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Digital Citizenship in a Datafied Society, by Arne Hintz, Lina Dencik and Karin Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019, UK: Polity press, 2019, 180pp., £15.99, ISBN 9781509527168.

It is now commonplace to say that digital technologies and data have profoundly reshaped the ways we live, interact, think and know the world. The ubiquity of digital technologies and data is going hand-in-hand with a shift in the functioning of capitalism which has been described by Zuboff (2019) as 'Surveillance Capitalism'. According to her, this reworking of capitalism thrives on a new logic of accumulation that systematically extracts and analyses behavioural data and creates value in predicting and modifying human behaviour. In a context in which almost all aspects of our daily lives have become 'datafied' (Mayer-Schoenberger & Cukier, 2013), it is important to examine not only the opportunities generated by digital technologies and data but also to address the new challenges posed by datafication and surveillance capitalism. Hintz et al's new book _Digital Citizenship in a Datafied Society_ takes up the challenge and makes an important and timely contribution to current debates in media and communications, and further afield.

Overall, the book critically engages with the pressing issues posed by data-driven societies and more specifically with the ways in which citizenship and the possibility of agency have been reshaped by mass data collection, pervasive datafication and the commodification not only of personal data but also behavioural data. In that respect, the authors challenge current understandings of (digital) citizenship and compellingly argue that citizenship – and how it is framed in research, media discourse and policies – needs to be understood within the broader transformations underlying data-driven societies and in particular the reconfiguration of corporate-state-citizens relations, the pervasive processes of data-based sorting and profiling, and the wider context of inequality in which these processes are inscribed. Indeed, the authors rightly question understandings of digital citizenship that frame issues of users' rights, attitudes and practices around online privacy, mass data collection and more broadly surveillance in highly individualised terms. These commonplace understandings do not reflect the complexity of today's digital environment and (advertently or inadvertently) transfer the bulk of responsibility to engage and negotiate citizenship in a digital age onto individuals. This crucial point is made very powerfully throughout the book. The authors, then, offer the lens of 'data justice' to counter individualised understandings of digital citizenship and better understand the possibility for agency and resistance in datafied societies in relation to long-standing struggles around inequalities and social justice.

The first two chapters set the conceptual and contextual foundation of the book. Chapter 1 provides a brief and engaging review of the concept of 'citizenship' and of the critiques that have been addressed to it, before critically assessing the ways in which citizenship has been understood and framed in relation to the digital. In Chapter 2, the authors discuss key debates on surveillance and datafication. The chapter comprehensively reviews the profound transformations and implications of the emergence of datafied societies, examining the wider context of mass data collection and data infrastructures in the global economy as well as the emergence of data-driven modes of governance inscribed in processes of social sorting and legitimised by pervasive discourses of securitisation. The chapter brings together key insights from the recent work of David Lyon on the culture of surveillance (2018), from Zuboff (2019)'s analysis of 'surveillance capitalism', and more broadly from scholarly research on human-technological social sorting, and the new forms of governance and production of knowledge underlying data-driven societies.

Chapters 3 to 5 constitute the bulk of the book and make use of extensive empirical data collected from policy documents analysis, interviews with representatives of industry and with

security and legal experts, large scale analysis of media documents covering the Snowden revelations and qualitative research on public understandings of mass data collection in the UK. Chapter 3 critically assesses the regulatory frameworks that shape the current digital environment in the UK (e.g. UK Investigatory power act) while Chapter 4 examines the role of the media and its functioning in shaping attitudes towards surveillance and understandings of citizenship. Drawing on qualitative data, Chapter 5 explores public understandings and knowledge of digital infrastructures and mass data collection. Importantly, Chapter 5 moves away from understandings of public attitudes towards surveillance and data collection as 'apathy' – implying individual responsibility – to understanding them as *negotiated* within complex data-driven systems that have become integrated in the economy and every aspect of society and have created new configurations of power and agency.

The last chapter of the book considers the conditions that restrict users' agency within pervasive infrastructures of datafication as well as critically discusses existing forms of resistance to these infrastructures and their limitations. The authors identify how resistance focused on the use of privacy-enhanced tools often places the burden of responsibility and protection on individuals (and by doing so disregards the context in which individuals enact their practices) while digital rights activism groups such as The Open Right Group, Privacy International or Big Brother Watch tend to remain within a specialised discourse, focusing on technicality of data protection policy. Similar concerns are discussed with regards to broader movements focusing on data ethics, transparency, good governance and corporate social responsibility that have emerged in the past decades. While transparency and good governance are important, these initiatives are often incorporated within the existing logics of data extraction and commodification. Further, as discussed by Crain (2018) a consumer driven approach in this context, not only displaces responsibility onto consumers - in particular to keep up with and inform themselves about data processes that are deeply opaque - but also can be used by corporations to avoid regulations. In this way, it is important to note how corporations are often re-appropriating specific agendas and terminologies to suit their own interests. No doubt similar processes are at play when it comes to digital citizenship, a point which could have been made more strongly in this chapter.

In the last part of the book, the authors advocate an approach focusing on *data justice* to articulate 'a systemic critique of datafication and connect the concerns of anti-surveillance movements with social and economic justice concerns to advance a more collective form of resistance' (p.139). This approach entails the active politicisation of data and data processes by understanding and challenging datafication in relation to the power structures that enables it. In that respect, the authors argue that citizenship needs to be understood as 'datafied' rather than 'digital' in order to recognise the political dimensions of data and to situate conceptualisations of citizenship within broader ideological understandings of how society should be organised. This crucial point – often overlooked in scholarship on digital literacy, digital citizenship or data privacy – is a very important takeaway from the book.

Throughout the book, the authors have made a very compelling argument and offered a powerful and holistic lens to better grasp the underlying power structures that shape much-talked questions of mass data collection but also data ownership, corporate's sprawling power and online content moderation to name a few. The authors, however, could have expanded more on what a data justice framework entails and how it can be applied to carry research and bridge the gap between users, academics and activists. Overall, this book brings together in an engaging and comprehensive way the critical issues posed by datafication and surveillance and made a powerful argument for re-thinking citizenship within the wider structures that reconfigure power and agency. This makes it a crucial read for researchers in the field of media and communications but also for a broader audience.

References

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