MASTER THESIS

Potential for outrage?
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Danish Attitudes towards Data Surveillance from Google and Facebook

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Abstract

The rise of Google and later Facebook has sparked critique amongst both privacy advocates and academics related to multiple issues including data privacy, content moderation, behaviour modification, discriminatory algorithms and more. However, despite these criticisms both Google and Facebook have continued to enjoy economic success. One of the most influential critics of Google and Facebook, Shoshana Zuboff, has suggested a number of reasons for why the outrage and protest against the surveillance practices of Google and Facebook has so far been negligible. The foundation of our theoretical framework is based on a reordering and categorizing of Zuboff's reasons into five different categories of our own conception, as wells as Draper and Turow's concept of Digital Resignation. This has been used to guide our analysis at the individual micro-level of analysis to answer two research questions: 1) to what extent there is dissatisfaction and potential for outrage in the Danish population regarding accumulation and use of personal data by Google and Facebook? and 2) what the main challenges are for the Danish population to actively resist this data accumulation and use?

To answer our two research questions, we conducted research based on a mixed-methods research design. Specifically, we have used both a large-N quantitative survey study with 268 respondents and a small-N qualitative interview study of 10 semi structured interviews. With this research we are able to demonstrate that large parts of the Danish population are actually concerned and dissatisfied with the collection and use of personal data, but that a potential for outrage is quite limited due to both a lack of knowledge on the topic and social costs associated with quitting the services of Google and Facebook.

We also demonstrate that the Danish population faces considerable challenges in actively resisting the accumulation and use of their personal data. Specifically, we found that Danes feel dependent on the services offered by Facebook and Google, and that there exists a widespread belief that it is near-impossible to avoid data collection. We argue that these two factors together contribute to a pronounced digital resignation in Denmark, wherein people cannot see the meaning of actively resisting data collection. This digital resignation results in many Danes calling for stricter data privacy regulation, and some explicitly delegate the responsibility of dealing with the issues of data privacy to politicians and regulators.

Lastly, our thesis includes some further perspectives where we consider the future of Google and Facebook, states' interest in data accumulation and how both policy instruments and individual action can contribute to change the trajectory of these companies and future data practices.

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1. Introduction

Today nearly every routine aspect of our lives produces a digital trace. It produces data.
As the internet and technologies have evolved, we have seen an ever-increasing amount of digital data created by and about people. Data is collected on who we are, who we know, where we are, where we have been and where we plan to go. Our profiles and demographic data from bank accounts to medical records to employment data. Our Web searches and sites visited, including our likes and dislikes and purchase histories. Our tweets, texts, emails, phone calls, photos and videos as well as the coordinates of our real-world locations. The list continues to grow. The use and accumulation of personal data has been broadly applied by both private companies, governments and public sector institutions. Already in 2011, indications were given of the enormous importance and implications of the rise of personal data when the World Economic Forum asserted that "*personal data will be the new "oil" – a valuable resource of the 21st century. It will emerge as a new asset class touching all aspects of society"* (World Economic Forum, 2011). Viewing data as an asset class has since then been embraced by both companies, governments and other actors, emphasized by various consultancies in their reports on the newest market trends (Mohr & Hürtgen, 2018; Duhe et al., 2019). Whereas data was previously considered "a by-product" of interactions with media and technology, many major Internet companies have now become "data firms". Particularly Google and Facebook have drawn considerable attention, due to their enormous success with a business model based on delivering free-to-use services in exchange for collecting enormous amounts of personal data which enables them to deliver increasingly targeted advertisements (West, 2019).

Because personal data can create profits, this has resulted in an ever-increasing appetite for harvesting, analysing, and using personal data in increasingly pervasive and innovative ways. Sometimes overstepping boundaries of privacy in order to get as much insight (and data) as possible. A case in point was documented on august the 20th 2019, when the headline on the frontpage of the Danish national newspaper Politiken, read: "*Tech giants have without your knowledge heard you have sex and quarrel*". The article detailed how smart speakers from Google had overheard people having conversations, arguments and even sexual intercourse - clearly without the owners of the voice assistant knowing that they

were being recorded (Hansen & Andersen, 2019). A public outcry ensued, and criticisms of the lengths that Google had gone to in order to collect further data on its users arose (Marquardt & Breinstrup, 2019). These criticisms were not new however. For more than a decade, various scholars and journalists have problematized the extent and scope that data surveillance and collection have taken, and the consequences this has entailed (Vaidhyanathan 2011; Couldry & Mejias 2019). One of the most significant contributions to this literature, and an influence for our interest on this particular topic, is the work and research of Harvard professor and author Shoshana Zuboff. In her recent book: The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power, Zuboff offers an in-depth critique of the business models of Google and Facebook, and the societal developments that their increasing appetite for personal data has entailed. In her critique of Google and Facebook, Zuboff calls for a rebirth of astonishment and outrage at the individual level in order to combat the increasing prevalence of what she terms "surveillance capitalism" (Zuboff 2019).

Despite scandals, criticisms and concerns from both business insiders and academics however, the tech companies, not least Facebook and Google, have still seen tremendous and uninterrupted growth in the last decade (Richter, 2019). Also, in Denmark, people are increasingly avid users of the products and services of both Google and Facebook (Statista 2020a, 2020b). Thus, it appears that the privacy scandals and the widespread critiques have had limited consequences for the two companies, both in Denmark and the rest of the world. Therefore, we set out in this thesis, to investigate what the actual opinions and attitudes are amongst Danish citizens: what are their thoughts on data privacy, and to what extent are they dissatisfied with the current business practices of Google and Facebook. This is the focus of our research and has led to the following two overarching research questions:

Research Question 1: To what extent is there dissatisfaction and a potential for outrage in the Danish population regarding the accumulation and use of personal data by Google and Facebook?

And subsequently,

Research Question 2: What are the main challenges for the Danish population to actively resist the accumulation and use of personal data by Google and Facebook?

The reason we find it relevant to answer these two research questions is not only because we have noticed the wide variety of criticisms that has been levied at both Google and Facebook in recent years. It is also because we recognize that these two companies are playing an increasingly important role, both in Denmark and in the whole world. Mikkel Flyverbom, professor at Copenhagen Business School, recently stated that the reason that all these critiques of the tech giants are coming to the fore now, is due to the fact that technology today has become woven into the fabric of society at an unprecedented level: *"We used to think of digital technologies as simple tools, or as spaces that we could enter and leave again[…] [Now] they have become the backbone of our society, both commercially, politically, and socially*" (Flyverbom, 2019, p.7). We argue that this is especially true for Danes, who are among the most connected internet users in the world (Tassy et al., 2020), and thus we find it imperative that we not only better understand exactly what this "backbone" of technology entails, but also what the opinions of the Danish population are on the subject.

Fundamentally then, the research of our thesis is grounded in our belief that it is of critical importance that we as a society better understand two things. Firstly, what kind of role we want technology to play in our common future, and secondly, what the obstacles and challenges are in making technology play this desired role. We sincerely believe that an answer to our two research questions can help bring us a small step closer to this critical understanding, and we hope that the readers of our research appreciate the importance of investigating how the Danish population relates and reflects on these ever-more important technologies of Google and Facebook.

1.1 The structure of the paper:

Our paper is structured as follows: After this introduction, section 2 proceeds with an outline of some key topics for this thesis - namely we briefly describe the trajectories and operations of Google and Facebook and we outline the current legislation on data privacy in Denmark, with a particular focus

on the GDPR. In section 3, we provide a literature review of the academic literature engaged with understanding the increasingly data-driven technologies and its effects on the individual. Hereafter, section 4 introduces our theoretical and analytical framework. Section 5 describes the research design we have applied in our present research, and also includes reflections on our position within the philosophies of science. Section 6 then contains our first analysis where we seek an answer to our first research question. Section 7 subsequently contains our second analysis, exploring the answer to our second research question. Section 8 proceeds with a discussion of our research findings and considers how our two analyses together can provide a better understanding of the role of the Danish individual as it reflects on the data practices of Google and Facebook. In section 9, we provide a conclusion on our research findings and overall thesis. Finally, Section 10 contains a brief consideration of further perspectives on data collection and use in Denmark that we consider interesting for further inquiry.

2. Setting the scene

2.1 Introducing Google and Facebook

Since much of our research in this thesis revolves around the practices and services of Google and Facebook, we proceed by providing a brief overview of the main characteristics and services of these two companies.

2.1.1 Google's products and services

Since being founded in 1998, Google has been one of the fastest growing companies in world history. It all started when the two Stanford graduates Larry Page and Sergey Brin built one of the first internet search engines. Today, 22 years later, their search engine handles more than 2 trillion search inquiries a year from all over the globe (The Economist, 2019). However, while the core of the business today remains the search engine, Google has evolved to span a wide variety of services targeted at both consumers and businesses.

In 2004, they launched Gmail. A simple to use email-platform, that quickly gained popularity. In 2018, Gmail had 1.5 billion users worldwide (Statista, 2018). In 2005, Google launched Google Maps. In 2006, they acquired YouTube, the leading online video content host and provider. In 2008, Google launched Chrome, its own web browser, that in 2020 had a 56.6% market share in Denmark (Statcounter, 2020). Google's mobile operating system Android, that the company also launched in

2008, today powers around 80% of the world's smartphones (The Economist, 2019). In 2016, Google announced its first Google Home smart speaker. Powered by Google Assistant, Google's voice-controlled AI assistant, the Google Home speaker, can control all smart home devices such as light bulbs, TVs through Google's Chromecast streaming device, home security systems, heating systems, and a vast amount of other smart devices (Google, 2016).

Google's product offering today spans far and wide, with new products and services being introduced frequently. Apart from the ones mentioned above, Google's suite of online document editing software Sheets, Docs and Slides, the online storage Google Drive, Google Photos, the marketing analytics tool Google Analytics, the app store Google Play, the flight search engine Google Flights and the online translation tool Google Translate just to name a few (Google, 2020a). Interestingly, most of these products and services do not require monetary payment. This means that monetary payments from their users do not contribute revenue to Google.

2.1.2 Google's source of revenue:

Instead of monetary payments from its users, Google's main source of revenue is Google Ads. Through the self-service system, companies can set up ads on Google's Display Network, that includes over 2 million websites and a large number of applications, providing visibility to over 90% of internet users worldwide (Google, 2020b). The comprehensive Google Display Network is partly made up of web pages that utilize Google AdSense, another offering by Google, that makes it possible for administrators of web pages to include an AdSense module on the web page. The AdSense module then displays Google Ads on the web page, accumulating revenue for the owner of the site. By utilizing the vast amount of data Google gathers on their users, Google can allow advertisers to target the ads very specifically to a relevant end-receiver through their platform. The advertiser chooses a number of keywords, that then decides when the ad shows up to the chosen target segment. The advertiser then only pays when a user clicks on an ad, also called Pay Per Click (PPC). The advertiser then chooses a maximum amount they are willing to pay for a click in an auction-based system. Who wins the auction is based on both the price the advertisers are willing to pay, and the relevance of the ad to the end-receiver. A process that occurs every time an ad is shown on Google's extensive Display Network (Google, 2020d). Consequently, being knowledgeable about Google Ads is a trait many marketing employees and advertisers desire, due to the immense reach and central position of Google's advertising platform. Therefore, Google has also launched the Google Ad Certification programme, that allows individuals to take extensive online courses on how to utilize the platform. The programme is also extended to companies that can acquire a Google Partner certification (Google, 2020e). With the immense possibilities for optimization of ads, and the auction system,

Google Ads has become the largest digital ad seller in the world today, accounting for 31.1% of global digital ad spending (eMarketer, 2019).

In 2019, Google Ads had a revenue of $134.81 Bn. Moreover, Alphabet, the parent company of Google, became the fourth American company ever to have a market capitalization of $1 trillion on January the 16th 2020. By doing so, the company joined the same exclusive club as Apple, Microsoft and Amazon (The Economist, 2020). In other words, the serving of personalized and targeted advertising, has been hugely successful for Google.

2.1.3 Facebook's Products and Services:

The namesake for the company Facebook is also their main platform. First launched and opened to the public in late 2006, the social media platform Facebook quickly grew to huge popularity, becoming one of the most visited websites on the internet already in 2011 (Solomon, K. 2011). The use and scope of the Facebook platform has grown considerably over the years. Users can now not only post text, photos and multimedia, but also use various embedded apps, join common-interest groups, buy and sell items or services on Marketplace, and receive notifications of their Facebook friends' activities and activities of Facebook pages they follow. In their Q1 report for 2020, Facebook reported that there are now more than 2.6 billion active monthly users on the platform (Facebook, 2020).

While the portfolio of services and products offered by the company Facebook Inc. is considerably less populated than Google's, Facebook Inc. has also acquired and developed new and very popular services in the social media space. Perhaps most famously, Facebook acquired the photo and video-sharing social networking service Instagram for 1 billion US dollars in 2012. And two years later, Facebook spent 19 billion US dollars in cash and stock in order to acquire the messaging service WhatsApp. Later in the same year of 2014, Facebook also bought the virtual reality firm Oculus VR for 2.3 billion US dollars in stock and cash.

2.1.4 Facebook's source of revenue

Similarly, to Google, most of Facebook's products and services aimed at the individual user are provided free of charge (the exception is their virtual reality set Oculus). Instead, Facebook has also opted to choose advertising as their main income source. And this commonality in business models is no coincidence. In 2008, Mark Zuckerberg hired Google executive Sheryl Sandberg as chief operating officer. Sandberg had led the development and expansion of Google AdWords, and she took charge in making Facebook an attractive advertisement platform (Vaidhyanathan 2018).

The main selling point for Facebook as the best place to advertise, is that Facebook profiles include a plethora of information, often provided by the users themselves through descriptions, likes, biographical data, records of interactions with others, the text of their posts, location etc. which makes it possible to better target and select the most relevant advertisements. Finally, Facebook has often touted the predictive capabilities of their "social graph"—a map of the relationships among items on Facebook (photos, videos, news stories, advertisements, groups, pages, and the profiles of its 2.2 billion users). Based on how other people with similar attributes and similar connections act, Facebook can predict which ads will be most effective. And Facebook has successfully branched outside of their own platforms by allowing other firms to connect to Facebook directly through a service called Open Graph, which entails that users can log into other services with their Facebook account, enabling more interactions—even outside of Facebook—to become part of the larger social graph and thus useful for profiling and targeting ads (Vaidhyanathan 2018).

Like Google, Facebook has seen enormous success with their business model. In 2019 they had almost $70 billion in revenue solely from advertising, and their market capitalization had reached $578 billion on the 30th of April 2020 (Facebook, 2020). In 2019, Facebook had 20.2% of the share of the global digital ad market (eMarketeer, 2019).

2.2 Current legislation on data privacy in Denmark

To understand the legal rights and measures that are currently available for Danish citizens in order to control and restrict the gathering of their personal data, we will in this section briefly introduce the current legislation on data privacy in Denmark. We deem this relevant as it will provide a basis for understanding how these rights in their current form assist Danish citizens if they wish to resist accumulation of their personal data.

2.2.1 Definition of Personal Data

For good measure, a common definition for personal data, is that it is the data (and metadata) created by and about people. It includes volunteered data, created and explicitly shared by individuals (e.g., social network profiles), Observed data, captured by recording the actions of individuals (e.g. location data) as well as Inferred data, data about individuals based on analysis of volunteered or observed information, e.g. (credit scores) (World Economic Forum, 2011).

2.2.2 The GDPR

The current legislation of data privacy in Denmark is based on the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), a piece of EU legislation that was passed through the European Parliament in 2016. All organizations and companies processing data of EU citizens or residents were required to comply with the law as of the 25th May 2018. The legislation replaced the outdated European Data Protection Directive from 1995, that formed the basis of the previous data privacy legislation in Denmark. The GDPR is generally perceived as the most excessive privacy and security law in the world (Kedzior, 2019) and imposes a variety of legal obligations to data collecting entities, with heavy fines potentially reaching up to 4% of the revenue of the company in case of non-compliance (Voigt & Bussche, 2017). The regulation has widespread consequences and entails many organizational and procedural changes and requirements for a wide variety of data gathering entities, including but not limited to public institutions, interest organizations, small and medium enterprises, and major companies such as Google and Facebook. We note that we are not experts on law, nor do we pretend to be, therefore we focus mainly on the aspect of the GDPR that is the most relevant for our purposes, namely the rights granted to individuals through chapter 3 of the regulation, and how these rights can be employed.

First however, we will briefly explain when and how it is legal for entities to gather and process data from individuals. The easiest way of ensuring the ability to prove the legality of data processing, is to ask the individual data subject for consent to do so. However, this is only one of six legal bases on which entities can legally gather data from individuals. The other 5 legal bases are: 1) the data processing being necessary to fulfil a contract with the individual; 2) to comply with a legal obligation; 3) to protect the vital interests of the data subject or of another natural person; 4) for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest; 5) for the purposes of the legitimate interests pursued by the controller or by a third party (GDPR Art. 6, 2018). However, most entities (including Google and Facebook), choose to ask individuals for consent to ensure legality, as this almost puts no constraints to the way in which data can be processed. This means that as long as an individual has given their consent, the data can be forwarded to a 3rd party, or be processed in just about any way that is specified in the given privacy policy. But as Google in January 2019 discovered after being fined €50 million (Rosemain, 2019), the rules for consent under the GDPR are strict. Consent must be a "*freely given, specific, informed and unambiguous indication of the data subject's wishes by which he or she, by a statement or by a clear affirmative action, signifies agreement to the processing of personal data relating to him or her.*" (GDPR, 2018a: article 4). Thus, the individual must be able to decline their consent, must know exactly what data processing activities they are giving their consent to and what purpose the activities serve. Moreover, there should be no question

as to whether the individual has given their consent, and subsequently, the consent must be able to be revoked as easy as it was given (Voight & Bussche, 2017).

After the bases of legality for the data processing has been established, whether by consent or one of the other 5 means, the individual has a variety of rights under chapter 3 of the GDPR (GDPR, 2018b: chapter 3). Similar to when giving consent, the individual has a right to be informed about what data is collected, and how it is being used. The individual also has a right to know for how long the data is being stored, and whether it will be shared with 3rd parties. Furthermore, the individual has a right to access their data by submitting a request to the data gathering entity, that then has a month to respond to this request. The individual then has the right to transfer this data to any other service they see fit. Similar to this, the individual also has a right to be forgotten, where the data entity likewise has one month to delete all data concerning the individual after a request for this has been submitted. Moreover, the individual has the right to rectification, the right to restrict processing, the right to object, and rights in relation to automated decision making and profiling (see appendix 1 for a brief explanation of all eight rights).

2.2.3 Critique of the GDPR

The broad implementation of the legislation however gained a lot of critique for multiple reasons. While it is not within the scope of this paper to elaborate on all of the broad critique points, we will briefly focus on those that are most relevant for individuals. Since the legal purpose of data gathering is defined very broadly in the GDPR, the companies can today carry on with data processing as they please, as long as the users have given their consent. Thus, hardly putting any limits to data collection in the case of the consumer having limited choices between operators (Jørgensen & Desai 2017). Therefore, the GDPR has been critiqued for being too focused on the actions of the individual, instead of giving legal grounds to directly limit the data gatherings amongst the major tech companies. Moreover, the focus of the law on consent has been criticized for being based on the premise that the consumer has a choice to say no to data processing. However, this arguably does not apply in many circumstances where only a limited number of dominant operators are available to the individual, such as the case with Google and Facebook. In these circumstances, the individual has no choice but to accept the data collection as a premise of using these services by giving their consent (Esayas 2018). Critics of the GDPR have therefore called for more measures within competition law to constrain the companies most excessively engaging in data collection.

3. Literature review - understanding the effects of the data-driven business model

3.1 Emerging concern over the use and accumulation of personal data

From the early days of the internet and well into the 21st century, the dominant story about the increasing availability of digital technologies was one of personal empowerment, individualism, knowledge-sharing and an overall brighter future for the common person (Jørgensen 2019). In public discourse, developments in technology were seen as inevitable, and provided hope for a societal and political re-engineering through technology which would use the increased information, data and communication as a direct path to accountability, trust and legitimacy (Flyverbom 2019; Garsten & De Montoya, 2008).

By the mid-1990s, the Internet (in the developed West, and particularly in the US) was viewed as an open public space which was decentralised, diverse and interactive. As we saw with the story of Google, the commercialization of the internet was met with a largely uncritical, if not enthusiastic reception. However, since the internet also significantly reduced the costs of obtaining information about individuals, the continuous evolvement and development of the internet also paved new ways for both government and private actors to gain increased control and knowledge about the private affairs and actions of citizens. This development was also reflected in the academic literature, where more and more articles highlighted privacy concerns as something to be addressed in the future evolution of the world wide web (Anderson 1998; Markoff 1999). Thus, already in the late 1990s, it was noted that internet-based transactions were creating large databases of information about customers, their demographics, and purchasing habits, without necessarily involving the conscious participation of the consumer. These databases were then sold or communicated to other third-parties, ultimately eroding the privacy of the individual customer (Rust et al. 2002).

Particularly with the rising prominence of the so-called Web 2.0 through the 2010s, concerns about the configuration and accumulation of data began to rise. Web 2.0, or the participative web, refers to the increasingly user-generated content found on the internet. Whether through social networking sites such as Facebook, video sharing sites such as YouTube, or blogs, wikis and the like, the trend increasingly went towards more user involvement and thus also more personal data being generated. This development, combined with the continuous rise of the incredibly successful Internet companies built on the economics of personal data such as Google, Facebook, and Twitter, produced a large variety of scholarly articles, ranging from juridical (e.g. Esayas 2018), sociological (e.g. Roderick 2014), managerial (e.g. Dempster & Lee 2015), and political analyses (e.g. Fuchs 2012). All of them dealing with ways to conceptualize and understand this newly emerged combination of technology, business model and social instrument. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to engage with all the different strands of literature which the digitalization and increasing datafication of society has entailed but suffice it to say that the new form of business model, and the new way of interacting online has not gone unnoticed nor unproblematized in academia.

In line with the research question of this thesis, we will limit our review of the literature to a narrower focus. Specifically, we will focus on the literature which analyses and problematizes the way that the emergence and proliferation of personal data have impacted society by way of the individual. As we shall see, the individual experiences in society have changed in a myriad of ways with the new technologies and data business model. There is a complex interplay between the rise of online platforms (Flyverbom 2019), predictive algorithms (Pasquale 2015), and the accumulation of big data (O'Neil 2016). By sketching out the main threads of the literature which engages with the individual experience vis-à-vis the societal consequences of engaging with these emerging technologies, we hope to provide the reader with a better understanding of the importance of the subject, an overview of the different positions within this debate, as well as a clarification of our contribution to the field, and why our research is important. We will begin by outlining the literature which establishes the significance and influence that the platforms which utilize big data have on individual choice and autonomy. Then we will discuss the role of algorithms and their complexity. Subsequently we move on to the different perspectives on the data-driven

business model and how different scholars suggest approaching it going forward. We will conclude the literature review by highlighting the most recent contributions in empirical research within this field. Finally, this overview will allow us to present the theoretical framework which forms the basis for our research and thesis.

3.2 How the use of data impacts our lives

So why should we care about the use and accumulation of personal data? How can it affect our lives that companies know increasingly more about us? In his book "*Turing's Cathedral*" George Dyson quips that "Facebook determines who we are, Amazon determines what we want, and Google determines what we think" (quoted in Pasquale 2015, p.15). In this sentence a lot of the insights and worries related to the accumulation of data is told – even if the compartmentalization into the specific companies may be misleading. It will probably be more accurate to simply state that in our increasingly datafied world, our personal data determines who we are, what we want and what we think. So how can this be? How can data determine this? Let us start by looking at how data has been found to influence our thoughts and feelings:

3.3 Our data can determine what we think:

Some of the first clear cut examples of how the digital transformation entails consequences for how we see, feel and think in our social lives, have actually been provided by researchers from Facebook. Two studies in particular caused a certain furore. The first one was published in 2012 in the scientific journal Nature (Bond et al. 2012). In this study, conducted during the run-up to the 2010 midterm elections, the Facebook researchers experimentally manipulated the social and informational content of voting-related messages in the news feed of nearly 61 million Facebook users. One group was shown a statement at the top of their news feed encouraging the user to vote and included a link to polling place information, an actionable "I Voted" button as well as a counter indicating how many other Facebook users reported voting, and up to six profile pictures of the user's Facebook friends who had already clicked the "I Voted" button. A second group received the same information but without the pictures of friends. A third control group did not receive any special message. The results showed that users who received the social message with pictures were about 2 percent more likely to click on the "I Voted" button than did those who received the

information alone and 0.26 percent more likely to click on polling place information. The researchers subsequently calculated that the manipulated social messages sent approximately 60,000 additional voters to the polls in the 2010 elections, as well as another 280,000 who cast votes as a result of a "social contagion" effect, for a total of 340,000 additional votes (Bond et al. 2012).

This large-scale manipulation and modification of Facebook users behaviour was continued with the publication of the study "Experimental Evidence of Massive-Scale Emotional Contagion Through Social Networks" in 2014 (Kramer et al. 2014). The study was conducted by a collaboration of a Facebook data scientist and academic researchers. The idea of the study was to test whether a small change in the exposure to specific emotional content would cause people to change their own posting behaviour on their Facebook News Feed. By slightly manipulating the feed of more than 689,000 unknowing Facebook users, the researchers managed to show that there was indeed a significant effect on people's behaviour, depending on the content they were exposed to. The users who were exposed to mostly positive messages in their feed would tend to reproduce more positive content, and vice versa for the users exposed to predominantly negative messages. While the altered content on the users' news feed had a quite small effect on the mood it was noted by the authors that:" given *the massive scale of social networks such as Facebook, even small effects can have large aggregated consequences […] Online messages influence our experience of emotions, which may affect a variety of offline behaviours*" (Kramer et al. 2014, p. 8790).

Both studies were met with considerable debate and concern as they so clearly demonstrated not only the power that Facebook wielded to influence and persuade behaviour, but also the lack of oversight or control that the users have over this form of manipulation. As an example of the concerns raised, a specialist in internet law, Zittrain, called the Facebook voting experiment a challenge to fundamental human rights and the democratic process, and noted that Facebook had effectively demonstrated that they potentially had the power to engineer an entire election without anyone ever finding out (Zittrain 2014). An argument which would gain remarkable relevance following the 2018 Cambridge Analytica scandal, a point we shall return to in the following section on how data can shape what we want.

Google, contrary to Facebook, has not actively published research themselves which demonstrates the extent to which they are able to shape our thoughts, emotions and actions. In general, Google has been reluctant to take on any responsibility for the content and indexing that their services provide. Instead Google has typically attempted to portray itself in the role of a neutral, technological utility, rather than a biased or political actor. However, as Google has grown and effectively become the entry point for the internet for most of us, this idealistic image of a neutral mediator has been difficult for them to maintain. Over the past decade, several books have been published which provide a critique and problematization of the supposed objectivity and neutrality of Google. One of the first and most influential of these critiques was cultural historian and media scholar Vaidhyanathan's book "The Googlization of Everything" (Vaidhyanathan 2011) in which he argues that Google increasingly is becoming the lens through which we view the world. By ordering the internet's astounding amount of information for us, Google automatically (and necessarily) filters and focuses our queries and explorations of the world's digitized information. However, argues Vaidhyanathan, through its process of collecting, ranking, linking, and displaying knowledge, it is inevitable that Google will contain biases. These biases in turn will alter our perceptions of the information available, and ultimately determine what we consider to be good, true, valuable and relevant. "*Does anything (or anyone) matter if it (or she) does not show up on the first page of a Google search?*" (Vaidhyanathan 2011, p. 7). Along the same lines, we may ask, if a shop or a restaurant does not show up in Google Maps, does it even exist?

3.3.1 Platforms and moderation of content

Over the last years, researchers have continued to investigate and document the ways that the realities faced in the digital domain have very real consequences for our thoughts and conditionings in real life. Of particular relevance is the literature that emerged on the importance of platforms, and how the moderation and control of these popular platforms directly influences and shapes human activities. In particular professors in communication Gillespie (2015;2018), and Flyverbom (2019) have made convincing arguments about how digital infrastructures and processes of datafication have power effects because they shape what we see and know, and because these platforms come to guide our attention.

In his book "Custodians of the Internet: Platforms, content moderation, and the hidden decisions that shape social media", Gillespie (2018) argues that the more we rely on search engines and social networks to find what we want and need, the more influence they wield. The power to include, exclude, and rank is the power to ensure that certain public impressions become permanent, while others remain fleeting. However, Gillespie notes, there has been a remarkable lack of discussion and insight into the moderation of content and activity of users that is necessarily a part of these platforms (Gillespie, 2018). The detection, review, and removal of certain content happens continuously but under imperatives that we have very limited insight and knowledge about. One of Gillespie's main assertions is that this content moderation and curation necessitates a much greater degree of media literacy in consumers. The central point for our purposes and discussion on the implications of data accumulation and use, is that the user data acquired by Google and Facebook in a myriad of very obscure ways are used to determine and decide what content a given user will see. The content that users post, the profiles they build, the search queries they enter, the traces of their activity through the site and beyond, the preferences they indicate along the way, and the "social graph" they build through their participation with others, will fundamentally influence the way they think going forward. It is Gillespie's concern that we have the curious new problem of being led to believe that we all have access to the same things when we do not. Many of us are unaware that others are seeing what we are not, and that others are not seeing what we are – and perhaps most importantly we are unsure why it is so (Gillespie 2015;2018).

Flyverbom agrees with Gillespie that social media sites and online platforms such as YouTube are not neutral, open spaces. By organizing information and guiding our attention they are effectively editing social realities. In Flyverbom's terminology, they are "managing visibilities". Managing visibilities is a matter of providing an answer to the question of who sees what, whom, when, where, and how, and it lies at the core of all forms of social control (Flyverbom 2019). By drawing on the philosophies, sociologies and the politics of knowledge and the literature on transparency, surveillance and secrecy, Flyverbom's analysis of the important role of managing visibilities on these online platforms, can ultimately be traced back to the work of Foucault and extensions of his writings on knowledge and power. In Foucault's work on governmentality, the idea that practices of seeing, knowing and governing are intimately connected is central (Foucault, 1977; 1979). Flyverbom notes that

while Foucauldian scholarship focuses mainly on the importance of language and discourses, the extension to managing visibilities on social platforms is relatively unproblematic.

To reiterate the points of Vaidhyanathan (2011;2018), Gillespie (2015; 2018) and Flyverbom (2019), they note that while Google and Facebook emphasize that they are merely hosting the content posted on their platforms, they are also playing down the ways in which they intervene— how they moderate, delete, and suspend, and just as importantly, how they sort content in particular ways. They algorithmically highlight some posts over others, and grant their financial partners privileged real estate on the site. This is a debate that neither Google nor Facebook really like to acknowledge or address head on. There is another way that the huge caches of personal data are employed however, a way which Google and Facebook have been more open-mouthed about. Their targeted advertisement. While Google and Facebook may be reluctant to admit that they shape the way people think, they will happily admit that they shape the way people purchase. After all, that is their very bread and butter. The ability of Google and Facebook to use data to determine, predict and suggest what we want to buy next has quite simply been the reason for their soaring profits over the last years. In short:

3.4 Our data can determine what we want:

The advertisement business has probably always been driven by the wish to gain the ability to deliver a particular message to a specific person at just the right moment when he or she is most likely to be persuaded to change behaviour. Additionally, the advertising industry's relationship with the consumer has always been characterized by a love-hate relationship where ads can both be seen as engaging and inspirational content, as well as annoying and intrusive manipulation (Hansen & Riis Christensen, 2007). This relationship has been studied and analysed by a great variety of researchers, cultural-studies analysts, social historians and more, all seeking to understand how advertising messages affect society. However, according to long-established media and advertising researcher Joseph Turow, there has in recent years been a change in the fundamental workings and objectives in advertisement, with broad social and cultural consequences.

3.4.1 Advertising has changed as a consequence of data

Turow's book "The Daily You" from 2011, takes its title from a pioneering account of the then recently emerged world of digital media by Nicholas Negroponte. In his book from 1995 "Being Digital", Negroponte predicted that the power of digital media would give citizens an unprecedented degree of control over their media environments. He illustrated this new control with the hypothetical example of The Daily Me, an online newspaper whose content would be customized to suit the interests and beliefs of individual readers (Negroponte, 1995). Many years later, it would appear that the content customization that Negroponte predicted is taking off, but Turow argues that there is a crucial difference between Negroponte's vision of The Daily Me, and the realized and actual version of the new digital media landscape. The crucial difference is that much of the content is not being customized and personalized by consumers themselves.

Instead, Turow argues, advertisements, discounts, information, and entertainment are increasingly customized by a largely invisible industry, leveraging a vast amount of information that we as consumers don't realize it is collecting and using. Thus, much of the content and advertisements which consumers see, are not being customized and personalized by the consumers themselves – rather they are based on social and behavioural profiles, reputations collected and assembled *for us* and *about us* but not *by us*. Rather than explicitly defining our own preferences and relevant opportunities, we are subjected to an automated algorithm-environment that operates irrespective of our awareness, knowledge and consent. According to Turow, there is a profound cost to individual agency, knowledge and consent, since decisions are being made for us, in terms of what products we see and ultimately purchase, which destinations we go to, what news we read, and so on (thus in many ways echoing the previously outlined points of Gillespie (2018) and Flyverbom (2019)). Behavioural profiles based on billions of user data points, makes the suggestions and offers made to us more and more efficient, more and more relevant, and thus also more and more deterministic. This is made possible with the persistent analysis of the enormous amounts of user data that the popular services of Google and Facebook entail. But, Turow argues, from a consumer perspective and from the standpoint of a society aiming for transparency and fairness, there is an unacceptable lack of control and consumer oversight (Turow, 2011).

A good illustration of the lack of consumer oversight and control available to consumers, are given by a number of studies conducted to explore the workings of various mobile Apps. One of the first of such studies was conducted by Almuhimedi et al. (2014) from Carnegie Mellon University. During a three-week period, the researchers conducted an experimental field study with twenty-three participants who via an app were continuously informed of the number of apps accessing their location information and the total number of accesses in a given period. The participants in the study were not only very surprised by the sheer volume of times that their locations were accessed (for several people in the study it was more than a thousand times over a 14-day period), but also expressed concern about what these inquiries were for. "*4182 [times] are you kidding me? It felt like I'm being followed by my own phone. It was scary. That number is too high.*" (Almuhimedi et al. 2014, p. 17). The reality is of course that a wide variety of advertisers, insurers, retailers, marketing firms, mortgage companies etc., are interested in this data, and thus will pay certain app developers for access to this data. For a very illustrative example of how data can flow between a very large number of different business actors, see Brandtzaeg et al. (2019), where an investigation of 21 apps shows that 19 of the apps transmitted personal data to a total of approximately 600 different primary and third-party domains within a mere 48 hours.

This intense search, combining and use of personal data in order to better micro-target advertisements is of course popular because it enables a shaping of the wants and purchasing patterns of consumers. So, whereas the early ads on the internet were relatively random, scattered and similar to regular advertisements, the new form of targeted data-driven advertisement is different. As the internet and data capabilities evolved, the devices, and the algorithms advanced, advertising inevitably morphed into very successful mass behaviour modification towards more consumption. And this change in business objectives have also had ramifications for the nature of the dominant companies within this space. As Vaidhyanathan notes when reflecting on the growing scope and ambition of advertisement and targeting of consumers within Google, "O*nce Google specialized in delivering information to satiate curiosity, now it does so to facilitate consumption. "Search" as a general concept of intellectual query has mutated into a process of "browsing" for goods and services"* (Vaidhyanathan 2011, p. 201).

3.4.2 The new form of advertising is manipulation at scale

An important aspect of the discussion on how our personal data can change our ideas on what we want, and what we desire, is that it should be understood at the macro-scale. Indeed, most of the contributions we have outlined so far studies and analyses the impact and control exercised by the dominant online platforms to shape our perceptions and social realities at a distinctly meso- and macro-level. And while they only represent a fraction of the literature on the subject, we note that though they focus on how the individual is influenced, most of their research ultimately centres on the conduct of the companies and the societal effects of this conduct. Thus, their empirical data is mostly oriented towards specific exemplary cases of company behaviour which are then extrapolated to draw conclusions on a more meso- or macro-oriented scale. Thus, here we see considerable scope for us to investigate the actual attitudes and opinions of Danish individuals on this topic at a micro-scale, in order to uncover whether the insights from these researchers are known and shared by the mean Danish population.

As individual consumers we may think that we are generally not influenced or impacted by the suggestions and advertisements shown to us on our various platforms. But as computer philosophy writer and former Silicon Valley entrepreneur Jaron Lanier asserts in his plea for a more critical attitude towards Facebook and Google, what might be only a chance for each individual person, will approach being a certainty on the average for large numbers of people. In other words, even though the algorithms of Facebook or Google can only calculate the chances that a specific person with a certain data profile will act in a particular way, then the overall population can be affected with greater predictability than can any single person. The algorithmically induced behavioural influence is statistical, and Lanier compares the effect to climate change, in the way that you can't say climate change is responsible for a particular storm, flood, or drought, but you can say it changes the odds that they'll happen (Lanier 2018). Lanier's argument thus says that the data-based behavioural targeting intrinsically enacts a structural change in the nature of free will. "*You now have less free will, and a few people whom you don't know [the customers of Google and Facebook] have*

more of it. Some of your free will has been transferred to them. Free will has become like money in a gilded age" (Lanier 2018, p.50).

3.4.3 Our attention is valuable

Another way to look at the importance of our personal data and the role of Google and Facebook for determining our wants and product preferences, is to pay closer attention to their role as providers of a medium for advertisers. Both Google and Facebook have a very large share of people's attention throughout much of each day, and thus they have an optimal medium to display advertisements. As one of the first to analyse and use the term "the attention economy", Evans (2013), an American economist specializing in antitrust (2013) highlights: "*people only have so much time*" (p. 356) and companies like Google and Facebook are ultimately in the business of making sure that people to give them a piece of this limited time that they have. They can then redistribute some of this highly prized attention to advertisers, who will pay handsomely to get some of this attention. Evans highlights that the competition for attention is extremely fierce online, and thus it is crucial for the so-called "Attention Rivals" to not only provide free and best-in-line services for their end-users, but also to provide advertisers who buy the online advertising with a high rate of what are called "conversions". Because advertisers make decisions on how much to spend on advertising and how to allocate that spending by comparing the rate of return on incremental investment across different advertising channels, it is an inherent part of the business model for both Google and Facebook to increase the likelihood of conversion. I.e. Google and Facebook are driven to increase the amount of personal data on their users because this enables them to further tailor the advertisements and drive up success rates for their customers (Evans 2013).

In line with this view, law professor Tim Wu, who authored the book "The Attention Merchants" (2016), notes that while advertisement and marketing have always revolved around a battle for consumer attention, the arena for this battle has fundamentally changed. It is no longer in the daily newspapers or the evening news broadcast on TV that most of the human attention is to be found. Instead, Wu notes, a new social norm has been instituted with the invention of the smartphone. We never part from this device, it follows us everywhere, and gobbles up enormous amounts of not only our attention but also our personal data. This is due to the fact that the smartphone, through its constant presence and

advanced technology, enables a level of tracking, profile-building and surveillance of individuals which has not been feasible before. Wu, like many other researchers and authors within the field, does not fail to notice that in this game of trackers and profile builders, Google and Facebook reign supreme. Both firms continuously acquire the best data on just about every consumer on earth, and while they had both been originally hesitant to let advertising 'pollute' their pages or interfere with the user experience, they both appeared very prepared to exploit these capabilities as far as possible by the 2010s (Wu 2016).

The model of customized advertising is meant to present you with things and products that you welcome with open arms. It is about offering you products and fulfilling your needs before you even know that you have them. This is only possible through the accumulation and use of enormous amounts of data. As the then CEO of Google Eric Schmidt explained in an interview in 2010: "*With your permission you give us more information about you, about your friends, and we can improve the quality of our searches [...] We don't need you to type at all. We know where you are. We know where you've been. We can more or less know what you're thinking about*" (Thompson ,2010). What this quite strong assertion hints at, is that your personal data tells a story of how you may be best influenced to make a purchasing decision. By utilizing all their available information about you, Google and Facebook have a very good idea about which advertisements will work best on you. The main story told by marketing and data enthusiasts is that given optimal data points and optimal personalization, Big Data will be able to plan an optimal life for us (see e.g. Schmidt & Cohen 2013). This view has been contested in a number of ways however, which we will get back to in a later section.

For now, we can merely say that there are strong indications that this "demand engineering" is working. Not only have the online targeted advertising spend increased dramatically over the last years (eMarketer, 2019), researchers have found that personalized ads can increase click-through rates by as much as 670% relative to non-personalized advertisements, and personally targeted advertisements online are considered as a key factor that contributes to user impulse buying (Setyani et al. 2019). Another indication of the importance and highly pervasive nature of the tailored and targeted marketing approach is found in the flurry of new teachings, textbooks and tutorials on Search Engine Optimization (SEO), online marketing and so on. Here for example, is an excerpt from the preface to the book "The Rise

of the Platform Marketer": "*Addressability at scale is the opportunity to create competitive advantage through the delivery of targeted, personalized experiences to consumers. [..] digital technology enables those automated experiences to individuals at scale, utilizing first- and/or third-party data. Every interaction is an opportunity to collect and leverage data. But only now it has become possible to manage these disparate interactions at scale, as the digital audience platforms, such as Facebook, Google, and Twitter, continue to develop and grow*" (Dempster & Lee 2015, p. x).

3.4.4 Personal data can determine what we want politically

Manipulating and shaping the wants of users through the use of data, is not restricted to product purchasing and traditional advertising, as we saw with Facebook's voting experiment (Zittrain ,2014). Perhaps the most known and illustrative example of this fact, is the Cambridge Analytica scandal. The small political consulting firm, Cambridge Analytica, generated personality profiles of millions of individual voters, and gained access to many millions of Facebook users' data without their consent. These data and personality profiles were then used to send narrowly targeted political advertisements to influence voters during the final months of the 2016 US presidential campaign. While some articles were quick to claim that Cambridge Analytica's personalized and algorithmically driven messaging played a pivotal role in Donald Trump's victory, others were more sceptical, arguing that both sides in the 2016 US presidential election used personality profiling software, and that similar tools were also used in Barack Obama's successful 2012 campaign (González, 2017). Regardless of whether Cambridge Analytica actually swayed the election results or not, the disclosure of the scandal provides more than a hint that data scientists and political actors are vigorously pursuing more effective and efficient ways of influencing human behaviour and preferences. Our wants are targeted for manipulation, also in the political arena, and our ever-increasing traces of personal data will only make this manipulation more feasible.

3.5 Our data can determine who we are:

The Cambridge Analytica scandal pointed to the fact that there are people trying to manipulate and change our choices and preferences, but another reason that the scandal erupted so widely was because it revealed that much information was compiled, organized

and shared without our knowledge and consent. What the Cambridge Analytica scandal highlighted was that the knowledge and information about our personalities and characteristics are not confined and safely kept by individual companies and their researchers (Brown, 2020). Instead, it is shared across a myriad of so-called 'data-brokers', and without a fundamental consent or even knowledge of it by consumers, users and citizens at large, as highlighted by media professor Crain (2018) who provides a meso-level case study of data broker networks in the US. In a more micro-level analysis, Barassi, a professor in media and communications, conducted several interviews with families in the US and UK, and documents that many families have a pronounced feeling that they are inadvertently oversharing information and personality traits, without knowing with whom. Barassi particularly highlights that children are being coerced into digital participation in a world of diminishing privacy, where vulnerabilities and frailties are easily magnified, and taken advantage of (Barassi, 2019).

3.5.1 Detailed personal data can create personal profiles on us

As is hopefully clear at this point in our literature review, this reckoning had been present in academic circles long before Cambridge Analytica. One of the earlier and most influential accounts of the possibilities afforded to both industry and governments by personal data, came from law professor and privacy expert Solove in his book "The Digital Person" (2004). In his account of new technologies for gathering and using personal data, Solove explains that as we surf the Internet, an unprecedented amount of personal information is being recorded and preserved forever in various databases. These databases create a profile of activities, interests, and preferences - so called "digital dossiers" on people. These dossiers are then used to investigate backgrounds, check and create credit scores, market products, and make a wide variety of decisions affecting our lives. According to Solove, the digital dossiers that both government and industry create on us pose a grave threat to our privacy and potentially also our future prospects in a variety of circumstances. Employing two literary classics in George Orwell's "1984" and Kafka's "The Trial", Solove aims to highlight the dangers of a society with increasing data surveillance and creation of personal digital profiles. The so-called Orwellian dangers include a creeping toward totalitarianism, a limiting of self-determination and freedom of association and potential consequences for democracy. The Kafkaesque dangers are related to the automated and often opaque

collection and profiling practices which in turn can be subject to whimsical changes in purposes and uses.

According to Solove, one of the main problems with the use of databases of personal information is that we are increasingly not being treated as equals in our relationships with both private- and public sector institutions. Things are done to us; decisions are made about us; and we are often completely excluded from the process. This fosters a state of powerlessness and vulnerability due to the lack of any meaningful form of participation and knowledge in the collection and use of this personal information. Ultimately, Solove worries that the use and creation of these digital dossiers will make a person a "prisoner of his recorded past.". Almost a decade later, the then CEO of Google Eric Schmidt and his co-author Jared Cohen would come to confirm the reality of this worry, albeit their perspective is less one of worry and more one of anticipation and marvel: "*This will be the first generation of humans to have an indelible record.[…] Since information wants to be free, don't write anything down you don't want read back to you in court or printed on the front page of a newspaper, as the saying goes. In the future this adage will broaden to include not just what you say and write, but the websites you visit, who you include in your online network, what you "like," and what others who are connected to you do, say and share.*" (Schmidt & Cohen 2013, p. 60).

It is interesting to note that Solove wrote his book in 2004, long before the emergence of Facebook or even the rise of Google for that matter (Google is not mentioned once in his book). However, Solove himself was aware that the developments appeared to go only one way. He acknowledged that we would not suddenly turn into Luddites and throw away our credit cards, stop surfing the Internet, and return to using paper records. However, his hope was that we can have the benefits of an information-driven world without sacrificing privacy. Solove's proposed way forward in order to avoid the worst consequences of the digital dossier society was that when companies collect personal data, the law should impose weighty responsibilities and should also allow people to have greater participation in how the data is used (Solove, 2004). This plea for stronger regulation and more user involvement is still highly relevant and discussed if not implemented (Jørgensen, 2019).

While the regulation and user involvement advocated by Solove has been slow to materialize, his vision of a society using digital profiling of citizens has only become more and more relevant. Particularly with the rise of Facebook, the possibilities of creating personal profiles and digital dossiers of people have only increased and become more apparent than ever. Particularly the research and work done by psychologist Kosinski has been central in highlighting the extent to which our personalities can be easily and effectively predicted by public data. In a study from 2013 Kosinski and his co-authors used Facebook "likes" to estimate a wide range of personal attributes including sexual orientation, ethnicity, religious and political views, intelligence, happiness, use of addictive substances, parental separation and more (Kosinski et al., 2013), and in 2016 they published a how-to manual of utilizing Big Data analysis to glean various psychological insights from millions of personal data points (Kosinski et al., 2016). The work of Kosinski and his co-researchers ultimately ended up with them having created and owning the largest dataset on psychometric scores ever to be collected which in turn could be used to search for specific profiles: all anxious fathers, all angry introverts etc. (González, 2017).

What these publications point to is the increasing degree to which we can be profiled and analysed by our personal data, and this with an accuracy that makes it useful for a wide variety of uses. For example, a number of researchers have noted how companies faced with tens of thousands of job applications don't want to deal with each one individually, and thus they let software programs do the analysis. Using a few hundred variables and looking at an applicant's life online it suddenly becomes possible to rank candidates on the creativity, leadership, and temperament evidenced on social networks, email history and search results (Sanders, 2012; Reicher, 2013). In other words, in our e-mails, in our message apps, in our social media profiles, and in our web-browsing habits etc., there are hidden insights about our productivity, our treatment of co- workers, our willingness to collaborate or lend a hand, our intelligence, social skills, and behaviour. As law professor Pasquale half-jokingly asserts: "*Better think twice about using three exclamation marks on a Facebook comment. But be sure to have some Facebook activity, lest you look like a hermit*" (Pasquale 2015, p. 34).

3.5.2 The Chinese social credit system – an eastern parallel?

We have already established a few ways that the ability to uncover and determine who we are can be used. Based on inferences made on data we ourselves provide, targeted

advertisement, political communication, employee search and so on, are all made more effective but also more intrusive. However, the application of data analysis to uncover and map out who we are as individuals does not have to stop there. Perhaps the best example of the depths that the leveraging of personal data can lead to, is the ongoing Chinese "social credit" system. This is a system of tracking "good" and "bad" behaviour across a variety of financial and social activities, and it is probably the most far-reaching application of personal data in the world currently.

The aim of the social credit system is to leverage the explosion of personal data in order to improve citizens' behaviour. Individuals and enterprises are to be scored on various aspects of their behaviour and these scores will then be integrated into a comprehensive database that not only links into government information, but also to data collected by private businesses. The consequence of the social credit system may well be that once fully implemented, each Chinese citizen will be given a score measuring their sincerity, honesty, and integrity. This score will then be a major determinant for their lives: it could potentially determine whether an individual will be able to get a bank loan, rent a flat, the price to be paid for a plane ticket, whether they can get preferred access to hospitals, universities and other government services etc. (Mac Síthigh & Siems 2019). Although the social credit system in its current form is still fragmented and in a pilot phase, the new system has already had very real effects. According to China Daily, a Chinese newspaper, the system had already in 2017 automatically prevented people from flying more than 6 million times, denied sales of high-speed train tickets 2.22 million times, some 71,000 defaulters of debt had missed out on executive positions at enterprises as a result of the new system, and The Industrial and Commercial Bank of China said it had refused loans worth more than 6.97 billion yuan ($1.01 billion) to debtors on the list (Xiaofeng & Yin, 2017).

The story of the Chinese social credit system may seem a bit extreme and irrelevant for any western democracy, after all China is not a democracy and its culture differs profoundly from Western culture. Most Chinese have grown accustomed to the certain knowledge of online government surveillance and censorship, and Western commentators have been quick to denounce the system as an invention of 'the digital totalitarian state' and stating that it is 'worse than an Orwellian nightmare'. However, as law professors Mac Síthigh & Siems (2019) note, we may have more in common with the social credit system than we think. We

are already ranked on Uber, on eBay, on Facebook, and on many other web businesses, and those are only the rankings that we see. They therefore argue that the Chinese new approaches to credit should be studied in the West, not as a template or even a counter-model, but as illustrations of the implications of today's emphasis upon quantification and reputation across a range of domains, personal and official.

Referring back to our earlier summary of Solove, we all have our own 'digital dossiers'. Reflecting on the similarity between the current modus operandi of Silicon Valley and the Chinese efforts, Oxford University China scholar Rogier Creemers, observed that "*this trend towards social engineering and "nudging" individuals towards "better" behaviour is also part of the Silicon Valley approach that holds that human problems can be solved once and for all through the disruptive power of technology […] Human beings are reduced to a set of numbers indicating their performance on pre-set scales, on their eating habits, for instance, or their fitness regimen, […] one way to look at the social credit system is not as a perversion of the promise of information technology, but as the logical culmination of the increasing generation and processing of data*" (Creemers, 2015). According to Creemers, the most shocking element of the Chinese government's agenda, is thus not the social credit system in itself, but rather how similar the path of technology is taking everywhere. A path towards more surveillance and reliance on algorithms.

3.6 The Role of Algorithms:

An underlying concern in much of the literature on the dangers and pitfalls of accumulating and using too much personal data, is the fact that this Big Data inevitably will have to be analysed and interpreted by algorithms. In his book "The Black Box Society" law professor Pasquale (2015) outlines some of the main problems associated with the increasing use of algorithms both within search (I.e. Google), reputation (i.e. Facebook) and finance. First and foremost, Pasquale is concerned with the lack of knowledge, oversight and ultimately control that regular citizens have into the workings of these algorithms. Because we are "outsiders" to the big corporations, Pasquale argues that "*Few of us appreciate the extent of ambient surveillance, and fewer still have access either to its results— the all- important profiles that control so many aspects of our lives— or to the "facts" on which they are based*" (Pasquale 2015, p. 14). We cannot access critical features of the decision-making processes

which shape the feeds and results we see, despite the fact that these companies make decisions affecting millions of people every day.

One of Pasquale's main issues with both Google and Facebook is that although these internet giants say their algorithms are scientific and neutral tools, it is very difficult to verify that they indeed are those things. Most of the content that we get served with, whether via Google Search or our Facebook News Feed, depend on automated judgments. These judgments come from algorithms which may be wrong, biased, or destructive. Faulty data, invalid assumptions, and defective models can't be corrected when they are hidden, but they can have very real consequences. A very recent and relevant example of this comes from sociologist Anette Prehn who highlights that for e.g. students, their previous search histories, and overall personal data if they are using a Google account, will influence and limit their search results, potentially also limiting their research capabilities through Google without knowing it (Prehn, 2019). Here we can draw a line back to the previously outlined perspective from Gillespie (2018), who argued for the importance of media literacy, and the understanding that we all face a moderated and unique version of these platforms.

While the above example may be unintentional, the mathematician O'Neil (2016) in her book Weapons of Math-Destruction directs attention to the fact that occurrences like this are inevitable if we let algorithms reign supreme. "*By their very nature, [algorithms] feed on data that can be measured and counted. But fairness is squishy and hard to quantify. It is a concept. And computers, for all of their advances in language and logic, still struggle mightily with concepts. […] the concept of fairness utterly escapes them. Programmers don't know how to code for it, and few of their bosses ask them to.*" (O'Neil 2016, p. 82)

Apart from the unintended biases and inequities associated with algorithms, Pasquale also argue that disputes over political bias (e.g. Google failing to remove slander and fake stories on certain right-wing politicians) and abuse of market position (e.g. demoting search results for competing services) show, that despite the aura of neutrality they cultivate so carefully, it is not always a strictly objective task to index the web or present a social news feed. Thus, Pasquale argues, it would be reassuring to have clear answers about when conflicts happen and how they're handled. But the huge companies resist meaningful disclosure and hide important decisions behind a technological veil and indefinite wordings. "Better user

experience", is the justification that both Google and Facebook give for almost everything they do, but surely their interests must conflict with ours sometimes, and they appear very reluctant to share with us when those conflicts arise. Pasquale notes the usefulness of Plato's Allegory of the Cave, in explaining the problem of the black box of the algorithm: Like the prisoners chained to face a stony wall watch flickering shadows cast by a fire behind them, we are subjected to use black box technology without understanding it. The prisoners in the cave cannot comprehend the actions, let alone the agenda, of those who create the images that are all they know of reality. In the same way we can get mesmerizing results, but we have no way to protect ourselves from manipulation or exploitation (Pasquale, 2015).

Both Pasquale and O'Neil are also very macro-oriented in their analysis since they primarily look at the overall societal consequences of algorithms. However, algorithms as decision-makers are not only relevant when taking a birds eye view on society, as demonstrated by Bucher (2017) in her research on how individuals think about what algorithms are, what they should be, how they function. In Bucher's article, she reflects on the situations experienced by average and everyday social media users as they encounter the workings of algorithms in their everyday life. With this micro-oriented approach, Bucher demonstrates that algorithms are not just abstract computational processes; algorithms are 'real', and they have the power to enact material realities by shaping social life to various degrees. Examples in her research include individuals who are 'clicking consciously everyday' to influence what will subsequently show up in their news feed, and people "going out of their way" to 'like' and 'comment' in an attempt to influence the Facebook algorithm to support and 'boost' posts from friends (Bucher, 2017).

Taken together, both the micro- and macro-oriented analyses provided by different researchers tell a story of increasing prevalence and influence of algorithms in our everyday life, but also considerable limits to most people's understanding and knowledge about how exactly their user experience is ultimately shaped by these algorithms. The secrecy and lack of remedial action taken by Facebook and Google to increase transparency is understandable however, when we consider their business strategy.

3.7 The business model of data surveillance:

When it comes to framing and theorizing the actual business model of Google and Facebook, one of the most substantial contributions comes from Zuboff (2015;2019). In many ways building on the literature and research we have sketched out above, Zuboff argues, with a very macro-oriented focus on societal structures, that the significance of the business model of Google and Facebook has not been fully appreciated or adequately theorized. In order to properly understand the significance of e.g. Google's business model, Zuboff suggests directing the attention away from the visible services provided by Google, whether in the form of advertising for companies or services for private persons such as Google Search or Gmail. Instead she argues that it is fundamental to look at the underlying and hidden operations of Google. In these hidden operations, data on various user behaviours are continuously compiled and analysed, in order to better predict the consequent future behaviour and actions of their users.

By understanding that Google's and Facebook's profits are primarily and ultimately related to their prediction and successful shaping of our behaviour, a new interpretation of their business model surfaces. It becomes clear that these companies operate and grow through an entirely new form of business operation, where classic conceptions of customers, products, production and consumers are easily confused and mixed up. It is inaccurate to think of Google's users as its customers: there is no economic exchange, no price, and no profit. Additionally, and importantly, even though people often say that the user is the "product", this is also misleading. The users are not products, but rather they are the sources of raw-material supply which is used to fabricate the real product: predictions on what users will feel, think and consequently do. Now, soon and later.

In other words, the main purpose of the billions of users which both Google and Facebook have, is to create what Zuboff terms "behavioural surplus". Behavioural surplus was first discovered and utilized in the early days of Google. As people searched online and engaged with the web through a growing roster of Google services, they produced wholly new data resources. For example, in addition to key words, each Google search query produces a wake of collateral data such as the number and pattern of search terms, how a query is phrased, spelling, punctuation, dwell times, click patterns, and location. Detailed stories about each user—thoughts, feelings, interests—could be constructed from the wake of unstructured

signals that trailed every online action. What Zuboff notes however, is that the hunt for more personal data, what she dubs the 'extraction imperative', has introduced a number of new products and services which all produce behavioural surplus. From vacuum cleaners, to mattresses,

These new products in turn provide new data which then again provide insights that can be used beyond mere service improvement for the user, and thus constitute a surplus of information. This behavioural surplus of information is then fed into machine intelligence processes, allowing e.g. Google to become "*a data-based fortune-teller that replaces intuition with science at scale in order to tell and sell our fortunes for profit to its customers*" (Zuboff 2019, p. 95).

A key point in understanding this development is that although advertisers were the dominant players in the early history of this new kind of marketplace, the markets for predictive products are not limited to this group. In the words of Zuboff, "*The new prediction systems are only incidentally about ads, in the same way that Ford's system of mass production was only incidentally about automobiles. In both cases the systems can be applied to many other domains*" (2019, p. 96). The already visible trend, as has already been demonstrated in the previously outlined literature, is that an increasing number of businesses and political actors have an interest in purchasing probabilistic information about our behaviour and/or influencing our future behaviour. These actors can then pay to access the markets where the behaviour of individuals, groups, and things are sold. Insurance, Banks, home products, governments, are just some of the actors who are engaged in this exchange, collection and analysis of Big Data in order to increase profits. And perhaps just as importantly, Google and Facebook have both indicated interest in encroaching on new areas of business where their surveillance logic will provide a significant competitive edge, whether it is self-driving vehicles, a new crypto-currency, or collaborating with insurers etc.

In the theory of Zuboff, this new utilization of behavioural surplus is best understood as an alternative configuration of capitalism. A new economic order in which wealth is largely derived from surveillance and subsequent prediction of human experience and action. This new market form declares that serving the genuine needs of people is less lucrative, and therefore less important, than selling predictions of their behaviour. Google and Facebook

discovered that we are less valuable than others' bets on our future behaviour. Consequently, this new market exchange was not an exchange with users but rather with companies that understood how to make money by buying bids on users' future behaviour. In other words, Google and Facebook's business models revolve around the burgeoning demand of advertisers and other business actors who are eager to scrape human behaviour by any available means in the competition for market advantage. This logic and new business model created what is termed surveillance capitalism and can be defined as "*A new economic order that claims human experience as free raw material for hidden commercial practices of extraction, prediction, and sales*" (Zuboff 2019, p. 8).

3.8 Micro-level studies of the public opinion

In order to assess how the public thinks and acts related to the increasing data accumulation and the perceived macro-dynamics described and analysed in the literature we have outlined above; a number of micro-level studies have been conducted. Usually these studies take the form of surveys aimed at investigating how the operations of using personal data for commercial gain is perceived and understood by general populations. Many of these surveys document a so-called "privacy paradox", wherein individuals voice preferences for more privacy, but also fail to routinely protect this privacy (for an overview of some of these studies see Acquisti et al. 2016).

Some of the most active researchers at the micro level of researching data collection and use, are Draper and Turow (for examples of their survey research see e.g. Turow et al 2009; Turow et al. 2015; Turow & Draper 2019). Throughout their research, Draper and Turow have identified that many people have reservations or are decidedly against data accumulation and use, but they are often also characterized by an attitude of powerlessness, and a lack of control and knowledge regarding the handling of personal data by online services. This combination of a perceived lack of control of, and dissatisfaction with, the collection of personal data is called digital resignation by Draper & Turow (2019). In their conception of digital resignation, they point out that being resigned does not necessarily indicate a complete absence of efforts to prevent corporate surveillance, but rather that actions are limited and accompanied by a feeling that those efforts are more or less futile. According to Draper and Turow, it is important to recognize digital resignation, because a failure to do so would allow arguments that people are willingly and knowingly consenting to take part in technical systems that harvest their personal information. Their view, in contrast, is that people may be participating in the data gathering practices of Google and Facebook, but they do so because they feel that it is necessary and that it is ultimately pointless to resist.

Most of the surveys mentioned thus far have a predominant focus on American citizens and their opinions towards data collection and use. Some studies have also been conducted in a European context however. Most notably, the European Commission has also been concerned regarding the attitudes of the European population toward Internet interactions and online platforms. Therefore, they have performed a number of surveys on the subject, where most results indicate that answers from Europeans are quite similar to the responses provided by Americans. Users of search engines and social media utilize the services almost on a daily basis while being aware that there is a lack of transparency and overall concern regarding how their personal information is used (Frigato & Santos-Arteaga, 2020). Also, in a recent survey from the UK, results provided by the technology thinktank Doteveryone, illustrate that Draper & Turows concept of digital resignation is applicable in other contexts than the American. In the survey, collected in the beginning of 2020, a fundamental scepticism towards tech companies and the accumulation of personal data is apparent with only 19% believing that tech companies are designing products and services with the consumers' best interests in mind, and nearly half (47%) of the respondents feeling that they have no choice but to sign up to services despite concerns (Millet et al., 2020).

However, despite several surveys being documented in both Europe and the US, so far there has been limited attention in the literature dedicated to investigating privacy attitudes related to Google and Facebook in a Danish context. And while we have noted that findings appear overall similar across different countries, we argue that opinions and attitudes related to privacy are still likely to differ across cultures and contexts. Some evidence of this is found in an older report by the European Commission, where more than 20,000 respondents participated from all 28 EU countries. Here, 72% of respondents from Denmark report that they are concerned about the data collected about them on the internet, compared with only 56% for Sweden, and 80% for France (European Commission, 2016). As noted however, the actual data on the attitudes and behaviours in Denmark is quite limited. While Statistics Denmark sometimes have provided survey results about concerns related to data and online and digital behaviours (Tassy 2016), their more recent publications about IT use in Denmark have very limited information about the individual's concerns about privacy and data surveillance (see e.g. Tassy et al., 2020). In general, there has to our knowledge not been any recent research conducted specifically aiming to investigate the levels of knowledge, concern and resistance towards the data collection practices of Google and Facebook in Denmark. Based on the importance attached to the issue in the wide variety of literature reviewed above, we argue that this is a significant research gap. It is important to better understand how Danes are actually reflecting and behaving with regard to the data collection practices of Google and Facebook, and we are pleased to be able to contribute to the literature in this regard.

4.Theoretical and Analytical Framework:

As our preceding literature review makes clear, there is no shortage in theoretical concepts and analyses from researchers attempting to explain the importance and unprecedented nature of data accumulation.

However, as we pointed out in our literature review, most of the influential literature on the topic takes a very macro-oriented approach in order to understand the ways in which Google and Facebook's dominance shape our societies and lives. With our two research questions, we are more oriented toward a micro-level of analysis, since we are researching the attitudes and experiences of individuals within Danish society. At the same time, we are also committed to bridging the different levels of analysis, because we believe that it is the macro-level tendencies and developments which make this topic of data surveillance particularly relevant and interesting. However, we argue that the individual's experience and attitude is of paramount importance in shaping the societal developments, and therefore it warrants our attention. In other words, we make an analysis at the individual level, because we wish to provide information and insights to qualify and facilitate necessary discussions at the legislative and political level. This in turn has ramifications for our development of a theoretical and analytical framework.

As noted in our introduction, the topic and objective of our research is inspired by Zuboff's latest book on surveillance capitalism (2019), of which we outlined the main theoretical points in our preceding literature review. In her book, Zuboff presents a comprehensive and wide-spanning theoretical approach to understanding surveillance capitalism, which she argues came with the rise of Google and later Facebook. As noted, she is predominantly operating at a very macro-oriented level of analysis, focusing on the immense power and reach of Google and Facebook, as well as the extraction and prediction imperatives which direct their business practices. Occasionally however, Zuboff also seeks to better understand and explain individual actions and considerations, and thus she also provides theoretical concepts applicable to a more meso- and micro level approach. It is these more individually oriented theoretical concepts that we use in our thesis.

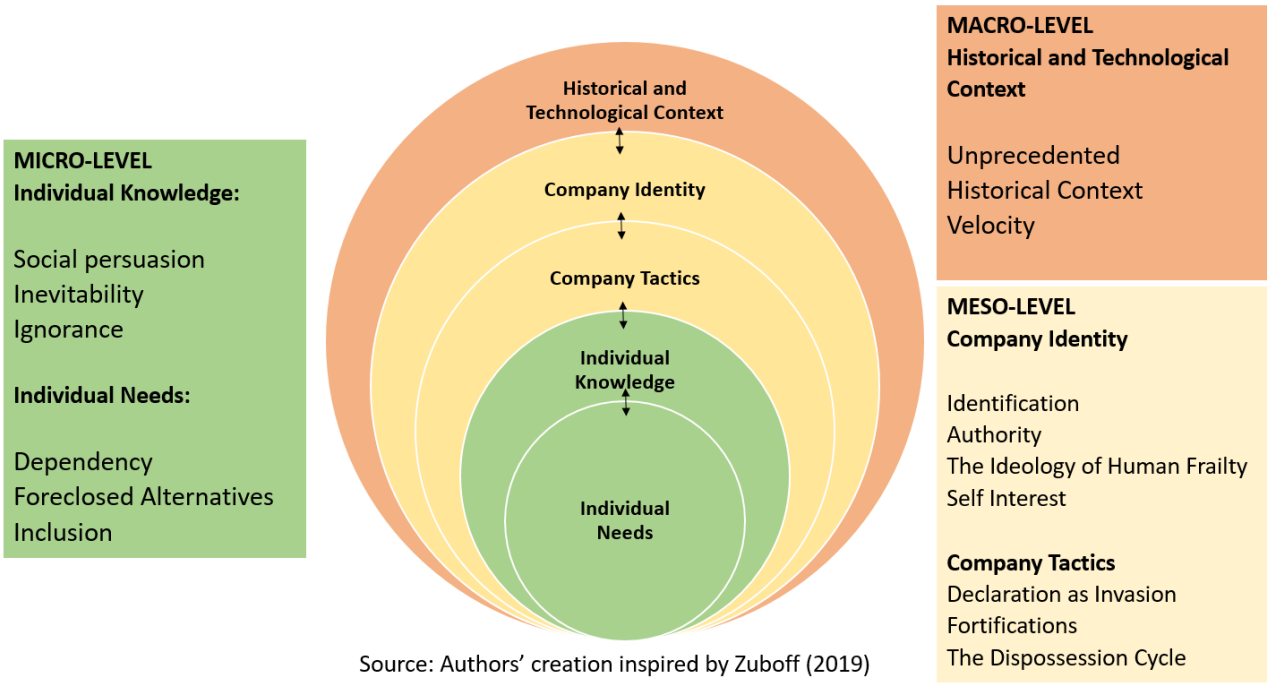
Specifically, at the level of the individual, Zuboff asks for a rebirth of "*astonishment and outrage"* as a response to the increasingly widespread collection and use of personal data for economic gain (Zuboff 2019, p.320). She argues that the only way to combat and overturn the rise of surveillance capitalism, is to collectively demand a different and brighter trajectory. Therefore, astonishment and

outrage is needed in order to bring these collective demands about. Zuboff however does not provide any analysis herself as to whether there is potential for this astonishment and outage. Our first analysis of this thesis therefore seeks to investigate the potential for this needed astonishment and outrage in a Danish context. Our second analysis then investigates what the specific challenges and obstacles are, in order for this potential outrage to blossom and turn into active resistance.

4.1 Zuboff's 16 reasons for a lack of outrage and oppositions:

Zuboff herself suggests a number of reasons for why the outrage and protest against the surveillance practices of Google and Facebook has so far been negligible. Concretely, she suggests 16 different but interrelated reasons for why and how the rise of surveillance capitalism has been possible, and what inhibits the warranted astonishment and outrage (Zuboff, 2019). Importantly however, these reasons do not only restrict to the individual micro level, but rather she considers a wide variety of explanations which contribute to limit individual resistance and outrage. In order to better evaluate the usefulness of these suggested reasons for the purposes of our analysis, we have reordered and categorized Zuboff's 16 reasons into five different categories of our own conception. The five different categories are: 1) Historical and Technological Context; 2) Company Identity; 3) Company Tactics; 4) Individual Knowledge; and 5) Individual Needs. Our categorization of Zuboff's 16 reasons within our 5 categories is shown in figure 1 below:

Figure 1. Categorization of Zuboff's 16 reasons



Source: Authors' creation inspired by Zuboff (2019)

What we illustrate in the figure above, is which of Zuboff's 16 reasons explaining the lack of resistance toward surveillance capitalism, that are relevant for respectively a micro, meso and macro level of analysis. At the broad and wide-spanning macro-level of analysis, we have categorized the reasons related to the unprecedented developments of surveillance capitalism: the importance of the historical context, and the velocity with which developments are happening, into a category of Historical and Technological Context. The reasons relevant for a meso level analysis are mainly related to the identities and tactics of the surveillance companies (i.e. Google and Facebook), and we have therefore developed two categories called Company Identity and Company Tactics respectively. At the micro-level of analysis, we have developed what we call the Individual Knowledge category, and the Individual Needs category. As their names imply, these two categories capture those of Zuboff's reasons which are centered around the individual - i.e. the individual's attitudes, knowledge, and behaviour related to the practices of the surveillance capitalists and data privacy.

Importantly, it should be noted that the categories, and the reasons within them, are interrelated and that they continuously shape one-another. As the graph illustrates, it is not only the reasons at the higher levels of analysis (historical context and company identities) which are determining and shaping the drivers behind the reasons at the lower levels (individuals needs and knowledge). In contrast, there is a continuous dynamic between the different levels, which means that e.g. the

individual needs and knowledge also continuously shapes both company characteristics and the historical and technological context.

However, because the meso- and macro-level categories are centered on a wider spectrum of actors and factors, we argue that including a focus on these reasons would broaden up our scope of analysis too much. In other words, we would sacrifice detail and exhaustiveness at the micro level, in order to get a broader and more simplified overview at a higher level of analysis. We do not see this as the most beneficial approach, and thus we narrow down the focus of our research in order to focus on individuals within a Danish context. As a consequence of this, we have excluded the 10 reasons which we categorized to be in the macro level and meso level, and instead we provide a short description of the 10 excluded reasons in appendix 2. Importantly, it should be noted that our exclusion of these 10 reasons is not due to us disregarding the importance of the broader levels of analysis such as contextual factors related to e.g. international legislation and the actual operations of Google and Facebook. Rather, it is because we believe that a more thorough understanding at the individual level is important in itself, and because we think it can be helpful for other researchers seeking to explain and uncover dynamics at the meso and macro levels of analysis, to have a more thorough understanding of dynamics at the individual micro-level.

4.1.1 We focus on the micro-level of analysis

With our individual and micro-oriented focus for our theoretical and analytical framework properly justified, we now turn to a more in-depth explanation of the reasons captured within the two categories we developed: The Individual Knowledge category, and the Individual Needs category. As their names imply, these two categories capture those of Zuboff's reasons which are centered around the individual. The individual's attitudes, knowledge, and behaviour related to the data privacy and the practices of the surveillance capitalists. In Table 1 below we provide a brief summary of those of Zuboff's reasons we have categorized as relating to either Individual Knowledge or Individual Needs:

Table 1. Summary of Zuboff's reasons related to Individual Knowledge and Needs

Zuboff's Reason	Description	Category
Dependency:	As the free services of Google, Facebook, spread across the internet, the means of social participation grew parallel with the means of behavioural modification. Now, Zuboff argues, most people find it difficult to withdraw from these utilities.	Individual Needs
Inclusion:	Many people feel that if you are not on Facebook, you do not exist. With so much energy, success, and capital flowing into the surveillance capitalist domain, standing outside of it, let alone against it, can feel like a lonely and risky prospect.	Individual Needs
Foreclosed Alternatives:	Zuboff also calls it the "dictatorship of no alternatives" (Zuboff 2019, p.241). Online products and services that do not collect and use personal data is becoming increasingly rare. Surveillance capitalism spread across the internet and is now also increasingly found in the real world via Internet of Things. And from apps to devices, it is becoming more and more difficult to identify genuine alternatives.	Individual Needs
Social persuasion:	There is a lot of charming rhetoric aimed at persuading people of the wonders associated with surveillance capitalist innovations: targeted advertising, personalization, and digital assistants are all presented as providing great benefits for the consumer.	Individual Knowledge
Inevitability:	According to Zuboff many people are falling victim to an inevitabilist rhetoric, successfully distracting people from the fact that surveillance capitalism is both highly intentional and historically contingent. People are told that it can be no other way – data will always be collected and used.	Individual Knowledge
Ignorance:	Surveillance capitalists dominate a division of learning in which they know things that the average user cannot know. In essence, it is impossible to	Individual Knowledge

	understand the true workings of Google and Facebook, firstly because the subject matter is highly complex and technical, and second because their operations have been crafted in secrecy and are intentionally designed as opaque. Thus, information asymmetries are highly prevalent.	

4.1.2 How we use the six individual-oriented reasons:

The six concepts outlined in Table 1 above, enable us to focus and pinpoint some of the most interesting areas of inquiry for our research. By utilizing our own categorization of them, it also becomes clear that our research is focused on two main aspects: Individual Knowledge and Individual Needs. In respective ways, these categories capture important elements of the way in which the average Danish citizen has their relationship with Facebook and Google mediated by a number of factors.

The first category of interest is the Individual Knowledge category. The reasons found in this category are related to the actual knowledge and perceptions held by users around collection and use of their personal data. Thus, the reasons within the Individual Knowledge category are particularly relevant for exploring the answer to our first research question, related to whether or not there is potential for outrage about current data practices within the Danish population. Therefore we use the three concepts in the individual knowledge category to investigate: 1)whether some people in Denmark may be persuaded by the rhetoric of data companies to believe that it is ultimately in their interest to be surveilled (Social Persuasion); 2) whether people generally find it inevitable and unavoidable to be tracked (Inevitability); And finally 3) we examine whether Zuboff's suggested reason of Ignorance has explanatory power, i.e. whether some people are simply unaware that a tracking and use of their personal data even takes place, or what the consequences of this may be.

The Individual Needs category and the three concepts included herein, are more relevant for answering our second research question, relating to what the actual challenges for resistance may be. All three reasons relate to the user experience and to the usefulness and ubiquity of Google and Facebook services, and therefore they can be used to explain that much of individual resistance and outrage is curbed because users cannot, or do not, want to give up on the utility that these services provide. Either because they are dependent on them (Dependency), because they fear social exclusion (Inclusion) or because they find no alternatives (Foreclosed Alternatives). The explanatory power and importance of these three different reasons thus form a part of our second analysis,

investigating what the challenges are for individuals to actively resist further surveillance of their personal data.

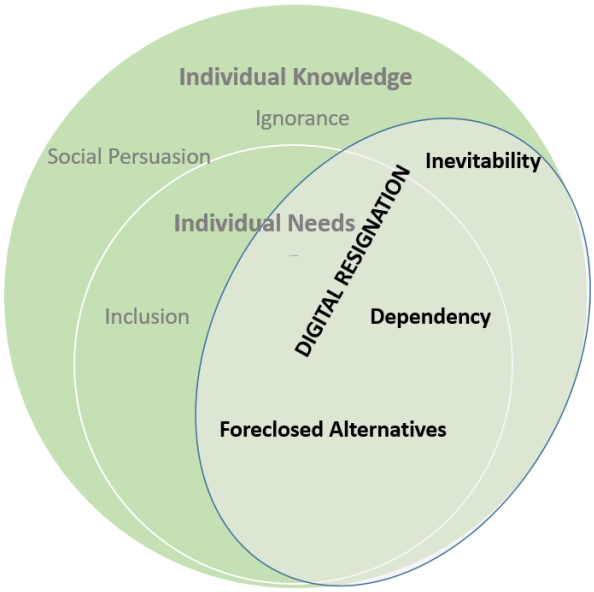
In using these six reasons it is important to again emphasize that they are not mutually exclusive or independently important. On the contrary, we anticipate that for many people it is a mix of all six reasons which shapes their attitudes and behaviours. Nevertheless, we also expect that some of the reasons may be more relevant and useful for explaining Danish behaviour than others. This is something which will be further uncovered in our analysis.

4.2 Integrating "Digital Resignation" into our theoretical and analytical framework:

Apart from Zuboff's reasons for a lack of resistance, there is another theoretical concept which has inspired our research and the nature of our inquiry. This concept is Draper and Turow's concept of Digital Resignation, which we previously outlined in our literature review (Draper & Turow 2019).

Interestingly, we find a great degree of overlap between the concept of digital resignation and Zuboff's reasons of Dependency, Inevitability and Foreclosed Alternatives which were outlined previously. This overlap is illustrated in the chart below:

Figure 2. Digital Resignation in Our Framework



Source: Authors' creation inspired by
Turow & Draper (2019) and Zuboff (2019)

We argue that the concept of Digital Resignation can be understood as the three reasons of Inevitability, Dependency and Foreclosed Alternatives acting together and contributing to a strong feeling of hopelessness and digital resignation for many users of Google and Facebook's services. By framing Zuboff's various reasons for lack of resistance under the umbrella term of digital resignation, this underscores the point that it is not one particular characteristic or development that potentially contributes to inaction. Instead, it is in the coming together of the three factors of Inevitability, Dependency and Foreclosed Alternatives that they can have a particularly detrimental effect on an individual's willingness and motivation to resist. For the purposes of our research, we are curious if Danish individuals can be said to be digitally resigned and if they have a strong perception that any resistance toward the data practices of Google and Facebook would be more or less futile.

4.3 The ramifications of our theoretical framework

With this focus on investigating the explanatory power of the six suggested reasons from Zuboff (2019) as well as Draper and Turow's concept of digital resignation (2019), we hope that our research can provide insights to a Danish context in terms of what inhibits resistance and concern about data accumulation and use. There are of course many compelling reasons to consider, no one of which stands alone, as Zuboff also highlights (2019). Also, as mentioned previously, we hope that our research and investigation will help in pointing stakeholders and other researchers who wish to challenge the status quo, towards which explanations are most important at the individual level. These explanations are then also likely to in turn influence and determine the developments we see at the meso and macro levels.

In the following section we will outline our particular research design, and here we will also further elaborate on how these six concepts of Dependency, Inclusion, Foreclosed Alternatives, Social Persuasion, Inevitability and Ignorance have actively been applied in our research.

5. Research design of our study: A mixed methods approach with a quantitative survey and qualitative in-depth interviews

In order to successfully answer our overarching research question and our two sub-questions, we conducted research based on a mixed-methods research design – i.e. we combined the relative strengths of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Specifically, we have used both a large-N quantitative survey study and a small-N qualitative interview study in order to best explore and explain the answer to our research questions. Our choice of using both qualitative and quantitative methods in our research design is justified for both separate and interrelated reasons.

For the quantitative side, we noted that because our research aimed to investigate the attitudes of the Danish population as a whole, we were required to be able to make some inferences for the population – this entails a certain volume of observations. A good way to acquire a large number of observations to provide information on a given topic is a quantitative survey. Our survey strategy allowed us to collect quite wide-ranging response data from a considerable amount of people (see below section detailing survey respondents). This collected data then made it possible for us to provide an account of the patterns that we observed in the attitudes and behaviours on data collection in Danish social life.

Whereas the quantitative survey strategy provided us with an overview of the overall structure of the Danish way of approaching the issue of data collection, we also collected qualitative data in the form of in-depth interviews. This was done in order to provide a sense of process and understanding to our quantitative findings. Additionally, we also wanted to make sure that we were not overly reliant on our survey data, since we could have potentially misinterpreted our data, or unintentionally have excluded potential explanations and answers in our research. By conducting in-depth interviews, we enabled the emergence of

alternative or unforeseen explanations, and we were also able to better understand and illustrate our quantitative findings with quotes and insights from respondents – in other words we could put 'meat on the bones' of our 'dry' quantitative findings (Bryman, 2006). Finally, because we wanted to investigate the attitudes and behaviours in the Danish population, which inherently are subjective, a qualitative aspect in our research was warranted.

Lastly, a central benefit of using a mixed methods research design is that the research method can ameliorate and compensate for shortcomings inherent in the respective approaches. In quantitative data analysis for example, questions quickly arise about the quality of measurement, the validity of the concepts applied, and the causal relationships established. Qualitative interviews provided us with the opportunity to counter some of these charges by providing better explanations of the causal mechanisms and to elaborate on some of the obtained answers. Qualitative data on the other hand, can be criticized as lacking generalizability. It is difficult to make broader statements about patterns in behaviours and attitudes solely based on qualitative data since it becomes too embroiled in contextual understandings – a case of too many variables with few observations (Lieberman, 2005). Thus, by combining the quantitative and qualitative data, we were able to make up for some of the methodological weaknesses in the qualitative and quantitative research traditions respectively.

5.1 Epistemological and ontological considerations

As with all other research, we are inherently biased and influenced in our investigation and research by our position within the philosophies of science. Our views on ontology - the study of being and the nature of reality, and on epistemology - how knowledge is created and how reality should be described, have shaped our research methodology and research design.

Fundamentally, we see ourselves as critical realists. We are neither decidedly foundationalist nor anti-foundationalist. We assert that that there is indeed a 'real world', which exists independently of the individual, and thus our ontology is similar to that of the naturalist approach. We believe that there are real structures and patterns in society, and

that e.g. the data practices of Google and Facebook have very real consequences for how these structures and patterns shape our everyday lives. In other words, we believe that all Danish citizens are living in a world where surveillance and use of personal data is a real phenomenon which in turns impacts a myriad of factors. Importantly however, we also recognized that our field of inquiry, digital data practices and attitudes related to it, is a highly opaque and complicated matter. Therefore, although we believe that a 'real world' exists, we do not see it as being immediately observable. When we investigated themes such as big data, algorithms and political regulation, we were more interested in uncovering subjective attitudes towards it rather than exploring any objective truth. We believe that our reality and very being consists of several layers of structures and mechanisms, and while our research attempted to uncover some of these layers and make the structures less opaque, we are fundamentally sceptical that we were able to obtain a universal and unbiased truth about the attitudes and behaviours of the Danish population.

To sum up, our ontological view is that despite the possibility of uncovering some level of truth about reality and the significance of data surveillance as it relates to the Danish population, reality is simply too complicated and multi-layered for us to gain a perfect understanding of it. Therefore, our research rejected the existence of universal laws or fatalistic outcomes, and instead we focused on exploring various explanations and causal mechanisms to merely improve rather than perfect our understanding of the behaviour and structures in Danish society related to current data practices.

In this way, our critical realist position within the philosophies of science also draws on the constructivist epistemological view. In our research we employed a number of survey questions and in-depth interviews which emphasized the subjectivity and circumstantial nature of knowledge creation. Because while we believe that there is an external, objective reality in which we live, the way in which each of us interprets and understands it will be affected by our particular social conditioning. This epistemological view is reflected in our research, when we asked about opinions and concerns which are fundamentally subjective. We believe that the perceptions and knowledge of data, business models and regulations will differ across people, and that it is likely to be distorted by social and contextual bias.

Summing up, our ontological view is that society is made of real structures that can be interacted with and transformed by human action while our epistemological view is that knowledge can only be generated from some form of social construction. At the same time, our inquiry was based on our more constructivist-leaning epistemology, since what we were asking about in our research questions are more related to the opinions, perceptions and subjective attitudes within the Danish population. Similarly, our theoretical concepts found in our framework, sought to explain and uncover social and contextual factors such as feelings of inevitability or needs of social inclusion etc. We argue that the theoretical concepts, both from Zuboff (2019) and Draper & Turow (2019), are thus also based on a fundamentally realist ontology acknowledging the structures and concreteness of reality, while also emphasizing that the way to obtain knowledge about these structures, and the way to gain a better understanding will inevitably be through a constructivist approach emphasizing the role of social and personal biases and subjective opinions.

To accommodate this realist ontology and constructivist epistemology which characterizes both our research questions and our chosen theories, we used the combination of both quantitative and qualitative research methods that we outlined previously. This was done in order to best explore perceptions and to uncover as much of 'reality' as possible (Saunders et al. 2016). Thus, we argue that there is a good coherence between our ontological and epistemological perspectives and our two research questions, theoretical framework and the research methods we have chosen.

5.2 The Quantitative Data Survey:

5.2.1 Content of our survey

The questions in our survey have mainly been aimed at using our theoretical and analytical framework to answer our previously outlined research questions. Below we will briefly outline the main aspects of our survey – for a full version of the survey that was distributed, please see Appendix 3. It should be noted that none of the questions in the survey were mandatory to fill out, and thus there were a few respondents who either intentionally left an answer blank, or accidentally skipped a question. We chose to design the survey this way, as to not lose responses if for some reason respondents closed down the survey before

answering all questions. These blank non-responses never amounted to more than 5% of the answers to any question, and thus we deem that it does not have any major implications for our research, but it does however entail that some questions will have diverging counts of total responses since any blank responses were not counted in the analysis of that particular question.

The first questions of the survey were focused on gathering demographic data on the respondents. They were asked to provide information on age, zip-code, educational level and income (the income question also included a "rather not say" option). This was done in order for us to be able to ensure that we had a balanced sample with a good distribution in terms of both age, geography, education and income. In addition, having different strata by which to identify respondents, we were able to identify unique patterns pertaining to specific groups of respondents.

Following the demographic questions, respondents were asked to identify what products and digital services they currently use. This was done for similar reasons as the demographic data, but additionally it provided us with some primary data for the prevalence and ubiquity of the services provided by Google and Facebook.

Following these preliminary questions, two questions followed, where we asked about our respondents' thoughts on personal data online. The first question asked about their level of awareness of their digital footprint (cookies, geolocation and more). The second asked about their level of concern over the growing tendency for companies to use data. The reason for the distinction is that we anticipated that it would be possible to be aware of the use and applications of personal data, while not particularly worried. That would be very different from being unaware of the personal data use and not worried as a consequence of unawareness. Both questions were formed as three-point Likert scale questions ranging from "not concerned/aware", "somewhat concerned/aware" and "very concerned/aware". We opted for a simple three-point scale in order to minimize subjectivity in the responses, since we anticipated that further fine-granulated answers would become arbitrary, and individual responses would be less comparable.

In order to better understand the actual level of concern among our respondents, we had them rank their concern for a number of issues on a scale from 1-10. By measuring the respondents' attitude towards data collection relative to other issues, such as climate change or the fear of a new financial crisis, we were better able to determine the prioritization that this issue had for the respondents. E.g. it can be hard to define how much a "7" rating in itself means, but by comparing across the different issues, we were able to get a better idea of the importance attached to the issue of data for a given individual. The comparative issues were chosen as these have been widely discussed in the Danish media during recent years, while various studies subsequently have shown that they are all regarded as being of somewhat high concern amongst Danes (Beredskabsstyrelsen, 2019; Coop Analyse, 2019; Børsen, 2019; Laugesen, 2019).

Hereafter, the survey included a number of questions specifically aimed at uncovering the respondents' impression and trust of the four companies Google, Facebook, Apple and Microsoft. Google and Facebook have been the centre of our analysis, as these are regarded as the most prevalent companies within the data economy (Zuboff, 2019). Apple and Microsoft were also included in the questions in order to serve as a baseline of a standard tech-company. Neither Microsoft nor Apple are predominantly in the advertisement business, and thus their level of surveillance and data accumulation is markedly lower than Google and Facebook (Lanier 2018). Respondents were asked to rate the degree with which they think the four companies are collecting and using their personal data on a scale from 1-10. The 1-10 scale was chosen here because we wanted to give the respondents maximum freedom to make distinctions between the companies' business practices even if they were all perceived to use data to a high degree. Next, we asked about levels of trust in the companies as well as the degree to which they expected the companies to contribute to a better future for consumers. The purpose of these questions was to disclose the general attitude towards the companies, as well as identify whether some companies' services and products were perceived to be more useful and positive than others. However, the latter question on future perspectives was supposed to be a five-point Likert scale, but due to a mistake in our survey construction it ended up with only four possible responses. As a consequence, the option to state that the companies not at all contributed to a better future was not included. Unfortunately, we only noticed this omission after more than 100 respondents had already answered the survey, and as a consequence thereof, we have chosen

to exclude the results of this question from the analysis. The excluded table can be found in appendix 7.

The last part of the survey consisted of 10 different statements, where a five-point Likert scale was used for the respondents to either strongly disagree, disagree, be neutral, agree or strongly agree. All of the statements were formulated with an aim to gain insights related to our theoretical analytical framework, particularly Zuboff's reasons for the lack of resistance (Zuboff 2019), and Draper & Turow's digital resignation (Draper & Turow 2019). Specifically, the statements have been informed by the reasons of social persuasion, ignorance, inevitability, dependency and inclusion. When presented in the analysis, the underlying reasons for the specific statements will be elaborated. Additionally, a list containing the reasons and explanations have been made available in appendix 9.

5.2.2 How we collected our survey data:

Our research question was centered on an inquiry into the overall Danish population, thus our sampling frame for our research can be said to include every single person in Denmark. Therefore, our main considerations about constructing our survey sample were related to getting a suitable size of our sample, and to select the most appropriate sampling technique. In terms of our sample size, it is obvious that the larger the sample the more likely it would be to provide an accurate representation of the Danish population. This is known as the law of large numbers. According to the statistical formula for estimating the sample size needed to make accurate predictions about a population of approximately 6 million people, is 384. This would entail a margin of error of 5% and a confidence interval of 95% (Agresti & Franklin 2013). At the same time however, we knew from other student colleagues that collecting large numbers of survey responses can often be a significant challenge. Realistically, we therefore knew that we were unlikely to reach a sample of the required size, but we aimed for a sample size that would be as large as possible in order to minimize our margin of error as much as possible.

In order to allow us to collect as many survey responses as possible, we leveraged the fact that everyone in the Danish population was a suitable respondent. Therefore, we opted for a strategy of direct interaction with people on the street. Specifically, we created a QR code that was linked to our online survey in Qualtrics. Then we approached various random

people in different cities and asked them to fill out our survey. We presented ourselves as master students from CBS and told them that the survey revolved around their opinions and attitudes about the data they create when they are online. Our QR code then allowed the people we approached to easily fill out our survey on their own phones or computers when it suited them. We also carried an iPad in order to collect responses from people who did not have a smartphone or a QR code scanner. This sampling approach can be described as a form of simple random sampling, since each Danish individual theoretically has an equal probability of getting approached by us and asked to fill out the survey.

We are aware that there were a few potential sample biases occurring as a consequence of our approach: First of all, since we could only be at one place at one time, there is a certain geographical bias to our sample. The people who have been offered the chance to fill out the survey were "clumped" together at specific times at specific locations. We tried to alleviate this potential bias by traveling to different parts of Sjælland, namely to Kalundborg, Roskilde and Copenhagen and to collect responses on different days and at different times. The three cities were chosen because they are of differing size, and also represent the big city (Copenhagen), and smaller and larger provinces respectively (Kalundborg and Roskilde). We distributed a lot of our surveys at train stations, since we realized that it was particularly effective to distribute the survey to people who were waiting on a bus or train. We distributed surveys at all times of the day, both in the mornings and later afternoons with many commuters on the way to work, but also during the day with more diverse people. The benefit of collecting surveys via train and bus stations was that it enabled us to collect responses from people from all over the country, but the downside is if there is some hidden characteristic among users of public transportation that could bias our sample - e.g. if there is a difference in opinion amongst users of public transportation versus private vehicles.

Another thing that we were mindful of, but that is probably hard to eliminate completely, is a certain amount of researcher bias in terms of who we approached. We have strived to be indiscriminate in terms of approaching people of all ages, ethnicity, public demeanour, hygienic level etc., but it is possible that there is a certain selection bias at work here. Also, we experienced a number of times that people did not find the subject interesting or did not want to fill out any form of survey, so that could potentially also bias our survey a bit in favour of people who are more concerned about data practices. On the other hand, our QR

code approach enabled us to avoid induced bias from us, since we were not part of the actual filling out of the survey and thus could not influence the answering from respondents. Similarly, we also avoided participant bias in the form of false responses in order to e.g. give us the answers they thought we would like to hear, since respondents filled out the survey alone.

In the midst of our success with collecting survey responses with QR codes however, Denmark was unfortunately put in quasi lockdown mode due to the coronavirus. This made it problematic to continue with our QR code strategy since it did not harmonize very well with the recommendation of social distancing. At this point we had collected just above 200 responses, but we were insistent on getting as large a sample as possible, and thus we felt necessitated to distribute the survey online. In order to avoid too much bias from our own social network, and noting that we were lacking in older respondents, we instead asked our parents to share the link on their Facebook pages. This resulted in an additional 4 shares from their friends, and we reached a total of 268 respondents – less than we had hoped for, but acceptable under the circumstances. In fact, we note that with our sample size of 268, we are actually able to provide a confidence level of 95% with a margin of error of only 6% (Agresti & Franklin, 2013), enabling our findings from our survey to be both useful and informative for understanding patterns within the Danish population.

5.2.3 Who did we get?

Table 2. overview of sample respondents

Age distribution			
Age	Sample count	Sample proportion	Population proportion
16-24	74	29%	15%
25-34	60	24%	18%
35-44	23	9%	16%
45-54	31	12%	19%
55-64	37	15%	17%
65-74	28	11%	15%
Total	253	100%	100%

Source: Statistics Denmark, 2020

Income distribution			
Income	Sample count	Sample proportion	Population proportion
Less than DKK 100.000	63	26%	13%
DKK 100.000-200.000	41	17%	20%
DKK 200.000-300.000	29	12%	22%
DKK 300.000-500.000	66	27%	31%
More than DKK 500.000	42	17%	14%
Total	241	100%	100%

Source: Statistics Denmark, 2018

Educational distribution			
Education	Sample count	Sample proportion	Population proportion
Lower secondary	13	5%	26%
Upper secondary	71	27%	41%
Post-secondary non-tertiary	29	11%	5%
First stage of tertiary	85	32%	17%
Second stage of tertiary	67	25%	11%
Total	265	100%	100%

Source: Statistics Denmark, 2019

The tables above report the total sample that we managed to get for our survey results. Overall, we managed to get a relatively balanced sample, with a good amount of responses within most strata. The major exception is the educational strata, where we only managed to get 13 responses from people with a lower education. Since this group is not close to fulfilling the criteria for the central limit theorem to hold, we have excluded this group when making analysis across these particular strata.

When we compared the composition of our survey respondents with the overall Danish population with socioeconomic and demographic data from Statistics Denmark, we noticed that our sample is a bit heavy on young people, and people with low income (for the income question we anticipate that some people have answered with their income after tax as opposed to before tax which was what we asked for). One way to address the unevenness in our sample would be to weight some of the responses to count for more than one response. I.e. we would make the responses from older people and with higher incomes count as more than one case in our analysis. The benefit of this approach is that it may provide our sample with a better representation of the Danish population, but there are also a few drawbacks if we were to use weighting. Most importantly, weighting our data may potentially disproportionately enlarge some responses in our sample that are not representative for the population group. As we already noted there were a number of strata which did not have +30 responses, and thus the mean response of these groups could potentially be different from the mean of the population within the same group. Using weighting would therefore only distort our sample further. Secondly, when weighting the data, the actual numbers and responses get less transparent and intuitive to understand. Due to these considerations we chose not to use weighting when analysing our survey data.

5.3 Validity and reliability of our survey

Bearing in mind how our survey was constructed and how we sampled our survey respondents, it is also possible to make a few statements about both the reliability and validity of our quantitative study. Firstly, we feel quite confident about the reliability of our study, i.e. we are confident that if other researchers were to replicate our study, they would achieve more or less the same findings. Since we found the respondents for our sample at random, at various geographical locations and at different times of the day, we have avoided any potential bias which may have resulted from distributing a survey among our friends and relatives, or amongst a certain demographic. The only concern one might have in terms of sample bias is that the majority of our respondents were approached at train stations, and thus our survey results would be biased if there is a difference in opinion amongst users of public transportation versus private vehicles. However, since we have accounted for income in our strata, and since we have a relatively balanced sample, we think we have taken the necessary precautions to have conducted a replicable and consistent quantitative study.

We also took steps to ensure that our research had a sufficient level of validity. First of all, when constructing our survey, we made sure that our survey provided sufficient coverage of our research topic – i.e. we strived to make sure that our survey had content validity. As already mentioned, this was done through an in-depth literature review and a focused use of our theoretical framework.

Our survey included several questions asking in different ways about the respondents' level of concern, and this allowed us to retrospectively determine that answers were correlated in the way that we expected, providing us with a hint that we also had construct validity (Saunders et al. 2016). In terms of external validity, we note that the subject matter of our research is a transnational phenomenon which spans the globe, and thus it may be interesting to consider whether our study has external validity, i.e. whether our findings can be generalized to e.g. another country. Our theoretical framework, which provided the basis for our survey, drew on inspiration from literature with a macro-oriented and international outlook, and thus we find it plausible that similar patterns and attitudes may be found in other countries as well. However, one should be careful to make assumptions on this topic since themes like surveillance, privacy and trust in private corporations are highly contingent on cultural values and political setting. For example, we would assume that our findings would not be dramatically different in e.g. the other Scandinavian countries. Meanwhile concern and mistrust towards data collection is typically seen to be higher in Germany due to their past with GDR (Hornung et al. 2010) and results would likely be different there. Finally, there are countries with completely diverging trajectories of surveillance such as China or South Korea, where our given questions and framework of analysis might not be appropriate. In any case, it would be necessary to replicate our study in other contexts, if we were to be able to establish such generalizability for our study.

Finally, we argue that the validity and overall quality of our study is greatly increased by our mixed methods research design. By supplementing our survey findings with in-depth interviews, we were able to triangulate our data and get a better understanding of how our survey was interpreted by respondents. In addition, as already mentioned, the qualitative interviews provided us with more in-depth insights about thoughts, concerns and attitudes which would not be possible solely through a quantitative survey.

5.4 Qualitative interviews:

We chose to supplement our quantitative survey, with insights from a series of semi-structured in-depth interviews. We conducted these interviews for a number of reasons. Firstly, as a consequence of our semi-constructivist epistemology, we acknowledge that any knowledge we obtain will include a certain social and contextual bias. Thus, because we wanted to investigate the subjective attitudes and behaviours in the Danish population, qualitative interviews were useful because they allowed us to better enable our interviewees to express themselves in their own words. Thus, we could better understand how and why various people act and think about data the way they do. Secondly, while our quantitative survey questions were constructed based on the concepts from our theoretical framework, we would run the risk of misinterpreting answers and reach wrong conclusions if we were to rely on the survey responses alone. Instead, our interviews enabled us to get a better understanding of the relevance and explanatory power of our theoretical concepts, because they allowed us to identify whether some of the concepts were brought up unprompted by our interviewees. Thirdly, our interviews provided us with the opportunity to gain new insights and explanations about their opinions on data collection which we did not anticipate before conducting the interviews.

5.4.1 Sampling our interviewees

In order to get a sample of interviewees, we chose to end our survey with an opportunity for respondents to fill out contact details if they were interested in taking part in an interview to further our research. In other words, we used what can be described as self-selection sampling (Saunders et al. 2016), where interviewees are found based on a voluntary desire to partake. Out of the 268 survey respondents, 42 people decided to provide us with contact information – however, ultimately only 10 of the 42 respondents replied and thus we only were able to conduct 10 interviews. Below is a list of the people we interviewed:

Table 3 the interviewees

Name	Gender	Age
Interviewee 1	Female	33
Interviewee 2	Female	26
Interviewee 3	Male	19
Interviewee 4	Male	58
Interviewee 5	Male	55
Interviewee 6	Female	29
Interviewee 7	Male	37
Interviewee 8	Female	69
Interviewee 9	Male	48
Interviewee 10	Male	57

As can be seen from the table above, we managed to get an interview sample that was relatively diverse both in terms of age and gender. A problem in terms of the representativeness of our interview sample however, is that there are very different age groupings for our male and female interviewees respectively. We lack middle-aged women, while our male interviewees reversely are predominantly middle-aged. As a consequence of this, we are not able to use our interviews to draw meaningful conclusions about differences across genders or age groups specifically. Another concern one might have about the interview sample, is that our method of using self-selection sampling may make our sample somewhat biased (Saunders et al. 2016). This is because people who volunteer for an interview on the topic of personal data may tend to be more passionate and interested about the topic than the average person. However, since the main purpose of our interviews was to better understand the relevance of our theoretical concepts, in addition to introducing alternative ways of thinking about personal data use and accumulation, we argue that this potential bias is relatively unproblematic. Additionally, as we conducted our interviews, we noticed that the actual level of concern and reflexivity across our interviewees was quite diverse, suggesting that our self-selection sampling method did not result in an overly biased sample.

5.4.2 Conducting our interviews

Due to the coronavirus outbreak in Denmark, all of our interviews had to be conducted over the phone, which in our view both entailed disadvantages and benefits. The disadvantage was that it significantly limited the observations we could make about *how* our interviewees talked about particular topics. I.e. we could not read body language or pick up smaller cues to lead the interview in a specific direction. However, conducting the interviews over the phone also had a few benefits: our interviewees could participate in the interview when it most suited them, they were in the comfort of their own homes, and finally it can arguably be easier to be completely honest and direct with answers when one is not sitting face to face with the interviewer (Saunders et al 2016). Another effect of the corona virus however is of course that there could be potential side-effects of an ongoing crisis situation on the answers given by the interviewees. With daily life heavily affected by the situation and a potentially higher level of concern in society related to the virus, we are aware that the virus outbreak could potentially have affected and distracted interviewees' perceptions of the importance of other issues - overall though this was not something we felt was prevalent in our interviews. Finally, it is important for us to note that our interviews were conducted in the early days of the corona lockdown, which was before discussions about using personal data to better understand the spread of coronavirus had entered the public debate. Therefore, we did not discuss their opinions on e.g. potential apps to track social contagion patterns with our interviewees.

As already mentioned, we conducted our interviews in a semi-structured manner. This means that we had an interview guide (which can be found in appendix 4), with a list of different questions and themes inspired by our survey and analytical framework. These themes were covered during the interview, but we also allowed the interview to go in different directions based on the responses we received from the interviewee. We prefaced every interview with a remark that there were no right or wrong answers, and that the more they expounded and elaborated on their answers the better it was. Additionally, we asked for permission to record the interviews in order to transcribe them and use precise quotes in our thesis. In all cases, this permission was granted without hesitation (we have uploaded all recordings of our interviews in an anonymized form to a Dropbox folder with a link in Appendix 6). During the interview process, we strived to ask as open questions as possible, and to remain as neutral and un-opinionated as possible. When we heard interesting remarks or observations, we used probing questions such as "Could you tell me more about that…?" in order to encourage the interviewees to elaborate further. This was done in order to get as much information from the interviewees as possible, in their own words and without biasing their answers by stating our own opinions (Saunders et al. 2016).

5.4.3 Analyzing our interviews

Following the completion of our interviews, we listened through our audio recordings several times, writing down moments when the interviews touched on particularly interesting points. In particular, we were attentive to passages where our theoretical concepts could be of relevance in explaining or better understanding the remarks of our interviewees and vice versa. However, we were also careful in not letting our theoretical framework be too restrictive in terms of organizing and directing our data analysis. In other words, we categorized and coded our interview data using both 'a priori' codes based on our theoretical framework, as well as codes that we developed based on our collected data, and what we thought best described specific comments. Concretely, we used a form of thematic analysis on our interviews (Saunders et al. 2016), where we coded our qualitative data according to our theoretical and analytical framework in order to identify themes and patterns of interest for further analysis. We then transcribed those sections of each recording, which has enabled us to compare and contrast different quotes on various themes and topics. The transcribed sections of each of the interviews are provided in the Appendix 6. While we have made considerable effort in our translations to stay true to the original statements made by our interviewees, we acknowledge that some specific words can lose or alter their meaning in translation. However, by being aware of translating the original lexical and idiomatic meanings of the statements as true as possible, we believe the translated statements represent the true intentions (Saunders et al., 2016).

5.4.4 Validity of interviews

It is important to stress that the validity and representativeness of our interview sample is quite limited since our sample is rather small, and because we are collecting responses about a very large population. In other words, we make no claims that our interview quotes provide an account of how the Danish population as a whole think about the various topics we discussed with our interviewees. Instead, the interviews have been used to provide some contextual and in-depth explanations for how our survey responses could be interpreted, and in order to apply our theoretical framework on actual accounts from different people in the Danish population. Throughout our selection of interview quotes to be used, we strived to avoid researcher bias, and to remain true to the intent and overall sentiment in the given interview. Additionally, where relevant, we have tried to use negative cases (quotes from interviews which go against our main explanations), but our limited sample size, has made it difficult to do this in practice. Overall however, we argue that our qualitative data significantly strengthens our two analyses, and that they both demonstrate the appropriateness of our theoretical framework, as well as provide new and different insights.

6. Analysis I – Is there potential for outrage in the Danish population?

One of the main objectives of our research is to investigate whether the Danish population are concerned, and perhaps also frustrated, with the increasing prevalence of surveillance capitalism. As we documented in our literature review, considerable attention has been paid to the problematic nature of increasing data accumulation and the concentrated power and dominance of Google and Facebook within this space. We seek to explore whether these concerns in the literature have also been extended to the average Danish citizen. In other words, we want to find out if there in Denmark is a fertile ground for the "outrage and astonishment" which Zuboff asks for in her book (2019). Bearing these objectives in mind, we reiterate that the purpose of this first analysis is to investigate the following research question:

To what extent is there dissatisfaction and a potential for outrage in the Danish population regarding the accumulation and use of personal data by Google and Facebook?

In order to provide an exhaustive analysis of this research question, we firstly use our survey responses on the questions related to the reported levels of concern about data use and accumulation. This allows us to establish the extent of the overall dissatisfaction with Google and Facebook's data practices. Subsequently, we apply the concepts of ignorance and social persuasion (Zuboff 2019) from the Individual Knowledge category in our theoretical and analytical framework, in order to interpret the responses to other relevant questions in our survey as well as relevant quotes from our qualitative interviews.

6.1 Danes are worried, but not very worried

Any dissatisfaction and potential for outrage in the Danish population regarding the accumulation and use of personal data by Google and Facebook, will have to start with a consciousness of the fact that personal data exists, and that we all leave so-called 'digital footprints'. And here our survey clearly demonstrates that awareness of the fact that digital services create data traces has permeated to the population. As can be seen from table 4 below:

Table 4: How conscious are you about your digital footprints?

"How concious are you about your 'digital footprints' such as cookies, location data and search data etc. when you use the internet?"				
	Not at all	A little concious	Very concious	Total:
% of total	8.4%	57.4%	34.2%	100.0%
Count	22	151	90	263

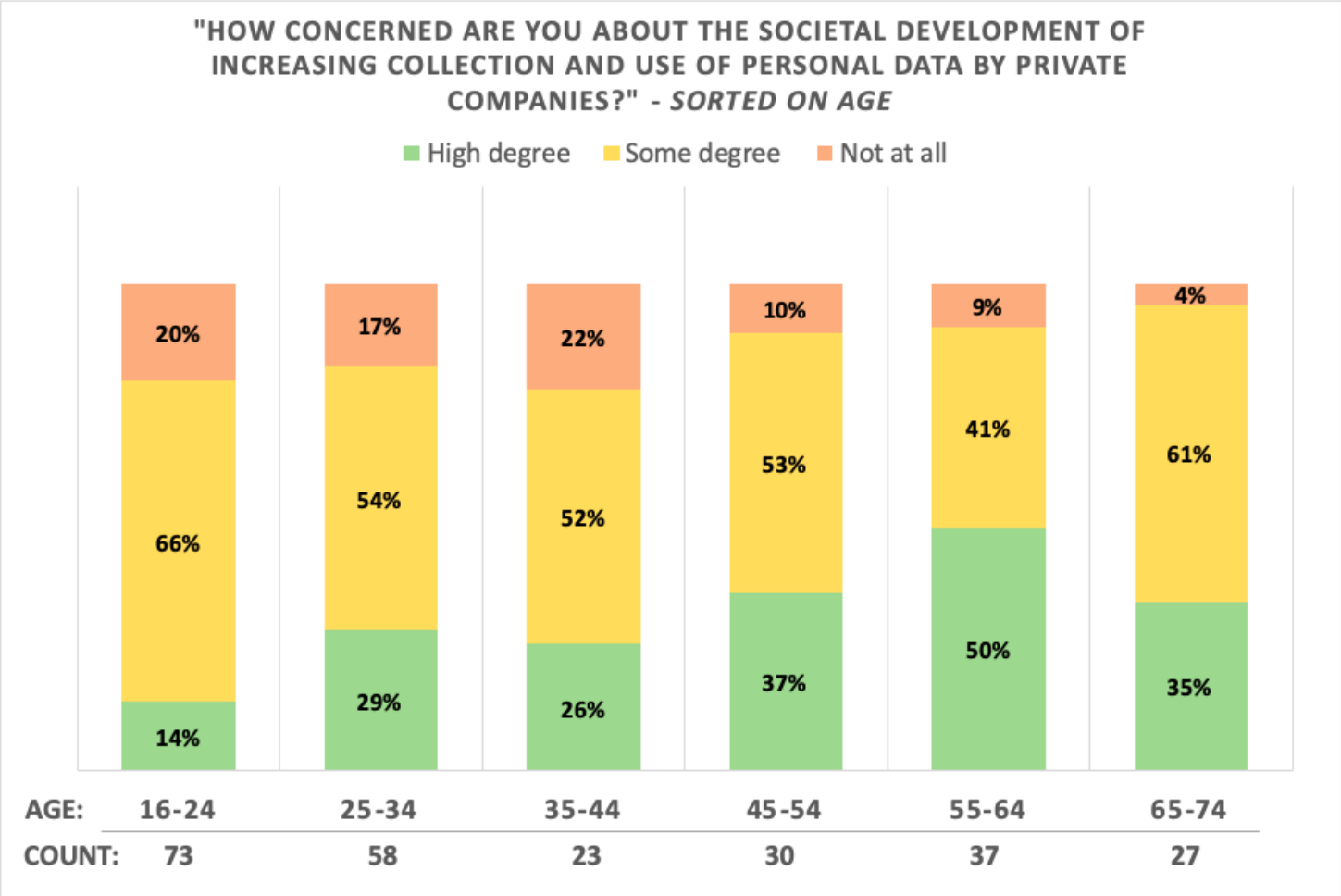
Table 5: To what degree are you worried about the societal development of data gathering?

"To what degree are you worried about the societal development in connection to the rising amount of data companies gather and use?"				
	Not at all	Some degree	High degree	Total:
% of total	15.6%	55.5%	28.9%	100.0%
Count	40	142	74	256

More than 90% of our survey respondents reported that they are at least somewhat aware of their digital footprint when they navigate the internet. This awareness is then in turn also highly correlated with a sense of concern and worry about the growing tendency of companies to collect and use personal data as is apparent when looking at Table 5. It is worth noting that only 15% reported that they are 'not concerned' about the increasing use of collection and use of personal data. This indicates that the call for attention that both scholars and journalists have made to this issue, has not gone unnoticed by the broad population. However, an interesting fact from our survey is that the majority of our respondents only reported themselves as 'somewhat aware' and 'somewhat concerned' about the use of personal data. This indicates that either the dangers of surveillance capitalism have not been completely taken in or understood by the majority of the Danish population, or that they disagree with the critics of surveillance capitalism about the gravitas of the issue. Meanwhile, around 30% of the respondents reported themselves to be 'very aware' and 'very concerned' about the use of personal data, suggesting that some foundation for the outrage and protest requested by Zuboff may actually be present.

Sorting based on demographic characteristics, shows that when it comes to consciousness about "digital footprints", demographic characteristics of age, income level and educational level had no influence on the response of the survey respondents. There is a relative homogeneity in the answers amongst the different demographic groups, and no clear trends to be derived. When it comes to levels of concern however, age does seem to have an influence on the levels of concern about the societal development of increasing collection and use of data by private companies as we show in Figure 3.

Figure 3: To what degree are you worried about the societal development of data gathering? sorted on age



As seen in the overall numbers, the biggest trend is still a concentration of respondents being concerned to "some degree". However, we also observe a trend showing a positive correlation between older age and being more concerned about the societal development of increasing collection and use of personal data by private companies. What we can derive

from this is that people of older age are relatively more concerned when it comes to the societal changes stemming from the data economy, compared to younger people. However, overall the vast majority of our respondents regardless of age, are concerned at least to some degree.

6.2 Danes are not more concerned about data accumulation and use than they are of other issues

Since we had an anticipation that our survey respondents might indicate that they were indeed concerned about data accumulation, we also knew that concerns are very relative. In order to position our respondents' actual level of concern, we included a scaling question from 1-10 on a number of issues. Table 6 below lists the average concerns on the issues for our whole sample:

Table 6: How concerned are you about certain topics?

How concerned are you about the below listed subjects?	Average	Difference from overall average concern
Climate change and the effects of this	8.13	2.10
A new financial crisis	6.31	0.19
The collection and use of personal data	5.50	0.13
Cyberattacks	5.45	-0.19
Immigration and integration	4.23	-2.24
Overall average concern	**5.92**	

(Total respondents: 256)

Here it becomes obvious that while our respondents may indicate that they are aware and concerned about data accumulation and use, it is on average not something that occupies more of their attention compared to other issues. Rather it is on par with a number of other potential worries, and significantly below concerns and worries about climate change. This in turn may reflect part of the reason why so few of our respondents report taking personal action to prevent further collection and use of their personal data. After all, even climate change, which is rated a much more prevalent concern by most of our respondents, is an issue that struggles with gaining the necessary momentum to change people's habits and actions.

6.3 There is support for stronger regulation on data collection and use

The awareness and concern of data collection and use is also reflected in our survey respondents' attitude towards more regulation on the subject. We asked our respondents to indicate on a five-point Likert scale whether they agreed that there should be stricter rules for which personal data that companies could collect and use. Table 7 below, shows the responses we received:

Table 7: There should be stronger regulation on data gathering

"There should be stronger regulation on what data companies can gather"						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total:
% of total	1.1%	4.9%	19.2%	41.4%	33.5%	100.0%
Count	3	13	51	110	89	266

Here we see a pattern of a third of the sample being strongly in favour of stricter regulation. Overall it is more than 70% who agree with more regulation, and very few disagreeing. There is strong support for more regulation across all educational levels and across all ages. There is a slightly larger proportion of people within the youngest age cohort who are sceptical of stronger regulation, when compared to the older respondent groups, but the majority of young people are also in favour of stronger regulation (See appendix 7 for tables on education and age differences). Thus, the main takeaway is that, across all age groups and all educational levels, there is considerable support for stricter regulation of the liberties that companies can take in their collection and use of personal data.

It is important to note that our survey statement does not specify or suggest any specific regulation. Nor does it communicate what kinds of consequences such regulations might have. This potentially makes it considerably easier to declare oneself in agreement with more regulation. This also means that an agreement with the above statement does not necessarily mean that people have any clear idea or desire for specific regulation. This is a point which became evident in our in-depth interviews. Here the support for stronger regulation was reiterated by most of our interviewees, but none of them were willing, or able, to suggest concrete regulation proposals. Instead they delegated the responsibility to politicians or government:

"*I can understand that the companies are hiding their [data-extraction] methods, after all it is a gold mine […] the consumers have no prerequisites to do something about it. It is way too complicated and complex. It is up to the politicians to react*" – Interviewee 9, male, age 48

"*The consumers are naïve, and the companies are greedy, so it would be very good if the politicians were willing to put an end to it. So, I actually think the government should step in and do something*" – Interviewee 2, female, age 26

The above quotes are particularly interesting, because they demonstrate how some of our interviewees themselves inadvertently provided an explanation for the lack of personal outrage and action that is very similar to the reason of Ignorance that we outlined in our theoretical framework: According to these interviewees, stronger regulation is needed due to the combination of an irresistible incentive structure for the companies to collect and use the data and the average citizen not having the necessary knowledge and prerequisites to do something about it.

6.4 Ignorance - are people failing to understand the details of personal data use?

6.4.1 The complexity of regulation and the public debate

As noted above, we had indications in some of our conducted interviews that ignorance on part of the individual, could lead to a perceived overcomplexity of the issue, which entailed that individuals did not think that it was in their purview to do or think much about it. Thus, a possible explanation for the lack of strong concern and opposition to data collection and use that we find in our data, could be the concept of ignorance (Zuboff 2019). To reiterate, ignorance points to the considerable information asymmetries within the data space, which leads users of Google and Facebook's services to have a lack of knowledge about what data is being collected and why. When companies use and collect personal data there are both things that people do not know, and things that people cannot know because they are hidden from them. Algorithms and technologies that utilize big data are very complex and illegible for the common user, and furthermore companies such as Google and Facebook are

notorious for slurring their data practices behind a discourse of privacy, anonymization and security (West 2019).

In order to test whether people in Denmark generally have a perception of ignorance on the topic of personal data, we asked about the extent to which our respondents felt that the public discourse on personal data was too complex and incomprehensible, and we also asked about their impression of whether the GDPR had given them greater control over their data. The answers we received are reported in the tables below.

Table 8: I feel like the public debate is too complex and incomprehensible

"I feel like the public debate (experts, politicians, media) about personal data is too complex and incomprehensible"						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total:
% of total	5.3%	20.7%	32.3%	31.2%	10.5%	100.0%
Count	14	55	86	83	28	266

Table 9: GDPR has given me more control over my data

"GDPR has given me more control over my data"						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total:
% of total	6.1%	21.7%	42.6%	27.8%	1.9%	100.0%
Count	16	57	112	73	5	263

The recorded responses indicate that indeed many people find that the public debate is too complex. More than 40% agree that the debate is too complex, and only 25% disagree. This leaves a large group of 30% neutral respondents. Whether these Neutral answers reflect an opinion that the complexity of the debate is not too high nor too low, or whether it reflects a lack of knowledge or exposure to this public debate that we inquire about is hard to be sure of. Probably it is a combination. However, based on the responses we got in our qualitative interviews, we are confident in asserting that there is a widespread perception of data regulation and use as being a highly complex matter with a scale that is utterly overwhelming, if not incomprehensible:

"It is hard to grasp (data gathering). And honestly, I do not know how it works. It is so incomprehensible. There are so many loopholes and other things you have to address. It is one big jungle" - Interviewee 7, male, age 37

"I think it is so incomprehensible for me to consider the advantages and disadvantages (of data gathering). It is so complex. One thing is how it is today, but how will it be in 5-10 years. You cannot figure that out" - Interviewee 9, male, age 48

The sentiment of these quotes was prevalent in all of our interviews, and what they highlight is that the public debate and the general subject of data gathering is too complex to be comprehensible for the interviewees. Another interesting perspective was introduced in one of our interviews, when it was noted that it is a hard question to answer, since personal data is a complex subject matter and thus the debate also needs to be complex in order not to lose nuance.

Another strong indication that there is a lack of knowledge on the subject and subsequently that the concept of Ignorance has explanatory power, is seen in the perceptions of the GDPR among our respondents. Less than 30% of our sample agreed with the statement that the GDPR has given them more control of their data. This is in contrast with many of the experts and academics who have praised the GDPR as providing European citizens with a greater degree of power and control over what information is saved and used about them (see e.g. Kedzior 2019). More than 40% of the answers to this question were Neutral, and we find it very plausible that it can be interpreted as an admission of a lack of knowledge on the subject. Finally, 27,8% of our respondents disagreed with the statement, and this answer can be interpreted in two ways: either it is a criticism of the content of the GDPR regulation, indicating that it did not provide sufficient control and regulation. Or it can be interpreted as the respondents not knowing what the GDPR entails, disagreeing with the statement because they do not perceive that it has given them more control over their data. In our interviews, we asked the interviewees to elaborate on what they know about GDPR, and we feel confident in asserting that both these interpretations can explain the distribution in the responses.

The majority of the interviewees showed a lack of knowledge on the subject of the GDPR, and its implications for data gathering:

"There have been some changes to the data privacy law, right? They did something, and it was positive. It limited something, right? I cannot remember it right now. But something happened" Interviewee 2, female, age 26

"I do not think GDPR has any (legal) influence on Google and Facebook" - Interviewee 6, female, age 29

However, a few of the interviewees also showed some knowledge and general distrust in the effectiveness of the legislation:

"The control through the legislation (GDPR) is not good enough. And the companies know it. And as consumers, we cannot do anything about it {....} I do not doubt that Google breaks the law" - Interviewee 5, male, age 55

"The purpose of GDPR is to give back the data to the individuals it deals with. So, if I for example quit my job, they have a lot of data on file about me. And then I can ask them to delete all of that and give me a copy. It is about giving me ownership over my own data. It is a good thought, but it should have been a global thing. But it is super difficult with things like this" - Interviewee 7, male, age 37

While some of the interviewees were able to criticize their perception of the implications of the GDPR, as shown in the quotes above, none were able to elaborate on how new legislation could be formed as to more effectively limit data gathering and protect the privacy of consumers. Another testament to the complex nature of data privacy laws.

6.4.2 Many people's awareness around the business model of using personal data is limited

Another potential indicator of ignorance in the area of personal data use is if people fail to identify the main culprits of this development towards surveillance capitalism. For this reason, we asked our survey respondents to rank four major technology companies on a scale from 1-10 depending on their impression of the extent of their data use. The companies were Apple, Facebook, Google and Microsoft. Facebook and Google were chosen since they are widely seen as the main proponents and innovators of surveillance capitalism (Zuboff 2019; West 2019). Due to their enormous data collection apparatus, and the fact that their business model effectively hinges on leveraging personal data, we assert that an informed and knowledgeable answer to our survey question on data use, would rank Facebook and Google highest in terms of data collection.

Apple was chosen because it is often cited as a tech company that is not dependent on surveillance capitalism (Zuboff 2019; Lanier 2019). Practically none of Apple's revenues are advertisement based, and thus their use of personal data is not aimed at directly predicting and shaping user behaviour, but rather to use personal data to improve their own products (Couldry & Mejias 2019). This not only limits Apple's appetite for collecting every bit of personal data available, it also enables Apple to occasionally take active steps to limit the data collection. E.g. the newest versions of the Safari browser now automatically block and erases a multitude of trackers and cookies. Based on these considerations, we argue that an informed and knowledgeable answer to our survey question on data use, would rank Apple significantly lower than the other companies.

In contrast to Apple, Microsoft has in recent years increasingly been engaged in the advertising market. They have sought to gain market shares with their search engine Bing, and their acquisition of social network LinkedIn. Additionally, Windows 10 included a new intelligent voice assistant called Cortana, which is similar to Google Home and Amazon's Alexa in that it provides a variety of services in exchange for building an elaborate personal profile on the user, used for advertising. Finally, tech-reporters have noted that Windows 10 provides a constant flow of personal data and user behaviour to Microsoft servers (Bright, 2015), and thus Microsoft can increasingly be said to engage in the surveillance capitalist regime. Based on this, an informed answer would rank Microsoft relatively high on the data collection scale, perhaps not as high as Google and Facebook, but higher than Apple.

Table 10 below indicates the average scores given by our respondents, while the full dispersion of answers can be found in the appendix 7.

Table 10: To what extent do you think certain companies collect and use your data?

To what extent do you think the below mentioned companies collect and use your personal data?		
Company	Average	# of respondents
Facebook	8.85	262
Google	8.58	262
Apple	7.85	254
Microsoft	7.02	252

What is interesting to note is that while Google and Facebook do score higher than the other two companies, the difference is not very large. For a lot of people, they do not distinguish between the data practices of neither Apple, Microsoft, Google or Facebook – in many responses they were all rated a 10 out of 10 in terms of data use and collection. This is yet another reflection of the perceived complexity of the issue for many respondents. "They probably all use my data a lot" was a frequent response we got from our interviews, highlighting that it is very difficult to distinguish between the different company practices. Additionally, we noticed in our interviews that there is some degree of scepticism towards all of the companies as highlighted by Interviewee 7:

"I don't think there are any of the companies that are better than others. Facebook was caught red-handed [mishandling data], while the others have not been caught yet. But because there is so much money to be earned, they walk right up to the line, in order to get a competitive advantage. And walking up to the line can often mean to marginally cross it." - Interviewee 7, male, age 37

The above quote highlights a general distrust in all of the four companies, hinting at the explanatory power of the concept of Inevitability, a point we return to in the next section. It also demonstrates that it is very hard for consumers to discern the different companies from each other. For example, our survey results indicate that Apple's supposed opposition to

surveillance capitalism has either gone unnoticed or been deemed unbelievable by consumers. Most of our respondents think that Apple collects and uses a substantial amount of their personal data. This is an interesting finding, since Apple as mentioned do not derive revenue directly from leveraging user data to target advertisements etc. In fact, from a business model point of view, Apple is a much more 'closed system', only using the data they acquire to improve and develop their own new products for purchase (Couldry & Mejias 2019). On the other hand, with Apple's personal assistant Siri, the Apple Watch, and a host of software and cloud services to accompany the use of the iPhone, Apple does indeed collect large amounts of personal data, and thus it is understandable if the consumer feels that Apple also uses their data extensively. However, we argue that the fact that they do not put it to external use or make it available for third parties is an important distinction from the way that Google, Facebook and Microsoft use the data. This distinction was not made by the respondents in our survey however, nor by our interviewees.

Meanwhile, Microsoft is the company rated by our respondents as the company who are collecting and using personal data the least. This is probably due to Danish consumers primarily associating Microsoft with the Office programs such as Word, and Excel, as well as the Windows operating system. Microsoft predates the data surveillance era, and the majority of their revenue streams are coming from paid products and services. However, as noted above, Microsoft has in recent years taken a decisive turn towards leveraging data for advertising purposes, most notably through their heavy investment into the search engine Bing, and in acquiring LinkedIn, the professional social network, for $26.2 billion in 2016 (Zuboff 2019). Our survey responses do not reflect this turn towards advertising and data surveillance however, reflecting that Danish people are less likely to perceive that Microsoft are collecting and using their personal data. It is however likely that these responses are not only influenced by the lack of knowledge on the subject (many of our interviewees did not know that LinkedIn was owned by Microsoft), but also that there are very few Danish people who use the Bing search engine, and thus are served ads by Microsoft.

Overall however, we interpret our survey results on this particular question as showing that the actual logic of the value and use of data, have not been very well understood by a large majority of the Danish population. Otherwise we would have expected to see a bigger distinction between the exclusively ad-driven businesses of Google and Facebook, and the more mixed business models of Apple and Microsoft. In this way, we interpret our survey

results as providing strong indications that Zuboff's concept of Ignorance (2019) from our theoretical and analytical framework is indeed a strong explanation for why the potential for outrage is limited in the Danish population - people do not clearly know who to hold accountable.

6.4.3 It is difficult to imagine or understand the consequences of personal data use

One of the main concerns about the use of personal data, is that it will determine many outcomes without our knowledge. From Solove's digital dossiers (Solove 2004), to Gillespie's arguments about the hidden decisions that shape social media (Gillespie 2018), researchers are routinely pointing out that many of our choices and our available information are constrained and shaped by practices taking place on a secret backstage. As documented in our literature review, many scholars in the field stress that there are important concerns and reservations we should have before we let our personal data influence and constrain our environment and lives, both in the digital and the physical realm. In our survey we investigated the extent to which this message had spread to the Danish population, and whether people were actually worried about their freedom of choice being constrained by personal data. The questions and results can be seen below:

Table 11: I am afraid that personal data can have an impact on my possibilities online

"I am afraid that the personal data I give, can have an impact on my possibilities online (example: getting shown a higher price on a webshop)"						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total:
% of total	3.8%	16.2%	31.6%	34.2%	14.3%	100.0%
Count	10	43	84	91	38	266

Table 12: I am afraid that personal data can have a negative impact on my life

"I am afraid that the personal data I give, can have a negative impact on my life (example: not getting a loan in the bank)"						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total:
% of total	6.0%	25.9%	42.5%	18.8%	6.8%	100.0%
Count	16	69	113	50	18	266

Interestingly, it appears that the concern about the consequences of data is a lot stronger in the digital and online realm, than in the physical lives of individuals. There are 20 additional respondents that are strongly agreeing with the statement related to online possibilities,

compared to the one about the respondent's life in general. Overall, we can say that there is a certain level of awareness and knowledge about the role of personal data in determining our online possibilities, but significantly less people are convinced that personal data can also have constraints on their lives outside of their online opportunities (only ~26% actively agree with the statement and more than 30% are disagreeing).

In our interviews we asked our respondents to reflect on how they perceived personal data was used and whether they were concerned about it, and here we received responses that varied significantly. Some of our interviewees seemed to think that the use of personal data was only used to target ads which was deemed annoying but justified.

"*I generally don't see my search history and things like that as personal data. It can be annoying to get bombarded with advertisements, but it's not something that I think is too much", Interviewee 1, female, age 33*

"In reality, Facebook and Google are based on mapping our consumer habits in order to increase sales. It is not different from when I see Champions League on TV and there are commercials during half-time", *Interviewee 10, male, age 57*

What these responses represent is a limited level or no concern about the consequences of personal data collection and use. The reason that these respondents were not very concerned is mostly related to their perception of how their data is used. They did not envision their data being used for other purposes than advertising, and thus did not have a fear that their personal data could end up having a detrimental effect on their lives outside of their online experience. This is in contrast to a second group of our interviewees who recognized that there is a lot of power in personal data, and that it can be put to use in ways that may not be aligned with their values and ethics:

"*It sounds a bit like a conspiracy theory, but I'm thinking that they are collecting data about us, which makes it easier to manipulate us. I mean we are manipulated in a clever way, via advertising, via this, via that […] The worst cases that's where… was it the Republicans who bought data from an English company[…] Using [data] politically is some of the worst consequences I can imagine*" *- Interviewee 4, male, age 58*

"*Now this is my imagination, but it's one thing that it may be negative for me to receive an ad, but it may be worse if I am gradually being stored to have a specific political profile - be it left, right or centre. It is not very dangerous in our society, but reversely we can also see in our society that there are more and more restrictions being put on our freedoms. It is done in the name of terror, or corona-virus, but one day we may be in a situation where it is very unfortunate to have the wrong political views*" *- Interviewee 5, male, age 55*

As is evident from the quotes above, there was particularly one thing which our interviewees were concerned about. The ability to use personal data for political gains and manipulations. Whether this is the case for our whole survey sample, or the whole Danish population for that matter, is of course impossible to tell, but we find it likely that both the Cambridge Analytica scandal and stories about surveillance-enabled persecution of political dissidents in e.g. China have made their way into many people's considerations about how data can be used. It is also worth noting the tendency of our interviewees to qualify their statements by emphasizing that this is only imaginary scenarios or bordering on conspiracy theory. It appears that people are reluctant to fully embrace and own their concerns about these more hidden and sinister ways that data could be used to influence their lives. This potentially hints at a challenge for resistance which we will return to in our second analysis, namely that people are reluctant to express strong concerns since that would make them appear paranoid.

6.4.4 Large amounts of neutral responses can be interpreted as a lack of knowledge

Perhaps the most striking element of our survey responses on specific concerns, is the very high level of neutral responses, with almost 32% neutral towards concerns about online possibilities being limited, and more than 42% neutral towards the statement that data possibly can affect their lives negatively. These neutral responses indicate that it may be very hard for individuals to imagine exactly what consequences the availability and use of their personal data can have. This difficulty in actually imagining the consequences was evident in our in-depth interviews. Here we heard from several of our interviewees that they did not feel like they fully understood the consequences of data collection and use:

"It might be that we would be more critical as a collective if we knew exactly what Google and Facebook used our data for" - Interviewee 4, male, age 58

"I never really know what I am agreeing to" - Interviewee 6, female, age 29

"I'm thinking there are many clever and subtle ways to use personal data for profit, which I am in no way capable of understanding, because it is so extremely opaque how all this works" - Interviewee 9, male, 48 years

These quotes demonstrate that information asymmetry and lack of transparency are definitely limiting the concerns for many people, and thus also potentially limiting the potential for outrage and astonishment (Zuboff, 2019).

6.4.5 Education matters for ignorance – but not dramatically:

When analysing the role of knowledge or lack thereof, it is interesting to look at the patterns of our survey responses across educational levels. Due to the prevalence of experts who have sounded the alarm regarding data privacy, and due to the complex subject matter, we expected, ceteris paribus, that our survey respondents with higher educational backgrounds would exhibit greater knowledge as well as concern about data accumulation and use. This ultimately also turned out to be the case, but the effect of educational level on responses was not nearly as dramatic as we initially expected, indicating that across educational levels, this is a complex and opaque subject matter. Table 13 below summarizes the results for the survey questions where we saw the most pronounced differences in responses when looking across educational levels:

Table 13: Second stage of tertiary % point difference from total average

Second stage of tertiary (% point difference from total average)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
GDPR has given me more control over my data	3.1% (+1.2%)	39.1% (+11.3%)	26.6% (-16%)	23.4% (+1.7%)	7.8% (+1.7%)
The public debate is too complex	7.8% (-2.7%)	28.1% (-3.1%)	23.4% (-8.9%)	31.3% (+9.6%)	9.4% (+4.1%)
There should be stronger data regulation	39.1% (+5.6%)	45.3% (+3.9%)	10.9% (-8.3%)	4.7% (-0.2%	0.0% (-1.1%)

What can be seen from table 13 above is that higher education leads to higher disagreement on the statement that the public debate is too complex, and there is also a greater appreciation for the GDPR among the highly educated group. Lastly the higher educated are also more inclined to agree that there should be stronger regulation in place on data use and collection. Interestingly, we found that when it comes to evaluating the actual data collection and practices of the four different companies in our survey, there was virtually no difference across educational levels.

Another interesting pattern that appears when sorting answers based on educational level is that the very high level of neutral responses that we reflected on earlier, tends to drop for the higher educated groups. A higher proportion of the lower educated population are undecided and thus 'Neutral' on our survey questions. This may hint that there is some importance of education when it comes to understanding and reflecting on the information on data collection. At the very least, the higher educated group is more willing to take a stance on the various questions and thus the potential for outrage and astonishment can be said to be slightly higher among this particular group. Overall however, high education or not, there are many Neutral responses across the educational groups and there was no better ability to distinguish the business practices of Google and Facebook versus Microsoft and Apple among the highly educated, nor were there pronounced differences in imagining consequences from use of personal data and thus we tentatively conclude that a lack of knowledge is widespread regardless of demographic strata.

6.5 Social Persuasion

To reiterate, the concept of Social Persuasion refers to the argument that there may be limited potential for outrage because the rhetoric put forward by Google and Facebook in regard to their extensive data gathering and surveillance capitalist innovations, serves to persuade people to accept, if not appreciate, their actions (Zuboff, 2019). This concept of social persuasion is what we turn to next.

6.5.1 Some people see data accumulation and use as a net positive

For example, it should not be neglected that a few of our respondents were actually strongly disagreeing with the statement that they were afraid of the consequences of personal data

collection, as is apparent from table 10 and 11. One of these people was Interviewee 3, a young man we conducted an in-depth interview with. His opinion was, that rather than entailing negative and detrimental consequences for his life opportunities both online and offline, his personal data might actually provide him with benefits and savings:

"*If you are not doing anything wrong, then it's not unusual […] I am very physically active, so from a selfish point of view, then I would say "yes please" [to insurance companies using personal data to price insurances], then I can get a discount on my insurance premium because I don't have to pay for the inactive people […] I think it is fair. I have the opinion that you are responsible for your own life, and your choices have consequences" - Interviewee 3, male, age 19*

This opinion expressed by Interviewee 3, that data can have positive effects, and that your personal data is merely a reflection of your choices and that we all have equal possibilities for making the appropriate choices, is an interesting contrast to the more worried respondents we cited previously. It appears that Interviewee 3, and perhaps some of the other survey respondents, is more prone to emphasize the benefits and gains to be had from leveraging personal data. With this perspective that data could potentially even make the world a fairer place, it is possible that this interviewee could be asomewhat persuaded by rhetoric from e.g. data companies such as Google and Facebook which emphasizes the benefits to be had of using and accumulating personal data, while downplaying the risks.

6.5.2 People do not prefer personalized ads

In order to investigate the relevance of the concept of social persuasion further, a part of our survey asked people to take a stance on personalized ads online. The rationale being, that if people prefer personalized ads, then they are implicitly also accepting the modus operandi of the surveillance capitalist firms of Google and Facebook:

Table 14: I prefer personalized ads online

"I prefer personalized ads online"						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total:
% of total	24.9%	23.0%	30.9%	18.1%	3.0%	100.0%
Count	66	61	82	48	8	265

Table 14 shows that a majority of the respondents do not favour personalized ads online, with 47,9% answering a strong disagreement or disagreement to whether they adhere with the statement "I prefer personalized ads online". However, with 18,1% agreeing and 3% strongly agreeing, there is arguably a part of the respondents who can be said to be somewhat persuaded by the companies' practices and rhetoric.

Age group does not seem to have any strong influence in regard to this question, where no clear trend could be derived (Appendix 7). However, educational level does seem to have a small influence. Overall, it seems as if people with lower educational levels (upper secondary and postsecondary) agree slightly more to the statement that they prefer personalized ads, whereas people with a higher educational level (first stage of tertiary and second stage of tertiary) seem to slightly disagree more with the statement. Plausible reasons for this could be that an academic degree could cause the respondents to generally be more critical towards being manipulated by ads based on their personal ad profile or have a deeper insight about the potential impact of personalized ads.

In our qualitative research, we did however not identify signs of social persuasion in regard to personalized ads. Rather, the interviewees seemed to have a negative association with personalized ads, mostly disclosing various levels of critique and disliking of the method - and even questioning the legality:

"When I search for a beard trimmer online for example, then I'll get a lot of ads for beard trimmers the forthcoming week. I do know how it works when the larger corporations follow you online. And it is just an allegation, but I think that it is for sure on the verge of legality" - Interviewee 5, male, age 33

6.5.3 People also reject that it is a fair trade-off between services and data

Most of our respondents indicated that they actually do not prefer personalized ads, which may reflect that they see it as a quid pro quo - they get free access to the services of Google and Facebook in turn for subjecting themselves to personal and targeted advertisements. In order to further investigate whether this is the case, we asked whether the trade-off of personal data in return for the free digital services is fair. However, here the respondents also showed overall disagreement, with more than half (57,5%) answering that they either

strongly disagreed or disagreed with this statement, and only 15% agreeing (13,5%) or strongly agreeing (1,5%). Overall, the response to this statement shows that the majority of respondents are not enthusiastic about the business model of data capitalism.

Table 15: It is a fair trade-off when I give my personal data in return for free digital services

"It is a fair trade-off when i give my personal data in return for free digital services like Facebook and Google"						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total:
% of total	23.3%	34.2%	27.4%	13.5%	1.5%	100.0%
Count	62	91	73	36	4	266

Demographic characteristics did not seem to have any significant influence on how people reacted to this statement. However, in our qualitative interviews, we did identify some diverging answers when the interviewees were asked if they found the trade-off fair or acceptable. Some accepted it as part of the premise for using internet services:

"It is what it is, it is free, but in return there is a business model behind, in which it is hard to avoid it [data collection]. That is the deal you enter into when you use these services [...]" Interviewee 10, male, age 57

"[...] I think it is alright. It is the same with tv channels that also only exist because they can run ads. They are just not as personalized as the ads on Google and Facebook. However, I understand some are annoyed by it. But the ads they run are in some way based on stuff you look for yourself [...] I think it is fifty-fifty. Some find use in the personalized ads, and others will find it annoying, perceiving it as surveillance and all that" - Interviewee 1, female, age 33

"I do not know if it is a fair trade-off per se, but it is just how it is. They have to earn their money somehow - and I think that is alright" - Interviewee 3, male, age 19

While others not necessarily found the trade-off itself an issue, but did however find the lack of information in regard to how the trade-off takes place to be troublesome:

"It would be a fair trade-off if they expounded what they do. But Google and Facebook attempt to hide how their business model works. I actually do not think what they are

doing is the issue, the issue is that we do not know what they do" - Interviewee 10, male, age 57

"I know what I get, but I do not know what I give. And I do not know the value of what I am giving. Therefore, I do not think it is a fair trade-off. It would be fair if I knew exactly what was collected, and what it was used for. And if I could then have a choice of saying no" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

What these quotes highlight is that more respondents would be okay with data gathering and personalized ads, if they had more insight into when their data is being gathered, and how it is being utilized. Thus, more people are okay with the premise of the business model of Facebook and Google, but not okay with the secrecy related to it. Moreover, several people, like the quote above, expressed that not only the secrecy was an issue, but also the lack of choice:

"*[…] I have never been asked if I want to be part of their statistics. No one ever asked me, you are just suddenly a part of it […]" - Interviewee 2, female, age 26*

Interestingly, much of this criticism that our interviewees expressed echoes the criticisms we highlighted in our literature review from e.g. Gillespie (2018) and Pasquale (2015). The problem is that people do not know how their data is being used and collected, and what the consequences may be. The fact that this perspective is also shared by at least some parts of the population provides evidence that there is some dissatisfaction and potential for outrage in the Danish population, and that the majority is not socially persuaded by the rhetoric of Google and Facebook.

6.5.4 Trust levels are widely differing across companies

When investigating whether the companies are successfully persuading the Danish population that they are serving their interests, it is interesting to look at the differences in trust between tech companies with varying tendencies to rely on data accumulation and use in their business model. In the below pictured table, respondents were asked to rank their level of trust on a three levelled Likert scale.

Table 16: How much do you trust the companies?

"How much do you trust the below mentioned companies?"

	Apple		Facebook		Google		Microsoft	
	% of total	Count	% of total	Count	% of total	Count	% of total	Count
Trust a lot	12%	31	8%	21	14%	36	19%	48
Trusts to some degree	49%	125	41%	105	58%	148	48%	121
Do not trust	24%	60	46%	117	23%	58	17%	44
Do not know	15%	37	5%	12	5%	14	16%	41
Total	100%	253	100%	255	100%	256	100%	254

It is interesting to note that the most trusted company of the four, is Google, with 72% of the respondents answering that they either trust Google a lot, or to some degree. With Google being the first and most influential surveillance capitalist, and the most extensive data mining company of the four, it is surprising to see that the respondents in general trust them the most of the four listed companies - however this can potentially be explained by the fact that our respondents do not meaningfully distinguish between the data practices of the different companies, as was demonstrated in Table 12. The least trusted company however, is Facebook, with just 8% stating that they trust Facebook a lot, and 41% to some degree. Still a significant amount of trust - although far less than the second least trusted company Apple, that 61% answered they trust a lot or trust to some degree.

Overall, Facebook has suffered many scandals during recent years, both related to privacy and over controversial content on its platform, that could help explain this lack of trust. While Cambridge Analytica, covered in our literature review, has been one of the most covered scandals, Facebook has also been involved with countless others. The Russian meddling of the 2016 presidential campaign through fake news being spread on their platform, various security breaches where upwards of 30 million users had their data stolen is just an excerpt of the many scandals that have been covered by the media during the past years (Isaac & Wakabayashi, 2017; Facebook, 2017; Dance, Confessore & LaForgia, 2018). Mark Zuckerberg has occasionally tried to mitigate the reputational damage done by the scandals. E.g. at the Facebook F8 convention in 2019, Zuckerberg announced that Instagram, WhatsApp and Facebook would be going through a "privacy overhaul", although acknowledging: *"I get that a lot of people aren't sure that we're serious about this. I know that we don't exactly have the strongest reputation on privacy right now to put it lightly.*

But I'm committed to doing this well" (Wong, 2019). However, despite Facebook's attempts to assure its users that they are working towards more privacy-oriented services, and Zuckerberg's acknowledgement of the user's scepticism towards this, it seems as if our respondents are still very much affected by the recent scandals and negative press that has surrounded the company.

In contrast to Facebook, our survey results show that Google has succeeded in keeping a relatively good reputation amongst our respondents. This is interesting to note since Google has also been implicated in at least one scandal in a Danish context, where their Google Home speakers were caught listening in on and recording private conversations without consent or knowledge of the owner of the speaker (Hansen & Andersen 2019). However, Google has in general been good at reacting quicker to the demands for more privacy. At their I/O convention in 2019, just a few weeks later than Facebook's F8 convention, Google presented a variety of different privacy measures to their services. These included incognito mode for Google Maps and YouTube that prevents user data from being shared with Google or any other service, and the option for automatic data deletion after a certain time period for Android users (Bensinger, 2019). While these improvements arguably are minor in the scope of Google's business model, they still allowed the company to present concrete privacy measures contrary to Mark Zuckerberg's mere pledge towards more privacy in the future on Facebook's platforms. While Facebook has been involved in more extensive scandals that have been more detrimental for its reputation compared to those of Google, we also believe that the difference of the two companies' strategy in handling crisis and privacy questions also could explain the difference in the two companies ranking when it comes to trust amongst our respondents.

The main takeaway with regard to evidence of Social Persuasion in our interviews and survey is therefore that it considerably varies across the two companies. Facebook is seen as a significantly less trustworthy firm, while Google actually enjoys quite high trust among our survey respondents. Nevertheless, when looking at our survey results in terms of the questions specifically asking about the business model of personalized ads, and whether it is a fair trade-off to provide free services in exchange for personal data, a large majority of our sample disagrees and disapproves. This arguably indicates that social persuasion is not that pronounced in Denmark, and thus people are quite sceptical of the business model leveraging personal data. In terms of explaining the favourable trust ranking that Google

obtains in our survey, while Social persuasion may play a part, we are tempted to attribute most of this to the previously outlined prevalence of Ignorance. Since our survey demonstrates that most people fail to distinguish between the actual data practices of the different companies, we find it likely that Google is ranked more favourably because many people do not clearly understand what they agree to by using their services.

6.6 Summing up our Analysis 1:

In our first analysis we have uncovered a certain degree of potential for the outrage and astonishment that Zuboff (2019) is requesting. A considerable amount of our survey respondents expressed both concern and dissatisfaction with the business model and data practices of the large internet companies, and thus we find strong indications that many people in Denmark directly oppose the logic and operations of surveillance capitalism - using personal data for commercial gains. However, we also provide evidence that the dissatisfaction in the Danish population is curbed, particularly by Ignorance on the subject. People fail to imagine what the consequences of their personal data being collected may be, and they arguably do not show a thorough understanding of why personal data is attractive for companies to possess.

Despite concerns and potential for outrage being present, both Facebook and Google are doing extremely well in Denmark. In fact, Denmark is one of the countries in the world with the highest per capita usage of Facebook, with more than 75% of Danes reporting using Facebook (Tassy et al. 2020). And Google Search has a market share of 97%, meaning that Google is used by almost every internet user in Denmark in 2020 to navigate their daily internet searches (Statista 2020a). This leads us to our second analysis where we research what the challenges are for individuals to act to address their concerns, i.e. what can explain this continued success of Google and Facebook despite concerns about their business practices.

7. Analysis II – Challenges to Resisting Data Collection:

In this part of our analysis we shed further light on why the reaction and resistance to Facebook and Google has so far been very negligible in Denmark. In other words, we now turn to what the concrete challenges are for challenging and opposing the increasing accumulation and use of personal data for commercial gains. Based on our theoretical framework, we anticipated that these challenges include 1) a sense of dependency on the services provided by Google and Facebook; 2) a lack of viable alternatives; and 3) a fear of social exclusion if quitting the services (Zuboff 2019). Following the same approach that we used in our previous analysis, we use a combination of our general survey responses as well as detailed insights from our in-depth interviews to analyse the strength of these explanations when it comes to the Danish population.

7.1 There is a lack of individual action to limit data collection

The discrepancy between concerns about data collection on one hand and limited personal action to prevent it on the other, is clear from our survey results. Here we asked our respondents to reflect on the actual measures and actions they have taken to limit data collection. As can be seen from table 17, only a bit more than 20% agreed with the statement that they have done something to actively prevent collection of their personal data:

Table 17: I have actively done something do limit companies gathering my personal data

"I have actively done something to limit companies gathering my personal data online (Example: deleted my Facebook profile)"						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total:
% of total	15.1%	30.9%	31.7%	17.7%	4.5%	100.0%
Count	40	82	84	47	12	265

This is of course in great contrast to the apparent concern and support for regulation that we outlined in our Analysis part 1. Indeed, more than 45% disagree with the statement of

having done something active to limit collection of personal data. Thus, the majority of our survey respondents reported taking very limited, if any, actions to limit data gathering. Additionally, our interviews also provided us with a perception that many of the 'Agree' responses that we received in the survey, are related to very basic and limited steps to prevent data collection, such as deleting or rejecting cookies on particular websites. None of the people we talked to reported using different services or applications in order to preserve their data privacy, and generally the concerns were rarely spilling over into action. So even though people may be conscious and worried about data gathering, they have a hard time finding, and may have a lack of interest in exploring, measures that can be taken in order to limit the data gathering. As the below quote from Interviewee 10 sums up, it can be difficult to know what to do:

"When thinking deeply about it (data gathering) I can get worried. However, in my daily life, it is one of those things I choose to ignore and think that it is probably going to be alright. Because I am after all not the only one in this situation. My challenge is that I have a hard time figuring out how to do something about it. It is very hard to do something as an average person" - Interviewee 10, male, age 57

The above quote from Interviewee 10 demonstrates two interesting points which we will elaborate further in the following sections. Firstly, it emanates a general feeling of hopelessness towards action - it is simply seen as being very hard to take meaningful action to prevent data collection for "an average person". Secondly, it highlights a form of a collective action problem, since he partly justifies his inaction with the fact that he is not "the only one in this situation". And based on our survey responses which reflect a low level of action and a low level of knowledge on the topic, it appears that Interviewee 10 is not wrong to suppose this. We have already analysed how the complexity and opaqueness of data collection contributes to this lack of knowledge or Ignorance, but interestingly Interviewee 10 also hints that he actively chooses to remain in ignorance. He stated that he chooses to ignore his concerns and therefore also does not seek any new information on how he may address this problem.

7.2 Dependency is a significant challenge to resistance

While the majority of our interviewees expressed concern towards the business model of Facebook and Google, none answered that they had deleted their accounts, or stopped using the services of either. A reason for this is the dependency most internet users today have on the services offered by the two companies. Put simply, they deliver the general digital infrastructure to navigate the internet, and socially participate online. This point is brought forward by Zuboff (2019), who argues that many people find it difficult, if not impossible, to withdraw from these utilities, as many rely on these in their daily life. This is also true in Denmark, where 77% of the population reported they had a profile on Facebook in 2018, and 50% reported they used the platform several times a day (Statista 2020b). Moreover, with a market share of 97%, Google is used by almost every internet user in Denmark in 2020 to navigate their daily internet searches (Statista 2020a).

7.2.1 A majority finds it impossible to stop using Facebook and Google

To test whether dependency on Google and Facebook's services is prevalent amongst Danish consumers, we asked the respondents of our survey to consider whether they find it impossible to stop using Facebook, Google, and other services prevalent in the sphere of surveillance capitalism:

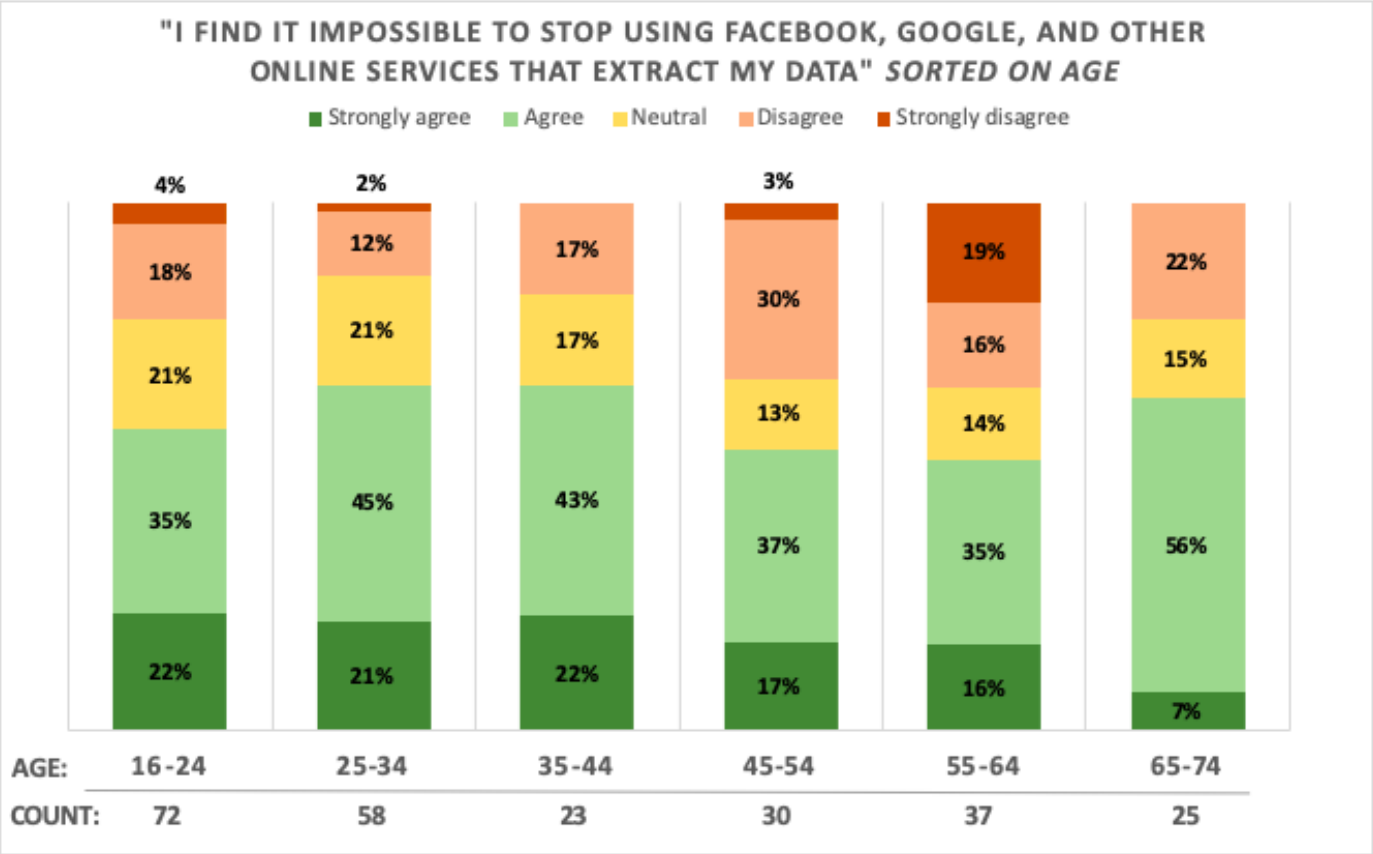
Table 18: I find it impossible to stop using online services that collect my data

"I find it impossible to stop using Facebook, Google, and other online services that collect my data"						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Total:
% of total	5.3%	18.5%	18.5%	39.2%	18.5%	100.0%
Count	14	49	49	104	49	265

Here we found that the majority, 57,7%, either agree or strongly agree that it is impossible for them to stop using Facebook, Google and the like. However, 23,8% disagrees or strongly disagrees, meaning that they to some degree find themselves able to stop using one, or more services extracting their data. There are differences to how people respond to this statement based on age. There is a slight trend for younger respondents, aged 16-44, to agree more with the statement, than the older respondents aged 45-74. When it comes to disagreeing with the statement, there is also a trend of older age groups to disagree more than younger

age groups, with 19% of the respondents between the age of 55-64 disagreeing strongly with the statement.

Figure 5: I find it impossible to stop using online services that collect my data - sorted on age



The reason for younger people generally feeling more dependent on these services, could be explained from both a higher usage, but also the fact that many of the younger respondents are “digital natives” (Dorsey 2019). A generation that grew up in a world were social media and search engines were a natural part of daily life, whereas the older age groups have been introduced to this after adulthood, or in a later stage of life. Thus, having an easier time imagining a life without being online, since it has not always been a part of their life.

However, what we cannot derive from the survey results, is to what degree the respondents that disagree with the statement perceive themselves as being able to stop using Facebook,

Google and the like. For example, the disagreement with the statement that they find it impossible not to use Google and Facebook, could simply be because they perceive themselves as being able to quit logging into their Facebook account for a period of time. Our survey does not allow us to interpret whether any of the respondents would be willing to, or actually did, delete their Google or Facebook accounts, or stopped their services altogether. However, since it is only around 5% of our total respondents that strongly disagree with the statement, we are confident in asserting that the vast majority of the Danish population feel dependent on both Google and Facebook's services.

This assertion is further corroborated with the data from our qualitative interviews. Here, many answered that they have considered deleting their Facebook profiles, but they have abstained from doing so, due to the consequences outweighing the positive gains. Below are a few examples of comments made by our interviewees:

"*I would like to delete Facebook, if all that social planning and invitations happened somewhere else. Then I would delete it for sure*" *– Interviewee 2, female, age 26*

"I *am considering deleting my account, but I can hardly get myself to do so. […] I am a member of some groups on Facebook, and I generally use the platform to coordinate social stuff […]*" -Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

7.2.2 The reason for being dependent varies between the companies

The reasons for why the Danish population are dependent on Google and Facebook, varies between the two companies. For Facebook, it is particularly the social dimension that matters, an argument we will elaborate in the next section. However, it should be noted that because of the network effects Facebook has (Cusumano et al. 2019) with 77% of the Danish population having a profile, Facebook does more than allow you to connect with friends and family. When it comes to larger public events and coordination most people are heavily dependent on Facebook. Indeed, arguably one of Facebook's most appreciated features, is the ability to coordinate or communicate within groups of people with no strong social ties. This could be coordination and communication in apartment buildings, interest organisations, cultural events etc. As Interviewee 10, chairman in a trade union, points out:

"*I have to be on Facebook because the members I have in my union are on Facebook. I could use another platform if they also started doing it, but they don't. That's why I have to stay on Facebook. That's the catch-22 in all this*" - *Interviewee 10, male, age 57*

To stop using Google on the other hand, would mean to quit one of the most essential tools to navigate the internet, and all the online infrastructure associated with it:

"Because you have to log in with your Google account on your phone and so on, you are close to being dependent on Google. In general, I feel like Google makes themselves indispensable. I have tried using another search engine, but I returned to Google because it is the best" – Interviewee 6, female, 29 years

"I do not trust Google, but that does not change that I have to use it. I am a student, and there are just some things you have to use Google for" – Interviewee 2, female, age 26

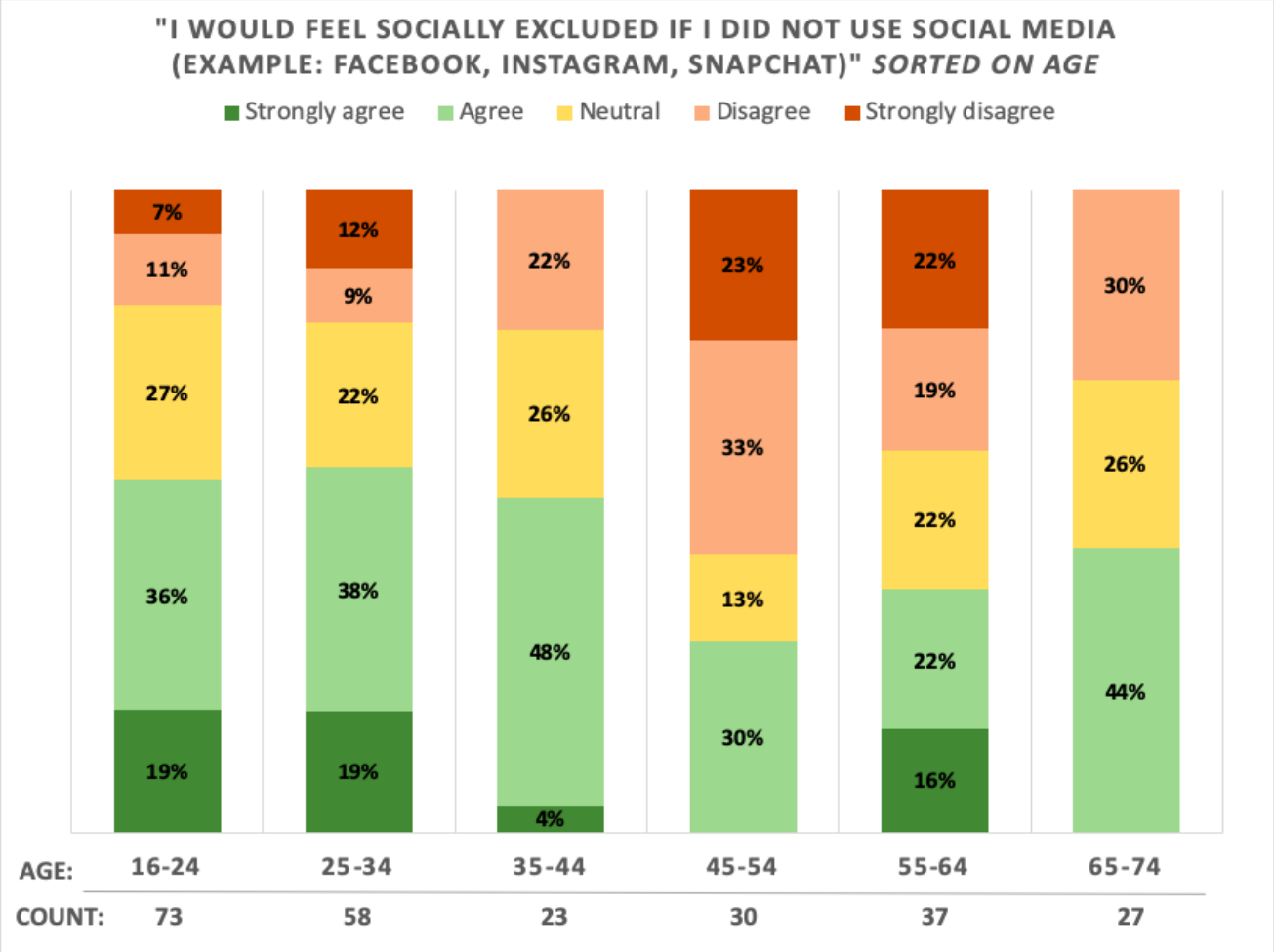
Considering the sheer scope of services and infrastructure Google provides, the impact of deleting your Google account and to stop using anything associated with the company, would be very consequential for the majority of internet users in Denmark. 45% of Danish smartphone owners in 2020, have an Android phone (Statista 2020c). For them to delete their Google account, would mean not being able to download new applications from Google Play Store, and miss out on a broad variety of functions on their phone. Furthermore, winner takes all dynamics have made a lot of Google services, such as Google Maps and Google Search, the most preferred within their category. And arguably the sheer data that passes through these services also make them the best. With a market share of 97% in Denmark in 2020 (Statista, 2020b), Google's search engine provides a critical gateway to the internet for close to all Danish internet users - in many ways constituting a form of "internet infrastructure" (Plantin et al., 2018). Thus, to stop using any Google associated service or product, would mean considerable changes to everyday habits of the vast majority of the Danish internet users, and to many, transferring a significant part of their information and data to alternative platforms. Overall, it would mean a great deal of effort to do so and would mean potentially using subpar alternatives to what is status quo for many today. Thus, to many, using Google does not seem like a choice, but rather a necessity.

Therefore, we conclude that we were able to identify dependency within our respondents, as the majority of the respondents agreed to the statement 'I find it impossible to stop using Facebook, Google, and other online services that extract my data'. And, not one of our interviewees showed willingness, or perceived it as possible, to actually stop using any services affiliated with data extraction. This definitely poses a significant challenge and obstacle for resisting the data collection of both Google and Facebook.

7.3 Inclusion - the social importance of Facebook and Google

The two above sections have underlined that there has been limited action taken by our respondents, and that they are dependent on Google and Facebook. Another consequence of these two points, is that it could potentially have social consequences if one were to quit using the services of Google and Facebook. The mere fact that it is hard, if not inconceivable, to imagine the internet without the services of Google and Facebook is important to consider in this way, since an opting out by users would mean losing a vital communication tool and a sphere of social interaction that cannot be replicated anywhere else to the same level (Jørgensen & Desai, 2017). In our survey, we asked our respondents to reflect on whether they would feel socially excluded if they deleted their social media accounts. The results are reported in Figure 6 sorted by age.

Figure 6: I would feel socially excluded if I did not use social media - sorted on age



There are a number of interesting findings in our results. First of all, it is clear that the answers to the question are quite dispersed, with many people agreeing, many people remaining neutral, and many people disagreeing with the statement. We interpret this dispersion to be driven not only by actually differing opinions on the importance of social media, but also by differing interpretations of what it means to be "socially excluded". Second, it is worth noting the differences in responses across age groups. For the younger generations, from 16 to 44, it is more than half of the respondents who agree or strongly agree that they would feel socially excluded if they didn't use social media. For the middle-aged and older generations, disagreement with the statement represents a larger share of the answers, but even in these age groups there are many people who arguably feel that social

inclusion is a reason to keep using social media. Especially amongst the oldest stratum, those with an age between 65-74, we observe a relatively higher amount agreeing with the statement. While we can only speculate as to why this is so, an explanation to this could be that this age group have left the labour market, and thus use social media to cover a larger part of their daily social interaction, compared to those age groups still actively employed. Another explanation in connection to this, could be that people in this age group use social media to keep in contact with their family, especially grandchildren, that are very present and social media. This was also elaborated by Interviewee 8, a 69-year-old retiree:

"*I have a (Facebook) profile, but I don't share it very much, other than with my children and grandchildren, to follow what they share - that is because what you are familiar with is what you care about. Especially at my age" - Interviewee 8, female, age 69*

That young people in particular would find it socially inhibiting to not be a part of social media, is hardly surprising. A number of international research papers (e.g. Gerson et al. 2016 and Montgomery 2015) have concluded that emerging adults devote more time to using social media than older generations, and particularly young people are seen as being online "almost constantly". Young people often experience social media as affecting how people see them, having adopted what some researchers call an outside-looking-in approach to how they express and see themselves (Dorsey 2016). Also, in a Danish context, research dating all the way back to 2012 has documented that social media platforms have become an integral part of social life, a trend that undoubtedly has increased rather than lessened since then (Sørensen 2012). Bearing this in mind, it is understandable when many of our respondents, across all age groups, state that they would indeed feel socially excluded if they didn't use social media. This sentiment was also expressed in our interviews, where it was not only our young interviewees who made comments about the social importance of social media:

"If I were to leave Facebook, then I would also have to leave the social interaction I have on there. That is really hard. It is almost impossible" - Interviewee 5, male, age 55

"If you remove [social media], then you also remove the social element. Then you might end up being forgotten. Like:" Where is [Interviewee 2]? Oh right, she doesn't have Facebook, so we forgot to invite her…" - Interviewee 2, female, age 26

"I have a Facebook profile, because otherwise you don't really exist in society" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

Particularly the last two quotes are extremely telling, in the sense that they clearly state a feeling or a fear that many may have about giving up social media: It is a very real fear that if you delete your Facebook, people will forget you, and thus you will cease to exist. That is a very intense and concrete existential concern, and it is likely that for many people this concern overshadows any form of concern about data privacy, and consequences of their data being collected.

Our survey question specifically mentions social media and provides examples of some of the services which Facebook owns. This is due to the fact that particularly Facebook has succeeded in establishing itself as the unavoidable platform for social engagement, communication and connectedness, not only through its Facebook platform, but also through Instagram and WhatsApp. Each of these social media platforms have billions of users worldwide who use the apps to interact with family, friends and strangers. However, despite our survey not specifically addressing them, one also shouldn't underestimate the importance of Google's platforms and services in a social context. YouTube provides entertainment and opportunities to connect with endless different communities (to more than 72% of our respondents). Google Drive and Photos facilitate document sharing and cooperation. Google Search has provided the answer to conclude many friendly arguments. And it seems almost prehistoric to provide a family member or a friend with specific and detailed directions for a meeting place or address - Google Maps provides directions. And as one of our interviewees points out, it can quickly become a habit to use Google in all kinds of everyday interactions:

"In reality it's not strictly necessary, but I am very much a Google person… if there is a question that comes up, then I go to Google and check it" - Interviewee 2, female, age 26

7.3.1 It can be hard to justify opting out of Google and Facebook's services

As we outlined previously in our first analysis when we investigated Ignorance in the Danish population, the consequences of choosing to allow e.g. Google and Facebook to collect and

use personal data, may be hard to fathom. In the social context this complexity and opaqueness in the operations of Google and Facebook take on a new importance. The difficulty in assessing the consequences, make it very hard to justify any resistance and opposition to these companies' services and products. And justifying the resistance may be important, because potentially the effects of not using the services of e.g. Google or Facebook, may not only apply to the person boycotting the services. The consequences may in fact extend to the various people that this person will interact with. Examples could be that suddenly the school paper could not be written collaboratively in Google Docs because one of the students was opposing the fact that Google would collect information about the content and authors of the paper. Or the photos from the recent family holiday could not be shared with everyone via Google Photos, because the privacy-conscious son-in-law preferred not to have Google's AI analyse and categorize the photos, and thus declined to upload them. In both these examples it is highly likely that this level of concern would raise an eyebrow with many people. And as one our interviewees pointed out to us, it can be seen as problematic to be too concerned about surveillance:

"I think you have to be careful about thinking too much about being surveilled. It's not a healthy way of thinking. How do people get when they think they are being watched? They get weird. The more you find of what you think is evidence that they are watching us, the weirder you are perceived to be, and the less people will listen to you" - Interviewee 1, female, age 33

This perspective from Interviewee 1 adds a whole other perspective to the discussion on the role of social inclusion in limiting the actual resistance and opposition towards the business models of Facebook and Google. By actively opposing Google and Facebook, you may run the risk of being seen as a Luddite who opposes technological progress and a more efficient future, or perhaps even a paranoid conspiracy theorist. Indeed, many people will probably just find it easier to quell their own concerns and worries on the topic, and to keep on using the services. When for example Interviewee 3, says:

"My friends either don't care about data collection, or they just joke a bit about it", Interviewee 3, male, age 19

It is an indication that it is not very prevalent to express serious concerns about privacy and data collection within his group of friends. Accordingly, it would surely feel like a lonely and risky prospect, if Interviewee 3 or one of his friends were to opt out and delete their social media presence or not use for example Google's services. If everyone is part of it, and if everyone uses these products, then it can seem foolish to try to avoid the data collection as an individual, let alone to try to actively oppose it. Thus, it is not only the fear of being forgotten that may limit the active opposition to accumulation and use of personal data, a fear of being judged or disapproved of, can potentially also limit the actual steps taken by some people.

7.4 Foreclosed Alternatives & Inevitability

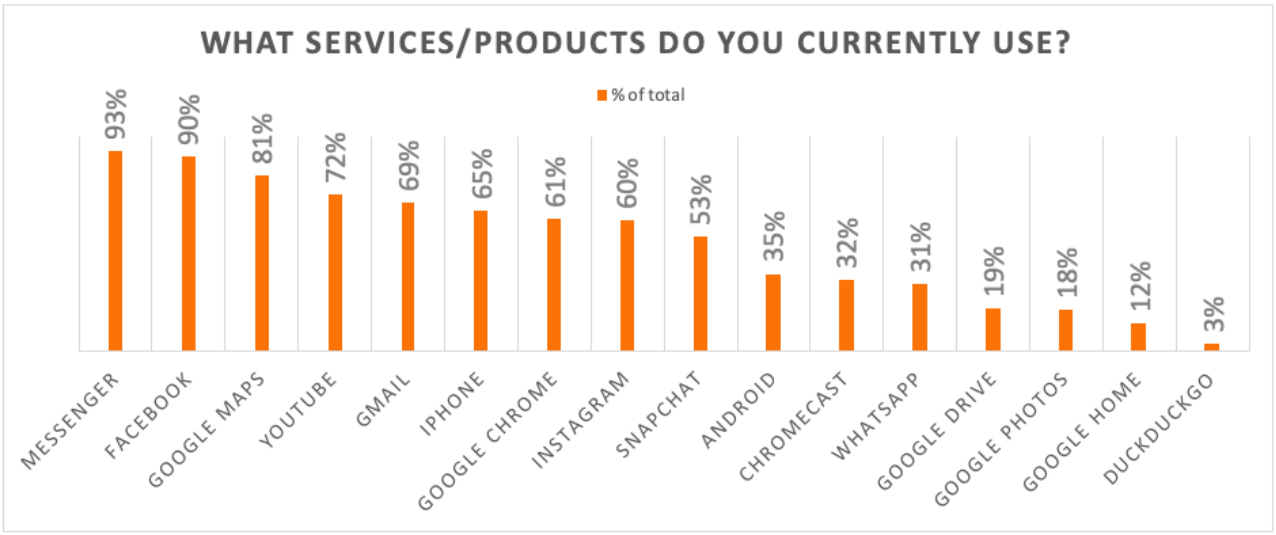
As we touched upon in the previous sections, the vast majority of Danes today use the services of companies associated with surveillance capitalism, especially from Google and Facebook. Thus, many people would need to change their habits to a large degree, if they were to replace all of these services with alternative services that do not rely on data gathering to create revenue. To do so, would require not only a lot of work as many use Google and Facebook not only for social purposes, but also for practical and essential services such as email servers, search engines, data storage and navigation. But it would also require obtaining knowledge in the first place about these alternative services, and their business models.

Alternatives do exist however. Such as the search engine DuckDuckGo that since 2008 has provided an alternative to Google Search, without tracking the searches of its users (DuckDuckGo 2020), or the alternative web browser Brave, that does not track you, and blocks all trackers and cookies on websites (Brave, 2020). Moreover, several alternatives also exist to filesharing, messaging apps, and social media. However, while changing your search engine or downloading a new browser does not significantly change the way in which you can access the internet, except for some features, switching to another social media or messaging platform will inevitably cause limitations.

Data from our survey show that alternatives have a limited role in most people's use of services however. Most of our respondents use a broad variety of services affiliated with

Google and Facebook. 93% of the respondents use Facebook Messenger, and 90% use Facebook. Moreover, over half of the respondents use the social media outlets Snapchat and Instagram. 69% use Gmail as their email server, and 81% use Google Maps. Only 3% of the respondents use the non-data gathering search engine alternative to Google Search, DuckDuckGo. And while they have sought an alternative internet search engine, all of the respondents that currently use DuckDuckGo, use at least 3 other services/products from Google or Facebook. 6 of the 7 respondents using DuckDuckGo, have an Android phone, a Facebook profile, and use Facebook Messenger - while they all use YouTube. Thus, they have either given up on finding alternatives to the other services they utilize, or, have not found the trade-off of switching all of their services to non-data gathering services/products to be beneficial.

Figure 7: What services do you currently use?



(Total respondents: 264)

However, with the rising popularity of applications such as the encrypted messaging platform Signal, that in 2018 got a $50 million investment from former WhatsApp co-founder Brian Acton (Greenberg 2018), more people might be tempted to switch away from

Messenger or WhatsApp in the near future. It is important to note however, that a messaging app in all likelihood is a lot easier to replace, than a multifaceted service offering as Facebook. Thus, it is understandable that an app such as Signal may gain some traction, while a social media alternative such as Diaspora may struggle to fully replace Facebook. Therefore, it is still doubtful that the majority of Danish users would start using an alternative platform only for the reason of it being more privacy oriented. There would need to also be considerable user traction, and attractive features and content in order to persuade users to change platforms.

This is because all social media and messaging platforms are reliant on the dynamics of positive network externalities (Frigato & Santos-Arteaga 2020; Cusumano et al., 2019), and therefore, joining a platform without previous user traction is hardly an attractive proposition to the majority of people. Moreover, as we covered in the previous section, many people who consider deleting their current social media profiles have a great fear of social exclusion. So, while a very small minority might find being a first-mover to a new social media platform or messaging app exciting, the vast majority of people will stick to what they already use, and where their social network currently resides. Thus, halting efforts to challenge the current data gathering social media and messaging platforms in existence, used by the majority of the survey respondents and the Danish population.

It would also require the Danish internet users to become more aware of the alternatives to the services and products of Google and Facebook in the first place, in order for a larger flow of users to immigrate to alternative platforms. And while some have already ventured in to the sphere of alternative non-data gathering services, we found that many of our interviewees have already stopped looking for alternatives:

"Previously I tried to switch to other platforms and services, but they just ended up becoming like the rest of them, and collect data" - Interviewee 5, male, age 55

And in general, we found that a lot of the interviewees in general felt like data gathering was inevitable:

"The question is, who would you rather have to collect your data. Not if it will be collected. Because you can't do anything about that. I simply don't think so. I mean, all data is collected" – Interviewee 7, male, age 37

"You can never be sure that your data is not sold on. It is an impossible market to check up on for an average person" - Interviewee 10, male, age 57

Based on the above, we conclude that a combination of a lack of effort to search for alternatives, and a lack of trust in alternatives being better than the current offerings, contribute to a general reluctance to switch to alternative platforms.

7.5 Summing up Analysis II: Digital Resignation is Strong

Summing up on the results we have documented in our second analysis, we can confidently assert that the concepts of Dependency, Inclusion and Foreclosed Alternatives from our theoretical framework all contribute to form significant challenges to resisting the data collection practices of Google and Facebook. Almost 60% of our survey respondents agree that they find it impossible to stop using Google and Facebook's services, and additionally there is a strong combination of a perceived lack of alternatives and inevitability of data collection - many of our interviewees were sceptical that other potential alternatives would not also just collect and use their personal data, and thus they did not find it worth the effort to switch to other services. Taken together, we find that these challenges all contribute to a strong feeling of digital resignation, allowing us to better understand why the majority of our survey respondents reported taking very limited, if any, actions to limit data gathering (Draper & Turow 2019).

8. Discussion of our research findings:

Our research has focused on two distinct but interrelated analyses. First, we investigated and analysed to what extent Danes are informed and concerned about how and why their personal data is being collected and used by Google and Facebook. Second, we analysed what the main challenges are for people in Denmark who want to challenge or resist this collection and use of personal data. From our perspective, this combination of these two analyses is beneficial because it allows for a more comprehensive and exhaustive account of both the relevance and the potential complications of the issue. In the following we will discuss what the main findings of our two analyses were, and how they, when brought together, serve as a useful guide to what the role of the Danish individual is when dealing with concerns about personal data privacy in Denmark. In other words, we will now discuss how our findings in our analysis can inform us about opinions and behaviours in the Danish population.

Overall, our first analysis makes it clear that the Danish population is in fact quite aware and concerned about increasing data accumulation and use. In our survey, +84% of our respondents view themselves as being at least somewhat concerned about the societal development of increasing data accumulation and use, and more than 48% report themselves as being afraid that their personal data may entail at least some personal consequences. These results hint at the fact that Danes have been at least somewhat influenced by the debate about personal data that has been ongoing over the last few years in both newspapers (Hansen & Andersen 2019) and various book publications (Wu 2016; Zuboff 2019; Flyverbom 2019), and it provides definitive evidence that our topic of inquiry is both highly relevant and important. Our second analysis in turn, does more than show that Danes are somewhat concerned about this topic. It shows a significant lack of individual action taken to address these concerns. Only 22% of our survey respondents report that they have actively taken steps to prevent data collection, and from our in-depth interviews we got the impression that it is generally perceived to be either difficult or impossible to take substantial individual action in order to prevent or limit data collection. In other words, there appears to be a considerable discrepancy between attitude on the one side and action on the other within the Danish population. By discussing how the findings of our two analyses support each other, we can however explain much of this discrepancy.

8.1 There is widespread scepticism when Danes are reflecting on data use

In our first analysis we not only wanted to uncover the extent of concern and potential for outrage in the Danish population related to data practices from Google and Facebook, we also wanted to better understand how they thought about these companies and their operations. In accordance with this, one of the reasons we outlined which could potentially explain the lack of action and resistance to data collection that we see in the Danish population, was Zuboff's concept of Social Persuasion - that people have been persuaded by e.g. Google and Facebook that the data collection is for their own good.

On this note, it is interesting that our research shows that social persuasion and an acceptance of the practices of Google and Facebook is not useful in explaining the (in)actions of large parts of the Danish population. 48% of our survey respondents disagreed that they preferred personally targeted advertisements, and perhaps more strikingly, only 15% actively agreed with the notion that the collection and use of their personal data was a fair trade-off in order for them to use the services of Google and Facebook free of charge. Taken together, our research and subsequent analysis leads us to reject Zuboff's proposed reason of Social Persuasion. Instead, our first analysis indicates to us that there is actually considerable dissatisfaction and thus also scope for opposition and resistance, towards this business model in Denmark. People generally do not buy the premise that the collection and use of their personal data is for their own good, rather they are actually quite concerned about it. Additionally, there is a distinct feeling among some people that both Google and Facebook are intentionally vague and secretive about how and why they use personal data. These findings from our research goes to show that even though the literature cite various forms of a "quid pro quo attitude" among users of Google and Facebook as a reason for a lack of resistance and action on part of individuals (Zuboff 2019; Colangelo & Maggiolino 2019), our research indicates that this is actually rejected by a majority of the Danish population. This again brings the relevance of our second analysis into play, since we want to understand what then inhibits personal resistance and opposition to this personal data collection and use that is deemed concerning.

8.2 A feeling of inevitability, dependency and foreclosed alternatives all contribute to digital resignation and a lack of resistance to data collection in Denmark:

Perhaps the most striking finding from our second analysis is the pervasiveness and explanatory power of the concept of "digital resignation" (Draper & Turow 2019), which we categorized as the interaction of a dependency, a lack of alternatives and feeling of inevitability (see our theoretical and analytical framework for more details).

In our survey, more than half of our respondents stated that they felt it was impossible to avoid using services which collect and use their data, and in many of our interviews a similar sentiment of 'Inevitability' was expressed. Our second analysis thus provides a better explanation than Social Persuasion to explain why we see a very limited level of personal action to limit data collection. Our research shows that within the Danish population, it is widely believed that accumulation and use of personal data in various forms is an unavoidable aspect of navigating the internet and using different services and applications - although the specifics of which data is collected, when and why, is not very clearly known (see next section). This inevitability attitude is partly a result of historical factors as well as various company tactics and identities being shaped around data accumulation for profit (Couldry & Mejias 2019; Zuboff 2019). Importantly however, our research also indicates that there is a strong sense of dependency and lack of alternatives that contribute to this feeling of inevitability.

Put succinctly, our research provides solid evidence that digital resignation is indeed quite widespread in Denmark. Our first analysis shows that many people are somewhat watchful and concerned about how their personal behaviour is being surveilled and rendered into data, but at the same time people have grown so used to the service offerings of both Google and Facebook, that they feel dependent on these two companies. Both in a professional, habitual and social sense. And while alternatives may exist, they require substantial effort

to make the transition, and often it appears impossible to completely escape the surveillance due to the multitude of services offered by both Google and Facebook. In fact, virtually all of our survey respondents reported that they used at least some services of either Google or Facebook. Even those expressing strongest concern and awareness and reported using privacy enhancing services such as the search engine DuckDuckGo, were to some extent using products and services which track user behaviour in order to build personal profiles and target advertisements (e.g. Gmail, Android or Instagram).

The importance of the services provided by Google and Facebook, and the feeling of dependency and a lack of viable alternatives was also highlighted in many of our interviews. Here, recurring themes were related to the unparalleled reach that Facebook's services provide and the habitualization of using Google's services to assist in making everyday decisions, such as which transportation to use, finding answers to various questions, enabling online collaboration and more. Our interviewees often made various remarks related to their choice of ignoring their concerns in order to keep on using the services which undeniably provides them with considerable utility. The combination of a feeling that data collection is inevitable and a strong dependency on services with no alternatives thus led our interviewees to disregard their concerns and not actively attempt to resist or prevent how data about them was collected and used. Based on these observations we have made both in our survey data and our interviews, we argue that the ultimate consequence of these observations is that a significant part of the Danish population can be designated as being "digitally resigned" (Draper & Turow 2019). Additionally, this arguably also shows that the three of Zuboff's reasons 'Dependency', 'Inevitability', and 'Foreclosed Alternatives' are very relevant and helpful in explaining how this digital resignation significantly inhibits any resistance to the increasing collection and use of personal data in Denmark. Firstly, because people feel that challenging and resisting current data practices is difficult if not impossible, and secondly because people feel that any personal recourse of action is unlikely to change anything in the big picture.

8.3 A lack of knowledge limits both levels of concern and scope for individual action

While our second analysis provided many tangible and concrete explanations for why individual action towards limiting data collection is limited, another salient explanation for why there are quite high levels of concern but low levels of personal action, is provided in our first analysis where we explored the relevance of Zuboff's concept of Ignorance (Zuboff 2019). To state it bluntly, our research provides evidence that there is considerable ignorance on the topic within the Danish population. 42% of our survey respondents directly answered that they felt that the debate about personal data was too complex to follow, and in both our survey and interviews we saw patterns that suggest that many people do not entirely understand where, and why data collection takes place, and what the consequences may be.

Specifically, our research shows that large parts of the Danish population do not meaningfully distinguish between the data practices of Google, Facebook, Microsoft and Apple despite the fact that these companies, as previously explained, have significantly different incentives to collect and use personal data. In fact, many of our respondents indicated that they believed that all four companies collected and used as much personal data as possible. This is a message which Tim Cook, CEO of Apple, undoubtedly would be displeased to hear, since he has in recent years very actively tried to distance Apple's operations from those of Google and Facebook, emphasizing that Apple respects privacy while Google and Facebook do not (Drozdiak & Bodoni 2018). This lack of distinguishing between companies, and an overall perception that data accumulation takes place in all companies is an indication that many people in Denmark have a relatively inexact picture of why data collection takes place, and why they should be worried.

Furthermore, our research also provided evidence that any potential for outrage, relevant for our first analysis, and also potential for individual action, relevant for our second analysis, is curbed by a limited understanding of the current regulation on data practices: E.g., 28% of our respondents disagree that GDPR has given them more control over how their data is being collected and used. This arguably shows a lack of understanding about

the content of the GDPR, since the GDPR is widely regarded as providing individuals with better opportunities to obtain knowledge about and control the collection and processing of their personal data (Kedzior 2019). Additionally, when we prompted our interviewees to explain what they knew about GDPR we received very wide-ranging and often not very accurate answers. Only two of our ten interviewees alluded to the GDPR's "right to be forgotten", potentially indicating that even though recent regulation has provided individuals with better tools to resist and prevent the collection of personal data about them, many within the Danish population remain un-knowledgeable about this and thus do not act to limit how their personal data is being collected and used.

What is important to note here in the discussion of our findings related to Ignorance or a lack of knowledge on the topic, is that while education matters somewhat for the extent of the lack of knowledge, it is widespread across educational segments. 42% of our respondents with a second-stage tertiary education agreed with the statement that GDPR had given them more control, compared with only 30% for the general population. And overall, a higher education led to less 'Neutral' responses to many of the questions related to the consequences of data collection, possibly indicating that these people are more informed on the topic, and thus to a greater extent have made up their mind about their attitude and opinion towards the data practices of e.g. Google and Facebook.

Overall therefore, based on our findings in both of our analyses, we find strong indications that large parts of the Danish population, across all educational levels and ages, would benefit from more information about why and how their personal data is being collected and used, and what the consequences may be of this. We argue that this will facilitate a more critical attitude towards current data practices within the Danish population, and we also find it plausible that it will lessen the perceived burden of taking individual action to prevent data collection. How this information would be best delivered lies beyond the scope of our two analyses, and we are therefore reluctant to recommend specific measures to be taken, but various school programs and informational campaigns aimed at the overall population seem appropriate to us.

8.4 The lack of tangible personal consequences related to data surveillance limits individual action

Related to the arguments we presented above about the widespread lack of knowledge about the data practices of Google and Facebook, our first analysis also considered our survey questions asking respondents to reflect on actual consequences of the surveillance and data flows. Here we noted that it was relatively few of our respondents (just above 25%) who stated that they were concerned about personal data as having an actual negative impact on their lives. Notably, this number is in great contrast to the more than 80% who stated that they were at least somewhat concerned about data collection at a societal level. Thus, we argue that because much of the concern and perceived negative effects are happening at the aggregate and societal level, e.g. worrying about a marginalizing of certain people or large-scale manipulation of people's political views, it is difficult to find the motivation to take individual action because the concern of many people is not related to the specific consequences it may have for them personally. This provides yet another interesting instance where our findings from our first analysis can help to better answer our inquiries of our second analysis. In other words, by uncovering the exact ways that people in Denmark think about the current data practices of Google and Facebook, we are also better able to provide an answer to what the challenges are in changing the status quo.

To reiterate, it is clear from our research that many Danish people in general recognize that increasing use of personal data can potentially have negative societal consequences, particularly the ability to use personal data for political purposes was a common concern. However, at the same time, it appears that many people believe that these consequences are negligible at the personal level. This makes it relevant for us to again draw on our concept of Ignorance from our theoretical and analytical framework, because it appears that there is a marked lack of reflection and "media literacy" (Gillespie 2018). E.g. It is striking to note that none of our interviews included reflections on the mediating, curating and ultimately influencing role that Google and Facebook play in the interviewee's life. Thus, while our survey indicates some level of concern related to how the online experience can be altered through the use of personal data, we found no strong indications that people actually consider that the platforms of Google and Facebook ultimately use a profile of personal data

to determine what and whom they see. We therefore tentatively conclude that the concerns about a distortion and shaping of perceived realities that are so widespread in the literature (see e.g. Turow 2011; Gillespie 2018 and Flyverbom 2019), are not shared by a majority of the Danish population.

We argue that this lack of critical reflection in turn ultimately limits and curtails both the concerns and actions of the Danish population, since few people can see how their use of Google and Facebook can have potentially negative consequences for them specifically. This leads to both Google and Facebook being perceived to be net positives for people. Google and Facebook help people to access information and to connect with friends and family, and this is definitely more tangible and concrete than reflections about how a particular News Feed can bias the perception of who one's closest friends are, what the latest fashion trends are or what the most important political issues are.

We argue that this pattern is completely understandable, since it is indeed very difficult to decipher, gauge and gain knowledge about the extent and the ways in which these platforms are shaping and influencing our realities. Nevertheless, it *is* a fact that our realities are shaped by Google and Facebook. One only has to consider the very considerable revenue streams these companies earn in Denmark and realize that these revenues practically all derive from them being able to change and modify behaviour, herding people towards viewing and clicking on specific content.

8.5 Many people delegate the responsibility of challenging current data practices to politicians

In our second analysis we pointed out that resistance and seeking out alternatives can be both time-consuming and inconvenient, and perhaps most importantly, that the actual impact of this individual action is likely to be very limited. With their billions of users, and with huge mountains of personal data, it is understandable to feel infinitesimally small and insignificant when it comes to quitting the services and to remove one's own data from their servers. Even if an individual deletes their Facebook and Google accounts, and even convinces their friends to do the same, it will arguably not impact the huge operations of

Google or Facebook in the slightest. Thus, even while our first analysis indicates that large parts of the Danish population feel dissatisfied with the pervasive monitoring that characterizes contemporary digital spaces, our second analysis indicates that many are also convinced that such surveillance is inescapable at the aggregate level, and that there is nothing they can do about it personally. As a consequence of this attitude of Inevitability, the potential for outrage within the Danish population is significantly limited. In this way, our answer to our second research question, that there are considerable challenges to resisting data practices at the individual level, also influences the answer to our first research question, because these perceived challenges make any potential for outrage a lot less likely.

We observe that a large majority of our sample size (75%), agree with the statement that there should be stronger regulation on what data companies can collect (see Table 6). We also observe that only 22% of our survey respondents report that they have actively taken steps to prevent data collection (see Table 17). In other words, our research indicates that the Danish population has taken on a rather passive role. Despite disagreements with the fact that it is happening, few people try to resist and oppose the extent to which their personal data is being collected, but concurrently they desire stronger regulation on the subject. In our interviews, a recurring theme was that people expressed that they saw most of the responsibility to change and challenge the current data-hungry operations of Google and Facebook as residing with politicians. In other words, the people we talked to felt that the only people who could meaningfully address the issues related to personal data were regulators and politicians. Whether or not people felt that regulators actually did a good job at tackling these issues is another matter, and it differed significantly across our interviews.

Due to the very strong patterns of digital resignation we see in our survey responses, we argue that significant parts of the Danish population have given up on actively doing something to oppose Google and Facebook. At the same time however, they support stronger regulation and express desires that more could be done to limit the extent of the data collection. These findings point to an interesting and potentially problematic tendency, where individuals delegate responsibility to politicians and regulators, while the politicians and regulators to a large extent have developed regulation which is only effective if there is an active effort made by individuals. This points to a need for one of two things: either individuals become further educated and convinced to take up the responsibility and play

an active part in limiting the data collection that is currently allowed, or else regulators will have to develop new regulation targeted at data companies such as Google and Facebook, where the effectiveness of the regulation does not rest on active individual involvement.

8.6 Social considerations play a key role in inhibiting action to prevent data accumulation

The final aspect of the findings in our research relates to our concept of Inclusion, and it bears considerable importance for answering both our first and second research question. At the offset of our research, we had a clear premonition that the social utility of particularly Facebook would inhibit any potential for outrage and resistance in the Danish population. And indeed, our survey clearly demonstrated that this was the case, with almost 50% of our respondents indicating that they would feel socially excluded if they were to delete e.g. their Facebook accounts (see Figure 6). Additionally, we received several accounts of the social importance of both Google and Facebook in our interviews. Google accounts are widely used on a multitude of other platforms and services, and some of our interviewees even went so far as to state that you practically do not exist if you are not on Facebook. Already with these observations, our research clearly demonstrates that any resistance and challenging of the practices of Google and Facebook is significantly curtailed by the perceived consequences that this resistance would have for people's social lives.

Another, and more surprising aspect of the role of social considerations in shaping behaviour and attitudes on data collection practices came from one of our interviewees however. She indicated that she felt that it was "not a healthy way of thinking" to feel surveilled and watched by Google and Facebook. In other words, she argued that some people's awareness and concerns about data accumulation and use may be exaggerated and irrational, and she advocated for a more pragmatic stance on the issue. This was a very interesting remark that we had not anticipated previously in our research, because it actually hints that any dissident to the practices of Google and Facebook may not only run the risk of feeling socially excluded as a consequence of not being on the same platforms as everyone else. In fact, they may also run the risk of being judged as a paranoid conspiracy theorist, who irrationally chooses to oppose these two companies. Thus, social considerations not

only provide a challenge to resistance, it can also limit the potential for outrage and dissatisfaction in the first place.

From this perspective, if the remark from our interviewee is not a unique one-off case but is actually shared by some parts of the population, it is conceivable that some people will feel necessitated to downplay their concerns about data accumulation and use in order to not seem “crazy”. Following these findings, we attempted to find empirical research that had investigated this dynamic, but we were only able to find small suggestions and anecdotal evidence that it is prevalent (Silverman 2017). Therefore, we argue that this could potentially be a fruitful avenue for further research. The classic cliché of the "tin foil hat" which has become associated with paranoia and conspiracy theories, also illustrates that there can be a social dynamic which makes overly privacy-oriented people a target for ridicule or perhaps just indifference.

In line with this social view of what concerns about personal data says about a person, a more common remark made in our interviews was the notion that “I have nothing to hide, so I am not too worried”. This of course taps into the Foucauldian literature on panoptic power, where an individual is less likely to break rules or norms, express themselves freely on social media, or even just search freely, if they believe they are being watched, even if they are not (Foucault 1977). We found strong evidence that the Danish population feel that data surveillance is inevitable, and we therefore argue that parallels to Foucault’s notion of a constant possibility of observation is applicable. Indeed, with the ubiquitous role of both Google and Facebook in large parts of the Danish population’s lives, and with the insatiable appetite for more data on personal behaviour that these companies demonstrate, we argue that it is becoming more and more appropriate to feel observed at any moment. Crucially however, parts of our research seem to indicate that a resistance and discomfort associated with this surveillance and observation can be interpreted as an admission of wrongdoing or deviant behaviour. As a consequence of this, we conclude our discussion of our research findings by noting that individual resistance toward surveillance may not only be curtailed by dependency, ignorance and a lack of alternatives. Significantly, action on part of the individual may therefore actually also be inhibited by a desire to be seen as “normal” and conforming to social norms.

9. Conclusion:

We started our thesis by noting that there is an increasing prevalence of collecting and using personal data for commercial gain. Our lives are continuously being rendered into various data points, and as we become more intertwined with technology in our everyday life, it becomes possible for the possessors of these data points to tell an increasingly accurate story about who we are and what we want, and to use these insights for commercial gain. In our literature review we demonstrated that this increasing collection and use of personal data for commercial gain has spurred growing concerns and criticisms from various experts, both academics (Zuboff, 2019) and business insiders (Lanier, 2018). Concerns which include but are not limited to consequences related to our privacy (Jørgensen, 2019), sense of free will (Yeung, 2018) and freedom from discrimination (O'Neil, 2016). In our research we wished to understand better how the Danish population reflects and thinks about these developments of increasing data collection and the ensuing criticism and concern from experts. Particularly we noted the importance of Google and Facebook within this data accumulation space, and thus we sought to answer the following two research questions:

To what extent is there dissatisfaction and a potential for outrage in the Danish population regarding the accumulation and use of personal data by Google and Facebook?

And

What are the main challenges for the Danish population to actively resist the accumulation and use of personal data by Google and Facebook?

Informed by a larger selection of literature, we chose to develop a theoretical and analytical framework based on contributions made by leading scholars within the field of data surveillance, namely Zuboff (2019) and Draper & Turow (2019). Our theoretical and analytical framework then allowed us to narrow down our inquiries and to focus on how the Individual Needs and the Individual Knowledge of Danish citizens together form considerable barriers to firstly completely understand, and secondly oppose, the data practices of the two internet giants Google and Facebook. Through our primary research, conducted with both a quantitative survey with 268 respondents, and 10 in-depth interviews

with a wide variety of people, we are able to demonstrate how large parts of the Danish population are actually quite concerned and dissatisfied with the collection and use of personal data. But at the same time, we also demonstrate that they face considerable challenges in actively resisting the accumulation and use of their personal data. Both Google and Facebook have acquired a very important role in many people's lives, and it is common to feel dependent on the services they provide. And while we found that there is limited evidence that social persuasion has softened the Danish population to accept the trade-off of free services in exchange for personal data, we did find considerable uncertainty and ignorance in terms of their ability to identify which companies collect and use their personal data the most. This uncertainty then in turn contributes to a widespread perception that it is near-impossible to avoid tracking and logging of one's personal data, confirming the relevance of Zuboff's stated reason of narrative of inevitability. An additional challenge to resist data practices our research demonstrates, is that it will in many cases have social consequences if one was to actively resist the data surveillance (by e.g. deleting one's accounts).

Ultimately our research strongly indicates that many Danes feel quite powerless to act, and that despite prevalent dissatisfaction with extensive personal data collection, the potential for outrage and resistance is very limited due to the consequences which any outrage and resistance are perceived to entail. Instead of outrage however, there is a pronounced expectation among the Danish population that there should be stricter regulation enforced in order to limit data collection going forward. Our research thus finds that Danish individuals often delegate the responsibility to deal with problems of data surveillance to politicians and regulators.

While we are confident that the findings of our research will be useful for anyone wishing to better understand how people in Denmark are thinking about and dealing with the data accumulation and use of Google and Facebook, we also acknowledge that our research has certain limitations. In this conclusion we want to briefly address these limitations, and also provide a justification for why we do not see them as deterring significantly from the contribution of our research.

Firstly, as we noted in the section detailing our methodology, we realize that our primary research is inherently limited in its generalizability due to our relatively small samples of survey respondents and interviewees respectively. With only 268 respondents, and a somewhat skewed distribution compared to the population proportion, we acknowledge that the survey results we have obtained are unlikely to represent the opinions and attitudes of the whole Danish population with complete accuracy. Specifically, we have a sample that is younger, more highly educated than the population, and predominantly sampled from Zealand rather than the whole country. This can bias our results somewhat, and that is also why we have been careful in our thesis to only make more general claims about the Danish population when we see very pronounced patterns and large differences in responses to various questions. Nevertheless, while our research results cannot provide definite certainty when extrapolating our results to the whole population, it definitely contributes with strong indications about how the Danish population thinks and acts on this topic.

Similarly, we recognize that our limited sample of interviewees in no way encompasses the whole spectrum of reflections and opinions which can be found in the Danish population related to this subject matter. However, we do believe that our interviewees helped tremendously in expounding and elaborating on the results we found in our survey, and that they constitute important support for the conclusions we have arrived at in our thesis. So, while we may not have managed to capture all important nuances and perspectives on this complicated subject matter, we feel confident in asserting that we have brought interesting and relevant reflections to light. These reflections can then be used to direct more efforts into further understanding the patterns we observe, or to perhaps ameliorate some of the challenges we have identified that the Danish population are facing with respect to resisting the pervasive data surveillance of Google and Facebook.

Finally, we want to finish our conclusion by acknowledging that our thesis draws heavily from a theoretical underpinning in Zuboff's (2019) criticism of surveillance capitalism, and that this theoretical underpinning in turn provides a particular lens through which we look at the operations of Google and Facebook as well as how we interpret our results about the opinions and behaviours of the Danish population.

Fundamentally, Zuboff's criticism is a criticism levied at the neoliberal paradigm of maximizing profit and efficiency at all costs. This criticism is certainly not shared by all, and we admit that sometimes it has even been hard for us to draw the line of when private data collection and use is beneficial and justified and when it is not. One could easily argue that both Google and Facebook's capabilities to deliver targeted ads that work, is actually of great benefit to society. It enables new entrepreneurs to reach a relevant audience for their products, it encourages more consumption and therefore also growth to the entire world economy. Thus, one could argue that there is nothing wrong with Google and Facebook knowing what we want. In fact, it is a good thing: they know what we want, so they can show it to us and then we can purchase it. Making both ourselves, the seller of the product and the deliverer of the ad, better off. Not to mention that they provide countless services free of charge. Services which we are all dependent on for various reasons as we explain and uncover in our analysis.

However, we encourage the reader to look back at our literature review where we detail various concerns and problems related to an overreliance on personal data as a business model. In the continuous hunt for more personal data to build personal profiles and understand human behaviour so that advertisements can be more precisely targeted, it appears that fundamental privacy barriers have been broken down. And the same goes for when we write emails or other messages, or just about anytime we use the internet. We are being watched, and we are being analysed. There are a multitude of reasons for why we do not believe this surveillance and continuous analysing is not sustainable and we find strong indications in our research that the vast majority of the Danish population also do not find this acceptable. This is good news, for as Zuboff remarks in her book:

"*The greatest danger is that we come to feel at home in glass life or in the prospect of hiding from it.* "(Zuboff 2019, p. 460)

10. Further perspectives:

To finish our paper, we will in this section shed light on other interesting perspectives and issues pertaining to the debate of data collection and use in Denmark. As we are aware of the complexity of this topic, we recognize that we in this thesis have only been able to touch upon a limited scope of the vast array of factors influencing and driving the industry of data processing. However, this section serves the purpose of exploring other areas that we believe to be merited for further analysis.

10.1 The role played by Google and Facebook

Throughout our thesis, we have focused on the micro-level of analysis, but as we noted in our theoretical and analytical framework, there are significant factors at work at the meso and macro level as well. These levels of analysis also merit some attention, in order to bring the findings of our research into a more comprehensive and holistic perspective. Firstly, we have throughout the thesis dealt with Facebook and Google as more or less static in our analysis - that is, we have not thoroughly investigated the ways in which their tactics and identities shape the issues of Individual Knowledge and Individual Needs.

While we in our survey have asked our respondents to consider their level of trust towards Facebook and Google, and to what degree they believe the two companies will contribute to a positive future for consumers, we do not focus our analysis on how the public identity and the strategy of the companies have shaped the opinions of our respondents. Both Facebook and Google's corporate culture and identity have changed a lot from the time they were founded. In recent times, both companies chose to change their internal motto. Facebook replaced their old motto of "move fast and break things" in 2014, to the more pragmatic "move fast with stable infrastructure" (Statt, 2014). Similarly, Google slightly changed their motto from "don't be evil" to "do the right thing" in 2018 (Conger, 2018). While these two alterations both were supposed to be an attestation to the progress and maturity the two companies have reached, it is also an expression of how the companies want to be portrayed by the public: as corporations with the philanthropic goal of making the world a better place.

Google has always excelled at both claiming and convincing consumers into believing that they really do work for a better world for their users and the results of our survey also showed that our respondents trust Google the most. In their founders IPO letter from 2004, Page and Brin stated that: "*We believe strongly that in the long term, we will be better served—as shareholders and in all other ways—by a company that does good things for the world even if we forgo some short-term gains. This is an important aspect of our culture and is broadly shared within the company*" (Page & Brin, 2004).

Their quest for "doing good things for the world" has led Google to numerous acquisitions, e.g. purchasing AI company DeepMind. By combining the personal data harvested from its users with industry-leading artificial intelligence, both Google and Facebook are increasingly expanding their dominance in our everyday interactions, and many speculate that we are only at the beginning. Self-driving cars, new digital currencies, augmented reality glasses (and eventually contact lenses), various robot technologies, and a research and development company aimed at slowing or even preventing aging are some of the announced efforts that these two companies are attempting to branch into. There is no doubt that the AI and technological capabilities within these companies combined with their extraordinary financial power, positions them at the front of the race to shape and define our future. And while our thesis has contributed in understanding the impression our respondents have of the two companies today, it is beyond the scope to conclude what the future of Google and Facebook entails. But we argue that it will undoubtedly have significant ramifications for all of our lives, especially if they are not regulated sufficiently.

10.2 Regulating Google and Facebook

Both companies are to a large degree dependent on legislation being as non-intrusive to their business model as possible. And if their current modus operandi of data extraction were to be outlawed, there would be no way for the companies to monetize the majority of their business model (Zuboff 2019). Therefore, the companies have combined spent an estimated $42 million on lobbying in Washington D.C and Brussels in 2019 alone, according to Transparency International and opensecrets.org, placing them among some of the top lobbying spenders (Cavallone, 2020; Opensecrets.org, 2020a, Opensecrets.org, 2020b).

At the writing of this thesis, to the best of our understanding, it seems as if no legislative efforts have efficiently limited the modus operandi of Google nor Facebook. Due to the inherently opaque nature of lobbyism, there is no way of saying with any form of certainty, if this can be ascribed to the large amount of resources the two companies have invested over time to influence this.
However, even after the toughest data privacy law in the world, the GDPR, was passed, Google and Facebook were still largely able to continue without changing much of their business model. As we described in our GDPR section, the premise of the law is to a large degree based on the action of the individual giving their consent to having their data gathered or not. This means that the responsibility of processing and assessing the consequences of the privacy policies of the companies adheres to the user, before ultimately deciding whether or not to consent to these. However, a prerequisite for this to be an efficient way of ultimately giving the consumers a choice to make a rational decision, is the ability to understand and have the time to read these often-extensive pieces of legal paper. As an example of how excessive this task is, a Norwegian campaign group in 2016 established that it takes 32 hours to just read the terms and conditions of 33 representative smartphone apps, which is the average number of apps Norwegians have on their phones. Actually, comprehending what these policies entail, is then added to that effort (Ooijen & Vrabec 2019). Moreover, while GDPR has made it mandatory for companies to provide easily comprehensive overviews of their data privacy policies, the current European privacy policy for Google written in Danish, is 31 pages long. Furthermore, changes regularly occur to this policy - up to four times a year (Google, 2020g).

While we in our survey did not ask people whether or not they read the privacy policies of the services they use, we feel certain in asserting that for many, this is an overwhelming task. And while GDPR has put forward certain legal requirements for companies to clearly communicate these policies when they ask for the users consent to gather and process their data, our survey did reflect that the majority of our respondents have a wish for stronger regulation when it comes to data gathering. Moreover, we found, especially through our interviews, that many of our respondents have a hard time considering what GDPR actually has achieved in regard to increased user protection. And one common point brought forward by our interviewees, was that limiting and protecting consumers from excessive data gathering and processing, ultimately was not something they felt like was a manageable task

for the individual. Rather, the general answer to this issue, was that this should be the responsibility of some form of political or state authority. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to demarcate the responsibilities of political regulators and individual consumers respectively, we do feel confident in asserting that based on the complexity of the subject, and the responses of our respondents and interviewees, it is a key take away that it is problematic to delegate much of the responsibility to the individual.

10.3 Depoliticization

Beyond the direct efforts of Google and Facebook to lobby and limit regulations on personal data regulation, another interesting point of inquiry could be to look at the strategies employed by both companies to depoliticize the issue as much as possible. This depoliticization refers to the companies arguing that personal data privacy is a question for the individual to handle. Assuring legislators and users that they provide services for the users which ensures "[…] *you quick access to settings and tools that let you safeguard your data and protect your privacy"* (Google, 2020h).

We cannot prove or conclude that Google and Facebook deliberately design their services and privacy policies to confuse or exhaust users from pursuing less data gathering and processing, although this is definitely merited for further analysis. However, we can conclude that the majority of our interviewees see no alternative than to just accept that nothing much can be done about this and have given up on finding ways of limiting these processes. And while Google and Facebook can claim that their new "privacy enhancing initiatives" has made it easier for consumers to make an informed choice as to whether or not to accept the policies of specific platforms and services, our research shows that large parts of the Danish population find it impossible to stop using these services or restrict their data collection. However, we acknowledge that our findings will not necessarily be the same if similar research was conducted in another national and cultural context. Denmark is a welfare state, with a well-functioning justice system, high levels of trust in both officials and other citizens, and the Danish population generally does not have to worry about the direct consequences of data surveillance to the same extent as other nationalities may have to. E.g. the perils of mass surveillance may be more apparent for a Chinese dissident to the communist regime, or for that matter an American citizen who is without health insurance

and whose browsing habits demonstrate that he has diabetes. In general, however, we do find it likely that many of the challenges we identified for individuals in attempting to resist and oppose the current data practices of Google and Facebook will also be applicable, if not more intense, in other countries. Considering that resisting these data practices may be even more important in other countries with more inequality and discrimination (Yeung 2018), this only leads us to encourage further research and inquiry into what the challenges may be in other countries as well. For our purposes though, we must conclude that our thesis has focused entirely on the Danish context, and that any generalization and application of our findings on attitudes and behaviour to an international context should be done with the utmost care.

Considering that signs of digital resignation arguably can be found amongst large parts of the Danish population as documented by our research, it would therefore be interesting to further look into the role of the two companies in spurring and nurturing this resignation. Currently, we cannot prove that this prevalent digital resignation is partly due to any direct efforts of Google and Facebook. However, we can conclude that it is to the benefit of Google and Facebook to keep their users digitally resigned (Zuboff, 2019; Draper & Turow, 2019). It would therefore be interesting to further study if this is the case, and if it is, what effective actions Google and Facebook have done to achieve digital resignation amongst their users.

10.4 Conflict of interest at the macro level

From the macro level perspective, states, including Denmark, can have several conflicts of interest when it comes to legislating against the processing and collection of personal data. Although it is not within the scope of our research to assess all of these, we will bring forward some of the more prevalent topics covered in other literature. First and foremost, any legislative measure against Google or Facebook would, as aforementioned, be detrimental to the business model of these two companies. However, tougher data laws will also have consequences for all other companies handling data in any way, including smaller and medium sized companies. Therefore, new legislation could have a negative effect on the overall economic growth. Although it is too soon to predict the long-term effects of the GDPR, several studies have shown that the law has had an immediate negative economic

effect across many sectors. Research has linked the GDPR to large negative impacts on everything from both the European mergers and acquisition markets (Datasite, 2018), to decreasing venture capital investments in European technology start-ups (Jia, Jin & Wagman, 2019). Moreover, the enforcement of new legislation can also be costly for states. As we briefly mentioned in our "current legislation" section, GDPR has been suffering under inefficient enforcement, due to lack of resources from member states in supervising authorities. Legislators therefore face a trade-off between halting some economic progress in certain sectors and potentially developing laws with undesirable effects and enforcing stronger laws on data privacy.

Perhaps more importantly, the data gathered by Google, Facebook, and other large tech corporations, have served as a useful tool in a matter of different subjects concerning state agencies and government affairs. The usefulness of data tracking to prevent terror became apparent to US investigative agencies in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks and has since served as a crucial tool for investigators all over the world (Zuboff, 2019). In 2018, four of the largest tech corporations, Microsoft, Twitter, Google and Facebook announced that they were forming the Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism (GIFCT) as an industry-led initiative to help government agencies to discover online radical activity and step up measures to block these activities from their platforms (Macdonald, 2018). Interestingly, during the current Covid-19 crisis, Google has eagerly positioned themselves in a position to aid local public health authorities by releasing community mobility reports based on aggregated location data from Google Maps. These reports have been able to assist authorities in understanding the changing behaviours of citizens, in response to policies meant to combat the spread of the virus (Google, 2020i). Thus, these companies have through various initiatives due to their immense collective online reach, been able to provide governments with critical knowledge based on their extensive access to user data. Should new legislation be enforced that limits this data access for the companies, the companies would potentially no longer be able to provide this information.

Data have become and will likely in the future become even more prevalent and influential in our societies. And as with the promising initiatives Google has launched during the Covid-19 crisis, the collection and processing of data can have a great impact in aiding government authorities to impose more efficient solutions in crisis situations. Although, this definitely

also raises the question of whether or not these critical resources should be at the hand of private companies, positioning the governments in a position of dependency of the services of these tech-companies.

However, as our analysis has shown, there is an underlying discomfort and silent resistance in the way these services, tools and platforms have become monetized. And thus, also ground for questioning whether these business models should persist in their current form. Many however, find it difficult to see how their actions, both individually and on a collective level, can alter the direction of where this industry of data processing is headed. This is the consequence of digital resignation. And while the potential for astonishment and outrage asked for by Zuboff (2019) seems unlikely among our respondents, this silent concern, and the call for stronger regulation, indicates that there is support for change.

10.5 Where should this lead to?

Should the politicians choose to act on this support, several potential legislative actions and other paths have been proposed by advocates for change on this subject. It is not within the scope of this thesis to bring forward the extensive literature on this, nor conclude or suggest any concrete solutions to how legislators or individuals should act on this issue. We can however conclude that the subject has drawn a lot of attention from both media and legislators in recent years, and at the time of writing this thesis.

Particularly from the perspective of competition law, there has been a critique of the ability of dominant companies like Facebook and Google to freely acquire competitors. For Facebook this has been relevant with the acquisitions of WhatsApp and Instagram, but Google notably also makes large numbers of acquisitions, including road navigation app Waze, and the most recent acquisition of health-smartwatch Fitbit which is still pending approval. By being allowed to make these acquisitions, the companies not only increase their market power, most importantly they broaden their scope for acquiring even more data. It should therefore be acknowledged that the economics of data favours market concentration and dominance, and that new legislation should try to counter these dynamics. Stucke & Grune warns that relying on data privacy laws without enforcing new competition laws will

result in that: "*Individuals will continue to struggle with the imbalance of power that yields take-it-or-leave-it privacy notices that few people can afford to leave, if they wish to connect with friends and family. If the market power is left unchecked, the privacy harms will go straight to our democratic ideals of a loss of autonomy and freedom"* (Stucke & Grune, 2015, p. 336).

Many actors have suggested other and similar measures for how data privacy can be enhanced, and how users can regain control over their data. Some, like Zuboff (2019), have questioned the very premise of personal data collection and processing, arguing that other means for delivering the services of Google and Facebook and the like exists. Others, like Lanier (2018) challenge the monetization of search engines and social media arguing that paid services without ads, would fundamentally change the business model of data capitalism into a more user-centric one, as seen with streaming services such as HBO and Netflix. What the optimal solution is we are unable to say, but what we can conclude is that legislators and academia should continue the work to bring forward new solutions on the subject if they wish to act upon the support for change we have identified among our respondents.

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Appendix

Appendix 1 - General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) Chapter 3

Source: Voigt, Paul & von dem Bussche, Axel (2017). The EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) - A Practical Guide.

1. The right to be informed. Similar to when the individual gives her or his right to having their data processed, the individual has a right to know at all times what data will be collected and how it is being used. Moreover, the individual should be informed about how long the data is being stored, and whether the data will be shared with 3rd parties. This information must be communicated in concise and plain language.

2. The right of access. Individuals must be able to obtain a copy of all personal data concerning them held by an entity by submitting a request. The entity then has one month to produce this information, and hand It over to the individual. There are however some limited exemptions to this.

3. Right to rectification. If it is discovered by an individual that personal data concerning them held by an entity is inaccurate or incomplete, they have the right to get this data rectified. As with the right to access, entities have one month to update the data, with the same limited exemptions applied.

4. The right to be forgotten. Individuals can at all times require an entity to delete all data concerning them. This could be in the case of the data no longer being necessary for the entity to process, the data being unlawfully processed, or by the individual acting on their right to withdraw their consent.

5. The right to restrict processing. This right serves as an alternative to the right to be forgotten, by giving the individual the right to limit the way in which an entity is

processing their data. This could be in the case that an individual challenges the accuracy of the data concerning them, or when the individual no longer has a purpose for the entity to process the data, but the entity requires the data to exercise or defend a legal claim.

6. The right of data portability. Individuals have the right to obtain the data concerning them and utilize it wherever they see fit. This could be by transferring all of their data to another service.

7. The right to object. Individuals have a right to challenge the processing of data concerning them, where after the data processing entity must stop processing their data. Unless the entity can prove that they have compelling legitimate reasons for doing so, or the data is being processed due to the exercise of legal claims.

8. Rights in relation to automated decision making and profiling. The GDPR contains strict rules and provisions for processing of data leading to decisions made about individuals without human interference. The individual has rights to contest and request a review of this process, to ensure these rules are being followed.

Appendix 2 - 10 excluded reasons from Zuboff

In the table below we provide a brief description of the remaining 10 reasons from Zuboff (2019), which we excluded from our theoretical and analytical framework.

Zuboff's Reason	**Description**	**Category**
Unprecedented	Most people did not resist the early invasions of Google and Facebook, because it was impossible to recognize the difference of these companies from anything that had gone before. The basic operational mechanisms and business practices were so new and strange that people were not prepared.	Historical and Technological Context
Historical Context	Surveillance capitalism was birthed in a political economy characterized by neoliberalism - thus few limits were imposed on corporate practices. In a parallel development, the "war on terror" shifted the government's attention from privacy legislation to an urgent interest in the rapidly developing skills and technologies of rising surveillance capitalists.	Historical and Technological Context
Velocity:	Surveillance capitalism rose from invention to domination in record time. The rapid innovation and growth has also allowed a specific strategy in which velocity is consciously used to paralyze awareness and freeze resistance while distracting us with immediate gratifications. In short it is hard to shoot (or regulate) a moving target.	Historical and Technological Context
Self-Interest:	The products of Google and Facebook make it possible to shape future behavior. This gives rise to networks of partners and collaborators who benefit from this behavior modification. The restaurant on Google Maps, the fashion retailer advertising on Facebook, and the insurance companies looking for behavioral data, all unite in the race toward more personal data accumulation.	Company Identity
Identification:	Surveillance capitalists aggressively present themselves as heroic entrepreneurs. Many people identify with and admire the financial success and popularity of the surveillance capitalists and regard them as role models.	Company Identity
Authority:	Many regard both Google and Facebook as authorities on the future: their leaders are successful and smart, and can see farther than the rest of us. And,	Company Identity

	the thinking goes according to Zuboff, because the companies are successful, they must also be right.	
The Ideology of Human Frailty:	Surveillance capitalism is characterized by an ideology of human frailty, a worldview that frames human behavior as irrational and likely to make mistakes and errors. Surveillance capitalists employ this ideology to legitimate their means of behavior modification: tuning, herding, and conditioning individuals and populations in hidden ways.	Company Identity
Declaration as Invasion	"Google learned the art of invasion by declaration, taking what it wanted and calling it theirs" (Zuboff 2019, p. 321). Because they were the first to arrive at the new territory of personal advertising, Google and Facebook were allowed to take user experience and transform it into data, to claim ownership of and decisions over the uses of those data, and to insist on the lack of regulation required for these operations.	Company Tactics
Fortifications:	Google and Facebook have aggressively protected their operations by establishing their usefulness in the electoral process, by forming strong relationships with elected and appointed officials, and through high lobbying expenditures, and cultural influence.	Company Tactics
The Dispossession Cycle:	First at Google and later at Facebook and other firms, surveillance capitalist firms have made far-reaching incursions to accumulate data until resistance is met. Then they follow a range of tactics from elaborate public relations efforts to legal combat, all designed to buy time for gradual habituation to once-outrageous facts. The companies then proceed to make public demonstrations of adaptability, while in the final stage resources are redirected to achieve the same objectives camouflaged by new rhetoric and tactics. This is the dispossession cycle.	Company Tactics

Appendix 3 - Our full survey (In Danish)

Default Question Block

Spørgeskemaet er udarbejdet i forbindelse med vores specialeafhandling på CBS, hvor vi ønsker at undersøge danskernes forhold til den data der bliver afgivet når man bruger internettet. Spørgeskemaet tager cirka 3-5 minutter at udfylde.

Alle dine svar vil være anonyme, og dine oplysninger vil blive behandlet fortroligt. Vi tager kun videre kontakt til dig hvis du udfylder kontaktformularen efter spørgskemaet er udfyldt.

Tusind tak for din hjælp!

Hvad er din alder?

I hvilket postnummer bor du?

Hvad er dit uddannelsesniveau?

Hvad er din årlige indkomst før skat?

Hvilke af disse produkter og tjenester bruger du?

Produkter

- [ ] Iphone
- [ ] Android telefon
- [ ] Google Home
- [ ] Chromecast

Sociale medier

- [ ] Instagram
- [ ] Facebook
- [ ] Snapchat

Apps

- [ ] Youtube
- [ ] Messenger
- [ ] WhatsApp
- [ ] Google Maps
- [ ] Google Drive
- [ ] Google Photos
- [ ] Gmail
- [ ] DuckDuckGo
- [ ] Google Chrome

Hvor bevidst er du om "digitale fodspor" såsom cookies, lokation, søgehistorik mv. når du bruger internettet?

Ikke bevidst	Lidt bevidst	Meget bevidst
○	○	○

I hvor høj grad er du bekymret for samfundsudviklingen i forbindelse med virksomheders stigende indsamling og brug af persondata?

Ikke bekymret	Lidt bekymret	Meget bekymret
○	○	○

Hvor bekymret er du personligt for de nedenstående ting?

	Ikke bekymret 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Meget bekymret 10
Klimaforandringer og effekten heraf											
Indvandring og integration											
Cyberangreb											
En ny finanskrise											
Indsamling og brug af persondata											

I hvor høj grad vurderer du at de følgende firmaer indsamler og bruger dine persondata?

	Indsamler og bruger ikke 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Indsamler og bruger meget 10
Google											
Facebook											
Microsoft											
Apple											

Hvor meget stoler du på de nævnte firmaer?

	Stoler ikke på	Stoler lidt på	Stoler meget på	Ved ikke
Google	○	○	○	○
Facebook	○	○	○	○
Microsoft	○	○	○	○
Apple	○	○	○	○

I hvor høj grad føler du de nedenstående virksomheder bidrager til en positiv fremtid for forbrugere?

	I mindre grad	I nogen grad	I høj grad	Ved ikke
Facebook	○	○	○	○
Google	○	○	○	○
Microsoft	○	○	○	○
Apple	○	○	○	○

Hvor enig er du i følgende udsagn:

	Meget uenig	Uenig	Neutral	Enig	Meget enig
"Jeg finder det umuligt at skulle stoppe med at bruge Facebook, Google, og andre online services der indsamler min persondata"	○	○	○	○	○
"Det er en fair byttehandel at jeg giver min persondata for at få adgang til gratis digitale produkter og serviceydelser såsom Facebook og Gmail"	○	○	○	○	○
"Jeg foretrækker personligt tilpassede og relevante reklamer på nettet"	○	○	○	○	○
"Jeg ville føle mig socialt udenfor hvis jeg ikke brugte sociale medier (eksempel: Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat)"	○	○	○	○	○
"Der burde være strengere regler for hvilke persondata virksomheder kan indsamle og bruge"	○	○	○	○	○
"Jeg føler at den offentlige debat (eksperter, politikere og medier) om persondata er for kompleks og uoverskuelig"	○	○	○	○	○

	Meget uenig	Uenig	Neutral	Enig	Meget enig
"Jeg er bange for at den persondata jeg afgiver påvirker mine muligheder på nettet (eksempel: få vist en højere pris på en online butik)"	○	○	○	○	○
"GDPR (persondataforordningen) har givet mig mere kontrol over hvordan min persondata indsamles og bruges"	○	○	○	○	○
"Jeg er bange for at den persondata jeg afgiver kan få en negativ effekt på mit liv (eksempel: ikke få godkendt et lån i banken)"	○	○	○	○	○
"Jeg har gjort noget aktivt for at begrænse virksomheders indsamling af min persondata på nettet (eksempel: slettet min Facebook profil)"	○	○	○	○	○

Hvis du har lyst til at deltage i et fokusinterview på et senere tidspunkt, så venligst udfyld navn og email herunder.

Navn

E-mail

Powered by Qualtrics

Appendix 4 - Interview Guide (in Danish):

Spørgsmål vedr. potentiale for outrage:

- Hvad tænker du når vi siger personlig data - hvad er personlig data for dig?
- Kan du forsøge at beskrive hvordan du opfatter at Google og Facebook tjener penge?
- Hvorfor tror du at der er så stor interesse i at skaffe data for firmaer i disse tider?
- Hvornår, hvis nogensinde, tænker du særligt over, at du afgiver dine personlige data?
- Har du nogensinde gjort noget aktivt for at begrænse den data du afgiver?
- Har du overvejet at købe en smart-højtaler? Smart-støvsuger? Smart-watch? Hvorfor, hvorfor ikke?
- Hvor ser du Google om 5 år? Facebook?
- Ift. vores survey spurgte vi hvilke firmaer du stoler på - kan du uddybe det?
- Hvem ejer YouTube? Hvem ejer WhatsApp? Instagram?
- Hvor går grænsen for indsamling og brug af personlig data?

Spørgsmål vedr. udfordringer for modstand

- Kunne du forestille dig at slette din Facebook, skifte til en anden søgemaskine, email osv.?

- Kan du nævne nogle forskellige tjenester der ville kunne erstatte Facebook? Gmail? Google Search? Google Maps? Instagram?

- Hvem mener du har ansvaret for at dataindsamling ikke går for vidt?

- Ville du være villig til at betale for at undgå indsamlingen af persondata?

- Hvad ved du om GDPR?

- Hvad er dit indtryk din omgangskreds tænker om dataindsamling?

Appendix 4 continued - Interview guide english translation

Questions considering potential for outrage:

- What do you think when we say personal data - what is personal data to you?
- Can you try and explain your understanding of how Google and Facebook earns money?
- Why do you think there is such a big interest in collecting data from these companies?
- When, if ever, do you especially think about that you are giving away your data?
- Have you ever done something actively to limit the data you give?
- Have you ever considered buying a smart speaker? Or smartwatch? Why? Why not?
- Where do you see Google and Facebook in 5 years?
- In our survey we asked you what companies you trust - can you elaborate on that?
- Who owns Youtube? Who owns WhatsApp? Instagram?
- Where's the limit for collecting and use of personal data?

Questions considering potential for resistance

- Could you imagine deleting your Facebook? Use another search engine, email server, etc.?
- Could you mention services that could replace Facebook? Gmail? Google Search? Google Maps? Instagram?

- Who has the responsibility for data collection not becoming too extensive?
- Would you be willing to pay in order to avoid data gathering?
- What do you know about the GDPR?
- What is your impression of what your friends think about data collection?

Appendix 5 - all interview quotes used in thesis, sorted after interviewee

Interviewee 1, Female, 33 years:

"*I generally don't see my search history and things like that as personal data. It can be annoying to get bombarded with advertisements, but it's not something that I think is too much", Interviewee 1, 33*

" […] I think it is alright. It is the same with tv channels that also only exist because they can run ads. They are just not as personalized as the ads on Google and Facebook. However, I understand some are annoyed by it. But the ads they run are in some way based on stuff you look for yourself […] I think it is fifty-fifty. Some find use in the personalized ads, and others will find it annoying, perceiving it as surveillance and all that" - Interviewee 1, female, 33 years

"I think you have to be careful about thinking too much about being surveilled. It's not a healthy way of thinking. How do people get when they think they are being watched? They get weird. The more you find of what you think is evidence that they are watching us, the more weird you are perceived to be, and the less people will listen to you" - Interviewee 1, female, 33 years

Interviewee 2, Female, 26 years:

"*The consumers are naïve, and the companies are greedy, so it would be very good if the politicians were willing to put an end to it. So I actually think the government should step in and do something*" – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

"There have been some changes to the data privacy law right? They did something, and it was positive. It limited something, right? I cannot remember it right now. But something happened" Interviewee 2, female, 26 years.

"*[…] I have never been asked if I want to be part of their statistics. No one ever asked me, you are just suddenly a part of it […]* " - Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

"*I would like to delete Facebook, if all that social planning and invitations happened somewhere else. Then I would delete it for sure*" – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

"I do not trust Google, but that does not change that I have to use it. I am a student, and there are just some things you have to use Google for" – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years
"If you remove [social media], then you also remove the social element. Then you might end up being forgotten. Like:"Where is Interviewee 2? Oh right, she doesn't have Facebook, so we forgot to invite her…"" - Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

"In reality it's not strictly necessary, but I am very much a Google person… if there is a question that comes up, then I go to Google and check it" - Interviewee 2, male, 26 years

Interviewee 3, Male, 19 years:

"*If you are not doing anything wrong, then it's not unuseful […] I am very physically active, so from a selfish point of view, then I would say "yes please" [to insurance companies using personal data to price insurances], then I can get a discount on my insurance premium because I don't have to pay for the inactive people […] I think it is fair. I have the opinion that you are responsible for your own life, and your choices have consequences" - Interviewee 3, male, 19 years*

"I do not know if it is a fair tradeoff per se, but it is just how it is. They have to earn their money somehow - and I think that is alright" - Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

"My friends either don't care about data collection, or they just joke a bit about it", Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

Interviewee 4, Male, 58 years:

"*It sounds a bit like a conspiracy theory, but I'm thinking that they are collecting data about us, which makes it easier to manipulate us. I mean we are manipulated in a clever way, via advertising, via this, via that […] The worst cases that's where… was it the Republicans who bought data from an English company[…] Using [data] politically is some of the worst consequences I can imagine*" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

"It might be that we would be more critical as a collective if we knew exactly what Google and Facebook used our data for" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

"I know what I get, but I do not know what I give. And I do not know the value of what I am giving. Therefore, I do not think it is a fair tradeoff. It would be fair if I knew exactly what was collected, and what it was used for. And if I could then have a choice of saying no" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

"I *am considering deleting my account, but I can hardly get myself to do so. […] I am a member of some groups on Facebook, and I generally use the platform to coordinate social stuff […]*" -Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

"I have a Facebook profile, because otherwise you don't really exist in society" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

Interviewee 5, Male, 55 years:

"The control through the legislation (GDPR) is not good enough. And the companies know it. And as consumers, we cannot do anything about it {….} I do not doubt that Google breaks the law" - Interviewee 5, male, 55 years

"*Now this is my imagination, but it's one thing that it may be negative for me to receive an ad, but it may be worse if I am gradually being stored to have a specific political profile - be it left, right or center. It is not very dangerous in our society, but reversely we can also see in our society that there are more and more restrictions being put on our freedoms. It is done in the name of terror, or corona-virus, but one day we may be in a situation where it is very unfortunate to have the wrong political views*" - Interviewee 5, male, 55 years

"When I search for a beard trimmer online for example, then I'll get a lot of ads for beard trimmers the forthcoming week. I do know how it works when the larger corporations follow you online. And it is just an allegation, but i think that it is for sure on the verge of legality" - Interviewee 5, male, 33 years

"If I were to leave Facebook, then I would also have to leave the social interaction I have on there. That is really hard. It is almost impossible" - Interviewee 5, male, 55 years

"Previously I tried to switch to other platforms and services, but they just ended up becoming like the rest of them, and collect data" - Interviewee 5, male, 55 years

Interviewee 6, Female, 29 years:

"I do not think GDPR has any (legal) influence on Google and Facebook" - Interviewee 6, female, 29 years

"I never really know what I am agreeing to" - Interviewee 6, female, 29 years

"Because you have to log in with your Google account on your phone and so on, you are close to being dependent on Google. In general, I feel like Google makes themselves indispensable. I have tried using another search engine, but I returned to Google because it is the best" – Interviewee 6, female, 29 years

Interviewee 7, Male, 55 years:

"It is hard to grasp (data gathering). And honestly, I do not know how it works. It is so incomprehensible. There are so many loopholes and other things you have to address. It is one big jungle" - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"The purpose of GDPR is to give back the data to the individuals it deals with. So, if I for example quit my job, they have a lot of data on file about me. And then I can ask them to delete all of that, and give me a copy. It is about giving me ownership over my own data. It is a good thought, but it should have been a global thing. But it is super difficult with things like this" - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"I do not think any company is better than the others. Facebook has been caught red-handed, the others have not" - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"The question is, who would you rather have to collect your data. Not if it will be collected. Because you can't do anything about that. I simply don't think so. I mean, all data is collected" – Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

Interviewee 8, Female, 69 years:

"*I have a (Facebook) profile, but i do share it very much, other than with my children and grandchildren, to follow what they share - that is because family is what you care about. Especially at my age" - Interviewee 8, female, age 69*

Interviewee 9, Male, 48 years:

"*I can understand that the companies are hiding their [data-extraction] methods, after all it is a gold mine […] the consumers have no prerequisites to do something about it. It is way too complicated and complex. It is up to the politicians to react*" – Interviewee 9, male, 48 years

"I think it is so incomprehensible for me to consider the advantages and disadvantages (of data gathering). It is so complex. One thing is how it is today, but how will it be in 5-10 years. You cannot figure that out" - Interviewee 9, male, 48 years

"I'm thinking there are many clever and subtle ways to use personal data for profit, which I am in no way capable of understanding, because it is so extremely opaque how all this works" - Interviewee 9, male, 48 years

Interviewee 10, Male, 57 years:

"In reality, Facebook and Google are based on mapping our consumer habits in order to increase sales. It is not different from when I see Champions League on TV and there are commercials during half-time", Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

"It is what it is, it is free, but in return there is a business model behind, in which it is hard to avoid it [data collection]. That is the deal you enter into when you use these services […]" Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

"It would be a fair tradeoff if they expounded what they do. But Google and Facebook attempt to hide how their business model works. I actually do not think what they are doing is the issue, the issue is that we do not know what they do" - Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

"When thinking deeply about it (data gathering) I can get worried. However, in my daily life, it is one of those things I choose to ignore, and think that it is probably going to be alright. Because I am after all not the only one in this situation. My challenge is that I

have a hard time figuring out how to do something about it. It is very hard to do something as an average person" - Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

"*I have to be on Facebook because the members I have in my union are on Facebook. I could use another platform if they also started doing it, but they don't. That's why I have to stay on Facebook. That's the catch-22 in all this*" - Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

"You can never be sure that your data is not sold on. It is an impossible market to check up on for an average person" - Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

Appendix 5 continued - all transcribed interview quotes (in Danish), sorted after subject

Incomprehensibility

"Det er svært at forholde sig til. Og jeg ved sgu heller ikke helt hvordan det hænger sammen. For det er så uoverskueligt. Der er så mange smuthuller og pis og lort, for at få styr på sådan noget. Det er en kæmpe jungle" - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"Jeg synes det er helt uoverskueligt for mig at overveje fordelene og ulemperne. Det er ekstremt komplekst. En ting er hvordan det er i dag, men hvordan er det om 5-10 år? Det kan man jo ikke regne ud" - Interviewee 9, male, 48 years

***"**Jeg synes det er så uoverskueligt at gennemskue hvordan man skal håndtere det. Så jeg vælger lidt at se igennem fingre med det, og give lidt op på det. Jeg har ikke gjort noget aktivt for at begrænse det"* - Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

"Jeg kan ikke overskue data. Jeg ved ikke hvor mit data ligger henne. Det ligger sikkert alle mulige steder. Og Facebook og Google kan sikkert sige mere om mine egne indkøbsvaner end jeg selv ville kunne sige hvis du spurgte mig." - Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

"jeg har svært ved helt at vide hvor og hvordan de indsamler data omkring mig" - Interviewee 6, female, 29 years

"(At få fokus på) hvem rundt omkring der indsamler og opbevarer data. Men det ved jeg ikke rigtigt noget om" Til spørgsmålet hvad der er vigtigt i den offentlige debat - Interviewee 6, female, 29 years

"Jeg har svært ved at gennemskue om sådan noget som Microsoft Teams og andre platforme indsamler mine data" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

"Man får jo en privacy policy, men det er jo på 49 sider med små tekst. Det får man jo aldrig læst. Den burde jo blive gjort mere menneskelig og let læselig" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

Dependency

"Jeg stoler ikke på Google fordi de har så mange oplysninger, men det ændrer jo ikke på at jeg bliver nødt til at bruge det. Jeg er studerende, og der er nogle ting som man har brug for at Google sig frem til […] Det er jo ikke noget man som sådan bliver nødt til, men jeg er meget sådan en Google person: hvis der er et spørgsmål jeg har så går jeg ind på Google og tjekker det". – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

"Jeg har overvejet at slette Facebook, men så kommer det der med "nå, så røg den invitation til semesterfesten…", det er der alt foregår. Jeg ville gerne slette sin facebook, så hvis alt det sociale med alle de her invitationer blev lavet et andet sted, så ville jeg 100% slette det lort der, for jeg har ikke brug for det. De er sgu nogen spioner er de." – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

"Men hvis man bare fjerner hele lortet, så er man totalt ekskluderet. Så fjerner man ligesom det sociale der. Så kan man godt gå hen og blive glemt: "Hvor er 'Interviewee 2' nå ja hun har ikke Facebook så hende har vi glemt at invitere"". – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

"Jeg er nødt til at være på Facebook på grund af mine medlemmer jeg har i min forening er på Facebook. Jeg kunne godt bruge en anden platform hvis de også begyndte at gøre det, men det gør de ikke. Derfor bliver jeg nødt til at være på Facebook. Det er det der er en catch 22 i det her." - Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

"Men fordi man skal logge ind med sin Google konto på sin telefon og så videre, er man jo lidt afhængig af Google. Jeg føler generelt at Google gør sig uundværlig. Jeg har forsøgt at bruge en anden søgemaskine, men vendte tilbage til Google fordi den er bedst" - Interviewee 6, female, 29 years

Han kunne godt finde på at slette sin Facebook profil eller finde en anden søgemaskine. *"Men hvis jeg skal forlade Facebook, skal jeg også forlade den sociale interaktion jeg har derpå. Det er sindssygt svært. Det er nærmest umuligt*" - Interviewee 5, male, 55 years

"Jeg har en Facebook profil for ellers kan man jo ikke eksisterer i samfundet" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

"Jeg overvejer at slette mine konti (Google og Facebook) men det kan jeg næsten ikke få mig selv til at gøre. For jeg bruger dem til at logge ind med på diverse sider, jeg er medlem af nogle grupper på Facebook, og bruger det generelt også til at koordinere sociale ting og modtage nyheder og opdateringer" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

Inevitabilism

"[min egen indsats] er på så lavt et niveau… På nuværende tidspunkt er der ikke noget det ændrer mine valg. Straffen ved at give adgang til de her data for mig som enkeltperson føler jeg ikke er stort nok, endnu, til at jeg bør gøre det." - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"99,9% trykker bare accepter til cookies. Og er det så rigtigt at sige at så længe du bliver informeret (om hvilken data der bliver indsamlet om dig), hvis der er så meget information om det, at det er uoverskueligt at sætte sig ind. Men jeg har lidt svært ved at se hvad man ellers skulle gøre" - Interviewee 9, male, 48 years

"Jeg kan jo godt blive bekymret når jeg sidder og tænker det helt i bund, men i det daglige er det et af de steder jeg sætter skyklapper lidt på og tænker det går nok alt sammen. For jeg er jo ikke den eneste der står i den her situation. Min udfordring er jeg har rigtigt svært ved at se hvad det er man skal gøre for at få det til at gå væk (dataindsamling). Det er en rigtigt svært at gøre noget som menigmand" - Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

"Selvom jeg er bekymret når jeg tænker det i bund, så bekymrer jeg mig ikke særligt meget om ting jeg ikke kan gøre noget ved. Og jeg føler det her er en af de ting jeg ikke selv kan gøre noget ved. Så derfor har jeg valgt at tænke det må nogen andre tage sig af,

og bekymre sig om. For jeg kan ikke løfte det der - det er den følelse jeg sidder tilbage med" - Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

"Jeg trykker bare godkend når popups på hjemmesider beder om cookies. Bortset fra når der er et valg om kun at afgive nødvendige cookies" - Interviewee 6, female, 29 years

"Jeg blev overrasket over at finde ud af Google tracker min lokation konstant (fandt hendes tidslinje på Google Maps) men jeg gjorde ikke noget for at stoppe det. Jeg har ikke noget imod at de tracker min lokation" - Interviewee 6, female, 29 years

"Jeg tænker ikke over når jeg afgiver data. Men jeg er bevidst om at det sker konstant. Jeg har en lille tracker installeret som plugin (installeret i forbindelse med et fag i skolen, hvor læren ønskede de skulle gøres opmærksom på det), hvor jeg kan følge med i hvor mange trackere der er på en given hjemmeside. Men jeg føler trackere er en præmis for at være på internettet, så jeg gør ikke mere ved det." - Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

"Jeg gider ikke rigtigt tænke over dataindsamling - jeg vil bare gerne have gode services" - Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

Føler lidt det er en lost cause *"Det er ihvertfald ikke noget jeg kan gøre ved"* - Interviewee 6, female, 29 years,

"Det kan godt være der er en computer der sidder og holder øje med dig, men det er ikke tilgængelig information før at der er et menneske der rent faktisk søger på dig som person, og holder øje med dig som person. Indtil da er det ikke tilgængelig data for nogen. Man ligger gemt i systemet, det er rigtigt, men det gør man altså også alle andre steder." – Interviewee 1, female, 33 years

"Jeg ved ikke hvad de ellers bruger mine informationer til. Det er det. […] jeg er ikke blevet spurgt om jeg vil være med i deres statistikker. Der er ikke nogen der spørger, man er bare pludselig en del af det. Jeg føler mig totalt overvåget. Ligemeget hvor jeg går ind, så står der noget om cookies" – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

*"Spørgsmålet er, hvem vil du helst have til at indsamle din data. Ikke om det vil blive indsamlet. For det kan du ikke gøre noget ved. Det tror jeg simpelthen ikke på. Altså, der bliver indsamlet alt data."*15:35 - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"Man kan jo aldrig være sikker på at ens data ikke bliver solgt videre. Det er jo et umuligt marked at tjekke for et helt almindeligt menneske" - Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

"Tidligere har jeg forsøgt at skifte til andre platforme og services, men de endte bare med at blive ligesom alle andre og indsamle data" - Interviewee 5, male, 55 years

"Selvom jeg har slået privatindstillinger til, så ved min telefon stadig super meget. Og jeg har da sagt ja til både det ene og det tredje jeg ikke kan huske jeg har sagt ja til" - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"Jeg føler ikke jeg har nogen indflydelse på hvordan Google eller Facebooks forretningsmodel bliver. Jeg kan forlade dem, men jeg ville forlade dem til en anden virksomhed der gjorde det samme" - Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

I have nothing to hide/social pursuasion

"Jeg ser generelt ikke ens søgehistorik og den slags som personlig data. Det kan godt være irriterende at blive bombarderet med reklamer, men det er ikke noget jeg synes er for meget…" – Interviewee 1, female, 33 years

"Jeg tror ikke jeg er så bekymret. Jeg har ikke noget at skjule. Men samtidig er jeg rigtig stor tilhænger af personlig frihed, og de to ting går jo ikke rigtigt hånd i hånd." - Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

"Jeg har ikke noget at skjule" - både i forbindelse med brug af internet, og reflektion over smart speakers - "de må gerne vide jeg råber når jeg spiller FIFA" - Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

Men det er helt fair at Google sender data til forsikringsselskaber, der gør at han får en dyr forsikring. *"Alt hvad du gør, har konsekvenser, og det er helt fair"*. Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

Ud fra et egoistisk synspunkt er det helt fint hvis sundhedsforsikringer fik hans data, for han holder sig aktiv. Så han ville bare få en billigere forsikring. *"Så må du bare holde dig mere aktiv" - "Det påvirker ikke mig, så derfor er jeg ligeglad"* - Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

"som 19 årig ved man knap nok hvem man selv er, så man har vel heller ikke rigtigt noget der er hemmeligt, fordi man er i udvikling" Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

Responsibility?

"Man kan sige… Forbrugerne er naive, og firmaerne de er griske, så det ville da være rigtig fint hvis politikerne gad sætte en stopklods for det. Så jeg synes faktisk at regeringen burde gå ind og gøre noget". – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

"Vi har alle sammen et ansvar over for at det ikke går for vidt. Man har som person et ansvar for hvad man kigger på, og hvad man giver tilladelse til, men som firma har man også et ansvar for ikke at gå for vidt. Men jeg ved også at det er svært, fordi man har et firma hvor man skal sælge en masse ting" – Interviewee 1, female, 33 years

Hvem har ansvaret: *"Det er jo sådan noget FN, EU… Ligesom vi har Geneve konventionen så burde der skrives noget ind i Geneve konventionen om hvordan data skal bruges. […] Man skal have et fælles regelsæt for at undgå konkurrencefordele"* - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"Forbrugerne har ingen forudsætninger for at gøre noget ved det. Det er alt for kompliceret og komplekst. Det er op til politikerne at reagere på det." - Interviewee 9, male, 48 years

***"**Jeg kan godt forstå at virksomhederne skjuler deres metoder fordi det er "en guldgrube". Derfor er det et politisk spørgsmål. Men politikerne er altid bagefter dem der udvikler de her ting."* - Interviewee 9, male, 48 years

"Det er op til staten, interesseorganisationer og politikere at beskytte forbrugerne" - Interviewee 6, female, 29 years

"Ultimativt er det virksomhedernes egen moral, men de er jo udelukkende optaget af top og bundlinje. Det er nok et politisk spørgsmål - eller noget nogle vismænd burde forholde sig til. Men det kunne også være op til virksomhederne selv at gå sammen og sætte nogle retningslinjer for sig selv, og så må brugerne forholde sig og kommentere på dem". - Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

"Google og Facebook kommer i fremtiden til at få endnu mere kontrol over vores data. Uanset om vi har Margrethe Vestager i EU - jeg tror ikke politiske magter kan stoppe det" - Interviewee 5, male, 55 years

"Det er min opgave at beskytte mig selv, men ikke at beskytte andre" - Interviewee 5, male, 55 years

"Det er et politisk spørgsmål. Men fordi det er et globalt problem, må der også komme globale regler" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

"Som forbrugere er det eneste vi kan gøre, at tage enbeslutning om ikke at bruge det. Men det ville nok kræve mere opmærksomhed på problemerne og forretningsmodellerne før vi tog den beslutning" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

Google og Facebook vs. other firms

"Facebook stoler jeg sgu ikke rigtig på. Microsoft… jo… det gør jeg vel. Google… det ved jeg sgu ikke altså… Not so much… De kan jo se alt hvad man Googler og ja… nej tak. Altså Facebook stoler jeg slet ikke på, de rager bare alt hvad de kan til sig. Jeg har heller ikke helt forstået hvordan de kan gå ind… det er jo det der er uhyggeligt, de overvåger jo en fuldstændig, når jeg f.eks. går ind på Safari og slår op hvordan man bager en kage, så er der bare 500 opskrifter på min Facebook. Hvordan fanden gør de det?? Det er jo totalt uhyggeligt." – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

"Altså jeg er 100 på, at hvis jeg nu søger på Google for et produkt, så næste gang jeg logger på Facebook så er der reklamer for det produkt. Jeg har hørt noget om at Google og Facebook arbejder sammen på nogen punkter. " – Interviewee 1, female, 33 years

"Jeg vil umiddelbart mene at jeg vil stole mere på sådan et firma som Microsoft, end jeg vil stole på Facebook eller Google. Jeg ved ikke helt hvorfor. Men jeg tror det er fordi Microsoft for mig er styresystemer, computere, Xbox… Hvis de har brug for at overvåge på den måde, så er der et eller andet galt i deres firma tænker jeg". – Interviewee 1, female, 33 years

"Facebook lever rimeligt meget af reklamer, for der er nærmest ikke andet. Men Google… Det ved jeg faktisk ikke! Det har jeg aldrig tænkt over… men mon ikke de får noget provision, jeg ved ikke… Hvis folk går igennem de links der, så må Google få nogle penge tænker jeg… Men det har jeg aldrig tænkt over. Det ved jeg ikke" – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

"Jeg tror ikke der er nogen firmaer der er bedre end andre. Facebook er blevet taget med hånden nede i kagedåsen, det er de andre ikke endnu. Men fordi der er så mange penge i det, så går man så tæt på grænsen som overhovedet mulig for at få en konkurrencemæssig fordel. Og lige til grænsen betyder tit at man går marginalt over den. Så spørgsmålet er hvor meget over grænsen kan det betale sig at gå over den" - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

Hvad tjener Facebook penge på?: "Annoncer og pis og papir. Alt muligt! Alt det de kan bruge din data til kan man jo sælge videre, eller gøre tilgængeligt for andre mennesker. Det er hele tiden at mappe adfærd og sælge det til andre" - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"Facebook kommer til at fortsætte med at opkøbe alle deres konkurrenter i fremtiden" - Interviewee 6, female, 29 years

"Jeg tænker at så snart der er noget som erstatter Instagram, opkøber Facebook nok også dem" - Melania

"Facebook og Google udvider nok gennem opkøb i fremtiden- de er altid med de rigtige steder. Det skal nok blive nemmere for forbrugerne, men også indeholde mere overvågning. Måske kommer der et clash mellem folk der ikke vil overvåges og virksomhederne" - Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

"Jeg stoler mest på Microsoft, fordi det er der man betaler mest. Jo mere gratis indhold er, jo mere sælger du dig selv, og jo mindre ærlige er de overfor dig" - Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

Alternatives: paid services?

"Jeg ville gerne betale 100kr om måneden for "premium facebook", for det er det man betaler for andre streaming tjenester hvor man slipper for reklamer". – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

Betale for et alternativ? *"Det tror jeg det vil med tiden. Når jeg bliver klogere på hvad konsekvensen faktisk er. Og hvor misbrugt min data bliver. Når folk bliver mere informeret om hvor stor værdi deres data har, så åbner markedet sig op for det der. Men vi er ikke oplyste nok om det endnu. Der er vi ikke modne nok til det endnu.*" - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"Så længe der er en gratis platform som Google, vil folk nok hellere bruge det end at betale for noget lignende." - Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

"Jeg ville være villig til i begrænset omfang at betale for Google og Facebook for at undgå dataindsamling" - Interviewee 8, female, 69 years

"Jeg ville betale for at undgå dataindsamling" - Interviewee 6, female, 29 years

"Jeg ville se det som en fordel hvis et nyt socialt medie slog sig op på at de ikke indsamlede data, men det ville ikke være afgørende for ham. Jeg vil hellere have de indsamler min data, end de viser mig for mange reklamer." Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

"Jeg vil ikke være villig til at betale for at e.g. Google ikke indsamler data om mig på nuværende tidspunkt. Men måske i fremtiden". Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

"Hvis der kom en betalingsløsning til Facebook eller Google, ville jeg ikke tro på at der ikke blev indsamlet data om mig" - Interviewee 5, male, 55 years

"Umiddelbart ville jeg gerne betale for Google og Facebook, eller en erstatning, for at undgå dataindsamling. Et sted mellem 100-200 kroner for Google, og 100 kroner for Facebook" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

Ignorance

"Den eneste information de har om mig, det er når jeg søger det pågældende sted. Hvis jeg søger på min telefon, så er det jo kun på min telefon de reklamer kommer op på. I det øjeblik jeg går over på min computer vil jeg ikke se de reklamer, fordi den kan ikke finde ud af at de to enheder hører sammen, at det er den samme person. Måske ville jeg være lidt bange hvis de kunne begynde at tilbyde mig ting, som jeg bare havde tænkt på at jeg manglede, men ikke søgt på. Så ville det blive lidt for mærkeligt. " – Interviewee 1, female, 33 years

Begrænsning af data: *"Jeg ved faktisk ikke hvordan man gør. Men hvis jeg nu vidste hvordan man gjorde havde jeg helt sikkert gjort det."* – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

Vedr. data på gmail og messenger *"seriøst?? Det vidste jeg ikke! Fuck hvor ubehageligt. Det kan jeg ikke lide."*. – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

Er der alternativer: *"Øøøh…Yahoo…? Er det ikke noget…? Jeg ved det sgu ikke! Umiddelbart nej… Måske… Jeg ved det ikke."* – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

"Jeg tænker ikke over den data jeg afgiver" - Interviewee 8, female, 69 years

"Jeg ved ikke hvordan Google og Facebook tjener penge. Det har jeg ikke nogen anelse om" - Interviewee 8, female, 69 years

"Jeg føler mig som en retskaffen borger, og jeg går ikke ind på ting der ser kryptisk og mærkeligt ud. Jeg tror måske jeg er lidt naiv måske nogen gange. Jeg bruger bare min Ipad, jeg har ingen gang nogen computer. Jeg tænker ikke rigtigt over hvad der ligger bagved, hvis der ligger noget bagved - det gør der nok" - Interviewee 6, female, 29 years

"Google er jo ikke et neutralt medie der prøver at opfylde det behov jeg har for at få noget at vide, men et sted der tjener penge på at nogen andre firmaer gerne vil stå

forrest i køen. Det glemmer jeg en gang imellem. Nogen gange tænker jeg på Google som et leksikon. Og så kommer der en masse frem som jeg ikke spurgte om" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

Does it affect you?

"Jeg synes ikke reklamer påvirker mig særlig meget. Jeg har en god evne til at sige "det gider jeg ikke se" og så ignorerer jeg det". – Interviewee 1, female, 33 years

"Nogen gange kan jeg godt mærke at det måske ikke helt er mig selv, der har taget en beslutning om hvad jeg skal have, eller hvilket transportmiddel jeg skal tage […] jeg plejer at handle i Netto og Irma men det er måske fordi de tilbud kommer op først. Ville Rema kunne komme ind og sige "vi vil gerne have 'Interviewee 7' over i Rema" og så købe den info?" - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"jeg tror vores samfund er skruet sådan sammen, at det efterhånden ikke er forbrugerne der bestemmer over deres forskellige vaner. Det kører meget på impulskøb bl.a.: "vi kan se du har været inde og kigge på det her produkt, så kom og køb det hos os. Vi gør dig faktisk en tjeneste". Men det gør de sådan set ikke. For hvis man havde lyst til produktet så havde man jo købt det." – Interviewee 1, female, 33 years

"jeg er lidt paranoid, det kan man jo ikke undgå" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

Resistance?

"Hvis der begyndte at komme reklamer hvor jeg sidder og tænker "aaarh okay", så ville jeg nok begynde at kigge på hvordan jeg kunne lukke af. Jeg ville begynde at kigge efter om der var nogle muligheder for at lukke af, så de ikke kan komme ind og kigge." – Interviewee 1, female, 33 years

"*Det er noget jeg tænker over, men jeg ved ikke helt hvordan det hænger sammen. Der er jo altid det der med cookies og det siger jeg næsten altid nej til. Jeg ved ikke så meget om det, men jeg ved bare at den indsamler noget af min data når jeg klikker rundt herinde,*

og det synes jeg ikke er særlig rart. Jeg synes ikke folk skal vide hvad jeg render rundt og laver ude på internettet" – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

"Jeg har ikke lyst til at blive overvåget, jeg har ikke lyst til at folk som jeg ikke ved hvem er, ved hvem jeg er og hvad jeg godt kan lide at kigge på. Det er egentlig den følelse af at der er ikke nogen der skal vide hvem jeg er, følge mine spor, se mine vaner uden at jeg ved hvem det er og hvorfor." – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

"Ved videresalg skal virksomhederne bare have styr på de kunder de videresælger dataen til. Jeg ville ikke synes det var så fedt hvis de sendte dataen til Nordkorea eller Kina. Og for alt i verden ikke en efterretningstjeneste." - Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

"Jeg tænker at virksomheder rigtig godt kunne tænke sig at vide hvad jeg klikker ind på. Man kan jo se det på Facebook, at ligeså snart man har været inde på Elgiganten, så kommer der bare psyko-mange reklamer om vaskemaskine og tørretumblere og jeg ved ikke hvad […]" Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

"Lokalitets Bestemmelser er også personlig data. Det rager i princippet ikke nogen hvor jeg er henne med mindre jeg har givet dem lov til at de skal vide det. Man kan aktivere folks mikrofon på deres telefon og lytte til hvad de snakker om, uden at spørge om lov. Telefonen er den største spion vi har nu til dags. Den sladrer hele tiden" - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"*Jeg er nok skeptisk indstillet - det er også derfor jeg siger nej når jeg kan. Jeg ved aldrig helt hvad jeg siger ja til. Og det tror jeg gælder hele vejen rundt. Jeg stoler mere på Microsoft end de yngre virksomheder såsom Google og Facebook*" - Interviewee 6, female, 29 years

"*Jeg ville heller ikke synes det var så fedt hvis han ikke kunne komme ind i Nigeria hvis Google havde solgt dem data der viste jeg var eksempelvis homoseksuel*" Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

"*Jeg uploader principielt ikke billeder på facebook, og udtrykker ekstremt sjældent min politiske holdning på Facebook. Og det er simpelthen fordi jeg ikke stoler på de sociale medier og andres store internet virksomheder. Det er fordi jeg selv er*

markedsanalytiker, og derfor ved jeg at der findes en lang række metoder til at sørge for at jeg får et bestemt målrettet reklame baseret på min internet aktivitet." Interviewee 5, male, 55 years

"*Når jeg søger efter en barbermaskine eksempelvis, så får jeg en uge efter en masse reklamer for barbermaskiner. Jeg har jo kendskab til hvordan det fungerer når de store virksomheder følger en på nettet. Og, det er jo en påstand, men det foregår helt sikkert på balancen til hvad er der legalt*" - Interviewee 5, male, 55 years

"*Jeg synes det er problematisk fordi det er ukontrollerbart på den måde at det kan være forkerte oplysninger som man modtager, og mennesker der ikke er kritiske overfor den information de modtager, kan ende med at basere deres holdninger på forkerte oplysninger*" - Interviewee 5, male, 55 years

"*Jeg svarer ja til kun nødvendige cookies, og sætter pris på at den funktion eksisterer*" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

"*Jeg er generelt ikke vild med de spor vi efterlader på nettet*" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

"*Det mest problematiske er når det bliver brugt til at manipulere eller forsøge at indflyde folk politisk. Blandt andet gennem falske informationer"* - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

"*Jeg prøver at være opmærksom på hvad jeg gør (når jeg skriver på Gmail og messenger) for jeg ved godt det indgår i deres algoritmer*" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

"*Det kan godt være at vi ville være mere kritiske kollektivt hvis vi vidste præcis hvad Google og Facebook brugte vores data til"* - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

Fair tradeoff?

Er du tilfreds med den gratis model? *"Ja det synes jeg er helt fint. Det er det samme med fjernsyn, gratis kanaler eksisterer jo også fordi der er folk der reklamerer på deres*

kanaler. De er så bare ikke lige så personlige som de reklamer som Google og Facebook kan komme med. Jeg kan godt forstå hvis nogen bliver irriteret over det, men de ting de kommer med er jo noget man på en eller anden måde selv har kigget efter […] jeg tror det er sådan lidt 50-50. Nogen vil godt kunne bruge dem, og andre vil synes det er irriterende og overvågning og alt det der…" – Interviewee 1, female, 33 years

"Hvor meget jeg har lyst til at dele ud af min personlige data skal jeg selvfølgelig være opmærksom på. Og det er jeg helt sikkert ikke nok opmærksom på. Når jeg får opdateret min telefon siger jeg bare "agree" til at sælge min sjæl."- Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"Når man downloader en gratis App, så er det jo ikke Appen der er produktet. Det er os selv. Det er min data som den app der, den kan tracke. Den kan kortlægge hvad min adfærd er, og så derigennem sælge den adfærd videre til et eller andet, eller bruge den til deres produkt. Produktet er at få så meget data som muligt ud af appen" - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"Det er et paradoks. Det er smart at den prøver at tilpasse sig, ligesom Netflix gør. Men jeg har ikke de samme friheder som jeg havde før. F.eks. Netflix kommer jo med nogle anbefalinger, jeg kan godt se det smarte i det, men jeg vælger også tit noget andet i trods. Det irriterer mig, men jeg synes også det er rart. Men det tager noget frihed fra mig, som et eller andet sted nager mig" - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"Det er som det er, det er gratis, til gengæld så er der en forretningsmodel der ligger bag, som er svær få til at fungere hvis ikke [dataindsamling] foregår. Det er den deal man indgår når man laver sådan noget her […] I virkeligheden er Google og Facebook jo baseret på at kortlægge vores forbrugsvaner så man kan sælge noget mere. Det er jo ikke anderledes end når jeg ser Champions League i fjernsynet og der så kommer reklamer i pausen […]", Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

"*Det ville være et fair tradeoff (data mod gratis services) hvis de udlagde hvad de gjorde. Men Google og Facebook forsøger at skjule hvad deres forretningsmodel går ud på. Jeg synes egentlig ikke det er problematisk det de gør, jeg synes det er problematisk at vi ikke ved hvad de gør"* - Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

Ved ikke om det er et fair trade-off, men det er nu engang sådan det er. *"De skal jo tjene deres penge på en eller anden måde"* - Og det synes han egentligt er okay - Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

"Hvis man ikke gør noget forkert, så er det jo ikke uhensigtsmæssigt. […] Nu holder jeg mig selv meget aktiv så ud fra et egoistisk synspunkt ville jeg sige super fint [til at forsikringsselskaber køber persondata til at prissætte forsikringer], så kan jeg få et nedslag i min forsikringspræmie så jeg ikke skal dække dem der er inaktive […] Jeg synes det er fair nok. Jeg har den opfattelse at man er ansvarlig for sit eget liv, de valg man tager de har nogle konsekvenser" - Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

Om fair byttehandel "*Jeg ved jo hvad jeg får, men jeg ved ikke hvad jeg giver. Og det jeg betaler, ved jeg ikke hvad er værd. Derfor synes jeg ikke det er en fair byttehandel*" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

"Det ville være fair hvis jeg vidste præcis hvad der blev indsamlet og hvad det blev brugt til. Og at man så kunne sige fra" - Interviewee 4, male, 58 years

GDPR

"Der har jo været nogen ændringer i persondataloven har der ikke…? Det gjorde noget… Det var godt for os… De skærpede noget… er det ikke rigtigt? Jeg kan ikke lige huske det… Men der er nogle ting…" – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

"GDPR's formål er at give data tilbage til de personer det omhandler. Hvis jeg nu siger op på mit arbejde, så har de jo en masse data på mig. Så kan jeg bede om at de skal slette den data og give mig en kopi. Det er om at give mig ejerskab over min egen data. Det er en god tanke, men det burde være en global ting. Men det er pissesvært sådan noget her." - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"Det er et politisk spørgsmål. Og det er også det GDPR har gjort. Det er skide irriterende for en lille organisation som min, men det tjener et godt formål" - Interviewee 10, male, 57 years

"Jeg tror ikke GDPR har indflydelse på Google og Facebook" - Interviewee 6, female, 29 years

"GDPR gør noget for at begrænse dataindsamlingen, men det har også nogle negative begrænsende effekter" - Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

"*Kontrollen gennem lovgivningen er ikke god nok. Det ved virksomhederne godt. Og vi kan ikke selv som forbrugere håndtere det*" - Interviewee 5, male, 55 years

"GDPR har intet positivt gjort for os som forbrugere. Alle de regler der er i GDPR, var der også for 10 år siden. Den eneste forskel er at der i dag er konsekvenser for virksomhederne hvis ikke de opbevarer dataen forsvarligt. Og du skal kunne dokumentere din datastrøm og din politik. Jeg har i mine 50 år i markedsanalyse aldrig oplevet at blive tjekket af datatilsynet" - Interviewee 5, male, 55 years

"GDPR er lavet for at kunne gå efter Google og Microsoft og de andre store virksomheder gør. Men i virkeligheden er det meget vanskeligt at gøre noget ved det" - Interviewee 5, male, 55 years

"*jeg er ikke et øjeblik i tvivl om at Google overskrider lovgivningen"* - Interviewee 5, male, 55 years

Friends and family:

"*Jeg snakker med min kæreste om det. Altså det her med at så går man ind og søger på et eller andet, og så pludselig er der ikke andet end reklamer om det. Men det er ikke noget der fylder. Det er ikke en samtale der sådan fylder. Det er mere sådan at det dukker op nogen gange hvor man lige snakker "hvor er det sindssygt at de ved så meget om hvad vi går og snakker om", men ellers er det ikke noget som vi sådan mødes og snakker om.*" – Interviewee 2, female, 26 years

"*Mine venner er enten ligeglade med dataindsamling, eller joker bare lidt rundt med det*" - Interviewee 3, male, 19 years

Other points:

"*Det er det samme butikkerne gør, men der vælger vi jo selv at gå ind i butikken. Og butikkens tilbud rammer os kun når vi er i butikken. Deres tilbud står kun i butikken. Online kan det følge dig flere steder.*" – Interviewee 1, female, 33 years

"*Der er en kæmpe værdi i data. Et kæmpe uudnyttet potentiale. Der er utroligt meget magt i det. […] Data kan bruges til alt. Det er kun fantasien der sætter grænser. Det er også derfor at AI er så vanvittigt interessant. Fordi det har ikke den har ikke den menneskelige hjernes begrænsninger. Den kan se løsninger som vi ikke kan forestille os, hvis den ellers får lov til at køre. Men der er et etisk dilemma i det her.*" - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"*ligesom klimaet har haft svært ved at komme på dagsordenen, så den ændring der sker pga. en ændring i befolkningens holdning. Det er den samme ændring der skal til ift. Data før at folk højt nok oppe i systemet gider gøre noget ved det. Hvis folk lige pludselig boycottede… Men det kan de jo ikke. De kan jo ikke bare sige "du må ikke bruge min data", fordi som enkeltperson har min data ikke nok værdi for data firmaerne. Men hvis alle deres kunder stillede sig op foran hovedkontorene i San Francisco og "i må ikke bruge vores data mere", så ville de jo være på skideren. Det er det kollektive der skal flytte forandringen. Og det er svært, og det tager rigtig lang tid*" - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"*Nu kan du se hvor kloge folk bliver på lige pludselig at vaske sine hænder. Og hvad det betyder for folkesundheden […]At det faktisk har konsekvenser selvom det lyder harmløst. Men når du ganger op med antallet af personer så bliver det nogle voldsomme effekter. Sådan er det også med data. Effekterne er kæmpestor når volumen følger med.*" - Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"*Hvad man havde for 10 år siden, eller bare 5 år siden, det griner man af nu. Det går bare så vanvittigt stærkt. Det kan også godt gøre det vildt interessant, og vildt skræmmende, og vildt mange muligheder, og vildt mange faldgruber*". Interviewee 7, male, 55 years

"*Google har jo enormt nemt ved at indsamle data. De ved hvilke hjemmesider jeg er på, de ved om jeg går på pornosider, om jeg besøger politiske hjemmesider, og den data videresælger de jo så til sådan en som mig, der er dygtige til at lave typologier. Såsom det her er en progressiv grøn klima profil, eller en ultra konservativ profil og så videre, og på den måde bliver der sat labels på folk. Og den kan så blive købt, og alle mulige virksomheder bruge til hvad som helst*" - Interviewee 5, male, 55 years, 55 år

"*Google eksempelvis har du ikke en jordisk mulighed for at kontakte. End ikke hvis du betaler til dem for at have en professionel Gmail. Og hvis du har så lukket en organisation, er det også meget svært at kontrollere dem. Eksempelvis hvis de gør noget ulovligt med vilje, fordi det kan betale sig i forhold til den eventuelle bøde de ville få. Så er bøden bare en ekstra udgift, mod en større indtægt. Bøderne er ligegyldige for Google, det er bare en kalkuleret risiko*" - Interviewee 5, male, 55 years, 55 år

"*Jeg tror man skal passe på med at tænke at vi bliver overvåget så meget fordi det er ikke en sund tankegang at have. Hvordan bliver folk når de tror de bliver overvåget? De bliver tossede oven i hovedet. Jo mere man finder hvor man tænker det er bevis på at de faktisk overvåger os, jo mere tosset bliver man, og jo mindre vil folk lytte til en*" – Interviewee 1, female, 33 years

Appendix 6 - The audio files from our interviews

Below is a link for a dropbox folder, containing the ten interviews conducted for our analysis, and a table that lists our interviewees.

Name	Gender	Age
Interviewee 1	Female	33
Interviewee 2	Female	26
Interviewee 3	Male	19
Interviewee 4	Male	58
Interviewee 5	Male	55
Interviewee 6	Female	29
Interviewee 7	Male	37
Interviewee 8	Female	69
Interviewee 9	Male	48
Interviewee 10	Male	57

Dropbox link:

https://www.dropbox.com/sh/9u7gt2ifxt7lnv9/AAAftQTf16MIRZeTlZrZOJiKa?dl=0

Appendix 7 - Our data set

Below is a dropbox link for our excel dataset, and an overview of the set.
Dropbox link:
https://www.dropbox.com/sh/9u7gt2ifxt7lnv9/AAAftQTf16MIRZeTlZrZOJiKa?dl=0

Sheet 1 contains our demographic data, including a map of zip codes the respondents provided in the survey.

Sheet 2 contains all the statement tables from our analysis.

Sheet 3 contains all the statement tables from our analysis, sorted on age and educational level. It also includes all statement figures.

Sheet 4 contains our question of trust towards Google, Facebook, Apple and Microsoft, also sorted on age and educational level.

Sheet 5 contains the excluded table on the question of: “To what degree do you believe the below mentioned companies will contribute to a positive future for consumers?” also sorted on age and educational level.

Sheet 6 contains the question: “To what extent do you think the below mentioned companies collect and use your personal data?” also sorted on educational level

Sheet 7 contains the questions: “How conscious are you about your 'digital footprints' such as cookies, location data and search data etc. when you use the internet?" and "To what degree are you worried about societal development in connection to the rising amount of data companies gather and use?" - also sorted on age, and cross sorted.

Sheet 8 contains our question: “How concerned are you about the below mentioned subjects?”

Appendix 8 - raw data from Qualtrics

Below is a link for a dropbox folder containing the raw excel data sheet from Qualtrics.

Dropbox link:
https://www.dropbox.com/sh/py3aqg7kijnvyr1/AACFsUJ7r01euGjweAPFm175a?dl=0

Appendix 9

Here we have listed the 10 statements from our survey, with the associated reasons and explanations.

Statement 1: "There should be stronger regulation on what data companies can gather" (table 5)
Zuboff's Reason: Social Persuasion
Why we ask: If respondents disagree with the need for more regulation we argue that they can potentially be seen as socially persuaded to believe that data gathering serves them and is under control

Statement 2: "I feel like the public debate about personal data is too complex and incomprehensible" (table 7)
Zuboff's Reason: Ignorance
Why we ask: If respondents agree that the public debate is too complex, we argue that this can be interpreted as respondents lacking knowledge and thus displaying some form of ignorance on the subject

Statement 3: GDPR has given me more control over my data" (table 8)
Zuboff's Reason: Ignorance
Why we ask: Most experts agree that the GDPR has objectively given consumers more control over their data (Colangelo & Maggiolino 2019), and thus we argue that disagreement with this statement also displays some form of ignorance on the topic.

Statement 4: "I am afraid that the personal data I give, can have an impact on my possibilities online" (table 9)
Zuboff's Reason: Social Persuasion & Ignorance
Why we ask: If the respondents are not concerned about the consequences that their personal data can have for them, we argue that this indicates that they are either socially

persuaded to believe it does not have consequences, or unknowledgeable about any potential consequences.

Statement 5: "I am afraid that the personal data I give, can have a negative impact on my life" (table 10)
Zuboff's Reason: Social Persuasion & Ignorance
Why we ask: Same as Statement 4

Statement 6: "I prefer personalized ads online" (table 13)
Zuboff's Reason: Social Persuasion
Why we ask: If respondents prefer personalized ads,or see data collection as a fair tradeoff for the free services provided, they can generally be said to be in favor of the data collection practices of Google and Facebook and thus persuaded by their rhetoric

Statement 7: "It is a fair trade-off when i give my personal data in return for free digital services like Facebook and Google" (table 14)
Zuboff's Reason: Social Persuasion
Why we ask: Same as Statement 6

Statement 8: "I have actively done something to limit companies gathering my personal data online" (table 17)
Zuboff's Reason: Inevitability
Why we ask: If respondents agree that they have actively done something to prevent data collection that would indicate that they reject the notion that data collection is inevitable

Statement 9: "I find it impossible to stop using Facebook, Google, and other online services that collect my data" (table 18)
Zuboff's Reason: Dependency & Inevitability
Why we ask: Respondents who agree to this question either confirms that they are dependent on the services of Google and Facebook, or they confirm that they find it inevitable

Statement 10: "I would feel socially excluded if I didn't use social media" (figure 6)
Zuboff's Reason: Inclusion
Why we ask: If respondents agree to this question it indicates the importance of social media for social inclusion