1 Introduction

Debates concerning the use of creative products on the Internet, especially with music and movies, often concern the illegal ones. Digital products are distributed online in violation of copyright, and traffickers make it accessible to a broad range of Internet users, without the people behind the products get any payment. There has been a lot of debate on the issue for several years now, but with the new legal services, the debate has gained a new legitimacy, and made many attempts to find solutions that can provide users with the convenient and attractive access to the products they want, while making it possible for providers to create a favourable business out of it. From the political side, and from the film- and music industry, a great challenge is to know what it takes to eliminate the behaviour that is contrary to the existing copyright. This is a major topic of interest in this thesis. One suggestion is the nudge-method. This is a method designed to change behaviour, without depriving the user of the ability to choose a different behaviour than he or she desires. Nudging in its present form has been around for about 5 years, but especially in the last 1-2 years, there has, in Denmark, been a focus on method. Not only in the social science community, or behind closed doors at governmental buildings. Nudging has repeatedly been introduction in TV programs, such as "*Go' Aften Danmark*" on TV2 and "*Aftenshowet*", on Danish National Cooperation, DR, and in radio programs such as "Videnskabens Verden", and "*Orientering*" on DR's Programme 1, to mention a few. The viewers and listeners are presented with demonstrations of whimsical attempts to get people to choose fruit instead of cake, or how supermarkets get us to buy sauce for our pork chops. The enthusiasm in the commercial media works great and the possibilities seem endless.

A campaign by the name of "*Share With Care"* (SWC), launched by the Danish Ministry of Culture, and Dansk Industri (DI ITEK) and Teleindustrien (TI), which respectively translates to "Danish Industry", and "The Telecomindustry", and they work in the interest of Danish industries, and Teleindustiren, specifically for the tlecom industry. The purpose of the campaign was to set a new focus on acting against online piracy of digital creative products (**Rettighedsalliancen, 2014;3**). Rettighedsalliancen, which directly translates to "The Copyright Alliance", organized the campaign and is a section of The Ministry of Culture

working to protect material having copyrights. They allied with a consultant firm, KL7 who works with nudging. They call themselves "behavioural designers", and focus on digital data as the source to determine behaviour. In the campaign they examined norms, attitudes, and knowledge from users of online movies and music services. Online resonances of relevant debates, has also been investigated by the campaign, as well as number of Danish produced movies was monitored in relation to how much they had been watched illegally. Based on those results, and on basic behavioural economics, the campaign has developed campaign material, events, blocking of relevant websites, and have designed a nudge, calling it "Webpuf", in the attempt to change the unlawful behaviour. There is especially focus on one particular case within the campaign subsided at Niels Brock Business College. Here the behaviour of film- and music services on the schools network was studied, and by nudging, an attempt was made to influence to the change the behaviour to a lawful one.

This campaign is the core of the thesis, and the fact that they are using nudging is interesting as the settings and challenges the nudge differs from traditional nudges, a number of which I will present throughout the thesis. The aspect of the existence of the illegal services that has a direct counter-interest to SWC is not commonly seen in the traditional nudges. The ethical aspect of whether nudging can and should be used in this relation is also interesting, as nudging dictates that intervention can not deprive the user of the ability to choose a different behaviour than he or she desires; thus in this case SWC, and ultimately the Ministry of Culture, will allow access to the websites providing illegal material.

2 Problem Formulation

The SWC campaign has adopted nudging as a method to change the behaviour of the users of illegal online services of creative products.

- I will conduct an a descriptive study surrounding the practices of SWC's approaches to nudging, and establish whether these practices live up to the theories and principles that define a nudge. This study is to support the main analysis of SWC's practices and the Webpuf nudge as a social construction of technology, following the SCOT method. In conclusion this will determine whether SWC's practices can qualify as nudging, and whether the relevant social groups accept these practices.

3 Analytical frame

In the analysis I will execute the method of SCOT based on the according theories Pinch and Bijker (1987), Bijker and Law (1992), and Klein and Kleinman (2002). This includes focussing on the constructional socio-technical notion that both science and technology are socially constructed (Pinch and Bijker, 1987; 21) SCOT is a negotiated theory, where the views, attitudes, and interpretations from relevant social groups establish a social construction (Bijker and Law, 1992; 106). The main issue is surrounding the nudge-method; which purpose is to change human behaviour. Thaler and Sunsteins (2008) work on this, including the justifications for the different aspects of which nudging is constructed. Amongst those are Daniel Kahnemans (2011) dual process theory, describing the human mind as having two ways of perceiving things and hereby relaying the perception to one of two systems, which supersedes to a given behaviour. The two systems are the intuitive system, and the reflective system, and the way these influences human behaviour in a given situation. Views and theories on nudging and human behaviour and perceptions by Danish scholars Vincent Hendricks, and Pelle Guldborg Hansen (2011), and Pelle Guldborg Hansen and Andreas Maaløe Jespersen (2013), along with criticism and scepticism of the nudge method, by the scholars Daniel M. Hausman and Brynn Welch (2010), Theresa M. Martheu et al. (2011), and Luc Bovens (2009), I have used views and theories from both parties in order to consider both strengths and weaknesses of the nudge method. This is the basis for a descriptive understanding of nudging, used in this thesis to support my empirical findings with the goal of qualifying SWC's practices and the Webpuf nudge as a digital tool.

The interpretations to use in SCOT, are gathered from interviews with actors representing potential relevant social groups, and by participant observations at meetings with SWC, following the recommendations and methods described by respectively Steinar Kvale and Svend Brinkmann (2008), and Alan Bryman (2008). Also used from SWC, hence Rettighedsalliancen and KL7, is written papers and reports of their findings and their approaches and attitudes toward digital data, behavioural economics, and nudging. I have attended informal meetings with representatives of stakeholders such as The Ministry of Culture, DI ITEK, and The Danish Tele Communication Industry, in relation to the SWC campaign, in order to establish their views on both the method, and its effects.

Other than that the empirical study covers five qualitative interviews, constructed and conducted on the background of. Two interviews completed with executives from the respectively TDC's YouBio, and the online and mobile music service, Deezer. These interviews are used to establish the influence they feel from online piracy, and the level of which it has affected the construction of their own services. I also present the results from the *SWC* campaign, and the essence of the nudges being used, in order to get their immediate views on the effects, and their thoughts on both the method and the results. A third interview was completed with Pelle Guldborg Hansen, Assistant Professor in human behaviour at Roskilde University Center, an active actor within nudging, and Chairman of the Danish Nudging Society. This interview was conducted at a late time in the process, as I wanted to relay my analysis and experiences in the interview, in order to get Hansen's views and opinions of its durability, based on as much as possible.

4 Techno-anthropological relevance

This thesis draws on aspects of STS (Science, Technology, Society) with the description and usage of SCOT to determine the social construction of the Webpuf nudge and SWC's practices of nudging. SWC is not per say a tech-company or organization, but they rely on digital data, and present inscriptions of this data in the form of graphs and word clouds[1]. Furthermore they present the Webpuf nudge in an online setting on websites providing illegal material, making many of the receivers of the nudge dedicated users of online services (YouSee, 2013; 13). This is very relevant for a techno-anthropologist, as the aspects mentioned opens up for a network of human and technology interactions and practices, which generates views, attitudes and interpretations of the technological artefact at hand; the Webpuf nudge, and the SWC nudging practices.

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[1] A word cloud is a digital tool measuring online semantics of texts and written debates.

5 Method

Rettighedsalliancen and KL7 together form SWC and are followers of behavioural economics, and this is the backbone for their self perception as behavioural designers. I have chosen to follow the campaign and the practices surrounding the campaign, and in particularly nudging. This is to be related to relevant theories at hand to determine coherency between the two. The setting, or lifeworld (Feenberg 2008), of the campaign differs from traditional nudging in the complexity of the behaviour being illegal but according to SWC, still driven by social norms.

In this chapter I will describe how I use the method dictated by constructivist framework of the SCOT theory in order to establish the level of stabilization of nudging as a technological artefact in the setting of the SWC campaign.
I will investigate the practices of SWC's approaches to nudging, by a practical approach of participant observation, interviews and by investigating campaign material and their homepage. I will primarily use the method dictated by constructivist framework of the SCOT theory to evaluate and establish whether these practices live up to the theories and principles that define a nudge.

In order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the terms; Relevant Social Groups, Interpretative Flexibility, and Closure and Redefinition, I have supported the original theory from Trevor Pinch and Wiebe Bijker, with arguments from other constructivist scholars as John Law (Law and Bijker, 1992), Bruno Latour, and Andrew Feenberg (2008). These arguments supports various aspects within social constructions of technological artefacts.

The original theory of nudging by Richard Thaler and Cass Sunstein will be described in the thesis, as will the theories and principles of which it consists. These theories and principles usage within nudging will be challenged by arguments from scholars like Pelle Guldborg Hansen and Andreas Maaløe Jespersen(2013), Daniel M. Hausman and Brynn Welch (2010), Theresa M. Martheu et al. (2011), and Luc Bovens (). The purpose of considering several views is to get multiple perspectives on the matter, in order for the final qualification to be as valid as it can be (Bryman, 2008; 1).

By conducting qualitative interviews and participant observation I will analyse the social construction of SWC's practices and the Webpuf nudge. Other qualitative interviews and participant observation will be used to analyse the potentially relevant social group's interpretations of SWC's practices and the Webpuf nudge, as well as their interpretations of the behaviour with online illegal services. One exception being the users which can not be interviewed, I will instead use surveys in order to analyse their interpretation of the Webpuf nudge and their behaviour with online illegal services. All the relevant methods used in this thesis will be elaborated upon in the following section.

5.1 Ethics

All persons involved in the qualitative interviews freely accepted to participate. They accepted that all their views as well as their full name and title were reported in the thesis. The participant observations were at four meetings at SWC, where I was personally invited and it was acknowledged that I could report any information and rhetoric presented throughout the meetings.

5.2 The steps of the Social Construction of Technology

Returning to SCOT, which argues that technologies cannot be understood without considering how technology is rooted in historical, economical, political, and sociological contexts (Bijker and Law, 1992; 5). Therefore the theory and method rely upon a network of relevant social groups sharing views, attitudes, and interpretations of a given technological artefact, to determine the construction of it. In order to identify who can be considered to be a relevant social group, one must first determine what it is. Pinch and Bijker describe that a relevant social group is a term used to denote institutions, cooperation's, organizations, etc., as well as unorganized groups of individuals. So it can be any group of humans, as long as the group share the same set of meanings attached to the technological artefact in question (Pinch and Bijker, 1987; 30)

With that in mind I constructed a research design consisting of interviewing and participating in stakeholder meetings at SWC to learn about their practices and learn who had direct relation to the campaign, but also gain the knowledge to detect potential relevant social groups myself, and investigate whether they have a shared relevant meaning of SWC's practices with nudging and the Webpuf nudge. This was to gain insights from multiple non-related groups in order to have the ability to establish the most valid analysis in the end.

By contacting SWC and learning about them through their campaign materiel as well as observing at SWC's so called "Gå-Hjem møder" translates to Go-Home meetings, for stakeholders and press of the industry. There will be elaborated on these meetings in the chapter describing the SWC campaign. I quickly learned the Ministry of Culture, and DI ITEK and TI were stakeholders, both directly by being initiators to the cooperation that came to be SWC, but otherwise having no practical role in executions of the SWC campaign. DI ITEK and TI are representatives of the companies providing the legal services, protected by copyright, which SWC is set out to campaign for. I thereby wanted to hear first-hand from these companies on how they viewed and interpreted the SWC campaign, as well as their views of the issue SWC was set out to challenge; online behaviour with illegal movie and music services. Thus contacting three companies providing movies and music:

1. YouBio; Online service providing movies and TV-series, and is a department of TDC, the leading Danish provider of internet solutions, and Pay TV (Kunstmann, May 15th, 2014)
2. Scanbox; International distributor of movies, TV-series, and TV-shows (Jørgensen; May 22nd, 2014)
3. Deezer; International music streaming service (Møller March 15th, 2014)

I presented both myself and my purpose of contacting these stakeholders, and presented them with the existence of SWC and their approach of not criminalising the users, but using nudging as a tool to change behaviour with the illegal services. They were all aware of SWC and their approach, as DI ITEK and TI had informed them all. They all agreed to do an interview.

From studying nudging and behavioural economics prior to studying how the SWC campaign practiced and approached nudging, I realised an academic perspective would be interesting to investigate as the academic community of those researching in human behaviour and ways to influence it might share meanings concerning the practices and approaches of SWC, and with the Webpuf nudge as a concrete example the nudges they produce. The academic perspective was practically gained by interviewing Pelle Guldborg Hansen. He had peripherally followed the SWC campaign with interest, and agreed to do an interview on the matter.

A third and probably most obvious potential relevant social group are users. However, interviewing or observing users in relation to behaviour with online illegal services is difficult, as people feel that it is very private and does not wish to share that. I experienced that as I in an early state of this project tried to conduct an online survey at a dormitory or boarding school, and got reject by all I contacted, I will elaborate on this later in the thesis. Likewise I found difficulties getting insights about shared meanings about nudging. It's not like a traditional technological artefact with the purpose for somebody to prefer using it. A person being nudged, first of all might not even realise he is being nudged, and secondly if a person is being nudged it's because somebody wants to change that persons behaviour. Therefore I sought to find an alternative source to establish a shared view, attitude, and turned to existing knowledge about the users of illegal online movie and music services; who is the target demographic, and what is their approach and practice with technologies and digital services in general, and what is their knowledge views and attitudes toward copyright and online piracy. This knowledge was harvested from youth researchers, and existing surveys on the matter. I can guess from the years Pinch and Bijker has published, which is from the late 1970's till present, that they were not alive during the social construction of the penny-farthing. They must have made their studies from historical material analysing meanings, views, and interpretations, for them to conclude on the matter (Pinch and Bijker, 1987). On that notion I justify the usage of secondary empirical material to determine the views, meanings, attitudes, and interpretations of this relevant social group.

This gives me eight actors representing potential relevant social groups in four areas of interest. Figure 1 below illustrates the steps of SCOT, and will be presented throughout the thesis, highlighting the step being analysed. In my approach to the potential groups I will

establish what Pinch and Bijker calls interpretative flexibility, meaning the arguments that shifts the focus of the otherwise explanatory facts or truths of the Webpuf and SWC's practices, to the social world where the arguments are framed and dealt with. Interpretative flexibility is presented in figure 1 cell A. Determining the social mechanisms, meaning the negotiations, follows this or controversies the groups might have with each other's views and attitudes of the technological artefact, illustrated in figure 1, cell B.
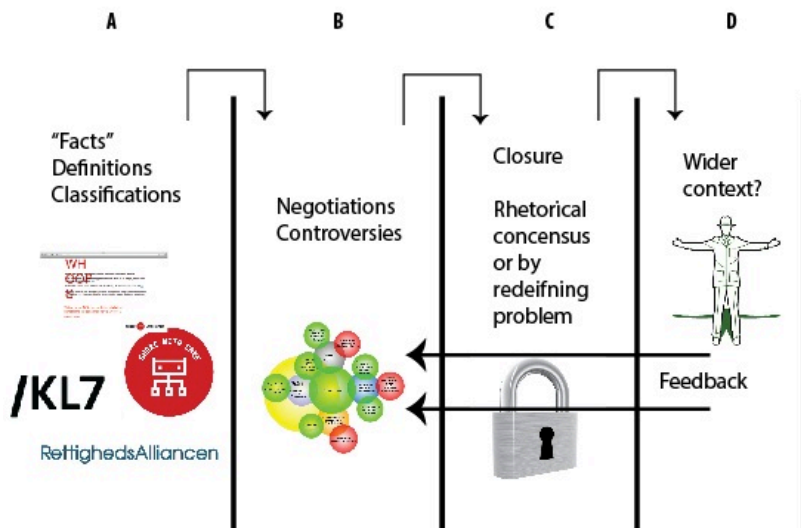
Figure 1 - The steps of the SCOT method from interpretative flexibility (A) till wider context (D)

This leads to closure; hence a stabile artefact where there is coherency between the interpretations among the groups, and within the groups, illustrated in cell C in figure 1. The closure is determined either rhetorical or by redefining the issue with the artefact, meaning either the relevant social groups agrees on the meanings of the artefact or the groups establish new focuses with the artefact, hereby forgetting the previous focuses (Pinch and Bijker, 1987; 27). Last step of SCOT are interpretations and practices in a wider socio-technical context, meaning the larger impacts of the reality of the artefact and the social groups will influence its surroundings, such as existing norms and values, illustrated in cell D in figure 1 (Pinch and Bijker, 1987; 46).

5.3 Practical approach

I've used two traditional anthropological approaches to research the ontology and practices of the actors representing the potential relevant social groups, while also focusing on their interpretations and possible controversies, negotiations etc., in relation to the SWC practices and the Webpuf nudge, as well as the illegal movie and music services, as these are the focus of the campaign, and therefore an important aspect to investigate in relation to nudging.

1. Qualitative interviews
2. Participation observation
3. Quantitative surveys and measurements (secondary empirical material)

These are supported with relevant theories, state of the art reviews, surveys and studies, from scholars, primarily in constructivism, or the field of human behaviour. This provides me with a multi-method (though very few), enhancing the confidence in the findings (Bryman, 2008; 1).

5.4 Qualitative Interviews

I have interviewed four representatives of potential relevant social groups as a starting point to establish relevant social groups from their views, attitudes, and interpretations (Bijker, 1992; 77). These actors were:

1. Clara Mai Kunstmann, Head of Product Development at YouSee & YouBio
2. Martin Møller, Danish Editor in Chief at Deezer
3. Torben Thorup Jørgensen, Head of TV and Video On Demand at Scanbox Entertainment, Denmark
4. Pelle Guldborg Hansen, Researcher in human behaviour at Roskilde University Center, and founder and CEO of The Danish Nudging Network

On top of that I have interviewed Mikala Lene Poulsen, Head of Communications at Rettighedsalliancen, to gain knowledge of the practices of SWC with focus on the approaches and practices of nudging. The outcome of that interview is presented throughout the chapter

about the SWC campaign, whereas the remaining findings will be presented in chapter 9.2, concerning the interpretations of the relevant social groups.

I chose the usage of qualitative interviews as the epistemological basis for gaining knowledge of the relevant social groups, given the qualitative methods are more flexible and suitable to my explorative and relative inductive approach. The qualitative interview has a strong tradition in depicting processes within anthropological and ethnographic research. I have used this approach to enlighten the different interpretations of nudging, and the online movie- and music services. This is to get deeper than the formal rhetoric and thoughts the agents (Bryman, 2008; 38). The approaches with all of the interviews were informal, and they were each more of a conversation than actual interviews. I recorded the sound of all the interviews and for that reason I decided not to transcribe the interviews from sound to paper, but used what is relevant, and of course without leaving out anything that should not be in coherence with my analysis. Critics of this approach might question the validity, and argue that had I transcribed the interviews from the recording application, on my iPhone, to paper I might had found more or other relevant information. The subjects picked for interviews have different relations to the SWC campaign, nudging, and the online movie- and music services. This was part of my strategy, as I anticipated enriching views and interpretations from actors not in direct cooperation with each other, but still having a connection to the goal and/or the method used by the campaign. One is working on the actual campaign; three are working with movies and music and are thereby stakeholders in relation to the campaign. The last person interviewed was Pelle Guldborg Hansen. He has no stake in the campaign with the success or failure of the online movie and music services. Prior to all interviews I researched the relevant part of the organization, or the relevant authored articles of all the subjects or the organization they represented. The interviews were all of a critical qualitative sort, not meaning that I didn't agree with the subjects, but I made sure to stick to the topic, and often return to prior questions, to make sure the subjects statements were the same in a different context (Kvale and Brinkman, 2008; 188).

Even though the interviews felt mostly like conversations, they were semi-structured, and supported by a previous developed interview guide, see appendix 1, pages 1 through 5. This guide consisted of keywords that made sure I stuck to the relevant aspects related to each of the participants. Besides the keywords I let the interviews go their "natural" way in order to

get the full insights to the participants life-world. If I felt the interview took a turn in an irrelevant direction, I got the participant back on track, using the interview guide (Kvale and Brinkman, 2008; 45). All interviews were done in Danish, as it is the native language of all participants, and I alone was interviewing the participants one by one. The interviews ranged from 45 minutes to 1 hour and 30 minutes, so I was important to stick to the relevant aspects, helped by the interview guide, to establish a full understanding of the participants life-world.

5.5 Participant Observation

Just as interviews gave insights to single persons and semantics surrounding an issue, the discipline of participatory observation, can to some extent give the same insights, but more on top of that it can identify a social groups common denominators, negotiations, and possible conflicts, controversies, and not least actions regarding the issue at hand (Bryman, 2008; 384). It is not possible for me as a researcher in the techno anthropological field to know how those who nudge, known in an overall term as choice architects, but also as behavioural designers, or behavioural architect. The choice architects interpret and use the theory, just like I don't know any other criteria's for success other than the one authored in the material. The discipline of participatory observation could identify rhetoric suggesting other expectations, or interests (Bryman, 2008; 385). The actors representing different aspects of their respective social group were observed in a total of four meetings. The actors were:

1. Rettighedsalliancen
2. The Ministry Of Culture including The Minister of Culture, Marianne Jelved
3. DI ITEK (DI) & The Danish Tele-Communications Industry (TI)
4. Miscellaneous participants at Gå-Hjem Møder and the final meeting

I attended three of SWC's Gå-Hjem Møder, where findings of behaviour, and nudging strategies were shared. The facilitators of these meetings were Rettighedsalliancen and consulting company, KL7, as they together form Rettighedsalliancen. In addition, journalists and representatives from the movie- and music industry attended the last meeting where the whole campaign was presented. Furthermore I attended the final meeting of SWC, where the results and practices were presented, along with a gratitude speech from the Danish Minister

of Culture, Marianne Jelved.

I was personally invited to the meetings by the facilitators, as I had previously contacted them, presenting my interest in nudging and their campaign in relation to me doing a thesis on the subject. When attending the meetings I greeted and small talked with the facilitators and other participants, and also in short explained the aspect of nudging I was interested in. I sat at the table along with all other participants, but otherwise didn't interfere. In that way I didn't deceive anyone of the reason for my presence, not that I had ill intentions toward the campaign, but if I wasn't open about my intentions, my being there might have been perceived in a suspicious way. Deception can have comprehensive implications for anthropology and social science in general. Future participants would be wary and it may prove harder to obtain funding (Bryman, 2008; 125). Hence I did not follow any work processes, or interactions that took place in the campaign, even though this could have been very interesting to study. This study is therefore focused on the rhetoric related to their work and results, and their presentations of these.

A big part of nudging is the line ethical aspects, even though authors, Thaler and Sunstein, don't address it much in "*Nudge – Improving Decisions in Health, Wealth, and Happiness*", the theories and principles of which nudging consists, do. Critics Thaler and Sunsteins nudging, is sure to highlight that in their reviews, of which relevant to this thesis will be presented in the following chapter. As a representative of social science, part of the purpose of observing, the participant's work with nudging is therefore to focus on the handling in accordance with the ethical arguments. It would not only be wrong, but also very ironic not to follow the ethical precepts of participatory observation. Infraction of ethical principles are not only wrong in a moral sense, it is also damaging to social science (Bryman, 2008: 115). Of the four meetings, I recorded the sound from the final meeting, as this meeting included more actors of potential relevant groups to analyse, and the rhetoric was therefor of importance, whereas at the Gå-Hjem Mødes, focus was as much on SWC's visual presentation of their findings, as it was of their expressions of their practices. I took notes, and an example notes from SWC's monthly meeting on January 29th, can be seen in appendix 2.

5.6 Surveys and "Webpuf"

One last social group whom I found vital to be a part of this investigation, were the users of the online movie- and music services, legal as well as illegal. This turned out to be more difficult than first assumed. The Webpuf nudge and SWC's practices with nudging differs from traditional technological artefacts where the users traditionally are users by choice, and are aware of the fact that they are users. To get insights from users of the target demographic of the illegal online movie- and music services; hence also the SWC campaign, and get their insights of SWC's practices, and the Webpuf nudge, is rather difficult. I made a short litmus test with friends and family to learn about their immediate relation to nudging (as none of them really knew about it before), and they had no constructive response to it, other than the purpose was appealing, and that was first when they were told of that fact, as it does not appear clear. The focus was on the purpose of a given nudge, more that the principles and mechanisms of the tool. Apparently a person not working with nudging, or not having experienced a nudge from SWC, generally has no instant opinion about.

Test results from the Webpuf test, will qualify, as an interpretation of the users acceptance of SWC's nudge, as a product of their practices. Relevant knowledge about the target demographic of the online movie- and music services' relation, views, attitude, and knowledge will support the interpretation, as it reflects the users approach to a lifeworld which they now have in common with SWC's practices and actual Webpuf nudge. On that notion I came to the conclusion that the best way to get insights into the users relation to nudging in relation to behaviour with illegal online movie and music services, was to turn to existing surveys, expert knowledge, and measures of actual amounts of downloads or streams of movies, and visits to illegal services. To elaborate; just like I will describe the theory behind SCOT, and nudging and the terms and theories surrounding nudging, I will describe young people's general relation to technologies and digital services, as they are set to be the main target demographic of users of the relevant services. This will be investigated from scientific papers and statements from researchers at The Danish Centre for Youth Research, as well as indicated by commercial articles. Recent surveys from Rettighedsalliancen, and actors from the industry, are used to get insights to users own interpretations of their own use, and their knowledge about copyright etc. This will give me a clear picture of what the scientific community's analysis of the users, and how the users see themselves, and last, what their knowledge surrounding the issue is.

On top of that I have been granted insight into the Webpuf part of the SWC campaign. This test was conducted at the Niels Brock Business College in Copenhagen, surveying the overall online traffic on the network including the traffic to illegal movie and music services, for a time. After a period of time a nudge will be presented to those visiting certain illegal services, and is designed to make the user choose an alternative. This will measure if this exact nudge has an effect. Again after a period of time, the nudge will be taken off the illegal services in question, and the traffic will still be surveyed to see if there is any change in behaviour. This test is hereby a classic A-B test, as described by Colin Robson (Robson, 2011; 119) will indicate whether nudging can change behaviour in this setting, and also establish the design that Rettighedsalliancen and KL7; hence SWC has constructed. Summed up this initially makes a group of actors, or relevant social groups, forming a multi-sited network, to study. This number may be reduced if more social groups share the same perceptions and interpretations of the technological artefact, and can then be combine groups.

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) describe validity as "t*he degree of truth validating the consistency and unambiguity between what we can conclude on basis of used premises"*. Hereby stressing the degree of actual finding, depends on the degree of measure (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2008; 272). The term reliability concerns the credibility of a scientific outcome, the access to traceability of the scientific progress in order to reproduce the process that underlines the need for transparency (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2008; 271).
On the notion of validity and reliability, I chose not to pursue citizens fitting the target demographic of the online movie and music services and the SWC, to consider and share their views, attitudes, and interpretations of nudging, and the online services. Instead I found expert knowledge and surveys on the matter to fit Kvale and Brinkmann's arguments.

To sum up, the practical anthropological tools used are qualitative interviews with four actors representing potential relevant social with direct relations to SWC, and participant observation conducted at four different SWC meetings. This is including the final meeting, where the attendances included The Minister of Culture, Marianne Jelved and several actors from the movie distribution industry, both national and international. These studies were to gain perspectives from actors, to be potential relevant social groups. One group, the users, could not be established this way. The solution to that was to gain the perspectives, and

knowledge of this group through several surveys, and youth research on relevant matters. This design has its advantages, as mentioned, but there are some aspects of it that could be better. The various persons representing the potential relevant social groups, whom I interviewed are chosen for me by default. As a facilitator of the analysis I cannot estimate who is the best representative for any potential relevant social group. Also connected to interviewing experts is the risk of an asymmetrical relation in the interview, as experts talking about their area of expertise can tend to act superior, making the expert dominate and thereby choose the topic at hand. To minimise that risk I must be well prepared, both about the things I seek in the interview, but also about the expert's area, making conversation flow easier (Kvale and Brinkman, 2008; 52).

In the next chapter I will go deeper into the theories and principles relating to SCOT, and nudging, as well as the lifeworld of the Webpuf nudge and the online movie- and music services, working toward the final analysis.

6 Theory

Through this chapter I will present all the theories and material that is to be used in the thesis. I have divided the chapter in four main sections; one describing the theory of SCOT, as this will be used as the analytical frame of method in the analysis. In the second section of this chapter I will describe what I call "The Theory and Principles behind the practice of nudging", as this evolves nudging with origins in "*Nudging – Improving Decisions About Health, Wealth, and Happiness*" by Richard Thaler and Cass Sunstein (2008), and the theories and principles surrounding it. The reason for that is that it is the main focus of the thesis, and a critical approach in the analysis requires the associated theory. The third section will describe the main online movie services, legal and illegal. The fourth and last section concerns the theory that is to support my analysis

I start with a presenting the term "lifeworld", as this describes the setting of which the Webpuf nudge and the practices of SWC exist, authored from the descriptions by Feenberg (2008). This is followed by the theory and method of SCOT, followed by the theory behind nudging, from the authors Thaler and Sunstein (2008), and the terms and theories, which together set the frames and define what nudging is. This includes Libertarian Paternalism, behavioural economics, principles of justice, and choice architecture,

6.1 Lifeworld

The concept of the setting will be referred to throughout the thesis, and reflects the views, attitudes, and practices of SWC, as well as the aspects the existence of the online movie- and music services. The term "lifeworld" described by the American philosopher, Andrew Feenberg, covers the principles of the aspects of aforementioned services. Feenberg is not the founder of this term; he adopted it from the works of Karl Marx. Feenberg researches within the philosophy of technology, and shares several views within socio-technical aspects of society and technology as Trevor Pinch, Wiebe Bijker, John Law, and Bruno Latour. The lifeworld encompasses everyday artefacts, objects, and communicative engagements of the population. It is far more complex than the functional world of social rationality (Feenberg, 2008; 21). Feenberg has developed what he calls the instrumentalization theory, distinguishing basic rational operations in development, and the socio-cultural, respectively

the first and secondary instrumentalization. (Feenberg, 2008; 15). As an example he describes the refrigerator, where the basic functioning components were developed and assembled by engineers (first instrumentalization). It was quickly realized that the refrigerators were generally too small and because many people were only shopping once a week, needing space in the refrigerator; hence the technical design of this artefact depended on the social design of society. This relates closely to Pinch and Bijker's theory of social construction, and therefore the term of lifeworld is set to describe the setting of which the nudge exists. Feenberg elaborates;

"*The secondary instrumentalizations arise in that lifeworld and structure socially rational systems. They may act either through specifications reflecting earlier social struggles, or as discursive expressions of contemporary users and participants aiming at changes in design. Thus considered historically, rational systems are not autonomous but are traversed through and through by the logic of the lifeworld they shape and that shapes them.*" (Feenberg, 2008; 26)

This quote sums up the essence of SCOT and stresses that the lifeworld influences design, as well as it itself is influenced by it. Feenberg further argues that tensions between a design of an artefact and the lifeworld, gives rise to new demands, that will translate into new designs (Feenberg, 2008; 26). This sounds similar to the aspect of SCOT surrounding feedback from relevant social groups, and thereby calls for devaluation of the technological artefact. When it comes to the meaning of the word "design", Feenberg argues; "... *broader range is given as a world of meanings, a "lifeworld". In every society a house embodies a specific range of meanings assigned it by the culture, and this determines design.*" (Feenberg, 2008; 20). He emphasized that design covers artefacts, and that different interpretations of different cultures determine a meaning from their respective lifeworld. This philosophical

6.2 Social Construction Of Technology – The theory framing the analysis

This section will desecribe the theories relevant for analysing the empirical data at hand. As stated I will use the theory of SCOT (Pinch and Bijker, 1987) to determine the stabilization of a technological artefact. Nudging is a method, and thereby a tool. When used in a digital online setting, it becomes a digital tool, and thereby also a technological artefact. Such an artefact is perceived by many different social groups, who may or may not interpreted this artefact different from each other. Those interpretations are eminent to know in order to be able to qualify the nudgemethod in the specific online setting of the SWC campaign.

Trevor Pinch and Wiebe Bijker introduced SCOT in 1987 with "*The Social Construction of Facts and Artefacts: Or How the Sociology of Science and the Sociology of Technology Might Benefit Each Other*". This was a counter theory to Technological Determinism, which separates nature and social influences completely. Basically SCOT is one of several theories arguing that technology, and humans and societies shape objectives and outcomes relating specific technologies (**Klein & Kleinman, 2002; 26**).

SCOT is a negotiated conclusion and is made up from various methods, from Science and Technology Studies (STS), the Sociology of Scientific Knowledge (SSK), and the history of technology **(Bijker and Law, 1992; 106**). The core concepts in SCOT are; Interpretive flexibility, social mechanisms, closure tactics, and wider socio-political context. Figure 2 illustrates 4 steps in which the core concepts will be used to determine the social construction of the Webpuf nudge, and SWC's approaches and practices with nudging.
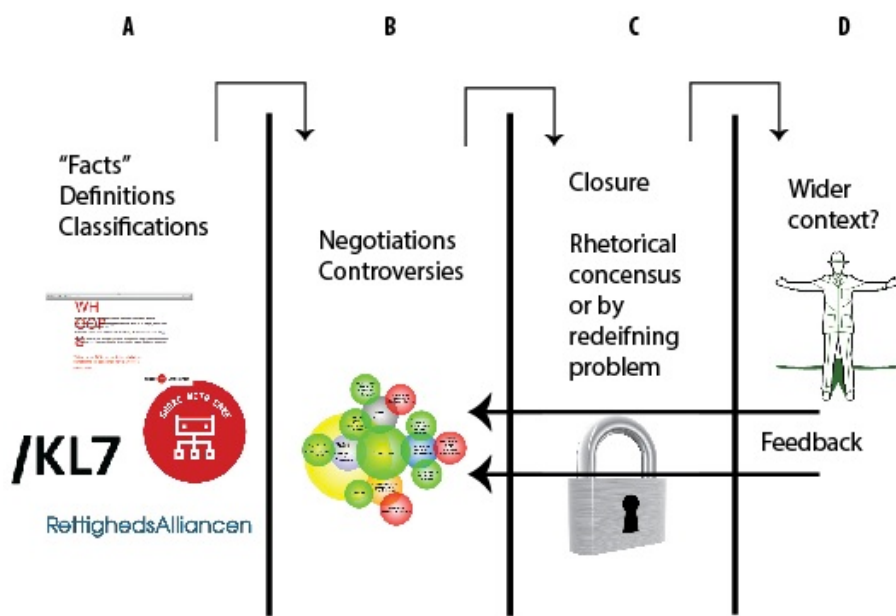
Figure 2 – The four steps of SCOT illustrated by the four cells, each containing aspects for the relevant social groups to relate to.

SCOT has been strengthened over time, and in many countries, because of its combinations of analysis is spread over multiple cultures, and is combined with the earlier study types. SCOT takes social settings into consideration both public and government, to determine what may be the best technology for society as a whole, and social groups and hierarchical infrastructure dominate the conclusions of technologies (Klein and Kleinman, 2002; 27). SCOT uses basic principals based on societies supporting information to enforce information on what is needed for new technologies to succeed. Relying on social groups, men and women, and cultural backgrounds to help understanding what society need as new technology. Technological artefacts are sufficiently underdetermined to allow for multiple designs, so whatever the design that finally results from the process, it could have been different (Klein and Kleinman, 2002; 29). Technologies are "born" out of conflict, difference or resistance. These differences can turn into an overt conflict or direct disagreement (Pinch and Bijker, 1992; 9)

The method was originally a three-step process, but a fourth step was added later. The first step is "Interpretive Flexibility", inspired from the empirical program of relativism, suggesting that designing technology is an open process that can produce different outcomes depending on the social circumstances of development. In this step, relevant social groups are identified

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as groups embodying of particular interpretations: "all members of a certain social group share the same set of meanings, attached to a specific artefact" (Pinch and Bijker, 1987; 30). They are all agents in this agency-centred approach whose actions manifest the meanings they impart to artefacts. Developing technology is a process in which multiple groups negotiating its final design, and they're each embodying a specific interpretation the given artefact. Technological innovation doesn't have to start with a technological push in the form of an invention, nor by consumer or user demand, but rather an interactive, and time dependent, sociotechnical process where the relations are "played off against one another", in search for a common solution (Bijker and Law, 1992; 107) This means that groups may have different definitions of a working technology, so development of the artefact continues until all groups come to a consensus that the artefact works. Not meaning they all use it the same way, but their interpretations don't conflict with each other. Design ceases not because the artefact works in some objective sense but because the relevant social group accepts that it works for them (Pinch and Bijker, 1987; 39).

All the relevant social groups are known as "the multi-group", as they are multiple groups with a common goal. In the design process the multi-group can experience controversies because actors within the social group have different interpretations that can lead to conflicting images of the given artefact. The design process continues on until any conflicts are resolved, and the artefact no longer poses a problem to any relevant social group. This is known as the "social mechanisms". As the first part worked with problems related to facts, truths, and classifications, the second part is still working with interpretive flexibility but in relation to reification, concerning negotiations, controversies, and conflicts in the multi-group.

The third step is when the multi-group process achieves closure, and no further design modifications occur, and the artefact stabilizes, by reaching its final form (Pinch and Bijker, 1987; 9). In general, if the given technological artefact is stabilized it means the network of relations, together with the various strategies that shapes the network, reaches some kind of accommodation, acceptable to the various social groups (Pinch and Bijker, 1992; 9). When consensus about the design or the artefact is final it can attain closure, hence stabilization, two ways, the rhetorical way or the redefining way. This sort of closure is known as "rhetorical closure, as there is no longer any disagreements separating the groups from each having their benefit from the technological artefact (Pinch and Bijker, 1987; 44).

I see the SCOT method as useful when working with a tool in a campaign like this, as the steps and framing of actors and social groups will provide a good overview of the different interpretations, as well as actors and social groups relating to the tool at hand.

A notion of technological frame, which refers to techniques, is that it is used in any given community, and is thus a combination of explicit theory, tacit knowledge, general engineering practice, cultural values, and material networks, used. The technological frame is hereby about structuring technological and social relations, and also a bridge between structure and actions, meaning which structures are influenced by action, and what structures lead to certain actions (Law and Bijker, 1992; 301). All relations are both social and technological. Purely social relations are only found on nudist beaches, and purely technological relations are only found within science fiction, according to Pinch and Bijker (1987). Neither the social nor the technological is the determinant factor in the last instance of stabilization (Law and Bijker, 1992; 290).

6.2.1 Alternative theory

Bruno Latours Actor Network Theory (ANT) could have been used as this theory also frames actors who have a relevant relation to the artefact. ANT even covers non-human actors, and all entities are treated as equal, thus the same analytical and descriptive framework when faced with either a human, a text or a machine are subjects of the network. This gives the semiotic definition of an actant as something that acts, or is granted activity by another, which then in practice can be anything (Latour, 1996; 373). ANT assessors view all actors or actants as individuals within a network to create another unified cognitive concept (Blok and Jensen, 2009; 78), where in SCOT actors and social groups are seen as one entity that shares the same interpretations as a group (Klein and Kleinman, 2002; 38). Thus both theories could be relevant in this study as it concerns a network of actors or social groups. Some of the relevant social groups in this study are represented by a single actor, expressing the views, attitudes, and interpretations on behalf of the organization or field, which he or she represents.

One important feature the two theories have in common is the notion that technological frame and actor network, both assume that the social and the technological are constituted and distinguished at once. The Webpuf nudge could have been viewed as an equal actor in the

network, if used ANT, as I could be argued that it influences the network as much as any other actor. I chose to follow SCOT, as this is a process toward closure or redefinition, and the aspects of the issue with nudging treated in this thesis fits well with that (Pinch and Bijker, 1987). ANT concerns solely networks without a methodical process toward anything (Blok and Jensen, 2009; 80).

6.3 The theories and principles behind the practice of nudging

As the first section of this chapter, concerning theories and state of the art texts, concerned the theory setting the frame for the analysis of the social construction, this section concerns nudging, as described by Richard and Cass Sunstein (2008). This includes the author's background, and presentation of renounced nudges. This is followed by descriptions of theories and principles forming nudging. This covers behavioural economics (Kahneman, 2011), principles of justice (Rawls, 1971), and choice architecture (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008). This is presented with the purpose of illuminating the aspects of which SWC works; hence also the construction of the Webpuf nudge. The section will include critical reviews from scholars working within the field of human behaviour and nudging. These reviews are to support the final analysis of the practices of SWC and the Webpuf nudge. Figure 3 below illustrates that the first step toward the final analysis is initiated in this section.
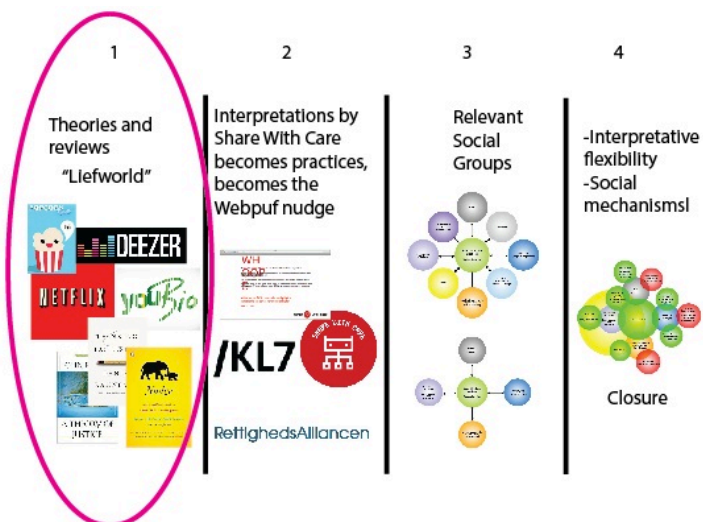

Figure 3 – The process of the thesis, illustrating the steps toward the final analysis. The pink circle indicates that this section of the chapter covers the frame of the the lifeworld of SWC's practices and the Webpuf.

Nudging is not to be analysed, but theories and principles of which it exists, along with the reality of the online movie and music services, legal and illegal, framing the lifeworld of SWC's practices and the Webpuf nudge.

6.3.1 Nudging – A common goal in a multi-sited world

Until now, I have intruded nudging in order to establish relations to other aspects of the thesis. In this chapter I will present the authors and the full theory behind nudging, and its aspects, as well as practical examples of real life nudges.

Richard H. Thaler and Cass R. Sunstein, who first introduced it in their book "Nudge - Improving Decisions About Health, Wealth, and Happiness," in 2008, develop the concept of nudging. A nudge, or nudging should be seen as a method that, as stated by the title of the book, can improve decision-making about health, wealth, and happiness of those who are exposed to nudging. Thaler and Sunstein defines the method as follows:

> *"A nudge is any aspect of the choice architecture that alters people's behaviour in a predictable way without forbidding any options or significantly changing their economic incentives. To count as a mere nudge, the intervention must be easy and cheap to avoid."* (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 6)

A nudge is hereby any kind of intervention, and is not restricted to any types of media, text, rhetoric, default options, etc. With this method, Thaler and Sunstein challenges the traditional tools for behaviour change such as information, rules, laws, taxes and charges etc.

Cass R. Sunstein is the daily professor at Harvard Law School, and serves as Administrator of Barack Obama's Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, where his efforts helped to introduce nudging politics (Gandel, 2008; 113). An example of one implementation where the nudge-method was essential was the Save More Tomorrow initiative, regarding the 401K pension plans. In the U.S. there are so many citizens who are not saving for the future, it is both because there is a large low-income class, and that there have been almost non-existent interest on savings, particularly retirement savings (Gandel 2008; 114).

This is both a social and economic problem, since people will not have sufficient funds for their retirement. It turned out that it would be beneficial for 50% of Americans to get the pension plan called 401K. Richard H. Thaler and his colleague inside of behavioural economics, Shlomo Benartzi came up with the idea that people could pre-commit to a series of payment increases, perhaps in just a few per cent of their future salary, which is set to increase. By synchronizing payment increases with wage increases, the experience was that people who paid for savings, felt no reduction in income and could go on with their life without being affected by that he or she pays more to his savings (Gandel, 2008; 117). This particular use of the nudge approach also addresses a controversial argument from behavioural economics, that people are not always able to take the decisions that are best for themselves (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 68), and if they were two pay from their current wage, they would feel a sense loss, which is against human nature (Kahneman, 2011; 288). Cass Sunstein in his position as the Administrator of Barack Obama's Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs implemented this by informing workers throughout the US. Many companies and cooperation's implemented this as the default choice of retirement plan, in the work contract with new employees.

The other developer of nudging, Richard H. Thaler, Professor at the University of Chicago in Behavioural Science and Economics, and also the creator and leader of the UK's so-called Nudge Unit, set up by Prime Minister David Cameron in 2009. In fact the name "Nudge unit", resulted in a lot of scepticism among the citizens of the UK. It is suggested by Thaler himself that the term "unit" might be to blame as it is connected with military or the police, and thus a body which by force or manipulation will implement his intention with methods, and of course the results. The unit is now much more accepted, not least due to the harmlessness associated (DR P1 Orientering, April 19th, 2012; 109 min.). An example which helped to demystify the unit was the matter of public subsidy to citizens and businesses could isolate take on their buildings. There were few who took advantage of the system; despite there were many who wanted to get a new roof. The first reaction to a change from the politicians was to increase the subsidy, thus increasing the motivation of individuals and businesses. Cameron's Nudge Unit went into the matter and came up with a solution that went on to help the citizens or companies who were interested in getting moving-men to cleared their ceiling for everything they have up there, and put it in place after the roof was insulated. It was cheaper

than the alternative initiative, and much more efficient (DR P1 Videnskabens Verden, February 5th, 2013; 58 min.).

There are many examples of successful nudges, but some of the most comprehensive launched several years before Thaler and Sunstein defined method. The Mayor of Bogota in Columbian from 2001-2003, Antanas Mockus, launched a campaign to hire 420 pantomime artists to follow and mimic pedestrians who did not comply with traffic rules or wrought waste on the street. If a pedestrian behaved improperly, the pantomime artist would mimic his or her movements and made fun of person in order to, in a humorous and harmless way, taunt and draw attention to the fact that this was not okay. Another example was at a certain point, when Bogota had a shortage of water. By then Mockus appeared on television while he took a bath. He turned off the water every time he soaped himself, and called to viewers to do the same. After only two months used Bogota's residents used 14 per cent less water, and people also discovered that they could save money this way. Water consumption is now 40 per cent smaller than it was then. A third example from the unique mayor was when he had 350,000 cards printed of two characters: thumb up and thumb down. The cards were distributed in the population, who used them to recognize or disapprove citizens' actions. Many began to use them peacefully on the street. With these actions, Antanas Mockus is known as the king of nudges (Engelhardt, 2011; 1).

The definition of nudging by Thaler and Sunstein is relatively short, and consists of a few principles that are to be followed in order for an intervention to be a nudge. The person, organization, company, or whatever it may be, it that creates a given nudge in order to change an existing behaviour should follow the definition in order that it may be a nudge. But the political and moral reality in which the nudge is set must also comply with certain defined principles in order for the nudge to qualify as a nudge.

6.3.2 Libertarian Paternalism

Nudging is based on a term from political philosophy known as "*Libertarian Paternalism*". In this section I will lay out the terms of which this philosophy is structured, and present what Thaler and Sunstein, as founders of nudging, means when they put together these two very

different terms. The section is followed by reviews of the philosophy critiquing its mere possibility of existing as it is reviewed as an oxymoron.

Libertarian Paternalism is a combination of two Latin terms made into one. The terms are both well known, and often used in behavioural economy, and political theory. Together they are not often used, but have been, for example by the late Milton Friedman. "Libertarian" comes from "Liberty", and hereby means a form of freedom to do certain things. John Rawls describes liberty as a certain pattern of social forms, determined by institutions of society (Rawls, 1971; 63). Here it relates to the term paternalism, and Thaler and Sunstein determine the social form. "Paternalism", meaning to guide decisions taken on behalf of others, to choose for others as one would have reason to believe they would chose for themselves, if they were at the age of reason and deciding rationally. Benefactors, guardians, and trustees, such as parents from which the term also originates, have the role of paternalists in making choices on behalf of others (Rawls, 1971; 209). So a controlled freedom is ones immediate perception. Thaler and Sunstein recognises this and therefore describe their understanding of the terms. The aspect of libertarian is straight forward, still understood as people's freedom to do what they like, and to opt out any undesirable arrangements if that is their wish. This term is then used to modify the second term, Paternalism, making the complete term meaning Liberty Preserving. The paternalistic aspect not only modifies the term liberty, but also justifies the role of Choice Architects to influence people to change their behaviour for the better.

"Libertarian paternalism will make it easy for people to go their own way; they will not burden those who want to exercise their freedom " (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 5)

As presented, an important aspect of nudging is the freedom of choice. The person or persons being nudged should always have the choice to choose another behaviour. This is where the liberty aspect complies, and gives a responsibility to the Choice Architect. Thaler and Sunstein gives an example. A policy is "paternalistic" if it tries to influence choices in a way that will make the person better off, judged by themselves (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 5). This is the behavioural economical argument from Kahneman, that people often don't know what is best for themselves, and therefore makes bad decisions in life (Kahneman, 2011; 72). They would not have made that mistake if they had paid full attention when being presented with the

information of the form, or had read and understood it, or combined it with unlimited cognitive abilities, and complete self-control. It would be safe to say that it is the fewest of us that has all of those abilities. Libertarian paternalism is closely related to "asymmetric paternalism", defined as steps toward helping the least sophisticated people, while imposing minimal harm to everyone else. Thaler and Sunstein describes this as the golden rule within libertarian paternalism, again relating to the fact that people often don't have the means to make the right decision (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 5).

A practical example of an innocent usage of libertarian paternalism can be taken from my own life. Recently I visited a restaurant in the central of Copenhagen, with my girlfriend. We ordered what food we thought sounded delicious, I personally chose the seared tuna. When it came to choosing wine, we both agreed that we would like a spicy red wine, but none of us has any particular knowledge of wine, and the all sounded lovely, so we asked the waiter to recommend a bottle for us, and so he did. We had the freedom to choose any wine on the list, but chose to let someone else choose for us. Another example, close to this one, is that many restaurants carry a house wine, which often is an all round wine that is not too expensive. More than that it is often presented at the top of the wine list, and even sometimes with a bigger font. This is a clear nudge, making it easier for the guest whom, like my girlfriend and I, has no particular knowledge about wine to decide a bottle of wine but still with the possibility to choose any other wine on the list.

If the goal of a given nudge is in everyone's interest, it may be referred to as following Libertarian Paternalism, as it implies that people's behaviour is influenced in a manner not prohibiting any kind of relevant psychological choice, or significant change in the choice architects incentives (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 6).

6.3.2.1 Critique of Libertarian Paternalism

The most obvious critique of the term libertarian paternalism, is that it is an oxymoron, and thereby by definition a non-starter. Thaler and Sunstein themselves recognizes that that is a fair assumption when being presented with the term, but stresses that choice architects can preserve the freedom of choice while also nudging people in directions that will improve their lives (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 255).

Gregory Mitchell of Northwestern University disagrees and states that paternalism is inevitable where preferences exhibit irrational sensitivity to the choice frame. Furthermore Thaler and Sunstein fails to justify the choice of welfare over liberty as the value guiding the paternalistic side of libertarian paternalism. Thus they surrender too much libertarian ground to the paternalist (Mitchell, 2005; 1246) Ironically, by framing their argument, Thaler and Sunstein takes advantage of the cognitive limitations of the libertarian to lead him or her to believe that libertarian paternalism really is good for him or her (Mitchell, 2005; 1276). The British professor Sociology and Social Policy at the University of London, Chris Bonell also argues that libertarian paternalism is an oxymoron. Bonell works with public health and states that this is not cohesive and generally goes beyond giving information, and already seeks to influence how choices are presented. Nudging and the acceptance of libertarian paternalism is striving in Britain, and public health policies should be based on the best available evidence, but the government has shown a worrying tendency to undermine the collection of such evidence (Bonell, 2011; 242) Bonell's worries is shared by the Director of the Behaviour and Health Research Unit at Cambridge University, Professor Theresa M. Marteau (2011), whom doesn't argue against the composition of libertarian paternalism, as much as she emphasizes worry the lack of evidence of the effects of nudging before implementing it in the British health care system.

6.3.2.2 Using libertarian paternalism for cleaner streets

An eye-catching nudge in the streets of Copenhagen concerns the usage, or lack of usage, of garbage bins. In the fall of 2011, a group of fourth semester students at Roskilde University Center completed a project using nudging as a tool to minimize garbage on the streets and increase the amount of garbage in the bins. The nudge was designed or architected from a libertarian paternalistic view by provide a solution to a problem within society while not prohibiting any alternative options (Thygesen, Thomsen, Bach et al, 2011; 10). Copenhagen has the ambition to become the cleanest city in Europe by 2015, and has initiated the campaign, "Ren By", translated, "Clean City". Their surveys showed that 90% of Danes finds it "*very wrong to throw trash in the streets*", yet more trash was thrown in the streets that seen before (Thygesen, Thomsen, Bach et al., 2011; 19). Surveys also showed that the problem was related to the space. People had more tendencies to throw trash in corners than

in the open streets, and if there already is thrash in the streets, it seems more legit to throw trash on top of that.

An idea from the students at Roskilde University Center, was to make the bins more eye-catching, with clear yellow footprints leading to from the street or sidewalk to the streets, as shown in the picture below. To test the efficacy of the footprints, the students wanted to quantify the amount of garbage in the streets before the footprints were placed, and then again after, known as A-B test design, described by Colin Robson (2011). This resulted in one afternoon the students stood at Fiolstræde, a busy walking-street with many shops and restaurants in central Copenhagen and handed out 1000 paper wrapped caramels, count the paper from the caramels that is in the streets and in the garbage bins in Fiolstræde and side streets, then lay the clear yellow footprints and hand out another 1000 paper wrapped caramels again, and count the number of caramel papers in the streets and bins after that. The results showed an increase in papers in the bins of 7%, and a decrease of papers in the streets of 4%, which equals to 70 more pieces of caramel paper in the garbage bins, and 40 pieces less in the streets (Thygesen, Thomsen, Bach et al., 2011; 53).

After the project the clear yellow footprints were implemented in Copenhagen's city plan for a cleaner city toward the goal in 2015, and are now seen through out the city.

This is an example of a simple yet efficient nudge, following all the aspects of the definition, as the intervention does not forbid the person with the caramel to throw the paper (or entire caramel) in the street, and there are no incentives from the person nudging, economic or other.

The definition of nudging is based on principles and terms as "libertarian paternalism", "behavioural economics", and "theory of justice", that will be described further in this section of the thesis, all which the garbage bin nudge fulfils, according to Thaler and Sunstein.

6.3.3 The social contract to a just society

This section will describe a reality of which a nudge must exist in order to be a nudge. This reality must live up to certain principles, securing justice, liberty, and transparency for the recipient of a given nudge. These ethical aspects are described in this chapter concerning theory and review's, because they are to be compared to the digital lifeworld of which the Webpuf nudge exists, and the if the actual nudge lives up to those principles, based on the

interviews and observations of SWC. All with the purpose to analyse whether these principles are a part of SWC's practices

John Rawls, the British political philosopher, has with his book, "*A Theory of Justice*", described 32 principles defining what makes a just society. Thaler and Sunstein refers to some of Rawls principles as being essential present in the in which a nudge can exist in order to qualify as a nudge. They lean to what Rawls calls "the social contract", describing principles that, if upheld, will construct the basics for a just society, both political and civil. Social contract, which was inspired by the works of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, describing the hypothetical action that takes place when different individuals that come with each of their starting point, together find a contract for community action that they can all agree on. This contract gives citizens rights, while the citizens give some of their sovereignty. It is based on a contract that you can create a society in which people have a common understanding of the very same society (**Rawls, 1971; 11**).

There are two overall principles to justice, and within those are various principles, five of those are focused on in the theory behind nudging:

1. "*The principle of publicity*"
2. "*The principle of fairness*"
3. "*The principle of difference*"
4. "*The publicity liberty*"
5. "*The principle of transparency*"

These five principles will be descried in this chapter, for the purpose to relate the principles to the setting of the SWC campaign, and especially the Niels Brock Business College case, in and thereby establish whether the campaign lives up to the principles

In order for any society to work a principle of fairness must exist. This principle is not per say part of the background for the social contract, but a general principle referring to the principle of publicity. By fairness Rawls means that the state and its social institutions are required to be fair to people regardless of their race, gender, religion, ethnicity and the like (Rawls, 1971; 112). This leads to the publicity principle, which in its simplest form bans a given government from selecting policies that it would not be able or willing to defend in a

public domain to its own citizens. A government should respect the people whom it governs, and if it creates policies that it could not defend in public, it thereby fails to manifest respect, and instead use people as means to manipulate their true agenda. The publicity principle aims to ensure the population, by making basic social structures and institutions publicly known and accepted. The principle hereby guarantees society's citizens to be critical to society's structures and institutions. Because of those reasons, Thaler and Sunstein argues that the publicity principle is a good guideline for constraining and implementing nudges, both in the public and private sector (Rawls, 1971; 248).

Rawls describes the steps to a just society, and the first step is called the veil of ignorance. That describes that principles of justice must originate from a state of ignorance to ensure that no one is advantaged or disadvantaged in the choices of principles by the outcome of natural chance or the contingency of social circumstances (Rawls, 1971; 12). The parties need to be situated in a position where they do not know how the various alternatives will affect their own case, and they are obligated to evaluate principles solely on the basis of general considerations. The choices must have consequences (Rawls, 1971; 137). Rawls gives an example to justify this position:

"*if a man knew that he was wealthy, he might find it rational to advance the principle that various taxes for welfare measures be counted unjust; if he knew that he were poor, he would most likely propose the contrary principle. To represent the desired restrictions, one imagines a situation in which everyone is deprived of this sort of information*" (Rawls, 1971; 18)

Rawls explains that if "*rational persons concerned to advance their interests*" found themselves in this type of original position, they would agree to a social contract in which there existed an equal distribution of liberties and social goods (Rawls, 1971; 17). The parties to the social contract will then eventually reason their way using a pair of fundamental laws, which Rawls calls the *Two Principles of Justice*. The first principle states:

"*Each person is to have equal right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty for others*" (Rawls, 1971; 60)

Further on he elaborates on the first principle:

"... Political liberty (the right to vote and to be eligible for public office) together with freedom of speech and assembly; liberty f conscience and freedom of thought; freedom of the person along with the right to hold (personal) property; and freedom from arbitrary arrest and seizure as defined by the rule of law. These liberties are all required to be equal to the first principle, since citizens of a just society are to have the same basic rights" (Rawls, 1971; 61)

This citation describes how Rawls principle of justice values personal freedom and it concretises liberties what could be target for interpretation in the first of the two principles of justice.

The second principle of justice states:

"Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both (a) reasonably expected to be to everyone's advantage, and (b) attached to positions and offices open to all" (Rawls, 1971; 61)

The second principle applies to the distribution of income and wealth, and to the design of organisations that make use of differences in authority and responsibilities, or chains in command. The distribution needs not be equal, but to everyone's advantage. As interesting as this principle is, Thaler and Sunstein does not refer to this principle in their theory behind nudging, and therefore it is also not relevant to the usage of nudging in the setting of the SWC campaign, so I will not elaborate further on this in this thesis.

The social contract originated from the veil of ignorance creates two overall principles of justice, "*the principle of liberty*", and "*the principle of difference*", that together will develop a just society, in which all individuals will be able to accept (Rawls, 1971; 63).
The principle of difference's role in the just society is to accommodate societies weakest. Rawls points out that there must be no inequality in the distribution of social primary goods unless it is for the weakest's advantage (Rawls, 1971; 75).
The principle of liberty outshines all other principles that Rawls describe. In "A Theory of Justice", he has arranged the principles in a lexical system, where a satisfaction of a subordinate principle cannot give a lower degree of satisfaction of the overall principle. The principle of liberty is lexically subordinate to the other 32 principles and is therefore the

guiding principle. This means that the principle of liberty has the highest ranking in the theory of justice. This principle alone covers most of the first principle of justice, about basic liberties that includes political, as well as civil liberty as meaningful fundamentals for a liberal democratic society (Rawls, 1971; 61) Within the principle exists other principles such as the freedom of speech, and religious freedom.

Lastly Rawls describe the principle of transparency by explaining that at some point we were all children from different, but groups in society, but by nature we possess the same talents, and should have equal opportunities to achieve the same position. There should be no social barriers in society, resulting in certain social groups have more difficulties or advantages, than others to reach a certain social position (Rawls, 1971; 61).

6.3.3.1 Thaler and Sunstein's usage of the principles of justice

Nudging can touch any aspect of society, and therefore the construction and frames of society must be included in the nudge theory in order for it to live up to the ethical standards under which the choice architect is working. The well known nudge created and performed with the Save More Tomorrow pension plan programme is a good example of the need for a positive relation to the principles of justice. To recap, the Save More Tomorrow arose from a United States nation wide problem with people not putting enough money aside for their retirement plan. There are many private retirement plans, but they were not the problem as these are for the wealthier citizens. The problem is the everyday citizens not feeling they can afford the public retirement plan, known as the 401K plans. Shlomo Bernartzi and Richard Thaler, working for the Obama administration at the time, investigated the problem. People said they couldn't afford it. I was too much money that had to be paid at one time. Bernartzi and Thaler also knew that when people get more money, they use more money, so even if people get a raise at their work, they still don't feel they can afford to pay more, or maybe at all, for their retirement pension. Another aspect is that people have difficulties buying what they cannot see, or use right away. By paying for something you can't benefit from for many years, makes people feel an aversion of loss. Bernartzi and Thaler came up with the idea to make a form, committing the future buyer to the 401K, but not paying until they get a raise in salary, and only a percentage here of. This way the person buying the 401K plan, doesn't even realise he

or she is paying more, as the salary has not gone down (Bernartzi and Thaler, 2004; 3). That form is a nudge, changing people's behaviour to buy something that is good for them. People are explicitly informed of the nature of the proposal, and specifically asked if they accept the terms, all in cohesion with the principle of practice.

When it comes to transparency, Thaler and Sunstein agree that there can be problems if government officials, elected or otherwise are captured by private sector interest, whose representatives are seeking to nudge people that will promote their specific goals. Thereby not saying that the private sector's goal conflicts with the interests of the customers or users. The real worry is about the choice architects, public and private alike. Thaler and Sunstein argue that there should be rules of engagement that reduce fraud and other abuse in choice architecture, and that it should promote healthy competition, restrict the power of interest groups, and create incentives to make the choice architects serve the public interest. The primary goal in both the private and the public sector should be to increase transparency (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 243)

6.3.3.2 Critiques of nudging's relation to principles of justice

In this chapter I will present some of the reviewed critiques of the relation of nudging and Rawls justice principles, from the scholars Daniel M. Hausman and Brynn Welch (2010), and Luc Bovens (2009) from the London School of Economics and Political Science. I will use the reviews to support my analysis whether the Webpuf nudge, and the nudging practices lives up to Rawls principles of justice.

Daniel M. Hausman and Brynn Welch, of the University of Wisconsin, has with their article "Debate: To Nudge or Not to Nudge" mostly criticised Thaler and Sunsteins usage of Libertarian Paternalism, but also discusses the usage of Rawls principles of justice, as these intertwine. They primarily see an issue on the matter of subliminal messaging.

Thaler and Sunstein admits that a nudge can resemble subliminal advertising, and explains that the principles of publicity and transparency projects that a nudge can't become such (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 247). They present an example experienced by Sunstein at a rock festival. It was a hot summer, and there were huge signs saying "YOU SWEAT IN THE HEAT: YOU LOOSE WATER", a simple nudge getting people to remember to drink sufficient water.

This might seem subliminal, but the principles of publicity and transparency are fulfilled, so it qualifies as a nudge. Subliminal messaging does seem to run afoul of the publicity principle. People truly dislike such messaging because they are being influenced without being informed of the fact (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 248). Hausman and Welch does not agree, and argue that Rawls principle require that principles be known and understood by the public, not merely that be publicly defensible (Hausman and Welch, 2010; 132). According to the transparency of the nudge, Bovens can't see the difference from this and the cafeteria nudge earlier presented, where bigger plates were switched with smaller ones. He speaks of two types of transparency: *type interference transparency* and *token interference transparency*. If the government says they are going to be using certain types of psychological mechanisms to solve certain problems in society, it's type interference transparency. The government is transparent about its intentions. In that case the government could state that they would use nudging as means to solve certain societal problems, but Thaler and Sunstein dismisses that argument without further explanation. Regarding the token interference transparency, this concerns being exposed to a particular image at a particular time, by means of subliminal imaging. So if being nudged, the person being nudged must always be able to recognise the he or she is being nudged. So if we go back to the cafeteria nudge, should there be a sign before the buffet, saying that in order or make the consumers lose weight, the plates have now been switched with smaller ones, so you don't eat as much as usual. That would defeat the purpose of the nudge (Bovens, 2009; 219)

6.3.4 Behavioural Economics

This chapter explains the origin of behavioural economics, as well as what is understood by the term. Behavioural economics covers all of human behaviour, and that is a little too much to describe in this thesis. I will explain basic human behaviour as Daniel Kahneman describes it in his critically acclaimed book, "*Thinking Fast and Slow*" (2011). In 1971, Daniel Kahneman first talked about how behavioural economics should help to make behavioural changes instead of the traditional methods, such as rules of law, information, control, etc., and hereby the founding stone of nudging principle was laid. Often nudges seem simple, and it's almost always easy to be wise after the event, and say that the nudges are good and obvious ideas.

The same people who argue that, often don't come up with similar solutions, but dwell on past solutions (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 6).

"The proof that you truly understand a pattern of behaviour is that you know how to reverse it" (*Kahneman, Daniel, 2011: 133*)

Traditionally, human decisions and behaviour have been based on a more simplistic view of human nature, and has been regarded as rational and selfish. This model of human perception is known as "*Homo Eoconomicus*", basically meaning "*The Economic Human Being*", and describes that humans are rational beings with the ability to process all perceptions rationally (Schou, 2005; 1). It used to be the common view that human behaviour is coherent with its views and attitudes. Kahneman laid those views to rest, and described human behaviour, as being decided within two systems of thinking. The two systems are the intuitive and the reflective system. There is no, limit to the number of questions to which a human can answer, whatever it is another person asking, or one self asking a given question. Similarly, there is no limit to what you can capture and evaluate on; How many steps are there on this staircase, How many hours will I work to earn 2,000 DKK? The reflective system captures these questions and searching for the answer in memory and knowledge. The intuitive system works differently. It continuously captures what is going on both inside and outside the mind, and assesses the picking, but without a proper objective, and without it being an effort. These basic assessments have an important role in the intuitive system, and are quickly drawn to the more complicated issues that are assessed by the reflective system. It intuitive system feature is the ability to replace an assessment with another, and translate values across dimensions, as a person does when he or she can answer a simple question such as "What is your name?" or "How old are you?". When the rational system processes the answers a question or evaluate a given situation, it initiates connections of basic assessments derived from system one. This is shaped by evolution and the given persons own experiences; Is that a threat? Should I approach or avoid?, "Is this an opportunity or a threat?". Questions that may seem more appropriate for a gazelle, than for a human, but these neutral mechanisms are inherited in humans through evolution (Kahneman, 2011; 90). System two is not a paragon of rationality. Its capabilities are limited, and so is the knowledge that it has access to. We do not always think clearly when we reason, and the failures are not always due to intrusive or

wrong intuitions. Often we make mistakes because we (our reflective) simply don't know any better.

"We defined the availability heuristic as the process of judging frequency by the ease with which instances come to mind" (Kahneman 2011; 129)

Extreme predictions and a willingness to predict rare events from weak evidence are both manifestations of the intuitive system. It is natural for the associative machineries to match predictions for the supposed "evidence" which they are based. Thus works the substitution function in the intuitive system, and it is natural for the intuitive system to generate and secure decisions, because confidence is determined by the consistency of the best story a person can tell from the evidence at hand (Kahneman, 2011; 194). Figure 4 lists keywords related to the two systems, supporting the abilities mentioned.

Intuitive System (system 1)	Reflective System (system 2)
Uncontrolled	Controlled
Effortless	Effortful
Associative	Deductive
Fast	Slow
Unconscious	Self-aware
Skilled	Rule following

Figure 4 – Keywords related to respectively the intuitive system, and the reflective system (Hansen & Jespersen 2013:13)

6.3.4.1 Social Norms and Biases

Writing a section about social norms in human behaviour is ambitious and could probably be written on as many pages as a section about fish in the oceans. I will therefor narrow it down focus on what the term social norms covers, as these are the ones adopted by SWC. Humans like to follow norms. In that way instinctively know that we're not doing anything wrong. Often if a person is unintentionally behaving outside of a norm, the mere information that "everybody" else is doing something else, it is likely to change the person's behaviour instantly. This norm is closely related to the norm that if a person want's too act in a certain way, and writes it down, or tells someone close to him, he will be more likely to fulfil this behaviour (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 56).

Related to Kahneman's dual process is the aspect of bias, describing the notion that individuals suffers from systematic biases when it comes to making decisions. All individuals are what we would call everyday people, relying on everyday human cognitive systems, and, according to Thaler and Sunstein, some errors have some clear and predictable traits. The cognitive biases influence decision-making, among other things can cause individuals tend to overestimate their own abilities (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 35) and that individuals tend to use random reference points without knowing it (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 25). Thaler and Sunstein describes a number biases that influence choice, however, those are not the focus at hand, but the point of the impact on the choices made. A successful nudge will result in a more appropriate behaviour for the individual subject, and this can usefully be done through the systematic errors that occur in humans cognitive system (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 35). The decisions in which individuals often suffer from biases and the consequences thus becomes inappropriate, has some general features in common. *"Decisions that are difficult and rare, for which they do not get prompt feedback, and when they having trouble translating aspects of the situation into terms that they can easily understand* " (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 79). At the same time, when decisions classified as above that choice architects should use a nudge so that individuals ultimately take the appropriate decisions.

6.3.4.2 Loss aversion

A noticeable part of Kahneman's (2011) description of behavioural economics concerns the principle of "loss aversion". This principle is has a great deal of influence in the design of nudges from SWC, and especially KL7 focuses on this in their presentations of hoe they practice nudging. The thesis will cover this aspect of behavioural economics, as Loss aversion is part of the SWC strategy to focus on in the campaign, and in the Webpuf nudge. In the analysis to come I will compare the theory of loss aversion, as I present it in this section, to the actual practice, and presentation of practice.

To explain the loss of aversion principle, then it is most educational to do so through an example. Studies have shown that if you take the case of a coin toss, and say that you will lose 100 dollars, if the coin shows heads, but you can win 150 dollars if the coin shows tails. Most people choose to turn down the gamble. The fear of losing 100 dollars is more intense than

the hope of winning 150 dollars. The rejection of the gamble is an act of Kahneman's system 2, but the critical inputs are purely emotional responses generated by system 1. The conclusion is that losses are ranked higher in decision making than gains, this people are loss averse (Kahneman, 2012; 283).

This knowledge about human behaviour can be used within nudging, and has. The nudge from the Save More Tomorrow programme is an example of that. People don't like to see the amount on their pay check to go down, as it would if they were to pay more for their retirement plan, by only paying with a given percentage of the raise, when given. People never see their take-home amount decrease, and thereby don't feel a loss (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 114).

6.3.5 Choice Architecture

The practical usage of nudging is based on the knowledge of human behaviour, and the allegiance to libertarian paternalism (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 6). I earlier stated that the paternalistic part justified the usage of choice architects, as people often make decisions that are directly bad for themselves and possibly society. In this chapter I will demystify the term as Thaler and Sunstein uses it, by revealing who can take on the role as a choice architect, and the responsibilities that follow with the title, as well as the followers justification of its use. This is to be determined in order to analyse if the choice architects, or behavioural designers, as they call themselves, in the SWC campaign justifiably can take on the role, and whether they live up to the responsibilities that follow. Thaler, Sunstein and co-author John P. Batz of the University of Chicago, have dedicated an article on choice architecture, and in this it is defined as the following:

"A choice architect has the responsibility for organizing the context in which people make decisions" (Thaler, Sunstein and Balz, 2008; 2)

With this short definition it is clear that a choice architect can be almost everybody, and it is. Most people don't even realise it. A doctor describing available treatments to patients, a parent explaining educational options, a canteen manager choosing the placement of foods in the canteen, and so forth. These examples give an idea of the variety in which choice

architects exist, and they are everywhere people make decisions, so only the imagination can set the boundaries. As well as many people don't realise they are choice architects they don't realise they are being influenced, by "architectural changes", toward other behaviour. Influences can be easy to identify, like the earlier mentioned fly in the urinal, but sometimes influences can also be difficult to identify, especially if the person is in a situation where he or she would think there would be an interest in change of behaviour (Thaler, Sunstein and Balz, 2009; 3).

With that knowledge, it is safe to say a lot of people practice choice architecture without ethical consideration, as they may be criminal or have incentives related to personal profit in any kind of form. This sort of choice architecture is not related to nudging, as the architecture then has to live up to the definition of nudging, and be in a setting in sync with, respectively, *the principles of practice and publicity, and the principle of freedom*, defined by John Rawls.

A common question is often related to the need of choice architects, but as earlier stated, according to behavioural economics, people have a tendency to make bad decisions, and will in many cases need guidance. For example many Americans has insured their iPhone more than their own life, children for that matter, and the average lottery spending for Americans is close to 1000 dollars, which according to Bernartzi is more an act of desperation than rationality. Guidance is needed, and this is a job for the choice architect (Bernartzi and Thaler, 2004; 2).

In order to master choice architecture, it's a good idea to have insight into behavioural economics in order to have an idea of the effect of ones influence to change behaviour. That being said, it's by far always as complicated as rocket science. Often in order to change behaviour, a choice architect might simply inform people about other people's behaviour. The practices of other people can be surprising to an individual, and with the human urge to follow norms, there's a good chance the individual will change behaviour (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 66). Even though many aspects of behavioural economics it is not rocket science, it is often the small things in human behaviour that we don't think about, that will make the difference. An example is seen with the countries Austria and Germany, that in many cases can be compared, but not when it comes to organ donation. In Germany, when a person passes the drivers test and is issued a drivers licence, the information chart with name, social security number etc., is written there's a box to check if the person wishes to register as an organ donor. 12% checks the box. In Austria it is exactly the same way with only one

difference. The text related to the box says to check if the person does _not_ want to be an organ donor. Again about 12% crosses, making 88% of all drivers, organ donors. Surveys state that in both countries very few are against organ donation, people just don't like to check boxes; it's easier not to get involved. This is an example of a simple, yet very effect-full, insight into human behaviour.

When the behaviour change is focused on improvement of performance rather than changing behaviour, feedback is set to be the best way. A simple example is when your laptop warns you that the battery is very low, thereby giving you a timeframe to plug in the power cord before your laptop shuts down. The feedback is in this case helping you making a decision that will result in you can keep working on your laptop (Thaler, Sunstein and Balz, 2008; 8). The American nationwide chain of supermarkets, Walmart, has used this to their advantage. By registering as a customer, a system will know all your purchases, and how often you buy them, quickly learning how often you need items. The system will then remind the customer what items he or she most likely will need to their household. Thereby it also becomes an advantage for the customer, if he or she has no problems with Walmart knowing all their purchases (CenterForMediaJustice.org, June 6th, 2014).

6.4 Description of Current Online Movie- and Music Services

This is the third section of the chapter concerning the theories and principles used in the thesis. In this section I will present relevant aspects of the current online movie and music services, legal and illegal.

6.4.1 The current online movie- and music services

In the wake of the Internet fast speeds have become faster and faster, access to larger and larger files have kept pace, especially the streaming and downloading of movies and music. For several years the access to these websites has only been illegal, as the legal online services didn't exist. Illegal digital access to music came several years earlier than the film, of course, due to the file size of a song, or album, for that matter, is much smaller than the file size of the movie. In the spring of 2007 iTunes launched and since then a lot of other legal alternatives in Denmark, services like Spotify, Wimp, and Deezer are popular. In 2013 the Danes got access to

the legal movie services. They were Netflix, HBO Nordic, and YouBio, and put a new focus on the problem of the behaviour of illegal streaming and torrent services since before the launches were not a legal alternative to watching movies digitally. On the present Danish marked the main services within movies and TV and movies are Netflix, HBO Nordic, YouBio, TV2 Play, and Viaplay.

6.4.2 Netflix and their attempt to be unique

In 2013 the Danes were presented to the American movie- and TV-series service, Netflix. Other similar services like HBO Nordic, YouBio, and TV2 Play also emerged in this period, but in an attempt to stand out Netflix has constructed something different. First of all they have taken advantage of the fact that they have first hand access to actual behaviour with their service. Meaning they register all clicks, and how long the users stay on certain pages. That way they could register people's favourite genre, actors, and directors. As an example this has resulted in the hit TV-series, House of Cards, a political thriller directed by David Fincher, and starring in the lead is Kevin Spacey and Robin Wright, all a construction of the knowledge gained by monitoring the traffic (Coyle, 2013; 1).

"*When we got into original programming, I wanted it to be loud and deliberate*" -Ted Sarandos, Head of Content at Netflix (Coyle, 2013; 1)

Not only that but the behaviour on Netflix showed that the users often watched a several episodes or entire seasons of TV-shows within a short period of time, and not so much new shows that wasn't finished. With that knowledge, Netflix has released each season right away. At the release date 13 new episodes were available. Season 2 was released on Valentine's Day, Friday February 14th 2014, and approximately 2% or 600.000 users saw the entire 13 episodes within that first weekend (DR P1, Hardisken, January 3rd, 2014; 57 min.).
The user surface on Netflix is easy and intuitive, making it an attractive legal option, see figure 5. The feedback from the users is generally positive, but some of the returning critiques are that there are inconsistencies in many TV-Shows, such as the fact that Netflix carries season 3 and 4 of Breaking Bad, but not the previous seasons (Kunstmann, May 15th, 2014)
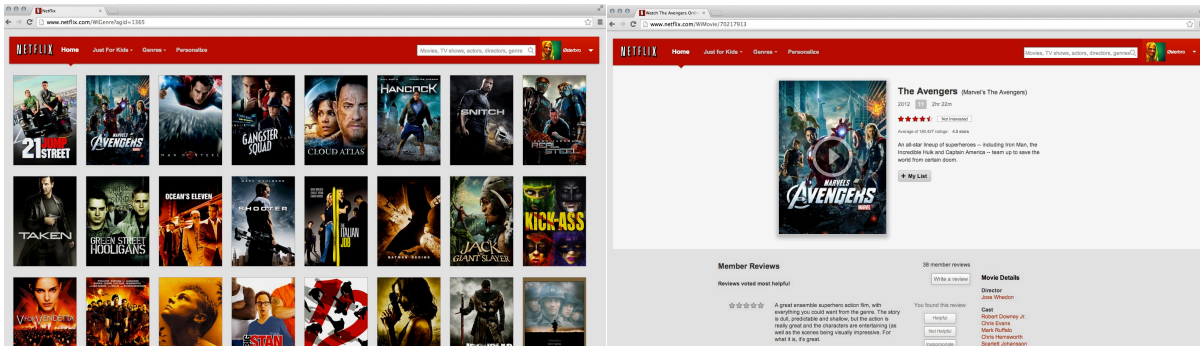
Fig X – Screen views of the user-surface of Netflix

The same strategy has been used in TV-series, as Orange is the New Black, Derek, and Hemlock Grove, and it seems to be a succes. By far not all want to see all episodes at once, but they want the possibility. The social practice with watching movies and TV-series has changed with services like Netflix and their usage of user driven innovation (DR P1 Harddisken, January 3rd, 2014; 57 min.).

6.4.3 Illegal Popcorn

The legal services are not the only ones listening to the users. In fact most illegal movie- and music services are created and driven by former hard core users of peer to peer distribution, and has first hand knowledge about the main demographic of the users of the illegal services. What could be argued as the most feared innovation in the eyes of the legal movie services is the release of Popcorn TV. Based in Argentina, Popcorn TV is an illegal online service providing movies and TV-series, but it differs from all other services by functioning as a gate to a wide range of illegal services. In practice this means that if a user wises to watch The Wolf Of Wall Street, he can type it in and the technology from Popcorn Time is connected to a working service (Panzarino, 2014; 1). Figure 5 shows the user surface of Popcorn Time. It is very similar to the user surface of Netflix, or other legal services for that matter. So if a user did not know it was illegal to interact with the Popcorn Time, they could easily be fooled.
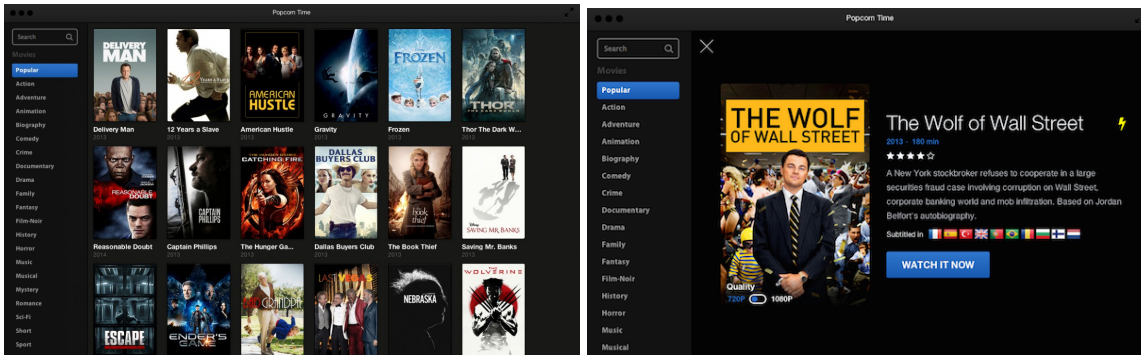
Figure 5 – Screen view of the illegal streaming service; Popcorn Time. This does not differ much from the screen views of Netflix and the likes.

On the site of the service there is a link to Popcorn Time's Facebook fan page, and to the Popcorn Time Android application for mobile phones and tablets using Android. This indicates that the organizers of the service do not view themselves as being criminal. The website looks a lot like a traditional service as Netflix and YouBio, and naive or uninformed users could in my opinion mistake Popcorn Time as a legal service.
Many other similar services exist, and I have chosen to present this example to highlight the fact that these services, especially within movies and TV-series is not disappearing. On the contrary, a service like Popcorn Time, is presenting exactly what the user is asking for; the newest material, and cheap. It only cost the view of a dozen banner commercials, on which the organizers of the services make their profit. This fact has made these services into a good business, and with that development the typical organizer, only a few years ago, was a dedicated user of the services and a believer of Internet-neutrality, meaning everything should be free on the Internet, and for everybody to see (Jørgensen, May 22nd, 2014).

There are several arguments illegal online movie services to be viewed as a relevant social group, as they are the focus of the campaign, and their interpretations could be valuable for determination of the stabilization of the Webpuf nudge and SWC's practice of their approach with nudging. Due to the fact that their services are illegal in most of the world, and their servers are located in exotic countries such as Argentina, and the Cayman Islands, and the fact that this study focuses on Denmark, it seemed as naïve as it did difficult to follow. Digital data that could indicate anything was not possible to find.

6.5 Litterature to support the analysis

The following section of the theory and review chapter will focus on the theoretical arguments that will support my analysis in the next chapter. The theories will theories will address Latours (1979, 1992) descriptions of inscriptions and scripts. This is to be able to give a constructivist analysis of SWC's practice of both gaining and especially presenting data, strengthening their arguments in the construction of the Webpuf nudge. Further I will present new aspects of behavioural economics, about human's tendency to lie and cheat (Ariely 2013), and tendencies for groups to wrongly accept norms, making them harder to convert to other norms. Following that, I will present a review based mostly on Thaler and Sunsteins "*Nudge – Improving Decisions in Health Wealth and Happiness*". This review argues that nudges can be divided into four categories by the parameters of whether the nudge is transparent or not, and on Kahnemans dual process system. This will support my categorisation, where Hansen's focuses on ethics, mine focuses on the level of possible difficulties interventions can encounter.

6.5.1 Inscriptions and Scripts

This section will shortly clarify the terms "inscriptions" and "scripts", from Latours work (1979, 1992), and latter review from Anders Blok and Torben Elgaard Jensen (2009). The reason for presenting this is to give an understanding of SWC's practices, as a great aspect of this is giving presentations of test results showing behavioural tendencies and the likes, both verbally, supported by Power Point slides, on their website, sharewithcare.dk, and finally in monthly reports printed on paper. Power Point, Websites, and printed reports are all inscriptions, as they are means of communications (Latour, 1990; 14). The inscriptions originate from a given inscription device. These inscriptions are what Latour call "immutable- and compatible mobiles", referring to the argument that they are to be tampered with, with both colour, size, be combined, and be mobile as they can be printed on paper etc. The interesting aspect of the immutable- and compatible mobiles in this case is the strengthening of the arguments made from the inscriptions. According to Latour, graphs and similar

inscriptions radiate strong and persuasive arguments, perceived by the person being presented with the inscription (Blok and Jensen, 2009; 76).

In 1992, Latour along with Madeleine Akrich developed the term "script" with the purpose to describe the manifold roles technological artefacts posses in a given network. They can be compared to an actual movie script that prescribes the actions of the actors in the movie, Akrich and Latours script is a measure of how the technological artefact are designed to be used. In other words, designers anticipate how users will interact with their technological artefact, and build prescriptions for use into the materiality of the artefact. Technological artefacts can evoke certain behaviour. They describe a speed bump can invite drivers to drive slowly, because of its ability to damage the shock absorbers. Akrich and Latour gives other examples such as a car can demand from the driver to wear seatbelts, or an alarm will go off; A plastic cup has the script to be thrown in the garbage bin, where as a porcelain cup asks to be washed after use. Technological artefacts influence human behaviour, and these influences are can be understood as terms of scripts. Akrich and Latour actually describe this inscription process in terms of delegation; designers of technologies to delegate specific responsibilities to artefacts so that humans don't drive too fast, and remember to buckle our seatbelt (Akrich and Latour 1992: 262).

6.5.2 The Honest Truth About Dishonesty

Dan Ariely, Professor of Psychology and Behavioural Economics at Duke University, studies people's abilities and willingness to lie, cheat, and steal.

People will have a tendency to up-size their illegal or cheating behaviour if there is one or more links to what they consider real theft or cheating. One of Ariely's experiments is a fairly simple test with graduate students at Duke university, this experiment showed that if the students were given a test for which they would be given an amount of money for each correct answer. After they were given the correct answers, and after that they should themselves count and tell the Test Facilitator how many correct answers they got, and collect the cash right there. Another similar test was given to the same students later that week, the only thing changed was that when the students told the Facilitator their score, they got a note with the score, to give to a person just 12 feet away whom would give them cash equivalent to the amount on the note. The results were that in the second test, twice as many students

cheated, and got the same amount as those who cheated in the first test (Ariely, 2013; 35). All of those who cheated in test number two all came with a similar reason for cheating. It doesn't really feel like cheating when you don't directly get money from the facilitator. In the same way it can be argued that when the user of online illegal movie- and music services, recognize the action as illegal; this doesn't necessarily trigger the users moral values. Or does it? Dan Ariely introduces the term *"Fudge Factor"*. This term covers the individual's acceptance to compromise with his or her values. According to Ariely, everybody has this ability to an individual extent (Ariely, 2013; 37).

6.5.3 Pluralistic Cascades

A Sunday morning, not too long ago, I went to the local bakery to buy bread, a Danish, and a newspaper, for what should be a pleasant morning. The line was long at the bakery, and I had time to inform myself about the selection and one particular bread caught my attention. When it finally was my turn, I asked the young girl who was expedite me, if there was gluten in bread. I was greeted with a "*I don't know*" and immediately after "*Would you like anything else?*" she asked. I cleared my throat and thought and thought to my self that I had also been 16 once, so I should be nice, so I tried again. "*Can you find out if there's gluten in the bread?*" I asked patiently. Her co-worker next to her heard me, but also looked like a question mark, and this was not only because she didn't know the answer to my question, but it turned out it was also because of the fact that could ask such a question. It turned out that none of the young women who worked in the bakery knew if there was gluten in the bread in question. Apparently, there was a general position in the bakery that if none of my colleagues know, the customer cannot expect that the clerk should know. Besides of it being an annoying situation, it was also an example of pluralistic ignorance. This can be described as a situation where the majority of a group each reject a norm, and incorrectly assume that others accept it (Hansen and Hendricks, 2011; 25). It seemed to apply to in the bakery that it is fully acceptable for all parties to remain ignorant about the products, and they acted surprised as if the customer also should accept this. Even though something can seem straightforward for some, this does not mean that everybody has the same idea.

It is not only in the bakery pluralistic cascades prevail. We all know situations like the one I experienced this otherwise fine Sunday morning. For the curious reader, I can tell you that I

learned that if I lean over the counter, I could inspect the small sign in the bread, which said that it was gluten-free, and I bought bread. That just made the situation more absurd. Another example of pluralistic ignorance is the bystander effect. This expresses that it is actually more dangerous to get injured in a place where there are many people, as the possibility for someone aid you decreases.

Within the application and the behaviour with digital services, pluralistic cascades are suspected to be part of the reason for individual's behaviour. Norms are affecting people's behaviour, and if the norm is misunderstood, or flat out wrong, this will still guide the behaviour. If pluralistic cascades are nurtured, it is manipulative in the sense of the actor influenced by pluralistic cascades is behaving in accordance with it and thereby potentially spreading it as a decease as others will potentially mistake it for a "real" norm (Hansen and Hendricks, 2011; 17).

6.5.4 Dividing nudges

There are some types of nudges that can be problematic because, in practice, they cannot be recognised as something trying to influence us to change our behaviour. Such influences are well known, and expected from industries, but if it's by democratic politicians there is a problem because the values a nation or community leads in a democracy is very different from business (DR P1 Orientering, April 19th, 2012; 109 min.). Pelle Guldborg Hansen and co-author Andreas Maaløe Jespersen have researched the issues surrounding transparency of some nudges, and which of Kahneman's two systems, they effect (Hansen and Jespersen, 2013). Hansen and Jespersen argue that nudging is not necessarily about the manipulation of choice as transparency of policy making is an important issue and depends on concepts such as respect, deliberation, acceptance, and accountability. It is therefore crucial to establish to what extent nudging works by manipulation of choice or the manipulation of behaviour (Hansen and Jespersen, 2013; 15). I have earlier presented Rawls publicity principle, which endorse transparency as a principle to follow for any just government (Rawls, 1971; 49). Thaler and Sunstein concludes that the publicity principle is a good guideline for constraining and implementing nudges, in both the private and public sectors (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 245).

Hansen and Jespersen argue that for example the fly in the urinal, or the Save More Tomorrow nudges both share a transparent reliance on consistency, where the person being nudged long term preferences are nudged to activity. They are hereby examples of decisions being prompted, which leaves the original opportunities open as well as the original overall structure of incentives intact, but still nudge the person toward a decision in consistency with the preferences (Hansen and Jespersen, 2013; 19). If a person doesn't want to urinate on the fly in the urinal, he can choose not to, just like he could before there was a fly-sticker in the urinal.

As these were examples of transparent and obvious nudges, there are some that are questionable in this sense. To see the full implications of the notion of epistemic transparency on the issue of responsible and acceptable use of nudging, Hansen and Jespersen combine this with the distinction between Kahneman's System 1 and System 2 (Hansen and Jespersen 2013:20). Figure 6 illustrates some of the presented nudges in a diagram, dividing the nudges in four categories:

1. Transparent / System 1
2. Transparent / System 2
3. Non-Transparent / System 1
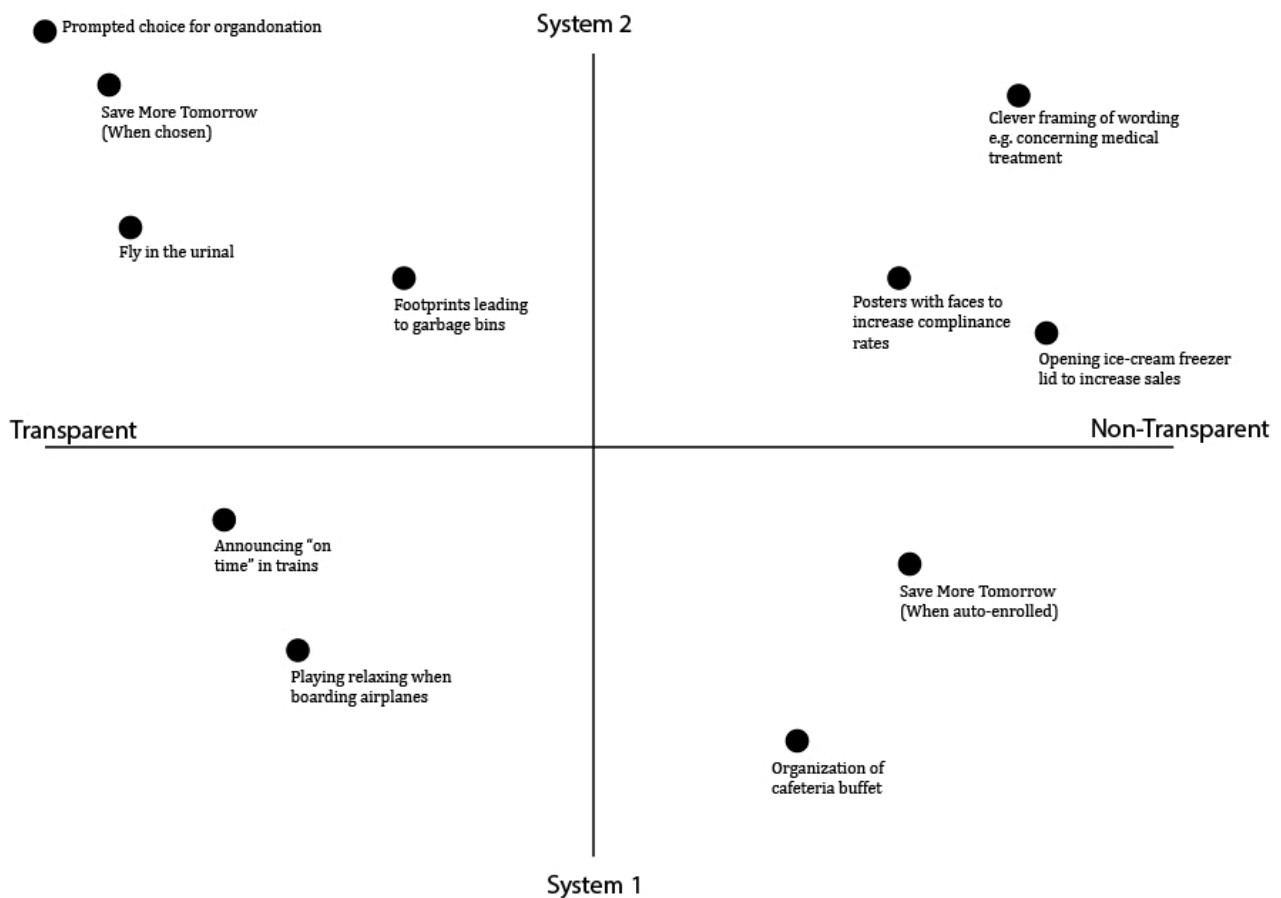4. Non-Transparent / System 2

Figure 6 – The four areas of nudging (Hansen & Jespersen 2013:20)

Going through the four categories, the Transparent/System 2 nudges for the person being nudged is easy to identify as a nudge, and as it engages with the reflective system it is easy for the agent to reconstruct the intentions and means by which behaviour change is pursued. Examples shown in figure 6 are the fly in the urinal, footprints to garbage bins, Save More Tomorrow, and the stance to organ donation. In all of these nudges the person being nudged can identify an intervention and process what is the best or him- or herself. The Transparent/System 1 nudges are also easy to identify as nudges, and is perceived unconsciously. This might seem like a paradox, but Hansen and Jespersen give the example of relaxing music when boarding an airplane. This will make those passengers whom have a fear of flying more calm, and if one would ask them why they thought there was playing relaxing music, they would be able to identify the purpose. Hansen and Jespersen classify this as a technical manipulation of behaviour, and is in the grey area as for being ethically justifiable. The Non-Transparent/System 2 nudges cannot be identified as a nudge trying to influence

ones behaviour, but the agent can reflect over the situation and influence. An example from the diagram in figure 6 is clever framing of wording at the doctors office when being recommended a specialist or a brand of drug. Studies in human economics show that people, and especially patients who is exactly those someone seeking expert advise, and maybe even be weak, has a tendency to choose who or what the doctor has at the top of her list (Hansen & Jespersen 2013:20). Hansen and Jespersen classifies this as manipulation of choice, as the agent can't identify they're being influenced, and is, like the previous influence/nudge in the grey area as for being ethically justifiable, as one of two factors is tampered with.

The fourth and last category is the Non-Transparent/System 1. Nudges in this category are problematic as the agent cannot identify an influence and as the nudge is perceived by the intuitive system the situation and space will not give the agent anything to base any decision on and is hereby manipulated. The examples from Hansen and Jespersen are auto enrolment to the 401K-retirement plan and the smaller plates at the cafeteria buffet. This is interesting, as Thaler and Sunstein use both auto enrolment for the better (as people often don't know what's best for them), and the cafeteria nudge as prime examples of nudges following libertarian paternalism.

7 The Share With Care Campaign

In this chapter I will present the SWC campaign, and describe their own description of their way of working with behavioural economics and nudging, as well as present their overall results as they present them. The SWC campaign is a collaboration of many actors, but conducted by Rettighedsalliancen and K7, whom will both be presented in this chapter, as well as the overall campaign. The analysis starts in this chapter, as I will comment on the relevant findings. The analysis will intensify as more and more as more and more aspects will be illuminated and related to each other.

Figure 7, illustrates the aspect of the thesis being presented by the pink circle that frames cell two, indicating that this chapter will concern this section of the presentation and analysis is surrounding the SWC and the practices creating the Webpuf nudge. This will be followed by a presentation of the potential relevant groups, and the analysis of determining the relevant social groups.
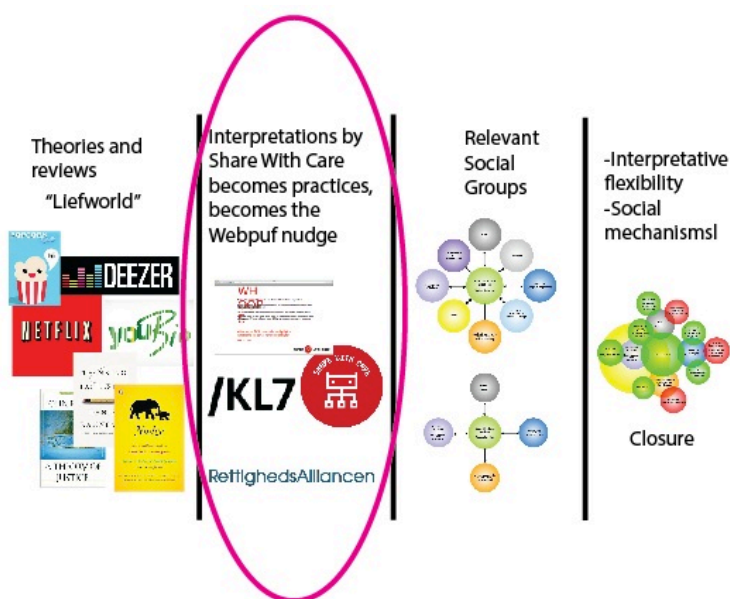
Figure 7. – Process of the thesis. The pink circle indicates that this section will concern the SWC including Rettighedsalliancen and KL7, and the practice constructing the Webpuf nudge.

In the fall of 2012 the first meetings regarding a new campaign against online piracy was initiated. The campaign came to be called *SWC*, a title symbolising that it is fine to share files online, but we should all do so with integrity, and in the interest of the people behind the

products (SWC Final Meeting, March 27th, 2014). The actors in the collaboration for this campaign were The Danish Ministry of Culture, Rettighedsalliancen, DI ITEK, and The TI. Rettighedsalliancen is an independent part of The Danish Ministry of Culture. This was the first time a collaboration between authorities and industries within culture issues was initiated. The campaign's name, Share With Care, was chosen because the campaign is about people's way of sharing creative products, in a time where the Internet gives unique possibilities to share these products. They argue that it is important to take responsibility when dealing with these products and behave in favour of the artists creating the products (SWC Meeting, November 25th, 2013)

Rettighedsalliancen is an association of film, music, text- and design industry and represents more than 85,000 Danish holders of productions protected by copyright. They are working toward obtaining a sustainable and professional business for artists, and to ensure a diverse artistic and cultural life, now and in the future. Formerly Rettighedsalliancen was known as Antipriatgruppen, which translates to "The Anti Piracy", they changed their name in the spring of 2011. One reason for changing the name was that more copyright holders, such as The Danish Acting Association joined in, and therefore the new name was more suiting. Another reason, according to Head of Communications for Rettighedsalliancen, Mikala Lene Poulsen, the name, The Anti Piracy Group, is also related to something negative, which strives against the new strategy. Where there before was focus on those violating the copyright, and that they were considered thieves, whom should be punished with fines or similar, the new focus was to accept basic human behaviour, and with it, it's faults, as for example the fact that humans often justify illegal behaviour within themselves (SWC Gå Hjem Møde, November 25th, 2013; 18).

This new view was brought to the SWC campaign. The purpose with the SWC campaign was partly to expose legal music, movies, games, and literature services to digital culture consumers who henceforth, hopefully, would know and use them. It was also to bring the stakeholders together on a new way to influence the users to gain a lawful conduct with the services (SWC Håndbogen, 2014; 7). To practice the new view with the purpose of the campaign, help from so called Behavioural Designers, or Choice Architects was brought in. This help was in the form of the consulting company, KL7, who was brought in at an early stage, because of their expertise in constructing platforms that leads to a change in behaviour. The SWC campaign's criteria for success were:

"It is criteria for success that more people will be aware of the many legal services, on the market today. Furthermore we hope that the campaign will be a factor in pushing the norms for the users behaviour in relation to music, movies, TV-series, games, or literature, online, and get more users to choose the legal services" (SWC Månedsrapport #1)

SWC then build the road to success based on 10 rules

1. The partners of SWC are not only senders – All interested parties are senders
2. Common message: "Share With Care"
3. Platform based: Common starting point, but different execution
4. Investigative, not postulating
5. Trickling, not rushing - many small streams
6. Service as message: Links to legal alternatives
7. Sober and humorous tone
8. Transparent: Who says what and why?
9. Use of existing strengths, relationships, and platforms
10. Ambassadors: Both artists, and young users are carriers of the message

(SWC Evaluering af Oplysningsindsatsen, 2014)

The interesting points in relation to this thesis are especially points 3, 4 and 8. These are interesting points as SWC not only wanted to investigate behaviour and norms, but also wanted to change behaviour. Those three rules argues that SWC should be an investigative campaign more than a postulating one, with a new strategy of changing behaviour in coherence with the argument that users are humans who makes mistakes and needs transparent guidance toward behaviour that is better for everyone, including themselves. It is thus interesting to look into what methods SWC used to achieve success without jeopardising their own definition of an ethical approach. These were the points of interest:

1. Digital semantic surveys on various websites and services, they called this The Digital Culture Barometer
2. Digital quantitative surveys, following illegal downloads of eight Danish productions

3. Camps – Activities with young innovative people
4. Visibility and tests at cultural events
5. Blocking of illegal services
6. A nudging survey called "Webpuf"

       (SWC Månedsrapport #1, 2013;4)

The campaign was active from august 2013 till March 2014, starting with the digital semantic measurements and the camps and concluding with the final meeting, March 27th 2014.

Point no. 1 "Digital semantic measurements on views, attitudes, and actual behaviour," is part of the way that especially KL7 works. The semantic measurements were conducted in cooperation with UVBA, short for what in Danish translates to the Committee for the Protection of Scientific Work, which is a committee of academics and handlers of academics interests in relation to intellectual property; primarily copyright and patent law (ubva.dk, June 5th, 2014). Selected Danish commentaries and dialogs, on various websites and services, such as Computerworld.dk, Berlinske.dk, Gaffa.dk, and Videnskab.dk were detected. Besides the general development in commentaries, the attitudes were analysed into word-clouds for each of the categories, showing what people wrote and debated about, over time. At each of the Gå-Hjem Møder the facilitators asked the participants if they had any suggestions for claims to make semantic analyse for. For example at one of the meetings a participant suggested, "*illegal sharing of files is OK, because the industry exploits the artists*", and the results came the following month. The example gave high resonance for January 2008. This means that on the webpages monitored there were many debates and comments made online concerning the issue mentioned. At that time The Pirate Bay had just been closed and apparently the debates surrounding the closure was related to the claim made at the Gå-Hjem Møde (SWC Månedsrapport #2, 2013; 15). See figure 8 as an example graphs and word clouds; hence incriptions (Blok and Jensen, 2009; 76).
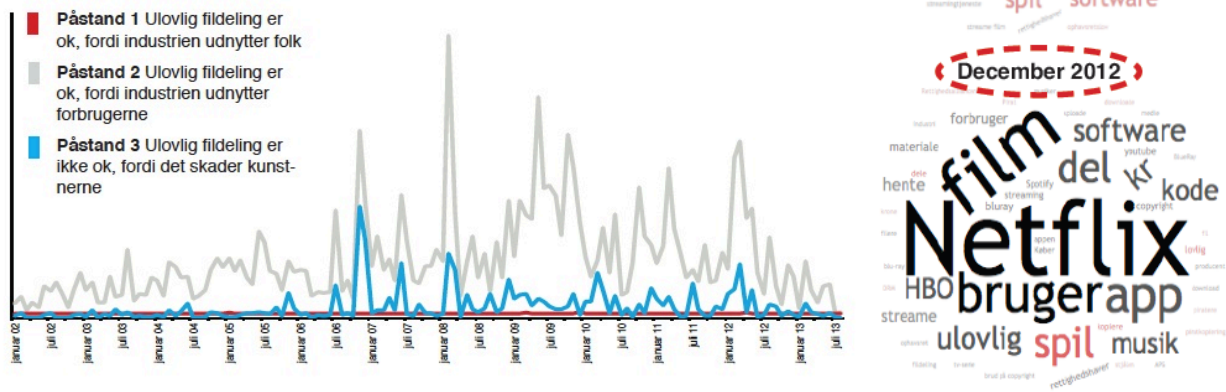
Figure 8 – Examples of inscriptions in the form of graphs and Word clouds used by the SWC campaign to present their findings.

The campaign used this technique to research into what the public and thereby the users saw as issues and their attitudes toward those issues. The Digital Culture Barometer's purpose was to follow changes in the debates, e.g. if the debates concerning copyright stopped to exist, the forwarding strategy could use this information (SWC Evaluering af Oplysningsindsatsen, 2014; 17). For this the Digital Culture Barometer used of graphs and word clouds can be related to Bruno Latours description of inscriptions, perceiving strong argument from the presenter to the spectators (Blok and Jensen, 2009; 76).

As a student of techno-anthropology, I found this very interesting, as this way of working distances itself from traditional anthropological methods, such as questionnaires, focus groups, and observation. The View of SWC, and especially KL7, is that participants in the classical approaches have a tendency not to answer in accordance with their actual behaviour, often because they are not aware of their own behaviour, and therefore answer in accordance with a self-perceived level of moral or attitude they want to live up to. On other occasions, participants give a false image of their actual behaviour because they have what is a misguided empathy, so the participant answers what he or she thinks the facilitator wishes to hear. (Sørensen & Bentholm, 2013; 62); hence SWC and KL7 rely solely on data harvested digitally, and from existing surveys.

Point 2 of SWC's focus was following eight Danish titles on their journey to the illegal streaming and torrent sites. SWC has collaborated with a company, Marc Monitor, who can track the titles. The purpose of this is to show tendencies. Figure 9 is from SWC's fifth, and last, monthly report, and shows a tendency line of the downloads of the eight Danish titles. This was presented at Gå-Hjem Møde February 5th, 2014.
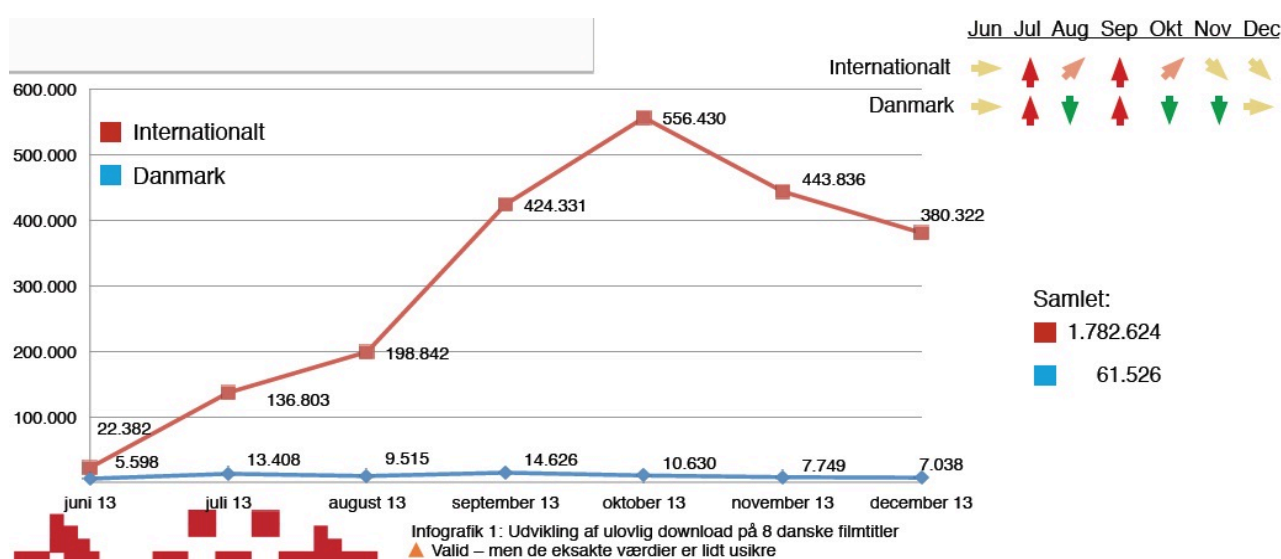
Figure 9 – Tendency line for eight Danish titles from June 2014 till December 2014

The red line shows international downloads, and the blue line shows Danish downloads. As expected the tendency rises in the beginning, and even more after a few months when the titles have become easier assessable, following by a decline in downloads as the titles are no longer new or many has already seen them (SWC Månedsrapport #5, January 2014; 15). This example is another example of SWC's usage of technological inscriptions, making a better statement. The validity factor also rises when the perception of the collaborator (Marc Monitor), to the spectator or participant at the meetings, is an unknown actor. They are presented, but has no representative at the meetings. I have not found any theories or arguments supporting my argument, but I personally felt intrigued, and my perception of Marc Monitor was that they are a very professional, and the fact they work with surveillance also brings an aspect of interest.

One could argue that SWC's practice in investigating tendencies has an ironic aspect to the fact that SWC both dictated a rule promoting transparency, and practices nudging that also

dictate transparency (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 247), while gathering data by monitoring debates and comments from probably non-knowing internet users on websites such as Gaffa.dk, and Computerworld.dk.

The third point of interest for the SWC campaign, were the camps. With the term "camp", is meant an amount of young people meeting and discussing among each other about a solution to the problem with piracy. Three camps were completed, and the company DARE2, who specializes in this, and has no stake in the matter of issue being discussed in the camps, facilitated them all. The participants of the camps were recruited by DARE2, and in this process certain matters were taken into consideration, such geographical distribution, gender and age (they were all between the ages of 16 and 25) were taken into consideration. About the selection of participants, Laila Pawlak from dare DARE2 says, "*They were chosen because they are enthusiastic, share knowledge and influence in their networks and environments. We have also selected young people who have an inappropriate behaviour in relation to downloading illegal files*" (Fisher, 2013; 1). The groups were competing with each other to come up with the best solution for legal behaviour with material protected by copyrights. It all culminated with SWC's grand finale October 12th, with the idea for the concept called; "Bee Legal", The winning team won 20,000 DKK, and received high praise from a jury consisting of cultural personalities such as the Danish Minister of Culture Marianne Jelved, and CEO of Zentropa Productions, Peter Aalbæk. The Bee Legal idea is that every user can have a chip in a bracelet or the like, and this registers all the creative material the user wants access to, and the amount for the usage is credited from the users account via the chip. Like the Bee Legal idea, the ideas from the other groups all had in common, that there should be easy access to all creative products, preferably through only one service, and it should be cheap, and no hidden agendas (Bee Legal, 2013). This on one of few aspects of SWC that work psychically with humans. It indicates the technological and innovative needs and wishes of young users, whom also is the target demographic for both the online movie- and music services and therefore also SWC. On top of that it brings a festival like feel to the campaign, and with that also the signal from the campaign that they want to interact with the users, and the users should not equate SWC with its old name and strategy when they were Antipiratgruppen (The Anti Pirate Group). This is in coherence with SWC's primary notion; that the users are not criminal, they're misguided.

Point number 4 of the campaign focuses on visibility and tests at cultural events. Here the campaign were visible at cultural events in Copenhagen, such as The Culture Night, where Copenhagen gives public access to places that normally is closed, such as the clock-tower at city hall. Here representatives of the SWC campaign, including the CEO's of DI and TI, wandered the streets of Copenhagen and offered people in lines to cultural places, to take a test concerning piracy, and the persons own behaviour with illegal online services, while informing people the message of the campaign and knowledge about piracy. The test was a mobile application, and the facilitators brought an iPad along for people to take the test. Earlier test had shown that people have a tendency to think that other people uses the illegal services more that themselves. In the application test, people should account for how much they think they use illegal services, and how much other people use illegal services. In the end of each test the participant was presented with the results of how much other people think they use illegal services versus how much the participant think they use illegal services. Often participants would be surprised that not as many uses illegal services, as they thought. This relates to the norm that humans are gregarious animals and want to behave and act like each other. The hope was that this would affect those people, whom were surprised, and change their existing behaviour (SWC Evaluering af Oplysningsindsatsen, 2014; 17). This is yet another example of visibility of the campaign, and focussing on SWC's primary notion; that the users are not criminal, they're misguided. On top of that it set focus on social norms as having a genuine impact on people, though in the streets of Copenhagen on Culture Night this impact was in the form of face expression when presented with the results, and following up with a qualitative talk about the issue of online illegal behaviour, and the result from the test. This is hard to gather in surveys and online tests.

Point number 6 is concerning what is known as DNS-blocking, which blocks access to the particular websites in question, in this case ones that are providing illegal service with creative material protected by copyright. On behalf of SWC, Rettighedsalliancen has issued these blockings in collaboration with authorities. They call it blocking, but the block comes with a pop-up offering the user to press a link to SWC's list of legal alternative services. SWC argues that this provides as a nudge, changing the negative focus to a positive one. Instead of reprimanding the users, guiding them toward satisfying their cultural needs (SWC

Håndbog om Digital Brugeradfærd, 2014; 16) I tend to disagree that this qualifies as a nudge, as this does not give the users the possibility to continue their behaviour, as the website in question is blocked, hence it doesn't follow the definition of nudging; *"A nudge is any aspect of the choice architecture that alters people's behaviour in a predictable way without forbidding any options…"* (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008; 6*)*. This raises the question of whether it is even possible to nudge people not to use the illegal services, directly on the websites, providing the services? By making a nudge that allows access to a website containing illegal material, the nudge itself might live up to the theories and principles described, but the mere area in which the nudge exists, is in conflict with Rawls principle of justice, and liberty, stating the right to own and hold property, and in general does not accept criminal acts (Rawls, 1971; 61). As society morally denounces theft, and the behaviour with these services is considered theft by society in general. Never the less, SWC has tried with this approach at Niels Brock Business College in a test named "Webpuf", presented in the following section.

7.1 Webpuf

Point number 4 concerns the campaigns actual nudge; the campaign called it "Webpuf". Even though SWC has not expressed this, the test is an A-B test, as described by Robson (Robson 2011: 119), and also used in the "garbage bin" experiment, described earlier. The test is to take a group of Internet users and monitor their actual online behaviour, and then monitor the traffic on illegal services relevant to the campaign. This is followed by an intervention with a nudge, to see if the behaviour changes. The test is divided in three steps, each of a period of five workdays, Monday thru Friday.

1. Monitor all online traffic with no interference.
2. Monitor all online traffic and with interference (nudge)
3. Monitor all online traffic with no interference to establish stability of possible behaviour change.

The nudge is a proxy that is activated when the user visits a specific illegal service, picked from knowledge of the illegal online traffic the previous week. The proxy, illustrated in figure

10, is a text saying; "*WHOOPS – This website does not pay the artists for the music, movies, and games*". This is followed by a short text giving three options to the user:

1. Press a link to SWC's list of legal alternatives.
2. The user is informed that the school is conducting a test, and that information can be gained by pressing a link.
3. Press a link to continue on the illegal service

Mikkel Holm Sørensen, CEO of KL7, explains that the nudge is designed from basic behavioural economics to affect the users relationship to the norm that "*of course people should get paid for their work*". If for some reason the user should not be aware of that norm, there is a reminder in red letters saying; "*did you know that 96% think that it is important that the artists get money for their work*?", a feedback mechanism triggering system 2 to make the user follow the social norm of the argument that people should be aid for their work. Holm points out that at the same time the nudge lives up to the aspect in the definition stating that the user should not have difficulties choosing the original indented behaviour (SWC Gå-Hjem Møde #4, January 29th, 2014).

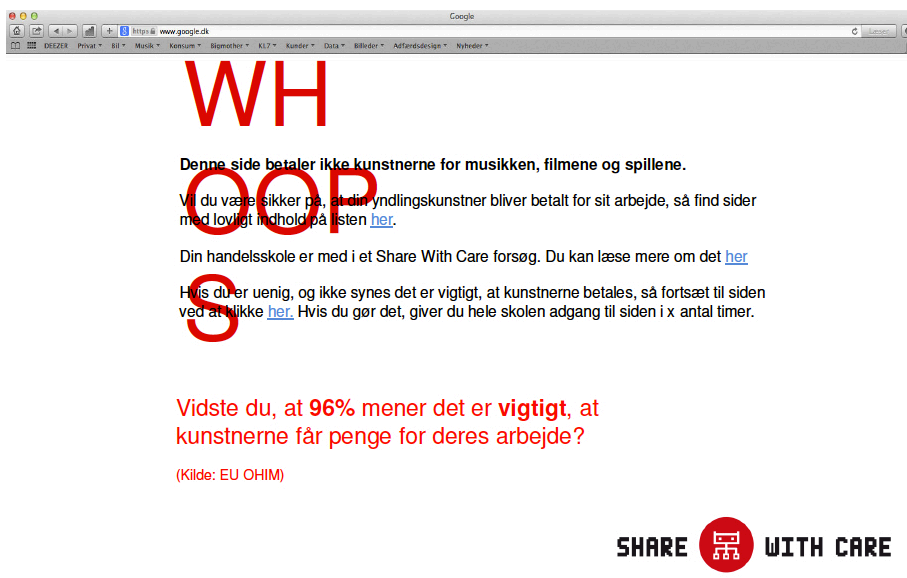Figure 10 – Screen shot of the "Webpuf" nudge. Stating: "*WHOOPS – This website does not pay the artists for the music, movies, and games*" – Furthermore it states "*did you know that 96% think that it is important that the artists get money for their work*?", a feedback mechanism triggering system 2 to make the user follow the social norm of the argument that people should be aid for their work.

Niels Brock Business College agreed to participate in the test. The test was conducted over a period of 28 days, starting March 1st. Figure 11 shows a broken circle diagram of the data collected at Niels Brock Business College; this is also accessible in appendix 3 page 3 of 5. The first step was surveying all online traffic on the network for 7 days. As this is a college, it is closed in the weekends, and therefore it was actually 5 days. The facilitators of the test, Webfilter collected the data of the data of all websites visited and identified that the students favoured eleven specific torrent sites providing access to illegal torrents. Approximately 6% of all units daily visit torrent sites, which is around 300 users on average spend 4 hours a day to download right protected material via torrent sites. The daily time spent on torrents sites pose to all students 1058 hours on a normal day for Niels Brock (Webfilter, 2014, Appendix 3 page 1 of 5).
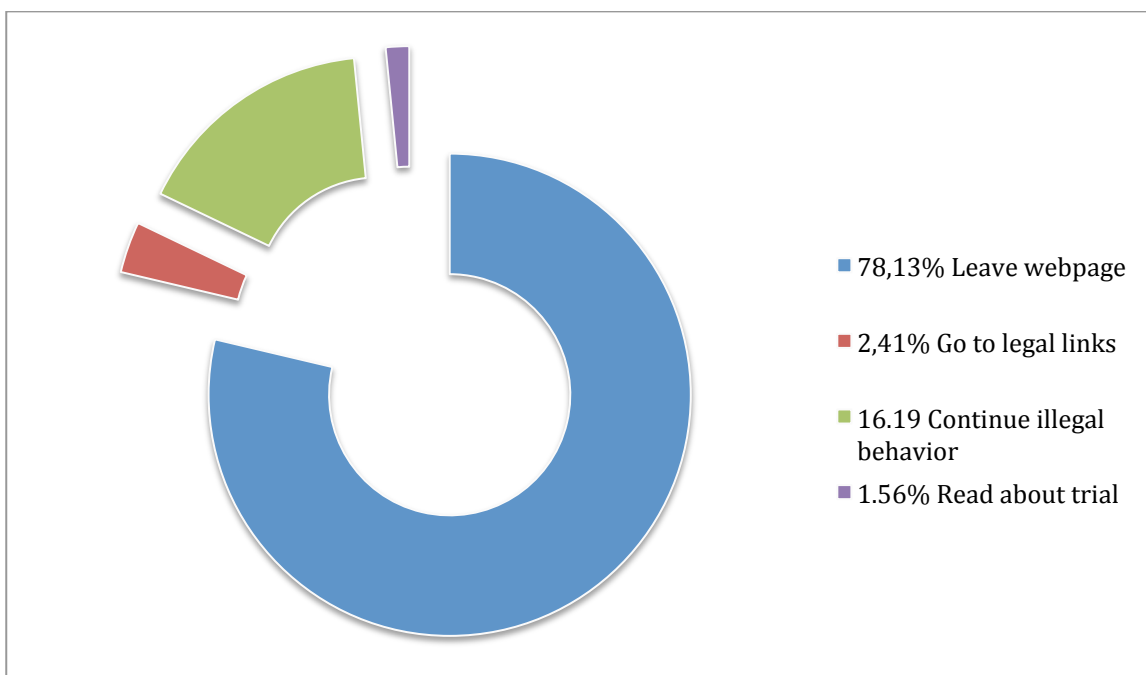
Figure 11 – Broken circle diagram of Webpuf test at Niels Brock Business College. Demonstrating how the users divide between the different websites, incl. the relevant torrent sites. in week 1 comparing to week 2 and week 3. The numbers are visits on the pages. Original diagram can be seen in appendix 3 page 3 of 5.

The following week these eleven torrent-sites were equipped with the Webpuf nudge, and step two was initiated. This period went on for 4 weekdays and 78% of the users visiting torrent-sites chose to leave; hence stop their illegal behaviour, while about 2.5% chose to see the SWC list of legal alternatives, and 16% chose to continue their behaviour.

The following week the nudge had been removed from the picked torrent sites. The traffic, as shown in figure 11, went almost instantly back to the same behaviour as before the Webpuf nudge. The entire report of the Webpuf test at Niels Brock Business College, including data sheets and diagrams can be seen in appendix 3.

7.2 Rettighedsalliancen and KL7 as Share With Care

In this section I will describe Rettighedsalliancen and KL7, and their approaches, interpretations, and practices of nudging. They have worked together in what they themselves has called a coherent alliance, as they both worked on the same goal of making a good campaign from their believes in behavioural design (SWC Gå-Hjem Møde #2, October 11th, 2013).

If it weren't for the fact that Rettighedsalliancen and KL7 was working in a formal working relation in the effort to deliver a solid campaign, and each with formal CEO, then from an observational perspective, I would have categorised them as being a community of practice. This term described by Etienne C. Wenger and William M. Snyder (2000), covers a passionate group of people with shared expertise, in a joint enterprise of knowledge and community as focuses (Wenger and Snyder, 2000; 139). The people of SWC are speaking with a convincing tone and with persuasive rhetoric about the successes and potential's of behavioural design, and when questioned, scientism is quickly disregarded with an argument relating back to one of the aspects of behavioural design. That practice establishes the technological frame for SWC, as every obstacle is met with the conviction that the solution is to be found within behavioural design (Bijker, 1992; 88).

Rettighedsalliancen and KL7 are not qualifying as a potential relevant social group, even though the SCOT theory does not forbid that. In Pinch and Bijker's (1987) description of the social construction of the penny-farthing, the producers of it were a relevant social group. The technological artefact in this study is the SWC's practices and the Webpuf nudge as a digital tool. Therefore as SWC, and their interpretations themselves are subject for analysis, and that fact makes them not allegeable for being a relevant social group.

Mikkel H. Sørensen explains about the SWC campaign, that for this sort of problem they had to strike widely. By that is meant that the campaign had to influence many different places. If they only tried to change the behaviour through, for example, online nudging, or an event here and there, it wouldn't work (SWC Final Meeting, March 27th, 2014). In coherence with KL7's general idea, the campaign also had to build strongly on documented digital data. Sørensen points out an EU analysis, explaining that 96% of Europeans agree that people should get paid for their creative productions, but as many as 42% of the same Europeans has an illegal behaviour (SWC Månedsrapport #5, January 2014). According to Sørensen, these 42% don't see the schisms within themselves, when they say one thing and to another. Therefore a great psychological insight is needed in order to change the existing behaviour. A traditional layman idea is that information about a given object or subject can change attitude, and when attitude is changed, the behaviour will change to fit the attitude. This is a long out-dated view. Giving humans information's about more suitable behaviours won't necessarily change it, just as attitudes or views wont effect actual behaviour if a person finds it more beneficial. It is shown when the 42% of Europeans mentioned are convincing themselves that it is okay to watch the new episode of Mad Men, even though it still hasn't been released on Netflix.

Mikkel, Simon, and the other choice architects at KL7, in collaboration with Rettighedsalliancen, came up with four key words that the campaign should focus on and relay to the users, that should make them use the legal services, forming "*LAST*":

Let (easy)

Attraktivt (attractive)

Socialt (social)

Timet (timed)
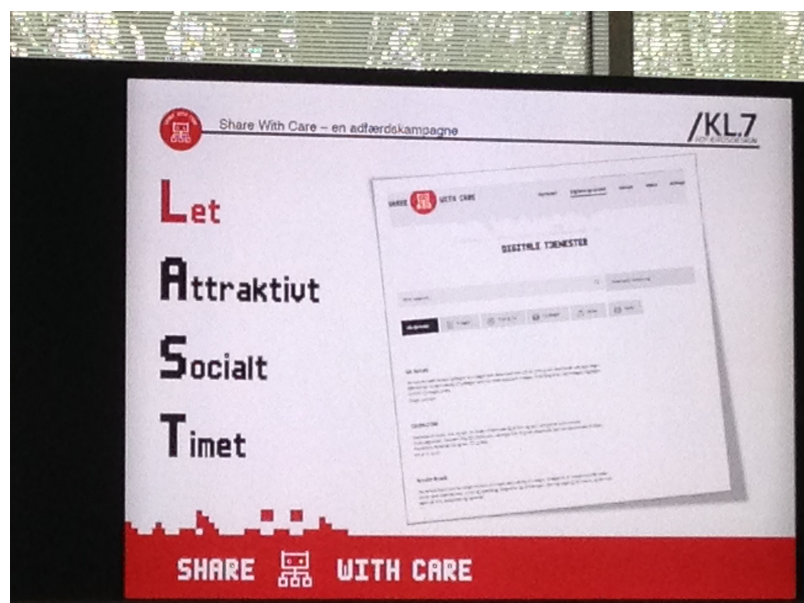
Easy, or "Let", is related to the access to the legal services. The online nudge consisted of a pop-up that had a link to SWC's list of legal services. Attractive is the positive notion that the legal services provide the same as the illegal ones. The social point is related to behavioural economical argument that we as humans are flock animals, and have a desire to do as "everybody else" is doing. We are driven by norms, and if we find out that most people use, and prefer using the legal services, this will affect people to do the same. The last point is timed, and by that is meant that the nudge should meet the users where they are, in this case as a pop-up on a given illegal site (SWC Final Meeting, March 27th, 2014).

When asking Sørensen why he sees behavioural economics as the solution in general, he leans on the effects that circle the aspect of marketing, events, etc. People often won't feel a confrontation, and therefore this generates very little debate. Most of all it gains insight to the behaviour of the users, so that there is more knowledge for the next time, as he puts it; next time, meaning the next campaign against online piracy (SWC Final Meeting; March 27th, 2014).

Representatives from European Parliament, and the Swedish equivalent to Rettighedsalliancen both expressed great interest in what they also call a unique collaboration. According to Mikala Lene Poulsen of Rettighedsalliancen, they also have an interest in the behavioural design approach to illegal online behaviour (SWC Final Meeting; March 27th, 2014). Today (June, 2014), Rettighedsalliancen is collaborating the Swedish Rettighdeallance, guiding them in behavioural economics, or the aspects of this as SWC practices.

7.2.1 The Wheel of Norms

Mikala Lene Poulsen, head of Communications at Rettighedsalliancen, explains a model she is developing for Rettighedsalliancen. She calls it "The Wheel of Norms", and it describes the users journey from the point of intending to find online material that is protected by copyright to the actual act. Poulsen describes how the users right away are encountering an influence relating to norms, and the view that humans as pack animals, will desire to do like the rest of the pack; hence find the material on a legal service, or at the cinema if it's a brand new movie. Unfortunately the Wheel Of Norms was still in its mock up phase at the deadline

of this thesis, so I will not be presented here. The fact that Rettighedsalliancen is developing such a device expresses the dedication to norms, as being their sole aspect in the strategy to change users behaviour. Poulsen further expressed that the outcome of the SWC campaign is proof that behavioural design works in this setting, and that it was a good start for future interventions of the same sort. (Poulsen, April 26th, 2014).

When confronted with the result of the Webpuf test at Niels Brock Business College, showing that when the nudge is removed, the old habits return, Poulsen agrees that it is a difficult task but over all the campaigns approaches shows a good start and SWC has to keep on nudging and practicing behavioural economics.

8 Relevant social Groups and their interpretations

In this chapter I will present the relevant findings from the interviews and the participant observations from each of the potential relevant social groups.

Figure 12 illustrates where we are in the process of the thesis with the pink ring surrounding Cell 3. This is where the relevant social groups are determined from the potential relevant social groups.
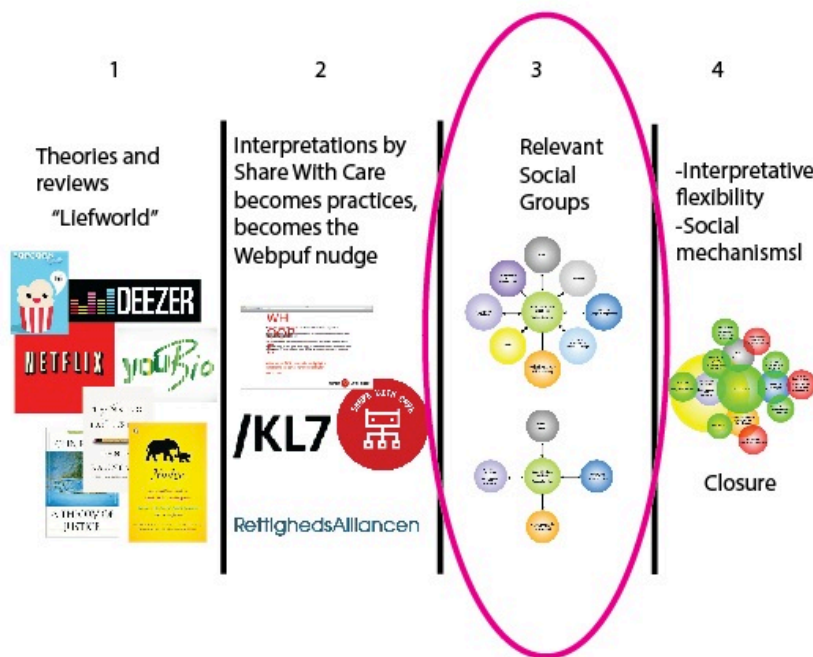
Figure 12 – Process of the thesis. The pink circle indicates that the determining of the relevant social groups is initiated.

The reactions and relations to these statements will be established in this section, as well as the following social mechanisms to the statements if there are any controversies in the interpretations. To establish closure for the Webpuf nudge and the practices of SWC, the social mechanisms must be solved (Pinch and Bijker, 1987; 27).
I will present each of the eight actors, and describe their own expressions of views, attitudes, and interpretations of SWC's practices, Webpuf, and their possible relation to the illegal online movie- and music services.

In "*The Social Construction Of Facts and Artitacts: Or How the Sociology of Science and the Sociology of Technology Might Benefit Each Other*", Pinch and Bijker analysed the social construction of the Penny Farthing bicycle. The relevant social groups in the penny-farthing study were the producers of the penny-farthing, and otherwise collections of retail consumers with different demographic profiles, such as age, gender, and sport cyclists (Pinch and Bijker, 1987; 34). In the SWC campaign the relevant social groups have been identified as groups or individuals either with a direct relation the campaign, hence if they have a stake in the purpose of the campaign, or if they have expert knowledge about nudging, and the theories and principles related to it. As I presented in chapter 5 describing the methods used in this thesis, there were initially eight social groups that were to be studied for their interpretations. These are illustrated in figure 13, below.

Figure 13 – The eight potential relevant social groups.

8.1 Dansk Industri ITEK and Teleindustrien

This section involves the stakeholders representing the industry in the campaign. I qualify these two representatives as one actor, as they from the beginning of the campaign has acted, authored, and orally presented as one. I attended the final meeting of SWC campaign, where results were presented, and formal stakeholders, as DI and TI shared feedback to a crowd of industry journalists and representatives from the film industry.

Jacob Willer, CEO of the TI, expressed at the final meeting that they have wholeheartedly backed up the SWC campaign, knowing that the campaign had been based on a new form of communication to the users. Jacob Willer saw this innovative approach as a positive and informative communication with the purpose of motivating users to choose the legal alternatives. Jacob Willer especially points out that the camps involving the young innovators was interesting, as this gave light to the needs of the young users.

Christian Hannibal of DI equally expresses that the SWC initiative has created a new platform for communication. Hannibal argues the innovative campaign has created a common design and common tale about the importance of ensuring sustainable digital culture. And built up useful knowledge and insight into user behaviour and what is required to get the users to choose the legal alternatives (SWC Final Meeting, March 27th, 2014). Further he elaborates; it is not just about providing information to users, it is just as much about continuing effort to make content available in simple and attractive services. It was one of the main thrusts of the campaign we got from the many young people who took part in the innovation camps, held in the fall of 2013. Key messages from the young people was that content should be available on digital platforms. And services that are simple and transparent. At the final meeting on March 27th, 2014 both DI and TI expressed that the campaign had been successful and "*a good start*", as they put it. The collaboration between a ministry and an industry was mentioned several times as being very unique, and must be continued. Their appreciation for SWC's usage of behavioural design was unmistakeable at the final meeting. Especially the decriminalising of the user was mentioned as a sympathetic approach, and signal to send to the outside world.

8.1.1 The Ministry of Culture

At the final SWC meeting March 27th 2014, the Danish Minister of Culture, Marianne Jelved, expressed the gratitude on behalf of her ministry for the effort and results from the campaign, of which she says indicate hope. Further she supports the approach of not criminalizing the users, and sees it as "*looking at possibilities, instead of limitations*" (SWC Final Meeting, March 29th, 2014).

"*We love culture, we love to share it, now let's do it with care. No blame or threats, but just a message that there are perfectly good legal solutions to the behaviour you're about to engage*" -Marianne Jelved, SWC Final Meeting, March 27th, 2014

She further argued there is a time before and a time after SWC and this is the dawn of a new positive method with the positive rhetoric. The successful test at Niels Brock Business College (Webpuf) indicates that SWC is on the right path. Really unique, is the collaboration between the stakeholders from the industry and the Ministry of Culture is a victory on it's own ((SWC Final Meeting, March 27th, 2014). The debate on piracy of cultural content has moved from being unconstructive, on the basis of a broad collaboration to act on access and availability of legal digital culture services.

"*SWC has started a positive movement. We have tried new methods and gained new insights into how we, in the future, can motivate people to use the legal online services when watching movies or TV shows, listen to music or read books digitally. Thus, the foundation is laid for how we prospectively ensure a sustainable digital culture. And based on the right balance between copyright terms out of respect for the artists and support for the development of new digital culture platforms*" –Marianne Jelved (SWC Final Meeting, March 27th, 2014).

8.1.2 The Users

In order to qualify the usage of the nudge-method within the setting of the SWC campaign, it is important to gain knowledge about the users. In this section I will present insights to specific knowledge about the users relationship and knowledge about the online movie- and music services, as well as the laws of copyrights. On top of that I will present scientific knowledge about young people's behaviour with online technologies and services, supported by commercial articles concerning the same.

For the first time in history there is a generation, born in the late 80's and forth, that by far supersedes older generations in terms of working with digital technologies. Where previous generations of young people saw that they had finished identifying opportunities through "epic formation stories" regarding religion, ideologies, etc. Experiencing today's youth, the important sources of inspiration are in young people's immediate vicinity. This is manifested in unfinished, and often meaningful "small stories " that they write with their friends and family, either on their computer, tablet or smartphone (Østergaard, 2008:40). However, it is said to be a long shot to differ today's youth are no different from previous generations. Their hopes, dreams, and frustrations concern the same themes, as young people have always had to deal with. The difference is that they are the first generation born into a world where the digital technology is in everything (Østergaard 2008:43).

Young people today are generally heavy users of technologies, and are completely open-minded to the technologies, and use them for what they just feel like they would be good for, regardless of the intentions from the developers. Often they use these digital technologies in a way that it wasn't intended that they should, the implementation of text message, or SMS, in mobile phones is a good example of just that. It was developed as a supplement to the usage of the telephone function, as a feature on mobile phones. The users, and especially the younger users, quickly picked up this feature as their primary service for communicating over the mobile phone. A newer, but very similar example is the mobile phone application is "Snap Chat", which from the beginning was predicted failure, from experts of the field, evaluating the service. Today there is more than 400 million "Snap Chats" every day. Groups of friends are obviously important for the young, and that group work as a forum where the young relatively straightforward can test their attitudes (DR P1 Harddisken, January 3rd, 2014; 57 min., Youth Researcher Søren Schulz).

The virtual space works both on its own terms and in continuation of the grounds, which exist for friendships in the physical space. While in the virtual space it is permitted to act different, that does not necessarily mean that young people see it as a special room they enter. They find it quite natural to act in the virtual space, and it seems highly natural for them to follow a series of simultaneous dialogues, whether it is in relation to a text, or the application on Facebook, or Instagram, etc. The relationships online are part of a mutual interaction with the relationships offline, and some can even exist only online (Østergaard, 2008; 40). The commercial medias have also discovered the trends in young people's interaction with technology, and are not afraid to write indignant articles concerning girlfriends that send 90-100 text messages to each other every day concerning everything and nothing (Sørensen, 2014; 1). The young people today act as cyborgs, meaning, the digital technology has become a natural part of themselves. Others call them zombies, meaning they don't think about consequences, and take whatever they can that is for free (DR P1 Harddisken, January 3rd, 2014; Youth Researcher Søren Schulz).

The survey conducted by Rettighedsalliancen shows that it is mainly the young people in the ages from 15 to 35 years, that are the primary users of online movie- and music services, both legal and illegal. This is no surprise, and the real interesting aspect is to gain insight in the young peoples social reality, and the norms for their behaviour with connection to the online movie- and music services. The survey concludes that especially five norms dominate the behaviour, as it exists at present day. Two rely on the morality of the behaviour, and states that the usage of sites such as The Pirate Bay, young users doesn't feel a moral conflict with that, merely a legal one (RettighedsAlliancen, 2013; 8). The third and fourth norms express the users in reality does not wish to conduct illegal behaviour, but wishes for guidance to take responsibility, and the wish for authorities to make it *uncool* to break the law with the interaction with the illegal services. The fifth norm relates to the legal services to prove to the users that they actually deserve their money.

The survey also presents data surrounding the users knowledge, based on a questionnaire. Of interesting findings is that 50% of the young people taking the survey, have had encounters where they haven't been sure if they were violating the copyright of the product they were interested in (RettighedsAlliancen, 2013:16). In general it can be stated from the survey that the users want to make their own decisions, and those decisions should be based on

transparent information for all actors. This means from both politicians in the role of lawmakers of copyrights, and from the online movie- and music services themselves. A slightly earlier survey from Rettighedsalliancen focuses on young people and their knowledge, views, and attitudes towards copyright. 75% of the participants in the YouBio who is the TV- and movie service from the telephone and Internet provider, Tele Denmark Communications, TDC, has conducted a similar survey. That survey concludes that 14% of all people in the ages of 20-65 years admit to be using the illegal services in question, and 74% of those people say that the reason for usage of the illegal services purely is because they can see the brand new movies and TV-series. (YouSee, 2013; 2)

Louis, an employee at SWC presented at SWC Gå-Hjem Møde #5 on January 29th, that international studies showed that the illegal users behaviour is for most part consistent. When they want to see a movie, or new episode of a TV-series, they return to their favourite illegal service and use this. If by any chance the service has been closed, as it sometimes happens, a new favourite service is quickly found and used in the same way as the previous (Gå-Hjem Møde #5, Jan. 29th, 2014). This indicates that the users behaviour is long term, and that users are influenced by their fudge factor, and pluralistic ignorance, relating to the acceptance of behaviour with illegal online movie- and music services.

8.1.3 Niels Brock Business College

The users at Niels Brock Business College are considered a relevant social group beforehand, no matter the results of the Webpuf test, as this no matter what indicates users interpretation of SWC's practices and the actual nudge. The Webpuf test is conducted by SWC in collaboration with Webfilter. To recap from the last chapter where the SWC campaign was presented, I can mention that 78% of the users visiting torrent-sites chose to leave. The users thereby chose to stop their illegal behaviour, while about 2.5% chose to see the SWC list of legal alternatives, and 16% chose to continue their behaviour (**Appendix 3**).

The users at Niels Brock Business College form a relevant social group with the description of the target demographic users of online movie- and music services, and thereby also the target demographic for SWC. Figure 14 (page 82) illustrates the merging of the two groups into one.

8.1.4 YouBio

I met with Clara Mai Kunstmann, Head of Product Development at YouSee and YouBio, for an interview about YouBio's view on the SWC campaign, and whether the existence of online piracy influence YouBio's strategies in developing their service. YouBio is a part of TDC just like YouSee, and they are a major provider of Internet, movies, and TV-series in Denmark, and therefore have a stake in the purpose of the campaign. In the last chapter I shortly described the extent of the services and examples of strategies from the international Netflix, and Popcorn Time, to capture the favour of the users. This was to describe the lifeworld of which the Webpuf nudge, and other practices of SWC exist, because even though SWC is a Danish national campaign, the Internet does not care about geographical boundaries, and the users in Denmark have just as easy access to Popcorn Time as a user from the United States or Brazil. YouBio is very much a part of this lifeworld, and because I was allowed to interview their Head of Product Development on their views, attitudes, and interpretations, YouBio qualifies as a potiential relevant social group. YouGov, a company conducting surveys and interviews have developed a report covering both the users behaviour and wishes, for YouBio. Kunstmann states that the numbers are clear; their survey verifies that illegal behaviour with movies and TV-series is occurring on a high level, but she also points out that the behaviour is declining, and YouSee believes that the arrival of the services such as YouBio and Netflix are the cause for that. TDC is definitely positive towards the SWC campaign, but has no relation to nudging. If the positive approach helps that's fine, says Kunstmann, and has no other opinion on the matter. On the matter of transparency as a message of SWC, YouBio is all for it, as Kunstmann replies. YouBio have both newsletters and trailers of up coming movies, and try to accommodate the users whom, she reminds me, are customers who are in title to a service. YouBio is forthcoming, but cannot show movies while they're still showing in the cinemas, said in a sarcastic tone. The existence of illegal online services that provide movies and TV-series, just as YouBio does, she explains the difficulties of running a legal service. From the day a movie hits the cinemas till it is accessible on a regular subscription at either YouBio, Netflix, HBO Nordic or other similar services, is close to 500 days. From the time when a movie stops showing till it is available on DVD or online rental or purchase, some services like iTunes, sometimes buys the rights to carry a single blockbuster movie of their choice in the timeslot between cinema and the DVD release. Kunstmann argues that especially in this time slot it can be tempting to use the illegal services, as the movie can not be seen anywhere in a

time period of four months. On top of that the illegal services are easy accessible, on some points even more than the legal ones. For example a user of an illegal service does not have to register themselves, they have direct access to the product (Kunstmann, May 15th, 2014). It's not cheap to run a movie- and TV service. The encryption alone is a very big expense. The need for that is also related to online piracy. If Internet piracy didn't exist, it would be much easier to run a business like this.

TDC has recently bought the brand "Blockbuster" in Denmark. Before there was such a thing as online access to movies, weekends with the family was often associated with a trip to the local video rental store, often being a Blockbuster store. Now the stores are a rare sight. In order to differ from the illegal services, TDC will make Blockbuster in Denmark in to a video on demand service that is associated with the old feeling of visiting a Blockbuster store. In the old stores it was easy to spot the popular movies on the amount of copies that were on the shelf. On the up coming Blockbuster service the icons of the movies will be of different sizes, depending on how new and popular a giving movie is. The bigger, the more popular or new, of course. Other that that it will have a number of personal features, such as rating of movies, watch list, etc., that will give the user an other experience than the illegal services can provide. So even though TDC and YouBio has a direct strategy towards stopping or minimising online piracy, they have the existence of the behaviour in mind when developing new products such as the coming Blockbuster service (Kunstmann, May 15th, 2014).

8.1.5 Scanbox

I met up with Torben Thorup Jørgensen, Head Of Video On Demand and TV sales and distribution at Scanbox Entertainment in Denmark. Their business is Danish distribution to cinemas, TV stations, and now also online movie and TV-series services.

Jørgensen explains that in general the movie business is suffering. Fewer movies, both expensive and cheaper ones, are being produced, making the distributing business hard. Scanbox has in the last 3-5 years experienced a serious decrease in the amount of movies to distribute, and in DVD sales. They blame a big part of that on the online piracy of movies and TV-series. Scanbox supports the SWC initiative, and admire the view of the users as not intentionally being criminals but just in the need of guidance. The message of transparency from SWC is likewise admirable, and Scanbox desires more transparency, so the users could

actually see that every time they interact with it is costly for society as a whole, the industry is bleeding as he puts it. If the users could join in and take responsibility in their online behavior, this could be avoided. That being said, to Scanbox is mostly interested in stopping the behaviour, whether that means changing the behaviour is not important to them. For this reason they often buy the service of a British company named Muso, who provide an international service of finding given movies or TV-series, at illegal services and sees to it that the material is removed from the illegal services. Jørgensen explains that it is an expensive service, but to Scanbox it is worth it, especially with big budget blockbuster movies. Muso also does what is called "Google annoyance", meaning if a user Google's a title of a given movie the links to any illegal services providing this movie would not be visible. Instead the links are consists of a trailer for the movie or TV-series in question, followed by a text encouraging the user to go to the cinema and watch the movie there. This has some parallels to the approach of the SWC campaign, and is quite efficient. That being said, Jørgensen highlight methods from France and Germany, making his colleagues jobs in those countries easier. In both countries the usage of DVD's is still the choice of media, making the general business easier. In France the police blocks an illegal user and quarantine them at providers of Internet for a year or two. In Germany, much success has come from mass lawsuits, giving fines in the size of 200-500 euros for downloading or streaming of a particular movie. These sanctions have been very successful. In fact the primary earnings for Lars Von Triers' "Antichrist" (2009), came from these mass lawsuits. In Denmark, there is no legal action against the users.

For these reasons, Scanbox is now more than ever focussing on the more mature users, or customers, currently with movies like The Grace of Monaco, starring Nicole Kidman. Scanbox knows this demographic is not a big segment of the online pirates (Jørgensen, May 22nd, 2014).

8.1.6 Deezer

One cloudy afternoon in March 2014, I met with Martin Møller, Editor in Chief for Deezer in Denmark. Deezer is an online music service, for home or mobile use, with more that 30 million tracks in its library (Møller, March 15th, 2014).

I had previously briefly explained him about the project, and about the SWC campaign. Deezer is qualified as a relevant social group, as the service is the provider of music, and as

previously presented, music is to some extent still being streamed and downloaded illegally. For that reason I found it relevant to hear Deezer's view, from Martin Møller, on the campaign, the online piracy, and the possible effects from online piracy has or has had affected Deezer as a provider of music.

Martin Møller has only positive reactions to the campaign, and finds the positive approach appealing, yet he has no relation to nudging. He explains that Deezer actually started out as an illegal service with base in France, but after pressure from political and side and with lawsuits, they turned legal in 2007. In the summer of 2013 the service moved in to the Danish marked, and is now a popular service, with agreements with the telephone and internet provider, 3 Mobile, for them to be the default music provider on mobile phones sold with a 3 Mobile subscription. Møller states that the issue with illegal behaviour with online music is declining, and the fact that it occurs, is not a subject when creating future strategies. The deal with 3 Mobile makes the issue with the illegal behaviour seem even less of a problem, but that wasn't the reason they made the deal in the first place. Møller describes that online piracy of music is like rainy weather; it is annoying, but can't be avoided. So even though Deezer appreciates the SWC campaign, they express that the legal music services has become so cheap and accessible, that the decline of illegal behaviour with online music would continue, even without the campaign (Møller, March 15th, 2014).

8.1.7 Pelle Guldborg Hansen as a representative of the academic community

All the other actors determined have a direct relation or stake in the SWC campaign. Pelle Guldborg Hansen is an Associate Professor in human behaviour and founder and CEO of the Danish Nudging Committee, and works mainly with nudging. In my search for relevant social groups I followed the trajectories of the Webpuf nudge and behavioural design, and quickly found that Hansen is a known scholar within this relevant field, and therefore I candidate him as a relevant group, representing an academic view, as he possesses the ability to estimate whether the conditions surrounding the campaign are suitable for nudging, and evaluate on the nudge used in the Webpuf test. He has no stake in the campaign, and for that reasons his interpretation is valuable to the analysis.

I met Pelle Guldborg Hansen for an interview a sunny morning in the Kings Garden in Copenhagen for an interview. Previous to that I had send him a presentation of my project,

and elaborated that I would like his view on the nudge used in the Webpuf, and the general way the SWC campaign, meaning Rettighedsalliancen and KL7, works with nudging. In the interview he expresses that there are several actors presenting themselves as nudging experts while not being it, and in that way giving nudging a bad name, as it is often misunderstood and simplified to a high level. SWC and in particular KL7, is in his opinion, not one of them. Hansen explains that he dislikes the term "Behavioural Designers", but not the term "Behavioural Architects", which is used by several others in the profession. In his opinion "Design" refers to one person altering another person, where as "architect" refers to a person altering the space around a person, with the purpose of changing the persons behaviour. Hansen proclaims that the so called nudging experts, and consultant companies within behavioural economics are emerging, and the quality of the work, and the approach to nudging and behavioural economics, are often of a questionable quality. The Webpuf nudge is not one of those, but the approach to nudging in Rettighedsalliancen and KL7; hence SWC, is still based on only a fraction of the elements of behavioural economics and libertarian paternalism. If following the dividing of nudges, which Hansen in cooperation with Andreas Jespersen has argued, the Webpuf nudge is both transparent and triggers System 2 in the cognitive mind (Kahneman, 2011). Thus the user knows he is being manipulated, and the information in the text makes the following behaviour based on rational estimations (Hansen, May 15th, 2014)

This section gave insights into the potential relevant groups that are to form the final relevant social groups. In the next section the expressed views, attitudes, and interpretations from the potential relevant groups will provide material to determine the final relevant social groups, and determine whether the interpretations conflict with each other, or if the SWC nudge is stable to a point where closure in accordance with SCOT can be determined.

8.2 Determining stabilization of Webpuf and the practices of SWC

This short section before the actual SCOT analysis will determine shared meanings among the eight potential relevant social groups, establishing social interactions of some of them (Bijker, 1992; 76), reducing the amount of relevant social groups will lead to a higher level of heterogeneity in the groups, and as a multi-group (Law and Callon, 1992; 19), minimising controversies in social mechanisms.

Deezer is excluded as a relevant social group, as they express no stressing issue with the existence of behaviour with illegal music services, as they feel the platform of their service and their collaboration with the tele-company 3, making their music easy and cheaply accessible. Several music services have similar collaborations, such as Spotify and Wimp (Møller, March 15th, 2014). This means they're no longer considered a stakeholder in the matter, and on top of that they have no relation to nudging, or behavioural economics; hence exclusion as a relevant social group. This is illustrated in figure 15 with the red cross across the yellow circle. Besides Deezer, figure 15 illustrates the seven remaining potential groups reduced to four. YouBio and Scanbox, besides from both being in the same industry, also express similar views, attitudes, and interpretations, and are therefore considered one relevant social group. This is the same for The Ministry of Culture, and DI ITEK and TI, plus the users and Niels Brock Business College.
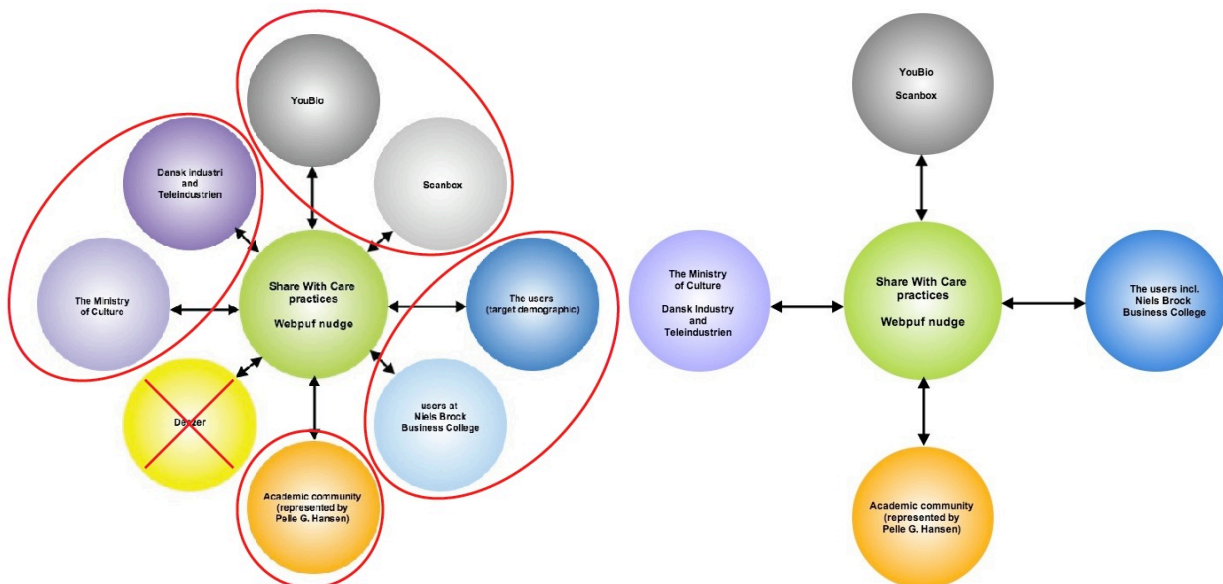
Figure 15 – The former eight actors is reduced to four relevant social groups.

Figure 15 illustrates the four relevant social groups to the right, with the SWC campaign and Webpuf nudge in the green circle in the middle, and the remaining relevant social groups surrounding it. The groups are:

1. The Ministry of Culture, DI ITEK, and TI
2. YouBio, and Scanbox
3. The Users incl. the users at Niels Brock Business College during the Webpuf nudge
4. Pelle Guldborg Hansen (as a representative for the academic community)

This leads to the actual interpretations of the four relevant social groups, and thus the beginning of the final aspects of the thesis, as illustrated in Figure 16.
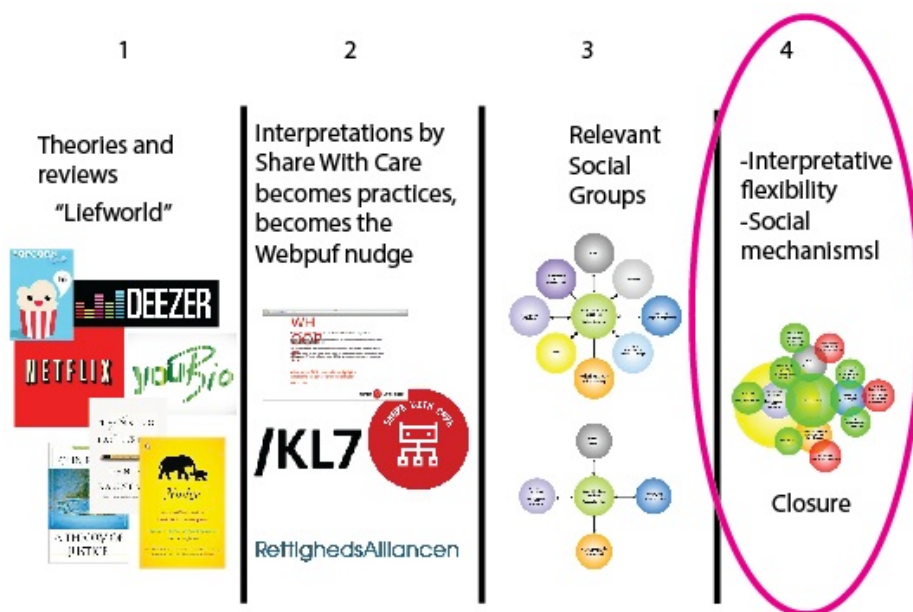
Fig 16 – Last asptect of the thesis has been initiated, highlighted by the pink circle of cell 4.

The first step, after determining the relevant social groups dictates to establish the interpretive flexibility focusing on facts communicated (Pinch and Bijker, 1987; 40). The

process of SCOT is illustrated in figure 17. The first step is initiated below and the remaining steps will be presented accordingly.
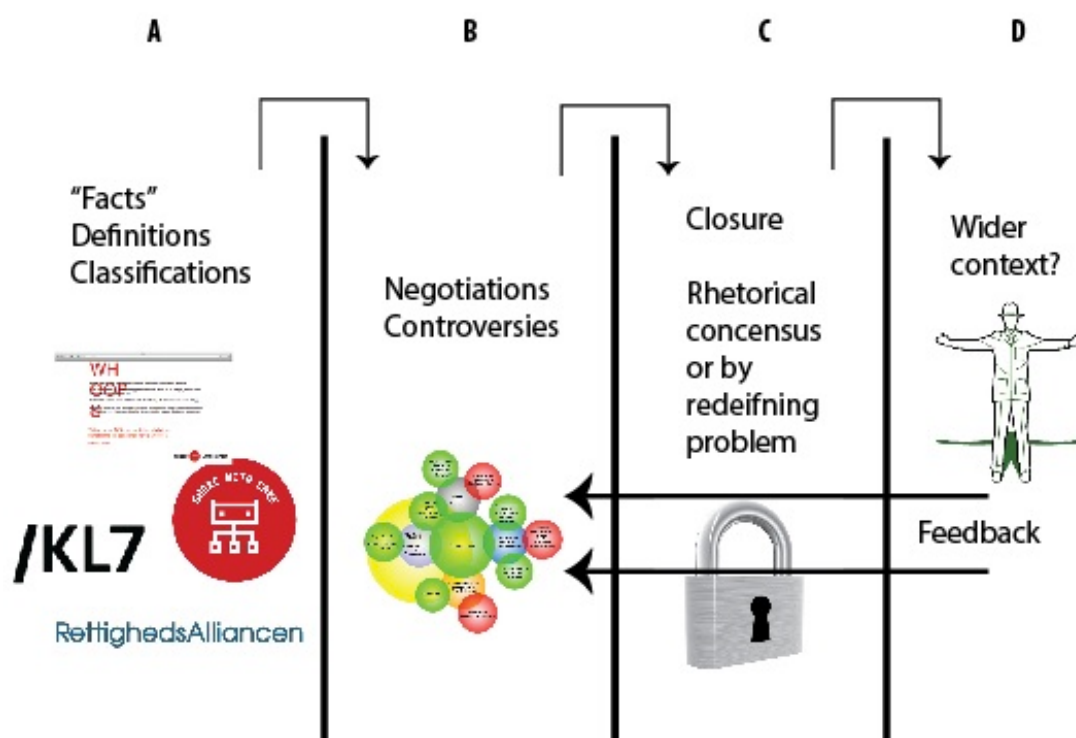
Figure 17 – The SCOT steps from interpretative flexibility (A) till Wider context (D) The SCOT analyses is initiated

The interpretative flexibility of the relevant social groups are illustrated in Figure 18 below. The groups have kept their colour from figure 15, but the green and the red are respectively symbols of interpretative flexibility in coherence with SWC and not in coherence with the SWC. If circles cover more than one relevant social group it means that these groups share that interpretation.

SWC expressed that transparency was a major aspect and message of the campaign, and the relevant social groups captured this, as they all expressed respectively the need and the willingness for transparency, illustrated by the big green circle in the middle of figure 18. To elaborate, Pelle Guldborg Hansen (orange circle), The Ministry of Culture, and DI ITEK and TI (purple circle) expresses the importance of transparency, while YouBio and Scanbox (grey circle) both expresses that transparency is a great aspect of their business, and that design of their services are based on knowledge gained from harvesting of digital data. The big yellow circle to the left in Figure 18 is covering all relevant social groups, but the users (blue). This

illustrates that these three groups share the admiration toward the purpose and, the usage of digital data, and the approach of not criminalising the users, but viewing them as people needing guidance, all important messages of SWC. The group of the Users (blue circle) might share the interpretation of admiration, as it speaks well of them, but the material used did not cover this. But the point about users not being criminalised but needing guidance was established as a social norm by a survey conducted for SWC (Rettighedsalliancen, 2013; 7) As for the Webpuf nudge, it was successful in making the users not pursue illegal behaviour on that particular occasion.

Figure 18 – The four relevant social groups, and the interpretations in relation to each other.
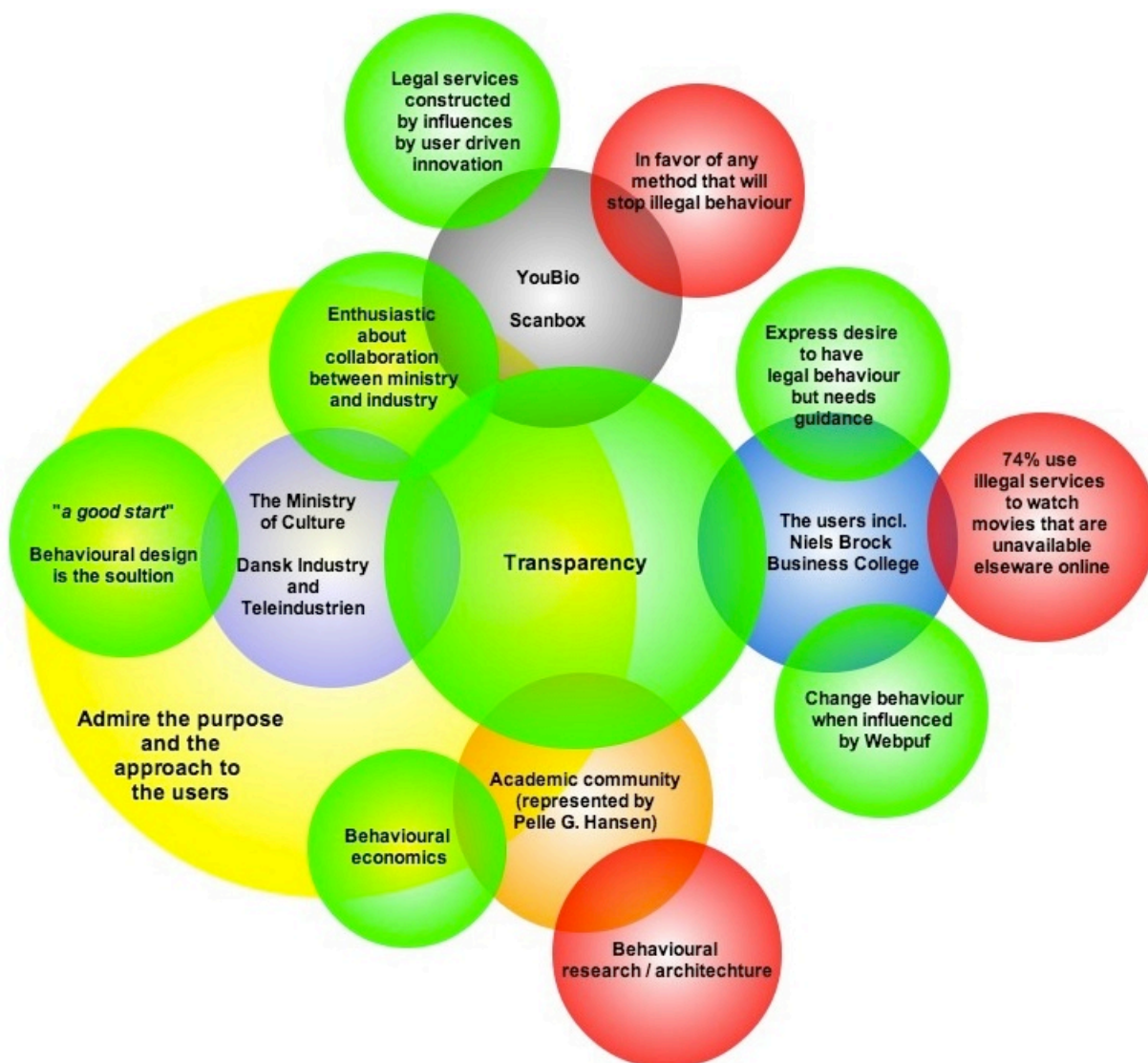
Secondary notions positive to the campaign was the enthusiasm about the "unique" collaboration between The Ministry of Culture and the industry, represented by DI and TI. From the users there was a desire of wanting to behave legal but needs guidance and transparency from the providers. The Webpuf nudge changed the behaviour with the illegal torrent sites significantly, at Niels Brock Business School. Though that test is not validated as a representation of the population, all users are in the ages of the target demographic of both the movie and music industry, and hence also the SWC campaign, and therefore qualified to represent the aspect of the users reaction of a nudge constructed from SWC's practices. One counter argument illustrated with a red circle in relation to the users (blue), is that there is still 14% of the demographic that deliberately uses the illegal services, and 74% of those uses this illegal service because they want to se the new movies and TV-series when they are available, legal or not.

As for Pelle Guldborg Hansen (orange circle), besides of focussing on transparency, he supports the fact that SWC uses behavioural economics in their practices, but argues that it is on very few of the many aspects of behavioural economics; hence the red circle in relation to him stating that the practice of nudging should be based on behavioural economics as well as many other aspects of cognitive human behaviour, in short in calls this branch "behavioural research practices", or "behavioural architecture", focussing on changing surroundings, instead of "behavioural design" that want's to change humans (Hansen, May 15th, 2014).

8.3 Closure

As Figure 18 indicates, there are still unsettled interpretations between all the relevant social groups; on whether nudging in the setting of the SWC campaign is stabile. They all express the need for transparency, both giving and receiving. This is an important ethical matter. It is interesting how KL7 and the Copyright argue for more transparency, when their own surveys are conducted through websites, where people's arguments have become part of surveys, without the authors knowing. Ethical researchers, Annette Markham and Elizabeth Buchanan argue that even though the internet is a social phenomenon, it is also a field site for research, and digital information of the sort involving individual human beings, and considerations of principles related to research with human subject, should be necessary; thus the internet is as

much of a site as any physical space in relation to human perceptions (Markham and Buchanan, 2012; 4), and with research from web-based forums, parties should be informed of this, as this is not tacit knowledge (Markham and Buchanan, 2012; 18). As interesting this angle is, it relates to ethics of Internet research, and not nudging.

The users have formulated the need for transparency, and got it with the Webpuf nudge; as the nudge was informative and it was helpful to get to the list of legal alternatives.

The purple group, consisting of The Danish Ministry of Culture, DI ITEK, and TI are all excited about the unique collaboration between a ministry and an industry, and sees great potential. Not too long ago the providers of Internet, represented by DI and TI, had no interest in stopping online piracy. Now that internet providers as TDC also is an online movie and TV-series service, it can be argued that they have an interest in minimising online piracy, and this unique collaboration, might not be so unique after all.

"*A good start*" seemed to phrase of the day at the final SWC meeting on March. 27th. The behavioural design approach of SWC is well liked and admire for its humane view of the users not as criminals, but as people who need guidance. This admiration from stakeholders, and the users positive reaction to the Webpuf test is a fulfilment of SWC's criteria's for success.

The only relevant social group stirring the pot is Pelle Guldborg Hansen, as a representative for the academic view on nudging, is accepting the existence of SWC's behavioural design approach, and he is granting the success and effect of Webpuf, which he argues is working as intented while also being ethically sustainable according to Hansen and Jespersen's model; hence follow the principles of liberty, justice, and transparency (Hansen and Jespersen, 2013; 20). He follows up by arguing that Webpuf and SWC's practices are based on too few aspects of not only behavioural economics, but existing knowledge of cognitive human behaviour in general. This argument does not conflict with the other interpretations but there is an inconsistency in how nudging both theoretically and practical in general is interpreted. On the contrary it argues that nudging in general has two trajectories. One is nudging as consultant companies such as KL7 practices it, where all solutions are constructed from a handful of tools. In SWC's case those were social norms, loss aversion, and biases. In that SCOT trajectory, Pelle Guldborg Hansen's arguments and interpretation is taken out of the equation, as he advocates for the other trajectory of a more academic approach to nudging. He further argues that in a near future more of those who used to refer to themselves as nudging enthusiasts will be calling themselves behavioural research practitioners. This argument is

somewhat verified by Cass Sunstein in an interview with the commercial yet scientific magazine, New Scientist; "*I think it's important not to get too fixated on the word "nudge". Part of the reason the book did well is that it has a catchy title.*" Quote: Cass R Sunstein (Lawton, 2013; 1). An argument like that could indicate that even the creator of nudging feels as though the term has been the victim of being simplified. Daniel Kahneman, author of one of the basic elements in nudging, has argued that nudging is misunderstood, to being limited to the basic aspects of behavioural economics, maybe because Richard Thaler the co-author is famous in that field. The principles of nudging opens up to a variety of scientific disciplines in human behaviour, not just the basics of behavioural economics (Singal, 2013; 1).

These statements leads to the last step of SCOT concerning the wider socio technical context. The indications are that a clear dividing of the approaches to nudging will become more common, and with that also easier to identify. New controversies will probably arise when one type of followers use other knowledge of human behaviour than the one described in social norms, loss aversion, and biases. Hansen (2014) mention a trend emerging of those whom used to follow nudging will be calling themselves behavioural research practitioners, but will those practitioners have changed their practises, or merely their title, as nudging in fact was a buzz word, with a certain lifespan. That will be interesting to follow.

9 After Thoughts

In relation to the Webpuf nudge at Niels Brock Business College, I would have liked to interview some of the students whom had experienced the nudge. What did they do, and why? The study showed that around 80% of the users whom was presented the Webpuf nudge, chose to leave the website in question (Appendix 3). My hypothesis is that if visiting a website with illegal material, and coming across a pop-up with text on it, many would experience this as an act of surveillance and/or the perception that the website had been blocked by authorities. The irony is that I base my hypothesis on the aspect of behavioural economics, which Kahneman calls "emotional learning". This aspect is closely related to the famous experiments with Pavlov's dogs. Ivan Pavlov learned his dog to recognize the sound of a bell when food was coming. Human examples cover a chess player with the ability to spot an opponent's strategy, just upon glancing at the chess board, or soldiers training for war by

training their instincts to react when in danger, and when it actually happens, these instincts will kick in (Kahneman, 2011; 238). So even though the Webpuf nudge lives up to the principle in behavioural economics that people want to follow social norms, and the statements from the users that they want to practice legal behaviour if guided, it might trigger an emotional relation (Kahneman's system 1) to a pop-up with a lot of text, blocking the website that the user probably knows is providing illegal material. It could have been interesting to test that hypothesis, as this could change the perception of the stabilization of the Webpuf nudge and the practices of how SWC approaches to nudging. Or even more interesting, maybe they would have had very different reasons that what I suggested. Unfortunately I wasn't presented with the findings of the test until the beginning of May 2014. I contacted Niels Brock with the request of interviewing a number of students, but was rejected with the argument that is the student's exams were coming up, and it had been months since the Webpuf test.

Lastly there is the notion of the all the cases of nudging I've come upon are related to short-term behaviour, both if its related to stopping or decreasing behaviour, or gaining new behaviour. The book; "*Nudge - Improving Decisions in Health, Wealth, and Happiness*", does not distinguish the two. In an interview with "New Scientist" in 2013, Cass Sunstein shortly commented that nudges are unlikely to be sufficient in changing complex long-term problems. He further elaborate, "*There is good research on the circumstances under which using social norms result in persistent instead of short-term behavioural change, with respect to energy use, so long as people are frequently reminded, it works, hence continually nudged*" (Lawton, 2013; 1). That means treating long-term behaviour as if it is many instances of short-term behaviour, by continuously nudging, in this case, users. This argument concurs the argument from Mikala Lene Poulsen that SWC has to continuously nudge the users for them to stop. This indicates that the same user will experience being nudged by SWC more than once, as he will fall back to his old behaviour and visit the webpages providing illegal material protected by copyright, just like the users at Niels Brock Business College did in the Webpuf test.

10 Conclusion

Before concluding I will once again present the problem formulation:

The SWC campaign has adopted nudging as a method to change the behaviour of the users of illegal online services of creative products.

- I will conduct an a descriptive study surrounding the practices of SWC's approaches to nudging, and establish whether these practices live up to the theories and principles that define a nudge. This study is to support the main analysis of SWC's practices and the Webpuf nudge as a social construction of technology, following the SCOT method. In conclusion this will determine whether SWC's practices can qualify as nudging, and whether the relevant social groups accept these practices.

My descriptive study showed that the target demographic of users, the young people whom consider technology an extension of themselves, uncritically engaging with technologies and digital services, with potential disregard to any scripts from the constructers, and in this case behavioural designers. These users who are suspected of being influenced by the pluralistic cascade telling them that behaviour with services providing illegal movies or music is acceptable, and thus adding to their level of fudge factor. Niels Brock Business College represented this demographic in the Webpuf test. They followed the script of the inscription called the Webpuf nudge. Let it be noted that after the Webpuf test, the illegal behaviour went back to how it was previous to the Webpuf test, illuminating the gradually convincing notion that nudging can only change short term behaviour. The remaining relevant social groups YouBio/Scanbox, The Ministry of Culture, and Pelle Guldborg Hansen, all admired the purpose of the SWC campaign and shared the need and willingness for transparency, all though YouBio and Scanbox were more focused on stopping the behaviour than the actual method for it. But YouBio and Scanbox, along with The Ministry of Culture, and DI ITEK and TI were enthusiastic about the collaboration between the ministry and representatives of the industry, and pointed out, along with SWC themselves, that the feedback and the results on the campaign was a good start, as many other participants at the final SWC meeting mentioned.

The only interpretation of conflict was from Pelle Guldborg Hansen, though accepting the existence of the practices SWC and the acknowledging the success of the Webpuf, he still

argued it was using but a fraction of the possibilities of nudging, This notion is supported by arguments from Daniel Kahneman, and indications from Cass Sunstein. As a result a rhetorical closure between the three remaining relevant social groups can be concluded, meaning the SWC approach and the Webpuf nudge qualifies as a valid method for changing behaviour in that specific setting.

This lead to a further analysis that nudging has been divided and exists in two forms. One commercial kind of nudging based on a few generally effective means, and which is doing well. And then there is an academic approach to nudging, relying on several fields of research within human behaviour.

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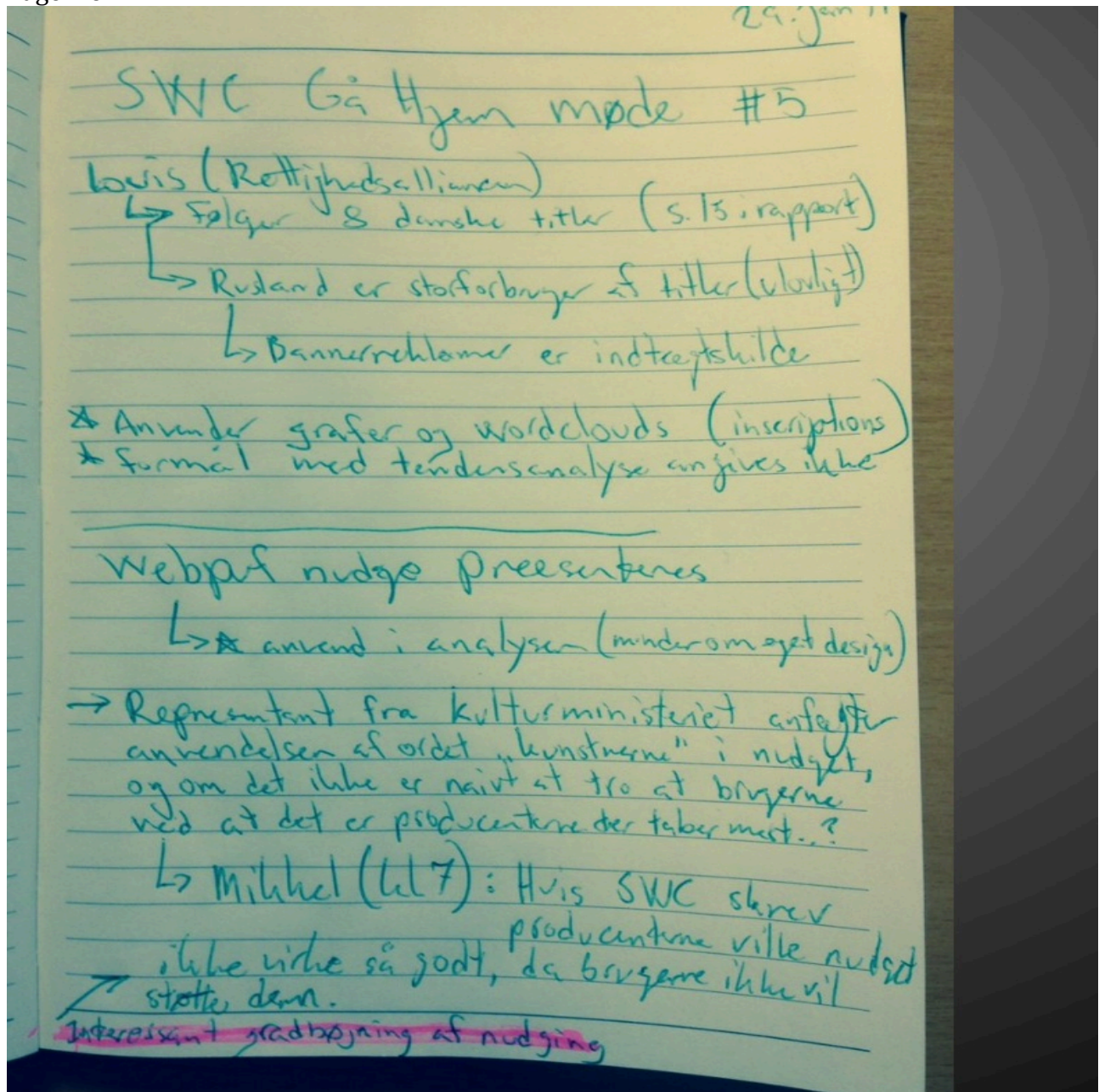
Interview guide

Name: Mikala Lene Poulsen – Share With Care

Date: May 26th 2014

- **Share With Care**
  - o SWC's relation to Behavioural economics
  - o Wheel of norms?
  - o Webpuf nudge, success?

- **Does online piracy affect Scanbox' strategies?**
  - o If yes, in what way?
  - o What are the conditions of timeslots from cinema to the stores or online services?

14 Appendix

Appendix 3

Niels Brock – Analyse SWC

WebFilter trafikanalyse og filter anbefalinger.

Kunde:Niels Brock

Analyse periode: 1. marts til 28. marts 2014

Analyse udført: marts 2014.

Parameter for opsamling af data:		Opsætning hos kunde:	
Test type:	SWC	Internetforbindelse: 1 Gbit.	
WebFilter StarUnit:	ja	Type:	Fiber
Filter aktiveret:	nej	Elever:	2.500

Formål med analyse.

WebFilter har i forbindelse med Rettighedsalliancen kampagne "Share With Care" gennemført en adfærdsanalyse på Niels Brocks åbne netværk.

Det primære formål var at få afdække hvor mange elever som brugte Niels Brocks åbne netværk til at downloade rettighedsikkeret materiale,fra de mest benyttede tottrent sites og i hvilket omfang denne ulovlige adfærd kunne påvirkes med en positiv kommunikation fra Rettighedsalliancen "Share With Care kampagne" (SWC.)

Analysens forløb

Analysen foregik over 3 uger. I uge 1 blev der kun indsamlet grunddata. I uge 2 blev der sat kommunikation op på 11 udvalgte torretnsite, med positiv kommunikation fra Share With Care, hvor eleverne blev stillet overfor at skulle foretage et aktivt valg.I uge tre blev kommunikationen fra Share With Care taget ned, og der blev igen kun indsamlet data for at se om "normal adfærden" blev genoptaget.

Belastning af internetforbindelse.

Der er generelt høj aktivitet på nettet, særligt torrent.

Vi anbefaler følgende indholds filtre.

Torrent / P2P: Ja

Proxy servers: Ja

18+ :   Ja

Phishing   Ja

Ludomani   Ja

Reklamer   Nej

Dating   nej

Niels Brock – Analyse SWC

Vi anbefaler følgende TLD blokeringer:

Ingen

Resultat af analysen.

Nedenstående grafer og data viser at ca. 6 % af alle enheder dagligt besøger torrentsites.Hvilket udgør ca. 300 brugere der i gennemsnit har bruger 4 timer dagligt på at downloade rettighedssikret materiale via torrent sites.Det daglige tidsforbrug på torrents sites udgør for alle elever 1.058 timer på en normal dag for Niels Brock.

På graf 2 har vi indlagt en faktor på 2 for at tage højde for enheder hvor det ikke er muligt at benytte torrent, da vi antager at de fleste eleverne medbringer 2 enheder en mobil og en pc. Det er typisk kun en pc'er der benyttes til torrent for download, og få andre enheder der benytter streaming. Det skyldes formodenligt at de fleste ønsker at bruge det rettighedssikret materiale i et andet forum.

Renset for mobile enheder benytter ca. 12 % af eleverne dagligt torrent (270-300 elever). Det svarer til at der er 300/12*100 = 2.500 elever/brugere på skolerne hver dag.

I forbindelse med kommunikation fra Share With Care i uge 2, kunne vi se at kun en ½ % af eleverene valgte at igonere denne kommunikation, og fortsætte ind på en ulovlig torrent sites, når de skulle træffe et konkret valg. Det vil sige at hovedparten af eleverne valgte at forlade siderne efterfølgende.

I uge 3, kunne vi konstatere at adfærden vendte tilbage til normaladfærd, det skyldes nok flere forhold. Dels vanetænkning og dels at der findes en række programmer som automatisk starter op, når det registrerer et åbent netværk og begynder derefter at down loade torrent, og da eleverne ikke længere modtager kommunikation, skal de ikke længere tage stilling til krænkelsen.
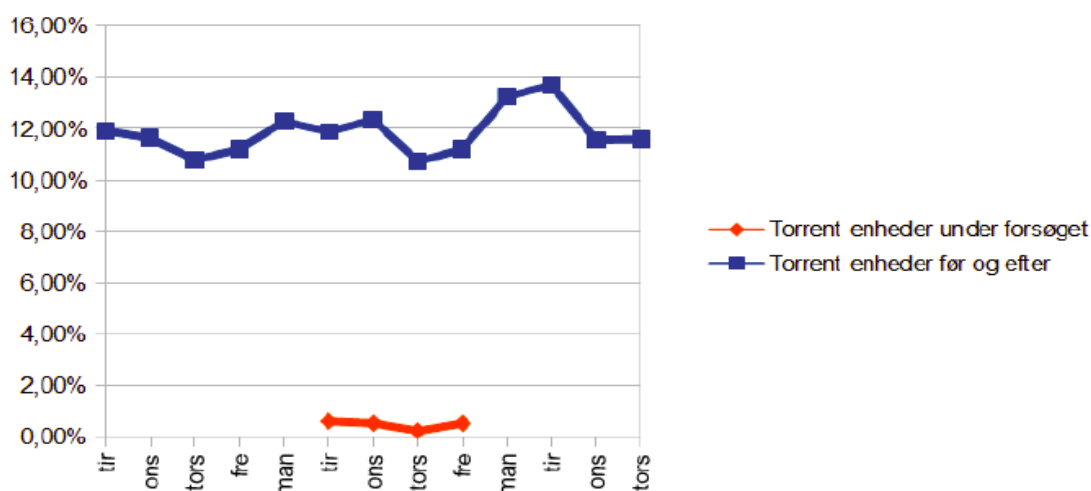
Niels Brock — Analyse SWC

Der var sat kommunikation op på følgende 11 hjemmesider der ikke betaler til rettighedshaverne

- h33t.to
- kickass.to
- www.filestube.com
- torrentz.eu
- noobroom9.com
- www.movie4k.to
- nxtgn.org
- www.limetorrents.com
- thepiratebay.se
- www.primewire.ag
- www.filestube.com

Når kommunikationen var aktiv, fremkom nedenstående billede. De fleste (blå del) valgte at forlade siden uden yderlige aktivitet. En del (Grøn del) læste om forsøget og gik derefter ind for at se hvilke lovlige tjenester der kunne benyttes. Resten (Gul del), ignorerede kommunikationen og fortsætte ind på de ulovlige torrent sites.

- Går væk
- Lovlige links
- Ulovligt indhold
- Læser om forsøg

Niels Brock – Analyse SWC

IT Firma	4737	94,74%
Digitx	4709	94,18%
Facebook	4582	91,64%
Søgemaskiner	4372	87,44%
Anonym statistik	4169	83,78%
Musik	3441	68,82%
Sociale netværk	3380	67,60%
Email	2911	58,22%
Reklamer	2863	57,26%
Youtube	2338	46,76%
Nyheder	1563	31,26%
Blog	1523	30,46%
EDU	1286	25,72%
Leksikon	1079	21,58%
Aviser	1074	21,48%
Bøger	987	19,10%
Ludomani	966	19,32%
Telefon	926	18,52%
Film	922	18,44%
Google translate	895	17,90%
18+	833	16,66%
Shopping	747	14,94%
Biler	701	14,02%
Rejser	681	13,62%
Job	481	9,62%
Video chat	445	8,90%
Sport	435	8,70%
18+ Extended	370	7,40%
Mærked	370	7,40%
Streaming	367	7,34%
Bank	346	6,92%
TV	338	6,76%
Dating	335	6,70%
Spil	304	5,60%
Torrent / P2P	281	5,62%
Proxy servers	242	4,84%
Office365	192	3,84%
Elektronik	166	3,32%
Tøj / Mode	90	1,80%
Bolig	90	1,80%
Torrent Tracker	83	1,66%
Phishing	69	1,38%
Sundhed	57	1,14%
Betalings gateways	45	0,90%
Support	39	0,78%
Alkohol	34	0,68%
Skole	24	0,48%
Stream Ripper	21	0,42%
Supermarked	18	0,36%
DNS Protect	17	0,34%
Bander	14	0,28%
Sociale netværk svindel	14	0,28%
15+	13	0,26%
VPN	8	0,16%
Rygning	3	0,06%
Virus	2	0,04%
Information	2	0,04%
BackLink	1	0,02%
WebLog	1	0,02%
Vold	0	0,00%
Noname	0	0,00%
Sikkerhed 3576	0	0,00%
Take Away 26	0	0,00%
Honeskop	0	0,00%
Index	0	0,00%
Bands	0	0,00%

Niels Brock – Analyse SWC

Forløb – AAH 2014	Uge 1					Uge 2 – kommunikation					Uge 3				
	man	tir	ons	tors	fre	Man (17)	tir	ons	tors	fre	man	tir	ons	tors	fre
Musik	515	1310	1350	1304	1058	1334	1349	1307	1323	1153	1336	1412	1280	1383	628
total	2629	5150	4945	5116	4526	5095	5086	5031	5186	4700	4830	4888	4723	4908	2855
%	20	25	27	25	23	26	27	26	26	25	28	29	27	28	22
Spotify	502	1236	1271	1234	1004	1247	1271	1222	1263	1097	1252	1328	1213	1325	593
tid/timer	8	21	21	21	17	21	21	20	21	18	21	22	20	22	10
Userfaktor mobile enheder/pc	2,1														
Torrent brugere/dag	102	292	274	263	251	298	288	296	265	251	305	319	260	271	132
total	1252	2452	2355	2436	2238	2426	2422	2396	2470	2238	2300	2328	2249	2337	1360
%	8	12	12	11	11	12	12	12	11	11	13	14	12	12	10
Torrent (bittorrent.com)	46	127	118	110	100	113	110	124	99	93	137	144	121	117	65
Åbnet for torrent							15	13	6	12					
Dage (Forsøg med rød)		tir	ons	tors	fre	man	tir	ons	tors	fre	man	tir	ons	tors	
Torrent enheder før og efter		11,91%	11,64%	10,80%	11,21%	12,28%	11,89%	12,36%	10,73%	11,21%	13,26%	13,70%	11,56%	11,60%	
Torrent enheder under forsøget							0,62%	0,54%	0,24%	0,54%					
Kommunikation effekt		539				Går væk	Lovlige links	Ulovligt indhold	Læser om forsøg						
						421	18	87	8						
Kommunikation blev vist:	1396	1100	gange/brugere – 4 dage.			78,13%	3,41%	16,19%	1,56%						