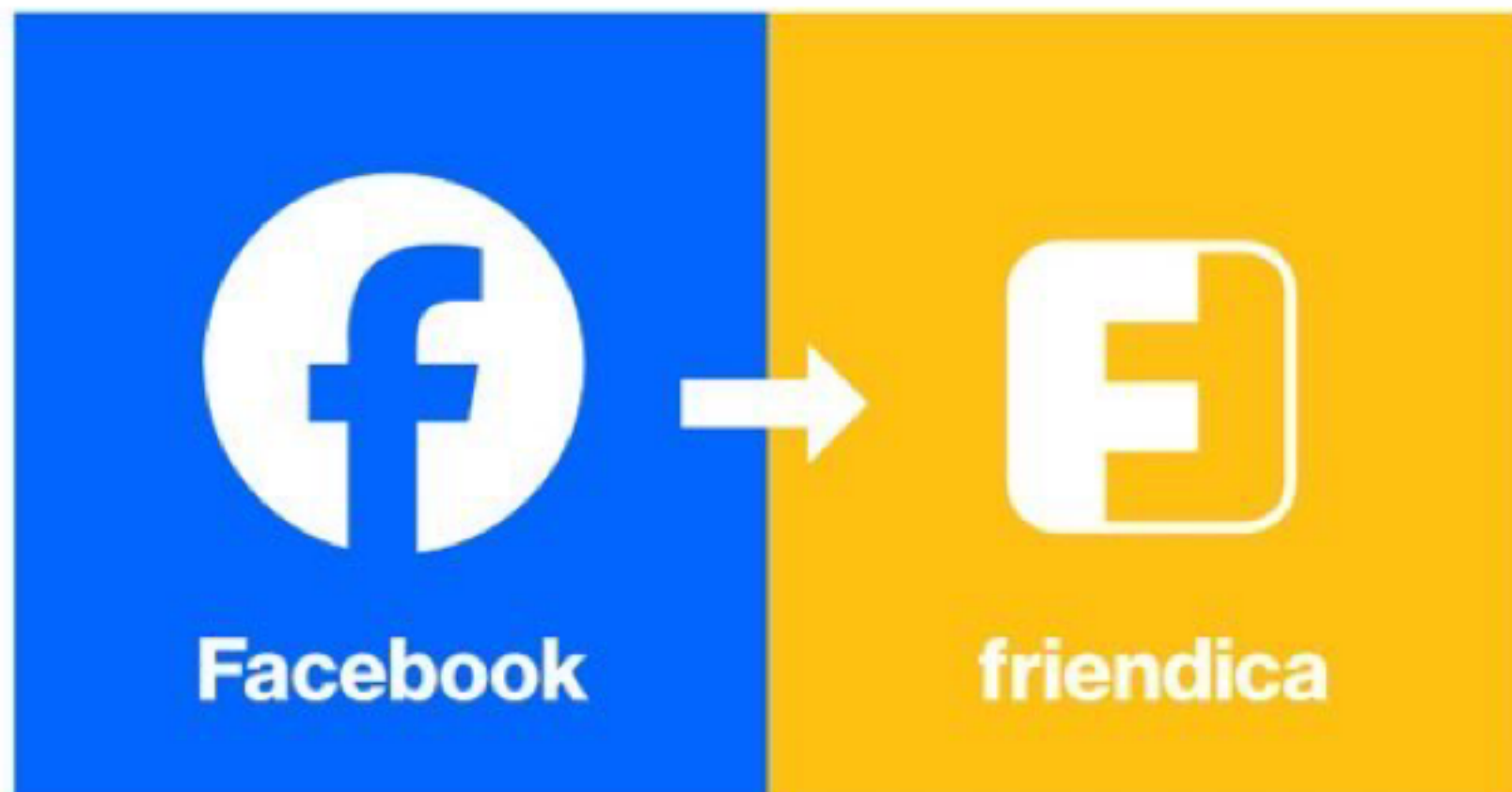
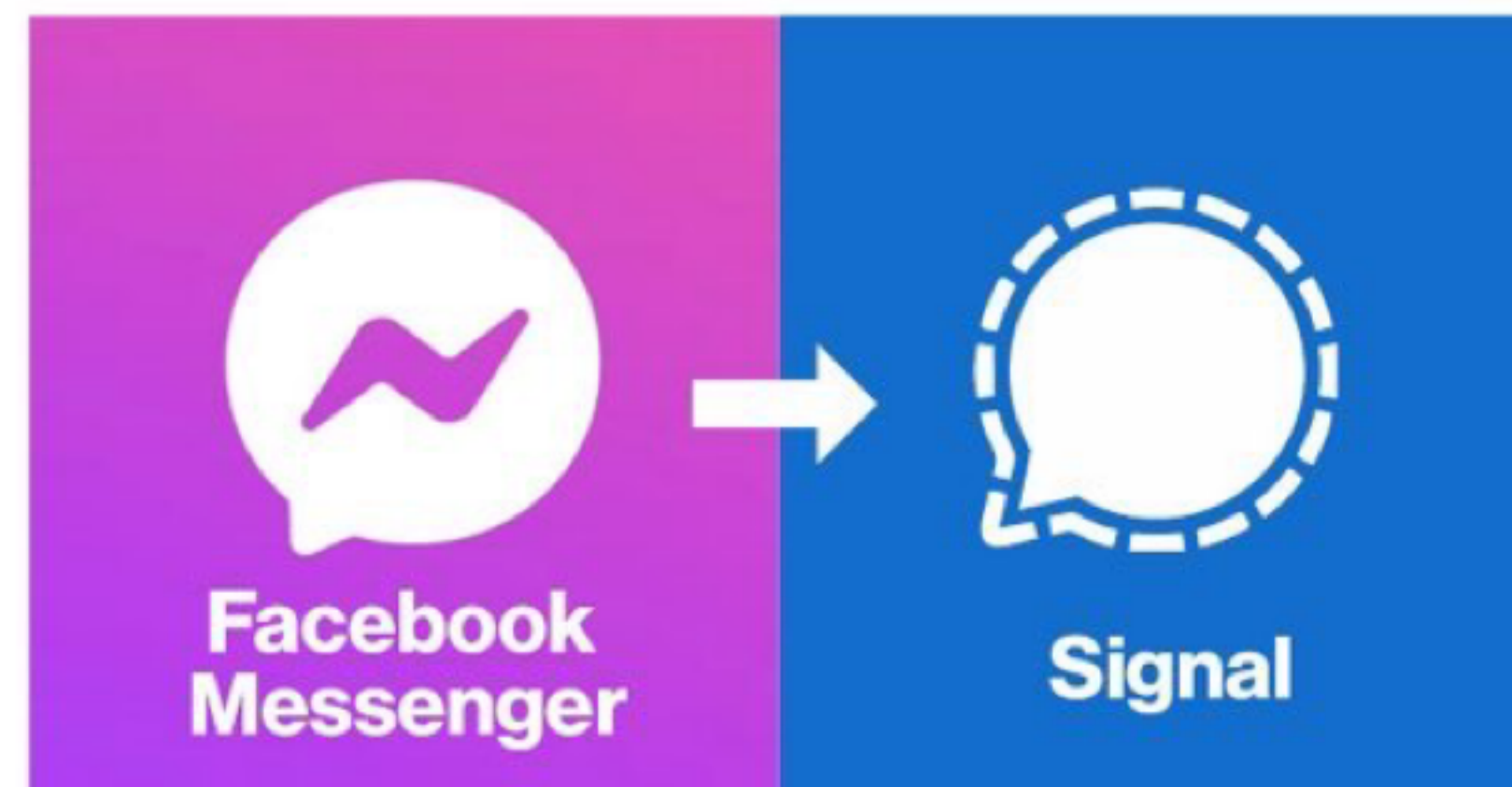
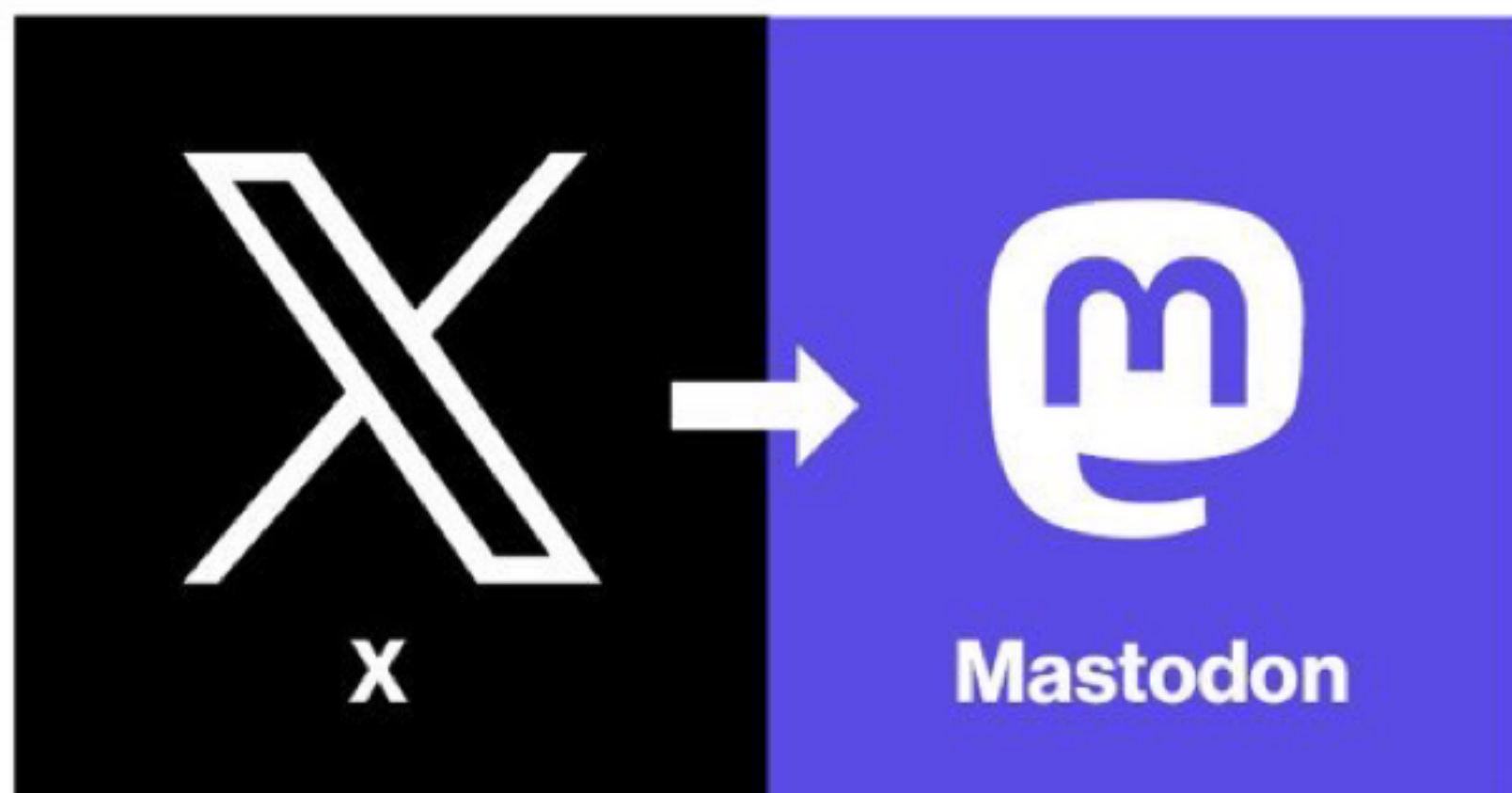
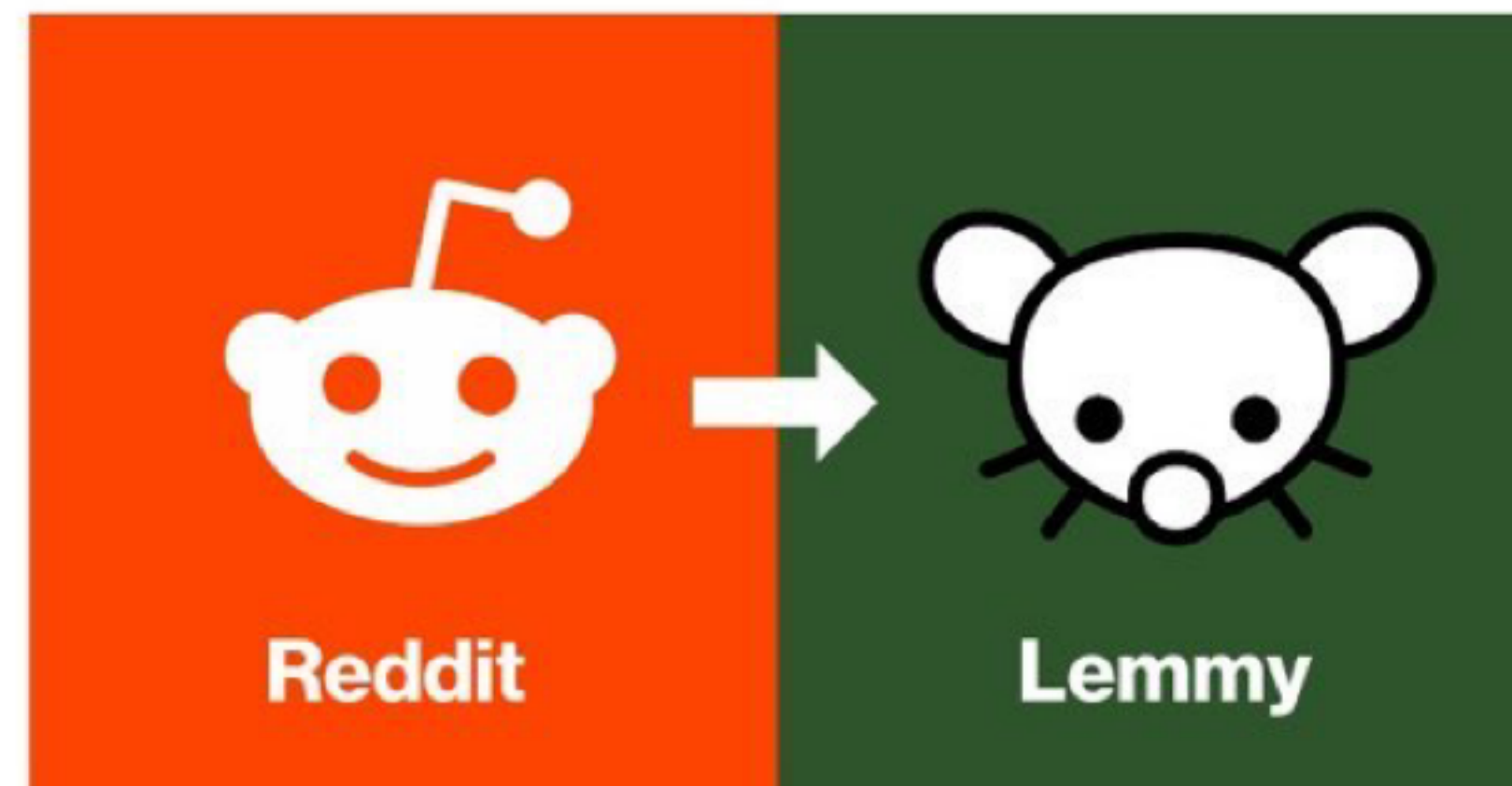
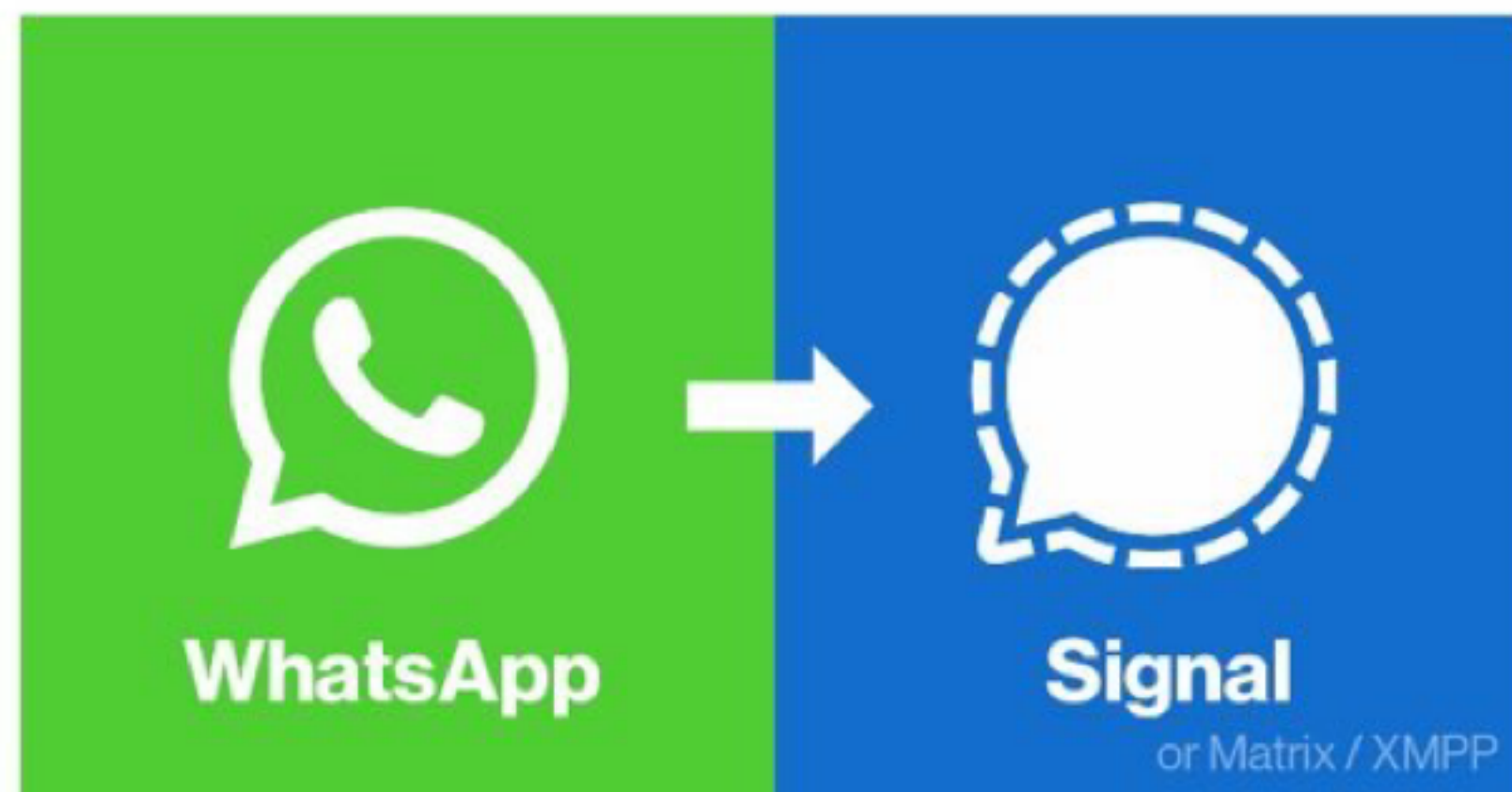
Content moderatie door de samenleving

Own your feed, you content, your connections



Distributed

 **JOIN THE
FEDIVERSE**
#GLOBALSWITCHDAY

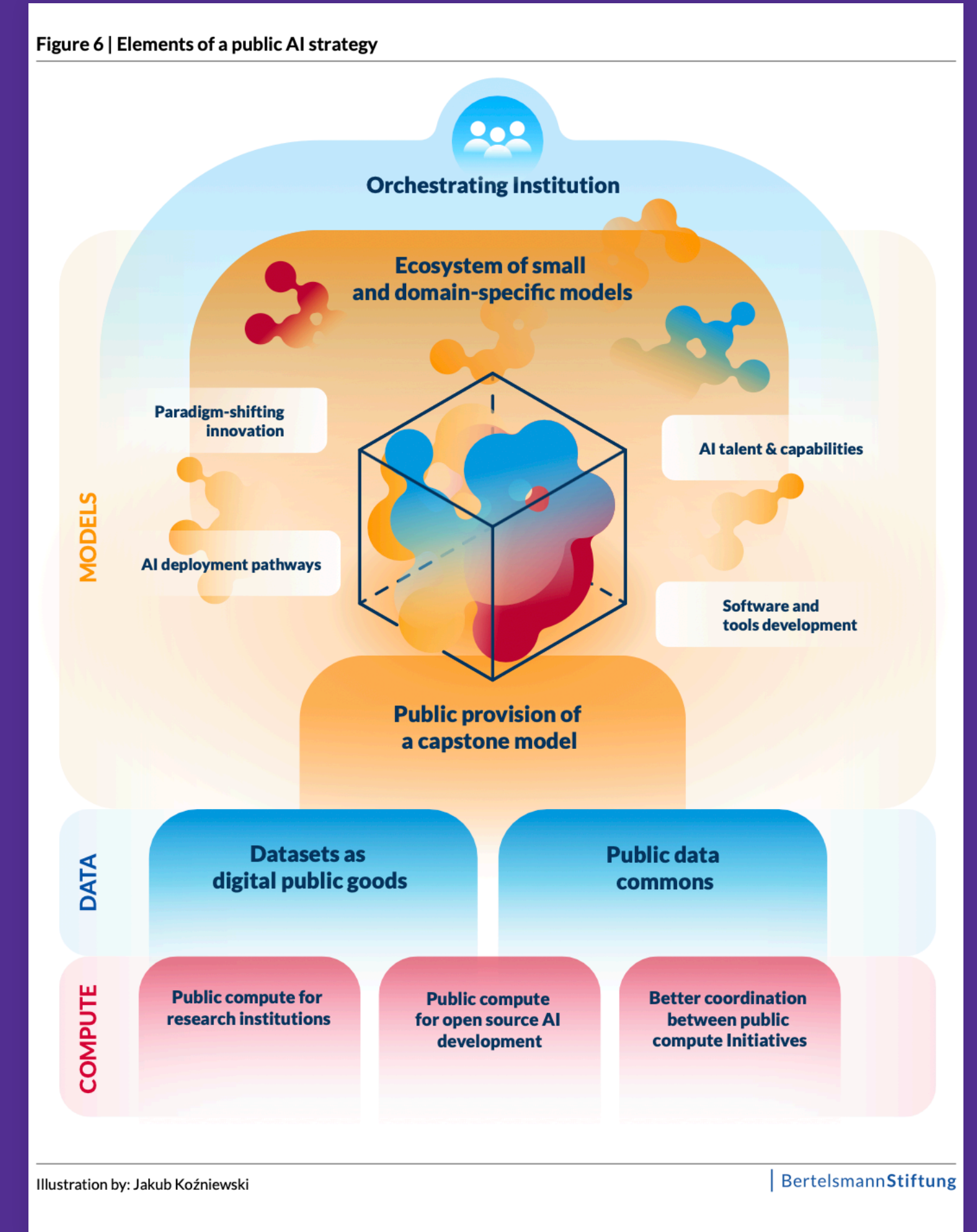


waag  futurelab

#MakeSocials
SocialAgain

helpdesk

Digitaal soeverein en weerbaar



digitaal soeverein en weerbaar

Aanbevelingen

Versterk EU regulatie



EU
Declaration on
Digital rights



Interim Report:
Governing AI
for Humanity



... opent to etreding tot markt



EU
Declaration on
Digital rights



Interim Report:
Governing AI
for Humanity



Sociale media & civic tech t.b.v. maatschappelijke weerbaarheid

Maatschappelijke moderatie – digitaal publiek domein

moderatie door samenleving. Federatieve sociale media, Onderzoek en ontwikkeling
-> 100 mio / zelfde bedrag dat de overheid nu spendeert in big tech platforms

Civic Tech Fonds

Voor **digitale gemeenschapsdiensten** voor de samenleving
-> 5% van de 8 - 10 milliard die de overheid (aan zich zelf) besteedt

Whole of Society

Defensiebudget inzetten voor veilige sociale media infrastructuur & dienste

Digitale Publieke infrastructuur

Ontkoppeling van compute – data – diensten

Breakup big tech ...maar ook in EuroStack

Europese federatieve cloud en diensten

Langs de lijnen van Cloud Kootwijk, zie ook interview met Nextcloud

Public AI

AI infrastructuur en data als een commons. Met compensatie voor content makers en fonds volgens 'thuis kopie' model

Rechtstaat

Integriteit beginsel voor digitale identiteit

Naar analogie van wetgeving lichamelijke integriteit. **Persoonsinformatie is geen handel.**
Verbod op verzamelen persoonsgegevens. Geen verslavende en misleidende algoritmen

Milieu Effecten Rapportage Data en AI

Stel grenzen voor gebruik van **energie, water, grondstoffen**, ruimtegebruik

Gecontroleerde implementatie van álle AI

Moratorium op implementatie. **Eerst toetst op effecten met gecontroleerde trials.** Breng effecten in kaart op strategische autonomie, publieke waarden, ecologische voetafdruk, arbeidspositie, rechten en macht(dis)balans

public... ...spaces

internet for the common good

Coalitie van
culturele,
maatschappelijke,
educatieve en
publieke
organisaties



Met praktische
tips en
begeleiding

eXit: in vijf stappen van X naar **m**astodon

- 1** Kies een server, maak een account en schrijf je eerste toot
- 2** Ga op zoek naar jouw community
- 3** Verwijs door: laat weten dat je op Mastodon te vinden bent
- 4** Double policy: post al je posts zowel op X als op Mastodon
- 5** Verwijder je account op X of laat het account inactief bestaan

mastodon Helpdesk

Wij staan klaar om je verder te helpen! Join ons Mastodon Matrix kanaal, waar je terecht kan voor al je vragen over Mastodon.

Join hier:



Volg ons op Mastodon:
@publicspaces@publicspaces.net

Kijk op publicspaces.net voor alle informatie over eXit. Daar geven we nog veel meer handige tips!

INTERNET SURVIVAL GIDS

**Hoe we onze grip op
technologie terugkrijgen**

**MARLEEN
STIKKER**

**Beschikbaar vanaf
November 2025**





waag
future lab



waag

@marleenstikker | @waag | waag.social | waag.org