

# Index

- Abolish secret diplomacy, 29–30
- Accommodation, 216–217
- Adversarial design, 6–7
- Affordance, 8–9
  - for governing, 151–154
  - in practice, 62–63
  - theory, 62–63
- Agonism
  - democratic theories of, 53
  - of resistance, 194–195
- Agonists, 193
- Al Jazeera Investigations (AJI), 119, 122
- Alipay, 161
- Amazon Web Services (AWS), 136
- Angell, Norman, 34
- AnonLeaks, 134–135, 194–195
- AnonLeaks.org, 136, 140, 145–146
- Apparatus, 2, 8–9, 15, 22–23, 46
  - elements to, 147–151
  - Icelandic Constitutional Council as Transparency, 178–181
- Apple–Google API, 205
  - disclosure architecture, 215–216
- Application programming interfaces (APIs), 203
- Apps, 203
- Arcana imperii in democracy*, 26
- Arendt, Hannah, 48–49, 169–170, 188, 191–192, 198–199, 214–215
- Assange, Julian, 1, 16, 23, 71, 73–75, 77–78, 82–84, 139
- Audience, 107
- Autonomist, 59–61
  - affordances, 79–81
  - democratic politics, 59
  - of transparency, 213–214
- Autonomist-Marxists
  - of digital age, 53–54
  - instance, 60–61
  - of transparency, 54
- Bahama Leaks (2016), 146, 153
- Bank of America (BOA), 145
- Bell Hooks, 48–49
- Big data
  - analysis, 63
  - journalism, 96
- BlackNet, 74
- Bolshevik politics, 34
- Brass Crosby, 1, 23, 25, 161–162
- Brighenti, Andrea, 11, 17, 47–48, 62, 79, 127, 169–170, 185, 191–192, 195, 198–200
- Brin, David, 47–49
- Bureaucratic inertia, 194
- Cabledrum, 111–112
- Cablegate, 96–97, 99
- Cablesearch.org, 110
- Cammaerts, Bart, 50–51, 213–214
- Canonical transparency-governance scholars, 12
- Carceral process, 1
- CBC, 148
- China Cables (2019), 146
- China Leaks (2014), 146, 153
- Chronicle*, 4
- Citizenfour*, 121
- Citizens’ Agenda of OurSay.org, 170–178
- Citizens’ Agenda project in Australia, 167, 169–170
- Classical liberalism, 46
- ClearView AI, 16, 134, 154, 161, 217–218
- Coercive disclosure, 100–101

- Collaborative leaking journalism, designing, 146–154
- Collateral Murder, 86–87, 91
- Collateralmurder.com, 86, 88
- Communication, 10–11
- Communicative capacities, 12–13
- Community engagement, 169, 172–173
- Community-driven actions, 196–197
- Conduct of conduct, 9–11, 47, 50–51, 55–56, 127–128, 134, 178, 208–209
- Conduire des conduites*, 10
- Conspiracy as governance, 73
- Constraints of apparatus design, 15–16
- Contractual leaks, designing, 90–98
- Control of/with, 17, 48–49, 56, 169, 201, 216–217
- Corporate actors, 2
- Counterpublic mechanisms of transparency, 75
- COVID apps, 160, 205–207
- COVID-19 pandemic, 134, 215–216
- Creative Commons (CC), 117
- CrowdLeaks, 139
- Crowdsourcing, 26
- Cry of Blood, 82–83
- Cryptography, 21
- Cryptome, 74
- Cultures of radical transparency, 131–132, 154, 161
- Dahlberg, Lincoln, 12–13, 50–51, 53, 59, 78–80, 213–214
- DDoS attacks, 137–138
- DDoSecrets.com, 133–134
- Decentering, 195, 198, 203, 206, 208
- Decentralised media technologies, 1
- Decentres technologies of government, 191–192
- Defensive face, 47
- Deformed transparency, 71–72
- Deliberate acts of openness, 4
- Deliberative paradigms, 62
- Deliberative transparency, 55–56, 213–214
- Democracy, 51, 8–9, 194–195, 216, 219
  - digital, 51–53
  - paradigms, 50–51
  - and transparency, 53
- ‘DemocracyOS’ application, 217–218
- Democratic affordances of apparatus, 80
- Democratic agency of disclosure, 4–5
- Democratic capacities, 12–13
- Democratic legitimacy, 6
- Democratic paradigms, 152–153
- Democratic practices, 78–79
  - of transparency, 1–2
- Democratic theories of agonism, 53
- Democratic transparency, 12
- Design, 98–101
- Digital democracy, 51–53
- Digital disclosure, 9
- Digital leaks sites, 98–99
- Digital media, 3, 21, 55, 63
  - second-order affordances, 63
  - transparency in, 213–214
- Digital technologies, 11, 59–60
- Digital transformations, 100–101
- Dignities, 197–198
- Disclosure, 191
- Disruption, 216–217
- Distributed Denial of Secrets, 133
- Distributed Denial of Service (DDoS), 133–134
- Dominator model of social organisation, 48–49
- Dutiful citizens, 51
- e-citizenship models, 51
- Editorialising leaks, designing, 86–90
- Epidemiology, 215–216
- ‘Epistemic shift’ of sovereignty, 101
- Equality of tolerance, 214–215

- Equity provisions, 169–170
- Exposure Notifications, 159–160
- Facebook, 132–133
- False information, 100
- Federal Security Service (FSB), 99
- Feminist partnership model, 198–199
- Feminist theory, 198–199
- FinCEN Files, 146
- ‘First generation’ transparency, 54–55
- Flyverbom, Mikkel, 10–11, 13, 47, 50, 63–64, 176–177
- Free and Open Source Software (FOSS), 59–60
- Free-speech ISP in Australia, 73–74
- Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), 2, 25
- Freedom of information/access laws, 2
- Full and destructive revolution, 61
- Fung, Archon, 4, 12, 47, 54–56, 89, 102, 150, 198–199, 206
- Geolocation Information Systems, 7
- Gitmo Files, 98–99
- Global economic liberalisation, 6
- Global Intelligence Files, 98–99
- Global positioning system (GPS), 203
- GlobaLeaks, 217–218
- Google-Apple API, 159–160
- Governance by leaking, 73–74
- Government centralising sites, 121
- Governmentality, 22–23, 72, 107
- Greenpeace, 124
- Grid-group dimensions, 49
- Griggs et al., 4–5, 15, 17, 22–23, 46, 80, 127, 195, 199, 214–215
- Guardian, The*, 96
- Hacker-based transparency, 191
- Hacking to leak, 136–146
- Hansard, Luke, 1–2, 4–5, 22–23, 25–26, 35, 40, 206, 215–216
- HBGary, 141–142
- Health Code, 161
- The Herald*, 34, 36
- Horizontal transparency, 48–49
- Hydrants, 58
- Hyle*, 10, 46, 64
- Icelandic Constitutional Council (CC), 178, 183, 196–197, 217–218
  - material transparency practice of governing, 181–183
  - as transparency apparatus, 178–181
- Icelandic National Broadcasting Service, 83–84
- Icesave Landsbanki bank, 83–84
- Implant Files (2018), 146
- Information asymmetries, 173
- Information Communication Technologies (ICTs), 5, 57, 64
- (In)forming publics with transparency
  - clearview AI, 154–161
  - hacking to leak or leaking to hack, 136–146
- ICIJ, 146–154
  - leaks proto-institution apparatuses, 135
  - public health and other cultures of radical transparency, 154–161
  - quirious twist to anonymous disclosure, 154–161
- Insider transparency, 4–5
- Institutional governance, 195
- Intellectual property rights, 24
- International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ), 16, 131–132, 146, 150, 154, 191, 194–195, 217
  - affordances for governing, 151–154
  - elements to apparatus, 147–151
- International Medical Device Database, 153
- Internet, 21
- Internet-enabled digital disclosure mechanisms, 25
- Involuntary transparency, 4

- Justice Mapping Center, 7
- Kenyan National Commission of Human Rights (KNCHR), 82–83
- Kill Secrets, 3
- Kingara, Oscar Kamau, 82–83
- Kissinger Cables, 99
- Kroll Report, 82–83
- Leadnow. ca's (re)generation Campaign, 183–188
- material transparency as technologies of government, 186–188
- transparency apparatus, 183–184
- League of Nations, 39
- Leaking to hack, 136–146
- Leaks-as-a-service, 123, 126, 217–218
- Lenin, 2, 29–30, 33, 40, 61, 195–196
- Liberal
- individualist of transparency, 75
  - paradigm, 53–55, 62, 152–153
  - transparency, 213–214
- Liberalism, 27
- Lippman, Walter, 10–11, 32, 46–47, 50–51, 200
- LiveLeak, 59
- LOIC, 138
- London Evening Post*, 25
- Lulz, 143, 145–146
- Luxembourg Leaks (2014), 146
- Managing visibility, 13–14, 17, 60, 113–114, 182, 213–214
- Manchester Guardian*, 35
- Marxist, 61
- democracy paradigms, 22–23
  - design of transparency, 213–214
  - paradigms, 62
- Material histories of radical transparency
- history of radical transparency, 41
  - radical markets of liberal transparency offering
  - 'revelation to regulation', 23–28
  - radical transparency as material rationalisation and reform, 34–39
  - Soviet Russia, radical revulsion transparently revolutionises, 28–33
- Material rationalisation, radical transparency as, 34–39
- Material transparency practice of governing, 181–183
- Material-political practice, 13
- Materiality of transparency practice, 15
- Media. *See also* Digital media, 12–13
- materialise transparency practices, 62–65
  - rights vis-a-vis democratic theory, 50–51
- Mediation, 3
- of information, 12
- Military Grid Reference System, 91
- Million Dollar Blocks project, 6–7
- Mimics, 118
- Monthly Active Users (MAUs), 158–159
- Morphe*, 10, 46, 64
- Multiplicity, 126–127
- Nascent capitalism, 24
- National security, 218
- Neo(liberal) of transparency, 213–214
- Networked cryptography, 3
- Neutral transmitters of content, 12
- New digital disclosure apparatuses, 215–216
- News media, 172–173
- Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), 124
- Non-pharmaceutical interventions (NPIs), 203
- Offshore Leaks (2013), 153
- Open diplomacy, 4–5, 29, 31–32, 196–197

- reforms, 22
- Open governance of diplomacy, 33
- Open utopia of technophilic law, 57
- Openness, 58–59
- Operation Avenge Assange, 137–138
- Operation Leakspin, 138
- Operation Payback, 137–138
- Organisational-communication
  - transparency scholarship, 13
- OurSay
  - model, 173
  - process of transparency, 196–197
- ‘OurSay. org, Citizens’ Agenda of, 170–178
  - OurSay Winning Questions, 175–176
  - OurSay’s materialisation of governing through transparency, 177–178
- Pamphleteers, 1–2
- Panama Papers (2015), 153
- Pandemics, 215–216
- Panoptic control, 201–202
- Paradise Leaks (2017), 146, 153
- Paris Peace Conference, 32
- Participatory democracy, 169
- Pathogens, 215–216
- Pirate sphere, 24
- Pizzagate conspiracy, 155
- Pluralism, 194–195
  - functioning in democracy, 45
- ‘Pluralist’ typology, 194–195
- Plurality, 126–127
- Policing, 194–195
- Political, 25–26
  - design, 6–7
  - irreducibility, 47
  - paradigms of transparency, 53
  - potentialities, 214–215
  - science street, 12
  - transparency typology, 53
- Political dimension, 3
  - of radical transparency, 6
- Politics, 6–7, 194–195
- Position, 3
- Post-foundational democratic
  - agonism, 191–192
- Post-foundational democratic theory, 15, 45, 191–192
- Post-foundational framework, 216–217
- Potentially Alarming Research:
  - Anonymous Intelligence Agency (Par:AnoIA), 134, 143–146
- Power
  - over, 48–49
  - with, 48–49
  - assumptions of, 214–215
  - of control, 198–202
  - of control with, 198–202
- Practices of freedom, 195, 214–215
- Practices of governance, 195
- Pre-WikiLeaks, 108–109
- Pretty Good Privacy (PGP), 119
- Printer’s case, 25–27
- Privacy, 159–160
- Private informational capital, 60
- Productive ambiguity, 193
- Project KTM: Consolidated Report, 82–83
- Propaganda counteroffensive, 31–32
- Propertied minority, 29–30
- Proto-institutions, 13, 62, 134, 136, 214–215
  - of decentralised journalism, 151
- Proximity, 159–160
- Public diplomacy, 31, 83
  - paradigm of WikiLeaks, 85
- Public health, 154–161
- Public secrets, 131–132
- Public-propagandising leaks,
  - designing, 81–86
- Publicly available information (PAI), 157–158
- QAnon, 131–132, 155
- Quantitative patterns of votes, 174
- Quasi-conspiratorial PAI resources, 158–159

- Curious twist to anonymous disclosure, 154–161  
 Radical actions, 191  
 Radical blocks, 114  
 Radical disclosure, 167–169  
 Radical markets of liberal transparency, 23–28  
 Radical roots and inchoate demands, 192–198  
     radical practices and visibilities, 197  
     visibility, control and government, 196  
 Radical transparency. *See also*  
     Transparency, 1, 3, 8, 13, 17, 21–22, 72, 191–194, 213, 215  
     Citizens' Agenda of OurSay. org, 170–178  
     cultures of, 131–132  
     Icelandic Constitutional Council, 178–183  
     inverted radical transparency apparatuses, 167–168  
     Leadnow. ca's (re)generation Campaign, 183–188  
     as material rationalisation and reform, 34–39  
     matters to democracy, 8–14  
     of open source software, 59–60  
 Rationalisation to reform, 35–37  
 Rationalities, 39, 46, 213  
 Recenters technologies of government, 191–192  
 Regimes of practice, 46  
 Respondent post-foundational democratic theory, 22–23  
 Responsive agonism, 194  
 Revelation to regulation, 23–28  
 Revolution by revulsion, 33  
 Revolutionary-democratic culture, 29–30  
 Rhizome, 107  
 Robo-debt, 205  
 Schudson, 120–121, 169–170, 174, 184  
 Second-generation transparency, 55  
 Second-order analysis, 214–215  
 Secret Treaties, 28, 35  
 Secure Sockets Layer (SSL), 119  
 SecureDrop, 124, 217  
 Self-actualising citizens, 51  
 Sifry, Micah, 3, 12, 48–49, 57, 75, 199  
 Snowden effect, 125–126  
 Social network analysis (SNA), 114, 149  
 Social–technological contexts, 22  
 Socio-material reality of people, 62–63  
 Socio-political–technological contexts, 24  
 Socio-technical media apparatuses, 10  
 Socio-technological account of transparency, 10–11  
 Socio-technological apparatuses, 1–2, 45  
 Soviet Russia  
     leaks design, 98–101  
     radical revulsion transparently revolutionises, 28–33  
 Spatial Information Design Lab, 7  
 Spring-breakers, 158–159  
 Spy Files, 98–99  
 Strategic communication, 82  
 Surveillance, 4–5, 47–48, 115–116, 157–158  
 Swiss Leaks (2015), 146, 153  
 Sykes–Picot correspondence, 30–31  
 Syria Files, 98–99  
 Systematic accounting of leaks sites  
     centralise leaks, 118–123  
     intersite relations, 113–117  
     leaks as a service, 123–126  
     mimics, 118  
     social network of leaks sites, 116  
     themes, 117–126  
 Tax-averse actors, 151  
 Techno-collective mentality, 57–58  
 Techno-idealism, 12–13  
 Techno-realism, 12–13  
 Technologies  
     government, 2, 8–9, 23, 39, 46

- Leadnow's material transparency
  - as, 186–188
  - street, 12
- Techo-collective, 57–59
- Tectonix, 157–159
- Telekommunist Manifesto, 59–60
- The Internet Archive (TIA), 114–115
- Petta reddast!, 167
  - power of, 178–183
- 3D printing, 59–60
- Track-and-trace approaches, 16
- Tragic process, 46
- Transparency, 6–9, 11, 13, 21–23, 27, 45, 47, 50, 58–59, 167, 169, 213
  - apparatus, 149, 215
  - autonomist, 59–61
  - deliberative, 55–56
  - democratic practices of, 1–2
  - in digital media, 213–214
  - discrete and conceptually independent paradigms, 61–62
  - hues, 54
  - information, 5
  - international, 4
  - liberal, 54–55
  - Marxist, 61
  - materialises, 22
  - media materialise transparency practices, 62–65
  - mediated, autonomist and techno-collaborative turns, 56–61
  - multiple politics of, 47–48
  - OurSay's materialisation of governing through, 177–178
  - political capacity, 7–8
  - power of, 2
  - prism of transparency makes practice of political visible, 46–62
  - regimes, 45
  - techo-collective, 57–59
  - transparency in(forms) government theory and practice, 9–14
  - transparency-governance scholars, 57
  - typology, 53–56
- Triangulation, 97
- Uniform resource locator (URL), 107
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), 4
- Utmost severity, 24
- Venture communism, 60–61
- Visibilities of control, 11, 47, 157, 206
- Visibilities of recognition, 11, 56, 214–216
- Voluntary disclosures, 4
- War logs, 91, 96, 150–151
- WeChat, 161
- West Africa Leaks (2018), 146
- WikiLeaks, 3, 21, 71, 107, 132, 193, 217
  - after, 107–109
  - autonomist affordances, 79–81
  - birth, multiplicity and death for leaks sites, 126–128
  - decentralised communication networks, 8–9
  - designing, 75–81
  - designing contractual leaks, 90–98
  - designing editorialising leaks, 86–90
  - designing public-propagandising leaks, 81–86
  - First Derivatives, 109–113
  - model, 16, 98, 107
  - phases, 76
  - portals, 77
  - pre-WikiLeaks, 108–109
  - Soviet Russia, leaks design, 98–101
  - systematic accounting of leaks sites and intersite relations, 113–117
  - systematic accounting of leaks sites' themes, 117–126

- tracking digital design multiplicity, 109–113
- war logs, 92–94
- Wiki, Ergo, Leaks, 73–75
- WikiLeaks-cum-public diplomacy apparatus, 84
- Wilson, Woodrow, 22, 29, 31–33, 37–38, 55–56
- WorldStar, 59
- x-mode, 157–159
- YouTube, 59
- Zimmerman telegram, 31