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# Reforming European Data Protection Law



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Volume 20

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## Reforming European Data Protection Law



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#### Preface

The year 2014 is destined to be an important year for European Data protection. After lengthy discussions in the various committees, involving almost 4,000 amendments to the Commission's 2014 proposal, the European Parliament on 12 March 2014 adopted the proposal prepared by the committee chaired by MEPs Jan-Philipp Albrecht and Dimitrios Droutsas in the first reading. The waiting at the time of writing this foreword (June 2014) is for the position of the Council of Ministers on the Regulation. Once this is available, the European Parliament has to negotiate with the Council and the Commission on the final text.

The seventh annual Computers, Privacy and Data Protection (CPDP) conference was held in Brussels on 22, 23 and 24 January 2014, and was sharply influenced by the European Commission's new proposals and the discussions that led up to the almost 4000 amendments that were tabled by stakeholders within and outside Europe (e.g. the USA). The conference took place during a sort of 'interbellum'. At the time when contributors to the conference were preparing their papers and panels, the text of the draft Regulation was in flux. In October 2013, the European Parliament's influential LIBE Committee (Civil Liberties, Justice, and Home Affairs) had decided on the proposal to be forwarded to the Parliament. The LIBE version introduced changes to the original Commission proposal, for instance regarding the controversial 'right to be forgotten' provision (art. 17). As a result the legal reality at the conference differed from the one on which some authors based their texts.<sup>1</sup> Uncertainty regarding the final text of the Regulation also existed at the time of the conference itself; the European Parliament adopted the LIBE version in its first reading after the conference. And even when this volume will appear in print, we still may not know what the final Regulation will look like. This book volume reflects this state of affairs. It provides a reflection on the proposed changes in the data protection landscape that may appear outdated at the time of reading. The value of the contributions however remains because many of them extend beyond the actual regulation and hence have more principled value.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>This is nothing new. Legal reality constantly changes due to changing legislation and case law.

The present book is one of the results of the seventh edition of the annual Brussels based International Conference on Computers, Privacy and Data Protection: *CPDP2014 Reforming Data Protection: The Global Perspective*. The conference welcomed almost 850 participants at 'our' venue – the magnificent *Les Halles* – while another 500 people were reached through free public events organized in the evenings, also in Brussels. The 3-day conference offered participants 60 panels, several workshops and special sessions, with 343 speakers from academia, the public and private sectors, and civil society.

Under a slightly adapted title - Reforming European Data Protection Law this volume brings together 16 chapters offering conceptual analyses, highlighting issues, proposing solutions, and discussing practices regarding privacy and data protection. The first part of the book contains two chapters on one of the prominent recurring CPDP themes: profiling. The second part focuses on one of the important new directions in the Regulation: a focus on preventing privacy risks and harms through impact assessments. It contains discussions on the tools and methodologies for impact assessments, as well as case studies. The third part contains three chapters on the controversial Right to be Forgotten. It addresses the history of the proposed right, ten reasons why it should be forgotten and explores one of the important dimensions in forgetting: time. The fourth part contains two chapters on the purported trade-off between privacy and security. The final, fifth, part deals with ways to support privacy and data protection. It contains a chapter discussing the nature of the Data Protection reform and a chapter on people's knowledge and awareness of privacy protection strategies. It furthermore offers three chapters on privacy by design and how to implement this in practice.

The chapters in this volume stem from two tracks. Six chapters (Chaps. 8, 9, 11, 13, 15 and 16) originate from responses to the conference's call for papers and have thus already been presented during the conference. The remaining chapters (Chaps. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12 and 14) were submitted by some of the conferences' invited speakers in the months following the conference.

All the chapters of this book have been peer reviewed and commented on by at least two referees with expertise and interest in the subject matter. Since their work is crucial for maintaining the scientific quality of the book, we would explicitly take the opportunity to thank them for their commitment and efforts: Rocco Bellanova, Colin Bennett, Paul Bernal, Laurent Beslay, Jean-François Blanchette Caspar Bowden, Ian Brown, Roger Brownsword, Peter Burgess, Denis Butin, Lee Bygrave, Jan Camenisch, Johann Cas, Roger Clarke, Claudia Diaz, Niels van Dijk, Simone Fischer-Hübner, Michael Friedewald, Lothar Fritsch, Raphael Gellert, Marieke de Goede, Seda Gürses, Rob Heyman, Mireille Hildebrandt, Dennis Hirsch, Joris van Hoboken, Chris Hoofnagle, Gerrit Hornung, Patrick Humblet, Paulan Korenhof, Eleni Kosta, Christopher Kuner, Marc Langheinrich, Marc van Lieshout, Gary T. Marx, Irma van der Ploeg, Charles Raab, Kjetin Rommetveit, Arnold Roosendael, Ronny Saelens, Joseph Savirimuthu, Jean Marc Van Ghyseghem, Diane Whitehouse, Brian Wynne and Tal Zarsky. Preface

May this book meet the reader's expectations and contribute to the quality of the continuing debate about the future of privacy and data protection.

Brussels, Belgium Tilburg, The Netherlands Brussels, Belgium 30 June 2014 Serge Gutwirth Ronald Leenes Paul de Hert

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## Part I Profiling: A Persistent Core Issue of Data Protection and Privacy

#### Chapter 1 Profiling Technologies and Fundamental Rights and Values: Regulatory Challenges and Perspectives from European Data Protection Authorities

## Francesca Bosco, Niklas Creemers, Valeria Ferraris, Daniel Guagnin, and Bert-Jaap Koops

**Abstract** This paper aims to map the field of profiling, its implications for fundamental rights and values, and the measures which are or can be taken to address the challenges of profiling practices. It presents a working definition of profiling and elaborates a typology of its basic methods. In the second section the paper gives an overview of the technological background of profiling to display how fundamental rights and values of European societies are endangered by the use of profiling. Finally the paper presents the findings of a questionnaire addressed to European DPAs on the current and future legal framework, the domains of application, the complaints and remedies procedures regarding the use of profiling techniques, the main risks and benefits for the fundamental rights, and citizens' awareness on this topic. These findings contribute important insights for the ongoing discussion on the regulation of profiling in Europe.

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#### 1.1 Introduction

The term "Big Data" is grounded in socio-technological developments, which began with the invention of the computer and has unfolded a rapidly growing dynamic over the past decades. Technological advancement has fueled the digitization of our societies by increasingly powerful infrastructures, basing on digital devices and software. Mediated communication today has mostly become digital communication, and information has consequently become easy to process and store as data, and is at the same time fluid and persistent. New potentials of gathering data raise hopes for developing more advanced ways to manage societies. The more we know the better we can control social processes and steer societal progress. At least that is what we are promised by "Big Data" proponents. "Big Data" appears to be a fetish, a crystal ball which allows those who use it to not just look into the future but to gain information which enables them to shape it at their needs.<sup>1</sup>

However, big data itself is not information but still mere data.<sup>2</sup> The more data we gather the harder it is to extract usable information as the huge amounts of data exceed human capabilities of consideration. Consequently data needs powerful tools to be utilized as a marketable resource. These tools are considered to be found in technologies such as data mining. They are supposed to turn "Big Data" into the new oil.<sup>3</sup>

Profiling can be understood as a specific data mining method. In this perspective profiling is regarded as an (semi-)automated process to examine large data sets in order to build classes or categories of characteristics. These can be used to generate profiles of individuals, groups, places, events or whatever is of interest. Profiles structure data to find patterns and probabilities. Using actuarial methods in this context is supposed to generate prognostic information to anticipate future trends and to forecast behavior, processes or developments. The aim is to develop strategies in order to manage uncertainties of the future in the present. In this regard, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See Fraunhofer. IAIS, *Big Data – Vorsprung durch Wissen. Innovations potenzial analyse*, http://www.bigdata.fraunhofer.de/content/dam/bigdata/de/documents/FraunhoferIAIS\_Big-Data-Analyse\_Doku.pdf, last accessed 01 April 2014. The programs of the world's largest ICT fair CeBIT 2014, the Big Data Days 2013, and the European Data Forum and the presentations given there, draw an interesting picture of the potentials the ICT industry attributes to "Big Data" and big data analytics: http://www.cebit.de/home, last accessed 03 April 2014, http://www.big-data-days.de, last accessed 03 April 2014, and http://2014.data-forum.eu/, last accessed 03 April 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Sasa Baskarada and Andy Koronios, "*Data, Information, Knowledge, Wisdom (DIKW): A Semiotic Theoretical and Empirical Exploration of the Hierarchy and its Quality Dimension,*" in Australasian Journal of Information systems, Vol 18, No 1 (2013): 5–24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Karl-Heinz Streibich, "*Big Smart Data. Mehrwert für Unternehmen*" (paper presented at the Big Data Days, Berlin, Germany, November 11–12, 2013).

ideology of "Big Data" and analytical tools such as profiling can be understood as an important facilitator and part of a preventive paradigm which can be found in diverse societal contexts.<sup>4</sup>

Even though the reality of profiling might not live up to the expectations of its prophets,<sup>5</sup> the assumed potentials of gathering and processing data spawn the dream of overcoming human deficiencies with technology, these new technologies also draw fears and skepticism as they impose threats on some of the core values and principles of European societies. Key challenges which have been identified by scholars include infringements of democratic principles and the rule of law: Data gathering, exchange, and processing potentially harm central values like individual autonomy and informational self-determination as well as the fundamental rights of privacy, data protection, and non-discrimination.

This paper aims to map the field of profiling. It focuses on its implications for fundamental rights and values in different fields of application and on the assessment of the existing countermeasures to address the challenges of profiling practices. In the following section this paper proposes a working definition of profiling. The third section gives an overview of the technological evolution building the ground for the emergence of profiling, afterwards it is demonstrated how fundamental rights and values of European societies are endangered by the application of profiling in various contexts (Sect. 1.4). In Sect. 1.5 the legal regulation of profiling is sketched. Finally the paper presents the first findings of a questionnaire carried out by the project PROFILING,<sup>6</sup> in order to gain knowledge about European Data Protection Authorities' awareness, attitudes, and activities regarding profiling and its societal impacts.

#### **1.2 Profiling: Towards a Definition**

Profiling is a highly evocative term with multiple meanings, used in both specialist and non-specialist contexts. Whereas the literature on statistics does not pay specific attention to definitions and tends to focus on technical aspects (e.g. data mining

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>See Susanne Krasmann, "Der Präventionsstaat im Einvernehmen. Wie Sichtbarkeitsregime stillschweigend Akzeptanz produzieren," in Sichtbarkeitsregime: Überwachung, Sicherheit und Privatheit im 21. Jahrhundert, ed. Leon Hempel, Susanne Krasmann and Ulrich Bröckling (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2010), 53–70 and Pat O'Malley, "Risk, power and crime prevention," Economy and Society 21/3 (1992): 252–275.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>For some of the technical problems which harm the reliability of profiling results, see Daniel Guagnin, Leon Hempel and Justin Jung, "Evolution of Technologies in Profiling", Working Paper, http://profiling-project.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/Evolution-of-Technologies-in-Profiling\_0208.pdf, last accessed 02 April 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>The PROFILING project is funded from the European Union's Fundamental Rights and Citizenship programme. The 2 year project started in November 2012. More information on the project can be found on the website http://profiling-project.eu.

techniques and predictive models), providing a definition appears an issue among socio-legal scholars and policy makers. However a widely shared definition has not yet emerged.

Gary T. Marx gave one of the oldest definitions of profiling in a paper that analyses systems of data searching. Profiling (defined by the author in contrast to "matching") is defined by stressing the logic behind it: "the logic of profiling is more indirect than that of matching. It follows an inductive logic in seeking clues that will increase the probability of discovering infractions relative to random searches. Profiling permits investigators to correlate a number of distinct data items in order to assess how close a person or event comes to a predetermined characterization or model of infraction".<sup>7</sup> According to the author's background, this definition is strictly related to the law enforcement domain.

Almost 10 years later, Roger Clarke defined profiling as a "dataveillance technique (...) whereby a set of characteristics of a particular class of person is inferred from past experience, and data-holdings are then searched for individuals with a close fit to that set of characteristics".<sup>8</sup>

A legal scholar, Bygrave again stressed: "profiling is the inference of a set of characteristics (profile) about an individual person or collective entity and the subsequent treatment of that person/entity or other persons/entities in the light of these characteristics".<sup>9</sup>

Later on, Mireille Hildebrandt was the one who put the best effort to precisely define profiling and its distinctive features and the working definition proposed here has built on her work. She defines profiling as "the process of 'discovering' patterns in data in databases that can be used to identify or represent a human or nonhuman subject (individual or group) and/or the application of profiles (sets of correlated data) to individuate and represent an individual subject or to identify a subject as a member of a group (which can be an existing community or a discovered category)."<sup>10</sup>

Profiling creates a new form of knowledge that makes visible patterns that are otherwise "invisible to the naked human eye".<sup>11</sup> They are based on correlations found in data sets, and cannot be "equated with causes or reasons without further

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Marx, Gary and Reichman Nancy. "Routinizing the Discovery of Secrets: Computers as Informants," in American Behavioral Scientist, 27, 4 (1984): 429.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Clarke, Roger, "Profiling: A Hidden Challenge to the Regulation of Data Surveillance," in Journal of Law and Information Science 4, 2 (1993): p. 403.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Bygrave, Lee A., *Data protection law: Approaching its rationale, logic and limits* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2002), 301.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Mireille Hildebrandt, "Profiling and AML," in The Future of Identity in the Information Society. Challenges and Opportunities, ed. Kai Rannenberg, Denis Royer and Andre Deuker (Heidelberg: Springer, 2009a), 275.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Mireille Hildebrandt, "Who is Profiling Who? Invisible Visibility" in Reinventing Data Protection?, ed. Serge Gutwirth et al. (Dordrecht: Springer, 2009c), 241.

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inquiry; they are probabilistic knowledge."<sup>12</sup> Profiling represents a shift from the idea that knowledge is the result of tested hypothesis. It generates hypotheses: "the correlations as such become the 'pertinent' information, triggering questions and suppositions".<sup>13</sup> Consequently profiling fosters new forms of generating and applying knowledge. Due to the growing capacities of databases, and capabilities of advanced analysis profiling procedures become increasingly complex. In this context the human role in interpreting data changes significantly.

As pointed out by Hildebrandt, profiling can be categorized into non-automated, automated and autonomic profiling. Non-automated profiling is a form of reasoning that does not rely on any process of automation. Automated profiling is based on "automated functions that collect and aggregate data" and develop into "automation technologies that can move beyond advice on decision-making, taking a load of lowlevel and even high-level decisions out of human hands."<sup>14</sup> Differently, autonomic profiling describes the process whereby the human role is minimized and the decision making process is entirely driven by the machine.<sup>15</sup> Autonomic profiling "goes one step further than automated profiling."<sup>16</sup> The machines drive the decision making process, providing for a readjusted environment based on their profiling and without calling for human intervention. Besides their degree of automation profiling methods can be distinguished by their object and application. Profiling can be applied as group profiling or individual profiling: the techniques that identify and represent groups can also focus on individuals.<sup>17</sup> Moreover profiling relies on data collected from one single person or group to apply the information derived from data processing to the same person or group – direct profiling – or it relies on categorization and generalisation from data collected among a large population to apply it to certain persons or groups - indirect profiling. Group profiling can also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Gloria González Fuster, Serge Gutwirth and Ellyne Erika, "*Profiling in the European Union: A high-risk practice*," in *INEX Policy Brief* 10 (2010): 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Gloria González Fuster, Serge Gutwirth and Ellyne Erika, "*Profiling in the European Union: A high-risk practice*," in *INEX Policy Brief* 10 (2010): 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Mireille Hildebrandt, "Defining profiling: a new type of knowledge?," in Profiling the European Citizens. Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives, ed. Mireille Hildebrandt and Serge Gutwirth (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008), 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>See Mireille Hildebrandt, "*Profiling: from Data to Knowledge. The challenges of a crucial technology*," in *DuD Datenschutz und Datensicherheit* 30(9) (2006): 548–552 and Mireille Hildebrandt, "*Defining profiling: a new type of knowledge?*," in *Profiling the European Citizens. Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Mireille Hildebrandt and Serge Gutwirth (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008), 17–47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Mireille Hildebrandt, "Profiling: from Data to Knowledge. The challenges of a crucial technology," in DuD Datenschutz und Datensicherheit 30(9) (2006): 550.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>See Anton, Vedder, "*KDD: The challenge to individualism*," in *Ethics and Information Technology* (1999): 275–281 and Arnold Roosendaal, *Digital Personae and Profiles in Law. Protecting Individuals' Rights in Online Contexts*, Oisterwijk: Wolf Legal Publishers.

be classified as distributive group profiling or non-distributive group profiling.<sup>18</sup> A distributive group profile identifies a certain number of people having the same attributes. All the members of the group share the same characteristics. In contrast, a non-distributive group profile identifies a certain number of people who do not share all the attributes of the group's profile.

These distinctions give an idea of the different types of profiling and their application. The forms of profiling, which are subject of this article are automated and autonomic profiling and their various forms and fields of application.

The following proposed definition takes into account the preceding evolution of technologies in which profiling is embedded and focuses on the purpose profiling is being used for. It will be the basis for this paper:

Profiling is a technique of (partly) automated processing of personal and/or non-personal data, aimed at producing knowledge by inferring correlations from data in the form of profiles that can subsequently be applied as a basis for decision-making.

A profile is a set of correlated data that represents a (individual or collective) subject.

Constructing profiles is the process of discovering unknown patterns between data in large data sets that can be used to create profiles.

Applying profiles is the process of identifying and representing a specific individual or group as fitting a profile and of taking some form of decision based on this identification and representation.

#### **1.3** Societal Consequences of Digitization

Advanced data analysis tools have established new social practices of knowledge production and have created new types of knowledge. We argue that the practices of profiling have facilitated and are part of a broader societal paradigm of prevention. We will elaborate on the societal implications of changing social practices through emerging profiling technologies as a ground for the examination of threats for fundamental rights and values of European societies in Sect. 1.4.

Observations made by human beings need to be written down to be made explicit. The written documentation of observations can be regarded as a first step to enable a generalized and objectified way of keeping information and exchanging it between individuals and institutions.<sup>19</sup> Digitized information, however, can be processed and analysed automatically so that information is easier and cheaper to store, process and analyse. An illustrative example of how exhaustive and expansive

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>See Anton, Vedder, "*KDD: The challenge to individualism*," in *Ethics and Information Technology* (1999): 275–281.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>The important role the implementation of written files played as storage and medium for information but also as a symbol of power for the Inquisition trials in Italy is displayed by Thomas Scharff, "*Erfassen und Erschrecken. Funktionen des Prozeßschriftguts der kirchlichen Inquisition in Italien im 13. und frühen 14. Jahrhundert.* "in Als die Welt in die Akten kam. Prozeßschriftgut im europäischen Mittelalter, ed. Susanne Lepsius and Thomas Wetzstein (Frankfurt a.M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 2008), 255–274.

the detailed documentation of people's activities and behaviour has been, is the comparison between digital data the NSA stores with the amounts of files the Stasi – German Democratic Republic's domestic secret service – produced. All the information captured throughout the Stasi history would fill about 48.000 cabinets covering approximately 0,019 km<sup>2</sup>. The NSA's planned data centre in Utah will host about 5 zettabytes of data which could roughly be converted in about 42 quadrillion file cabinets covering 17 million  $\text{km}^2$  – bigger than the European continent.<sup>20</sup> The example also shows the differing efforts needed to collect and archive data depending on whether using analog or digital data processing. While the Stasi needed to install microphones, hire staff to monitor and document people's behaviour to gain information about their habits, attitudes and social networks, in a digitized world a lot of that information can be monitored and stored on the fly through sensors, log data or user generated content. This shows that the digitization of communication and transactions does not only produce more data but also provides new kinds of information<sup>21</sup> which can be used to extract knowledge about individuals: their social relations, interests and activities. Once stored and made accessible via computer networks, data becomes easily exchangeable worldwide. At the same time it becomes hard to grasp how data is exchanged, which information is gained and by whom. Furthermore the specific mediums can store specific data. Certain elements which can be archived on paper cannot be archived digitally and vice versa. Moreover certain information can hardly be digitized respectively digitally analyzed, e.g. hand-written information, and smells. By that, archives have a filtering function which shapes the accessibility of information as data. But simplified storage and exchange of data are only one aspect of the ongoing process of digitization of everyday life. Beyond that advanced methods of data analysis have fundamentally changed the procedures of knowledge production through automation.

Another effect of the digitization of data becomes evident when we think of the different haptic and cognitive perceptions of digital versus analog files and folders. Different items and elements can be put in an analog or digital file, and at the same time, the availability of and the access to certain kinds of information fundamentally changes. In other words: accessing information at a (real) desktop is very different from accessing information when sitting in front of a computer screen. Paper folders can be touched and felt, digital files are browsed on a screen and can be searched by keywords. Consequently, the way of reasoning changes, as first findings of one of the case studies conducted in PROFILING show.<sup>22</sup> More interaction of the analyst is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Open Data City, *Stasi versus NSA*, accessed February 27, 2014, http://apps.opendatacity.de/stasi-vs-nsa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Bert-JaapKoops, "Technology and the Crime Society: Rethinking Legal Protection," in Law, Innovation & Technology, 1, 1 (2009): 93–124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Technische Universität Berlin conducted a case study about the transformation of policing practices due to the application of data processing technologies. Expert interviews were conducted with scholars, civil rights activists, directors of security technology companies, a police representative, and a lawyer. Police as well as technology providers mentioned changes in the workflow and the

oriented towards computer interfaces and thus influenced by the way user interfaces are designed, information is presented, and how searches can be conducted.<sup>23</sup> The transformation of the human role in knowledge production processes is even more significant when it comes to examining large-scale databases. Learning algorithms are trained on specific data sets to build categories or to find patterns in the data. Assumptions or hypotheses made by the analyst play a minor role during data processing, they are to a certain degree hidden in the process of writing algorithms and training the algorithms, Finally, hypotheses are derived "from the material".<sup>24</sup> As a consequence implicit assumptions driving the actors during the selection of training data, preprocessing target data and suitable algorithms become invisible and the outcomes produced by "the data" seem objectified. Subjective assumptions and social norms are hidden in the technology during the process of automatization, while outcomes based on computed models and databases are often perceived as solid statistics and thus more objective than human interpretation.<sup>25</sup> This perception as objectified knowledge of computer-generated models supports the thesis of a general tendency of technology to make social norms more durable<sup>26</sup> and more specifically the thesis that social sorting becomes strengthened if mediated through technology.<sup>27</sup> Profiles, as mentioned above, can be seen as hypotheses. These hypotheses are inductive as they are not necessarily developed on the basis of a theory or a common sense expectation, but often emerge in the process of data mining. This can be regarded as a shift from a more traditional, rather assumption-

construction of theses from digitally stored information. The report of the case study's final results will be available at http://profiling-project.eu/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>See Nina Degele, *Einführung in die Techniksoziologie* (Stuttgart, UTB, 2002), p. 167–168.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>The results software can draw from data material are dependent on the quality of the data sets, which are examined, including the selection and pre-processing of data. Major problems, especially regarding large-scale data sets which combine data from various sources, are poor data quality, data incompatibility, and biased data sets which corrupt data mining outcomes. Furthermore operators might not be familiar with such reliability problems. Consequently operators might not act properly upon these problems. See Ana Canhoto and James Blackhouse, "General Description of Behavioural Profiling," in *Profiling the European Citizens. Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Mireille Hildebrandt and Serge Gutwirth (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008), 47–63 and Bernhard Anrig, Will Brown, and Mark Gasson, "The Role of Algorithms in Profiling," in *Profiling the European Citizens*, cross-Disciplinary Perspectives, ed. Mireille Hildebrandt and Serge Gutwirth (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008), 65–87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>See Toon Calders and Indrė Žliobaitė, "Why Unbiased Computational Processes Can Lead to Discriminative Decision Procedures," in Discrimination and Privacy in the Information Society, ed. Bart Custers et al. (Berlin: Springer, 2013), 43–57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>See Bruno Latour, "Technology is Society Made Durable," in *A Sociology of Monsters: Essays on Power, Technology and Domination*, ed. John Law (London: Routledge, 1991), 103–131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>See Michaelis Lianos and Douglas Mary, "Dangerization and the End of Deviance: The Institutional Environment," in British Journal of Criminology 40, 2 (2000): 261–278 and Rosamunde van Brakel and Paul De Hert, "Policing, surveillance and law in a pre-crime society: Understanding the consequences of technology based strategies," in Cahier Politiestudies 2011–3 no. 20 (2011): 163–192.