# PROCESS TRACING AS A BASIS FOR ISSUE-BASED SCENARIOS

The case of the General Data Protection Regulation

Improving Scenario Methodology: Theory and Practice 14 December 2015

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#### Privacy as a changing issue

"Privacy is the right to be let alone – the most comprehensive of rights, and the right most valued by civilized man."
(Louis D. Brandeis, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, 1928)

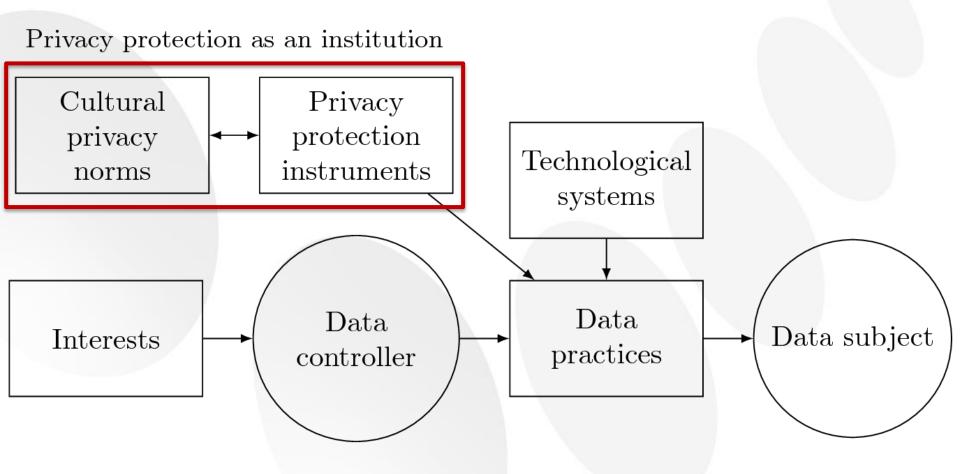
"You have zero privacy anyway. Get over it." (Scott McNealy, Sun CEO, 1999)

"Privacy isn't dead. Rather, privacy is inevitable." (Neil M. Richards, 2015)





#### Privacy protection as an institution



How are rules about acceptable data practices made?





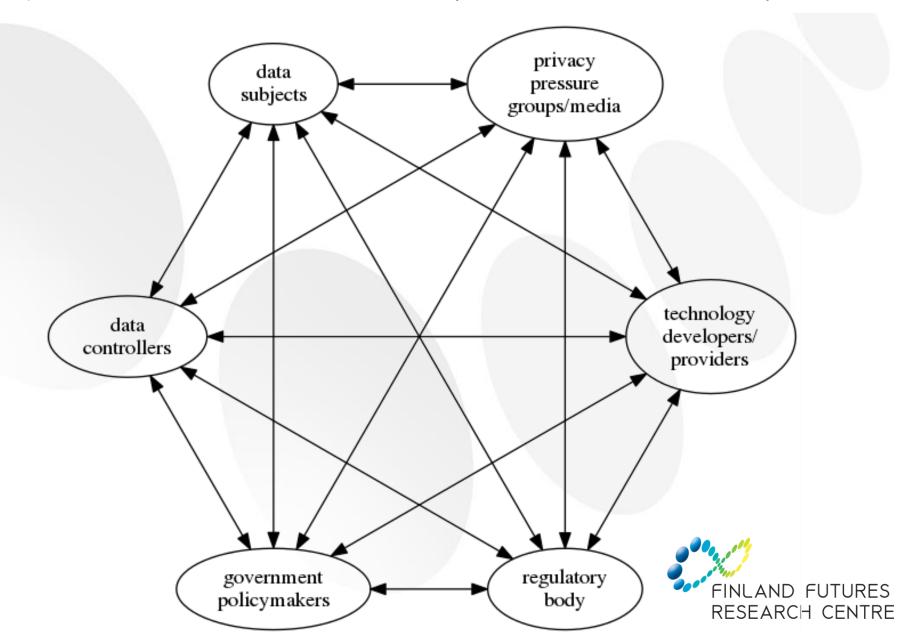
### Institutional change

- Case: EU data protection reform (General Data Protection Regulation)
- Complexity: many actors and sub-issues
  - Sub-issues: definitions, procedures for international data transfers, rights and obligations, ...
- Theoretical framework: new institutionalism
  - Gradual institutional change through contestation of rules (Mahoney & Thelen, 2009)
  - Discursive institutionalism and the importance of ideas (Schmidt, 2008)





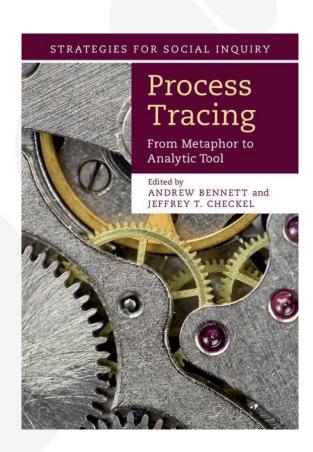
#### Actors/stakeholders (Bennett & Raab 2006)





#### From process tracing to scenarios

- Process tracing: qualitative within-case method
  - Analysis of evidence on processes to reconstruct chain of mechanisms from initial situation to outcome (George & Bennett, 2005; Bengtsson & Ruonavaara, 2011; Bennett & Checkel 2015)
- Scenarios: "hypothetical events constructed to clarify a possible chain of causal events as well as their decision points" (Kahn & Wiener, 1967)







# Why process tracing for scenarios?

- Differences from environmental/horizon scanning (e.g. STEEPV)
  - Knowledge interest: closer to basic research
  - "Bird's eye view", more theory-based
- Focused historical evidence about change
  - Causal-process observations, diagnostic evidence

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- Decisions of actors rather than broad trends
- Timing and ordering: not only what but when?
- → Suitable for issued-based scenarios



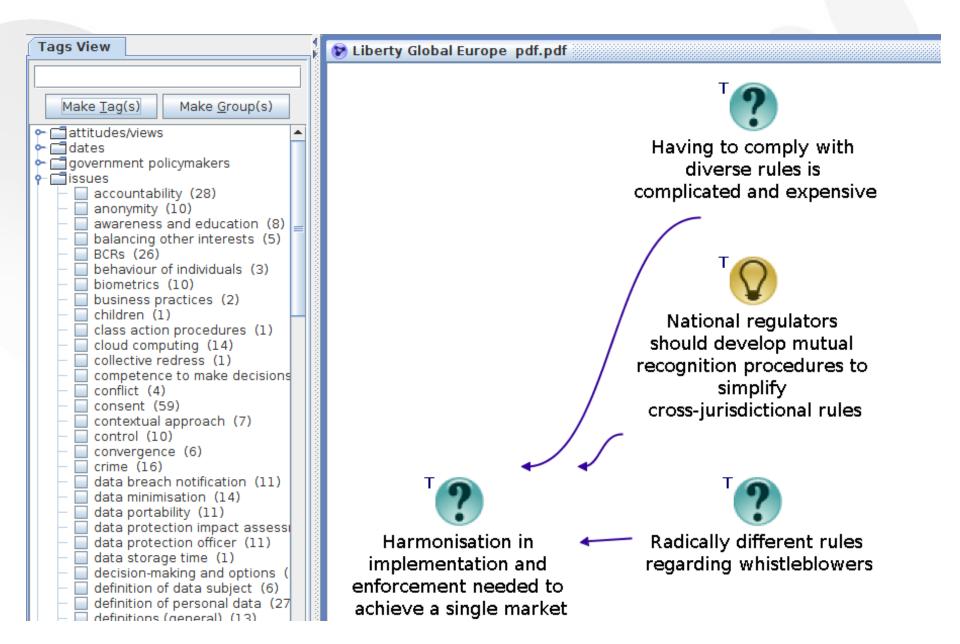
# Process tracing in practice

- Analysing documentary material: policy papers, responses to public consultations
- Focus on arguments and time
  - Which arguments become influential? When? Why?
  - How are they spread throughout the network?
  - External events: Snowden, court cases, Paris terror attacks





#### Mapping argumentation in CompendiumNG





## Timeline of key events

Rapid growth of social media

right to be forgotten,
Safe Harbour (2014–2015)

Consultation: legal framework (2009) Consultation: comprehensive approach (2011)

Commission proposes regulation (2012)

Debate and vote in Parliament (2014)

Trilogue negoti-ations

Treaty of Lisbon (2009)

Snowden revelations (2013)

Paris attacks (2015)

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#### Turun yliopisto University of Turku Scenarios: what next?

- 'Hybrid' issue-based scenarios (see 'scenario cartwheel', van Notten et al., 2003)
  - Focused exploration with a short timeframe (exploration + decision support)
- Contextual/external factors → policy-making
  - Future situations present challenges and strategic opportunities to actors
  - Outcomes depend on choices
- Key external variables
  - How successful is the strategy against terrorism?
  - Will European economies recover from crisis?
  - Is privacy built into design of technologies?



## Themes: scenario building blocks



Judicialization (Wikimedia Commons)



Marketization (Wikimedia Commons)



#### The fundamental rights frame

(http://www.humanrightslogo.net/)



**Securitization** (Wikimedia Commons)



### Example of a plausible scenario

Problems continue in economy and security

Politicians and security actors marginalise privacy

Data
breach
impacts
millions of
people

Loss of trust forces companies to focus on privacy





# Conclusion: benefits of process tracing for issue-based scenarios

- 1. Provides focused historical evidence about change processes
- 2. May be used as input for participatory process, e.g. policy/argument Delphi
- Ultimately helps to understand ongoing development and make better decisions today



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