

Blockchain and Legitimacy – The Rule of Law by Design

Akanksha Bisoyi

Complete reprint of the dissertation approved by the the TUM School of Social Sciences and Technology of the Technical University of Munich for the award of the

Doktorin der Rechtswissenschaften (Dr. jur.).

Chair: Prof. Dr. Boris Paal

Examiners:

- 1. Prof. Dr. Christian Djeffal
- 2. Prof. Dr. Rolf. H. Weber

The dissertation was submitted to the Technical University of Munich on 18 June 2024 and accepted by the TUM School of Social Sciences and Technology on 6 August 2024.

Abstract

Can the rule of law shape, guide, and influence the design and implementation of blockchain technology in a legitimate manner? This dissertation provides an in-depth perspective on this question, which pertains to the design and, consequently, the deployment of blockchain technology. Given the multifaceted applications of blockchain technologies in public domains ranging from public procurement to identification management, as well as their significant role in human rights initiatives such as humanitarian aid and the protection of vulnerable populations, it is imperative that these technologies align with the principles of the rule of law. The deployment of blockchain introduces profound challenges to the fundamental tenets of the rule of law, including the protection of fundamental rights and ensuring the effectiveness of checks and balances, exemplified by judicial oversight and due process. With the blockchain influencing the 'traditional' social construction, it places the rule of code at the heart of this technology as a powerful determinant of human behavior, with the potential to influence societal norms in a manner that is more effective than what the law aims to achieve. Since the rule of code can potentially shape people's behavior in a democracy, its implications must be within the bounds of the rule of law. This dissertation sets out that the technical attributes of blockchain technology may result in *crypto-legalism*, which is not compatible with the rule of law and typically portrays a sort of 'unthinking' rigid adherence to the rule of code that are imposed on the users or individuals without any reflective consideration. Therefore, this study formulates 'the rule of law by design' approach, where the idea is to employ the concept of the rule of law to examine and analyze the 'purpose' behind the blockchain and understand the influence, motivations, and aspirations behind programming the conceptual notions into the technology as well as to incorporate the rule of law standards into the design phase as a means to address and reduce the 'illegitimacies' associated with the characteristics of the rule of code embedded in the blockchain (crypto-legalism).

Acknowledgment

I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness and express my sincere gratitude to Professor Christian Djeffal, who has supervised and supported this research work since its inception and helped me to develop an interdisciplinary approach to the topic. His guidance, support, and expert advice have been invaluable to improve the thesis at every stage. During the research, the Professorship of Law, Science, and Technology at Technical University München has given me the opportunity to present my work at various universities and research centres such as Asser Institute University of Amsterdam, Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law Heidelberg, National Open University Taipei Taiwan. The invaluable ideas and insights received during the interactions with academicians, researchers, and participants in these conferences have also immensely helped me to shape and improve the dissertation.

I also put on record my gratitude to Professor Rolf H. Weber, University of Zurich for his invaluable inputs and comments during the development stage of this dissertation. My colleagues at the Department of Science, Technology and Society, particularly David, Verena, and Philipp have been very supportive and have kept me motivated during this journey. My heartfelt thanks are due to all of them.

Special thanks are also due to my parents who taught the first lessons on value of hard work, passion and aspirations. You have always supported, motivated and encouraged me; Your constant motivation has helped a lot to complete this dissertation.

Contents

FIGURES	
ABBREVIATIONS	9
1. INTRODUCTION	10
PART I – BLOCKCHAIN AND THE RULE OF LAW – CONCEPTS AND RELATIONSI	
2. UNDERSTANDING BLOCKCHAIN AND ITS NORMATIVE IMPLICATIONS	16
2.1. CONCEPTS AND ORIGIN OF BLOCKCHAIN	16
2.1.1. Functional understanding of blockchain technology	23
2.1.1.1. Decentralized architecture	25
2.1.1.2. Distributive ledger	
2.1.1.3. Cryptography	
2.1.1.4. Immutable character	
2.1.1.5. Off-chain and On-chain governance	
2.1.2. Public, private, or permissioned blockchain	
2.2. NORMATIVE EFFECTS OF BLOCKCHAIN CODE ON LAW	
2.2.1. Lex cryptographica	
2.2.2. Social and political implications	
2.2.3. Enabling a new normativity	44
2.3. APPROACHES TO SHAPE BLOCKCHAIN	50
2.3.1. Regulatory sandboxes	51
2.3.2. Architecture of control	53
2.3.3. The rule of code	55
2.3.4. Architecture of Trust	
2.3.5. By design approach	60
2.4. BLOCKCHAIN FROM THE RULE OF LAW PERSPECTIVE	
2.4.1. Opportunities and risks for the rule of law	63
2.4.2. Lex cryptographica and the rule of law	
2.5. METHODOLOGIES ADOPTED	75
3. THE RULE OF LAW PHILOSOPHY AND DESIGN STANDARDS	80
3.1. THE RULE OF LAW PHILOSOPHY	80
3.1.1. A modern positive view	
3.1.2. 'Legitimacy' in 'the rule of law'	
3.1.2.1. Bases of legitimacy	
3.1.2.2. What law ought to be	
3.2. THE RULE BY LAW VIS-À-VIS THE RULE OF LAW	
3.2.1. Legalism	
3.2.1.1. Strong legalism and Weak legalism	

-	3.2.1.2. Trade-off Model Theory	106
3.2.	.2. Legality - an aspirational concept	109
3.3.	FULLER'S DESIGN STANDARDS FOR LEGALITY	113
3.4.	DESIGN STANDARDS FOR 'LEGITIMATE' LEGAL RULE FORMULATION	123
3.4.	.1. Legitimacy of legal norms	123
3.4.	.2. Rule of Law values for ex-ante and ex-post affordances	126
4. IN	TERACTION BETWEEN BLOCKCHAIN AND THE RULE OF LAW	129
4.1.	BLOCKCHAIN AND REGULATION	129
4.2.	CODE IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE REGULATORY FRAMEWORKS	131
4.3.	Intersection between the Rule of Code and the Rule of Law	138
4.3.	.1. Normative influence	142
4.3.	.2. Impact of technology on legal norms	144
4.4.	CLASSIFICATION OF BLOCKCHAIN APPLICATIONS	148
4.4.	.1. Blockchain code as law avoidance	148
4.4.	.2. Blockchain code as complementary to the law	153
4.4.	.3. Blockchain code as transaction friction alleviator	158
4.5.	BATTLE FOR SUPREMACY BETWEEN CODE AND LAW	160
PART II	- THE DESIGN OF THE RULE OF CODE	165
5. NO	DRMATIVE FOUNDATIONS OF DESIGN IN BLOCKCHAIN ARTIFACT	166
5.1.	DESIGN PERSPECTIVES IN BLOCKCHAIN	166
5.2.	AFFORDANCE – CONCEPTS AND MAJOR GROUPINGS	168
5.2.	.1. Perceived and actual affordance	172
5.2.	.2. Technological and affective affordance	173
5.2.	.3. Identifiers	175
5.3.	NORMATIVE DIMENSIONS OF AFFORDANCE IN BLOCKCHAIN	176
5.3.	.1. Design affordance, disaffordance, and dark patterns	177
5.3.	.2. Mapping technological mediation and affordance	180
5.4.	SHAPING ACTIONS AND INTENTIONALITY	181
5.5.	NORMATIVITY IN TECHNOLOGICAL MEDIATION	186
5.6.	Normativity in technological design	189
5.7.	TECHNOLOGICAL GOVERNANCE AND CONSTITUTIONAL DYNAMICS	192
6. <i>CR</i>	YPTO-LEGALISM IN 'THE RULE OF CODE' ARCHITECTURE	195
6.1.	CONCEPT OF CRYPTO-LEGALISM	195
6.1.	.1. Blockchain code rules represent 'reality'	199
6.1.	.2. Constitutive and regulative rules	204
6.2.	CHARACTERISTICS OF CRYPTO-LEGALISM	209
6.2.	.1. Rule-fetishness	209
6.2.	.2. Instantaneity	217

6.2.3. Obscurantism	221
7. DECODING THE 'LEGITIMACY' STANDARDS FOR BLOCKCHAIN	227
7.1. LEGITIMIZING BLOCKCHAIN DESIGN	227
7.2. <i>EX-POST</i> AND <i>EX-ANTE</i> LEGITIMACY IN BLOCKCHAIN CODE	229
7.3. Assessing and managing legitimacy standards	232
7.3.1. Standardization Theory	232
7.3.2. Theory of 'Techno-Regulation'	235
7.3.3. Theory of 'Technological Management'	237
7.3.4. 'Legal Protection by Design'	240
PART III – THE RULE OF LAW TRANSLATION – DESIGN AND IMPLEMENT	ATION 243
8. THE RULE OF LAW BY DESIGN	244
8.1. Shaping the architecture	244
8.1.1. Evolution of 'by design' concept	247
8.1.2. Law by design	248
8.2. APPLYING THE 'RULE OF LAW' PRINCIPLES IN DESIGN	255
8.2.1. Legal standards in technological artifacts	263
8.2.2. 'Inner morality' of code norms	269
9. BLOCKCHAIN CHOICES AND STATE DECISIONS	279
9.1. BLOCKCHAIN AS THE TECHNOLOGICAL CHOICE	279
9.1.1. Intentionality of design	283
9.1.2. Public blockchain or private blockchain?	288
9.2. Infusing the rule of Law Values	289
9.2.1. Blockchain for public services	294
9.2.2. Blockchain for humanitarian purposes	297
9.3. DESIGN CHOICES FOR BLOCKCHAIN-BASED SYSTEMS	301
9.3.1. Infrastructure architecture	302
9.3.2. Decision-making mechanism	306
9.3.3. Accountability mechanism	307
9.4. LEGITIMACY OF USING BLOCKCHAINS	
9.4.1. Legitimacy through trust and confidence	
9.4.2. Legitimacy through transparency and choice	
9.4.3. Legitimacy through 'human in the loop'	316
10. PLOTTING THE RULE OF LAW AFFORDANCES	318
10.1. REDUCING CRYPTO-LEGAL CHARACTERISTICS	318
10.2. PLOTTING THE RULE OF LAW AFFORDANCES AGAINST <i>CRYPTO-LEGALISM</i>	320
10.2.1. Immutability	
10.2.1.1. Affordance of Configurability vis-à-vis Autonomy	

	10.2.1.2.	Affordance of Accountability	326
10	0.2.2.	Rule-fetishness	329
	10.2.2.1.	Affordance of Configurability vis-à-vis Autonomy	330
10	0.2.3.	Instantaneity	339
	10.2.3.1.	Affordance of Configurability	341
	10.2.3.2.	Affordance of Deferment	342
10	0.2.4.	Obscurantism	347
	10.2.4.1.	Affordance of Transparency	349
10	0.2.5.	'Umbrella' Affordance of Due Process	355
PART I	IV – CON	NCLUSION AND WAY FORWARD	357
11.	CONCI	LUSION	358
11.1.	. Refl	ECTIONS ON THE RULE OF LAW, BLOCKCHAIN AND LEGITIMACY	359
11.2.	Rele	EVANCE OF THE RULE OF LAW BY DESIGN	369
11	1.2.1.	State decisions and the rule of law affordances	372
11.3.	LIMI	TATIONS	374
11.4.	. Aver	NUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	375
12.	BIBLIC	ЭGRАРНҮ	378

Figures

1 Plotting the rule of law affordances ------306

Abbreviations

- AI Artificial Intelligence
- API Application Programming Interface
- DAO Decentralized autonomous organization
- DBMS Database Management System
- DLT Distributed Ledger Technology
- GDPR General Data Protection Regulation
- HTML Hypertext Markup Language
- ICO Initial coin offering
- ICT Information and Communication Technology
- ISO International Organization of Standardization
- ISP -- Internet Service provider
- NatSpec Ethereum Natural Language Specification Format
- SSI-Self-sovereign identity
- UNCITRAL United Nations Commission on International Trade Law
- WEF World Economic Forum
- WWF World Wildlife Fund

1. Introduction

While blockchain, by design, ought to promote transparency, equality, and non-discrimination, it can also be used to evade essential obligations imposed by traditional law, thus threatening the rule of law framework upon which the conventional legal systems are grounded. This raises questions about the legitimacy, accountability, and contestability of blockchain-based mechanisms, especially since blockchain-based technological artifacts are being increasingly employed for democratic e-governance, delivery of public services, and humanitarian activities.

The blockchain establishes and enforces a set of new rules and norms without relying on any external legal authority or institution, resulting in the creation of a novel regulatory framework called *lex cryptographica* or the rule of code.¹ The blockchain-based applications such as smart contracts and decentralized autonomous organizations can create self-executing and self-regulating systems of governance and coordination among the users of a blockchain network.² It effectively functions as a private regulatory framework whose operation is independent of the language, territory, or body of conventional law. Currently, societal governance is by and large enforced by institutions and bureaucratic systems based on legal principles and hierarchy. In contrast, blockchain-based applications rely on *lex cryptographica* to govern economic and social activities, potentially shifting power from traditional legal and regulatory frameworks to decentralized blockchain networks.

As the blockchain influences 'traditional' social constructions, with the code shaping people's behavior in a democracy, it must be within the bounds of the rule of law. However, the technical attributes of blockchain technology may result in *crypto-legalism*, which typically portrays rigid adherence to rules that are imposed on the users or individuals through codes without any reflective considerations. In order to comprehensively understand how the behavior of a user is enabled and constrained by the code embedded in the blockchain, I intend to employ the various notions from the philosophical study of technology and the design theory to provide a perspective on this question focusing on the concepts of inscription, affordance, and

¹ Aaron Wright and Primavera De Filippi, 'Decentralized Blockchain Technology and the Rise of Lex Cryptographia' (2015) < http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2580664> accessed 15 October 2024.

² ibid.

technological mediation, which will facilitate in chalking out the characteristics of the code rules regulating the user behavior and whether these code rules are compatible with the rule of law.

Given the unparalleled efficiency of code in enforcing regulations, it is essential to have *ex*ante and *ex-post* rule of law standards that guarantee legitimacy and allow for contestability, similar to the responsibilities placed on the public legislators. Though the rule of law may not ensure a perfectively just social order, it certainly restrains those who govern.³ The underlying principle is "the *rule of law is the fulcrum of normative legal orders*".⁴ In the context of technology regulation, laws authorizing technological use must be clearly defined and administered in accordance with their terms.⁵

Therefore, there is a need to design and implement the technology in accordance with the rule of law. While incorporating specific legal features 'by-design' is possible, applying the same to the rule of law is not forthright since it may not be feasible to automate multi-dimensional socio-legal requirements. In my dissertation, I take a design exploratory method wherein I explore the question: *can the rule of law shape, guide, and influence the design and implementation of blockchain technology in a legitimate manner*? The idea is to employ the concept of the rule of law to examine and analyze the 'purpose' behind the blockchain implementation and understand the influence, motivations, and aspirations behind programming the conceptual notions into the technology. I also examine various characteristics of the rule of code and whether the rule of code embedded within the blockchain artifact, written for the 'purpose' is valid and legitimate and whether it would follow the rule of law procedural norms.

The dissertation is structured mainly into three parts to address the research question. The Part I discusses the relationship between the blockchain and the rule of law. It begins with the functional understanding of the blockchain, the normative effect of the technology on law, the approaches that have been in place to shape the blockchain, and the opportunities and risks presented to the rule of law by the blockchain (Chapter 2). Understanding this aspect

³ Roger Brownsword, 'In the Year 2061: From Law to Technological Management' (2015) 7 Law, Innovation and Technology 1, 18.

⁴ Roger Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (2016) 8 Law, Innovation and Technology 1, 100.

⁵ Roger Brownsword, 'The Ideal of Legality and the Rule of Law', *Law, Technology and Society: Reimagining the Regulatory Environment* (Routledge 2019) 132.

acknowledges the need to develop a study to employ the appropriate approach to design and implement the technology from the rule of law perspective.

Next step is to explore the standards and values of the rule of law and their influence on the formulation of a 'legitimate' legal rule. In order to comprehend the essential requirements for making a legal norm valid, lawful, and legitimate, the concept of the rule by law and the rule of law will be investigated, which aligns with the notion of legalism and legality. This facilitates the establishment of certain rule of law standards and values, which sets the stage for their potential implementation in the blockchain realm to reduce the 'illegitimacies' arising from the artifact (Chapter 3).

To understand the negative ramifications and illegitimacies that may occur due to the use of the technology, the interplay between blockchain and the rule of law as two distinct regulatory environments is investigated through the concept 'code is law', and the 'code of law'. It explores the critical points of friction or harmony that emerge from the interaction between the blockchain (*lex cryptographica*) and the rule of law (Chapter 4).

Part I ends with acknowledging the relationship between blockchain code and law to that of 'Tom and Jerry' and emphasizes that just focusing on one level, either macro or micro level, would not be sufficient to legitimize the technology – not only the purpose behind the conceptual rules for using the technology should be justified but also the command code rules which make this (justified) purpose possible, should also be legitimized. This outlines the need to study the blockchain artifact at the micro level, that is, at the programming stage, from the standpoint of the philosophical study of technology and the theory of design in order to comprehend the human-technology interaction and examine how the rule of code impacts the behavior of the users, and what are is the similarities and dissimilarities, if any, in characteristics between the rule of code embedded in the blockchain and law.

Part II deals with the design of the rule of code and covers normative foundations of design in blockchain artifact, *crypto-legalism* and legitimacy standards for blockchain. Therefore, this part starts with the exploration of the blockchain, wherein it examines how the technological artifact shapes, guides, and influences user behavior (Chapter 5). This facilitates appreciating the technological design issues from a normative standard perspective and mediating how one might knowingly aspire to produce legitimate normative architectures.

This leads to examining the rule-fetish representation of the the rule of code-based blockchain infrastructure, demonstrating how the characteristics of the rule of code embedded in the blockchain architecture formulate the notion of '*crypto-legalism*' (Chapter 6). It endeavors to elucidate congruities between legalism within the legal domain and technological normativity, aiming to seamlessly incorporate the cushioning effects of the former into the latter. This raises the question: whether the coding rules in blockchain architecture or the rule of code adhere to the standards of the rule of law or not, rendering them legitimate or otherwise.

The aforesaid inquiry leads to the examination of the legitimacy standards for blockchain code, focusing on normative *ex-post* and *ex-ante* standards for technology implementation and code production within the blockchain (Chapter 7). The aim of the inquiry is to answer whether the standards that legitimize legal rules in compliance with the rule of law can be applied in the design realm to legitimize the rule of code.

The objective of such an exercise is to explore how the principles of the rule of law can be integrated with the commercial purpose of the code to counter the negative impacts of cryptolegalism. Therefore, Part III focuses on the translation of the rule of law standards and values into the design and implementation of blockchain technology and explores the notion of the rule of law by design, blockchain choices and State decisions, and the rule of law affordances. This part delves into the exploration of how the standards and values of the rule of law can be reflected in technological architecture by conceptualizing the by-design notion to understand its nuances and formulating 'the rule of law by design' approach (Chapter 8). The formulation of the rule of law by design approach facilitates understanding what the State may intend for a particular blockchain application to afford for a particular usage, which must result in an expost legitimacy such that the technological affordances follow the rule of law (Chapter 9). Furthermore, this approach provides a fresh perspective on plotting the characteristics of crypto-legalism onto the rule of law values, using the Fullerian standards of legality, which will facilitate the development of a relationship between the rule of law standards and values and the affordances that can assist in immersing their aspirations into the design of the rule of code (Chapter 10).

Finally, the dissertation ends with a conclusion highlighting the relevance as well as the necessity of the rule of law in blockchain systems, State decisions, and formulation of the affordances to be embedded into the artifact.

It must be noted here that while this dissertation examines and focuses on blockchain as the primary technology, the findings and conclusions drawn from this work is relevant and applicable across all forms of distributed ledger technology. Additionally, the insights from the narrative drawn here can be applied more broadly to all code-driven technological artifacts. The author acknowledges the significant environmental implications associated with blockchain usage. Keeping this concern at the forefront, the dissertation has been designed in a manner that allows for navigation and adaptability, ensuring that the design standards, State choices, and the normative reference points or the rule of law affordances identified in this study can be extended to other code-driven architectures and technologies, facilitating a holistic understanding of their impacts and applications.

PART I – Blockchain and the Rule of Law – Concepts and Relationships

2. Understanding blockchain and its normative implications

"We believe that the next wave of computing innovation will be driven by crypto. We are radically optimistic about crypto's potential to restore trust and enable new kinds of governance where communities collectively make important decisions about how networks evolve, what behaviors are permitted, and how economic benefits are distributed".⁶

2.1. Concepts and origin of blockchain

Blockchain is a technology that can reshape the world by enabling a distributed immutable digital ledger of transactions that is validated using a consensus mechanism.⁷ As a trustless trust⁸ artifact and a confidence machine⁹, blockchain has a potential to provide a low-cost mutual-trust mechanism to enforce transactions and smart contracts. Technically, blockchain is an assortment of technologies¹⁰ to record, store, and process data – its core technological features being a decentralized and distributed infrastructure, cryptographic and immutability attributes, and trustless nature. As such, a blockchain is typically associated with multi-party maintenance, cross-validation, tamper-resistant, byzantine fault-tolerant, and transparent platform¹¹ that can facilitate a self-enclosed space for social, political, and economic coordination among diverse and potentially non-cooperative agents.

⁶ 'Crypto Fund III' (*a16z crypto*, 24 June 2021) <https://a16zcrypto.com/posts/article/crypto-fund-iii/> accessed 21 April 2024.

⁷ Bela Shrimali and Hiren B Patel, 'Blockchain State-of-the-Art: Architecture, Use Cases, Consensus, Challenges and Opportunities' (2021) Journal of King Saud University-Computer and Information Sciences.

⁸ Kevin D Werbach, 'Trustless Trust' (2016) <https://youtu.be/Uj342yXUkCc?feature=shared> accessed 15 October 2024.

⁹ Primavera De Filippi, Morshed Mannan and Wessel Reijers, 'Blockchain as a Confidence Machine: The Problem of Trust & Challenges of Governance' (2020) 62 Technology in Society 101284 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techsoc.2020.101284> accessed 15 October 2024.

¹⁰ Alexandre Mallard, Cécile Méadel and Francesca Musiani, 'The Paradoxes of Distributed Trust: Peer-to-Peer Architecture and User Confidence in Bitcoin' (2014) Journal of Peer Production 1, 4.

¹¹ Shrimali and Patel (n 7).

A distinctive feature of blockchain architecture is that, unlike traditional computational systems, it does not have central administration and control functions.¹² Instead, it consists of a chain of blocks that seeks to craft an egalitarian institution with a peer-to-peer network.¹³ Since blockchain is a technology of governance that can challenge the role of the State¹⁴, its technical architecture and socio-technical enforcement are vital "to strengthen trust in the functioning of our democratic society".¹⁵ Following the principle of direct reciprocity among the users, blockchain permits management and control functions to be performed within the system without third-party entities or trusted intermediaries such as the State. Moreover, this technology establishes and enforces a set of new rules and norms without relying on any external legal authority or institution, resulting in the creation of a novel regulatory framework called *lex cryptographica*.¹⁶ *Lex cryptographica* is based on the idea that 'code is law', and that blockchain-based applications such as smart contracts and decentralized autonomous organizations can create self-executing and self-regulating systems of governance and coordination among the users of a blockchain network.¹⁷ It, therefore, challenges the traditional notions of law, as its operation is independent of the language, territory, or body of conventional law.

Blockchain, by design, promotes transparency, equality, and non-discrimination; however, it might also be used to evade essential obligations imposed by traditional law due to its pseudoanonymous nature¹⁸, thus directly threatening the rule of law framework upon which the conventional legal systems are grounded. This raises questions about the legitimacy, accountability, and contestability of blockchain-based mechanisms, especially since the instant technology is being proposed to be employed for democratic e-governance, delivery of public

¹² Evrim Tan, Stanislav Mahula and Joep Crompvoets, 'Blockchain Governance in the Public Sector: A Conceptual Framework for Public Management' (2022) 39 Government Information Quarterly 101625.

¹³ Wojciech Galuba and Sarunas Girdzijauskas, 'Overlay Network' in LING LIU and M TAMER ÖZSU (eds), *Encyclopedia of Database Systems* (Springer 2009) https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-39940-9 1231>.

¹⁴ Marcella Atzori, 'Blockchain Technology and Decentralized Governance: Is the State Still Necessary?' (2017) 6 Journal of Governance and Regulation 45.

¹⁵ Jurgen Goossens, 'Challenges and Opportunities of Blockchain and Smart Contracts for Democracy in the Distributed, Algorithmic State' in Oreste Pollicino, & Giovanni De Gregorio (eds), *Blockchain and Public Law: Global Challenges in the Era of Decentralisation* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2021) 76, 87.

¹⁶ Wright and De Filippi (n 1).

¹⁷ ibid.

¹⁸ Primavera De Filippi, Morshed Mannan and Wessel Reijers, 'The Alegality of Blockchain Technology' (2022) 41 Policy and Society 358.

services, and humanitarian activities. This calls for action to understand the notions and intentions behind the development of blockchain technology, the features that 'make' such a technology to be employed by the States and democratic institutions, its normative implications, and its effects on the law and the society as a whole, to investigate and analyze the approaches laid down to shape the technology and to regulate it. This will facilitate in acknowledging the state of the art of the literature in this area of study and, hence, contribute to this field.

The creation of blockchain has been compared to the advent of a revolution since this technology supposedly has the potential to obviate the essentiality of "*those - no longer- trusted third-party intermediaries*"¹⁹, and "*the middlemen*"²⁰, which includes all conventional institutions and individuals who serve as mediators of those "*social constructions*" and "*representations*"²¹, that is "*the economic and regulatory actors in our society*".²²

The ideas and ideals of blockchain transpired at an "*exhaustion of public trust in institutions*"²³, which resulted due to the direct effect of the growing importance of the "*number and algorithm-mediated*"²⁴ societal functions, which ostensibly liberates the citizens "*from any social construction, from any representation, in favor of an immediate access, of an osmosis with the world itself in its invincible heterogeneity*".²⁵ It "*enables collective organizations and social institutions to become more fluid and promote greater participation, potentially transforming how corporate governance and democratic institutions operate*".²⁶ The blockchain technology's eventual impact "*on society may be as significant as foundational*

¹⁹ Don Tapscott and Alex Tapscott, *Blockchain Revolution: How the Technology Behind Bitcoin Is Changing Money, Business, and the World* (Portfolio 2016) 4.

²⁰ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 2.

²¹ John R Searle, *The Construction of Social Reality*, vol 2 (Free Press 1995) 2.

²² Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 2.

²³ Michael J Casey and Paul Vigna, 'In Blockchain We Trust' (2018) 121 MIT Technology Review 10, 23.

²⁴ Inês Faria, 'Trust, Reputation and Ambiguous Freedoms: Financial Institutions and Subversive Libertarians Navigating Blockchain, Markets, and Regulation' (2019) 12 Journal of Cultural Economy 2, 119.

²⁵ Antoinette Rouvroy and Bernard Stiegler, 'Le Régime de Vérité Numérique. De La Gouvernementalité Algorithmique à Un Nouvel État de Droit' (2015) Socio. La Nouvelle Revue Des Sciences Sociales 113, 117.

²⁶ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 3.

events such as the creation of the Magna Carta".²⁷ This technology is thus seen as an entirely novel socio-economic paradigm.²⁸

Since hype is an unavoidable component of any technological revolution²⁹, much hype also surrounds around the potential of blockchain, as it is hailed as a solution to "virtually every human problem in existence".³⁰ According to Christensen, we must distinguish between *"sustaining innovations"*, which simply enhance the performance of products that are already in the market, and "disruptive technologies", which typically perform poorly at first but bring an entirely different value proposition, resulting in subsequent large-scale adoption.³¹ Blockchain falls into the latter category as it is widely considered to be "radically disruptive"³² and "to fundamentally shift the way in which the society operates".³³ Swan and De Filippi extended this idea through metaphors of "better horse" and "new car". ³⁴ They explained that a 'better horse' represents an improved version of "something we already know"³⁵, while a 'new car' signifies a disruptive innovation that introduces entirely novel concepts. To illustrate, they applied this analogy to the concept of money: a blockchain as a 'better horse' is akin to 'digital cash', a known concept; conversely, a blockchain as a 'new car' introduces the notion of "programmable money"³⁶, allowing for the customization of currency parameters such as usage rights, conditions, and future actions like expiration or redistribution. In my opinion, while blockchain was born out of the metaphor of 'better horse', it is currently evolving and transcending into the concept of 'new car' since blockchain is 'nearly there' to 'programmable

²⁷ Catherine Mulligan, 'Applications in Government' in Mark Walport, *Distributed Ledger Technology: Beyond Block Chain* (Government Office for Science 2016).

²⁸ Jason Potts, Ellie Rennie and Jake Goldenfein, 'Blockchains and the Crypto City' (2017) 59 It-Information Technology 285,
1.

²⁹ Carlota Perez, *Technological Revolutions and Financial Capital* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2003).

³⁰ Angela Walch, Angela Walch, 'In Code (Rs) We Trust: Software Developers as Fiduciaries in Public Blockchains' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019).

³¹ Clayton M Christensen and Michael E Raynor, *The Innovator's Solution: Creating and Sustaining Successful Growth*. (Harvard Business School Press 2003).

³² Mark Walport, *Distributed Ledger Technology: Beyond Block Chain* (Government Office for Science 2016) 5, 8.

³³ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 2.

³⁴ Melanie Swan and Primavera De Filippi, 'Towards a Philosophy of Blockchain' (2017) 48 Metaphilosophy 5 , 8.

³⁵ ibid.

³⁶ ibid.

money' in the form of "welfare payments, employee expenses, insurance payouts, or tied donations".³⁷

As said, blockchain was initially created to provide technical infrastructure for Bitcoin³⁸, the 'better horse' of digital money. Nakamoto boldly claimed that "*this electronic case system, fully peer-to-peer, requires no trusted third party. Banks would have no control over the system, and neither would the States; instead, it would be run by everyone*".³⁹ In 2009, it did not seem much, and nobody knew that blockchain would come up this way, much beyond being a by-product of cryptocurrency. Ironically, the term 'blockchain' doesn't even figure in Nakamoto's famous White Paper.⁴⁰ Instead of being a completely new and unique technology, blockchain is better understood as an innovative blend of existing mechanisms.

The roots of blockchain can be found in a long-standing debate in political philosophy about power and where it should be positioned. Ou stated that "*bitcoin anarchy is a feature, not a bug. Sometimes it's good to have no human governance*".⁴¹ According to Tasca and Piselli, the *leitmotiv* of the entire debate has been synthesized as follows: "*In blockchains, anarchy is the worst form of governance*".⁴² The same values of libertarianism and anarchy, come to think of it, were even invoked prior to Bitcoins' popularity. Back in 1996, Barlow warned that "*cyberspace does not live within your borders. Do not think that you can build it, as though it were a public construction project. You cannot. It is an act of nature, and it grows through our collective actions*".⁴³ Whilst the difficulty of regulating cyberspace, that is, its

³⁷ Ingo Weber and Mark Staples, 'Programmable Money: Next-Generation Blockchain-Based Conditional Payments' (2022)4 Digital Finance 127.

³⁸ While blockchain as a concept originated in the 1970s, the technological breakthrough came only after Nakamoto published the landmark paper in 2008 and created the Bitcoin social network, developing the first block, the genesis block, in 2009. Since then, this technology has gained momentum with the introduction and implementation of the distributed peer-to-peer timestamp server, which generates computational evidence for the chronological order of transactions.

³⁹ Satoshi Nakamoto, 'A Peer-to-Peer Electronic Cash System', (2008) 4 Bitcoin 15 <https://bitcoin.org/bitcoin.pdf> accessed 15 October 2024.

⁴⁰ ibid.

⁴¹ 'Bitcoin's Anarchy Is a Feature, Not a Bug' (*Bloomberg.Com*, 14 Mar 2018)

<https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2018-03-14/bitcoin-blockchain-demonstrates-the-value-of-anarchy> accessed 6 October 2024.

⁴² Paolo Tasca and Riccardo Piselli, 'The Blockchain Paradox' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019) 27.

⁴³ John Perry Barlow, 'A Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace' (2019) 18 Duke Law & Technology Review 5.

"unregulability"⁴⁴, by public authorities has been debunked in the literature for some time⁴⁵, the contemporaneous development of blockchain technology has integrated into this declaration and caused it to assume renewed substance. However, my view is that blockchain can actually be a great tool to reduce the 'anarchist' tendencies by inducing the rule of law concepts into the code architecture.⁴⁶

In 1992, Timothy C. May wrote the Crypto-Anarchist manifesto which said, "individuals and groups will soon be able to communicate and interact online in an entirely anonymous way, thanks to new cryptographic techniques...with no necessity of a trusted third party or the State".⁴⁷ According to Hacker et. al, the blockchain realm denotes "an epitome of competing political, legal, and social frames: different narratives, which may sometimes formalize in fully fledged ideologies, are promoted by technology evangelists and a community of experts that is progressively formed during the period of the expansion of this new technology".⁴⁸ They further assert that "in these 'liminal' times, quite often, this narrative has to compete with established communities that have come to dominate the 'value-generation' process during previous periods of technological change and these initial liminal periods are marked by 'framing struggles', where the comparative advantages of the new technology and of its community of experts are put forward and opposed to the status quo".⁴⁹ This dynamic is especially pertinent in the context of blockchain and its emphasis on decentralization, which sets it apart from earlier phases of the digital revolution focused around centralized digital platforms. The development of blockchain technology, thus, suggests a shift away from the dominance of centralized platforms towards a more decentralized paradigm. In the ongoing discourse, proponents of centralization advocate concentrating power among a select few, while advocates of decentralization argue for distributing power among the masses.⁵⁰ Ultimately, the debate

⁴⁴ Lawrence Lessig, 'The Law of the Horse: What Cyber Law Might Teach' (1999) 113 Harvard Law Review 501.

⁴⁵ Julie E Cohen, 'Cyberspace as/and Space' (2007) 107 Columbia Law Review 210.

⁴⁶ This can be seen in the later chapters.

⁴⁷ Timothy May, 'The Crypto Anarchist Manifesto' (1992).

⁴⁸ Philipp Hacker and others, 'Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges- An Introduction, in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019) 13.

⁴⁹ ibid 14.

⁵⁰ Oreste Pollicino and Giovanni De Gregorio, *Blockchain and Public Law: Global Challenges in the Era of Decentralisation* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2021).

over centralization versus decentralization⁵¹ revolves around defining the proper relationship between the State and individuals, often framed as a clash of opposing values between the State's authority and individual rights.

It is now widely accepted that democratic governments possess limited powers and that individuals retain certain inalienable rights. Watkins, in his survey of political theory, notes that "the object of most Western thinkers has been to establish a society in which every individual, with a minimum of dependence on the discretionary authority of his rules, would enjoy the privileges and responsibility of determining his own conduct within a previously defined framework of legal rights and duties".⁵² An examination of the views of the members of blockchain communities, who resonate with such democratic principles and values uncovers two pivotal insights often overlooked by traditional analysis of the "end of history"⁵³ thesis. Firstly, it becomes apparent that the threat to the liberal-democratic order, as conceptualized by Fukuyama⁵⁴, doesn't solely emanate from authoritarian politicians and governmental entities; equally subversive are the radically innovative models of governance and decentralized decision-making originating within the technological sphere of the blockchain. Secondly, the challenge posed by blockchain communities to the liberal-democratic framework is significant in that it stems not from anti-democratic intentions but rather from actors who perceive the democratic structures and processes as inadequate in terms of fairness and democracy. The increase in corruption within the public administration, coupled with a lack of transparency and accountability as well as arbitrary exercise of power by the State, has prompted the members of the community to advocate for the return to the radical decentralization of the state of nature.⁵⁵ By conceptualizing fresh avenues for community-led governance, blockchain enthusiasts aspires to "pioneer unconventional methods of societal and political structuring,

⁵¹ This debate is not new; it harkens back to one of the profound philosophical debates in Western history between Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. Hobbes and Locke arrive at contrasting perspectives on the ideal relationship between the State and individuals. Hobbes commended centralization as inherently beneficial: citizens must relinquish their rights to a powerful central authority to avoid chaos and violence. In contrast, Locke viewed centralized government as flawed and susceptible to corruption, advocating for a balance with decentralization, ensuring the many can challenge the power of the few. In the field of public opinion, Locke won this argument.

⁵² Frederick Watkins, *The Political Tradition of the West: A Study in the Development of Modern Liberalism* (Harvard University Press 1948).

⁵³ Susan Marks, 'The End of History? Reflections on Some International Legal Theses' in Gerry Simpson (ed), *The Nature of International Law* (Routledge 2017).

⁵⁴ Francis Fukuyama, 'China and East Asian Democracy: The Patterns of History' (2012) 23 Journal of Democracy 1, 14.

⁵⁵ Taylor Owen, Disruptive Power: The Crisis of the State in the Digital Age (Oxford University Press 2015) 189210.

characterized by a strong emphasis on decentralization and the utilization of digital technologies to enable collective decision-making processes that might not be viable in traditional, non-digital contexts".⁵⁶ Thus, the development of blockchain technology is geared into action, focusing the design of the technology with the inherent traits of decentralization such as transparency and tamper-resistant.

2.1.1.Functional understanding of blockchain technology

In order to comprehend the impact of the blockchain on law, it is essential to appreciate its technical features – as Gill says, "[w]ithout a functional understanding of the technology itself, it is impossible to appreciate how the language of the law variously captures, clarifies, distorts, and obfuscates the nature of the encrypted machine".⁵⁷ Blockchain is a type of distributed ledger technology⁵⁸, which is the decentralized form of recordkeeping that can store many kinds of information, ranging from monetary transactions to land titles or even to digital identities.⁵⁹ Such a range of applications, as indicated by Hacker et. al, is endowed to blockchain being constituted of a cryptographic, secure database distributed on many computers combined with decentralized consensus mechanisms with cryptographic verification.⁶⁰

Ghiro et al. offer a definition of blockchain as "*a distributed ledger that records transactions in a tamper-proof way, ensuring immutability, transparency, and anonymity*"⁶¹, highlighting that these three elements are the 'key' to distinguishing blockchain from other distributed ledger technologies. According to Werbach, blockchain is defined as "*a system for achieving consensus about the state of a shared data structure among a set of mutually distrusting parties*"⁶², where he focuses on the problem of consensus in distributed systems, and how

⁵⁶ Christopher Tozzi, 'Decentralizing Democracy: Approaches to Consensus within Blockchain Communities', (2019) 16 Teknokultura: Revista de Cultura Digital y Movimientos Sociales 181.

⁵⁷ Lex Gill, 'Law, Metaphor, and the Encrypted Machine' (2018) 55 Osgoode Hall Law Journal 440, 442.

⁵⁸ Michael Mainelli and Mike Smith, 'Sharing Ledgers for Sharing Economies: An Exploration of Mutual Distributed Ledgers (Aka Blockchain Technology)' (2015) 3 Journal of Financial Perspectives 3.

⁵⁹ Walport (n 32).

⁶⁰ Philipp Hacker and others, Introduction in Philipp Hacker and others (eds) (n 48) 4.

⁶¹ Lorenzo Ghiro and others, 'What Is a Blockchain? A Definition to Clarify the Role of the Blockchain in the Internet of Things' (2021) arXiv preprint arXiv:2102.03750.

⁶² Kevin D Werbach, The Blockchain and the New Architecture of Trust (MIT Press 2018).

blockchain solves it using various mechanisms, such as proof-of-work⁶³, proof-of-stake⁶⁴, and byzantine fault tolerance.⁶⁵

Blockchain can be defined as a type of database where records are organized into blocks, rather like collating them onto a single sheet of paper, and linked together through cryptographic signatures, forming a chain. This structure enables the creation of a shared ledger that can be corroborated by anyone with the appropriate permissions. Being distributed in nature, identical copies of the ledger are maintained and verified by network members – "*each new block has a time stamp corresponding to the development of new and permanent data – it contains the information on the preceding block, ensuring that for each attempt to change, it would require the changing of each of the blocks saved earlier."⁶⁶ It is transparent and allows fast and cheap transmission of information and values in vast networks. Blockchain technology is distinguished by two ingredients - the first one is that it provides a response to the 'missing link' of the digital system, allowing the introduction of 'counterparts' of uncopiable digital goods that are verified and tracked in a network book (ledger); and the second, that it is an undertaking characterized by (joint) participation.⁶⁷*

It can be garnered that blockchain is seen as a digital infrastructure with the governance of the architecture being decentralized, where the data is replicated across various nodes. The distributed storage of data offers numerous benefits such as (1) it prevents a single centralized party tampering with the data; (2) there is no master copy, hence no single point of failure, reducing the chances of a possible attack succeeding; and (3) there is less risk of a denial-of-

⁶³ Georgios Dimitropoulos, 'The Law of Blockchain' (2020) 95 Washington Law Review. 1117, 1155–1156. In the proof-ofwork mechanism, the miner is required to 'proof' their work to propose a new block, which entails dedicating substantial computational power to solve complex algorithmic hash puzzles based on hash function properties. The first miner to propose a block receives incentives to be part of and operate in the network, which are called "block rewards".

⁶⁴ ibid 1156–1157. In proof-of-stake, the influence of each validator's vote is determined by the magnitude of their deposited stake. This mechanism functions by having a set of validators take turns proposing and voting on successive blocks. Validators risk losing their stake if their proposed block is not added to the blockchain, incentivizing them to vote on blocks containing exclusively legitimate transactions.

⁶⁵ This mechanism has been explained on page 27.

⁶⁶ Evangeline Ducas and Alex Wilner, 'The Security and Financial Implications of Blockchain Technologies: Regulating Emerging Technologies in Canada' (2017) 72 International Journal 538, 544.

⁶⁷ Deborah Maxwell, Chris Speed and Larissa Pschetz, 'Story Blocks: Reimagining Narrative through the Blockchain' (2017)23 Convergence 1, 79.

service attack.⁶⁸ Disintermediation is the technology's related promise. Due to this very structure, blockchains are widely considered to decentralize and disintermediate economic and legal relations. When 'data' is transferred through blockchain networks, the traditional intermediaries (State) responsible for verifying and validating transactions, that is, human-based institutions, may become obsolete.⁶⁹ As a consequence, it has been argued that "*the institutional structure of society could shift to one that is computationally based and thus has a diminished need for human-operated brick-and-mortar institutions*".⁷⁰

2.1.1.1. Decentralized architecture

The 'decentralized' technological architecture of blockchain is claimed to be incongruous with the traditional 'State' centralized architectures. But what does it mean for the system to be decentralized? It is an awkward term that is often rushed over without careful thinking. It also does not mean that its center has been removed, creating a void. Technically, the blockchain does not have a single, authoritative administrator. Instead, it is a system in which power is held by a large number of separate parties. Many different actors influence important decisions regarding the blockchain. Power may take different forms, depending on the system. It might mean a formal right to vote on specific actions, such as a shareholder's right to vote on whether a corporation will merge with another.⁷¹ It might also mean less formal influence over a decision-making process, such as a large family's discussion of where to go for vacation next year. It might also mean, simply, the inability of a single actor to dictate the policies of others or exercise their power arbitrarily, such as world order under a system of sovereign nation-states.

The fact remains that it is rare to see a fully centralized or fully decentralized system. Instead, most systems combine elements of centralization with elements of decentralization. Even the most centralized governments nowadays tend to have a large number of people involved in decision-making. Even the most decentralized ones give citizens a final say on only a small portion of the workings of government, with the rest being delegated to representatives and

 ⁶⁸ Jean Bacon and others, 'Blockchain Demystified: A Technical and Legal Introduction to Distributed and Centralized Ledgers'
 (2018) 25 Richmond Journal of Law & Technology 1, 12–13.

⁶⁹ Swan and De Filippi (n 34) 4.

⁷⁰ ibid.

⁷¹ Christoph Van der Elst and Anne Lafarre, 'Blockchain and Smart Contracting for the Shareholder Community' (2019) 20European Business Organization Law Review 111.

administrative bodies. Just as with democracy, the degree of decentralization within the blockchain can be overstated - it is imperative to separate the narrative of decentralization and disintermediation, fact from fiction. Blockchains can be centralized at both the software and the hardware levels. First, one may have a blockchain that runs on very few nodes, all of which can be located in the same room. Another important source of centralization is the software itself – even when the technology is highly decentralized at the hardware level (at the application layer or macro level), it can still be centralized at the software governance level⁷² (at the infrastructure layer or micro level) – "there are only a few developers who have the necessary knowledge, expertise, and power to decide on the evolution of the Bitcoin protocol".⁷³ When protocol maintenance is managed by a single party or small group of programmers or designers or developers, which I cumulatively refer to as the 'figure' henceforth, decentralization is hardly a given. Even the most well-known blockchains, such as Ethereum, can be considered as centralized since a few individuals dominate the software development process.⁷⁴

When decentralization occurs, it presents many potential advantages. For one, political philosophers have argued that decentralization promotes freedom and equality.⁷⁵ In democracies, citizens can vote how they like, and their votes all count equally.⁷⁶ Of course, the reality is more complex than this; even in a well-functioning democracy, powerful or wealthy citizens may exert a disproportionate influence over politicians and their policies. But the basic principle – the decentralized systems promise to grant participants a greater degree of freedom and equality – is a plausible one. Decentralized systems also benefit from being able to aggregate the knowledge and ideas of the many.

⁷² Primavera De Filippi, 'Blockchain Technology and Decentralized Governance: The Pitfalls of a Trustless Dream' (2019) *Decentralized Thriving: Governance and Community on the Web* 3.0, hal-02445179.

⁷³ Primavera De Filippi and Benjamin Loveluck, 'The Invisible Politics of Bitcoin: Governance Crisis of a Decentralized Infrastructure' (2016) 5 Internet Policy Review.

⁷⁴ Adem Efe Gencer and others, 'Decentralization in Bitcoin and Ethereum Networks' in Sarah Meiklejohn and Kazue Sako (eds), *Financial Cryptography and Data Security* (Springer 2018) 24 https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-58387-6>.

⁷⁵ Daniel Treisman, *The Architecture of Government: Rethinking Political Decentralization* (Cambridge University Press 2007).

⁷⁶ Daniel Jacob, 'Every Vote Counts: Equality, Autonomy, and the Moral Value of Democratic Decision-Making', (2021) 21 Res Publica 1, 61.

Instead of relying on a central decision-maker's wisdom on how a system should be run, decentralized systems rely on the collective wisdom of the masses.⁷⁷ To the extent that these masses have better knowledge about relevant information, they should be able to make more informed decisions than a single authority. In this regard, blockchain aims to solve the *"Byzantine Generals Problem"*⁷⁸, a classic problem in computer science dating back to the early 1980s, which questions how distributed computer systems can achieve consensus without depending on a central authority while also being resilient to attacks from malicious actors.⁷⁹ It hypothesizes a scenario that involves three divisions of the Byzantine army, each led by an independent general situated outside an enemy city. To coordinate an attack, the three generals must agree on a common plan of action. However, communication between them is limited to messengers, and there is a traitor among them attempting to disrupt the consensus by either deceiving them into premature attacks or withholding crucial information to prevent coordinated action.⁸⁰ The blockchain resolves this dilemma through a probabilistic mechanism.⁸¹ It mandates that information transmitted across a network of computers be transparent and verifiable through complex mathematical problems requiring substantial computational resources to solve. This mechanism makes it challenging for potential attackers to manipulate a shared database with false data unless they have a command over majority of the computational power within the network. ⁸² Consequently, blockchain protocols guarantee the validity of transactions and prevent duplicate entries in the shared ledger. This enables users to coordinate transactions in a decentralized manner without relying on a trusted intermediary to authenticate and approve each transaction.⁸³

⁷⁷ Peter Gomes, 'The Blockchain: Change Everything Forever' in Ruth Catlow and others (eds), *Artists Re: Thinking the Blockchain* (Torque & Furtherfield 2017) 85.

⁷⁸ Leslie Lamport, 'The Weak Byzantine Generals Problem' (1983) 30 Journal of the Association for Computing Machinery 1, 668.

⁷⁹ Leslie Lamport, Robert Shostak and Marshall Pease, 'The Byzantine Generals Problem' (1982) 4 ACM Transactions on Programming Languages and Systems 382.

⁸⁰ ibid.

⁸¹ Nakamoto (n 39).

⁸² ibid.

⁸³ Sarah Meiklejohn and Claudio Orlandi, 'Privacy-Enhancing Overlays in Bitcoin' in Michael Brenner and others (eds), *Financial Cryptography and Data Security* (Springer 2015) 127 https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-48051-9_10 .

2.1.1.2. Distributive ledger

Blockchain is a kind of distributed ledger⁸⁴, essentially similar to a record of accounts. According to the ISO standards, "a distributed ledger is a ledger that is shared across a set of *DLT* nodes and synchronized between the *DLT* nodes using a consensus mechanism["].⁸⁵ The most familiar ledgers are those used for double-entry booking, the foundation of accounting. Sociologists such as Weber and Sombart argue that double-entry bookkeeping was the foundation of modern capitalism.⁸⁶ However, the ledger is not just limited to recording debits and credits for corporate balance sheets but is also required for tallying votes in a democracy.⁸⁷ Within the blockchain, the ledger is 'distributed' in nature such that there is no master copy, as has been said above. This means that any participant in the network can maintain a representation of the ledger that matches all the others. According to Wenger, blockchains are logically centralized, that is, there is only one ledger, but organizationally decentralized, insinuating that many entities maintain copies of that ledger.⁸⁸ Computers directly participating in a blockchain network, often called full nodes, constantly communicate to remain synchronized. Maintaining that synchronization, called consensus mechanism, is the hard part; however, such consensus protocol provides consistency to the ledgers in the blockchain network. Consensus is established when the protocol can ensure that each node adds the same blocks to its local version of the blockchain. The fact that all network users follow the protocol's pre-determined rules in deciding how to update the ledger can be considered the source of trust in the system. Indeed, it is the essence of the consensus mechanism that users can have confidence that a certain outcome is reached before it is effectively reached because of the characteristics of automatically executing and enforcing the 'immutable' encoded rules without any third-party interference once the pre-defined requirements have been fulfilled -"the advantage... is that, instead of relying on ex-post enforcement by third parties, rules are

⁸⁴ Paul Vigna and Michael J Casey, *The Age of Cryptocurrency: How Bitcoin and Digital Money Are Challenging the Global Economic* (St. Martin's Press 2015).

⁸⁵ Distributed ledger is defined at point 3.23 of ISO 22739:2024 (En): Blockchain and Distributed Ledger Technologies — Vocabulary. https://www.iso.org/obp/ui/en/#iso:std:iso:22739:ed-2:v1:en:term:3.54> accessed 7 June 2024.

⁸⁶ Max Weber, General Economic History (Routledge 2017) 276.

⁸⁷ Dominic Frisby, *Bitcoin: The Future of Money?* (Unbound Publishing 2014).

⁸⁸ Albert Wenger, 'Bitcoin: Clarifying the Foundational Innovation of the Blockchain' (2014) Continuations 4.

enforced ex-post, making it very difficult for the people to breach them in the first place^{**89}. It is this way that trust in technology is said to replace trust in humans.

2.1.1.3. Cryptography

Another distinctive architectural element of blockchain that instills trust is cryptography, as they "enforce decisions based on the difficulty of reversing cryptographic mathematical transformations".⁹⁰ In the past, too, cryptography has served as a tool to hide political and military information, tracing back to the era of Julius Caesar, where he communicated by employing a simple cipher known as the "Caesar cipher"⁹¹ or "Caesar shift".⁹² In blockchain, there are two cryptographic tools that are particularly important: public key infrastructure (PKI) and hash functions. Cryptography is an inherently political tool, as it "rearranges power: it configures who can do what, from what".93 The use of PKI underlines that transactions on a blockchain are pseudonymous in nature – "People willing to use the network need only to create a public-private key pair in order to generate a public address through which they will be able to pseudonymously interact with the network, even though ownership of cryptocurrency is usually a precondition for executing transactions on the network".⁹⁴ While the information stored on the ledger is usually encrypted, metadata about the accounts involved in transactions is usually not. It is, accordingly, relatively straightforward to link such pseudonymous identities belonging to the same individual through the statements they make.⁹⁵ However, when in wrongful hands, such a tool can be used for malicious purposes such as infringement of data protection rights of an individual, since 'calculative' linking of pseudonymous information

⁸⁹ Samer Hassan and Primavera De Filippi, 'The Expansion of Algorithmic Governance: From Code Is Law to Law Is Code', (2017) Field Actions Science Reports. The Journal of Field Actions 88, 89.

⁹⁰ Michele Finck, *Blockchain Regulation and Governance in Europe* (Cambridge University Press 2018) 28; Phillip <u>Rogaway</u>, <u>'The Moral Character of Cryptographic Work' (2015) IACR Cryptol. ePrint Arch. 2015/1162.</u>

 $^{^{91}}$ This involved shifting the alphabet three places to the right and wrapping the last three letters (X, Y, Z) back onto the first three letters.

⁹² Dennis Luciano and Gordon Prichett, 'Cryptology: From Caesar Ciphers to Public-Key Cryptosystems' (1987) 18 The College Mathematics Journal 2, 3.

⁹³ Rogaway (n 90).

⁹⁴ Tao Feng and others, 'Research on Privacy Enhancement Scheme of Blockchain Transactions' (2019) 2 Security and Privacy 1, 2, 12.; Primavera De Filippi, Morshed Mannan, Wessel Reijers. 'Blockchain Technology and the Rule of Code: Regulation via Governance' (2022), hal-03883249 at 2.

⁹⁵ Bacon and others (n 68) at 4.

results in the identification of the person.⁹⁶ This is one of the reasons why blockchain is referred to be "alegalilty⁹⁷ by design"⁹⁸ since such systems "can support and promote alegal acts through technological affordances".⁹⁹

In blockchain systems, hash functions are relied on to maintain data integrity – that is, to create a persistent and tamper-evident record of transactions.¹⁰⁰ Hashing can prove the integrity of input data, as when the contents of that data are put through a hash function, the latter creates a string of digits of a specific length unique to the input data item.¹⁰¹ If the input data is changed even in the slightest, a totally different hash value will result, revealing that the input data has undergone a change. The hashing method thus makes the ledger tamper-evident.¹⁰² While hash values have many uses, validation of the integrity of a file is the most important one in the context of blockchain. The hash values included in the blockchain establish the accuracy of data – any alteration to underlying data results in an entirely new hash value. When the hash values of the original record are compared with that of the copy and verified by a qualified person to the extent that the data copied are identical to the codes in the original file and certified that information had been maintained in the ordinary course of business, such records are also allowed as evidence in a criminal proceeding.¹⁰³ In the US, State-level regulations are available that allow the authentication of blockchain evidence with the hash value of the record¹⁰⁴, which is used to identify, verify, and authenticate file data.

2.1.1.4. Immutable character

Though blockchains are conventionally branded as 'immutable', they are not immutable at the application layer¹⁰⁵; however, at the micro level, the code embedded in the blockchain is still

⁹⁶ Guy Zyskind and Oz Nathan, 'Decentralizing Privacy: Using Blockchain to Protect Personal Data' (IEEE Security and Privacy Workshops, 2015) 180-184.

⁹⁷ Gavin Wood, who is one of the co-founders of Ethereum, proposed this term in the blockchain space back in 2014. The term aimed to advance the notion that decentralized blockchain-based systems can be likened to natural forces.

⁹⁸ De Filippi, Mannan and Reijers, 'The Alegality of Blockchain Technology' (n 18).

⁹⁹ ibid.

 $^{^{100}}$ Bacon and others (n 68) 6–7.

¹⁰¹ Gunes Acar, Steve Englehardt and Arvind Narayanan, 'Four Cents to Deanonymize: Companies Reverse Hashed Email Addresses' (*Freedom to Tinker*, 9 April 2018).

 ¹⁰² Vitalik Buterin, *Proof of Stake: The Making of Ethereum and the Philosophy of Blockchains* (Seven Stories Press 2022).
 ¹⁰³ ibid.

¹⁰⁴ IRE 902 (12) & (13), Federal Rules of Evidence (US) accessed 15 October 2024">https://www.law.cornell.edu/rules/fre> accessed 15 October 2024.

¹⁰⁵ Angela Walch, 'The Path of the Blockchain Lexicon (and the Law)' (2016) 36 Review of Banking & Financial Law 713.

considered immutable. Indeed, various participants can collude to change the current state of the ledger, similar to in a democracy, where wealthy and powerful citizens may conspire to influence the State and their policies, as said above. Although amending the ledger is not impossible, it is extremely hard and unlikely. There are "*no technical means, short of undermining the integrity of the entire system, to unwind a transfer*" as stated by Werbach and Cornell.¹⁰⁶ In fact, blockchain is an "*ongoing chain of hash-based proof-of-work*".¹⁰⁷ Any change to the blockchain network is extremely difficult even through human intervention. It is for that reason that it is preferable to refer to distributed ledgers as 'tamper-evident'. Through their 'tamper-evident' nature, blockchains freeze the information entered or codes programmed and the smart contracts' execution in future cannot be halted even when users change their mind.¹⁰⁸

2.1.1.5. Off-chain and On-chain governance

Bockchain-based systems operate under the governance of two distinct sets of rules: the 'legal code' which speaks to the off-chain governance, encompassing rules imposed by external entities onto the community using the blockchain, where these rules may include national laws, contractual agreements, technology standards, and other regulations, and the 'technical code' relating to the on-chain governance which entails the rules and decision-making mechanisms directly encoded into the foundational infrastructure of a blockchain-based system.¹⁰⁹ On-chain governance is not easily circumvented since it operates within the system itself, enforcing algorithmic rules encoded directly into its architecture. While the legal code is considered 'extrinsic', allowing for rule-breaking, the technical code is 'intrinsic', triggering an error message upon any breach.¹¹⁰ Where off-chain governance necessitates elements of trust beyond technological solutions, involving various actors such as nodes, miners, developers, and institutional entities, on-chain governance primarily relies on integrating technological assurances into the technical framework of the blockchain.

¹⁰⁶ Kevin Werbach and Nicolas Cornell, 'Contracts Ex Machina' (2017) 67 Duke Law Journal 313, 335.

¹⁰⁷ Nakamoto (n 39) 1.

¹⁰⁸ Primavera De Filippi and Samer Hassan, 'Blockchain Technology as a Regulatory Technology: From Code Is Law to Law Is Code' (2016) 21 First Monday https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v21i12.7113> accessed 15 October 2024.

¹⁰⁹ Kevin Werbach, 'Trust, but Verify: Why the Blockchain Needs the Law' (2018) 33 Berkeley Technology Law Journal 487.
¹¹⁰ Vili Lehdonvirta and Robleh Ali, 'Governance and Regulation', *Distributed Ledger Technology: Beyond Blockchain*, (UK Government Office for Science 2016) 40, 41; Werbach (n 62) 137.

The replicated structure and decentralized management of blockchain echo the hypothesis that the involved parties cannot be trusted, so the ledger must not be held or administered in a centralized fashion. The removal of the human or institutional third-party forms a core value proposition of blockchain networks. Reid Hoffmann extends this feature by saving that the blockchain provides 'trustless trust' as "parties no longer need to know or trust each other to participate in exchanges of value with absolute assurance and no intermediaries".¹¹¹ Rather than relying on trust in humans or institutions, blockchain-based transactions are powered by trust in technology. For instance, a "smart contract is a piece of code on the blockchain which performs the function of a legal contract without the interference of a possible corruptible human agency"¹¹², which, according to De Filippi and Wright, "facilitates the contracting" parties to structure their relationships more efficiently, in a self-executing manner and without the ambiguity of words".¹¹³ Relying on source code allows interested parties to simulate the execution of a contract and model its performance before actually implementing it.¹¹⁴ However, importantly, this doesn't remove trust; it just changes the instance in which it is placed. Human decision-making cannot be replaced completely, since humans are still required to design and write codes maintain the protocols and reach an agreement on the terms of a smart contract.

The 'trustless trust' narrative is anchored in what game theory maps as the problem of cooperation.¹¹⁵ The problem of trust is traditionally solved by parties' incentives to maintain their reputation or by relying on trusted third parties, such as the State and its legal system.¹¹⁶ Blockchains promise to replace these mechanisms with their technical protocol.¹¹⁷ From this perspective, blockchains are "*information technological artifacts that replace organizational trust*".¹¹⁸ This explains why, to some, blockchains are an ideology rather than a technology,

¹¹¹ Reid Hoffman, 'The Future of the Bitcoin Ecosystem and "Trustless Trust"–Why I Invested in Blockstream' (2014) 17 LinkedIn Pulse 573.

¹¹² Gomes (n 77).

¹¹³ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 11.

¹¹⁴ Jeremy M Sklaroff, 'Smart Contracts and the Cost of Inflexibility' (2017) 166 UPenn Law Review 263.

¹¹⁵ Douglass C North, Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance (Cambridge University Press 1990).

¹¹⁶ Vili Lehdonvirta, 'The Blockchain Paradox: Why Distributed Ledger Technologies May Do Little to Transform the Economy' (2016) 21 Policy and Internet Blog, November 2016.

¹¹⁷ Joana Pereira, M Mahdi Tavalaei and Hakan Ozalp, 'Blockchain-Based Platforms: Decentralized Infrastructures and Its Boundary Conditions' (2019) 146 Technological Forecasting and Social Change 94.

¹¹⁸ Roman Beck and others, 'Opportunities and Risks of Blockchain Technologies: Report from Dagstuhl Seminar 17132'(2017) 7 Dagstuhl Reports.

expressing the preference for a world where trust is put into cryptography rather than humans.¹¹⁹ As such blockchains' trust function is one now performed by the rule of law, which anchors the capacity and legitimacy of legal systems "*to provide an effective response to the problem of cooperation*".¹²⁰ It is worthwhile not only to determine how the law should react to this new technology but also because replacing trust generated by the legal system with a machine-based trust may have lasting implications for the rule of law.

It may be reiterated that blockchains do not make trust disappear; they just substitute "*trust in humans and institutions (State)*" with "*trust in technology*".¹²¹ The tentative outcome of this ideology of trusting technology is a lack of control by centralized State authorities. While the participants have to abide by the rules contained in the protocol, the technology affords the benefits of a tamper-resistant, 'trustless' database devoid of the need to have any overseeing entity. Indeed, the rules and principles comprised in blockchain code are not a product of the technology itself but, rather, of the humans who create it, that is, the 'figure'. Software is, accordingly, never neutral but reflects the objectives and beliefs of those who use it as a means of expression.¹²² Trusting a blockchain or blockchain-based application ultimately requires trust in the collectivity of individuals, the 'figure', who architect or code programs, as well as in the procedures that govern their behavior and manage their accountability – or the absence of such norms and institutions.

2.1.2.Public, private, or permissioned blockchain

Based on the activities performed by the blockchains and how they are configured to control the access and design objectives by the 'figure', blockchains can be categorized as public, private, or permissioned.¹²³ Public or permissionless blockchains are accessible and offer anonymity, allowing individuals to participate in the network without revealing their identities or consenting to specific system rules or terms of use. The sole requirement for participants is adherence to the rules encoded in the algorithm.¹²⁴ In principle, all network members are equal

¹¹⁹ Finck (n 90).

¹²⁰ Karen Yeung, 'Blockchain, Transactional Security and the Promise of Automated Law Enforcement: The Withering of Freedom under Law?' (2017) TLI Think! Paper 58/2017.

¹²¹ David Golumbia, *The Politics of Bitcoin: Software as Right-Wing Extremism* (University of Minnesota Press 2016).

¹²² Jack M Balkin, Cultural Software: A Theory of Ideology (Yale University Press 1998).

¹²³ Dominique Guegan, 'Public Blockchain versus Private Blockhain' (2017) halshs-01524440.

¹²⁴ Kelvin F Low and Eliza Mik, 'Pause the Blockchain Legal Revolution' (2020) 69 International & Comparative Law Quarterly 135, 139.

and enjoy the same rights to read, write, and audit all the activities without authorization.¹²⁵ All participants agree to a single version of data, and a trusted third party or a central intermediary, who would verify and guarantee the accuracy of transactions, is not required. This consensus achieved with delegation of power of control (decentralization) is based on the premise that most network participants are non-malicious. Indeed, blockchain is a 'trust machine', representing a "shift from trusting people to trusting math,"¹²⁶ allowing for "trust by computation"¹²⁷ across a decentralized network. Unlike a public blockchain, which is completely decentralized in nature, private and permissioned blockchains are "a different beast altogether"¹²⁸, restricting participation to identified participants who adhere and subscribe to predefined system code rules. These rules, often equated with 'terms of use' or 'master agreements,' dictate the eligibility criteria for joining the system and how it operates and are designed in a manner where the technology tends to impose certain constraints on users concerning reading, writing, and accessing the information by trusted entities in the network.¹²⁹ Such permissions are granted depending upon the sensitivity of the data processed by the blockchain.¹³⁰ Since participants are already identified and obligated to follow specific rules, there's no necessity for the system to be 'trustless'. This means their consensus algorithms don't require code designed to prevent selfish actions. Typically, a structured governance procedure is followed, where coders are identifiable, and their code is rigorously vetted before integration into the system. Instead of relying solely on technology, non-compliant participants are subject to legal accountability. Essentially, the system hinges on traditional trust mechanisms.¹³¹

Since, "the technology seems to influence our behavior patterns via a backdoor, creating a tacit understanding of the technology that settled under the skin, allowing us to work with it effectively"¹³², it can be presumed that for a blockchain-based application, the 'figure', is the one with the ability to enforce normative effects on the users and the society, that is, regulate

¹²⁵ Guegan (n 123).

¹²⁶ De Filippi, Mannan and Reijers, 'Blockchain as a Confidence Machine: The Problem of Trust & Challenges of Governance' (n 9).

¹²⁷ Antonopoulos Andreas, 'Bitcoin Security Model: Trust by Computation' (2014) Radar O'Reilly.

¹²⁸ Low and Mik (n 124).

¹²⁹ Guegan (n 123).

¹³⁰ Morgen E Peck, 'Blockchain World-Do You Need a Blockchain? This Chart Will Tell You If the Technology Can Solve Your Problem' (2017) 54 IEEE Spectrum 38.

¹³¹ Low and Mik (n 124) 140.

¹³² Mireille Hildebrandt, 'A Vision of Ambient Law' (2008) Regulating Technologies 175, 178.

and govern the behavior of the users, by either restricting or inviting their actions¹³³, regardless of whether such regulation or action is lawful or unlawful, through the code embedded in the blockchain. The blockchain's unique attributes, such as "*decentralization, transnationality, tamper-resistance, pseudonymity, lack of coercion, trustlessness, and operational autonomy*"¹³⁴, when working in unison, make it impenetrable by the conventional legal system – thus the blockchain technology can be said to "*challenge the boundaries of the legal order(s) in which they operate*"¹³⁵. This renders certain activities conducted through blockchain networks beyond the scope of legal recognition or comprehension. Thus, "*blockchain technologies are potentially 'alegal', creating a new normative order to the extent that they support and enable activities that are neither legal or illegal nor extralegal*".¹³⁶ Therefore, it is important to extensively analyze and understand the works of literature concerning the implications of the blockchain on law and the normativities that it brings about with itself.

2.2. Normative effects of blockchain code on law

The typical pattern throughout human history has been that new technologies and discoveries create new architectures¹³⁷, where every technology is a reflection of unabridged visualization of the world and identifies itself with its own suite of impressions, symbols, and similes¹³⁸. De Filippi compares blockchain to "*Plantoid*" to draw out its features, which, according to her, "*illustrates its ability to create 'blockchain-based lifeforms', that is, algorithmic entities that are (1) autonomous, (2) self-sustainable, and (3) capable of reproducing themselves, through a combination of blockchain-based code and human interactions"¹³⁹ and thus presenting blockchain as a living instrument with the capability to grow in the society. From a cursory glance at the fictional framework of the blockchain (each technology involves both a functional*

¹³³ See Chapter 2, section 2.2 for further explanation.

¹³⁴ Primavera De Filippi and Aaron Wright, Blockchain and the Law: The Rule of Code (Harvard University Press 2018).

¹³⁵ De Filippi, Mannan and Reijers, 'The Alegality of Blockchain Technology' (n 18).

¹³⁶ Gavin Wood - Allegality (POW Media, 2015) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zh9BxYTSrGU> accessed 22 March 2024.

¹³⁷ Mark Garcia, *The Patterns of Architecture* (John Wiley & Sons 2009).

¹³⁸ Andrew Feenberg, *Questioning Technology* (Routledge 2012); Jean Baudrillard, *Le Système Des Objets* (Gallimard 1968)
39.

¹³⁹ Primavera De Filippi, 'Plantoid – The Birth of a Blockchain- Based Lifeform' in Ruth Catlow and others (eds), *Artists Re: Thinking the Blockchain* (Torque & Furtherfield 2017) 51.

and fictional dimension)¹⁴⁰, its intentions, impressions, and principles appear to be closely associated with those of digitization. In a way, the idea of creating laws, institutions, frameworks for governance, and subject positions by programming and coding of algorithms by the blockchain community has an equivalence with the idea of digitization, which is broadly based on 'governance by numbers', an ideology introduced by Alain Supiot¹⁴¹. This philosophy, almost a dogma, came into existence at the intersection of "communism and [...] ultraliberalism". That means it is an intersectional outcome of, on the one hand, the dream of a "society without heteronomy"¹⁴², which considers "the law and the State as ruses of power and infringements on the sovereignty of individuals"¹⁴³, and on the other hand, the belief and deep trust in the power of numbers and computational ability as the basis of society, law and subjectivity and ultimately, the belief in the likelihood of coding them.¹⁴⁴ Essentially, the philosophies and principles that are promoted by blockchain start where the 'governance by numbers' ideology ends or when the 'exhaustion' of public trust in institutions creeps in, as expressed by Vigna and Michael.¹⁴⁵ Further, blockchain drives in newer perceptions of the society and self and influences the imaginary bases of our societal norms with its claim to possess the ability to obviate the need for a trusted third party 'intermediary' to free the individual from any institutional constraints. Thus, De Filippi and Wright rightly held that blockchain is not just a technology but also a social and political phenomenon that challenges the existing paradigms of governance and regulation.¹⁴⁶

Therefore, blockchain brings in the new normative architecture of 'alegality' by design, which was initially introduced to transcend and circumvent the central authorities. De Filippi and Hassan expand further on this intriguing perspective by framing it within Lindahl's concept of

¹⁴⁰ Pierre Musso, 'Technique et Politique: Diabolique et Symbolique' (2021) 1 Pistes. Revue de philosophie contemporaine. Éthique, Politique, Philosophie Des Techniques 83; Katrin Becker, 'Blockchain Matters—Lex Cryptographia and the Displacement of Legal Symbolics and Imaginaries' (2022) 33 Law and Critique 113.

¹⁴¹ Alain Supiot, *La Gouvernance Par Les Nombres* (Fayard 2015); Andrea Mennicken and Robert Salais, *The New Politics of Numbers: An Introduction* (Springer 2022).

¹⁴² Supiot (n 141) 408.

¹⁴³ ibid 175.

¹⁴⁴ ibid 244.

¹⁴⁵ Paul Vigna and Michael J Casey, *The Truth Machine: The Blockchain and the Future of Everything* (Picador 2019) 23.

¹⁴⁶ De Filippi and Wright (n 134).

'alegal acts'¹⁴⁷, which denotes acts that defy conventional legal categorization due to their inherent strangeness or incomprehensibility within existing legal frameworks¹⁴⁸. They emphasize the intentional design aspect of the technology – particularly blockchain technology, which is overlooked in Lindahl's analysis of 'alegal acts' with respect to how the blockchain can be designed to support or facilitate such alegal acts. Thus, blockchain technology embodies a form of political activism, challenging established legal orders and advocating for alternative normative orders.

As smart contracts, decentralized organizations, algorithms, and source code become more prevalent in our daily lives, we may witness the rise of "*algorithmic governance*"¹⁴⁹ - "*a new normative system capable of regulating society more efficiently, reducing the costs of law enforcement and allowing for a more customized system of rules that is personalized to every citizen, and that is constantly revised based on their corresponding preferences and profiles*".¹⁵⁰ Thus, there arises a normative question regarding whether existing code-based regulations could and should supersede human judgment in decision-making, along with the ethical and political implications therein.¹⁵¹ Blockchain technology is poised to revolutionize legal discussions concerning the fundamental components of legal systems, including substantive law, legal frameworks, and legal ethos.¹⁵² This is why enthusiasts argue that blockchain is designed to embark on a mission to counter the very foundational principles of a society governed by law¹⁵³; that is, blockchain supposedly encodes a consensually and forge-proof vision of the world, a "*truth that's more reliable than any truth we have ever seen*"¹⁵⁴ and paves way for new legal regime where the code assumes the role of a symbolic referent and concurrently, abolishes the need for the mentioned bond of faith.

In this regard, De Filippi and Wright acknowledge that "the widespread deployment and adoption of smart-contracts...make it easier for citizens to create custom legal systems, where

¹⁴⁷ Hans Lindahl, 'We and Cyberlaw: The Spatial Unity of Constitutional Orders' (2013) 20 Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies 697.

¹⁴⁸ ibid 730.

¹⁴⁹ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 41.

¹⁵⁰ ibid.

¹⁵¹ De Filippi and Hassan (n 108).

¹⁵²Carla L Reyes, 'Conceptualizing Cryptolaw' (2017) 96 Nebraska Law Review 384.

¹⁵³ Walport (n 32).

¹⁵⁴ Vigna and Casey (n 145) 20.

people are free to choose and to implement their own rules within their own techno-legal frameworks".¹⁵⁵ Thus, blockchain has the potential to facilitate the establishment of a decentralized alternative to the existing legal system.¹⁵⁶ This alternative would involve (code) rules interacting autonomously, ensuring reliability and predictability without reliance on third-party institutions for enforcement. Unlike conventional legal systems, which impose provisions that are "universal and applicable to everyone"¹⁵⁷ regardless of their informed consent, this new paradigm allows individuals the freedom to "choose among a particular set of provisions"¹⁵⁸ that better aligns with their preferences and needs. As such individuals could even "choose to participate into two or more regulatory frameworks,"¹⁵⁹ arbitrarily transitioning between them based on situational factors and contingencies.¹⁶⁰

Contrary to centralized organizations where decision-making is top-down, decentralized organizations encode decision-making directly into source code.¹⁶¹ By enhancing coordination and trust, blockchain enables novel forms of collective action, addressing issues like opacity and corruption inherent in the decision-making of many organizations.¹⁶² While large hierarchical organizations suffer from centralization, delegated decision-making, and regulatory capture, blockchain technology aims to mitigate these flaws. Thus, blockchain-based decentralized organizations are being used to facilitate individuals and machines to coordinate through codified smart contracts¹⁶³, bypassing the need for traditional business structures. The interactions within decentralized organizations, predefined by smart contracts are in the form of affordances and constraints, fostering trust through code transparency and

¹⁵⁵ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 40; Thorsten Kaeseberg, 'The Code-Ification of Law and Its Potential Effects' (2019) 20 Computer Law Review International 107.

¹⁵⁶ Joao Pedro Quintais and others, 'Blockchain and the Law: A Critical Evaluation' (2019) 2 Stanford Journal of Blockchain Law & Policy 86.

¹⁵⁷ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 41.

¹⁵⁸ ibid.

¹⁵⁹ ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Rolf H Weber, "'Rose Is a Rose Is a Rose Is a Rose"–What about Code and Law?' (2018) 34 Computer Law & Security Review 701.

¹⁶¹ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 16.

¹⁶² Primavera De Filippi and Raffaele Mauro, 'Ethereum: The Decentralised Platform That Might Displace Today's Institutions' (2014) 25 Internet Policy Review.

¹⁶³ Shafaq Naheed Khan and others, 'Blockchain Smart Contracts: Applications, Challenges, and Future Trends' (2021) 14 Peer-to-peer Networking and Applications 2901.

auditability.¹⁶⁴ In essence, decentralized organizations resemble open-source entities¹⁶⁵ whose operations can be scrutinized by millions of eyes.

This 'open access' affords everyone to have access to the "truth-realities"¹⁶⁶ of a blockchain determined by algorithms. In fact, only supposedly harmoniously coded algorithms at the pedestal of the blockchain need to be trusted. The impact of this phenomenal power of code is two-pronged.¹⁶⁷ On one hand, it serves as a cornerstone for programming a number of lifegoverning legal applications. For instance, instead of traditional institutions regulating motor accidents, self-driving (autonomous) cars could be coordinated and managed through advanced algorithms that have the potential to significantly decrease accident rates on the road. If a collision is forthcoming, an ethical algorithm could swiftly evaluate the contextual setting and determine the best course of action based on factors such as the number and reputation of individuals or objects at risk and the system's designed-in optimization criteria, thus minimizing the accident's impact. This would necessitate instilling a set of moral standards and ethical precepts in these artifact's algorithms¹⁶⁸, where such "a task might be doomed to failure absent human intervention"¹⁶⁹. However, on the other hand, the code challenges the traditional institutions or human agents with regard to not only their trust potential but also the necessity of their service by providing a regulatory space, who conventionally perform as the messengers of a society's underlying (truth-)vision of the world. In other words, in addition to supporting or complementing the law, code can also serve as a means to circumvent or bypass the law, as evidenced in the case of Napster¹⁷⁰, which offered a platform for users to share music files.

Moreover, code may introduce new rules which have little or nothing to do with existing laws. For example, many Peer-to-Peer (P2P) file-sharing protocols incorporate requirements in their code mandating users to share content before accessing more, thus enforcing a form of collaborative behavior among users. However, the influence of code in shaping online behavior extends beyond this aspect. Particularly significant in this regard is the role of Graphical User

¹⁶⁴ De Filippi (n 139) 53.

¹⁶⁵ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 16.

¹⁶⁶ Becker (n 140).

¹⁶⁷ ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 41, footnote 152.

¹⁶⁹ ibid, footnote 152.

¹⁷⁰ Raymond Shih Ray Ku, 'The Creative Destruction of Copyright: Napster and the New Economics of Digital Technology' (2002) 69 University of Chicago Law Review 263.

Interfaces (GUI), extensively examined in fields like Human-Computer Interaction and Science and Technology Studies, to scrutinize their social and political ramifications¹⁷¹.

2.2.1.Lex cryptographica

In the blockchain, the new code rules encoded with 'values and principles' assume the role of customary law and govern the behavior of the users rather than the conventional law - as *lex* cryptographica. Lex cryptographica is characterized as "the law that is no longer legitimized by a culturally established symbolic referent which it no longer needs to be as there is no longer a need for recognition or belief: by programming the code, the parties to a smart contract are making law, implying—or rather coding—the values they take to be fundamental".¹⁷² Zou focuses on the political and social dimensions of law, leading to his interpretation of lex cryptographica as "a system of algorithmic control that entails 'order without law' in its architectural design".¹⁷³ Both these definitions illustrate that lex cryptographica has created a new form of law that is self-sufficient in terms of regulating and organizing itself, which does not rely on any external referent or recognition; is autonomous and anti-representational and disrupts the cultural and symbolic aspects of conventional law, thus challenging the system. Wright and De Filippi alternatively¹⁷⁴ describe *lex cryptographica* as "rules administered through self-executing smart contracts and decentralized (autonomous) organizations." Hacker uses the definition of *lex cryptographica* presented by Wright and De Filippi¹⁷⁵ to raise concerns regarding the 'non-regulatability' of blockchain, where he defined the lex cryptographica as "the private and mostly technical framework that effectively governs a blockchain, and which consists in an amorphous and highly decentralized set of socio-technical agencements, supporting a range of application protocols, that sit on top of the transportation layer of the Internet network (the TCP/IP stack) and cannot be linked to a central note that can

¹⁷¹ Gopinaath Kannabiran, Jeffrey Bardzell and Shaowen Bardzell, 'How HCI Talks about Sexuality: Discursive Strategies,
Blind Spots, and Opportunities for Future Research' (SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems, 2011)
695.

¹⁷² Becker (n 140).

 ¹⁷³ Mimi Zou, 'Code, and Other Laws of Blockchain†' (2020) 40 Oxford Journal of Legal Studies 645
 https://doi.org/10.1093/ojls/gqaa018> accessed on 15 October 2024.

¹⁷⁴ Wright and De Filippi (n 1).

¹⁷⁵ De Filippi and Wright (n 134) 48–49 and 144.

be easily identified, and eventually regulated, by a national or international legal framework^{*,176}

From the definitions above, it can be deduced that *lex cryptographica* is instituted primarily by a new quasi-legal structure of smart contracts, which are being deployed to regulate and initiate multifold trustless trust relationships. This law or legal framework created by blockchain demonstrates to what extent it introduces a displacement of the conventional law and the symbolic and imaginary basis on which it is based. This view can also be gathered from De Filippi and Wright when they say, *"through the deployment of increasingly complex systems of smart contracts and decentralized organizations, the technology can be used to establish rules and structures for organizations, formal entities, and potentially even governmental bodies. If designed to capture human input, the technology can be used to reflect community values and social norms, automatically enforced through self-executing code"¹⁷⁷.*

Lex cryptographica not only uncouples from traditional symbolic referent as its legal legitimacy but also progresses to emancipate from artificial geographical and political territories. Essentially, *lex cryptographica* claims to no longer need any binding to a traditional corpus or territory, nor does it require to be legitimized by a culturally established symbolic referent as there is no longer a need for recognition or belief. The idea of law draws its legitimacy from the decentralized and algorithmic establishment¹⁷⁸, since "*decentralized organizations operate according to specific rules and procedures defined by smart contracts and code*"¹⁷⁹, independent of the conventional system. The 'governance by numbers' ideology was the first to move forward towards making the law territory agnostic by substituting "*territorial inscription of laws*" with a "*submission of the content of laws to a calculation of utility*".¹⁸⁰

In pursuit of a 'matter-free existence', digitization, considered as the initial step has already taken off.¹⁸¹ As early as 2014, Estonia introduced an e-residency program, which envisages a

¹⁷⁶ Hacker and others (n 48) 15.

¹⁷⁷ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 50.

¹⁷⁸ Finck, Blockchain Regulation and Governance in Europe (n 90) 80.

¹⁷⁹ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 15.

¹⁸⁰ Mennicken and Salais, (n 141); Alain Supiot*, 'L'inscription Territoriale Des Lois', (2008) Esprit 151.

¹⁸¹ Barlow (n 43).

virtual residency, which is supposed to be "an international 'passport' to the virtual world".¹⁸² While this passport essentially represents an entry ticket to the Estonian economy, e-citizens remain generally bound by their 'national identity' and, as such, remain tied to the corpus as well as to the body of the nation ("biological citizenship").¹⁸³ Blockchain-based subjectivity, however, is conceived as purely virtual and code- or else data-based, and thus independently of any institutional pre-definition. Sullivan et al. emphasized that no longer "dependent on a person's legal entitlement through citizenship or physical presence in a country"¹⁸⁴, the transnational, digitized subject gains what is called 'self-sovereign identity' - it is enabled to "manage his/her identity-related information [...] without the need to refer to any trusted authority or intermediary operator"¹⁸⁵, by facilitating "trust and the secure sharing of information with multiple independent parties across broad networks".¹⁸⁶

The individual subjects draw their power, depending on their legal pursuits to define the rules on a case-to-case basis – rules that are automated, peer-to-peer, and globally operative to legitimize their own existence. To that extent, individuals are bound by code alone or *lex cryptographica*, which stands on an "*acephalous and fluid foundation*" as argued by Becker¹⁸⁷, which implicitly means that it is individually negotiable, and various terms, conditions, and provisions of law depend on the retrospective transactional context or on the membership of the chosen 'cloud community'. From that perspective, the subject is envisaged as not only being disconnected from the heteronomous sovereignty of State and law but also from the heteronomy of its own body. This thought on *lex cryptographica* begins with the idea of 'decentralized government service', which comes from the notion that "*just because you live in a particular geography should not restrict you to certain government services*"¹⁸⁸, and ends

¹⁸² Clare Sullivan and Eric Burger, 'E-Residency and Blockchain' (2017) 33 Computer Law & Security Review 470.

¹⁸³ Torsten Heinemann and Martin G Weiß, 'Biotechnologische Grenzregime' (2016) An Der Grenze-Die Biotechnologische Überwachung von Migration 8.

¹⁸⁴ Sullivan and Burger (n 182) 472.

¹⁸⁵ Alex Grech, Ira Sood and Lluis Ariño, 'Blockchain, Self-Sovereign Identity and Digital Credentials: Promise Versus Praxis in Education' (2021) 4 Frontiers in Blockchain 616779 <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fbloc.2021.616779/full> accessed 15 October 2024; Fennie Wang and Primavera De Filippi, 'Self-Sovereign Identity in a Globalized World: Credentials-Based Identity Systems as a Driver for Economic Inclusion' (2020) 2 Frontiers in Blockchain 28, 33.

¹⁸⁶ Grech, Sood and Ariño (n 185).

¹⁸⁷ Becker (n 140).

¹⁸⁸ Tomicah Tillemann and others, 'The Blueprint for Blockchain and Social Innovation' (2019) *New America*; Melanie Swan, *Blockchain: Blueprint for a New Economy* (O'Reilly Media, Inc 2015) 47.

with the plans for 'personal thinking blockchains', in the sense of 'mind files', that is, "the recording of every 'transaction' in the sense of capturing every thought and emotion of every entity, human and machine, encoding and archiving this activity into life-logging blockchains".¹⁸⁹

2.2.2.Social and political implications

As every other technology, blockchain technology is not neutral. It is a technical artifact with a particular *architecture*, which inevitably has both social and political implications, as it facilitates certain actions and behaviors more than others. De Filippi and Wright illustrates some cases where *lex cryptographica* produces a normative effect through the utilization of programming languages, depending on the political intention of the 'figure'.¹⁹⁰ These instances includes the implementation of smart contracts either to facilitate hourly or daily payment for employees, with taxes being automatically sent to government entities in real-time, or to promptly and automatically verify State death records and allocate assets from a testator's estate, including sending taxes to relevant agencies without the requirement of probate administration.¹⁹¹ Conversely, the conception that blockchain technology should take the place of State and law is 'misguided'. The "success of blockchains is hence to no small degree contingent on recognition by the real world, and it simply cannot refuse to account for external legal requirements and systems by the real world"¹⁹². To have a pragmatic impact, blockchain systems must be compliant with the prevailing legal frameworks.¹⁹³ Thus, establishing and administering a completely virtual and body-less, text-less, and State-less social life through blockchains appears to be highly improbable, unrealistic, and utopian or rather dystopian. This negativity, however, has not deterred the growing recognition of blockchain technology in certain applications in legal-political contexts. For example, the government of the Zug region in Switzerland conducted an experiment using a blockchain prototype to issue government identity cards for voting in their direct democracy.¹⁹⁴ There are also situations where a

¹⁸⁹ Swan (n 188) 43.

¹⁹⁰ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 12.

¹⁹¹ ibid.

¹⁹² Finck, Blockchain Regulation and Governance in Europe (n 90) 85.

¹⁹³ ibid 86.

¹⁹⁴ 'Zug Digital ID: Blockchain Case Study for Government Issued Identity' (*Consensys*, 2018) <https://consensys.io/blockchain-use-cases/government-and-the-public-sector/zug> accessed 6 October 2024.

government is unreliable, and blockchains offer solutions. The United Nations has implemented programs that provide individuals with a digital identity that can be verified with eye scans, allowing individuals to receive funds and food.¹⁹⁵ These applications, thus, have a significant impact on the fundamental rights of individuals which forms the essence of the rule of law framework.

In this regard, due to the impact of blockchain technology on the fundamental rights of individuals, it is argued that "*two systems seem to be intended to coexist: the rule of law, outside the blockchain, and the Lex cryptographica, on blockchain*"¹⁹⁶ - where in the absence of State-imposed justice, code embedded in blockchain can create an equivalent in both determining the rules and ensuring that they are enforced.¹⁹⁷

2.2.3.Enabling a new normativity

As has been postulated, the blockchain protocol, with its embedded code, replaces the traditional legal order.¹⁹⁸ This technology is conducive to partially supplanting and/or supplementing the legal order whilst also being a 'target' of law and regulation, with the regulatory State asserting its sovereign power.¹⁹⁹ In the same line of thinking, De Filippi argues that blockchain enables a new normativity of decentralized governance, where the rules are embedded in the code and enforced by the network rather than by human authorities or institutions. She calls this "*the rule of code*" and contrasts it with the rule of law, which is based on the authority and legitimacy of the State and the legal system.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ Russ Juskalian, 'Inside the Jordan Refugee Camp That Runs on Blockchain' (2018) MIT Technology Review; Georgios Dimitropoulos, 'The Use of Blockchain by International Organizations: Effectiveness and Legitimacy' (2022) 41 Policy and Society 328; Giulio Coppi and Larissa Fast, 'Blockchain and Distributed Ledger Technologies in the Humanitarian Sector' (HPG Commissioned Report 2019).

¹⁹⁶ Robert Nozick and Thomas Nagel, Anarchy, State, and Utopia, vol 5038 (Basic Books 1974).

¹⁹⁷ Thibault Schrepel, 'Anarchy, State, and Blockchain Utopia: Rule of Law versus Lex Cryptographia' in Ulf Bernitz and others (eds), *General Principles of EU Law and the EU Digital Order* (Kluwer Law International 2020).

¹⁹⁸ Becker (n 140).

¹⁹⁹ Karen Yeung, 'Regulation by Blockchain: The Emerging Battle for Supremacy between the Code of Law and Code as Law'(2019) 82 Modern Law Review 207.

²⁰⁰ De Filippi and Wright (n 134); De Filippi, Mannan and Reijers, 'Blockchain Technology and the Rule of Code: Regulation via Governance' (n 94).

This assertation of 'code taking the shaping of law' is not novel, but flows from the famous equation, 'code is law', coined by Lessig in the late 1990s.²⁰¹ The seminal work of Lessig explored how, in cyberspace, code complements or even substitutes law as a normative order.²⁰² Due to smart contracts based on blockchain technology and their self-executing nature, the two components of that equation seem to converge even further. De Filippi and Hassan reversed the equation, claiming that 'law is code', that is, that law itself can be codified and defined as technological code – "As a result of these technological advances, the lines between what constitutes a legal or technological rule becomes more blurred. Since smart contracts can be used as both a support and as a replacement to legal contracts".²⁰³ They presented four phases that led to the origination of the normative order of 'law turning in code: "The first phase involves the process of digitizing information —turning paper and ink into computer-readable information. The second phase consists in bringing automation to decision-making processes. The third phase involves the incorporation of legal rules into code on the one hand and the emergence of regulation by code on the other. The fourth phase —which is just beginning involves a new approach to regulation, the code-ification of law, which entails an increasing reliance on code not only to enforce legal rules but also to draft and elaborate these rules". They also acknowledged that "today, code is also used by the public sector as a regulatory mechanism.... mostly related to the ability to automate the law and to enforce rules and regulations a priori, i.e. before the fact".²⁰⁴ Blockchain is, therefore, argued to have the potential to reinforce and complicate this tendency of imposing normativity as it enables code to run autonomously, with very limited third-party intervention, and to produce real effects in terms of value transfers.²⁰⁵ Unlike traditional legal rules that are only enforceable after the fact (ex-post), regulation by code can proactively restrict individual actions, ensuring compliance before any potential violation takes place (ex-ante). In other words, code-based regulation prevents people from violating technical rules even before they have the chance to act.

²⁰¹ Lawrence Lessig, *Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace* (Basic Books 1999) 3 <https://lessig.org/images/resources/1999-Code.pdf> accessed 6 October 2024.

²⁰² ibid

²⁰³ De Filippi and Hassan (n 108) 2.

²⁰⁴ Hassan and De Filippi (n 89) 2.

²⁰⁵ De Filippi and Wright (n 134) 193-204; Yeung, 'Regulation by Blockchain: The Emerging Battle for Supremacy between the Code of Law and Code as Law' (n 199).

Tasca and Piselli, in their paper 'The Blockchain paradox'²⁰⁶, point out that as the effects of the contract are indelibly written in the relevant code, the parties can easily bypass the traditionally necessary, contractual safeguards. This process would condition both modalities of negotiation and stipulation of the contract and the whole system of guarantee prescribed by the national or international contract law system, which encompasses principles, such as bona *fide*, or institutions, such as *force majeure*, and the hardship clause, or of vitiating factors. Thus, smart contracts represent the mere implementation of legal and technical rules into the code of a particular infrastructure or device. The trust less nature of blockchain doesn't directly ensure enforcement of these rules, except for the fact that it eliminates the necessity for a trusted intermediary to mediate any transactions. What distinguishes blockchain from other technologies is that programs stored on a blockchain are designed to supplant traditional legal contracts. They are no longer merely auxiliary mechanisms for enforcing existing legal frameworks; rather, their code is intended to function as the law itself. Consequently, as more contractual terms or legal rules are encoded as smart contracts instead of traditional legal agreements, blockchain evolves into a "regulatory technology"²⁰⁷ – a tool capable of defining, incorporating, and enforcing legal or contractual provisions through code independent of the existence of underlying legal rules.

However, translating legal regulations (referred to as "*wet code*") into technical specifications (referred to as "*dry code*") is often challenging.²⁰⁸ Legal language is inherently open to interpretation and adaptable, allowing for case-by-case application to unforeseen circumstances. It intentionally maintains ambiguity to facilitate flexible application. A robust regulatory framework emerges from the convergence of numerous legal provisions, incorporating various limitations and exceptions to accommodate the complexity and unpredictability of human society. Conversely, technical code operates on rigid, formalized principles, necessitating well-defined categories and precise specifications of methods and conditions in advance.²⁰⁹ Despite the fundamental disparities that subsist between these two typologies, there is a growing trend to translate legal rules into technical rules for incorporation into technological hardware or software, although enforcement of code can be stringent and

²⁰⁶ Tasca and Piselli (n 42).

 ²⁰⁷ Karen Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' in Roger Brownsword and Karen Yeung (eds),
 Regulating Technologies: Legal Futures, Regulatory Frames and Technological Fixes (Hart Publishing 2008) 79, 88.
 ²⁰⁸ De Filippi and Hassan (n 108).

²⁰⁹ ibid.

intrusive. Poorly designed regulation by code may inadvertently work against the interests of those it aims to regulate. The decentralized nature of blockchain technology, along with the capabilities of smart contract code which enable the creation of autonomous, self-sufficient, and potentially unstoppable DAOs, also presents new challenges concerning legal accountability and regulatability. Therefore, legal systems must devise methods to regulate code to mitigate its potentially disruptive effects.

Without any exaggeration, it can be said that the conditions engraved in the smart contract are 'alive' with the capability to self-execute without any requirement of human intervention, akin to the notion of blockchain as a 'plantoid'²¹⁰, exhibiting characteristics reminiscent of a living entity. This analogy aligns well with the example outlined by Wright and De Filippi, where they illustrated how blockchain-enabled smart contracts can be utilized to automatically verify decentralized online identity and digital criminal records to assess and determine whether an individual meets specific preconditions for gun ownership - who can and who cannot own or use guns; and those meeting the criteria will be allowed to purchase a gun, whereas those who failed to meet these requirements would be denied from completing the purchase.²¹¹ This illustration shows that smart contracts are just waiting for triggers for the encoded rules. These are not 'some' passive instructions coded for contracting parties to execute; rather, it can be said, by drawing parallels with human agents, smart contracts are more akin to "*autonomous agents*" which "*live*" inside the execution environment, ready to perform or execute a specific piece of code when "*poked*" by a transaction.²¹²

Additionally, there may be instances where the code can be applied to establish a concatenation of technological configurations that might potentially restrict the exercise or assertion of property rights of individuals concerning a specific object. For example, "access to the property can be programmatically limited to specific users or device, or even be limited to a person who is identified in a record on a blockchain or when brought to the extreme, every piece of property could be tied to a potential kill switch, whereby property could be disabled or divested remotely through the simple click of a button or a computer algorithm, resulting in property ownership

²¹⁰ De Filippi (n 139) 51.

²¹¹ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 36.

²¹² Vitalik Buterin, 'Visions Part I: The Value of Blockchain Technology' (*Ethereum Foundation Blog*, 13 April 2015) <https://blog.ethereum.org/2015/04/13/visions-part-1-the-value-of-blockchain-technology> accessed 15 October 2024; Jason Paul Cruz, Yuichi Kaji and Naoto Yanai, 'RBAC-SC: Role-Based Access Control Using Smart Contract' (2018) 6 IEEE Access 12240.

vanishing, in such a world, replaced by a web of temporary leasehold interests governed by contracts".²¹³ Thus, "the code makes changes to the law"²¹⁴ in the blockchain realm.

There is a mix of volunteer and paid software developers who write and update the code, determining how to revise the code through "informal processes that depend on rough notions of consensus and that are subject to no fixed legal or organizational structure".²¹⁵ Furthermore, some individuals who contribute to shape the code do not actually write it – these may include people reviewing it or doing research and making recommendations about the policy and technical goals of the system. In this context, Walch has used the term developer to encompass "those making decisions about the policy choices, to be embedded in the code, how best technically to manifest these choices, and then actually crafting, and reviewing the code to achieve those policy and technical choices".²¹⁶ Within this group of contributors, importantly, not all participants are equal. For instance, in open-source software ventures such as public blockchain, a cadre of core developers on maintainers typically spearhead the software development trajectory.²¹⁷ This means that, these individuals serve as the leading figures and decision-makers concerning the code and manifest power differently from that of rank-and-file developers. In the Bitcoin framework, core developers possess the capability to broadcast emergency messages to all network nodes and are the sole individuals with privileged access, enabling them to implement actual modifications to the software code²¹⁸, while other developers can suggest and propose changes but the same can only be incorporated by core developer. Additionally, prominent developers play a pivotal role in shaping how blockchains are perceived by both the State and the broader public.²¹⁹

²¹³ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 35.

²¹⁴ Tasca and Piselli (n 42).

²¹⁵ Shawn J. Bayern, 'Of Bitcoins, Independently Wealthy Software, and the Zero-Member LLC' (2014) 108 Northwestern University Law Review 1485, 1488 https://ir.law.fsu.edu/articles/41> accessed 5 October 2024.

²¹⁶ Walch, 'In Code (Rs) We Trust: Software Developers as Fiduciaries in Public Blockchains' (n 30).

²¹⁷ Alawiyah Abd Wahab and others, 'Examining the Software Developers' Perception in Open-Source Software of Blockchain Project Using Association Rules Mining' in Nur H Zakaria and others (eds), *Computing and Informatics* (9th International Conference, ICOCI 2023. Malayasia 13-24 September 2023, Springer 2024) 287; Amiangshu Bosu and others, 'Understanding the Motivations, Challenges and Needs of Blockchain Software Developers: A Survey' (2019) 24 Empirical Software Engineering 2636.

²¹⁸ Tom Simonite, 'Meet the Man Who Really Built Bitcoin' (2014) 117 MIT Technology Review 21.

²¹⁹ Robin Renwick and Rob Gleasure, 'Those Who Control the Code Control the Rules: How Different Perspectives of Privacy Are Being Written into the Code of Blockchain Systems' (2021) 36 Journal of Information Technology 16.

Therefore, within the blockchain realm, as Reijers and Coeckelberg claimed, the code is at once rule and reality where normativity impacts the descriptiveness.²²⁰ The blockchain technologies, such as cryptocurrencies, can shape our social reality by creating and enforcing rules through code. Since blockchain can facilitate the "*structural shift of power from legal rules and regulations administered by the State to code-based rules and protocols governed by decentralized blockchain-based networks*"²²¹, and the *lex cryptographi(c)a*²²² has the potential to radically "*alter the existing distribution of social and economic power*"²²³, such that the "*middlemen may lose the ability to control and shape the activities of disparate people through existing means*"²²⁴, this phenomenon intersects profoundly with the rule of law, a cornerstone of democratic societies, where the centralized authorities such as the State are responsible for regulating the individual behavior by interpreting laws, adjudicating disputes, and ensuring compliance with regulations. Therefore, not only this technology may be a target of law and regulation²²⁵, but it may also be used as an alternative to or displacement of law and legal ordering.²²⁶

Given the greater degree of autonomy that characterizes these systems, it is important to regulate the technology or shape the artifact in such a manner that it does not transgress the rule of law, and therefore, it is worth investigating whether some of the basic principles and philosophies of the rule of law can be absorbed into the rule of code, even in a limited way, if not in entirety. This requires further study of the procedural rules and substantive constraints applicable to traditional (centralized) governance structures, which can be, rather, which need to be adapted to the newer technological innovations²²⁷, and how these rules can be enforced, short of formalizing a sovereign authority with coercive power. This makes it even more

²²⁰ Wessel Reijers and Mark Coeckelbergh, 'The Blockchain as a Narrative Technology: Investigating the Social Ontology and Normative Configurations of Cryptocurrencies' (2018) 31 Philosophy & Technology 103 https://doi.org/10.1007/s13347-016-0239-x> accessed 5 October 2024.

²²¹ De Filippi and Wright (n 134) 7.

²²² Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 5–6.

²²³ Yeung, 'Regulation by Blockchain: The Emerging Battle for Supremacy between the Code of Law and Code as Law' (n 199) 207–208.

²²⁴ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 4.

²²⁵ Anna Butenko and Pierre Larouche, 'Regulation for Innovativeness or Regulation of Innovation?' (2015) 7 Law, Innovation and Technology 52.

²²⁶ Hin-Yan Liu and others, 'Artificial Intelligence and Legal Disruption: A New Model for Analysis' (2020) 12 Law, Innovation and Technology 205.

²²⁷ De Filippi, Mannan and Reijers, 'The Alegality of Blockchain Technology' (n 18).

important to study and analyze the works of literature concerning the approaches to regulate and shape the blockchain such that they ought to be in compliance with the law.

2.3. Approaches to shape blockchain

Tasca and Piselli argue that "the process of the law changing the properties of the blockchain code is much more difficult to occur".²²⁸ But, in my opinion, it is not impossible - law can or must be employed as an instrument in guiding, influencing, and shaping the attributes of blockchain code in a much more tangible manner. This opinion is corroborated by Hacker et al., who view the law as a tool to profoundly shape and influence the process of technological change and its diffusion at numerous levels.²²⁹ Law can be used as a weapon in the initial "framing struggles"²³⁰, by the proponents or the opponents of new technology in order to establish regulatory barriers to curtail the spread of the new technology or, on the contrary, to eliminate existing strategic barriers put in place by the "incumbents".²³¹ Hacker et al. add to it and says that legal change can be actively promoted in order to facilitate the development of the new technology and its rapid diffusion into various other fields of economic and social activity.²³² The logic here is to encourage innovation by providing the main actors of technological change with the legal capabilities for organizing new processes of new value generation. Some even go far as suggesting discounts to the application of existing regulatory norms and 'outdated' values that had so far animated risk regulation, as these may jeopardize the expected rent from the application of the blockchain technology and, thus, affect the pace of its diffusion.²³³ At this initial period of the development of the technology, it is natural to generate debates over whether there should be more regulation or less.

²²⁸ Tasca and Piselli (n 42).

²²⁹ Hacker and others (n 48).

²³⁰ Ioannis Lianos, 'Blockchain Competition–Gaining Competitive Advantage in the Digital Economy: Competition Law Implications' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019) 329-410.

²³¹ ibid.

²³² Hacker and others (n 48) 3–24.

²³³ Claris Parenti, Negar Noori and Marijn Janssen, 'A Smart Governance Diffusion Model for Blockchain as an Anti-Corruption Tool in Smart Cities' (2022) 1 Journal of Smart Cities and Society 71; John W Bagby, David Reitter and Philip Chwistek, 'An Emerging Political Economy of the Blockchain: Enhancing Regulatory Opportunities' (2019) 88 UMKC Law Review 419.

2.3.1.Regulatory sandboxes

Instead of embarking on extensive legal reforms to regulate blockchain-based systems comprehensively, which could necessitate a significant restructuring of the legal framework or even the underlying infrastructure and political setup of these systems, De Filippi et. al. suggest that policies utilize the principles of "functional equivalence and regulatory equivalence" as an alternative approach to integrating these systems into the legal framework.²³⁴ Functional equivalence involves assessing how the functions of a specific artifact (e.g., a paper document) could be replicated using a different type of artifact (e.g., an electronic document) within a particular legal context (e.g., contract law). This approach efficiently addresses the lack of legality of the latter type—that is, actions not yet accounted for by the law but easily could be, as expanding legal boundaries to encompass them would not significantly alter legal content or fundamentally challenge the legal framework. The concept of functional equivalence has already been applied in certain laws, such as the UNCITRAL Model Law for Electronic Commerce²³⁵, which equates paper-based documents with electronic documents for contracting purposes. Regulatory equivalence takes this a step further by examining the objectives of a legal or regulatory provision (e.g., auditing to verify creditworthiness) to determine the conditions under which the same objective could be achieved through alternative technological means (e.g., using fully collateralized smart contracts to mitigate counterparty risk). Regulatory equivalence is pertinent in the context of legality gaps because it allows for the inclusion of objects or activities outside the legal framework, provided they contribute to achieving equivalent objectives or purposes as certain legal provisions.

To evaluate if novel applications of blockchain technology can adhere to current regulatory standards (functional equivalence) or offer comparable levels of protection to advance existing policy goals (regulatory equivalence), policymakers globally should promote the establishment of *"regulatory sandboxes"*²³⁶ more extensively. These sandboxes, commonly utilized in finance, provide a controlled setting for early-stage enterprises to test technological innovations or business models, while being exempted from prevailing financial regulations (e.g., protection for novice investors) and legal obligations (e.g., safeguarding customer interests)

²³⁴ De Filippi, Mannan and Reijers, 'The Alegality of Blockchain Technology' (n 18).

²³⁵ UNCITRAL Model Law on the Use and Cross-Border Recognition of Identity Management and Trust Services https://www.un-ilibrary.org/content/books/9789210028530> accessed 5 October2024.

²³⁶ De Filippi, Mannan and Reijers, 'The Alegality of Blockchain Technology' (n 18).

within this environment. This would involve more frequent intervention of regulatory authorities, in diverse forms. Such sandboxes would enable the State to learn from the experiences of blockchain developers and users and to adapt the legal rules accordingly. Hacker advocates for a more interdisciplinary and participatory approach to blockchain regulation, involving not only lawyers and technologists but also social scientists, ethicists, and civil society actors.²³⁷ He states that "*it is not only limited to the classic command and control or risk-based approaches to regulation and the application of 'hard' law; it may also consist of a broad communicative effort, aiming to steer the activity of the various communities of experts, nudging the development of the technology towards an approach that is more compatible with the existing regulatory values that is regulation by design".²³⁸*

To grasp the potential benefits of regulatory sandboxes in establishing functional and regulatory equivalence, let us consider ICOs. The expenses and regulatory complexities associated with adhering to securities regulations frequently discourage numerous projects from pursuing them. However, through carefully crafted technological innovations, transparency can be ensured, significantly diminishing investor risk. This could warrant the implementation of a less stringent regulatory framework for all initiatives that embrace such solutions.²³⁹

According to Giorgio Agamben, a strategy in response to alegality involves the concept of *"inclusion by exclusion,"* which connotes that by intentionally exempting certain activities through legal exemptions, the legal system both broadens its jurisdiction to cover these activities and commits to non-interference as long as they comply with the exemptions.²⁴⁰ This approach, while allowing for the development of a burgeoning private legal framework for blockchain systems (*lex cryptographica*), is recognized to have inherent constraints. This private legal framework will still delineate an internal realm and an unregulated external domain.

²³⁷ Hacker and others (n 48).

²³⁸ ibid.

²³⁹ Alexis Collomb, Primavera De Filippi and SOK Klara, 'Blockchain Technology and Financial Regulation: A Risk-Based Approach to the Regulation of ICOs' (2019) 10 European Journal of Risk Regulation 263.

²⁴⁰ Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Daniel Heller-Roazen tr, Stanford University Press 1998)
7, 22.

This 'regulatory sandbox' approach can, further, be supplemented by the 'blockchain legal integration' approach, postulated by Donovan²⁴¹, which views that blockchain as a technology should be compatible and consistent with the existing legal framework and aligned and coordinated with the relevant laws and regulations of different jurisdictions. The proponents of this approach argue that legal integration offers several benefits, such as complementarity, improvement of the legal system, and certainty.²⁴² The blockchain can enhance and support the legal system by providing additional tools and mechanisms that can improve the functionality and quality of legal services and processes. For example, the technology can enable the creation and verification of digital identities, the authentication and certification of documents and records, and the automation and optimization of workflows and procedures.²⁴³

2.3.2. Architecture of control

Since blockchain technology is capable of governing, restricting, and influencing the behavior of users and individuals, it becomes more important to regulate the technology by perceiving it as an "*architecture of control*", as proposed by Du et.al.²⁴⁴ The authors argue that blockchain technology can be seen as an "*architecture of control*" that enables decentralization, transparency, and trust but also requires regulation to address the potential risks and challenges associated with its use.²⁴⁵ This argument has been referred to by Tasca and Piselli, who note that "*the law has yet to regulate the blockchain system*".²⁴⁶ O'Scheilds gave the example that although questions have been raised regarding the possibility of equating smart contracts with

²⁴¹ Anna Donovan, 'Blockchain: Developing Regulatory Approaches for the Use of Technology in Legal Services' (2019) Legal Services Board UK.

²⁴² 'Blockchain - Legal Implications, Questions, Opportunities & Risks' (*Deloitte*, September 2022) https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/global/Documents/Tax/dttl-tax-global-blockchain-wp-sept-2022.pdf> accessed 9 October 2024.

²⁴³ Ross P Buckley, Anton N Didenko and Mia Trzecinski, 'Blockchain and Its Applications: A Conceptual Legal Primer' (2023) 26 Journal of International Economic Law 363 https://doi.org/10.1093/jiel/jgad010> accessed 5 October 2024 ; Karisma Karisma and Pardis Moslemzadeh Tehrani, 'Blockchain: Legal and Regulatory Issues' in Soheil Saraji and Si Chen (eds.), *Sustainable Oil and Gas Using Blockchain* (Springer 2023) 75 https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-30697-6_4> accessed 5 October 2024.

²⁴⁴ Zhiqiang Du and others., 'Blockchain-Based Access Control Architecture for Multi-Domain Environments' (2024) 98 Pervasive and Mobile Computing 101878 https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S157411922400004X accessed 5 October 2024.

²⁴⁵ ibid; Gousia Habib and others, 'Blockchain Technology: Benefits, Challenges, Applications, and Integration of Blockchain Technology with Cloud Computing' (2022) 14 Future Internet 341.

²⁴⁶ Tasca and Piselli (n 42).

traditional contracts²⁴⁷, there have only been a few legislative interventions concerning either their qualification or penetrating effects of this architecture on contract law. The only legislative interventions to date, according to him, with blockchain as an artifact, have been in relation to some categories of subjects, such as the promoters of initial offerings and assets such as tokens and their qualification. This raises questions as to whether the law is capable of reaffirming its primacy over the blockchain system and the value it promotes or whether it is the particular configuration of the blockchain system that exercises a certain restraint or is capable of regulating the behavior of individuals. Therefore, *"technological devices and infrastructures should be regulated to a certain extent by law, precisely because they regulate our interactions, whether they were intended or not*".²⁴⁸

Indeed, the concept of technology capable of regulating is not novel. The example proposed by Winner, according to which the overpasses of the Long Island roadway system were planned by architect Moses, with the maximum height that prevented the transit of buses and coaches, known to be used by people of the lower classes, to Manhattan, is emblematic in this regard.²⁴⁹ Thus, engineering technology lent itself to the realization of a policy of social exclusion. In the same way, Latour affirmed the technological artifacts in some examples: speed bumps or cars, which do not start unless the seatbelts are buckled, have prescriptive capacity, operating like silent traffic cops.²⁵⁰ Therefore, irrespective of whether technologies are complex information technological architecture or simple functionality, it is capable of modifying and reorienting the scope of permitted actions and, in so doing, contribute to the regulation of individual behavior. In fact, many cases could be imagined or have indeed been reported where devices produce outcomes that seem to contradict fundamental legal values. Corkery and Silver-Greenberg produced an example where the starter interrupt devices blocking cars, one, while they are currently running; two, that are generally needed by debtors for transportation to work; or three, that are urgently needed in a specific situation, say, for medical reasons, in order to get a patient to an emergency room.²⁵¹ Since the automatic blocking of a car triggers harsh

²⁴⁷ Reggie O'Shields, 'Smart Contracts: Legal Agreements for the Blockchain' (2017) 21 North Carolina Banking Institute 177 < http://scholarship.law.unc.edu/ncbi/vol21/iss1/11> accessed 5 October 2024.

²⁴⁸ Hildebrandt, 'A Vision of Ambient Law' (n 132).

²⁴⁹ Langdon Winner, 'Do Artifacts Have Politics?' (1980) 109 Daedalus 1, 121.

²⁵⁰ Bruno Latour, 'On Technical Mediation - Philosophy, Sociology, Genealogy' (1994) 3 Common knowledge 29, 33-40.

²⁵¹ Michael Corkery and Jessica Silver-Greenberg, 'Miss a Payment? Good Luck Moving That Car' (*New York Times*, 24 September 2014); Max Raskin, 'The Law and Legality of Smart Contracts' (2017) 1 Georgetown Law Technology Review 305.

consequences in all three situations, either by²⁵² causing accidents, by making earnings impossible, or by putting human lives at risk, the legitimacy of the blocking needs to be critically examined, especially if the payment has only been overdue for a very short period of time. Some of these concerns can be addressed by technical safeguards as the devices can be designed so that they do not block cars while they are currently being driven, and all creditors can be given a certain number of one-off codes to manually override the devices so that they effectively enjoy a period of grace.²⁵³ In fact, such modifications are increasingly incorporated into the best practice guidelines of the industry. Technical safeguards, however, cannot entirely replace legal value judgments, at least when the respective conflict is of a situational nature. Thus, the author signifies two questions in relation to it without further addressing the issue: *"But how can the law claim precedence over technological code in order to safeguard public policy considerations? By what means can it override that code?"*

2.3.3.The rule of code

Blockchain code, like the law, not only modifies the individual behavior directly, but it also does so indirectly; it conditions other modalities, which in turn, condition it, thus making it essential to understand that dynamics between code embedded with the technology and law in order to able to soundly regulate blockchain. In this regard, one of the approaches that is often propounded is *"the rule of code"*²⁵⁵, which views blockchain as a new form of law based on the code that runs on the blockchain network. This approach is often attributed to Lessig, who refers to the architecture of the Internet and its potential to impose certain regulatory effects on Internet users: by weighing certain value principles, that architecture sets the terms on which the Internet can be used and thereby defines what is possible in that space.²⁵⁶ Lessig explored the implications of the computer code on the values of the rule of law, democracy, privacy, and freedom in the digital age.²⁵⁷ Some of the proponents of this approach in the blockchain domain

²⁵⁵ De Filippi and Wright (n 134).

²⁵⁶ Lawrence Lessig, Code Version 2.0 (Basic Books 2006)
 ">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer>">https://

²⁵² ibid.

²⁵³ Florian Möslein, 'Legal Boundaries of Blockchain Technologies: Smart Contracts as Self-Help?' in Alberto De Franceschi and Reiner Schulze (eds), *Digital Revolution–New Challenges for Law* (C.H. Beck and Nomos 2019) 331.

²⁵⁴ Florian Möslein, 'Conflicts of Laws and Codes: Defining the Boundaries of Digital Jurisdictions' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019) 275-288.

are Hassan²⁵⁸ and De Filippi²⁵⁹, who analyzed the challenges and opportunities of the rule of code for the legal system in the era of blockchain. Though these proponents discuss the potential benefits, challenges, and risks of the rule of code approach for the legal system, they fail to investigate how the blockchain, or its code, can be shaped 'legitimately' to deal with the potential challenges and risks.

In this regard, Möslein in his paper 'Conflicts of Laws and Codes'²⁶⁰, raises the question, "*can law, or at least private law, effectively be substituted in its entirety by the blockchain?*". The functional similarities of code and law, and of digital and legal jurisdiction, may indeed seem increasingly striking due to the advances in blockchain technology; however, the actual concern should be that, in substance, both sets of rules are, by no means, necessarily congruent as they may lead to different substantive results.²⁶¹ Conflicts arise whenever technologically codified rules differ from the applicable legal rules or whenever both sets of rules, even if their substance agrees in principle, are applied in different ways. Therefore, the two equations seem to be misleading in both cases: "*instead of 'code is law' or 'law is code', the accurate identifier would rather be 'code vs. law'*".²⁶² Further related question could be - "*what happens then whenever code and law conflict with each other? how can situations be handled 'when code isn't law'*"²⁶³

Though most of the literature advances that blockchain technologies increasingly provide for alternative digital mechanisms of contract enforcement, but there is a huge gap in understanding their relation to the legal sphere. Thus, "*the challenge consists in identifying the boundaries of those digital jurisdictions and in developing some new sort of conflict of law principles or, rather, principles for conflicts between laws and codes*"²⁶⁴.

²⁵⁸ Hassan and De Filippi (n 89); De Filippi and Hassan (n 108).

²⁵⁹ De Filippi, Mannan and Reijers, 'Blockchain Technology and the Rule of Code: Regulation via Governance' (n 94).

²⁶⁰ Möslein, 'Conflicts of Laws and Codes: Defining the Boundaries of Digital Jurisdictions' (n 254) 279.

²⁶¹ ibid.

²⁶² Graham Greenleaf, 'An Endnote on Regulating Cyberspace: Architecture vs Law?' in David S Wall (ed) *Cyberspace Crime* (Routledge 2003).

²⁶³ Tim Wu, 'When Code Isn't Law' (2003) 89 Virginia Law Review 679, 707.

²⁶⁴ Möslein, 'Conflicts of Law and Codes: Defining the Boundaries of Digital Jurisdictions' (n 254) 275.

2.3.4. Architecture of Trust

Another way to approach the shaping of blockchain is to perceive it from the framework of "new architecture of trust" developed by Werbach²⁶⁵; he explores how the blockchain can create a new kind of trust in the digital world. He argues that trust is not eliminated by the blockchain, but rather transformed into a different form and proposes a framework for understanding and regulating blockchain based on four modes of trust: peer-to-peer, Leviathan, intermediary, and distributed. According to him, peer-to-peer trust relies on direct interactions and social norms, while Leviathan trust depends on the authority and legitimacy of a central entity; intermediary trust involves a third party that facilitates transactions and ensures compliance, while distributed trust emerges from a network of nodes that follow a common protocol and verify each other.²⁶⁶ However, blockchain architecture, 'just how it is now', enables peer-to-peer and distributed trust while challenging Leviathan and intermediary trust by creating a shared and secure record of transactions that is verified by the network participants, thus creating a gap within the artifact to be said to have a 'legitimate' architecture. Supporting these thoughts, I would agree with the observation that "while it might seem that smart contracts and decentralized organizations could take away many of the functions of law and governments, the mainstream deployment of blockchain-based application is unlikely to eliminate the role of these centralized institutions. Rather, it may shift the balance between law and architecture, requiring alternative regulatory mechanisms to successfully manage society"²⁶⁷.

Moreover, due to the blockchain being not controlled by a single well-defined entity, together with the extreme fragmentation of the nodes of the network, it becomes difficult for the traditional legal systems to directly regulate the architecture.²⁶⁸ While "*there will be fewer chokepoints to guide and assist the flow of data, making it difficult for governments to control and regulate*"²⁶⁹, De Filippi and Wright realized that "*even in a world dominated by decentralized data and organizations, the powerful intermediary will still remain*".²⁷⁰ They

²⁶⁵ Werbach, *The Blockchain and the New Architecture of Trust* (n 62).

²⁶⁶ ibid.

²⁶⁷ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 51.

²⁶⁸ Möslein, 'Legal Boundaries of Blokchain Technologies: Smart Contracts as Self-Help?' (n 253) 333-335.

²⁶⁹ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 19.

²⁷⁰ ibid 51.

illustrated a series of "draconian measures" 271 that States and governmental entities might resort to, if threatened, aimed at regulating the emerging online environment and maintaining control and authority over the blockchain habitat. Firstly, they suggested pressuring ISP to block encrypted data flowing through their networks, effectively halting any transmission related to or from decentralized organizations. Secondly, they proposed enacting regulations mandating online intermediaries, like search engines, to refrain from 'intentionally' indexing blockchain-based applications, thus driving such technology towards unregulatable 'dark' markets. Thirdly, they warned of attempts by centralized authorities to stifle illegal blockchainbased entities by prosecuting software developers or users associated with them. Fourthly, they discussed exerting pressure on hardware manufacturers, compelling them to modify their products intentionally, either by breaking encryption capabilities or incorporating tracking measures, to prevent certain uses. They acknowledged that these actions would constitute a significant abuse of governmental power and would likely impede the economic benefits offered by permissionless blockchain technology.272 By imposing restrictions on software developers, governments would essentially dictate the code they are permitted to program. Similarly, laws mandating the production of compromised hardware to thwart encryption would infringe upon basic human rights by limiting citizens' ability to safeguard their privacy. Consequently, the implementation of blockchain technology in this particular manner could potentially mirror the trajectory of the original internet, initially celebrated as a symbol of individual freedom and empowerment but now serving as a tool for surveillance and control alongside its facilitation of free speech.

Möslein argues that even if public authorities decide to deprive a smart contract of legal validity, thereby removing the guarantee of its enforcement before a court of law, this will not discourage the use of the technology by individual users.²⁷³ Rather, the enforcement of the contract would be ensured by the very same code by which it was enacted. Once signed, a smart contract seeks to fulfill the terms and conditions it contains because the parties, in their contractual autonomy, have previously decided to forfeit the guarantee supplied by the legal order. Therefore, the main regulatory tool in the case of blockchain is considered to be the

²⁷¹ ibid.

²⁷² ibid.

²⁷³ Möslein, 'Legal Boundaries of Blokchain Technologies: Smart Contracts as Self-Help?' (n 253) 336-337.

underlying technological architecture: What has the system been programmed to do, and what is the purpose behind the programming? What kind of information will it receive and verify?

Some of these questions are answered at different functional levels. This forecasts two points: first, the interaction between law and architecture can be adversarial: when architecture promotes a value that conflicts with those espoused by the law, the latter may accept or reject it, and second, the greater the decentralization of the architecture, the less effective the government's power to regulate: regulating open-source software is far more difficult than regulating proprietary software.²⁷⁴ As a result, much of the regulation has to be baked into the architecture of the system. Consequently, a *lex cryptographica* emerges from this, where the 'figure' has to develop norms that will be embedded into the programs, that is applications, code scripts, or smart contracts, they develop on the blockchain. In such a situation, public authorities could seek to impose behavioral obligations on the physical persons behind the terminal, but given the obvious enforcement difficulties, the blockchain system could decide to refuse them *en bloc*.²⁷⁵

However, before imposing any obligations on the individuals responsible for the blockchain technology, it is important to identify such a 'physical person' since there is "*no single party that can affect the execution of the code*"²⁷⁶ embedded in the blockchain. In line with this thought, De Filippi and Wright raised the most fundamental question: "*How can the law determine who is in charge of and who is responsible for the activities of these new organizations*?"²⁷⁷ To answer this question, they proposed, firstly, the adoption of "*the nearest person theory*" and assumed that "*the creator of a decentralized autonomous organization should be held jointly liable for any foreseeable damages it might cause under product liability law*".²⁷⁸ This response presupposes that it is always possible to pinpoint the creators of a DAO. However, such an organization might actually be formed by numerous anonymous individuals, potentially numbering in the hundreds or even thousands, or by other DAOs. Secondly, they recommended that "*the users of a decentralized autonomous organization should be held vicariously liable for the services they are paying for if they in some way can control and*

²⁷⁴ Lessig, 'The Law of the Horse: What Cyber Law Might Teach' (n 44) 507-518.

²⁷⁵ Möslein 'Conflicts of Law and Codes: Defining the Boundaries of Digital Jurisdictions' (n 254) 283-284.

²⁷⁶ Hassan and De Filippi (n 89) 2.

²⁷⁷ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 55.

²⁷⁸ ibid.

receive direct or indirect financial benefit from the decentralized autonomous organization's operation"²⁷⁹ However, imposing responsibility on users raises concerns about causation. It would be unjust to attribute liability to a user for actions of a third party that the user was unaware of or had no valid grounds to anticipate might result in harm to another individual. Thirdly, they suggested that "the decentralized autonomous organization itself should be held liable for its own misdemeanors".²⁸⁰ Considering the characteristics of blockchain-enabled smart contracts, it is exceedingly challenging to seek compensation or secure an injunction against a DAO unless such provisions have been explicitly incorporated into the contract or the organizational framework of the DAOs. Furthermore, recognizing the inherent difficulty in shutting down decentralized organizations, where the efficacy of laws directly prohibiting certain online activities may diminish, it can be deduced that "unless these organizations have been designed to cooperate with the regulatory framework in which they operate, states and regulators might actually lose their ability to regulate them by relying exclusively on the law. To regulate society, laws may need to be directly embedded into code, or laws may need to shape social norms, structure markets, and influence architectural design in order to incentivize the proper deployment of decentralized organizations."281

2.3.5.By design approach

A fairly recent approach that has gained momentum in filling the gaps of the technological artifact and shaping the technology in compliance and adherence to the law is the 'by-design' methodology. In contemporary scholarship, the 'by design' concept is positioned at the intersection of law, philosophy, and technology. It is developed through two notions: 'value-sensitive design' and 'compliance by design.' The 'value sensitive design'²⁸² approach acknowledges that by embedding particular values into a system, architectural design choices can create opportunities or barriers for specific social and political viewpoints. In the case of the 'compliance by design' approach²⁸³, legal norms are applied straightforwardly through the

²⁷⁹ ibid.

²⁸⁰ ibid.

²⁸¹ ibid 55, 56.

²⁸² Batya Friedman, 'Value-Sensitive Design' (1996) 3 interactions 16.

²⁸³ Pompeu Casanovasabc, Jorge González-Conejeroc and Louis de Kokerab, 'Legal Compliance by Design (LCbD) and through Design (LCtD): Preliminary Survey' (2049 CEUR Workshop Proceedings, 1st Workshop on Technologies for Regulatory Compliance (TERECOM 2017), Luxembourg, 13 December 2017) https://ddd.uab.cat/record/189386> accessed 6 October 2024.

design of socio-technical systems. This approach concentrates on techno-regulation by law with the thought that it will improve the methods of transferring norms between domains. Extending these concepts, Hildebrandt speaks of 'legal protection by design,'²⁸⁴ wherein fundamental values are considered in the design processes and technologies, particularly concerning transparency and contestability of design features.

Lessig views that "to regulate a new technology is not a technocratic operation: it requires the active defense of a positive choice of values between those embedded in the different practices involved in the emergence of this new technology".²⁸⁵ Therefore, when discussing the future of technology law, Nemitz²⁸⁶ and Hildebrandt²⁸⁷ refer to democratic principles, the rule of law, and human rights by design. Ultimately what matters is not 'only' compliance with the law but the kinds of constitutional safeguards that it affords, regardless of the substantive content of its rules.

This approach does not warrant the implementation of legal norms but puts a spotlight on the issue of legal protection by addressing that the legal values are not winnowed out from the technological environment, which is essential for diagnosing whether democratic values have been ingrained into the architecture. This provides the opportunity to appraise and afford a benchmark that is considered legitimate and that can be channeled into the production of digital artifacts. It also steers us to take a pragmatic view of code embedded in the blockchain – about its development, production, and intended function. As such, I would agree to the view of Crepaldi who advocates for this approach implicitly when he concludes that "*the study of the method and the design of meta-rules (code rules) for blockchains*" ²⁸⁸ is a necessity.

Though the 'by-design' approach has been used to study the infrastructure of 'technology' solely and has yet to be employed for the architecture of blockchain specifically, this approach can be drawn in to comprehend and tweak the blockchain technical fortress in order to shape

²⁸⁴ Mireille Hildebrandt, 'The Public (s) Onlife: A Call For Legal Protection by Design' in Luciano Floridi (ed), *The Onlife Manifesto: Being Human in a Hyperconnected Era* (Springer 2015) 181.

²⁸⁵ Lessig, Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace (n 201) 239; Lessig, Code Version 2.0 (n 256) 345.

²⁸⁶ Paul Nemitz, 'Democracy Through Law - The Transatlantic Reflection Group and Its Manifesto in Defence of Democracy and the Rule of Law in the Age of "Artificial Intelligence" (2021) 29 European Law Journal 237.

²⁸⁷ Hildebrandt, 'The Public (s) Onli Fe: A Call For Legal Protection by Design' (n 284).

²⁸⁸ Marco Crepaldi, 'Why Blockchains Need the Law: Secondary Rules as the Missing Piece of Blockchain Governance' (17th International Conference on Artificial Intelligence and Law (ICAIL '19), 2019) https://doi.org/10.1145/3322640.3328780 189- 193.

the technology 'legitimately', by determining what design choices the 'figure' makes and the purpose behind the design choices from the outset. This approach flags questions such as 'How does the blockchain code enable and constrain an individual's behavior?'

2.4. Blockchain from the rule of law perspective

From the aforesaid discussions on the features of the technology and its normative implications on society and law, it can be well comprehended why blockchain technology is being pushed as a revolutionary idea. If blockchain technology is able to realize its anticipated potential partially, then it would find its deployment in many key infrastructures, ranging from property records to payment to voting systems, enabling our most fundamental social infrastructure, which is the rule of law.²⁸⁹ Specifically, in the developing regions of the world where governments are, in principle, the main providers of public goods, including justice, security, health, and education, there is often a deficit of trust owing to corruption, nepotism, and the notorious lack of resources.²⁹⁰ These governments will, in fact, be among the 'key users' of the new technology as blockchains eliminate the necessity to place personal confidence in a certain intermediary, leading to improving the efficiency of the government and restoring public trust in the administration of legal institutions.²⁹¹

While much of the literature on blockchain either highlights the potential of this technology in democratic e-governance and delivery of public services or focuses on the effects that the code embedded in the blockchain has introduced in the law of contracts and on models of governance architecture²⁹², there are not enough scholarly works on the multi-faceted relationship between the rule of law and blockchain, which advances the function of law as an enabler to promote blockchain from 'the rule of law' perspective. Therefore, now, I will present the opportunities

²⁸⁹ Angela Walch, 'The Bitcoin Blockchain as Financial Market Infrastructure: A Consideration of Operational Risk' (2015)18 NYU Journal of Legislation & Public Policy 837.

 ²⁹⁰ Alexander Wilhelm, 'Rule of Law 4.0: Blockchain Technology and the Development of Legal Institutions in Africa' (2019)
 SSRN Electronic Journal 9, 10 < http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3481982> accessed 15 October 2024.

²⁹¹ Raúl Zambrano, Ruhiya K Seward and Phet Sayo, 'Unpacking the Disruptive Potential of Blockchain Technology for Human Development' (2017) IDRC White Paper 34 < https://idl-bncidrc.dspacedirect.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/d3b90b9f-3b6f-43f7-898a-acab22228c89/content> accessed 6 October 2024; Jamie Berryhill, Théo Bourgery and Angela Hanson, 'Blockchains Unchained: Blockchain Technology and Its Use in the Public Sector' (2018) 28 OECD Working Papers on Public Governance https://doi.org/10.1787/3c32c429-en> accessed 6 October 2024; October 2024.

²⁹² De Filippi and Wright (n 134).

for employing blockchain for the purposes of upholding the rule of law and risks incurred to the rule of law values due to this technology, as well as the impact of *lex cryptographica* on the fundamental rights of individuals, which is a vital facet of the rule of law philosophy. This is necessary to comprehend the state of the art of the blockchain from the rule of law perspective so as to facilitate framing of research questions and understanding the critical aspect of this dissertation: 'why' this study has been conducted.

2.4.1.Opportunities and risks for the rule of law

Sociologists have long recognized the potential for technological architecture to influence the social landscape, albeit in ways that are often less conspicuous than traditional methods²⁹³ of public policy implementation.²⁹⁴ As such, Hildebrandt envisioned that "*the intelligent technology is to be employed by well-meaning governments to rid us of the plethora of harmful by-products associated with contemporary industrialized life*".²⁹⁵ Therefore, as a technological solution to fulfill the global commitment of strengthening the rule of law-based society, technologists advocate that blockchain, due to its potential in the area of data integrity, data quality, transparency, and efficiency, can assist in realizing a utopian framework encompassing freedom, equality, fraternity, and world peace.²⁹⁶ Blockchain has been widely used for cryptocurrencies, such as Bitcoin, but it also has many other potential applications in various fields and sectors. Its industrial usability, as well as its capacity to surpass humans in key sectors, seems to have become a new phenomenon.²⁹⁷ Given that data storage and processing is decentralized and distributed, blockchain technology finds immense use in applications related to human rights such as humanitarian aid, human trafficking supply-chain management, logistics, land properties, electricity, government payments, and smart contracts since the

²⁹³ Regulatory literature primarily emphasized efforts to advance social policy objectives by modifying individual behavior. This has predominantly been achieved through conventional policy tools such as directives, market forces, information dissemination, and fostering agreement, all aimed at altering the external factors affecting individual choices.

²⁹⁴ Christopher Hood and Helen Margetts, *The Tools of Government in the Digital Age* (Bloomsbury Publishing 2007).

²⁹⁵ Hildebrandt, 'A Vision of Ambient Law' (n 132) 175.

²⁹⁶ Marjolein Busstra, 'Designing for Good: Blockchain Technology and Human Rights' (2020) Intergovernmental Organisations In-house Counsel Journal 31; Kobina Hughes, 'Blockchain, the Greater Good, and Human and Civil Rights' (2017) 48 Metaphilosophy 654.

²⁹⁷ Yong Chen and others., 'Applications of Blockchain in Industry 4.0: A Review' (2022) Information Systems Frontiers < https://doi.org/10.1007/s10796-022-10248-7> accessed 6 October 2024.

different actors involved in each process would benefit from the distributed ledger.²⁹⁸ Similarly, blockchain's data processing efficiency and data security features make it eminently suitable for social control of elections and document maintenance and control and regulation of processes relating to public administration.²⁹⁹

The prime motive for introducing blockchain-based applications is to ensure that public officials do not manipulate the distribution of public resources. Other important considerations are reducing the cost of operation, eliminating fraud, and ensuring error-free, transparent transactions between government agencies and citizens. For example, a blockchain-based secure land registry or a public procurement system provides citizens with their rightful share of public resources and entitlements without bureaucratic hassles. Applying blockchain technology in public services also improves data storage and processing, leading to smart contracts and eliminating bureaucratic processes.³⁰⁰ Additionally, the technology has the capability to enhance transparency, accountability, and participation in democratic processes and institutions by facilitating secure and verifiable voting systems, which can prevent fraud, manipulation, and coercion and increase voter turnout and confidence.³⁰¹ Blockchain also enables decentralized and participatory governance models, such as liquid democracy, which can allow citizens to delegate their votes to others or vote directly on issues according to their preferences and expertise.³⁰² It can support civil society and social movements by providing platforms for fundraising, organizing, and campaigning without the need for intermediaries or censorship.³⁰³

The technology's embryonic development in the area of the rule of law facilitates the protection and promotion of human rights, especially the right to privacy, freedom of expression, and

²⁹⁸ Svein Ølnes and Arild Jansen, 'Blockchain Technology as Infrastructure in Public Sector: An Analytical Framework' (19th Annual International Conference on Digital Government Research: Governance in the Data Age, 2018) Article 77, 1–10 < https://doi.org/10.1145/3209281.3209293> accessed 6 October 2024.

²⁹⁹ Berryhill, Bourgery and Hanson (n 291).

³⁰⁰ Christopher G Reddick, Gabriel Purón Cid and Sukumar Ganapati, 'Determinants of Blockchain Adoption in the Public Sector: An Empirical Examination' (2019) 24 Information Polity 379.

³⁰¹ Florence G'sell and Florian Martin-Bariteau, 'The Impact of Blockchains for Human Rights, Democracy, and the Rule of Law' (2022) Council of Europe; Hughes (n 296); Ana Mercedes Lopez Rodriguez, 'Blockchain and Its Impact on Human Rights' in Ana Mercedes Lopez Rodriguez, Michael D Green and Maria Lubomira Kubica (eds), *Legal Challenges in the New Digital Age* (Brill Nijhoff 2021).

³⁰² Rodriguez (n 301); G'sell and Martin-Bariteau (n 301).

³⁰³ Hughes (n 296); G'sell and Martin-Bariteau (n 301).

access to information.³⁰⁴ This technology can provide a secure and anonymous way of storing and sharing personal and sensitive data without the risk of surveillance, hacking, or identity theft by creating self-sovereign identities with blockchain.³⁰⁵ Using unique biometric information such as fingerprint and iris scans diminishes the importance of physical identity documents. Since an individual would be able to prove his or her identity with the information on a blockchain, employers cannot exploit the victims by confiscating the physical document. Thus, the exploitative value of physical documents ceases to have any meaning. In fact, the need for a physical document can be dispensed with by creating a 'virtual identity' on the blockchain. The immutability of the blockchain also makes it nearly impossible to forge identification details, for example, to transport victims over borders illegally, and reduces the vulnerability of the refugees who are without any physical documents to trafficking.³⁰⁶ When identification details are stored in a distributed and immutable ledger on the blockchain, human trafficking will be traceable and preventable and will also increase the probability of prosecuting the traffickers.³⁰⁷ By creating a self-sovereign identity, the individual is empowered to control how much, when, and with whom to share his or her personal identification data. With self-sovereign designs built on blockchain technology, the role of intermediaries and centralized databases is done away with, and self-controlled peer-to-peer data sharing is possible.³⁰⁸ However, issues with respect to the privacy of a person must be addressed. Moreover, how the principles of the 'right to be forgotten' can be incorporated into the design of a self-sovereign identity system built around an immutable blockchain structure must be addressed since the technology freezes all the information that has entered into it.

Blockchain can also enable the creation and distribution of uncensorable and unalterable content, such as journalism, activism, and art, which can challenge the status quo and expose human rights violations.³⁰⁹ One example of this is the Uyghur Pulse project, which aims to use

³⁰⁴ Rodriguez (n 301); G'sell and Martin-Bariteau (n 301)

³⁰⁵ Grech, Sood and Ariño (n 185).

³⁰⁶ Elham Seyedsayamdost and Peter Vanderwal, 'From Good Governance to Governance for Good: Blockchain for Social Impact' (2020) 32 Journal of International Development 943.

³⁰⁷ '#Blockchain4Humanity: Use the Blockchain Technology to Help Combat Child Trafficking in Moldova. - Home' ">https://ideas.unite.

³⁰⁸ Michael Mainelli, 'Blockchain Will Help Us Prove Our Identities in a Digital World' (2017) Harvard Business Review, https://hbr.org/2017/03/blockchain-will-help-us-prove-our-identities-in-a-digital-world> accessed 06 October 2024.

³⁰⁹ Nicholas Nicoli, Soulla Louca, and Petros Iosifidis, 'Social Media, News Media, and the Democratic Deficit. Can the Blockchain Make a Difference?' (2022) 20 tripleC: Communication, Capitalism and Critique 2, 163

blockchain to preserve and share the cultural heritage and identity of the Uyghur people, who are facing persecution and oppression by the Chinese government in Xinjiang. This project allows users to upload and access various types of content, such as photos, videos, music, and stories, that reflect the Uyghur culture and history and such content is stored on a decentralized network that is resistant to censorship and manipulation.³¹⁰ Similarly, Bellingcat, which is an independent investigative journalism platform, uses open source and digital tools, including blockchain, to uncover and verify information about various topics, such as war crimes, corruption, and human rights abuses. This platform uses blockchain to ensure the authenticity and integrity of the evidence and data that it collects and publishes, as well as to protect the anonymity and security of its sources and contributors. Till now, Bellingcat has exposed and challenged many cases of misinformation and propaganda by the authorities and the media.³¹¹

Another application of this technology is the facilitation of the verification and documentation of human rights abuses, such as torture, trafficking, and genocide, by using digital evidence, such as photos, videos, and testimonies, that can be authenticated and preserved on the blockchain. One of the critical requirements of forensic investigations is that evidence is not modified while collecting, processing, or storing. In this context, blockchain provides a consensus and distributed network model for immutable data storage and processing capability in which the same cannot be altered once a record is created. Thus, a decentralized and 'detrusted' blockchain may be an effective solution to the problem of data loss and forgery observed in a centralized storage system. Since the data is stored in a network of dispersed computers and all transactions are updated with the timestamp in all the nodes on a real-time basis, it provides more reliable information for judicial examination.³¹² Since transactions are stored and verified in a distributed ledger via a consensus algorithm, blockchain can be applied to certify the authenticity and legitimacy of the procedures used to collect, process, and store electronic evidence. ³¹³ This would broadly address issues pertaining to trust, integrity, data security, and transparency. For digital forensics, a private blockchain can be put in place to

³¹⁰ Alice Ekman, 'China's Blockchain and Cryptocurrency Ambitions: The First-Mover Advantage'.(2021) European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS)

³¹¹ William Crumpler, 'The Human Rights Risks and Opportunities in Blockchain' (2021) https://www.csis.org/analysis/human-rights-risks-and-opportunities-blockchain accessed 06 October 2024.

 ³¹² Hong Wu and Guan Zheng, 'Electronic Evidence in the Blockchain Era: New Rules on Authenticity and Integrity' (2020)
 36 Computer Law & Security Review 105401 https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0267364920300066> accessed
 15 October 2024 .

³¹³ ibid.

ensure the integrity of evidence.³¹⁴ Expectedly, blockchain solutions are being applied for intrusion detection as well as forensic evidence gathering.³¹⁵

However, blockchain technology also entails some human rights risks and dilemmas, such as the potential for abuse, misuse, and harm, which will inherently hurt the rule of law since human rights cannot be protected without a strong rule of law as it is the implementation mechanism for human rights, turning them from principles to reality.³¹⁶ The technology can be used for malicious and criminal purposes, such as money laundering, terrorism, and cyberattacks, which can threaten the security and well-being of individuals and communities.³¹⁷ Such acts thus, negatively affect the rights of the individuals, which refers to the thick definition of the rule of law, that, according to Lord Bingham, embraces the entire code of rights contained in the European Convention on Human Rights, essentially on the ground that they are to be regarded as the basic entitlements of a human being.³¹⁸. Therefore, any abuse or harm to the human rights, was in fact a violation of the rule of law.

The Silk Road crypto-market case exemplifies how blockchain or cryptocurrency can be used for illegal purposes, such as the trafficking of human beings and drugs. The site not only allowed the purchase of merchandise (drugs) with cryptocurrency such as Bitcoin but also hid the internet user's identity.³¹⁹ Studies on the Silk Road crypto marketplace indicate the extent of its impact and the way it has entrenched into the sale and consumption of illegal and

³¹⁴ Auqib Hamid Lone and Roohie Naaz Mir, 'Forensic-Chain: Blockchain Based Digital Forensics Chain of Custody with PoC in Hyperledger Composer' (2019) 28 Digital Investigation 44; Zhihong Tian and others, 'Block-DEF: A Secure Digital Evidence Framework Using Blockchain' (2019) 491 Information Sciences 151.

³¹⁵ Sotirios Brotsis and others, 'Blockchain Solutions for Forensic Evidence Preservation in IoT Environments' (IEEE Conference on Network Softwarization (NetSoft), Paris, France 2019) doi: 10.1109/NETSOFT.2019.8806675.

³¹⁶ Anthony d'Amato, 'The concept of human rights in international law' in Michael K. Addo (ed), *International Law of Human Rights* (Routledge 2006) 21; Renald J Gutierrez, 'Democracy and the Rule of Law: Myth or Reality' (2009) 47 Duquesne Law Review 803.

³¹⁷ Rhianna Hamilton, Christian Leuprecht, "The Crime-Crypto Nexus: Nuancing Risk Across Crypto-Crime Transactions' in Doron Goldbarsht and Louis de Koker (eds), *Financial Crime and the Law. Ius Gentium: Comparative Perspectives on Law and Justice* (Springer 2024) https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-59543-1_2

³¹⁸ Lord Bingham, 'The Rule of Law' 66 The Cambridge Law Journal (2007) 67, 66-84.

³¹⁹ James Martin, 'Lost on the Silk Road: Online Drug Distribution and the 'cryptomarket" (2013) 14 Criminology and Criminal Justice 351.

prescription narcotics.³²⁰ Participants in illegal trades, inter alia narcotics, and human trafficking often prefer Silk Road because it allows the participant to remain anonymous and to protect their identity by using on-screen pseudonyms. Such anonymity reduces personal risks, stealthy product delivery, and the opportunity to develop personal connections with vendors using stealth modes of contact and forum activity.³²¹ Human traffickers also use such cryptocurrencies to settle financial transactions and to pay websites for online classified ads to lure victims. The US National Center for Missing and Exploited Children has said that the majority of child sex trafficking cases referred to them involve ads on Backpage.³²² In 2015, with an aim to stop this crime, the credit card companies stopped using their services on Backpage, leaving bitcoin as the only mode of payment.³²³

Cryptocurrency, thus, has become increasingly popular among transnational criminals due to its decentralized nature, anonymity, speed of transaction, ease of use, global outreach, and, above all, lack of adequate regulations. However, the immutable nature of the transaction and digital footprint may provide vital electronic evidence to law enforcement agencies, which might deter cybercriminals.³²⁴ Further, transnational criminal activities using cryptocurrency or blockchain can be decreased with the support of technology.³²⁵ Blockchain can be used, with public consultations and international organization cooperation, in supply chain management to curb, for example, modern-day slavery and violation of fundamental rights. In a supply chain, transparency, trackability, accountability, and integrity are the key ingredients, all of which can be addressed through blockchain. By deploying this technology, all transactions are

³²⁰ Marie Claire Van Hout and Tim Bingham, 'Responsible Vendors, Intelligent Consumers: Silk Road, the Online Revolution in Drug Trading', (2014) 25 International Journal of Drug Policy 183, https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0955395913001722>.

³²¹ ibid.

³²² Ellen Wulfhorst, 'U.S. Lawsuits Accuse Online Ad Site of Promoting Child Sex Trafficking' *Reuters* (8 February 2017) <https://www.reuters.com/article/usa-trafficking-lawsuits-idUSL1N1FS1EA> accessed 7 October 2024 ; Timothy Revell, 'AI Uses Bitcoin Trail to Find and Help Sex-Trafficking Victims' *New Scientist* (24 August 2017) <https://www.newscientist.com/article/2145355-ai-uses-bitcoin-trail-to-find-and-help-sex-trafficking-victims/> accessed 7 October 2024.

 ³²³ US Department of Justice Office of Public Affairs, 'FBI Announces Results of Nationwide Sex Trafficking Operation' (15
 August 2022) https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/fbi-announces-results-nationwide-sex-trafficking-operation accessed 7
 October 2024.

³²⁴ Manish Kumar, 'Applications of Blockchain in Digital Forensics and Forensics Readiness' in Yasmine Maleh and others (eds), *Blockchain for Cybersecurity and Privacy* (CRC Press 2020) 339.

³²⁵ Hamilton, and Leuprecht (n 317).

visible and can be tracked through the immutable ledger in real-time. This prevents fraud and errors and reduces the risk of data loss.³²⁶ The World Wildlife Fund (WWF) has successfully launched a project to combat modern-day slavery and human rights abuse in the fishing industry.³²⁷ While blockchain has the potential to tackle modern-day slavery within supply chains, this by itself is not an absolute panacea. It does not remove the need for proper due diligence and checks to ensure that the source data is legitimate.³²⁸ It relies on all parties' commitment to ethical practices and to ensure that there are no gaps in the source data provided to the blockchain.

In its entirety, all the above blockchain applications have an impact on the rule of law, whether it is being used for public services in the government administration or employed for the purposes of human rights. When the blockchain is used in government operations such as digital identity management, supply chain traceability, and voting systems, its main motivation is to improve transparency, efficiency, and accountability in such services.³²⁹ These applications can be said to facilitate upholding the rule of law by ensuring that the government processes are transparent and verifiable, reducing opportunities for corruption and arbitrary exercise of power by public officials. Similarly, when employed for the benefit of vulnerable populations or for securing the fundamental rights of individuals, it can be said there is an impact on the rule of law since the rule of law and human rights mutually reinforce each other, and the rule of law provides the foundation for the protection, promotion, and realization of human rights.³³⁰

³²⁶ 'Using Blockchain to Drive Supply Chain Transparency and Innovation' (*Deloitte*, June 2023) <<u>https://www2.deloitte.com/us/en/pages/operations/articles/blockchain-supply-chain-innovation.html></u> accessed 7 October 2024.

³²⁷ The World Wildlife Fund (WWF) in Australia, Fiji and New Zealand, in partnership with US-based software company ConsenSys, technology implementer TraSeable and tuna fishing and processing company Sea Quest Fiji Ltd, launched a pilot project in January using blockchain to track tuna 'from bait to plate'. The purpose of this project is to combat the modern slavery and human rights abuses that plague the fishing industry by recording the journey of each tuna fish to ensure that they are not sourced from illegal fishing boats prone to slave labour. Océane Boulais, 'Exploring Provenance of Tuna using Distributed Ledgers' (2019) Viral Communications 1.

³²⁸ Martijn Boersma and Justine Nolan, 'Can Blockchain Help Resolve Modern Slavery in Supply Chains?' (2020) 20 AIB Insights https://doi.org/10.46697/001c.13542> accessed 7 October 2024.

³²⁹ James Clavin and others, 'Blockchains for Government: Use Cases and Challenges' (2020) 1 Digital Government: Research and Practice 1.

³³⁰ 'Human Rights and the Rule of Law | UNODC' Acts 4 Rule of Law (February 2019) <http://www.act4ruleoflaw.org/en/news/humanrights> accessed 16 March 2024.

Though blockchain has a lot of potential for protecting and promoting the rule of law, it is also capable of transgressing legal obligations and being employed for malicious purposes. This is in line with – "while these systems might bring new promises of increased transparency and accountability if improperly governed, we might incur the risk of losing some of the basic tenets of a democratic society".³³¹ This implies that certain tenets of the rule of law, particularly accountability, transparency, legal certainty, and legitimacy, cannot be taken for granted. Therefore, a conscious and strategic choice must be taken to 'enforce or restrict certain user behavior' through the design and implementation of blockchain technology, such that it aligns with the values and principles of the rule of law.

2.4.2.Lex cryptographica and the rule of law

Blockchain is regulated by lex cryptographica, which are rules governed through 'selfexecuting' smart contracts and decentralized infrastructure. These rules dominate the rule of law within the blockchain artifact, which results in the subsistence of two environments, divergent from each other, drawing on the argument of Nozick and Nagel.³³² On the one side, there exists an environment outside the blockchain where the rule of law applies and on the other side, inside the blockchain, an environment persists where the lex cryptographica applies. In both these environments, the rule of law remains to be in application within the blockchain, and the *lex cryptographica* also has an influence outside the blockchain, however, as exceptions to the source. Nevertheless, as Schrepel³³³ noted, within the blockchain, the State conserves its monopoly to the extent that no other entity is challenging it but is no longer able to exercise it in all spaces.³³⁴ Due to the paucity of conventional application of the rule of law within the blockchain, there are questions regarding the degree of protection of fundamental rights by the rule of law outside the blockchain infrastructure. This ineffectiveness of the rule of law is offset by the emergence of the lex cryptographica environment, in which technology protects the fundamental rights and not the State. In that sense, the State is deprived of its cardinal function of protecting fundamental and human rights, particularly visible individual rights (e.g., freedom of opinion, right to privacy) and collective rights (e.g., freedom of press and freedom of association). This points to the issue of whether the technology has the competence to create

³³¹ De Filippi, 'Blockchain Technology and Decentralized Governance: The Pitfalls of a Trustless Dream' (n 72) 9.

³³² Nozick and Nagel (n 196).

³³³ Thibault Schrepel, 'Collusion by Blockchain and Smart Contracts' (2019) 33 Harvard Journal of Law & Technology 117.

³³⁴ Richard A Spinello, 'Code and Moral Values in Cyberspace' (2001) 3 Ethics and Information Technology 137.

an equivalency with the rule of law or State-imposed justice in the absence of it regarding the determination, regulation, and enforcement of the rules, as has been argued by Schrepel.³³⁵

According to the natural law theory³³⁶, certain fundamental rights pre-exist in the legislation, and when we take this analogy to the blockchain environment, it reflects that fundamental rights within the rule of law may also considered to subsist within the *lex cryptographica*. This approach can also be viewed as conforming to the legal positivism theory to the degree that the presence of fundamental rights under the rule of law may be transported to the blockchain environment. However, the blockchain environment 'as it is now' cannot be expected to determine legal standards and values, as can be envisaged under the rule of law environment. In other words, the *lex cryptographica* system does not allow for any 'one' fundamental right to be held superior to the others, which is in contradistinction to the rule of law environment, where centralized authorities and courts exist to regulate the supremacy of the law. This expresses the difference between the legal rules and values enforced by the rule of law and the "*cryptographic order*"³³⁷ produced by the *lex cryptographica*, which means that users can only implement their rights if the technology enables it.

It is tricky to identify the rights in the blockchain as 'fundamental rights' since the *lex cryptographica* significantly influences the competence to implement what is referred to as 'fundamental rights', making the entire analogy to the rule of law theories flawed. Subsequently, such an interface leads to the question regarding the enforcement of the rights with the *lex cryptographica*. This can be understood by taking the example of smart contracts utilized in the arbitration mechanisms, where the cryptographic rules allow for certain rights to be implemented by technically warranting that the transaction is accomplished with the predetermined amount being transferred 'in return' to the blockchain and with the addendum that in case of non-compliance by one of the parties, the amount would be automatically released.³³⁸ Such a blockchain application can be enforced to strengthen property rights, which is one of the fundamental rights. However, there is a lacuna in the blockchain artifact since the technology only allows protection of the rights of the users who are participants of the smart contract, and thus, in case of a third user inflicting damage, there is no mechanism to claim

³³⁵ Thibault Schrepel, 'Is Blockchain the Death of Antitrust Law? The Blockchain Antitrust Paradox' (2018) 3 Georgetown Law Technology Review 281.

³³⁶ Michael S Moore, 'A Natural Law Theory of Interpretation' (1985) 58 Southern California Law Review 277.

³³⁷ Potts, Rennie and Goldenfein (n 28).

³³⁸ Schrepel, 'Collusion by Blockchain and Smart Contracts' (n 333).

compensation as the identity of such a user is confidential. Moreover, within the blockchain environment, a user can claim compensation for wrongdoing but may not get the actual compensation without having those financial contributions already deposited in the smart contract.

Within the *lex cryptographica* system, when a network user publishes information on the blockchain in violation of the right to privacy of another user, causing harm to that user, it is neither possible to erase the information nor unveil the offender's identity. For example, even if photographs of a user are published in the blockchain environment without prior informed consent by a third party, causing the privacy of the user to be violated, these third-party violations cannot be easily punished within the *lex cryptographica* system. As such, the State fails to deliver justice in the blockchain environment, and hence, the scope of protection of the fundamental rights granted by the State in the technological system is questioned.

Therefore, when users decide to use blockchain, it formulates a new social contract where they concur on not receiving compensation or justice even if there is a violation of the fundamental rights by a third party. In a manner, blockchain shifts the State's duty of protecting the right to privacy to the citizens or the users themselves³³⁹, but at the same time, it obliterates the limits imposed on other rights by public authorities.³⁴⁰ However, safeguarding their right to privacy on the blockchain might become complicated for the users, since simply protecting in the online environment may be inadequate. This means that when the photographs of the user are published on the blockchain, the online environment interferes with the offline world, steering the users to protect themselves not only in the online environment but also in the offline world.

Here and now, users are unable to depart from the rule of law environment if they want to stay a member of the democratic society. To patch up the rule of law environment, they have the freedom of speech and expression, that is, to voice their opinion.³⁴¹ However, the *lex cryptographica* creates a new archetype where users are offered the choice of departing the rule of law, to an extent for a part of their activities, and entering the blockchain environment. In such an environment, the rights allowed by the technology are made 'almost' absolute, which

³³⁹ May (n 47).

³⁴⁰ Yoan Hermstrüwer, 'Blockchain and Public Administration' in Oreste Pollicino and Giovanni De Gregorio (eds) *Blockchain and Public Law* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2021).

³⁴¹ Albert O Hirschman, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*, vol 25 (Harvard University Press 1970).

results in generating friction between them, which connotes that under the lex cryptographica system, there is no balance, for instance, between the two fundamental rights, freedom of expression and right to privacy, can be achieved. A balance between these two fundamental rights can be attained by the implementation of the rule of law, where law could be enforced a posteriori to remedy the infringement of one of the rights. However, under the influence of lex cryptographica, the first user making use of its rights obtains a 'first-mover' advantage over the others. If the first user employs his or her freedom of expression against the second user, the information cannot be erased or deleted from the blockchain once it is published, regardless of whether the information infringes the right to privacy of the other user or not. Likewise, if the second user moves first to protect his or her privacy by using blockchain to interact in the online environment, the first user will be stripped of the information related to the identity, actions, and behavior of the second user and henceforth would not be able to exercise his or her freedom of expression against the second user. This is one of the reasons why blockchain is promoted since it provides protection against infringement of the users' right to privacy as compared to the rule of law environment. Therefore, there have been blockchain-enabled 'selfsovereign' identity services are being developed that empower users to control their identities and their data.342

Lex cryptographica system creates a new-found recognition of Rousseau's social contract with the desire for the rule of law, where the State cannot impose its monopoly of justice, and hence a new trade-off is proffered to the users. The users are provided a choice to utilize a blockchain application contingent on two factors that is one, which fundamental rights they desire the most, and second, infringement of which rights they are consenting to accept due to the lack of limitations on each of them. In the rule of law environments, the limitations vary depending on the situation and the decisions of the governments and central entities as to what they deem 'right'; but that is not the case in the blockchain environment, courtesy of the decentralized architecture of the technology where there is no central authority empowered to pursue changes to the *lex cryptographic* rules. As such, depending on the trust of the citizens in the State to protect their rights and establish a balance between the rights in the rule of law environment,

³⁴² Uwe Der, Stefan Jähnichen and Jan Sürmeli, 'Self-Sovereign Identity \$-\$ Opportunities and Challenges for the Digital Revolution' (2017) arXiv preprint arXiv:1712.01767; Wang and De Filippi (n 185); Dirk Van Bokkem and others, 'Self-Sovereign Identity Solutions: The Necessity of Blockchain Technology' (2019) arXiv preprint arXiv:1904.12816.

they may espouse to join the *lex cryptographica* system since the origin of blockchain is from an anti-State credo³⁴³ which vows to succeed where the State failed. ³⁴⁴

If the citizens choose to employ the blockchain, there may be certain trade-offs to be made between the protection of fundamental rights and the use of services offered by the technology. One can perceive this today also, when we as individuals are trading out our right to privacy in exchange for online services. Blockchain will take this praxis of trade-off and highlight its acceptance among the population. Since within the *lex cryptographica* system, the fundamental rights are of absolute in nature, which may cause, for example, the user's freedom of expression to infringe the rights of others, it will emphasize on the values that the users respect if they keep the services on the technology. Moreover, there is a direct link between the utility of the technology and its key features, such as pseudonymity or immutability, resulting in potential violations of fundamental rights. As such, the trade-off between fundamental rights and the utility derived from the services will become more visible.

Outside the blockchain environment, the rule of law regulates fundamental rights with certain limitations. In essence, it regulates an environment that is not considered apt for all individuals where some would prefer to employ absolute freedoms regardless of whether it causes significant harm to others. However, blockchain questions this model where some fundamental rights are guaranteed absolute power while others are left vulnerable. Therefore, "*if and when blockchain technology will manage to impregnate itself into the very fabric of society, some of today's legal, social and political institutions might need to accommodate new technological constructs operated by market forces and code-based rules"³⁴⁵, though, De Filippi did not go much in depth into this action box.*

Since the *lex cryptographica* system provides functionality to replace the core responsibilities of the State, that is, acting in accordance with the rule of law as a principle of governance mechanism, by the technology, which may not be acceptable to the State, there needs to be a 'schema' which would, to a certain extent would make the technology uphold the rule of law and be admissible by the State.

 ³⁴³ Eric Hughes, 'A Cypherpunk's Manifesto' (1993) < https://nakamotoinstitute.org/library/cypherpunk-manifesto/> accessed
 6 October 2024 .

³⁴⁴ Thibault Schrepel, 'Libra: A Concentrate of "Blockchain Antitrust" (2019) 118 Michigan Law Review Online 322–323.

³⁴⁵ De Filippi, 'Blockchain Technology and Decentralized Governance: The Pitfalls of a Trustless Dream' (n 72) 5.

2.5. Methodologies adopted

Boehme-Neßler argues that "trust and confidence are and will be of the essence for the good functioning of the rule of law".³⁴⁶ Since blockchain is being used for either public services, such as public procurement, identification management etc., or for the purposes of human rights, such as humanitarian aid relief or protecting the vulnerable population, it must uphold the rule of law principles. It can be gathered that the utilization of blockchain and smart contracts challenges key tenets of the rule of law, such as protecting fundamental rights like privacy and ensuring the effectiveness of checks and balances, such as robust judicial oversight.³⁴⁷ Though one may argue that human rights standards or public services legislation principles can also be used, however, the concept of the rule of law is grounded on the abstraction of the dignity of the individual and his ability to rationally explain for enlightened self-government. Such references to the rule of law are inscribed in various reputable international instruments. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed by the United Nation General Assembly in 1948, describes in its preamble that "it is essential that human rights should be protected by the rule of law".³⁴⁸ The Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (popularly known as the European Convention on Human Rights) was adopted in 1950 by "the governments of European countries which are like-minded and have a common heritage of political traditions, ideals, freedom and the rule of law".³⁴⁹ The Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union stated in Article 2 that "The Union is founded on the values of human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law, and respect for human rights, including rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, *justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail*³⁵⁰ Thus, there is a general agreement that the rule of law is a meaningful concept and a rather important one at that. Thus, the concept of the rule of law encompasses a wide range of principles, whether it is the principles of legality, transparency, accountability, the non-arbitrary exercise of power, or protection of the fundamental human rights of users - "the rule of law ensures that the

³⁴⁶ Volker Boehme-Neßler, 'Complexity Management: Reinventing Democracy', *Digitising Democracy: On Reinventing Democracy in the Digital Era-A Legal, Political and Psychological Perspective* (Springer 2020) 119.

³⁴⁷ Goossens (n 15) 78.

³⁴⁸ Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948.

³⁴⁹ European Convention on Human Rights 1950.

³⁵⁰ Article 2, Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union (2007) OJ C 202/1.

technology adheres to established legal frameworks, promoting fairness, transparency, and accountability as well as serves the public interest and respects individual rights"³⁵¹.

The potential impact, the technology has on a substantial number of individuals hinges on how and whether these technologies are embraced by people in the future.³⁵² With the blockchain influencing the 'traditional' social construction, the code embedded within the technology has an impact on our lives, not only enormously but also more effectively than what the law aims to achieve. Since code can potentially shape people's behavior in a democracy, its implications must be within the bounds of the rule of law. I argue that the technical attributes of blockchain technology may result in *crypto-legalism*, which typically portrays a sort of 'unthinking' rigid adherence to rules that are imposed on the users or individuals through codes, without any reflective consideration. In order to comprehensively understand how the behavior of a user is enabled and constrained by the code embedded in the blockchain, which is missing in the existing literatures, I intend to employ the various notions from the philosophical study of technology as well as the design theory to provide a perspective on this question focusing on the concepts of affordance, technological intentionality and technological mediation. This will facilitate in chalking out the characteristics of the code rules regulating the user behavior and whether these code rules are compatible with the rule of law.

Even though code is not law, it is prudent to be concerned about techno(code)-regulation similar to the conventional system because code as law must be evaluated by reflecting on the techno-regulation effects anent the freedom and individual autonomy in comparison to the balance affected by the rule of law. One of the rule of law standards is legal certainty, which is contrary to the domain of computational science "*where the idea of scientific certainty is absent and would be considered horrifying*"³⁵³; ergo, if a code that does not adhere to such values making it 'not legitimate', should not, in fact, be implemented. Essentially, the important thing is the legitimacy of code rules governing human behavior and the actual enforcement of these rules. In the context of automated decision-making, the operative computer programs should

³⁵¹ Gabriel N Toggenburg and Jonas Grimheden, 'The Rule of Law and the Role of Fundamental Rights: Seven Practical Pointers' in Carlos Closa and Dimitry Kochenov (eds), *Reinforcing Rule of Law Oversight in the European Union* (Cambridge University Press 2016) 147-171.

³⁵² Steve Woolgar and Geoff Cooper, 'Do Artefacts Have Ambivalence: Moses' Bridges, Winner's Bridges and Other Urban Legends in S&TS' (1999) 29 Social Studies of Science 433.

³⁵³ Bruno Latour, 'Scientific Objects and Legal Objectivity', in Allain Pottage and Matha Mundy (eds) *Law, Anthropology, and the Constitution of the Social: Making Persons and Things.* (Cambridge University Press 2004) 73-114.

be regarded as the law itself, not merely the written legislation.³⁵⁴ This is because the computer program directly controls the legal interactions between individuals and the State. Given the unparalleled efficiency of code in enforcing regulations, it is crucial that the 'figure' be obliged to *ex-ante* and *ex-post* rule of law standards that guarantee legitimacy and allow for contestability, similar to the responsibilities placed on the public legislators, since the code embedded within the technology is the manifestation of the intentions of the 'figure' who is responsible for developing the technology, and such intention can either be for the purposes of fostering the rule of law or circumventing it.

The 'figure' working with blockchain technology possess a unique opportunity to address human rights issues and bridge the digital gap.³⁵⁵ In addition to creating "*blockchain lite*" applications primarily focused on enhancing commerce and governance, the 'figure' can also opt for "*blockchain heavy*" applications explicitly aimed at safeguarding human rights, particularly in combatting corruption and electoral fraud. For instance, that applications for tracking economic aid through blockchain could help combat capital flight, a significant global challenge that hampers governance bodies' ability to uphold the fundamental human rights principle of the "*responsibility to protect*".³⁵⁶ Similarly, blockchain-based systems for recording births and deaths could offer an immediate solution for better documenting and tracing individuals, especially in contexts such as human trafficking, refugee crises, and electoral malpractice.

The rule of law may not ensure a perfectively just social order, but it certainly puts some restrictions on those who govern.³⁵⁷ The underlying principle is "*the rule of law is the fulcrum of normative legal orders*".³⁵⁸ It prevents arbitrary governance and, when conditions are met, demands responsible citizenship by respecting the law. With the ushering in of technology regulation, the base requires to be overhauled and its emphasis adjusted. However, its spirit

³⁵⁴ Andrew Le Sueur, 'Robot Government: Automated Decision-Making and Its Implications for Parliament' in Alexander Horne and Andrew Le Sueur (eds), *Parliament: Legislation and Accountability* (Hart Publishing 2016).

³⁵⁵ Hughes (n 296).

³⁵⁶ ibid.

³⁵⁷ Brownsword, 'In the Year 2061: From Law to Technological Management' (n 3).

³⁵⁸ Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4).

remains crucial, and in the context of technology regulation, laws authorizing technological use must be clearly defined and administered in accordance with their terms.³⁵⁹

Therefore, there is a need to design and implement the technology in accordance with the rule of law. While incorporating specific legal features 'by-design' is possible, applying the same to the rule of law is not forthright since it may not be feasible to automate multi-dimensional socio-legal requirements. Thus, the main research question arises: *can the rule of law shape, guide, and influence the design and implementation of blockchain technology in a legitimate manner*? This question pertains to design and, consequently, to the production of blockchain technology.

In order to frame the notion of the rule of law for the purposes of shaping the blockchain, I will utilize the conceptualization of legality and legalism, that is, the rule of law and the rule by law, in consonance with the legal-theoretical frameworks of Fuller's 'inner morality of law' and related legisprudential theories which lay down the rule of standards that the characteristics of the legal rules must possess. While legalism relies on the source of the law that is based on the will of the sovereign, legality adopts a more rational approach, and looks for substantiation of necessary prerequisites in a rule-making process. Legalism due to its rigid adherence to rules is at one extreme, while legality is positioned at the other extreme, and aims to align the normative construct of law with the principles that legitimize sovereign power in the rule of law environment.

The theoretical instruments such as Fullerian principles and legisprudential principles are conducive to shaping the *ex-ante* and *ex-post* evaluation of various normative rule-making processes, which is essential to examine in order to draw a parallel between the issues that undermine the legitimacy of legal rules and the issues that may be present in the privately programmed code. The idea is to incorporate their rule of law standards into the design phase as a means to address and reduce the 'illegitimacies' associated with the characteristics of the code embedded in the blockchain (*crypto-legalism*). Therefore, I will use the concept of the rule of law to examine and analyze the 'purpose' behind the blockchain to understand the influence, motivations, and aspirations of the 'figure' behind programming the conceptual notions into the technology and also whether the code rule embedded within the technology, written for the 'purpose' is valid and legitimate and what is the characteristics of such a code

 $^{^{359}}$ Brownsword, 'The Ideal of Legality and the Rule of Law' (n 5) .

rule and does it follow the rule of law procedural norms such as the principles of legality and legitimacy.

The Rule of Law Philosophy and design standards

This chapter will explore the concept of the rule of law philosophy - what is the rule of law for lawyers and what is the 'litmus test' for a good standard of the rule of law, that is, what characteristics constitute legitimate rule-making under the rule of law doctrine. The objective is to answer the question: *What are the standards and values of the rule of law and how do they guide the formulation of a 'legitimate' legal rule?* For this purpose, I will also lay down the conceptualization of the rule by law and the rule of law, which correlates with legalism and legality, in order to understand the requirements necessary for making a legal norm valid, lawful, and legitimate. Therefore, this analysis aims to establish a mutuality with the abstraction 'legitimacy of the rule of code' in order to pinpoint any 'illegitimacies' tied to the traits of the code ingrained in the blockchain. This will allow us to determine the certain rule of law standards and values that can be implemented in the blockchain realm to minimize these 'illegitimacies'. These standards will be employed to deduce whether the purpose behind the production of the blockchain or whether the conceptual code rules embedded in the artifact are indeed intended, aspired, and acted upon in accordance with such rule of law values.

3.1. The rule of law philosophy

Blockchain's technical attributes have led to a new normative order, that is, the *lex cryptographica*, thus giving way to the emergence of the new rule of code which has the potential to create another regulatory environment, co-existing in parallel with the rule of law such that to a certain extent, the *lex cryptographica* has a significant impact on the fundamental rights of the individuals. As such, there is a necessity to consider the re-factoring of the *lex cryptographica* framework based on the standards and values of the rule of law by comprehending and investigating the true purpose behind the code rules of the blockchain application as well as the validity and legitimacy of the characteristics of code governing human behavior and the actual enforcement of these rules, in order that the purpose behind the rule of code and the code rules themselves adhere to the rule of law values and standards.

Moreover, "the influence of the rule of law has to do, not with any essence of law, its fundamental values or its underlying foundations, but with its operation and the way it is performed".³⁶⁰ That is why the rule of law is a fabrique - "a delicately woven fabric that binds us together and a production of those bonds".³⁶¹ Since law has the power to intermingle everywhere, and connects everything such as persons, things, acts, and words, its "shallowness"³⁶² characteristics is one peculiar feature that adds up to its grandeur, and this is why the rule of law makes up for an instrument of significance to be employed to study the blockchain architecture. The rule of law is a dynamic concept, and a productive ingredient as has been established by its ability to adjust and afford a vocabulary sufficient to express and address the changing demands of different historical and political responsiveness while upholding its essential core. In order to underscore the multifaceted nature of the rule of law and its critical role in fostering stability, predictability, and fairness in society, this section delves into the concept of the rule of law, various interpretations, and critiques, followed by discussions on the meaning of 'legitimacy' within 'the rule of law' and associated legal theories.

3.1.1.A modern positive view

The rule of law is an implied philosophy of modern positive law. The expression 'the rule of law' is usually attributed to Professor Albert Venn Dicey, a constitutional theorist who taught at University of Oxford.³⁶³ Although the idea of 'the rule of law' has been traced back³⁶⁴ to Aristotle, who, in a modern English translation,³⁶⁵ refers to the rule of law, with the literal translation being - "*it is better for the law to rule than one of the citizens.... so even the guardians of the laws are obeying the laws*"³⁶⁶, the influence of Dicey's book was such that the concepts associated with the rule of law prevailed like never before.

Dicey explained the meaning of the rule of law as - "when we speak of the rule of law as a characteristic of our country, not only that with us no man is above the law but (which is a different thing) that here, every man, whatever be his rank or condition, is subject to the

³⁶⁰ Bruno Latour, The Making of Law: An Ethnography of the Conseil d'Etat (Polity 2010) 280.

³⁶¹ ibid.

³⁶² ibid.

³⁶³ Dicey introduced this phrase in 1885 in his book, 'An Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution'.

³⁶⁴ Brian Z Tamanaha, On the Rule of Law: History, Politics, Theory (Cambridge University Press 2004) 8.

³⁶⁵ John Warrington, Politics, and Athenian Constitution (JM Dent 1961) 97.

³⁶⁶Aristotle, *The Politics* (Ernest Barker tr, Oxford University Press 2009).

ordinary laws of the realm and amenable to the jurisdictions of the ordinary tribunal".³⁶⁷ Prior to Dicey, Fuller made a point that - "*be you never so high, the law is above you*".³⁶⁸ In a way, the rule of law envisages that no one is above the law, and all are subject to the same set of laws in the same jurisdictions.

Given that multiple divergent and contradictory concepts of the rule of law had been floated, Krygier provides a significant takeaway that can be found in every contemporary article - "*the rule of law now means so many different things to so many different people*"³⁶⁹, with Waldron further asserting how it is so "*essentially contested*".³⁷⁰ There is also a propensity to use the rule of law as a brief description of the positive facets of any given political system.³⁷¹ The principle of the rule of law "*is one of the ideals of our political morality, and it refers to the ascendency of law as such and of the institutions of the legal system in a system of governance*".³⁷² The rule of law is "*the name commonly given to the state of affairs in which a legal system is legally good in shape*".³⁷³ To quote Plato - "Where the law is subject to some other authority and has none of its own, the collapse of State, in my view, is not far off, but if the law is the master of government and the government its slave, then the situation is full of promise, and men enjoy all the blessings all the gods shower on a state".³⁷⁴ As a notion which gives rise to a "rampant divergence of understandings", the rule of law is extraordinarily elusive and analogous to the concept of the 'good' in the sense that "everyone is for it, but have contrasting convictions about what it is".³⁷⁵

³⁶⁷ Albert Venn Dicey, 'Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution: Introduction to the Eighth Edition (1915)', (2007) 13 Giornale Di Storia Costituzionale 171,193.

³⁶⁸ Thomas Fuller, *Gnomologia: Adagies and Proverbs; Wise Sentences and Witty Sayings, Ancient and Modern, Foreign and British*, vol 1 (B Barker 1732).

³⁶⁹ Martin Krygier, 'The Rule of Law: An Abuser's Guide' (2007) University of New South Wales Faculty of Law Research Series. Paper 4.

³⁷⁰ Jeremy Waldron, 'Is the Rule of Law an Essentially Contested Concept (in Florida)?' in Richard Bellamy (ed), *The Rule of Law and the Separation of Powers* (Routledge 2017) 117, 137.

³⁷¹ Joseph Raz, 'The Rule of Law and Its Virtue' in Richard Bellamy (ed), *The Rule of Law and the Separation of Powers* (Routledge 2017) 77, 210.

³⁷² Jeremy Waldron, 'The Rule of Law' (2016) in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <<u>https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2023/entries/rule-of-law/></u>.

³⁷³ John Finnis, Natural Law and Natural Rights (Oxford University Press 2011) 270.

³⁷⁴ John M Cooper and Douglas S Hutchinson, *Plato: Complete Works* (Hackett Publishing 1997) 1402.

³⁷⁵ Tamanaha (n 364) 3.

Considering that the aforementioned scholarly comments and opinions about the rule of law are seemingly quite diverse and even contrasting, it appeals to many to accede that the rule of law is too ambiguous and subjective to qualify as a meaningful expression. However, several judges have referred to the rule of law when delivering their judgments. Once, Lord Steyn, sitting in the House of Lords, said: *"the rule of law enforces minimum standards of fairness, both substantive and procedural"*.³⁷⁶ On another occasion, Lord Hoffmann said in the House of Lords that *"there is, however, another relevant principle which must exist in a democratic society. That is the rule of law"*.³⁷⁷

The rule of law enables modern societies to have a stable and transparent system to resolve conflicts between citizens within a community. It is called the 'rule', because in doubtful or unforeseen cases, it is a guide or norm for their decision.³⁷⁸ It is a teleological concept that ought to be appreciated based on its ideas and purposes, essentially, for how it is supposed to serve good. Thus, "*unless we seek first to clarify those purposes and reasons, and in their light, explore what would be needed to approach them, we are flying blind*".³⁷⁹ Further, the rule of law must not be merely considered as a tool for limitation, curbing, or constraints but rather as an apparatus to include further positive dimensions.³⁸⁰ As such, I posit that the rule of law can be perceived as a 'positive' instrument for defining the affordances that may guide and critique the development of the blockchain and assess the protection of the rule of law norms when deploying the technology for usage such that it remains within the perimeter of the rule of law to an extent, regardless of their intended commercial objective.

It can be generally noted that a notion of the rule of law is very significant for its potential to prevent the arbitrary use of power.³⁸¹ However, the fundamental basis of the rule of law has been misinterpreted and distorted in many countries and propagated to be tantamount to 'the rule by law' or 'rule by the law', or even 'law by the rules', which facilitated authoritarian

³⁷⁶ Merris Amos, 'R v Secretary of State for the Home Department, Ex p Anderson-Ending the Home Secretary's Sentencing Role' (2004) 67 Modern Law Review 108.

³⁷⁷ R (Alconbury Developments Ltd and Ors) v Secretary of State for the Environment, Transport and the Regions (2003) UKHL 2 AC 295, para.73.

³⁷⁸ Raz (n 371) 218.

³⁷⁹ Krygier, 'The Rule of Law: Pasts, Presents, and a Possible Future' (2016) 12 Annual Review of Law and Social Science 203.

³⁸⁰ ibid 199-229.

³⁸¹ Krygier, 'Four Puzzles about the Rule of Law: Why, What, Where? And Who Cares?' (2011), 64 Getting to the Rule of Law 89.

governments to enforce their totalitarian rules disregarding the intended meaning of the rule of law.³⁸² The subtle difference between the rule of law and the rule by law is that while the former is both an instrument of public policy and an instrument of protection, the latter is simply an instrument to achieve the goals of the stated public policy. The rule by law is a core determinant of legalism, bringing a contrast to the rule of law, which emphasizes the principle of legality coupled with legitimacy.³⁸³

The values of the rule of law are not absolute, but nevertheless, they are largely beneficial. The rule of law has typically been promoted as an important component of a solution to all sorts of problems, notwithstanding the fact that many contemporary rule of law intelligentsia and reformers too often start the other way around.³⁸⁴ Instead of starting with a solution that focuses 'on the end' rather than 'the means', it is prudent to start with the problem and determine a solution for the same. Therefore, as the focus is on power and its *modus operandi*, the rule of law, in a sense, becomes problematic by virtue of its potential for manipulation and exploitation and not for its mere existence. Yet, the rule of law in its right connotation is an integral part of any democratic society and the concept of the rule of law is invoked in a multitude of circumstances which can be differentiated according to varying conceptualization. In addition to the classical definition of the rule of law, it is also associated with multiple characteristics identified by Fuller.³⁸⁵

The endeavors to explain a taxonomy of the various notions of the rule of law which portray the present-day deliberations have led to the recognition of the "*thinner and thicker version of formal, substantive and procedural perspectives*".³⁸⁶ The distinction is often made between a thin and thick version, which is contingent upon the way conditions tilt towards formal or substantive. In the case of substantive conceptions, protecting liberty, equality as well as the fundamental rights, human rights, including social and cultural rights, are given more

³⁸² Serhiy Holovaty, *The Rule of Law* vol 1 (Phoenix Publishing House 2006) 214.

³⁸³ Under section 3.2, I will explore the concept of the rule of law and rule by law in depth to bring out the essence of legality and legalism and how it contrasts in legal forum. This exploration will find its meaning in deriving a parallelism with the rule of code characteristics.

³⁸⁴ Krygier, 'Four Puzzles about the Rule of Law: Why, What, Where? And Who Cares?' (n 381) 89.

³⁸⁵ Lon Luvois Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (1964).

³⁸⁶ Neil MacCormick, *Rhetoric and the Rule of Law: A Theory of Legal Reasoning* (Oxford University Press 2005); Jeremy Waldron, 'The Rule of Law and the Importance of Procedure' in James Fleming (ed), *Getting to the Rule of Law* (NYU Press 2011) 3.

weightage and considered as necessary components of the rule of law. In the case of the formal conceptions, the rule of law affords importance to the enacted laws and other formal requirements that can limit the legitimacy of legal rules³⁸⁷; it is a legal system constituted and enforced by the government institutions, typically distinguished by features such as clarity, foreseeability, non-contradictoriness, non-retroactivity, generality, and stability. The procedural conceptions, however, emphasize the roles performed by the judiciary and legal procedures in the law-making process, thereby shaping legal protection, where attention is on the right to dispute against the State³⁸⁸, and the procedural conditions that enable disputation and debate as crux to the rule of law.³⁸⁹ This conception of formal, procedural, and substantive formulation of the rule of law ought to be introduced into the blockchain architecture to develop an analogy between technology and the rule of the law environment in terms of both, first, building up a resonance between the rule of code embedded in the blockchain and the legal norms at the micro level, and second, prioritizing the substantive values of the rule of law at the macro level, that is the protection of fundamental rights and human rights when deploying the blockchain. The first aspect is about how the rule of code 'ought' to be programmed within the circumference of the rule of law, that is, does it conform to the formal requirements as well as procedural principles of the rule of law by which code norms 'ought' to be administered, such that the rule of code norms are legitimate; The second aspect answers what choices and decisions must the State deliberate upon when employing the blockchain for public purposes, to guarantee respect for human rights.

It is imperative to acknowledge that during recent years due to globalization and deregulation, there are international and transnational public actors as well as hybrid and private actors with great power over State authorities as well as private citizens. The rule of law doctrine can also be extended to the power exercised by the private stakeholders, especially in cases where the role of the private organizations has an impact on the public interests or individual rights. Therefore, the rule of law may also be applied to the 'figure' who has power concentrated in their hands to develop and deploy blockchain in order to avoid an 'unjust' arbitrary exercise of power which is more towards fulfilling the commercial objective and less towards protecting the ethos of the rule of law.

³⁸⁷ Luc J Wintgens, Legisprudence: A New Theoretical Approach to Legislation (Hart Publishing 2002).

³⁸⁸ Dicey (n 367).

³⁸⁹ Waldron, 'The Rule of Law and the Importance of Procedure' (n 386).

A notable aspect of the rule of law is that its significance becomes visible only "*in case of breach*".³⁹⁰ It functions as the mainstay of "*liberalism of fear*"³⁹¹, a term coined by Shklar. This means that the rule of law supports the notion that human beings should have the capability to make as many decisions as they can without any discrimination or bias, as long as these decisions are in sync with the liberties of other human beings.

The rule of law empowers citizens with crucial information and security and provides "*a basis for legitimate expressions*"³⁹², by facilitating them to gather information about each other, by coordinating their actions with them and providing certain security and predictability in their transactions. As the root source of information, security, and predictability, the rule of law could be the foundation of 'civil' relations between the State and its citizens and among citizens themselves. It provides the citizens with the necessary strength to rely upon the State, the law, without being suspicious or fearful.³⁹³ From this perspective, the positive accomplishment of the rule of law is not merely a legal outcome but a social one, meaning how the law affects subjects is more important than other considerations as everywhere with the rule of law. But as the gap between law in books and in actions is ever so often large, filled with different things in different places at different times, it is a matter of comparative social exploration and theorization to determine what might be best in particular societies.

Essentially, what people expect from the rule of law, and what it can provide through successful interpretation, is first, an acceptable shield against uncertainties, surprises, and the worst fears that are generated due to the arbitrary exercise of power, and second, adequate and commonly interpretable prompts which assists citizens to orient their behavior so as to interact with the fellow citizens with confidence and mutual understanding. Thus, the rule of law can act as an instrumental tool in the design and implementation the blockchain technology and its rule of code, which is capable of regulating individuals' behavior by constraining and allowing their actions, and hence, the research question arises: *can the rule of law shape, guide and influence the design and implementation of blockchain technology, in a legitimate manner*?

³⁹⁰ Arthur L Goodhart, 'The Nature of International Law' (1936) 22 Transactions of the Grotius Society 31 <<u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/742989></u> accessed 7 October 2024.

³⁹¹ Judith N Shklar, 'The Liberalism of Fear' in Nancy L Rosenblum (ed), *Liberalism and the Moral Life* (Harvard University Press 1989).

 ³⁹² Martin Krygier, 'The Rule of Law: Legality, Teleology, Sociology' in Gianluigi Palombella and Neil Walker (eds), *Relocating the Rule of Law* (Hart Publishers 2008).
 ³⁹³ ibid.

It is essential to recognize here that, while there are numerous conceptions (thin and thick) of the rule of law, I have primarily employed the thin conception of the rule of law. This framework enabled me to understand and examine the characteristics of legal rules and subsequently apply this knowledge to the domain of the rule of code, aiming to create a congruence between the two subjects. This approach is taken for the purposes of furthering the objective of my research and consequently, for addressing the research question. Another reason for factoring in the thin conception was due to the fact that a considerable number of existing literatures tend to focus on output (outcome)-based assessment of the technology, thereby creating a significant void when it comes to investigating the underlying rules that constitute the technological artifact.

My inquiry revolves around the premise that just as legal rules governing human behavior must comply with the substantive and formal procedural norms, the same requirement should be imposed on the technology that influences our behavior and conduct. It raises a critical question: why should the technological artifacts that govern us not adhere to the procedural standards, in addition to the material notions of the rule of law? This is why I have chosen to Fuller's principles of legality in conjunction with the legisprudential principles, as a foundation for my analysis.

I would also like to emphasize that utilizing these approaches plays a vital role in identifying as well as facilitating the integration of the key values of legal protection within the technological system. Fundamental human rights such as due process and freedom of autonomy are imperatives that must be addressed. Moreover, given my focus of research is on blockchain applications for humanitarian purposes and public administration purposes, material notions such as transparency, accountability and protection of human rights have been the linchpins of my thesis. Specifically, I provide illustrative examples to substantiate the *crypto-legalistic* characteristics that are at play in these code-driven technologies. Additionally, in order to not just focus on the formal aspects and have a panaromic understanding of the technology and its design choices, Chapter 9 has been formulated to guide State decisions in deciphering the purpose for which the technology is to be employed. This includes considerations regarding whether such technologies promote human rights or combat systemic corruption. That is, the motivation and aspirations for the implementation of the technology ought to be in compliance with the material notions, ensuring that the substantive standards or the thick notion of the rule of law are upheld in both design and application.

3.1.2. 'Legitimacy' in 'the rule of law'

Legitimacy encompasses a multitude of interpretations. Various actors within the international system, such as activists, academics, politicians, the press, judges, and bureaucrats, attribute different meanings to this word. The diversity of these meanings and the frequent usage of the word itself make it a challenging concept to categorize systematically. Having said so, legitimacy can be said to be a multidimensional social construct that can be justified on the grounds of "tradition, charisma and legality"394, and is ultimately determined by the subjectivity of the individuals³⁹⁵. Such man has, broadly defined it as "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions".³⁹⁶ In other words, legitimacy can be described as the property of a rule or rule-making institution that inherently encourages compliance from individuals who believe that the rule or institution was established and functions in alignment with widely accepted principles of right process.³⁹⁷ According to Franck, legitimacy relies on four essential attributes: determinacy (easily ascertainable normative content or transparency), symbolic validation (approval from authority), coherence (consistency or general applicability), and adherence (compliance within an organized hierarchy of rules).³⁹⁸ This suggests the existence of objectively verifiable criteria that aid in understanding why rules are followed and, consequently, why the system functions effectively.³⁹⁹ The internal features of law are central to its power to promote commitment since "law is about rules, about prescription, about normativity; in all conceptions, law is a normative enterprise, the rules prescribing what ought and ought not to be done".⁴⁰⁰

By conferring authority and acceptability upon the normative order, legitimacy sets a standard for assessing the relevance and acceptability of legal norms and practices within the broader

³⁹⁴ Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (Simon and Schuster 2009).

³⁹⁵ Mark C Suchman, 'Managing Legitimacy: Strategic and Institutional Approaches' (1995) 20 Academy of Management Review 571.

³⁹⁶ ibid 574.

³⁹⁷ Thomas M Franck, *The Power of Legitimacy among Nations* (1st edn, Oxford University Press 1990) 24.

³⁹⁸ ibid 26.

³⁹⁹ Thomas M Franck, Fairness in International Law and Institutions (Oxford University Press 1995) 26.

⁴⁰⁰ Brownsword, 'In the Year 2061: From Law to Technological Management' (n 3) 19.

political context. However, one cannot assume that what is *legal* is necessarily *legitimate*.⁴⁰¹ Therefore, a rule or entity that is legal but lacks legitimacy is unlikely to maintain its position over the long term.⁴⁰²

When the law is said to be 'legitimate', it means that it can generate fidelity to the rule of law itself and not merely to specific rules. To create 'legitimacy', Fuller's criteria of legality must also substantially be met. These criteria are essential for establishing norms that qualify as 'law'. However, merely meeting these criteria is not adequate to uphold the rule of law or specific legal rules, shared understandings and rules that meet the criteria of legality must also be consistently reinforced through a robust adherence to legality in practice, which becomes the core of 'legal' legitimacy. Hence, , legitimacy emphasizes the necessity of an inclusive practice that conforms the criteria of legality to establish and uphold legal norms.⁴⁰³ Such a perspective reveals the inherent weakness of many customary or treaty rules. This weakness does not stem from the lack of enforcement or other attributes of 'hard' law, but rather from a legitimacy deficit resulting from limited participation in norm development and insufficient attention to the requirements of legality.⁴⁰⁴ If a legal rule does not have a basis in shared understandings and only weakly or imperfectly aligns with the criteria of legality, it will not generate fidelity to the rule of law and will not be employed in determining appropriate behavior.⁴⁰⁵

The concept of 'legal' legitimacy can, thus, be understood as a characteristic of an action, rule, actor, or system that indicates a legal obligation to adhere to or support that action, rule, actor, or system. Legitimacy is often directly equated with legal validity, to the exclusion of questions of moral justifiability.⁴⁰⁶ It is recognized that legitimacy is particularly significant due to its inherent self-justification within a functioning legal system. Once something becomes legally legitimate, this creates a compelling reason for compliance, even in the face of conflicting

⁴⁰¹ David Dyzenhaus, *Legality and Legitimacy: Carl Schmitt, Hans Kelsen and Hermann Heller in Weimar* (Oxford University Press 1999).

⁴⁰² Malcolm N Shaw, International Law (8th edition, Cambridge University Press 2017) 46. 6

⁴⁰³ Jutta Brunnée and Stephen J Toope, *Legitimacy and Legality in International Law: An Interactional Account* (1st edn, Cambridge University Press 2010) 54.

⁴⁰⁴ ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ ibid 55.

⁴⁰⁶ David Beetham, *The Legitimation of Power* (Humanities Press International 1991) 4.

moral considerations.⁴⁰⁷ Therefore, questions of legal validity directly impact broader concepts of morality and order.

In the positivist tradition, exemplified notably by Kelsen and Hart, asserting that a law is legally valid means claiming that it was created in compliance with the correct legal procedure. According to Kelsen, the test for positive validity could be conducted recursively until a non-legal fundamental norm for a legal system, known as the 'Basic Norm (*Grundnorm*)', could be reached, for which authority is 'presupposed'.⁴⁰⁸ Kelsen articulated a 'principle of legitimacy', which pertained to the persistence of a norm's legal validity until its replacement or repeal in accordance with the legal order that produced it.⁴⁰⁹ He also made a firm distinction between the 'is' and the 'ought' of the law.⁴¹⁰ According to him, the 'is'-ness of the law is derived from one foundational 'Basic Norm'. This foundational norm cultivates a hierarchical structure of normative rules⁴¹¹, resembling a pyramid procedural structure where the validity of all legal rules which are derived from such systems are guaranteed by the 'Basic Norm'. He asserts that 'what law is' must be differentiated from "*what law ought to be (das richtige Recht)*".⁴¹² According to Kelsen, a principled assessment of the law is carried out by describing its normative content, considering the deductive reasoning that ascertains the interrelationships between various legal norms⁴¹³, thus emphasizing the systematic coherence of the legal order.

In contrast, for Hart, the validity of law was ultimately linked to a 'rule of recognition' as the rule of recognition is a social fact rather than a norm.⁴¹⁴ Hart has refrained from 'purely' normative statements and has defined the nature of law in terms of social interactions.⁴¹⁵ He defined primary legal rules as those that define which conducts are prescribed and permitted or which are proscribed, and secondary legal rules as those that specify the ability to identify, amend, or decide primary legal rules. His "*Ultimate Rule of Recognition*" is based on the

⁴⁰⁷ Joseph Raz, Practical Reason and Norms, vol 26 (Hutchinson 1975) 38-48.

⁴⁰⁸ Hans Kelsen, *General Theory of Law and State* (Routledge 2017) 110–122.

⁴⁰⁹ ibid 117–118.

⁴¹⁰ Hans Kelsen, General Theory of Norms (Oxford University Press 1991).

⁴¹¹ ibid.

⁴¹² ibid.

⁴¹³ Kelsen (n 408) 110–122.

⁴¹⁴ Hla Hart, *The Concept of Law* (Oxford University Press 1961) 100–110..

⁴¹⁵ Hart (n 414).

"internal aspects of legal rules"⁴¹⁶ wherein law is the *"union of primary and secondary rules*".⁴¹⁷ His 'concept of law' underscores law as a multifaceted system of social acceptance, explaining the interaction between regulative and constitutive rules⁴¹⁸ by defining primary and secondary rules.

In simple terms, for a positivist, a norm is considered legally legitimate if it is established and continues to exist in compliance with the appropriate legal procedures, where the correctness of these procedures ultimately stems from a basic norm or from societal consensus. Actions carried out in accordance with such norms can be regarded as having legitimacy.

Legitimacy has a "*specific, legal meaning*"⁴¹⁹, in international law scholarship, which goes beyond tests for validity.⁴²⁰ Drawing on Fuller's work, Brunnee and Toope develop an 'interactional account' of legitimacy in which adherence to eight criteria of legality (generality, promulgation, non-retroactivity, clarity, non-contradiction, not asking the impossible, constancy and congruence between rules and official action) "*produces a law that is legitimate in the eyes of the person to whom it is addressed*".⁴²¹ Adhering to the criteria of legality creates a sense of legitimacy by creating communities of practice, generating shared understandings and moral obligations to comply with the law. Additionally, fulfilling these criteria is considered morally valuable, reflecting a commitment to autonomous actor choices, diversity, and communication processes.⁴²² Franck has also highlighted the importance of considering how rules are formulated, interpreted, and implemented in addition to their properties, since "focus on the properties of rules... is not a self-sufficient account of the socialization process".⁴²³ Law comes into existence when norms that fulfill the criteria of legality are integrated into actual practice.⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁶ ibid 80.

⁴¹⁷ Hart (n 414), chapter 5.

⁴¹⁸ In Chapter 5, section 5.5, this aspect will be further discussed in the context of constitutive and regulative normativity in technological design.

⁴¹⁹ Brunnée and Toope (n 403) 54.

⁴²⁰ ibid 7.

⁴²¹ ibid 27.

⁴²² ibid 9 and 28–33.

⁴²³ Thomas M Franck, 'Legitimacy in the International System' (1988) 82 The American Journal of International Law 705, 712–713..

⁴²⁴ Brunnée and Toope (n 403) 100.

3.1.2.1. Bases of legitimacy

The bases of legitimacy pertains to the grounds on which the object is determined to be legitimate.⁴²⁵ The moral duty to adhere to a rule can be influenced by various factors that collectively or individually determine the validity of the rule such that it enhances or reduces the legitimacy of a given norm. These factors formulate the bases of legitimacy, which can be distinguished between first, procedural legitimacy, that is, the process through which the rule is established; second, substantive legitimacy, that is, the objectives it fulfils; and third, outcome legitimacy, the results it generates.⁴²⁶

Procedural legitimacy refers to the mechanisms through which power is granted and exercised.⁴²⁷ It emphasizes the formal validity of power, centering on the secondary rules governing the creation, modification, and annulment of laws. According to Franck, "*a process is typically outlined within a superior framework of reference, encompassing rules on how laws are made, how governors are chosen and how public participation is achieved*".⁴²⁸ Legitimacy, as conceptualized by positivists, embodies a significant manifestation of procedural legitimacy. Law is the ultimate embodiment of procedural legitimacy, asserting an obligation to comply regardless of its content. The procedural approach may specifically focus on the correctness of the procedure as assessed against procedural rules,⁴²⁹ which in turn may reflect a specific substantive aim (e.g. the rule of law).⁴³⁰ However, it refrains from questioning the desirability of a given substantive objective.

Substantive legitimacy is primarily concerned with the purpose served by the object being legitimized. This form of legitimacy is most commonly associated with justice or substantive fairness.⁴³¹ It can also be seen in pieces of literature that aim to evaluate or support existing

⁴²⁵ Franck, *The Power of Legitimacy among Nations* (n 397) 17–18; Ian Hurd, *After Anarchy: Legitimacy and Power in the United Nations Security Council* (Princeton University Press 2007) 66–73 http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7srr1 accessed 07 October 2024; Ian Clark, *Legitimacy in International Society* (1st edn, Oxford University Press 2005) 18–19.

⁴²⁶ Christopher A Thomas, 'The Uses and Abuses of Legitimacy in International Law' (2014) 34 Oxford Journal of Legal Studies 729, 749.

⁴²⁷ Lawrence M Friedman, Law and Society — An Introduction (Prentice Hall 1977) 139.

⁴²⁸ Franck, *The Power of Legitimacy among Nations* (n 397) 17.

⁴²⁹ Hurd (n 425) 71.

⁴³⁰ ibid.

⁴³¹ Allen Buchanan and Robert O Keohane, 'The Legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions'(2006) 20 Ethics & International Affairs 405.

rules or institutions based on considerations of human rights,⁴³² development,⁴³³ global welfare,⁴³⁴ or trade liberalization.

The distinction between input and output-based forms of legitimacy is often discussed in the context of analyzing the 'democratic deficit' in the EU.⁴³⁵ Input-oriented legitimacy, according to Scharpf, pertains to the normative ideal of 'government by the people,' focusing on representation, participation, and transparency.⁴³⁶ His articulation of input legitimacy does not need to be read as purely procedural, being strongly concerned with promoting sovereignty and self-government as values in their own right. Bekkers and Edwards classify the procedural aspect of input legitimacy as "throughput legitimacy," which is defined by specific qualities of the rules and procedures by which binding decisions are made, including the quality of participation, checks and balances, and mechanisms for collective decision-making.437 In contrast, output legitimacy refers to 'government for the people,' deriving legitimacy from its ability to solve collective problems.438 Input legitimacy encompasses procedural and substantive considerations in decision-making, while output legitimacy is validated based on the practical consequences of such decision-making.439 Some refer to this broader understanding of output legitimacy as outcome-based or effectiveness-based legitimacy.440 which judges the system seeking legitimacy based on a given set of desirable outcomes. Franck describes outcome-based legitimacy as "a system seeking to validate itself, and its commands,

⁴³⁵ Fritz Scharpf, *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* (Oxford University Press 1999) 11.

⁴³² Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann, 'The WTO Constitution and Human Rights' (2000) 3 Journal of International Economic Law 19, 19.

⁴³³ Michael Fakhri, 'Reconstructing the WTO Legitimacy Debates Towards Notions of Development' (2009) CLPE Research Paper.

⁴³⁴ Thomas Cottier, 'The Legitimacy of WTO' in Linda Yueh (ed), *The Law and Economics of Globalisation* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2009) 9.

⁴³⁶ Ibid..

⁴³⁷ Victor Bekkers and Arthur Edwards, 'Legitimacy and Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Assessing Governance Practices', *Governance and the Democratic Deficit* (Routledge 2007) 44–45.

⁴³⁸ Scharpf (n 435) 11.

⁴³⁹ Hurd (n 425) 66–67. Hurd maps Scharpf's input legitimacy onto procedural legitimacy and output legitimacy to substantive outcomes but then criticizes the distinction for "*gloss[ing] over important distinctions within the categories*," favoring a tripartite division between 'favorable outcomes', 'fairness', and 'correct procedure'.

⁴⁴⁰ Franck, *The Power of Legitimacy among Nations* (n 397) 18.

must be defensible in terms of the equality, fairness, justice and freedom which are realized by those commands".⁴⁴¹

3.1.2.2. What law ought to be

A general understanding of legal rules suggests the leadership of non-binary standards applicable to rules, and hence, it is not sensible to explain law as a system of rules. The integrity of law is essential more than just consistency for coherence, which is intrinsic to law⁴⁴², as it introduces moral standards into the law. These moral standards could even be transpired from previous legal decisions and legislation. Rather than concentrating on logical coherence to understand legal systems, this approach to law is hermeneutical, emphasizing that any decision requires interpretation and needs creativity as well as meticulousness. This includes exploration of the interrelationship between various distinct and interrelated concepts such as "validity, content, normativity, and legitimacy".⁴⁴³ Since modern law centers around legal text and the script, the printing machine shapes the necessary conditions to have a legal system, and the emphasis on their interpretation has gained prominence in the contemporary legal discourse.⁴⁴⁴ More so, written text is the "externalization and objectification of the spoken word, bringing about the need for interpretation".⁴⁴⁵ As printed text-based law is used for mediation, its utility may be apparent to many lawyers to merit further exploration. However, the legal craft would profit from the realization that the printing as a technology has serious implications on the nature, the scope, and the content of the jurisdiction. The invention of the script and the printing press spread the reach of legal rules far and wide, not just limiting to face-to-face relationships but also preparing a conducive environment for cross-border politics and jurisdictions. Further, while the script provokes a linear understanding of time due to the necessity of reading from beginning to end, the printing press promotes "rationalization and systematization" so as to endure the text content.⁴⁴⁶ Another remarkable feature of written law is its ability to address

⁴⁴¹ ibid.

⁴⁴² Ronald Dworkin, *Law's Empire* (Harvard University Press 1986).

⁴⁴³ Dan Priel, 'The Place of Legitimacy in Legal Theory' (2011) 57 McGill Law Journal 1, 8.

⁴⁴⁴ Hildebrandt, 'A Vision of Ambient Law' (n 132).

⁴⁴⁵ Don Ihde, *Technology and the Lifeworld: From Garden to Earth* (Indiana University Press 1990).

⁴⁴⁶ Hildebrandt, 'A Vision of Ambient Law' (n 132).

the unescapable sense of delay arising out of the complexity of the legal system and the timeand-distance gap between the law and the individual or user.⁴⁴⁷

However, the notion that constitutional safeguards can be interpretated, applied and grounded on the basis of the 'framers' intention' or on the 'clear meaning' of the text is difficult to hold⁴⁴⁸ since it is argued that it is not possible to claim what the author of the text actually meant since the text does not speak for itself.⁴⁴⁹ Of course, it does not mean that legal texts can be and are being interpreted in an *adhoc* manner depending upon the readers' response. Rather, it indicates that legal texts could be interpreted in a restricted manner so as not to allow any potential interpretation that would make the text redundant, even though it may open up new possibilities for fresh applications involving creative realization. While being dynamic and autonomous, written law depends on legal doctrine, it also affords continuity and flexibility while applying the law.⁴⁵⁰ Various rule of law values such as legal certainty, justice, and effectiveness, so desirable considering ever changing nature of the social and technological infrastructure in a modern society, are strengthened by such continuity and flexibility emanating from the interpretation of written law.⁴⁵¹

This discussion opens the door for deliberation and initiates a conversation in the realm of technology, specifically when dealing with coded architectures like blockchain, regarding the written code norms and its characteristics – what 'is' the characteristics of the code norm and what 'ought' to be the characteristics – as well as build up an argument concerning the intention behind the enactment of the written code norms within the blockchain artifact.

So far, I have focused on understanding 'what is legitimacy' in the rule of law and the touch point on the importance of the characteristics of legal norms (what ought to be) such as coherence in legal rule application, flexibility in interpretation, delay, etc., which accentuate the rule of law values. In the next section, I will expand on the characteristics of the legal norms by analyzing the notions of legalism and legality in the context of Fuller's inner morality of

⁴⁴⁷ Mireille Hildebrandt, 'Legal and Technological Normativity: More (and Less) than Twin Sisters' (2008) 12 Techne: Research in Philosophy & Technology 169.

⁴⁴⁸ David A Strauss, *The Living Constitution* (Oxford University Press 2010).

⁴⁴⁹ Richard S Kay, 'Original Intention and Public Meaning in Constitutional Interpretation' (2009) 103 Northwestern University Law Review 703.

⁴⁵⁰ Hildebrandt, 'A Vision of Ambient Law' (n 132).

⁴⁵¹ ibid.

law and set out the design standards for legal rule formulation, which will be deployed to navigate the characteristics of the rule of code embedded in the blockchain technology – what is and what ought to be.

3.2. The Rule by Law vis-à-vis the Rule of Law

The rule by law, a core determinant of legalism, is often misunderstood with the concept of legality, which is one of the 'indispensable' constituents of the rule of law. The notion of 'legality' stipulates that the rules proclaimed must be fabricated to echo the substantive legitimacy of the norms and certain ideals such as proportionality, as well as safeguards.⁴⁵² On the contrary, legalism is only bothered about whether the rule has been enacted by a legitimate institution or not, without worrying about its contents or substantive effects. Thus, it is evident that legality is not the same as legalism, or 'the rule of law' cannot be drawn parallel to 'the rule by law'.

3.2.1.Legalism

Legalism asserts that adequate legal justification is required for State interventions such that these interventions attain legitimacy, which denotes that for the interventions to be lawful and legitimate, regardless of their content, it must be dependent on the pre-existing legal rules. When developed in a comprehensive manner, legalism could furnish values such as reliability, comprehensibility, foreseeability, and certainty and even cope with Fuller's principles of "*inner morality of law*"⁴⁵³, that is, generality, publicity, prospectivity, intelligibility, consistency, practicability, stability, and congruency.

3.2.1.1. Strong legalism and Weak legalism

Legalism is "*a pre-requisite of free government*"⁴⁵⁴, and is, in essence, an *ex-post* doctrine that asks all government actions to be respectful towards rules and rights⁴⁵⁵. This formulation of legalism aligns with Wintgens's concept of 'weak' legalism rather than 'strong' legalism. 'Weak' legalism is interpreted as a conception in which rules persist to be the instrument *de règle* for regulatory activities, while the probability for their *ad-hoc* interpretation is

⁴⁵² Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385) 33-44.

⁴⁵³ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385).

⁴⁵⁴ Neil MacCormick, 'The Ethics of Legalism' (1989) 2 Ratio Juris 2, 184.

⁴⁵⁵ ibid.

concurrently restricted, necessitating to justify the limitation by the law of individual freedom.⁴⁵⁶ In other words, it outlines the normative position where the development process of the rules is curtailed to the limit of non-arbitrariness, and at the same time, those rules are framed on an *ad rem* premise for regulating behaviors. The concept of 'weak' legalism has been propounded with a view that certain measures of legalism, such as respect for 'law as law', is essential for the society to function effectively, and it ought to be comprehended normatively as a required component of legality and not as something antagonistic.457 However, "'strong' legalism relies on, or even is a strategy".⁴⁵⁸ This strategic character is normative, wherein "timelessness and instrumentalism mutually support one another and make values or ends lose their contingent character, failing which the whole construction would vanish under the pervasive weight of contingency. Contingency, however, is warded off by arguing that they represent reality under the merger representation-reproduction and representation-construction"⁴⁵⁹, which promoted legal certainty. The 'stronger' version of legalism also represents the condition of 'heteronomy' where the action is influenced and dominated by an external sovereign and contradicts the objectives of coherent interpretation and action as well as its autonomy.⁴⁶⁰ To put it simply, where 'strong legalism' indicates the manifestation of an authoritative sovereign and does not investigate about 'how' and 'why' of enacting a specific rule, 'weak legalism' allows the removal of the 'veil of sovereignty' to pursue the rationale behind this act.⁴⁶¹ In other words, it can be said that strong legalism subverts legality, whereas weak legalism, although a deficient ingredient, is imperative to legality. Thus, a new rule cannot be justified and enacted on the basis of the "bare sovereign power" of the legislator since the legislator cannot claim to instrumentalize natural law or social contract.462

In the absence of any safeguards against arbitrary rule, 'legalism' essentially portrays the 'stronger' version of the notion. The 'strong legalism' is "*the ethical attitude that holds moral conduct to be a matter of rule-following, and moral relationships to consist of duties and rights*

⁴⁵⁶ Luc J Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (Routledge 2016) 220.

⁴⁵⁷ MacCormick, 'The Ethics of Legalism' (n 454).

⁴⁵⁸ Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 159.

⁴⁵⁹ ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ MacCormick, 'The Ethics of Legalism' (n 454) 192.

⁴⁶¹ ibid 179.

⁴⁶² Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456).

determined by rules".⁴⁶³ This ethical interpretation, denominated as "*the morality of duty*" by Fuller⁴⁶⁴, where "*it lays down the basic rules without which an ordered society is impossible, or without which an ordered society directed towards certain specific goals must fail of its mark*"⁴⁶⁵, has a long genealogy in moral philosophy. The consequence of such an approach is a culmination of moral force since it ensues normalization and systemization of behavior in a society, which fosters some sort of "*behavioral predictability*" effectuating "*moral certainty*" that has been contended to be a sought-after aspiration for developing an enduring pluralist society.⁴⁶⁶

Further, the hierarchy of power under 'strong legalism', in most cases, does not permit the subordinate to seek answers from the superior. In contrast, the hierarchy of power under 'weak legalism' enables the same and, if justifiable, reverses the hierarchy of power itself. Though such proposals for reversal would be overlooked from the notion of 'strong' legalism, the philosophy of legisprudence does provide a conceptual anatomy for legitimizing this temporal reversal. This means that legisprudence, while requiring a valid source of the norm, also calls for the justification of the proposed legal norm through rigourous reasoning and rationalization by lawmakers.⁴⁶⁷ The principles of legisprudence, which steer the manner in which the ruler behaves, notwithstanding the politics involved in the substantial formulation of the norm, become the basis of such rationalization.⁴⁶⁸ Thus, legal norms or lawful justifications for specific limitations on freedom should be established before the promulgation of any law and can be used *ex-post* to test the efficacy of the hierarchy of power.

Where strong legalism focuses primarily on the validity of the normative source, specifically with regards to the sovereign following its own proposed norm, legisprudence propounds that while strong legalism is essential, it alone is inadequate to establish legitimacy.⁴⁶⁹ The sovereign must be bound by the core philosophy of the norm, and at the same time, it must also proactively legitimize its proposed norms. This is the type of validity that blurs the distinction between procedural formal (*ex-ante*) and substantive (*ex-post*) legitimacy to an extent; specific

469 ibid.

⁴⁶³ Judith N Shklar, Legalism: Law, Morals, and Political Trials (Harvard University Press 1986) 1.

⁴⁶⁴ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385), chapter 1.

⁴⁶⁵ ibid 5–6.

⁴⁶⁶ Shklar (n 463) 64.

⁴⁶⁷ Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 145.

⁴⁶⁸ ibid.

procedural formal traits exemplified in the principles of legisprudence constrain the substantive content of the norm. Thus, an additional active layer of legitimation is required for understanding 'legitimacy'. That means the sovereign is bound not only by the general principles of law that is applicable to all indivoduals, such as adherence to the rule of law, but also by the specific rules it proposes to enact. These rules must reflect specific procedural attributes that constrain the breadth of substantial scope of those rules. The probability of the notion of strong legalism to be abused as prioritizing heteronomy undermines not only the principles of legality that are characteristic of the rule of law but also the critical appreciation and application of the rule of law itself. When we apply this analogy to the blockchain infrastructure, it will facilitate in understanding the characteristics of the rule of code from a legalistic perspective – whether the characteristics resonate with the 'strong' version of legalism or the 'weak' version – and as such try to articulate to what extent does the blockchain architecture 'as it is now' falls under the periphery of the rule of law – what 'is' versus what 'ought' to be.

According to the solipsistic view of law, legalism functions independently from the societal structures that shapes its existence and is manifested as a distinct system of rules and practices. As a system, since law is "*self-contained, auto generative, and clean*"⁴⁷⁰ that embraces the legislations or the products of the politics, which are often unscrupulous, legalism applies them as per its own *sui generis* processes and institutions, and vocabulary. This conceptualization already brings in an emotion of congruity with blockchain code framework '*lex cryptographica*', that formulates "*a new and foundational mode of configuring reality*"⁴⁷¹.

The legislators, as sovereign actors, produce law by *epistemologizing* and transforming practical reasons with theoretical reasonings – identification and working with the 'verity'. Legalism as a 'verity', remains unquestioned because, in terms of law and legal practice, the 'verity is just is' and this 'verity' is asserted as an immutable reality. This perspective is passed from the political space, where legislators are the 'only' authorities who can ponder over the essence of the norm. As the legislator is "*only a political actor*" and not a "*legal actor*"⁴⁷², at least not in the sense a judge is, "*legislature is a matter of politics*" and "*politics is about*"

 ⁴⁷⁰ Zenon Bańkowski and Neil MacCormick, 'Legality without Legalism' in Werner Krawietz and others (eds), *The Reasonable as Rational: On Legal Argumentation and Justification. "Festschrift" for Aulis Aarnio* (Duncker & Humbolt GmbH 2000) 46.
 ⁴⁷¹ Swan and De Filippi (n 34).

⁴⁷² Luc J Wintgens, 'Legisprudence as a New Theory of Legislation' (2006) 19 Ratio Juris 1, 5.

choice"⁴⁷³. After legislators finalize one of the choices between various possibilities and enact it into law, it turns into a 'veracious' knowledge element within the "*science of law*"⁴⁷⁴. The extra-legal attributes associated with this law are extraneous to the legal scholars who observe its application within their domain.⁴⁷⁵ As a result of "*preserving law from irrelevant considerations, it has ended by fencing legal thinking off from all contact with the rest of historical thought and experience*".⁴⁷⁶ Thus, one ought to think of law that is 'there' and bring in the view of positivism.

The positivistic view of law talks about law being "*just there*"⁴⁷⁷, and it is not to be questioned by the citizens or the legal practitioners regarding how it got 'there'.⁴⁷⁸ The matter of relevancy here is the validity of law and not our concurrence or otherwise with the essence and applicability of the law. The 'veracity' of a specified legal norm is attained from its legal acceptability, genuineness, and legitimacy of its genesis in relation to approved processes and players, and the desirability of the essence of law needs to be considered separately from its 'veracity-ness'.⁴⁷⁹ Conceptually speaking, this stance is linked to 'strong' legalism, which splits the legal order between what it means (internal to the system) and what is not law (external to the system).⁴⁸⁰ In fact, examining "*what should be considered as 'law' and what should not*"⁴⁸¹ is one of the core characteristics of the legal positivism. Drawing on the solipsistic conceptualization, the lawyers use the knowledge provided from somewhere "*out there*"⁴⁸² as an instrument to realize specific legal objectives. Maintaining a 'neutral' position towards the crux of the rules, the lawyers routinely control and influence those rules in line with the mechanism of legal reasoning.⁴⁸³

⁴⁷³ ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ ibid.

⁴⁷⁶ Shklar (n 463) 3.

⁴⁷⁷ Zenon Bankowski, 'Institutional Legal Positivism' (1989) 20 Rechtstheorie 289.

⁴⁷⁸ Bańkowski and MacCormick (n 470).

⁴⁷⁹ Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 186.

⁴⁸⁰ Luc J Wintgens, 'Legislation as an Object of Study of Legal Theory: Legisprudence' in Luc J Wintgens (ed), Legisprudence

⁻ a New Theoretical Approach to Legislation (Hart Publishing 2002) 20.

⁴⁸¹ Nadia E Nedzel and Nicholas Capaldi, *The Anglo-American Conception of the Rule of Law* (Springer 2019).

⁴⁸² Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 140.

⁴⁸³ W Bradley Wendel, 'Legal Ethics and the Separation of Law and Morals' (2005) 91 Cornell Law Review 67.

There is the legisprudential abstraction that endeavors to cultivate 'weak legalism' under which constancy of rules is considered essential, provided that the rules can be justified, and their formulation meets the specified standard;⁴⁸⁴ it handles the rationality and justification of legislation. It may be said that legisprudence is an approach that shifts the philosophy of law towards the *ex-ante* reasoning of legislators and away from the *ex-post* reasoning of the lawyers and judges. This approach focuses on the actions of the legislator and lays down the principles which enable restraining those who legislate to capitulate to 'strong legalism' tenets.⁴⁸⁵

The 'stronger' version of legalism provides a structure for applying established rules or principles rather than for formulating those rules themselves.⁴⁸⁶ Synthesizing the theoretical means of legitimation in "*positivism and jusnaturalism*", it has been identified that "*'strong' legalism consists of a conjugation of five characteristics – representationalism, timelessness, concealed instrumentalism, etatism and the scientific method of study of law*".⁴⁸⁷ From jusnaturalistic perspective, "*the creation of law is based on the knowledge of natural law, which is to say that the norm creation is a matter of knowledge and, as a consequence, is an application of jusnaturalistic principles*".⁴⁸⁸ In a way, it can be said that positive legal rules, which are observed in a sovereign legislative body, are creations of the knowledge of natural law. These natural laws attain the value of positive law through legislation. Thus, "*these rules then are the concretization of natural law or reflect a natural law conception that in turn legitimizes positive law*".⁴⁸⁹

The sovereign's will is, therefore, the only and ultimate source of law because the 'will of the sovereign' stamps a proposition from the legislators so as to transform it into a legal rule. The institutionalization of political space as the unique source of legal rules then leads to the institutionalization of law with "*no justification need be provided*".⁴⁹⁰ Hence, there is no law beyond the State, and all laws find their origin in the State. According to *etatism*, the State is

⁴⁸⁴ Wintgens, Legisprudence: A New Theoretical Approach to Legislation (n 387) 2.

⁴⁸⁵ Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 297.

⁴⁸⁶ ibid 139.

⁴⁸⁷ The study of these characteristics will facilitate in sketching the attributes of the rule of code embedded in the blockchain artifact and make a comparison with the legal norms.

⁴⁸⁸ Wintgens, 'Legislation as an Object of Study of Legal Theory: Legisprudence' (n 480) 10–11.

⁴⁸⁹ ibid 11.

⁴⁹⁰ Wintgens, *Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation* (n 456) 170.

the sole source of law and has the power to legitimize any legal norms it declares.⁴⁹¹ Strong legalism posits that the establishment of a legitimate State necessarily leads to the emergence of legitimate norms. "*Legitimacy, that is an unquestionable aspect of formally valid law. The form of norm includes its legitimacy*"⁴⁹² - this means that as long as the original source from which law can be promulgated is *a priori* legitimate, the law is *de facto* legitimate and, therefore, ought to be followed.

Under 'strong' legalism, the sovereign assumes the role of a "general proxy"⁴⁹³ for the enforcement of rules. Consequently, the legislative actions undertaken are 'in effect' legitimate, by virtue of their effective implementation. The concept of sovereignty, therefore, releases the sovereign from the requirement to give any justification for his rulings and hence has created the phenomenon of "one-shot legitimation"⁴⁹⁴. Under the "proxy theory of legitimization"⁴⁹⁵, the sovereign created by the subjects, based on the social contracts, holds the final power within the 'political space' they are establishing and has the 'proxy-power' to legitimate the normative contents of the law that will limit the subject's freedom. The operationalization of 'political space' involves legislation that entails the imposition of "external limitations on freedom"⁴⁹⁶. Thus, according to the proxy theory of legitimization, any external limitation is legitimate or validated by its very existence.497 Limiting freedom in terms of "external limitations on freedom"⁴⁹⁸, preceded by an initial consent grounded on the social contracts, means once the subjects consent and enter into a social contract, they outsource their rights to the sovereign and delimit their "absolute freedom"⁴⁹⁹, in which the subjects agree to all limits enforced by the sovereign. The assertion mechanism of the social contract renders the subject to be the author of these limitations⁵⁰⁰, such that the individuals are not allowed to think about it, rather, they ought to conduct as per the applicable rules⁵⁰¹. This is the crux of the proxy theory of

⁴⁹⁸ ibid.

⁴⁹¹ ibid 172; Luc J Wintgens, The Theory and Practice of Legislation: Essays in Legisprudence (Routledge 2017).

⁴⁹² Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 196.

⁴⁹³ Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456), chapter 6.

⁴⁹⁴ ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ ibid.

⁴⁹⁷ ibid 204.

⁴⁹⁹ ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ ibid 208.

⁵⁰¹ Fernando Atria, On Law and Legal Reasoning (Hart Publishing 2002).

legitimation. It is an *a priori* limitation in the sense that neither the subject nor the sovereign is aware of under what conceptions his freedom will be limited.⁵⁰² Within the blockchain environment, the community provides a 'one-shot legitimization' to the 'figure' who is the programmer of code when, first, there is an attribute in the plasticity of code norms to create a seemingly infinite number of conditions and programs that allow and restrict behavior through technological normativity, second, there is a protection of the private practices through legally authorized trade secrecy & confidentiality requirements, and third, there is a submission to the *sui generis* obscurantism of code norm.

The "representationalism" is the most relevant component in the blockchain environment⁵⁰³ and is behind the 'strong' legalism mechanism according to which law is 'just there'. On a 'representationalism' view, "law is held to be a representation of reality"⁵⁰⁴, whose foundation lies in the reproduction, that is, the "structure of reality" and construction, that is, "more active role in structuring reality".⁵⁰⁵ According to representation-reproduction, "reality is already present in that it exists, and representation reproduction stresses that presence".⁵⁰⁶ In the context of law, the dynamic operation in this form of representation is the foundation of positive law that makes natural law present in its own particular way. . It may be said that representation realism is most closely connected to realism. With representation-construction, the dynamics of the relationships are reversed, according to which concepts have no ontological value; rather they are simply human constructs, defined by the sovereign.⁵⁰⁷ There needs to be an "active definitional intervention of the sovereign", or else the laws of nature will not make sense - "if they are represented throughout positive law, this is only possible through a constructive intervention of the sovereign". 508 The equivocality at the core of the relationship between representation-reproduction (precept of the eternal laws) and representation-construction (the materialized constructs defined by the sovereign) can be called "the naturalization of positive law".509

⁵⁰⁹ ibid.

⁵⁰² Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 207.

⁵⁰³ I will discuss this aspect in depth in Chapter 6, section 6.1.1.

⁵⁰⁴ Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 208.

⁵⁰⁵ ibid 208–209.

⁵⁰⁶ ibid 209.

⁵⁰⁷ ibid 150-151.

⁵⁰⁸ ibid.

Even though distinctions lie between representation-reproduction and representationconstruction, it can be ascertained that how legalism's representation of reality is not the former but is the latter. In other words, the construction is naturalized; it looks as if it were real – the naturalization fuses the construction with what is real or 'out there'. The striking correlation is that the representation in the blockchain environment is, to a greater degree, more cemented as compared to what the situation is in the context of a 'stronger' version of legalism since it is not a mere belief that "*the rules present reality*"⁵¹⁰ because the rule of code within the blockchain environment does not simply represent reality, rather is an active constituent or at least a participant.

Another element of strong legalism is "*timelessness or a-temporality*", which emanates from the notion that "*law is a representation of reality*"⁵¹¹, which represents "*law as it is*".⁵¹² The collaboration representation-reproduction and representation-construction amounts to manipulation of the concept of time and representationalism leading to the reality being represented *ex-ante*. This collaboration is considered to be true and genuine, thus putting a veil over the constructivist intervention. This also means that the political space is constructed and is not a natural datum. The political space retains its existence as long as it is in compliance with the "*cognitively universal content of the clauses of the social contract*"⁵¹³, which are the true principles of public law. Consequently, the political space is, something that is valid, independent of human recognition, as it should be. Thus, the social contract can be perceived as the outcome of "*direct access to reality*".⁵¹⁴ This is to be deemed as a representation-reproduction that signifies the genuine tenets of the political right and their universal or a-temporal validity.⁵¹⁵

The etymology of legal rules at the constitution level and their validity is derived from the political space as it comes into existence. However, their participation in the 'a-temporal character or timelessness' of the contract itself causes a tension between contingency and a-temporality. Moreover, the tacit consent (the people's will which is articulated by the sovereign)

⁵¹⁰ ibid.

⁵¹¹ ibid 151–153.

⁵¹² ibid.

⁵¹³ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Rousseau: 'The Discourses' and Other Early Political Writings*, vol 1 (Cambridge University Press 1997) 152.

⁵¹⁴ Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 153–155.

⁵¹⁵ ibid.

is to be 'unveiled' and recognized by the contingent laws rather than reflect upon it⁵¹⁶, since the norms created from 'the will of the sovereign' resemble the façade of timelessness.⁵¹⁷ The concept of 'a-temporality' of norms resonates with the rule of code's immutability characteristics, and the approach developed to cope with the timelessness in legislating becomes relevant when drawing parallel with the blockchain mechanism.

The last element of strong legalism flows from the notion of 'the veil of sovereignty' which is used as a concealment tool to hide the legislator's values and resolutions - "values and end must be chosen although this choice is not amenable to rational justification".⁵¹⁸ This element is referred to as "concealed instrumentalism".⁵¹⁹ It is an ingredient of legalism that separates law and politics – "the nominalist metaphysics in which legalism takes root involves an epistemologization of philosophy, and what cannot be epistemologized falls outside the scope of philosophy".⁵²⁰ Therefore, the values and resolutions of the legislature remain in the political domain, camouflaged by the a-temporality of law. As can be evinced in textualism, the value judgments and instrumentalism in law can be concealed by excluding references to reality and value choices. Further, a-temporality conceals choice such that it evolves into a strategic plan to convert chaotic politics into something with rational reasoning and lawful element.⁵²¹ The notion of 'concealment instrumentalism' can also be found within the blockchain environment where there are, for example, the anti-competition laws drawing a veil on the rule of code to protect the economic benefits and commercial purposes of the corporation.

In other words, under the proxy theory of legitimation, as identified above through the characteristics of strong legalism, the subjects are required to grant a 'general proxy' to the sovereign, which consequently issues a limitation of their freedom or norms whereby the subject will act on "conceptions about freedom" instead of "conceptions of freedom", whenever the sovereign desires – "the sovereign is ipso facto legitimated in substituting conceptions about freedom. He can legitimately, that is without further legitimation, transform any propositional content into a true norm".⁵²² This theory resonates

- ⁵¹⁸ ibid 158.
- ⁵¹⁹ ibid.
- ⁵²⁰ ibid.

⁵²² ibid 219.

⁵¹⁶ ibid 155–156.

⁵¹⁷ ibid 157.

⁵²¹ ibid.

well within the blockchain system, wherein the 'figure' assumes the role of the 'general proxy' and subjects the users to the rigid and immutable rule of code embedded in the technology to restrictions on their behavior by navigating their actions on 'conceptions about freedom', determined by the 'figure' themselves, and according to them, such code rules are legitimized by virtue of them producing such 'true' rule of code.

3.2.1.2. Trade-off Model Theory

To reduce the effect of strong legalism, the trade-off model theory was propounded by Wintgens, which does justice to freedom that is "*the principium of the organization of political space*".⁵²³ It is not feasible to operationalize the concept of freedom unless it is related to a notion of "*freedom, that, makes action not only possible but also necessary*".⁵²⁴

Freedom comes before the institution of the State. The first variant of freedom that can be deduced is the "*state of nature*" deriving from the situation where there is no State.⁵²⁵ Therefore, such origin is a self-referential beginning, which indicates that freedom is a principium at *terminus a quo*. As a principium, it is both the beginning and the principle of action.⁵²⁶ No action is possible without freedom at the beginning and as a principle; it is mere behavior, and as such, action requires a reflective or rational choice.⁵²⁷ It may be discerned that freedom as principium is a thought provoking abstract concept as it is not constituted with deductive reasoning, though the thesis is not arbitrary. This idea is reflexive because freedom is meaningful only when practiced "*in freedom*", which speaks to the view that "*freedom from freedom 'makes no sense*".⁵²⁸ As such, it can be inferred that there is a second variant of freedom that resonates with the perspective that "*freedom as the guiding idea or Leitmotiv in politics and law*".⁵²⁹ This variant requires respecting the reflexive nature of freedom continuously bringing justice to it, in addition to just respecting the freedom at the beginning. It is, therefore, not enough to organize 'just' the freedom of others such that the legal norms limit the principium freedom for certain individuals or groups. This organization, which includes the

⁵²³ ibid 124.

⁵²⁴ ibid.

⁵²⁵ ibid.

⁵²⁶ Aristotle, (n 366) 31–34.

⁵²⁷ Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 124.

⁵²⁸ bid 125.

⁵²⁹ ibid 207.

proposed norm constraining the principium freedom should not be justified but be rejected *a priori*, unless and until its imposition is adequately justified.

As per the notion of "*freedom as principium*"⁵³⁰, it is not a legitimate exercise of power to make the citizens follow the rules, merely due to the rules being 'just there', like in the case of strong legalism. Despite the existence of any teleological value, it only displays the arbitrary exercise of sovereignty.⁵³¹ The conception of what freedom is, is not subjective to individuals and should not be interfered with and interpreted in line with the legislator's political agenda.⁵³² Individual freedom is treated as supreme; therefore, the idea of substantive freedom of an individual always precedes over the external view of the State.⁵³³

Therefore, under the trade-off model, the subjects only trade-off 'conceptions of freedom' for 'conceptions about freedom' when substantial justification has been provided by the sovereign - "Any A, therefore, will act on a conception about freedom C in situation S because the sovereign has justified this substitution".⁵³⁴ This means that there must be a rationale for the substitution of 'conceptions about freedom' for 'conceptions of freedom' - "no rule can be held legitimate if the justification or legitimation is lacking".⁵³⁵ Under this model, the substitution is no more a 'one-shot legitimation' of the sovereign's ruling; rather every limitation of freedom must be justified, which also makes up the core of legisprudential abstraction. There is no 'general proxy' under weak legalism that regulates the "conception of freedom" of individuals and unilaterally issues a limitation on the same, instead, it imposes a critique of the *a priori* legitimation of law on the 'general proxy'. Under the trade-off model, legitimation of the law is required, which includes justification for preferring to act on a 'conception about freedom' over a 'conception of freedom'. 536 Such justification must, therefore, include reasons for assuming a priori that all external limitations of freedom are legitimate or justified under the proxy theory.⁵³⁷ According to the requirement of a justification of the external limitation of freedom, the chain of legitimation is reversed in that the unilateral nature of the proxy is to be

⁵³⁰Wintgens, 'Legisprudence as a New Theory of Legislation' (n 472) 10.

⁵³¹ ibid.

⁵³² Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 254.

⁵³³ ibid 254–257.

⁵³⁴ ibid 219.

⁵³⁵ Wintgens, 'Legisprudence as a New Theory of Legislation' (n 472) 4.

⁵³⁶ Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 220.

⁵³⁷ ibid.

complemented with the rationale provided by the sovereign to its subjects on the imposition of the external limitations.

In the case of a stronger version of legalism, the presence of the subject starts fading away as their moral autonomy evanesces due to the proxy consented to t the sovereign. The rudimentary error is that, in the proxy theory of legitimation, any "*conception about freedom*" under a general proxy is placed at a hierarchically superior position than any "*conception of freedom*".⁵³⁸ This results in competition and incompatibility with the "*conception about freedom*".⁵³⁹ However, such a presumption would lead to failure of the political and legal system, and thus jeopardizing the "moral autonomy of the subject *qua* subject". Therefore, for the external limitations to be legitimate, the "*conception about freedom*" ought to be weighed against moral autonomy and also be justified, that is validated with reasoning.⁵⁴⁰ In case the conceptions about freedom do not satisfy the requirements or the design standards, the creation of the rule cannot be considered legitimate.

Wintgens, under his theory of legisprudence, has laid down, to some degree, design standards for legal rule formulation in terms of the test for the justification of limitation of freedom, in order to mitigate legalism in the legal sphere, which are, first, failure of social interaction, second, insufficiency of weaker alternatives, third, justification for imposing an external limitation at a particular time, and fourth, justification with regards to the entire legal system.⁵⁴¹ These standards commensurate with the four principles of legisprudence, which are "*the principle of alternativity, the principle of normative density, the principle of temporality, and the principle of coherence*"⁵⁴², which translate or operationalize into duties *seriatim* that the legislator must consider when formulating a new legal norm. These standards intend to make the legal rule less legalistic and bring it closer to the aspect of legality, that is, transition from legalism to legality, is compatible with the principles of legality and henceforth adhere to the rule of law. Now, I will examine the concept of legality, what entails to fall within the

⁵³⁸ Luc J Wintgens, 'Legitimacy and Legitimation from the Legisprudential Perspective', *Legislation in Context: Essays in Legisprudence* (Routledge 2016).

⁵³⁹ Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 221.

⁵⁴⁰ ibid.

⁵⁴¹ ibid 283–284.

⁵⁴² ibid 284.

circumference of principle of legality, and what are the design standards for the legal rule formulation under this concept.

3.2.2.Legality - an aspirational concept

In contrast to legalism, legality, which is nested within the rule of law, is not 'only' confined to the requirement of a legal competence to perform governmental interventions. While strong legalism is at one extreme end of the spectrum, the legal scholarship with ingredients of flexibility and discretion lies at the opposite end.⁵⁴³ In between lies the legality, considered as an aspirational concept.⁵⁴⁴

Since the constitution and limitation of law are rooted in the interplay of justice, legal certainty, and reasonability, a judicious conception of legality requires that the law constitutes as well as limits the competencies for governmental intervention. Since the demands of justice, certainty, and purposiveness limit the resulting balancing acts, the circularity that permeates into legal development is neither vicious nor complacent, rather, it is virtuous and productive. Instead of promoting legal thoughts in a mechanical manner, it fosters insightfulness and judicious legal decision-making. For instance, if fundamental rights are infringed upon, the balancing act will entail the competent authorities to investigate the legitimacy of the proposed norm, the essentiality of the intervention, and its proportionality in relation to the norm. The balancing act will also require investigating the legal attributes that not only make such interventions predictable and disputable but also lay down necessary legal safeguards. Thus, in this case, the legal ground both constitutes and limits a specific governmental competence.⁵⁴⁵ Legality is at variance from legalism in the sense that it looks for proportionality in justice, grounds for legal certainty, purpose of legal intervention and requirement of effective remedies.⁵⁴⁶ On the contrary, legalism synthesizes all this to properly enacted laws, which may or may not protect the subjects making them susceptible to government interventions driven by 'the rule by law'

⁵⁴³ Bankowski (n 477).

⁵⁴⁴ Atria (n 501).

⁵⁴⁵ Mireille Hildebrandt, 'Balance or Trade-off? Online Security Technologies and Fundamental Rights' (2013) 26 Philosophy & Technology 357.

⁵⁴⁶ ibid.

and not 'the rule of law'. Legalism does not provide the individual subjects any viable answer against the arbitrary rule of the sovereign that practices 'the rule by law'.⁵⁴⁷

The rule by law is essentially about self-binding, something akin to authoritarianism prevalent during the eighteenth century; but the rule of law is much beyond that. Legality, which is a strand of the rule of law, is the amalgamation of purpose-binding, not simply self-binding, and the imposition of checks and balances. The resulting 'modern laws' are characterized by, one, laws that are visible and intelligible to those whom the sovereign intends to rule and are constituted by democratic legislations (self-rule due to transparency and accountability), two, the subjects have the power to defy those laws and can exercise their autonomy (disobedience), and three, such legal norms are open to interpretation and as a consequence, if found violative, can be litigated against (contestability in line with the due process rights).⁵⁴⁸ Therefore, the effective remedies that establish the rule of law in a State determine the protection offered by the principle of legality. Such protection can be in the form of safeguarding fundamental rights, which play an essential role in averting the rule of law from retrogressing into the concept of rule by law.

Some authors enunciate that the collaboration between the heteronomous nature of legalism with legality *ad-rem*, or the threshold, between principles and virtues of duties and aspiration, can ameliorate the individuals' legal access.⁵⁴⁹ Legality requires a compatible amalgamation of the rules along with their considered interpretation, with the apt response that varies according to the circumstances. It is occasionally apposite for the subjects to "*mindlessly*" follow a rule, like a robot; on other occasions, it is incumbent upon the subjects to act "*mindfully*" of their own volition to determine their own behavior and reaction by mulling over what the rule means.⁵⁵⁰ While the former approach is representative of the 'stronger' version of legalism, the 'weak' version broadly represents legality.

⁵⁴⁷ Jens Meierhenrich and Martin Loughlin, 'Thinking about the Rule of Law' in Jens Meierhenrich and Martin Loughlin (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to the Rule of Law* (Cambridge University Press 2021) 3.

⁵⁴⁸ Mireille Hildebrandt, *Smart Technologies and the End (s) of Law: Novel Entanglements of Law and Technology* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2015) 10.

⁵⁴⁹ Bańkowski and MacCormick (n 470).

⁵⁵⁰ Burkhard Schafer, 'Legal Tech and Computational Legal Theory' in Georg Borges and Christoph Sorge (eds), *Law and Technology in a Global Digital Society: Autonomous Systems, Big Data, IT Security and Legal Tech* (Springer 2022).

Earlier discussions show that legality is conspicuously different from legalism and is neither a purely formal nor a purely substantive conception of law.⁵⁵¹ It is not limited, as a concept, to law's positivity, nor to its instrumentality nor its fundamental morality. The objective of the balancing act in relation to the legality principle is defined by the concept of proportionality, which talk about decisions borne out of inconsistent procedures. The decisions under the rule of law are not the outcome of a singular inner monologue, as these are not creations of any single individual. The balancing act requires that all the relevant voices are heard and taken into account in a confrontational debate, regardless of acceptance or rejection of a particular view. Since the idea of law is antinomian, the effect of prevalent legal conditions is often contingent upon incompatible conditions of justice, certainty, instrumentality, and morality. In other words, pertinent and relevant interpretation of the legal conditions is the product of a decision that must be firmed up after careful consideration of alternate viewpoints on the interaction between facts and law. In this context, legality does not speak up of proportionality as a coherent and reasonable calculation but about adequate procedures, acknowledgment of roles, and distribution of tasks. The requirement of a "mise en scène"⁵⁵² by legality precludes systematic domination of one party on the other, and hence, the courts have to assume a pivotal role as an independent authority who can safeguard the contestability of both the setting up and the actual implementation of interventions of the government. In that sense, one can observe the role of legality not only in the test of the right to privacy but also in the 'contestability' provisions, which allow to contest the legal claims in a court of law.⁵⁵³

Legality also refers to the legal approach, which is participatory and transparent.⁵⁵⁴ The approach includes not only human rights and human dignity but also "*procedural public law values of transparency, accountability, rational reasoning, and consistency*.⁵⁵⁵ Similarly, a "*dignitarian aspect*" of law conceives of the people who can comprehend and deal with the justification of the way they are governed and can relate their own view about the actions and purpose of the sovereign, as bearers of reason and intelligence.⁵⁵⁶ Further, if judicial procedures

⁵⁵¹ Shklar (n 463).

⁵⁵² Peter Goodrich, 'Screening Law' (2009) 21 Law & Literature 1.

⁵⁵³ Waldron, 'The Rule of Law and the Importance of Procedure' (n 386) 6.

⁵⁵⁴ Roger Brownsword, 'Lost in Translation: Legality, Regulatory Margins, and Technological Management', (2011) 26 Berkeley Technology Law Journal 1321, 1363.

⁵⁵⁵ Brownsword, 'In the Year 2061: From Law to Technological Management' (n 3) 48.

⁵⁵⁶ Waldron, 'The Rule of Law and the Importance of Procedure' (n 386) 18.

do not afford the opportunity to make such arguments when the State is putting pressure in its own ways, the individuals would never accept that the society is being governed by the rule of law. But with this strand of the rule of law, "*dignitarian respect has a price: it probably brings* with it a diminution in law's certainty".⁵⁵⁷

All these formulations of legality have a transitional quality that has some room for rational contemplation and the exercise of autonomy, positioning in between the heteronomous social rules and anarchy. The legal and social frameworks whose guiding forces and institutions create enough space that allow for deliberations, provide an equilibrium between autonomy and duty. As a result, though an indifferent justice system is at times insensitive and tough, an intimate justice that seeks to explore and grasp the boundaries of the private world also cannot be considered to be real justice due to its lack of *"evenhandedness"*.⁵⁵⁸ The principle of legality targets to maintain the balance between these extremes, affording a certain degree of institutional guidance and certainty while at the same time upholding freedom of autonomy and opportunity.

To that extent, it also embraces certain aspects of legalism, which is an essential component of legality, bringing in the 'predictability' aspect that is crucial to avoid the essentiality of enquiring into the specifics of every case. Such 'predictability' is also required to establish a dependable institutional order, with enough scope for deliberation, so that the individual would be in a position to determine the next course of action. The rules and heuristics are not mixed with the entirety of the law in contrast to strong legalism. This view on legality concedes a *"dignified space for the reflexive practice of reason, intelligence, and freedom"*⁵⁵⁹, unlike the proxy model of strong legalism, which allows 'one-shot legitimization' at *"freedom and sovereignty*".⁵⁶⁰ Within this *"dignified*" space, the three ideas of legality, justice, expediency, and certainty jointly govern the law in all its aspects, although they may sharply contradict one another.⁵⁶¹ For instance, contingent upon the circumstances, legal certainty, as a goal, maybe in continual and productive tension with the aims of justice and expediency. This may call for

⁵⁵⁷ ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385) 72.

⁵⁵⁹ Waldron, 'The Rule of Law and the Importance of Procedure' (n 386) 19–20.

⁵⁶⁰ Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 206.

⁵⁶¹ Gustav Radbruch, 'II. LEGAL PHILOSOPHY', *The Legal Philosophies of Lask, Radbruch, and Dabin* (Kurt Wilk Tr, Harvard University Press 1950) 43, 111.

a constant reinvigorated balance depending on the specific cases entailing new interpretations and reasonings.

Moreover, where legalism only cares to sustain the limit of the morality of duty and no more⁵⁶², legality spreads out to include the concept of the morality of aspiration.⁵⁶³ Here, the aspect of authenticity also comes into play, which is one of the less strictly highlighted values.⁵⁶⁴ It is not enough to satisfy the minimum standards derived from a plain interpretation of the rule rather there is a need for an "*aspirational scale*"⁵⁶⁵, allowing measurement of the expectation of an actor, where disobeying a rule can be morally desirable more or less, which according to consequentialism if it attains a better result.⁵⁶⁶ It may be said that on the aspirational scale, the morality of duty is just a point that represents the minimal action needed, "*just as the rules of a morality of duty prescribes what is necessary for social living*".⁵⁶⁷ Such an aspirational scale is also required to access the legalistic characteristics of the rule of code like fixed configuration, which follow the principles of strong legalism to the maximum, so as to locate a 'somewhat balanced' position between the 'morality of duty' and 'morality of aspiration', such that the principles of legality can be programmed into code infrastructure of the blockchain, to a certain extent.

3.3. Fuller's design standards for legality

Legality focuses both on 'what the concept of the rule of law is', which refers to the set of standards that constitute the law that shape the process of creating norms and qualities of the 'end-product' rules, the *ex-ante* factor, and how the rule of law is administered and applied, the *ex-post* factor.⁵⁶⁸ This relationship between 'the concept of the rule of law' and 'the administration of the rule of law' can be comprehended when we appreciate the rule of law in terms of procedures and arguments rather than purely in terms of determinacy and

⁵⁶² MacCormick, 'The Ethics of Legalism' (n 454).

⁵⁶³ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385).

⁵⁶⁴ MacCormick, 'The Ethics of Legalism' (n 454).

⁵⁶⁵ Zenon Bańkowski, 'Duty And Aspiration' in Zenon Bańkowski (ed), *Living Lawfully: Love in Law and Law in Love* (Springer 2001) https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-2099-1_5.

⁵⁶⁶ ibid.

⁵⁶⁷ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385) 6.

⁵⁶⁸ Jeremy Waldron, 'The Concept and the Rule of Law' (2008) NYU School of Law Public Law & Legal Theory Research Paper Series, Working Paper 218.

predictability – "the procedural aspect of the rule of law helps bring our conceptual thinking about law to life, and recognition of rules provides the basis for a much richer understanding of the values that the rule of law comprises in modern political arguments".⁵⁶⁹

One of the most notable and instrumental discourses about the 'normative standards' for lawmaking "by which excellence in legality may be tested" is Fuller's "The Morality of Law".⁵⁷⁰ Fuller draws on from the "Theory of Moral sentiments" by Smith⁵⁷¹ and distinguishes between the two moralities - "the morality of duty may be compared to the rules of grammar and the morality of aspiration to the rules which critics lay down for the attainment of what is sublime and elegant in composition".⁵⁷² The eight principles of legality of Fuller, which make up "the inner morality of law" is more or less a "morality of aspiration and not of duty"⁵⁷³ and is primarily drawn towards "a sense of trusteeship".⁵⁷⁴

These standards aim to achieve 'good law' rather than just 'more law'. The objective of these principles or standards can be achieved in the business of legislation and application via recruiting and training "*carpenters*" vis-à-vis the lawyers to understand "*how best to design a law*" rather than "*what its political content is*".⁵⁷⁵ These eight principles or design standards, as laid down below, are not only about making good law from the perspective of the "*conscientious legislator*"⁵⁷⁶, but also about constraining the "*unconscientious legislator*" to avert the possible disproportionate unfaithfulness.⁵⁷⁷ Instead of using the phrase 'Fuller's principles of legality', I have used 'Fuller's design standards' because principles entail a theoretical framework for creating law while design standards is associated with the practical implementation of Fuller's idea to create a norm.

Standard 1: Norms should be general - "*There must be rules*" for subjecting human conduct to the governance of rules. This is the requirement of generality. The rules must be put in place

⁵⁶⁹ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385) 4–5.

⁵⁷⁰ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385).

⁵⁷¹ Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Penguin 2010) 1, 442.

⁵⁷² Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385) 6.

⁵⁷³ ibid 43.

⁵⁷⁴ ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ ibid 156.

⁵⁷⁶ ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ Lon Luvois Fuller, 'Positivism and Fidelity to Law--A Reply to Professor Hart (1958)' 71 Harvard Law Review 630, 636.

with "*reasoned generality*", requiring the rules to be articulated and conveyed to the subjects properly while avoiding the "*pattern-less exercises of political power*" that is arbitrary.⁵⁷⁸

Standard 2: Norms should be promulgated - Promulgation as a standard pays much heed to the need to "*try to educate every citizen into the full meaning of every law that might conceivably be applied to them*".⁵⁷⁹ It requires the law to be made 'generally' available to those who are subject to the "*laws applicable to the practice of his calling*" – "*this citizen is entitled to know*…".⁵⁸⁰ Moreover, it also requires that the "*law should be given adequate publication*" such that the subjects or citizens are given an opportunity to interpret and criticize them, "*including the criticism that they are the kind of laws that ought not to be enacted unless their content can be effectively conveyed to those subject on them*" and observe how they are applied and enforced.⁵⁸¹ The premise of this principle is that "*if the laws are not made readily available, there is no check against a disregard of them by those charged with their application and enforcement*".⁵⁸²

In addition to the legal norms being readily available, the promulgated norms under Fuller's standard 2 must additionally go through the test of the principle of alternativity as set out by Wintgens, which requires that justifications are provided for imposing or enforcing any limitation in the form of legal norm as a substitute for deteriorating social interaction. It, thus, prioritizes the subject's action on the conception of freedom; however, since social interaction can fail in the end, such prioritization is not absolute.⁵⁸³ Since the trade-off model requires that any limitation of freedom or the legal norm be justified, it is argumentatively required to justify why an external limitation is preferable to no limitation⁵⁸⁴, which, in other words, means that having or creating a legislative regulation is preferable to or better than self-regulation or no regulation. The principle of alternativity operationalizes freedom undetermined, which means

⁵⁷⁸ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385) 46–49.

⁵⁷⁹ Jeremy Bentham, 'Chapter XIV. Of Preappointed Evidence', '*Rationale of Judicial Evidence' The Works of Jeremy Bentham Vol. 6* (Russel & Russel 1962).

⁵⁸⁰ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385) 51.

⁵⁸¹ ibid.

⁵⁸² ibid.

⁵⁸³ Wintgens, 'Legisprudence as a New Theory of Legislation' (n 472) 11–12.

⁵⁸⁴ Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 258.

that the requirement to respect freedom is necessitated, and this can only be achieved if the subject is allowed to act on conceptions of freedom.⁵⁸⁵

As per the principle of alternativity, the sovereign can intervene only on one condition that it justifies the promulgation of the legal rule or his external limitation to the extent that it is preferable to an internal limitation of freedom or its own internal processes as a reason of act to correct the dysfunction, due to a failure of social interaction.⁵⁸⁶ Here, the focus is not on the substantive matter of the proposed rule but on whether it is justified to have a rule to any extent. "*If an external limitation must be justified, this justification must be preceded by an adequate analysis of the facts that form the state of affairs on which the external limitation will be superimposed*".⁵⁸⁷ Therefore, the principle of alternativity is a threshold requirement subjected under the Fuller's standard 2. Once the proposed rule crosses the threshold, it is linked with the principle of normative density in respect of the behavioral impact of the design mechanism that is selected.

According to the principle of normative density, the limitation to be imposed must show that the impact or normative density of such a limitation is necessary in order to achieve the goal.⁵⁸⁸ The requirement of the principle of normative density, like the principle of alternativity, is that sanctions and external limitations imposed through the promulgation of the legal rule, respectively, are not *a priori* justified, as they are in the case of the proxy model.⁵⁸⁹ Under the trade-off model, while the principle of alternativity requires justification of the purpose, the principle of normative density calls for a justification of the means of realizing it.

Moreover, Fuller's standard 2 also calls for a test of the principle of coherence at the time of promulgation of the legal norm where it makes a supposition that the rationality of the legislator cannot be presumed with certainty and thus, it implicitly requires the legislator to justify his external limitations so as to let the judge make compossibility or system coherence arguments. This is in contrast with strong legalism, where the rules promulgated by the legislator are law and have to be dealt with by the adjudicator irrespective of the degree of incoherence. Therefore, once the central position of the judge is restricted, the stance of the legislator

- 588 Ibid
- 589 Ibid

⁵⁸⁵ ibid 259.

⁵⁸⁶ Wintgens, 'Legisprudence as a New Theory of Legislation' (n 472) 14.

⁵⁸⁷ Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 269.

becomes evident through legislative activism, which is an active justification of external limitation or legal norm promulgation, such that its effects gel with the rest of the system, including *ex-post* adjudication.⁵⁹⁰

Standard 3: Norms should be prospective and not retrospective - Fuller considers retroactive laws to be "*truly a monstrosity*".⁵⁹¹ This principle affects the previous two "*desiderate of legality*" such that if the laws promulgated make conduct unlawful that was permitted when the event occurred, it impairs the ability of the affected citizens to know and obey the law, thus resulting in the failure of the two principles.⁵⁹² However, in certain situations, "*appraising the retroactive laws intelligently*" may result in "*granting retroactive effect to legal rules not only tolerable but may actually be essential to advance the cause of legality*".⁵⁹³

Standard 4: Norms should not be unclear - According to Fuller, legality cannot be attained by obscure and inherent legislations.⁵⁹⁴ He views this desideratum as representing "*one of the most essential ingredients of legality*".⁵⁹⁵ Should a rule lack clarity so much so that its interpretation "*twists*" its primary "*kosher*" meaning or the intent behind it, and repeatedly runs into the legality buffer, it only indicates that the law that is "*actually applied*" is not same as the law as it was proclaimed.⁵⁹⁶ This principle requires the legislator to do more since, according to legalism, what is perceived as law is law; that is, formal validity gives rise to law, irrespective of its content.

This desideratum on clarity is in line with the idea of coherence of the legal system, which focuses on the coherence of legal reasoning and on the coherence of the legal system since the legal system is composed of a number of complex and dynamic set of interlinked propositional rules relating to what ought to be done and how it ought to be done.⁵⁹⁷ There are four levels of

⁵⁹⁰ Wintgens, 'Legisprudence as a New Theory of Legislation' (n 472) 20.

⁵⁹¹ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385) 53.

⁵⁹² ibid 54.

⁵⁹³ ibid 51–62.

⁵⁹⁴ ibid 63.

⁵⁹⁵ ibid.

⁵⁹⁶ ibid 63–65.

⁵⁹⁷ Wintgens, 'Legisprudence as a New Theory of Legislation' (n 472) 15.

coherence⁵⁹⁸, underpinning the level theory of coherence, which applies to *ex-ante* legislative as well as *ex-post* judicial reasoning.⁵⁹⁹

Standard 5: Norms should not be contradictory - Fuller states that contradictory laws are "*laws that fight each other, although without necessarily killing one another off as contradictory statements are assumed to do in logic*"⁶⁰⁰; this makes it essentially "*repugnant*".⁶⁰¹ The general assumption is that it is "*simply one of logic*" problems⁶⁰², where a "*contradiction is something that violates the law of identity in which A cannot be not-A*".⁶⁰³ However, this is not true, as how much ever value this formal logic has, it is considered to be redundant in dealing with contradictory laws as it does not resolve the contradiction itself.⁶⁰⁴ To determine the issue of incompatibility between two laws, it is merely not enough to take into account the technological aspects but an additional layer of extra-legal factors have to be considered.⁶⁰⁵

Moreover, this standard depends on intelligibility, where it must also satisfy the requirements of semantic and syntactic identity, without which a norm may be formally valid but incoherent because it makes no sense as a standard for conduct or for judgment.⁶⁰⁶ This resonates with the legisprudential principle of coherence.⁶⁰⁷ For any form of discourse, internal or synchronic coherence is a necessary condition for its soundness or for making sense, which advocates for inconsistencies or contradictions to be not allowed within or in a judicial decision or legislative enactments.⁶⁰⁸ The two elements, namely, the alignment of the understanding of individuals in respect of the intention of a concept and the absence of plausible contradiction between those understandings, can be read together at this level. According to Fuller, difficulties surface when resolving the contradictions that develop within the frame of a single statute by effecting a

⁵⁹⁸ These levels are the level of coherence0 (internal or synchronic coherence), the level of coherence1 (diachronic or rule coherence), the level of coherence2 (compossibility or system coherence), and the level of coherence3 (environment coherence).

⁵⁹⁹ Wintgens, 'Legisprudence as a New Theory of Legislation' (n 472) 15.

⁶⁰⁰ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385) 63–65.

⁶⁰¹ ibid 69.

⁶⁰² ibid.

⁶⁰³ ibid.

⁶⁰⁴ ibid 65.

⁶⁰⁵ ibid 70.

⁶⁰⁶ Wintgens, 'Legisprudence as a New Theory of Legislation' (n 472) 16.

⁶⁰⁷ ibid

⁶⁰⁸ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385) 65–70.

mutual adjustment between the two statutes and interpreting one in light of another due to the carelessness of the legislator in undermining the friction between the two statutes and thus crippling legality.⁶⁰⁹ Internal or synchronic coherence, intends to alleviate such carelessness and promote legal certainty, which operates as the index of truth in modern philosophy.⁶¹⁰

In addition to internal or synchronic coherence, coherence3 or environment coherence (as called by Wintgens) is also a necessary complement to the Fullers standard 5. At this level, where one needs to "*make sense of the legal system as a whole*" ⁶¹¹, an "*external rationality*"⁶¹² is essential since, in its absence, one cannot visualize something as a whole. Though it is possible for the legal system as a set of external limitations to be internally rational or coherent, it would not make sense as a whole unless a perspective that makes it possible to see it as a whole is included. ⁶¹³ In addition to the general observance that law does not operate in a vacuum, we must also be sensitive to this fact and imbibe the same by justifying it according to the broader societal context.⁶¹⁴ Fuller makes a similar argument in relation to the contradictory rules, "*the context that must be taken into account in determining the issue of incompatibility is, of course, not merely or even chiefly technological*".⁶¹⁵ Further, as the whole becomes more coherent through the transformation of its elements, it is essential that the whole *qua* whole is taken into consideration.

Standard 6: Norms should not require the impossible - The essential concept for this desideratum is simple- the promulgation of laws that demand the impossible face the risk of *"doing serious injustice or… diluting respect for law"*.⁶¹⁶ A law commanding the impossible would not only seem absurd such that one would view the law-making business to have no sane lawmaker, but also there would be no reason to enact it, *"not even the most evil dictator"* would do it.⁶¹⁷ For example, *"just as it is impossible to obey a law that requires one to become ten feet tall, so it is also impossible to obey a law that cannot be known, that is unintelligible,*

⁶⁰⁹ ibid 69.

⁶¹⁰ Hildebrandt, Smart Technologies and the End (s) of Law: Novel Entanglements of Law and Technology (n 548) 47.

⁶¹¹ Niklas Luhmann, 'Law as a Social System' (1988) 83 Northwestern University Law Review 136.

⁶¹² Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 252.

⁶¹³ Wintgens, 'Legisprudence as a New Theory of Legislation' (n 472) 20.

⁶¹⁴ James MacLean, Rethinking Law as Process: Creativity, Novelty, Change (Routledge 2012).

⁶¹⁵ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385) 70.

⁶¹⁶ ibid 71.

⁶¹⁷ ibid 70.

that has not yet been enacted^{".618} However, "*the technique of demanding the impossible is subject to more subtle and sometimes even to beneficent exploitation*".⁶¹⁹

Standard 7: Norms should be relatively constant - Fuller notes that "*there is a close affinity between the harms done by retrospective legislation and those resulting from too frequent changes in the law*"⁶²⁰ apropos the "*birth of injustice*".⁶²¹ From the perspective of the rule of law paradigm, this requirement is beguiling. If the law is aiming for the normalization of expectations, then it can be achieved only if norms have the opportunity to settle in the society in which they are promulgated.⁶²²

Fuller's standard 7 also conforms with the principle of temporality, laid down by Wintgens, which indicates a substantial departure from the "*single moment focus of strong legalism*"⁶²³, since rules or external limitations being human creations are linked to historical conditions. So much so that one can say human activity is replete with temporality.⁶²⁴ Though justification for legislative norms may change over a period of time, according to strong legalism, it is impossible to predict the future in all its detail since "*the law is the law until the legislator changes it*".⁶²⁵ The principle of temporality demands that the legislators must argue why a norm or external limitation is necessary now "*all things considered now*", or as Wintgens calls it "*the ATCN clause*".⁶²⁶ This clause indicates that it is "*only the right time now*"⁶²⁷ to issue a norm. In this respect, according to the principle of temporality, the legislator has to argue why he acts now and consider the passage of time, as is demanded by weak legalism.⁶²⁸ However, norms issued at a time and duly justified or legitimated according to the principle of temporality ATCN clause may lose their legitimacy over time. Justification under the principle of temporality is an ongoing justification in that legislators must be capable of continuously

⁶¹⁸ ibid, footnote 29.

⁶¹⁹ ibid 70–79.

⁶²⁰ ibid 80.

⁶²¹ ibid.

⁶²² ibid 79-81.

⁶²³ Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 268.

⁶²⁴ Wintgens, 'Legisprudence as a New Theory of Legislation' (n 472) 13–15.

⁶²⁵ ibid.

⁶²⁶ ibid.

⁶²⁷ ibid.

⁶²⁸ Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 269.

upholding their rulings. Even if their working field is the future, they cannot overlook it *sub specie aeternitatis*.⁶²⁹ The principle of temporality expects a thoughtful approach towards the prospective effects of the rule; continuous assessment of these effects, their subsequent rectification and re-justification are also needed to take care of untended effects. ⁶³⁰

In addition to necessitating the legal norm to maintain constancy over time and be justified continuously at constant term points, Fuller standard 7 also requires the norm to be coherent with the principle of equality or formal justice or diachronic or rule coherence (as proposed by Wintgens) and reflect the consistency needed by the rule of law which maintains the horizontal continuity across the system. Accordingly, a normative demand pushes for "equal treatment for equal cases".⁶³¹ This level of coherence takes into consideration the time dimension, which revolves around the issue that "not all judicial decisions are made on the same day, nor are they made by the same judge, nor are all facts to which a general norm is applied *identifiable*^{"632}, where diachronic or rule coherence requires that the progression of elementary units or judicial decisions be submitted to the norm of fair treatment or of formal justice that requires an equal application of the general norm to essentially similar cases.⁶³³ Since the deviation from a general norm, precedent, or settled practice of interpretation may jeopardize coherence, the lowering of the degree of diachronic or rule coherence through legislative amendments when the legislator engages in steering legislation, creating expectational formal injustice and frustrating legitimate expectations⁶³⁴, may clash with fair treatment.⁶³⁵ Fuller defines this as "legislative inconstancy" where the harm is caused due to too frequent changes in the law.⁶³⁶

Standard 8: The administration of the norms should be congruent with its published rules - According to Fuller, this is the "*most complex of all the desiderata that make up the internal*

⁶²⁹ ibid.

⁶³⁰ ibid 301-304.

⁶³¹ Wintgens, 'Legisprudence as a New Theory of Legislation' (n 472) 16.

⁶³² Luc J Wintgens, 'The Rational Legislator Revisited. Bounded Rationality and Legisprudence' in Luc J Wintgens, A. Oliver-Lalana (eds), *The Rationality and Justification of Legislation: Essays in Legisprudence* (Springer 2013).

⁶³³ Hart (n 414) 157–167.

⁶³⁴ Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 257.

⁶³⁵ Luc J Wintgens, 'Coherence of the Law' (1993) 79 ARSP: Archiv für Rechts-und Sozialphilosophie/Archives for Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy 483..

⁶³⁶ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385) 79–80.

morality of the law".⁶³⁷ In this case, congruence may be impeded in many ways, like "*mistaken interpretation, inaccessibility of the law, lack of insight into what is required to maintain the integrity of a legal system, bribery, prejudice, indifference, stupidity, and the drive towards person power*".⁶³⁸ This, suppositionally, illustrates a 'boiler-plate clause' or a 'blanket requirement' that obligates the procedural devices to be designed in a variety of forms to subside the threats towards the congruence that might manifold. These procedural mechanisms are represented in the configuration of procedural due process, judicial review, and contestation which need to operate to identify and address the exclusively mentioned problems.⁶³⁹ The desideratum also causes negative departures from other principles of legality - "failure to *articulate reasonable clear general rules and an inconstancy in decisions manifesting itself in contradictory rulings, frequent changes of direction, and retrospective changes in the law*".⁶⁴⁰ The problem of incongruence may also arise due to constancy and retroactive principles since there is a probability of latent incongruency to materialize due to evolving circumstances, which may cause friction with once-settled legal arrangements or law.

The "*inner morality of law*" set up by the aforesaid eight standards or principles is distinct from the "*external morality of law*".⁶⁴¹ However, both interact with each other, where the "*inner morality of law*" is fundamentally concerned with the procedure of making law, and the "*external morality*" is about the substantive rule of law or norms which are applied in arriving at a decision.⁶⁴² Fuller also emphasizes that the internal morality should never be discretionary and non-compulsory regardless of one's political affiliation, as the internal morality of law

It may be noted here that Fuller's principle is an amalgamation of both *ex-ante* and *ex-post* standards. The *ex-post* standards are guided by standard 2 and standard 8, discussed earlier, where the former requires the rules to be publicized once made, and the latter obligates the executing authority to 'only' operate according to the rational interpretation of the substantive rule, subject to the 'umbrella' requirement of contestation. Concomitantly, the *ex-ante*

⁶³⁷ ibid 81.

⁶³⁸ ibid.

⁶³⁹ ibid.

⁶⁴⁰ ibid 82.

⁶⁴¹ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385).

⁶⁴² ibid 82.

⁶⁴³ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385).

standards are illustrated by standards 3, 4, 5 and 6, where they pilot the configuration of the proposed rule, restricting and regulating '*ex-ante*' its substantive content, provided that the rules are not or cannot be retroactive, only with exceptions there lies a possibility, the rules must be reasonably comprehensible and coherent to enable interpretation by the regulatees, there cannot be any scope for contradiction with the extant rules without altering or repealing them and there cannot be any impossible demand by the rule.

3.4. Design standards for 'legitimate' legal rule formulation

This section will focus on understanding the *ex-ante* and *ex-post* legitimacy mechanisms within the framework of the rule of law and legitimacy discourse in legal and political studies. The idea is to have a comprehensive view on the legitimacy of legal norms and explore the rule of law values for *ex-ante* and *ex-post* affordance. This will facilitate in setting the stage for further exploration into the interaction between blockchain and the rule of law in the subsequent chapters.

3.4.1.Legitimacy of legal norms

A legal norm is considered legitimate when its formulation is imposed within the constraints of the rule of law⁶⁴⁴ - "there is a set of constraints – settings, procedures, hesitations, that form the specific legal régime d'enonciation – that must be respected in order to make law or 'to practice law"⁶⁴⁵. In other words, the rule of law by restricting the arbitrary exercise of power, is a chief normative ideal⁶⁴⁶ that gives legitimacy to the legislations and the legal system. One of the principles of the rule of law is legality, which is based on the requirement of certainty of law, which is an inherent element of the conceptualization of the rule of law, and legality can confer legitimacy to a certain extent, only when the legal system instinctively adapts to the justification requirements produced by the constructive evolution of law—more especially, in

⁶⁴⁴ David Dyzenhaus, 'Hobbes and the Legitimacy of Law' (2001) 20 Law and Philosophy 461.

⁶⁴⁵ Serge Gutwirth, Paul De Hert and Laurent De Sutter, 'The Trouble with Technology Regulation: Why Lessig's 'Optimal Mix'Will Not Work' in Roger Brownsword and Karen Yeung (eds), *Regulating Technologies: Legal Futures, Regulatory Frames and Technological Fixes* (Oxford University Press 2008) 193, 197.

⁶⁴⁶ Mirko Canevaro, 'The Rule of Law as the Measure of Political Legitimacy in the Greek City States' (2017) 9 Hague Journal on the Rule of Law 211.

a fashion that institutionalizes legally valid decision-making processes.⁶⁴⁷ Legitimacy is essential to upholding and supporting the law; it does not, however, supplant or surpass legality. In the absence of legitimacy, laws, legal institutions, and procedures will, in fact, be regarded with contempt. Thus, legitimacy has two functions. It can strengthen the principles of legality and increase the authoritative power of the rules. Legitimacy, however, can be a corrective force when laws are perceived as limiting, redundant, or detrimental to people; it can be invoked in the name of the rule of law, for instance, environmental security, emergency protection, human dignity, or global justice. Legitimacy has the power to concurrently bolster and oppose legality. What is legitimate ought to be legal, and what is legal ought to be legitimate. But the word 'ought to' alone implies that such unity may not constantly be present.⁶⁴⁸ Therefore, in addition to outlining the design standards for legal rule formulation in the context of legalism and legality, it is pertinent to discuss the design standards for 'legitimate' legal rule formulation, which will bring us further closer to understanding 'what constitutes the rule of law'.

The rule of law within the framework of democracy and legitimacy within the discourse of legal studies as well as political science studies is said to define two legitimizing mechanisms, that is, *ex-ante* and *ex-post*, which deal with certain values of the rule of law such as accountability, transparency, predictability, consistency, inclusiveness, and due process.⁶⁴⁹ Both types of legitimacy convey a comprehensive evaluation of the legal rule's values; however, *ex-post* legitimacy must be attained by evaluating the legal rule's efficiency, whereas *ex-ante* legitimacy concerns the design of the rule, what makes the legal rule valid, not just describing what legal rule is but describing the characteristics the legal rule ought to have.

In relation to legislation, the concept of *ex-ante* legitimacy, which resonates with the process being complied with at the law-making stage, conventionally requires participation and representation in some manner⁶⁵⁰, whereas the concept of *ex-post* legitimacy, which is at the result stage, means that the legitimacy is established through an evaluation of the outcomes of

⁶⁴⁷ Jürgen Habermas, 'How Is Legitimacy Made Possible via Legality?' (2023) Revus. Journal for Constitutional Theory and Philosophy of Law/Revija za ustavno teorijo in filozofijo prava.

⁶⁴⁸ Vesselin Popovski and Nicholas Turner, Legality and Legitimacy in International Order (United Nations University 2008).

⁶⁴⁹ Vivien A Schmidt, 'Conceptualizing Legitimacy: Input, Output, and Throughput' in V. A. Schmidt (ed), *Europe's Crisis of Legitimacy: Governing by Rules and Ruling by Numbers in the Eurozone* (Oxford University Press 2020).

⁶⁵⁰ Jeremy Waldron, 'The Core of the Case against Judicial Review' (2006).115 Yale Law Journal 1346 .

a rule's functionality.⁶⁵¹ For a norm to realize legitimacy, there needs to be an agreement regarding the origin, embodiment, and formulation of the norm, that is, the *ex-ante* procedure, followed by any discussion and criticism regarding the appropriateness and interest of the norm's functional substance, that is the *ex-post* substantive content.⁶⁵² This difference between *ex-ante* and *ex-post* functionality resonates with the Fullerian ideas of the inner and external morality of law. Where the *ex-post* standards address the effectiveness or desirability of a particular norm, the *ex-ante* standards focus on the procedural and formal aspects of its genesis.

In the case of *ex-ante* standards, the focus is on duty & morality, while *ex-post* standards emphasize on consequences. These two perspectives interact, and their upshot is dependent upon the conditions that may lean towards both unwanted and wanted substantive rules normatively⁶⁵³. Since the principles of legality show an inclination towards less substantive iniquity⁶⁵⁴, the *ex-ante* or inner morality holds back the substantive content of its *ex-post* or external morality, resulting in the form of limiting substance.⁶⁵⁵ Likewise, whether a proposed legislative rule is legitimate or not, is subject to justification by the principles of legality, while the legisprudential principles are about legitimizing an invasion on freedom, such invasions are *a priori* illegitimate without adequate justification. Similar to Fuller's principles of legality, the legisprudential principles also have equal weight.⁶⁵⁶ These principles are aspirational in nature and not really intended to be fully embodied in a proposed norm. Therefore, rather than making futile efforts to achieve a perfection that is unattainable due to various constraints and limitations inherent in predicting the future, these principles aim to develop the best possible laws.⁶⁵⁷

Further, one can understand how the Fuller's design standards and the principles of legisprudence collaborate and coordinate with each other from the deliberations of *ex-ante* and *ex-post* legitimacy. While Fuller's standards are more transferable, the legisprudential principles constrain the rules more forcefully than what is feasible for the substantive content

⁶⁵¹ ibid.

⁶⁵² ibid 1387.

⁶⁵³ ibid 1374.

⁶⁵⁴ Fuller, 'Positivism and Fidelity to Law--A Reply to Professor Hart' (n 577).

⁶⁵⁵ ibid.

⁶⁵⁶ Wintgens, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (n 456) 280.

⁶⁵⁷ ibid 282, 305–307.

of a rule. Through this analysis, four categories constituting different standards have been identified based on their target and temporal position. Out of these, two categories are in terms of *ex-ante* standards – first, the procedural standard that controls the process of deliberation that leads to the creation of a given norm, and second, the standard that restricts the norms' formal qualities, which are assessed independently from its substantive content. The other two categories are in terms of *ex-post* standards – third, the mechanism to maintain transparency, accountability, and due process to enable the identification and rectification of operational mistakes, and fourth, evaluations of the norms' moral or political contents.

In the majority of frameworks, theorists incorporate standards from more than one of these categories. In the case of *crypto-legalism*, there is a need to focus on the categories in terms of ex-ante standards. However, the *ex-ante* procedural standards are less likely to be applicable as compared to the *ex-ante* formal standards in the private sector as they lack adequate incentives and resources. If the aforementioned types of formal features are expected from a normative order that constitutes as well as regulates behavior, then it would be reasonable to expect such standards to be present in all environments, be it the blockchain environment or the rule of law environment. These standards would then be adapted to the technological design environment.

3.4.2. Rule of Law values for *ex-ante* and *ex-post* affordances

From the analysis of the notion of legalism and legality as a strand of rule by law and the rule of law conceptualization, it can be deduced that five core values, namely transparency, accountability, predictability, consistency, and due process or contestability, are associated with the rule of law. These values are asserted to strongly promote the rule of law through technology and are generally accepted as pivotal values that are key to restraining the arbitrary exercise of power by the State and upholding political legitimacy.

One of the central features of the rule of law is that the governments or the authorities must be transparent and accountable in the decision-making. Transparency, which stands for "*the commitment to openness and candor*",⁶⁵⁸ demands that the State publicize its decisions and functions appropriately, including electoral processes, accessibility of legislations, policy decisions, and executive decisions to the citizens.⁶⁵⁹ Such transparency can empower individuals to appreciate the reasons for the decisions which affect them and to learn about

⁶⁵⁸ Mark Fenster, 'The Opacity of Transparency' (2005) 91 Iowa Law. Review 885.

⁶⁵⁹ Paul Gowder, The Rule of Law in the Real World (Cambridge University Press 2016) 7.

future decisions that may be made. Transparency plays an important role in safeguarding the accountability of the State. Accountability is identified as the responsibility for the exercise of power, which requires that the State should be subject to the law and be answerable for its decisions or actions.⁶⁶⁰ As the separation of power thesis in the governance models is designed to promote the accountability of those who exercise sovereign power through appropriate checks and balances, accountability as a principle is ingrained into it.

Another crucial value of the rule of law is that it invariably obligates the law to be predictable and consistent.⁶⁶¹ Certainty and efficiency of the governance system which everyone desires for better public services and also to manage their private affairs effectively, gets enhanced with the principles of predictability and consistency. In this regard, Lord Bingham suggested that the predictability in the conduct of individuals, their lives and businesses⁶⁶² is the most significant thing individuals need from law. Similarly, regularity or consistency is an essential requirement for a political state under the rule of law. Further, authorities are empowered to use State coercion but must be constrained by specific legal rules.⁶⁶³ Predictability and consistency also entail a moral significance in that "*similar cases be treated similarly*".⁶⁶⁴

Another value of the rule of law is 'due process rights' which requires that all individuals are subject to the same set of rules to ensure justice to all.⁶⁶⁵ This value stems from the wider principle of 'equality before law', which stipulates that any individual or group can neither enjoy privileges nor be discriminated against due to personal bias or attributes.⁶⁶⁶ Though the scope and content of 'equality before law' are debatable, it can still bring about a range of significant rights.⁶⁶⁷ Irrespective of the status of the individuals, this value is applied to provide access to rights, "*similar cases be treated similarly*" meaning equal access to rights in the law,

⁶⁶⁰ Joshua Alexander Kroll and others, 'Accountable Algorithms' (2017) 165 UPenn Law Review 633

⁶⁶¹ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385) 79-80.

⁶⁶² Bingham (n 318).

⁶⁶³ Gowder (n 659).

⁶⁶⁴ David J Bentley, 'John Rawls: A Theory of Justice' (1972) 121 UPenn Law Review 1070.
<https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/penn_law_review/vol121/iss5/4> accessed 9 October 2024.

⁶⁶⁵ Dicey (n 367) 114-115.

⁶⁶⁶ Gowder (n 659).

⁶⁶⁷ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385).

including contestability rights.⁶⁶⁸ This strand of the rule of law will need the testability of the technological systems as a prerequisite to critically evaluate the *ex-post* outcome.

These values emphasize both the procedural formal, and substantive aspects of the rule of law and its capacity to include a wider range of values comprising privacy, transparency, freedom of expression, and human rights. More specifically, the attention is on whether values connected with a traditionalist, minimalist conception of the rule of law can be designed into the blockchain architecture as an *ex-ante* technical command code rule and an *ex-post* conceptual code rule and also facilitate an obligation to build such infrastructure to develop these systems with the mechanism and purpose to protect the rule of law principles.

In order to understand this aspect, it is essential to comprehend the interaction between blockchain and the rule of law, which are two very different regulatory environments, in terms of the harmony or friction with each other, specifically analyzing the concept of 'code is law' and 'code of law'. I will deal with these topics in the next chapter. This analysis will facilitate in recognizing the *ex-post* situations that may originate due to the political, economic, and social contact between each other and help determine what is or what is not acceptable under the rule of law environment and what modifications or recommendations can be made either at the micro level or macro level when pursuing for a blockchain application where the primary focus should be on fulfilling and fostering the rule of law standards and values.

⁶⁶⁸ Hart (n 414).

4. Interaction between Blockchain and the Rule of Law

In this chapter, the friction or harmony between blockchain and the rule of law will be discussed: *what are the critical points of friction or harmony that arise during the interaction between the blockchain (lex cryptographica) and the rule of law?* Here, I examine the aspect of code in public and private regulatory frameworks, followed by the assessment of the intersection between the rule of code and the rule of law, where I focus on the normative influence of the rule of code and its effects on the law. This assessment enables us to classify blockchain applications into three categories – a tool for law avoidance, a tool acting complementary to law, and a tool for the purpose of friction alleviation – which reveals the constant battle of supremacy between code and law. This analysis will also facilitate in recognizing the *ex-post* situations that may originate due to the political, economic, and social contact between each other and help determine what is or what is not acceptable under the rule of law environment and what modifications or recommendations can be made in respect of a blockchain application either at the micro level or macro level to focus on fulfilling and fostering of the rule of law standards and values.

4.1. Blockchain and regulation

Blockchains are at once regulatable and regulatory technology. There is no paradox in that statement - the blockchain code itself is self-enforcing, regulating those who engage with it.⁶⁶⁹ Code truly is one of the many forms of law.⁶⁷⁰ As such, distributed ledgers are one of many technologies that regulate those who engage with them. Code's regulatory potential made explicit by Reidenberg⁶⁷¹ and Lessig⁶⁷² in the 1990s, has long materialized. For example, online

⁶⁶⁹ Dimitropoulos, 'The Law of Blockchain' (n 63).

⁶⁷⁰ Wu (n 263).

⁶⁷¹ Joel R Reidenberg, 'Lex Informatica: The Formulation of Information Policy Rules through Technology' (1997) 76 Texas Law Review 553.

⁶⁷² Lessig, Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace (n 201).

platforms have become regulatory agents of their own motion and are also encouraged to assume such tasks by States, including the European Union.⁶⁷³

At first sight, law and code are noticeably distinct. Law is all about intentions, which is purposefully vague⁶⁷⁴, while code is about the process and, accordingly, must be specific⁶⁷⁵. Code embedded in the blockchain has a normative dimension, however, in that it governs the behavior of those who engage with it.⁶⁷⁶ Where code is increasingly assuming the function of law, law is progressively taking the form of code.⁶⁷⁷ In recent times, we see the technical code merging with legal code, resulting in giving expression to the normative objectives of the 'figure' or its creator⁶⁷⁸ – whether these are public entities, such as the European Union and its member States, or private actors, such as operators of online platforms or those in charge of blockchain regulation. This novel form of legal 'code-ification' is not a matter of surprise, as technological change has always been a source of legal change.⁶⁷⁹

With increasing online communications and transactions in society, regulatory functions of our online and offline lives have been taken over by digital platforms, as many transactions are governed by their terms of service, and platform-based dispute resolution mechanisms are enforced, disassociating ordinary courts.⁶⁸⁰ These developments indicate that code has become a remarkably efficient regulatory tool, increasingly assuming the traditional function of law in shaping human behavior. Programming code has thus started to inaugurate a new era of legal code-ification. With the evolution of such digital jurisdictions, the famous quote, "*code is law*", coined by Lessig in the late 1990s⁶⁸¹, has a wider significance. Lessig was referring to the architecture of the Internet and its potential to impose certain regulatory effects on Internet users - by embedding a certain value principle, the architecture sets the terms on which the Internet can be used and thereby defines what is possible in that space. The blockchain

⁶⁷³ Michèle Finck, 'Digital Co-Regulation: Designing a Supranational Legal Framework for the Platform Economy' (2018)43 European Law Review 1, 47.

⁶⁷⁴ Scott J Shapiro, 'Law, Plans, and Practical Reason' (2002) 8 Legal Theory 387.

⁶⁷⁵ Hans Fischer, 'Technology Perspectives on Code' in Egbert Dommering and Lodewijk Asscher (eds), *Coding Regulation: Essays on the Normative Role of Information Technology* (TMC Asser Press 2006).

⁶⁷⁶ De Filippi, Mannan and Reijers, 'Blockchain Technology and the Rule of Code: Regulation via Governance' (n 94).

⁶⁷⁷ Schafer (n 550).

⁶⁷⁸ ibid.

⁶⁷⁹ Filippi and Hassan (n 108).

⁶⁸⁰ Finck, 'Digital Co-Regulation: Designing a Supranational Legal Framework for the Platform Economy' (n 673).

⁶⁸¹ Lessig, 'The Law of the Horse: What Cyber Law Might Teach' (n 44).

technology has come to constitute an important building block of that evolution. Two main elements ground blockchains' potential as a regulatory technology. First, distributed ledgers' protocols enforce the 'figure's' normative choices. Depending on their respective set-up, this could be leveraged by both public and private actors to create a favorable environment for transactions that follow a definite set of rules, which may or may not reflect applicable laws.⁶⁸² Second, blockchain applications, especially smart contracts, can be designed to be self-enforcing, automating compliance with a predetermined rule set.⁶⁸³ However, smart contract execution cannot be stopped unless this is explicitly indented from the beginning, leading to the automated enforcement of the encoded rule set. "As a result of these technological advances, the lines between what constitutes a legal or technological rule becomes more blurred since smart contracts can be used as both a support and as a replacement to legal contracts".⁶⁸⁴

But can law effectively be substituted by the blockchain? The functional similarities between code and law and that of between digital and legal jurisdictions may indeed seem increasingly striking due to the advances in blockchain technology. However, the real concern is that both sets of rules are by no means necessarily congruent substantively, as they may well steer to different significant results: diverging results occur whenever the technologically codified rules differ from the applicable legal rules or whenever both sets of rules, even if their substance based on the similar principle, are applied in different manners.

4.2. Code in public and private regulatory frameworks

The technological architectures are the foundation and primary instrument of regulation: the notion of 'regulation' signifies a sustained and focused attempt to influence the behavior of others according to specific standards or objectives, aiming for recognized outcomes, which may involve "mechanisms of standard-setting, information-gathering and behavior-modification"⁶⁸⁵. Broadly, regulation is "encompassing any instrument (whether legal or non-legal, governmental or non-governmental in nature, direct or indirect in its operation, etc.)

⁶⁸² Hassan and De Filippi (n 89).

⁶⁸³ ibid.

⁶⁸⁴ Filippi and Hassan (n 108) 2.

⁶⁸⁵ Brownsword, 'In the Year 2061: From Law to Technological Management' (n 3) 42-45.

that is designed to channel group behavior. ".⁶⁸⁶ Such a perspective aligns with Lessig's theory - once the new architecture becomes widely available, other regulatory tools, such as law and social norms, flood in, and further constraints and limitations emerge. Therefore, users of the architecture, as well as the 'figure', adopt social norms, market policies, and legal regulations to bias the behavior of other users.⁶⁸⁷ From a narrower perspective, regulation may be defined as "*intentional attempts to alter the behavior of others in order to address a collective issue or problem.*"⁶⁸⁸ Therefore, it can be said that the only limit on behavior is provided by the technological architecture, the consciousness of those utilizing it and the intention of the 'figure'.

Nevertheless, technology is able to manipulate the symbolic and fictional structure of society, which is the very structure that constitutes legitimizing the basis for law, by sculpting social habits and the normative assessment of the world, society, and self. One example to illustrate this is the emergence of Lex Informatica, "a system of customary rules (or standards) and technical norms"689 that developed after the advent of the internet, wherein the internet created a new architecture of social interaction. Reidenberg was the first scholar to formulate the idea of information policy rules through technology and advocated the need for a lex informatica since rulemaking in cyberspace occurs partly through a technical architecture.⁶⁹⁰ Lex Informatica institutes a specific set of technical norms, standards, and rules that reflect the vision as well as the explicit and implied expression of the 'figure' responsible for developing the platform, rather than the intentions of the legislator. "The architectural implementation on online platforms ultimately depend on the specific choices of the platform designers, seeking to promote or prevent a certain type of actions".⁶⁹¹ Thus, this information revolution changed the way States carried out their information policies. It required the legislator to at least, be aware of the technological circumstances before they adopt new laws since this form of "regulation by code"⁶⁹² is currently employed to regulate various relationship on the Internet.

⁶⁸⁶ Roger Brownsword and Morag Goodwin, *Law and the Technologies of the Twenty-First Century: Text and Materials* (Cambridge University Press 2012).

⁶⁸⁷ Lessig, Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace (n 201).

⁶⁸⁸ Karen Yeung, "'Hypernudge": Big Data as a Mode of Regulation by Design', *The Social Power of Algorithms* (Routledge 2019).

⁶⁸⁹ Reidenberg (n 671).

⁶⁹⁰ ibid; Fischer (n 675).

⁶⁹¹ Hassan and De Filippi (n 89).

⁶⁹² ibid.

It is essential that the interaction between law and technology is understood to make regulations that have the intended effect - "*policymaking requires a consideration of the interaction between this legal code and the architecture of the technology within which the code functions*".⁶⁹³

In the context of the 'politics' of technology, it has been hypothesized that "technological design choices are part of the wider framework for public order".⁶⁹⁴ This hypothesis has turned out to be right in many respects, as software is used for public and private regulation, expressing the normative objectives of the 'figure'. With technological developments, many aspects of our online and offline lives are being determined by the normative choices embedded in code, which is a regulatory tool that articulates the objectives and preferences of the 'figure'. More often than not, however, this 'figure' is a private actor. Further, digital platforms are *"increasingly undertaking regulatory and police functions, which are traditionally considered"* a matter of public law".⁶⁹⁵ The functions of digital platforms include the use of injunctions against third parties, as in the case of L'Oréal vs. e-Bay⁶⁹⁶, compelling private actors to implement the General Data Protection Regulation and policing online hate speech, a matter delegated to platforms by the European Commission.⁶⁹⁷ The Commission's encouragement that platforms assume such functions is instructive, as public authorities have increasingly delegated enforcement tasks to private entities, while the latter is also self-appropriating such functions. This has turned online platform intermediaries into "private cyber-regulators and cyber-police".698

Private sovereignty, exercised through coded terms of service, is replacing public sovereignty expressed through law. Digital platforms have become "substitutes for state power –

⁶⁹³ Lawrence Lessig, 'Law Regulating Code Regulating Law' (2003) 35 Loyola University Chicago Law Journal 1, 2.

⁶⁹⁴ Langdon Winner, *The Whale and the Reactor: A Search for Limits in an Age of High Technology* (University of Chicago Press 2010).

⁶⁹⁵ Luca Belli, Pedro Augusto Francisco and Nicolo Zingales, 'Law of the Land or Law of the Platform? Beware of the Privatisation of Regulation and Police', *Platform Regulations: How Platforms are Regulated and How They Regulate Us* (FGV DIREITO RIO 2017) 41

⁶⁹⁶ Patrick van Eecke and Maarten Truyens, 'L'Oréal v. eBay: The Court of Justice Clarifies the Position of Online Auction Providers' (2011) 12 Computer Law Review International 129..

⁶⁹⁷ Belli, Francisco and Zingales (n 695).

⁶⁹⁸ ibid.

'adjudicating' speech rights under their own community guidelines, rather than law".⁶⁹⁹ To illustrate, code regulates the humans who are using digital platforms. Uber uses code to control its drivers. Its internal code of conduct is enforced through code, as non-observance thereof results in the automated delisting of the driver or rider.⁷⁰⁰ The transportation platform, moreover, uses behavioral science to manipulate drivers through code-based psychological inducements.⁷⁰¹

Code has thus doubtlessly become an important source of private regulation, an evolution that is not without problems. When code assumes this function, the principal source of rulemaking is the 'figure', that is, the technology developer.⁷⁰² Private regulation is not exposed to the same checks and balances of law-making as public authorities are, however. The code that so often regulates us lacks transparency and escapes scrutiny, even more so when it benefits from trade secret protection.⁷⁰³ This has led Pasquale to refer to related algorithms and code as black boxes.⁷⁰⁴ It is important to remember, however, that when code acts as law, it is not acting in total isolation. Online policies programmed by code, rather, are "*both shaped by and reshape existing laws, regulations, and social mores*".⁷⁰⁵ In recent years, though, increasing criticism has been voiced that the law has not been able to stop the development of 'platform power' and the breach of fundamental human rights through code.⁷⁰⁶ Standard content guidelines may not respect the principle of legality, as online codes of conduct prohibit content that is lawful under EU law.⁷⁰⁷ While there are convincing arguments as to why entities such as platforms should be able to leverage the regulatory power of code, we must rethink the involvement of public

⁶⁹⁹ Daphne Keller (ed), *Law, Borders, and Speech Conference: Proceedings and Materials* (Stanford Law School, Stanford Center for Internet and Society, 2017) https://cyberlaw.stanford.edu/publications/proceedings-volume

⁷⁰⁰ 'Legal | Uber' <https://www.uber.com/legal/en/> accessed 7 April 2024.

⁷⁰¹ Noam Scheiber, 'How Uber Uses Psychological Tricks to Push Its Drivers' Buttons', *Ethics of Data and Analytics* (Auerbach Publications 2022).

⁷⁰² Reidenberg (n 671) 552, 571.

⁷⁰³ Deepa Varadarajan, 'Trade Secret Fair Use' (2014) 83 Fordham Law Review 1401.

⁷⁰⁴ Frank Pasquale, *The Black Box Society: The Secret Algorithms That Control Money and Information* (Harvard University Press 2015)..

⁷⁰⁵ Ian Brown and Christopher T Marsden, *Regulating Code: Good Governance and Better Regulation in the Information Age* (MIT Press 2013) xii.

⁷⁰⁶ Julie E Cohen, 'The Regulatory State in the Information Age' (2016) 17 Theoretical Inquiries in Law 369.

⁷⁰⁷ Joe McNamee and Maryant Fernández Pérez, 'Fundamental Rights and Digital Platforms in the European Union: A Suggested Way Forward' *How Platforms are Regulated and How They Regulate Us* (FGV DIREITO RIO 2017) 99.

authorities and the broader community in these processes to safeguard legitimacy. Indeed, important concerns arise when code is used as law in the absence of procedures that safeguard ideas of democracy, legitimacy, transparency, and accountability.

Public authorities progressively rely on code in their rule-making and enforcement responsibilities. Increasingly, predictive technologies are informing the State in its legislative capacity, including informing legislative decisions – modeled to influence individual and collective behavior, while the automated enforcement of the law is also on the horizon. This code-ification of law has been portrayed as the source of a "*new system of social ordering known as algorithmic regulation*".⁷⁰⁸ Yeung has defined algorithm regulation as "*decision-making systems that regulate a domain of activity in order to manage risk or alter behavior through the continual computational generation of knowledge by systematically collecting data, in real-time on a continuous basis, emitted directly from numerous dynamic components pertaining to the regulated environment in order to identify and, if necessary, automatically refine or prompt refinement of, the system's operations to attain a pre-specified goal".⁷⁰⁹*

By exerting public regulatory influence, compliance of the technical rule of code with law can be ensured. Code has an extraordinary capacity to secure compliance as software enforces its own rules. For example, it has been used to assess people's eligibility for welfare benefits and public aid⁷¹⁰, to identify parents who might be required to provide child support⁷¹¹, to determine who is allowed to board a flight⁷¹² or, generally, to quantify security risks.⁷¹³ Several States in the United States also rely on code to calculate whether low-income citizens qualify for the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program and to calculate their entitlement to food stamps.⁷¹⁴

By translating law into technical rules, legal provisions are automatically enforced by the underlying technological framework. Instead of hunting down wrongdoers after a legal

⁷⁰⁸ Karen Yeung, 'Algorithmic Regulation: A Critical Interrogation' (2018) 12 Regulation & Governance 505.

⁷⁰⁹ ibid.

⁷¹⁰ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207).

⁷¹¹ ibid.

⁷¹² Danielle Keats Citron, 'Technological Due Process' (2007) 85 Washington University Law Review 1249, 1252.

⁷¹³ Frank Pasquale and Glyn Cashwell, 'Four Futures of Legal Automation' (2015) 63 UCLA Law Review. Discourse 26, 37.

⁷¹⁴ Michael Wiseman, 'The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program' in Christopher J O' Leary and others (eds), *Strengths of the Social Safety Net in the Great Recession: Supplemental Nutrition Assistance and Unemployment Insurance.* (Upjohn Institute for Employment Research 2019) 93.

infraction, code-based systems can ensure greater compliance with the law by preventing violations before they occur. Delegating the task of applying these rules into a technical system lessens the risk of anyone failing to implement such rules - whether inadvertently or willingly - ultimately decreasing the need for oversight and ongoing enforcement. In acting as a form of public regulatory tool, code can be used to increase State control. It would indeed be a mistake to believe that technological change is necessarily the source of deregulation, as cheaper sensors and cameras enable more surveillance, and connected devices will *"render ever more aspects of daily experience as pressure points for regulatory intervention"*.⁷¹⁵ Such tools have the ability to enable a *"real-time and proportionate regulatory regime that identifies and addresses risk while also facilitating far more efficient regulatory compliance"*.⁷¹⁶

These assertions resonate well in the context of blockchain, where the technology has been enthusiastically embraced as an "*important tool for protecting and preserving humanity*"⁷¹⁷ and is said to be "*at the same level as the internet in terms of importance*".⁷¹⁸ Therefore, there needs to be caution on board. With blockchain developing at an increasing rate, "governments themselves may be replaced by decentralized (autonomous) organizations with people banding together and setting rules for their own governance, collect taxes, and distribute wealth in ways the group believes is fair. We will see communities forming nations, unbounded by geographical boundaries, and governed through a set of algorithmic rules that can be both established and enforced through voting mechanisms and smart contracts".⁷¹⁹ This may lead to the formation of a self-governing State aided by the development of techno-democratic systems.⁷²⁰

Blockchain also has the potential to enhance public control over individuals. For instance, the simple process of appointing the board of directors in a company presently relies on traditional methods such as paper mailing or insecure electronic proxy services. However, in this process, shareholders encounter numerous obstacles when attempting to propose corporate changes or

⁷¹⁵ Pasquale and Cashwell (n 713) 36.

⁷¹⁶ Douglas W Arner, Janos Barberis and Ross P Buckey, 'FinTech, RegTech, and the Reconceptualization of Financial Regulation' (2017) 37 Northwestern Journal of International Law & Business 371; Michele Finck, 'Blockchains: Regulating the Unknown' (2018) 19 German Law Journal 665.

⁷¹⁷ Hughes (n 296).

⁷¹⁸ Spyros Makridakis and Klitos Christodoulou, 'Blockchain: Current Challenges and Future Prospects/Applications' (2019)

¹¹ Future Internet 258.

⁷¹⁹ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 39.

⁷²⁰ Balaji Srinivasan, 'Software Is Reorganizing the World' (2013) Wired Magazine.

reforms. There exists an opportunity to streamline this entire system, making it more efficient and responsive by utilizing blockchain technology where the votes could be instantly recorded, simplifying the process of electing the directors significantly. Physical annual meetings could be replaced by virtual gatherings streamed online, eliminating the need for in-person attendance. Through remote participation and the secure storage capabilities of blockchain, votes could be securely submitted and tallied in real-time, ensuring trust and transparency.⁷²¹

Unlike other technologies, blockchain is not merely a neutral tool but is crafted with specific features that enable alegality. These features include decentralization, immutability, and cryptographic verification, which collectively create a system that operates outside the traditional bounds of the legal domain. In contrast to centralized systems where legal authority is vested in a central entity, blockchain's decentralized architecture challenges the spatial boundaries of legal orders by existing across multiple jurisdictions simultaneously, raising questions about jurisdictional authority and enforcement. Since data stored on the blockchain cannot be easily altered or deleted, its immutability attribute questions the temporal boundaries of legality by challenging the conventional understanding of retroactive legal application. Materially, blockchain's decentralized nature challenges traditional configurations of rights and obligations, potentially reshaping the landscape of legal interactions. Subjectively, blockchain's anonymity and pseudonymity blur the distinction between legally protected and sanctioned acts, complicating the attribution of responsibility within legal frameworks. Wood's notion of technological systems, such as blockchain, introducing alegal challenges aligns with this perspective, highlighting the inherent strangeness or "inhumanity"722 of such technologies, where the decentralized and immutable nature of blockchain disrupts traditional conceptions of legality, presenting novel challenges to legal orders worldwide.

Thus, technology including blockchain, no doubt, is a powerful normative tool for the people who operate it. It can be used as an instrument of public and private ordering, where the dynamics between them are often fluid.

⁷²¹ De Filippi, 'Blockchain Technology and Decentralized Governance: The Pitfalls of a Trustless Dream' (n 72).

⁷²² Yuk Hui, *Recursivity and Contingency* (Rowman & Littlefield 2019).

4.3. Intersection between the Rule of Code and the Rule of Law

In order to scrutinize the extent to which "governance by blockchain"⁷²³ may circumvent the spread of traditional law, I will cross-examine the intersection and interactions between two distinct governance modes that have been the point of discussion since the start of this chapter – the 'rule of law' that is the conventional law, and the 'rule of code' which broadly covers the internal rules of blockchain systems in the form of executable software code and technical protocols. This conceptual analysis will provide us with a representative picture of the different kinds of interactions, including those anticipated in the future, between 'the code of law' and 'the code is law' as technology develops and matures.

Within the cyberspace, "*code is law*"⁷²⁴, in so far as the software code and technical infrastructure of the internet checks, controls, and enables human behavior and interactions that takes place online.⁷²⁵ There are remarkable parallels between the resistance to regulation adversity by parts of the blockchain community and initial conceptions of internet regulation. In the early 1990s, it was envisaged that internet users would create distributed sociotechnological systems that self-regulate like biological systems⁷²⁶, that users would themselves define the rules that apply to them⁷²⁷, and that a "*New Magna Carta for the Knowledge Age*", repealing existing legal systems, was needed.⁷²⁸

In the context of blockchain-based systems, it's crucial to distinguish between the rule of law and the rule of code, the latter being defined and enforced by technology. While governments wield enormous authority within their borders, exerting control over a blockchain-based system poses challenges. This is primarily due to the unique attributes of public blockchain networks such as their distributed and decentralized nature, inherent pseudonymity (or anonymity in

⁷²³ De Filippi and Loveluck (n 73).

⁷²⁴ Lessig, *Code Version 2.0* (n 256).

⁷²⁵ Lessig, Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace (n 201).

⁷²⁶ Kevin Kelly, Out of Control: The Rise of Neo-Biological Civilization (Addison-Wesley Longman Publishing 1994).

⁷²⁷ Howard Rheingold, *The Virtual Community: Finding Commection in a Computerized World* (Addison-Wesley Longman Publishing 1993).

⁷²⁸ Esther Dyson, 'Cyberspace and the American Dream: A Magna Carta for the Knowledge Age (Release 1.2, August 22, 1994)' (1996) 12 The Information Society 295.

cases like Zcash or Monero⁷²⁹), and their (purported) immutability and incorruptibility, that enforcing national laws on these systems is complex, though feasible. Blockchain-based systems operate under an alternative framework of code-based rules and procedures, that is, the *lex cryptographica*, dictated by the underlying blockchain protocol, where the power of *'lex cryptographica'* is intuitively appreciable. When specific conditions that could be represented computationally within the technological artifact are fulfilled, the code autoexecutes as per the preset logic⁷³⁰, without going into its logic. The outcomes of such autoexecution are enforced without any consideration of external factors or its relevancy for reflections of the real-world. Yet, once the codes are scripted (similar to traditional framing of legal rules), and executed, storing both the self-executing codes and their outcomes in the blockchain means both the logic and the product thereof are immutable.

The smart contracts enable this feature of "*ex-ante enforcement of technical rules, thereby reinforcing the opportunities of regulation by code and the corresponding legal implications it might entail*".⁷³¹ Therefore, in an 'order' regulated by self-executing smart contracts and similar technical arrangements, the necessity for judicial enforcement diminishes because the fashion in which the rules have been defined—the code—is the same 'formula' by which they are executed.⁷³² Thus, in a legal philosophical as well as practical sense, the rule of code tends to become 'law' substantially through combining the formation and enforcement of the contract into a single instrument.⁷³³ "*The only way for people to infringe the law is to effectively break the code, and this raises the question over what is legally versus technically binding*".⁷³⁴ It can be said that "although implementing basic contractual safeguards and consumer protection provisions into smart contracts is theoretically possible, in practice, it may prove difficult given the formalized and deterministic character of code"⁷³⁵.

⁷²⁹ Jong-Hyouk Lee, 'Rise of Anonymous Cryptocurrencies: Brief Introduction' (2019) 8 IEEE Consumer Electronics Magazine 5, 20.

⁷³⁰ Hassan and De Filippi (n 89) 3.

⁷³¹ Hassan and De Filippi (n 89).

⁷³² Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 26.

⁷³³ Karen E C Levy, 'Book-Smart, Not Street-Smart: Blockchain-Based Smart Contracts and The Social Workings of Law' (2017) 3 Engaging Science, Technology, and Society 1, 3 < https://doi.org/10.17351/ests2017.107> accessed 9 October 2024.

⁷³⁴ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 26.

⁷³⁵ ibid.

Regardless of the obscurity or subjective appreciation of human minds, when a smart contract is executed, the correlation between the form and substance of the outcome indicates its material effects to be governed only by the precepts and prescriptions of pure code. Being characterized by "*turing-completeness, value awareness, blockchain-awareness and state*"⁷³⁶, smart contracts possess the competence to define complex conditions written in a computer code, display non-arbitrary behaviors when certain conditions are satisfied; it can also sustain and supervise the enforcement of preset rules over time, and register the results in the immutable blockchain. This feature of *lex cryptographica* can even be drawn from the definition of blockchain provided by Buterin, the inventor of Ethereum, where he defined the technology as "*a magical computer that anyone can upload programs to and leave the programs to self-execute, where the current and all previous states of every program are always publicly visible, and which carries a very strong crypto economically secured guarantee that programs running on the chain will continue to execute in exactly the way that the blockchain protocol specifies."⁷³⁷*

Through *lex cryptographica*, the mainstream deployment and adoption of blockchains will "*require a shift in the way we perceive the role of law*".⁷³⁸ Blockchains are perceived to offer an opportunity to "*construct a new legal structure which will give rise to a new substantive legal issues and cause shifts in legal culture and legal structures*".⁷³⁹ In the world of *lex cryptographica*, law is created through regulative or legislative measures and then effected through "*cryptographic smart-contracting computer code*"⁷⁴⁰, leveraging the ability of code to achieve compliance.⁷⁴¹ *Lex cryptographica* also offers the benefits of flexibility and rapid adapted to the policy problem.⁷⁴² Through the combination of flexible adaptation and

⁷³⁶ Vitalik Buterin, 'A Next Generation Smart Contract and Decentralized Application Platform' (2014) 3 Ethereum White Paper 37.

⁷³⁷ Buterin, 'Visions Part I: The Value of Blockchain Technology' (n 212).

⁷³⁸ Wright and De Filippi (n 1).

⁷³⁹ Reyes (n 152).

⁷⁴⁰ ibid 400.

⁷⁴¹ Finck, (n 716).

⁷⁴² Reyes (n 152) 400.

guaranteed execution, *lex cryptographica* is anticipated to "*disrupt national legal systems at their very core elements*" and alter how we explore, reflect, and converse about the law.⁷⁴³

A deep dive into the dynamics between the *lex cryptographica* and law and its reciprocal effect, reveal that the application potential of blockchain has increased with the development of 'upgraded' blockchain codes. As such, blockchain technologies make it possible to incorporate instructions into the code⁷⁴⁴, thereby permitting any person to enter into (contractual) relations with other persons or machines, where the contractual agreements and clauses are embedded into the rule of code. This leads to the recognition of the blockchain technology as an authentic *"regulatory technology"*⁷⁴⁵, in the sense that it orients and modifies the behavior of the individuals who use it. Therefore, this technology could be increasingly employed to monitor and regulate individual's behavior and conduct, ensuring their 'consistent' compliance with legal requirements or with the contractual obligations that they have agreed upon.⁷⁴⁶ *"The blockchain could be used, for instance, to manage identity, making it easier to monitor, surveil or simply keep track of various online activities. Every transfer, vote, purchase can be recorded on the blockchain, creating a permanent record that will potentially push the boundaries of privacy law"*.⁷⁴⁷

In the future, the interconnection between code and law will increase, with code performing as a means of delivering regulation that might diverge from State-sanctioned law. It is worth stressing that regulators are also beginning to think along the same lines. The Australian Standards Organization, which is spearheading the blockchain work of the International Standards Organization, has proposed cultivating "*a regulatory framework that provides a mix of legal and technical rules*".⁷⁴⁸ In fact, it may be possible to speed up information sharing between market participants and regulators by using blockchain.⁷⁴⁹ Blockchain technology, which enables instant global transactions, can also register customer records and digital

⁷⁴³ ibid 414.

⁷⁴⁴ Tasca and Piselli (n 42).

 ⁷⁴⁵ Jonathan B Wiener, 'The Regulation of Technology, and the Technology of Regulation' (2004) 26 Technology in Society
 483 < https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tecsoc.2004.01.033> accessed 9 October 2024.

⁷⁴⁶ Hassan and De Filippi (n 89) 4.

⁷⁴⁷ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 53.

⁷⁴⁸Panagiotis Delimatsis, 'When Disruptive Meets Streamline: International Standardization in Blockchain' in Daniel Kraus and others (eds), *Blockchains, Smart Contracts, Decentralised Autonomous Organisations and the Law* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2019). https://doi.org/10.4337/9781788115131.00010> accessed 9 October 2024

⁷⁴⁹ Christine Lagarde, 'Addressing the Dark Side of the Crypto World' (IMF Blog, 13 March 2018).

signatures to reduce tax evasion, and thereby, enhance digital security and "*identify suspicious transactions in close to real-time*".⁷⁵⁰

4.3.1.Normative influence

In the crypto space, the relationship between code and the law has a factual, legal, and political dimension.⁷⁵¹ Practically, however, it is difficult for the law, due to the absence of a regulatory intervention interface⁷⁵² to directly alter the code of a smart contract, stop its execution, or reverse its effects if they were contrary to the law. This inflexibility not only impedes "legal overruling"⁷⁵³, but also causes significant costs to the parties or the users of the blockchain application for filling gaps in incomplete smart contracts. Moreover, in some smart contracts, it may be difficult for parties to enforce their legal rights if their counterparty is unknown, due to pseudonymity, or based in a country with a weak judicial system. To understand this issue, Hacker et.al provided an example where a person in the European Union buys a mobile phone directly from an Asian merchant by means of a smart contract, the payment is executed after GPS-verified delivery, but the phone is not in conformity with the contract, then the buyer may - depending on the applicable legal regime - have remedies against the merchant. However, if the buyer fails to undertake due diligence before contract formation, by seeking unambiguous identifying information, it may be difficult, in practice, to recover the payment or to enforce remedies. To this extent, code, which is specified ex-ante, may trump the law that only offers remedies ex-post. However, this merely shifts contractual risk between parties and does not affect the general relationship between the code and the law. It is worth noting, however, that such risk, as well as the need to import off-chain data, for example, GPS localization or information on the contractual confirmation, which depends on the behavior of the users, does infuse a necessary and significant element of 'trust' into blockchain transaction, initially thought to dispense of it, since blockchain promises to operate in a trustless manner.

It may be asked to what extent users of a blockchain-based application may opt out of the legal system or at least out of specific legal protections. While different legal regimes offers different degrees of legal protection to which blockchain users can contract around substantive legal provisions, a more subtle but potentially even more far-reaching question arises with respect to

⁷⁵⁰ ibid.

⁷⁵¹ Hacker and others (n 48).

⁷⁵² De Filippi and Wright (n 134) 181.

⁷⁵³ Usha Rodrigues, 'Law and the Blockchain' (2019) 104 Iowa Law Review 679; Sklaroff (n 114).

the interpretation of blockchain-based legal arrangements.⁷⁵⁴ This notion of a 'far-reaching' question aligns with what Brownsword asked⁷⁵⁵: "*can the parties opt out of the traditional way of interpreting contracts, and more specifically, for example, restrict interpretation to the equivalent of a literal approach to the meaning of the code, devoid of a good faith-based or purposive modes of interpretation?*" These are some crucial 'food for thought' issues, especially whenever the specific features of a smart contract are unilaterally exploited by one party or an attacker in ways that may violate the spirit but not the actual code of the application.

On the political level, this reflects the divergence between views, stressing the "*self-sufficiency and autonomy of the blockchain space*" as declared by Arvicco in their Crypto-decentralist Manifesto⁷⁵⁶, and approaches situating blockchain as set out by Eich⁷⁵⁷, Ortolani⁷⁵⁸, and Lianos⁷⁵⁹, within the bounds of the broad realm of socio-technological instruments that necessarily communicate with, and are nested inside, the broader political and legal context and claims, 'just as any other technology'.⁷⁶⁰ These different normative predispositions and conflicts can also be found in the variety of approaches inherent in the contributions that range from a focus on private ordering⁷⁶¹ to reclaim the political dimensions of blockchain and money⁷⁶² and even to the discussion of potential fundamental rights violations by smart contract enforcement.⁷⁶³

⁷⁵⁴ Stefan Grundmann and Philipp Hacker, 'Digital Technology as a Challenge to European Contract Law: From the Existing to the Future Architecture' (2017) 13 European Review of Contract Law 255, 280.

⁷⁵⁵ Roger Brownsword, 'Smart Contracts: Coding the Transaction, Decoding the Legal Debates' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019) 311.

⁷⁵⁶ Arvicco, 'A Crypto-Decentralist Manifesto' (2016) <http://etherplan.com/A-Crypto-Decentralist-Manifesto-en.pdf> accessed 9 October 2024.

⁷⁵⁷ Stefan Eich, 'Old Utopias, New Tax Havens: The Politics of Bitcoin in Historical Perspective' in Philipp Hacker and others(eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019) 85.

⁷⁵⁸ Pietro Ortolani, 'The Judicialisation of the Blockchain' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019) 289.

⁷⁵⁹ Lianos (n 230).

⁷⁶⁰ Frank Pasquale, 'A Rule of Persons, Not Machines: The Limits of Legal Automation' (2019) 87 The George Washington Law Review 1; Raskin (n 251).

⁷⁶¹ Jonathan Rohr and Aaron Wright, 'Blockchains, Private Ordering, and the Future of Governance' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019) 43.

⁷⁶² Georgios Dimitropoulos, 'Global Currencies and Domestic Regulation' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019) 112,; Eich, (n 757).

⁷⁶³ Ortolani (n 758).

Code, especially when tamper-proof, may thus come to trump over other sources of normative influence that guide human behavior. The two elements of blockchain that stand out in particular when assessing its potentially transformative impact on law are (1) the self-executing nature of the rule of code and (2) the possibility of customizing law. Seen from this perspective, blockchain enabled smart contracts are new regulatory agents. In traditional contractual agreements, parties bear the risk of the counterparty not adhering to the agreement, and the law provides remedies when this is the case. In contrasts, smart contracts remove such risks by ensuring that the agreement is self-executing. For example, when a red light at a signal is violated or a car is wrongly parked, smart contracts can automatically levy fines.⁷⁶⁴

When distributed ledgers are used as a means of public regulation, constraining regulatory and governance mechanisms are needed, as otherwise, these systems can easily become mechanisms of control. By regulating code, blockchain may become a tool of freedom as well as of oppression. States could use the technology to expand their own power, as the "*universal visibility of transaction on a distributed ledger is an authoritarian regime's dream*".⁷⁶⁵ It is feared that distributed ledgers may ultimately be used for personal surveillance of individuals to act "*as a powerful deterrent for those who might be tempted to commit violent interferences with the personal security and bodily integrity of others*".⁷⁶⁶

4.3.2.Impact of technology on legal norms

As we increasingly rely on technology to enforce legal norms, there's a risk of law progressively assuming the characteristics of code, with rules becoming more rigid to fit the technology that is meant to enforce them. The emergence of blockchain technology has realized this risk, particularly in contract law. Over time, contractual terms have been directly embedded into code, as seen in traditional Digital Rights Management (DRM) systems, simplifying enforcement. As technology evolves as a preferred means to enforce contracts, the reliance on traditional legal contracts may diminish. Moreover, with smart contracts, code can be used not only for the purpose of enforcing existing legal provisions but also with a view of defining them in the first place.

⁷⁶⁴ Hissu Hyvärinen, Marten Risius and Gustav Friis, 'A Blockchain-Based Approach towards Overcoming Financial Fraud in Public Sector Services' (2017) 59 Business & Information Systems Engineering 441; Finck, (n 716).

⁷⁶⁵ Werbach, *The Blockchain and the New Architecture of Trust* (n 62).

⁷⁶⁶ Yeung, 'Blockchain, Transactional Security and the Promise of Automated Law Enforcement: The Withering of Freedom under Law?' (n 120).

Unlike other technological innovations, such as digital right management systems, which impact upon legal enforcement by rendering the relevant rules self-executing⁷⁶⁷, the blockchain affects the creation of the law that stems from the contract more effectively since it has propensity to rely on the rule of code, to control individual behavior and transactions.⁷⁶⁸ Blockchain, coupled with smart contracts, introduces a novel form of regulation by code, reshaping our understanding of the law.

Blockchains' core value proposition of automated execution can accordingly be used as a mechanism of private or public regulation. When it is relied upon, it forces us to reflect on the assumptions enshrined in contemporary legal orders. In addition to triggering efficiency gains, blockchain applications may cause changes to the nature of law. As more legal rules and contractual terms are encoded into smart contracts, the conventional notion of law, as a flexible and inherently ambiguous set of rules, may need to adapt to better align with code.⁷⁶⁹ First, the law is not automatically self-enforcing. Rather, it sets out behavioral specifications that parties are incentivized to comply with but have the freedom to disregard and assume consequences, which are, in turn, administered by the legal system.⁷⁷⁰ When code is used, compliance is the only option, with the exception of those who are able to circumvent code. Second, when the rule of code embedded in the blockchain is used to express legal obligations, such as in terms of smart contract rules, there is a need to adapt the law, its ambiguity and flexibility, into a newer law that is more compatible with code.⁷⁷¹ This would change legislative drafting, as language that can be translated into code has to be used, and conversely, also change the process of legislative negotiation, which can include the intentional use of unclear language.

Law is impersonal, as it is not tailored to an individual's specific preferences. However, due to technological innovations, more personalized rules are on the horizon. Digital footprints can be combined with machine-learning algorithms to offer personalized advertising and personalized pricing.⁷⁷² As a result, "*personalized default rules are the wave of the future; we*

⁷⁶⁷ Dan L Burk, 'Copyright and the Architecture of Digital Delivery' (2014) 19 First Monday 10 <https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v19i10.5544> accessed 9 October 2024.

⁷⁶⁸ Dimitropoulos, 'The Law of Blockchain' (n 63).

⁷⁶⁹ ibid.

⁷⁷⁰ De Filippi and Hassan (n 108).

⁷⁷¹ ibid; Finck, 'Blockchains: Regulating the Unknown' (n 716).

⁷⁷² Ryan Calo, 'Digital Market Manipulation' (2014) 82 George Washington Law Review 995, 1016–1018.

should expect to see a significant increase in personalization as greater information becomes available about the informed choices of diverse people".⁷⁷³

One anticipated effect of blockchains' *lex cryptographica* is that smart contracts could "*make it easier for citizens to create custom legal systems, where people are free to choose and to implement their own rules within their own techno-legal framework*".⁷⁷⁴ The customization of applicable norms at the individual level would enable individuals to ascertain the rules applicable to them in accordance with their corresponding preferences and to switch between rule sets contingent upon circumstances and time. The generally established view is that the rule of code is "*distinct from legal regulation because its mechanism may implement customizations with minimal effort*".⁷⁷⁵ This means that anyone can be a regulator and can engage in "*forum shopping*"⁷⁷⁶, possibly weakening the territorial sovereignty of the State and the rule of law.

By programming the rule of code and placing trust in it, the parties to the smart contract are, in fact, making a private law, therefore removing the need for recognition or legitimization by conventional law, which is an artificial culturally established symbolic referent. It associatively implies that coding, as in smart contracts, is fundamental for auto execution and responsible for the legal basis, the law, and its enforcement. As the symbolic referents are replaced with code, a profound displacement of the traditional imagery and symbolic basis of law takes place. *"New codified relationships that are defined and automatically enforced by code, but are not linked to any underlying contractual rights or obligations"* are introduced into smart contracts.⁷⁷⁷ *"To the extent that a blockchain allows for the implementation of self-executing transactions, parties can freely transact with one another, without the technical need, "there into a standard contractual arrangement"*.⁷⁷⁸ However, regardless of the technical need, *"there*

⁷⁷³ Cass R Sunstein, 'Impersonal Default Rules vs. Active Choices vs. Personalized Default Rules: A Triptych' (2013) NYU Law & Economics Research Paper Series.

⁷⁷⁴ Wright and De Filippi (n 1); Kaeseberg (n 155).

⁷⁷⁵ Reidenberg (n 671) 569, 580.

⁷⁷⁶ David Wright, 'Enforcing Privacy' in David Wright, and Paul De Hart (eds), *Enforcing Privacy: Regulatory, Legal and Technological Approaches* (Springer 2016) 13.

⁷⁷⁷ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 11.

⁷⁷⁸ ibid.

may be a legal need to memorialize a smart contract in writing in order to make such arrangements enforceable in a traditional court or other judicial tribunal".⁷⁷⁹

When governments resort to personalized law, blockchain provides the ideal database for them to store related data in light of its tamper resistance and resilience, achieved through replication.⁷⁸⁰ In the context of personalized law, distributed ledgers "*can be leveraged to create a decentralized, pseudonymous and dynamic government database which stores the relevant parameters for personalized law, such as the degrees of bounded rationality or specific personality traits of different persons*".⁷⁸¹ Thus, in addition to efficient law enforcement through smart contracts, blockchains can be used to manage individual parameters such as individualized rights and obligations⁷⁸², not just in contractual settings but also by the State.

When code is used to personalize law, procedures must ensure that fundamental constitutional principles or the rule of law is upheld. The ability of code to personalize law is not limited to smart contracts but constitutes a broader phenomenon. Cynics might object that these evolutions are nothing new, as, in ordinary legislative processes as well, legislation can be sold for "*campaign contributions, votes, implicit promises, and sometimes outright bribes*".⁷⁸³ Seen from this perspective, smart contracts simply lower entry costs to an already existing phenomenon. Yet just because the real world doesn't always live up to its ideals, it doesn't mean that these ideals, including the rule of law, should be abandoned outright. While legislative processes, including the European Union's ordinary legislative procedure, are far from perfect, they nonetheless postulate important guiding principles.⁷⁸⁴

Conventional legal systems, thus, have a justifiable responsibility to defend and protect certain core interests, particularly the rule of law and the safety and security of its citizens, which extends well beyond the provisions of transactional security that are endangered by blockchain

⁷⁷⁹ ibid, footnote 50.

⁷⁸⁰ Philipp Hacker, 'Personalizing EU Private Law: From Disclosures to Nudges and Mandates' (2017) 25 European Review of Private Law.

⁷⁸¹ Finck, *Blockchain Regulation and Governance in Europe* (n 90); Hacker (n 780).

⁷⁸² Finck, *Blockchain Regulation and Governance in Europe* (n 90).

⁷⁸³ William M Landes and Richard A Posner, 'The Independent Judiciary in an Interest-Group Perspective' (1975) 18 Journal of Law and Economics 875.

⁷⁸⁴ Curtin Deirdre and Leino Päivi, 'In Search of Transparency for EU Law-Making: Trilogues on the Cusp of Dawn' (2017).
54 Common Market Law Review 1673; Finck, *Blockchain Regulation and Governance in Europe* (n 90).

applications.⁷⁸⁵ The magnitude of the potential threats by blockchain being faced by these core interests seems too contingent upon at least two variables. The first and foremost variable is the purpose and intention of participants of the blockchain network about conventional law in pursuing to engage in various blockchain network activities.⁷⁸⁶ The second variable is about the nature, scope, and magnitude of potential harm resulting from specific blockchain applications applicable to both users or network participants and to third parties.⁷⁸⁷ Where code assumes the function of law, that is the phenomenon of 'code is law', it must be bridged with legal systems and their overarching ideals.

4.4. Classification of blockchain applications

Different blockchain applications can be broadly classified under different groups, based primarily on the purposes and intentions of particular blockchain participants in relation to the conventional legal system and the potential harms that these might generate- blockchain as law avoidance, blockchain as supplementary to law, and blockchain as alleviating transaction frictions.

4.4.1.Blockchain code as law avoidance

Due to the decentralized, distributed nature of the computational network dispersed around the globe, it is believed that sovereign State control of public blockchains is effectively not feasible. However, even when the technology is highly decentralized at the hardware level (at the application layer or macro level), it can still be centralized at the software governance level (at the infrastructure layer or micro level) – "there are only a few developers who have the necessary knowledge, expertise, and power to decide on the evolution of the Bitcoin protocol".⁷⁸⁸ As such, certain regulatory interventions must be made possible by focusing on the macro level and micro level, respectively, which can identify the key intermediaries and the 'figure' responsible for programming the rule of code embedded in the blockchain since

⁷⁸⁵ Yeung, 'Regulation by Blockchain: The Emerging Battle for Supremacy between the Code of Law and Code as Law' (n199).

⁷⁸⁶ ibid.

⁷⁸⁷ ibid.

⁷⁸⁸ De Filippi and Loveluck (n 73).

the blockchain operates within an ecosystem of a broad range of applications, exchanges, and practices in which the technology interfaces with the real world.⁷⁸⁹

Particularly if it is observed that blockchain networks are being used deliberately to circumvent the significant legal obligations that are meant to protect individuals and the public interest, it is quite likely that sovereign enforcement agencies will not be mere spectators if such avoidance actions are considered non-trivial in size and scale and would seek to protect the public and the State through appropriate interventions. This, expectedly, can lead to an active "battle of supremacy"⁷⁹⁰ wherein the 'code of law' endeavors to exercise its sovereign power over 'code is law' to stop misuse of the anonymity feature of public blockchains. However, this battle will not be a "once-for-all fight for survival"⁷⁹¹ with a single winner, but in all, it probably will be akin to a series of ongoing interactions in which State regulators and authorities pursue to dodge the loopholes of blockchain which are used to exploit to stonewall the substantive demands of law. Although State regulatory and enforcement bodies would prefer to nail the primary culprits, that is, those individuals and groups who actively pursue to avoid substantive legal obligations by engaging in blockchain-based activity, authorities find it more effective and convenient to go after those who act as intermediaries between blockchain networks and the real-world.⁷⁹² But, as the role of intermediaries gets diluted with time and more services are placed on unpermissioned blockchains, sovereign authorities might pursue to enforce legal responsibilities on the 'figure' who are the code developers and miners directly, albeit the success of imposing responsibilities on the 'figure' is not yet known.

Regulatory constraints, in most cases, decide the choices of the 'figure.' In order to make software projects compliant with the regulatory environment, the design of code ought to be shaped by the law. To illustrate, legal frameworks have outlawed the reverse engineering of encryption in digital rights management to enforce copyright law.⁷⁹³ The European Union's Directive on Copyrights and Related Rights in the Information Society has prohibited the

⁷⁸⁹ Berryhill, Bourgery and Hanson (n 291).

⁷⁹⁰ Yeung, 'Regulation by Blockchain: The Emerging Battle for Supremacy between the Code of Law and Code as Law' (n 199).

⁷⁹¹ ibid.

⁷⁹² ibid; Roger Brownsword, Eloise Scotford and Karen Yeung, 'Law, Regulation, and Technology: the Field, Frame and Focal Questions' in Roger Brownsword and others (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Law, Regulation and Technology* (Oxford University Press 2017) 3.

⁷⁹³ Articles 11 and 12, WIPO Copyright Treaty 1996.

import, sale, rental, and possession of all tools that can be exploited to bypass encryption systems.⁷⁹⁴ Another example of how law influences network architecture can be found in the General Data Protection Regulation, which is essentially a code-constraining scheme that subjects the modalities of personal data processing to plentiful qualifications.

Court decisions can also have a similar effect. How law affects software is famously illustrated in the Microsoft Corporation vs. the US Court of Justice.⁷⁹⁵ The European Commission had accused Microsoft of having abused its dominant position in the market for the supply of client PC operating systems.⁷⁹⁶ The European Court of Justice held that Microsoft had weakened competition by refusing to supply competitors with the option of interoperability and by bundling the Windows Media Player with Windows PC.⁷⁹⁷ It not only fined Microsoft almost €500 million but also ordered to offer a newer version of the operating system only without its media player.⁷⁹⁸ Future versions of Microsoft's software code were thus shaped by the judicial decision.

The fate of Napster demonstrates that law not only forms the design of code but also can bring its demise.⁷⁹⁹ Although the company encountered legal challenges regarding copyright infringement and was swiftly compelled to cease its operations, it was able to function as a method of law avoidance for some time. To evade similar legal consequences, decentralized peer-to-peer file-sharing protocols like BitTorrent were subsequently developed to eliminate the vulnerability of a central point of control, which could be legally prosecuted⁸⁰⁰. Notably, despite legal efforts, BitTorrent has remained operational, highlighting how software code can effectively circumvent law-originated rules and constraints.

Sometimes, code is intended to evade regulatory compliances so as to minimize legal costs.⁸⁰¹ Code is a powerful tool to avoid regulations that are coupled with social norms, which has, for

⁷⁹⁴ Article 6(2), ibid.

⁷⁹⁵ Francisco J Lorca, 'Microsoft Corporation vs. the US Court of Justice and the European Community' (Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series Vol. 9 No. 10, June 2009).

⁷⁹⁶ Article 102, Consolidated version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union 1957 (OJ C).

⁷⁹⁷ Lorca (n 795).

⁷⁹⁸ ibid.

⁷⁹⁹ Ku (n 170).

⁸⁰⁰ Johan Pouwelse and others, 'The Bittorrent P2p File-Sharing System: Measurements and Analysis' in Miguel Castro and others (eds), *Peer-to-Peer Systems IV* (Springer 2005).

⁸⁰¹ Wu (n 263) 103, 105.

example, allowed for the large-scale avoidance of obscenity laws with respect to online pornography.⁸⁰² While many jurisdictions have noted obscenity laws that could be applied to online pornography, they are usually not enforced.⁸⁰³ Since such materials are widely available, which has become possible through code, States have had the choice to "*either invest large sums to attempt to enforce the law in the digital environment, or they could de facto deregulate adult obscenity and focus their attentions on more pressing problems such as child-abuse images*".⁸⁰⁴ Most provinces, however, have chosen the second option, also in light of changed social norms regarding sexuality.⁸⁰⁵

What remains questionable is whether code is a realistic law avoidance mechanism at scale, considering that most citizens are not motivated to evade the law but, rather, prefer the defaults of legality and convenience. Only a minority of users rely on this option, while most adhere to the legal default.⁸⁰⁶ States may indeed tolerate law avoidance only because it does not scale to cause systematic problems. While code doubtlessly can be used as a law avoidance technique, probably also at scale, it has, however, never disrupted regulatory systems. The question to ask, then, is whether this will be different with regard to blockchains. Whereas the technology's constitutive features can be operated to facilitate law evasion, it is not clear that most citizens would want to rely on systems outside the default of legality. Whereas the rule of code embedded in the blockchain can be used as a means of law avoidance, it can be used as a more efficient means of law enforcement.

Indeed, if blockchain technologies are utilized by participants deliberately to evade the reach of substantive legal duties and obligations, the rule of law and sovereignty of law are directly threatened⁸⁰⁷. Accordingly, we can expect national law enforcement agencies to assert their legal powers to stop and prevent the deliberate use of blockchain systems to avoid the reach of obligations imposed by conventional laws. If national legal authorities do not take appropriate action against flagrant attempts to evade the extent of the law, which may include criminal

⁸⁰² Michele Finck, 'Blockchains as a Regulatable Technology', *Blockchain Regulation and Governance in Europe* (Cambridge University Press 2018).

⁸⁰³ ibid.

⁸⁰⁴ ibid; Andrew Murray, Information Technology Law: The Law and Society (Oxford University Press 2013).

⁸⁰⁵ Finck, 'Blockchains as a Regulatable Technology' (n 802).

⁸⁰⁶ Sunstein (n 773).

⁸⁰⁷ Yeung, 'Regulation by Blockchain: The Emerging Battle for Supremacy between the Code of Law and Code as Law' (n 199).

activity, not only the potential victims of crime are exposed to grave injury, but also the reputation of the regulator is dented, and confidence in the integrity of the national legal system is diluted.⁸⁰⁸ In other words, if there is intentional use of blockchain networks, particularly by those dealing in cryptocurrencies, to evade the principal obligations imposed by tax authorities, and financial market regulators, national legal systems can be invoked to enforce legal action against them. This can be illustrated by the case of the Ad listing site Backpage, which allowed its users to pay in Bitcoins, that lists everything, even ads relating to human trafficking, where the US enforcement authorities took stringent steps to stop the services of such a website and curb the crime.⁸⁰⁹

Among many challenges that conventional systems are grappling with, one significant issue is about permitting the use of blockchain systems for lawful functions whilst seeking to clamp down on blockchain activities that are engaged in for the express purpose of avoiding substantive legal obligations that would otherwise apply. For example, the concept of Bitcoin was originally devised by Nakamoto as an alternative to conventional legal currencies issued by sovereign States that would facilitate payments so as to bypass the States.⁸¹⁰ Of course, instituting such an alternative system of payment is akin to a barter system within local communities and does not threaten the rule of law. However, with an increasing degree of anonymity associated with Bitcoin compared to that of conventional currencies, it has become a widespread tool to engage in illegal activities. Regardless, in exceptional cases, we can see that when bitcoins were used as the preferred mode of payment for the traffickers to make payment for online classified ads, where such groups of ads can be linked to the common author on Backpage by analyzing the Bitcoin information available in the public domain.⁸¹¹ By comparing the timestamp of making a payment with the appearance of the ads on the Backpage, the payment of ads with a common author can be traced to the unique wallet maintained by the Bitcoin user. This tool enabled law enforcement agencies to establish a linkage among ads by scrutinizing payment methods and the semantics of the ads and to find answers about human

⁸⁰⁸European Banking Authority, 'EBA Opinion on Virtual Currencies' (EBA/Op/2014/08, 4 July 2014).

⁸⁰⁹ Wulfhorst (n 322); Revell (n 322).

⁸¹⁰ Andres Guadamuz and Christopher Marsden, 'Blockchains and Bitcoin: Regulatory Responses to Cryptocurrencies' (2015)
20 First Monday.

⁸¹¹ 'Follow the Bitcoin to Find Victims of Human Trafficking' (*NYU Tandon School of Engineering Press Release*, 16 August 2017) https://engineering.nyu.edu/news/follow-bitcoin-find-victims-human-trafficking> accessed 9 October 2024.

traffickers and their *modus operandi*. Thus, the architectural design of blockchain offered a potential solution to identify the people involved in human trafficking.⁸¹²

Nonetheless, there have been circumstances where blockchain technology has been intentionally used to evade substantive legal requirements, particularly to avoid tax liability or other regulatory obligations⁸¹³, such as those aimed at identifying and reducing the risk of money laundering⁸¹⁴, the national legal authorities have selectively wielded their sovereign authority over those activities as well as the participants when particular sites of criminal activity have developed, thereby threatening to undermine the sovereignty of conventional law.⁸¹⁵ Since the blockchain network is 'distributed in nature' and is characterized by the absence of a single legal entity, conventional legal authorities have focused their enforcement activity at specific public interfaces within the larger digital canvas in which the technology has been used for illegal activities, in order to clamp down the use of the blockchain to circumvent substantial legal obligations. For example, an online blockchain-powered marketplace, 'Silk Road'816, over which various illegal merchandise could be sold and purchased by using Bitcoin as a mode of payment, was shut down by the regulators instead of restricting the use of Bitcoin.⁸¹⁷ The enforcement agencies have also not paid close attention to identifying the individuals who are using cryptocurrencies deliberately to circumvent the substantive obligations arising under conventional law and take action against them. It seems authorities are following a more preventative and defensive strategy. Instead of focusing on apprehending and punishing the primary offenders, the authorities, it appears, are more concerned with blocking the possible use of cryptocurrencies for avoiding legal duties.

4.4.2. Blockchain code as complementary to the law

Since blockchain is a general utilitarian-based technology, the programs based on this technology can be configured to operate in partnership with conventional legal systems,

⁸¹² Brett Israel, 'In a Step toward Fighting Human Trafficking, Sex Ads Are Linked to Bitcoin Data' (*Berkeley News*, 16 August 2017) accessed 9 October 2024.

⁸¹³ Orly Mazur, 'Can Blockchain Revolutionize Tax Administration?' (2022) 127 Penn State Law Review 115

 ⁸¹⁴ Akinyemi Omololu Akinrotimi, 'Legal Ramifications of Blockchain Technology' in Mohammad A Khan and others (eds), Decentralised Internet of Things: A Blockchain Perspective (Springer 2020) 217.
 ⁸¹⁵ ibid.

⁸¹⁶ Van Hout and Bingham (n 320).

⁸¹⁷ ibid.

including attempts to harness the power of blockchain systems as a vehicle for securing compliance with substantive legal norms.

For instance, by transposing law into a smart contract and requiring that parties either to interact with these smart contracts or to incorporate them directly into their information systems, States can automate the enforcement of specific rules or regulations without the need to affirmatively monitor each and every transaction. Laws implemented using blockchain technology provide certain advantages over traditional code in terms of both autonomy and transparency because smart contract code is executed by the underlying blockchain-based network. It cannot be unilaterally manipulated by any single party; transposing legal rules into smart contract code - rather than on a piece of software running on a centralized server - means that no centralized operator can modify these rules or prevent their execution. A blockchain-based platform thus comes with the additional guarantee that the rules it incorporates have been followed by all parties interacting with the said platform.

Code can be used as a substitute for law when technology is better suited to resolve policy issues.⁸¹⁸ It can assist in achieving regulatory objectives efficiently while implementing the law. For example, geolocation technology has enabled courts to impose penalties on activities related to citizens in their jurisdiction, while digital rights management helps to enforce copyright law in cyberspace.⁸¹⁹

We can see that technology provides potent tools for the enforcement of policies and decisions. Technology is now being employed to enhance regulatory processes to ease regulatory monitoring, reporting and compliance in replacing manual by digital processes.⁸²⁰ This illustrates the functionality of the technological artifact to enforce regulation more easily, and thus, it may facilitate a more detailed regulation, with compliance being monitored through code.⁸²¹ Thus, it is essential to understand the 'efficient alignment' between blockchain technology and law, which takes place in three ways, namely, supplement, complement, or substitute.

⁸¹⁸ Reidenberg (n 671) 552, 583.

⁸¹⁹ Jonathan Zittrain, 'Internet Points of Control' in Sandra Braman (ed), *The Emergent Global Information Policy Regime* (Palgrave Macmillan 2004).

⁸²⁰ Arner, Barberis and Buckey (n 716).

⁸²¹ Wessel Reijers and others, 'Now the Code Runs Itself: On-Chain and off-Chain Governance of Blockchain Technologies' (2021) 40 Topoi 821.

In the case of a functional trust architecture, a blockchain can function as an additional layer, provided the law permits the same. The chief value proposition of having a blockchain in a supplementary role is the gain in speed and efficiency of sharing a data record.⁸²² In this role, the blockchain substitutes the error-prone messaging structures between participants without disturbing the general industry structure. To illustrate, the United States has a well-developed legal system for dealing with real estate transactions.⁸²³ The presence of strong norms and formal rules has created a formidable environment of trust. However, there are significant inefficiencies in the system. Title insurance⁸²⁴, a tool used to protect buyers against defects in land titles, is largely based on paper records and must be traded among multiple parties. While the trust burden involved in the transaction is taken care of by the existing legal obligations and overarching business regulatory framework, introducing blockchain could, with a superior record-keeping mechanism, improve efficiency and mitigate risk.⁸²⁵ Moreover, by using smart contracts, States could, therefore, ensure compliance with regulatory requirements embodied in these code-based systems. This makes it possible to achieve a new form of technical accountability - one that is dictated by technology and that is less dependent on traditional expost enforcement.

Because the blockchain is both transparent and tamper-resistant, any rule implemented via smart contract or incorporated in a blockchain-based protocol can be documented and proven record on a cryptographically secure and distributed data system, providing an auditable trail of activities performed from or tied to a particular account or smart contract. Therefore, in a blockchain ledger, the trust in the integrity of the data remains intact and the trust relationships between buyer and seller are unchanged. From a regulatory perspective, blockchains could prove more reliable than traditional reporting tools in that they are not only declarative but also performative; one cannot claim to have executed a transaction without having actually executed it. To the extent that information recorded on a blockchain cannot be unilaterally modified or deleted by any single party, a blockchain can be relied on as proof that other particular

⁸²² Nitin Upadhyay, 'Demystifying Blockchain: A Critical Analysis of Challenges, Applications and Opportunities' (2020) 54 International Journal of Information Management 102120.

⁸²³ Robin Paul Malloy, 'Real Estate Transactions: Policy Considerations for Law, Technology and Globalization' (2005) 27 Law & Policy 81.

⁸²⁴ Anirudh Burman, 'Making Land Titles in India Marketable: Using Title Insurance as a Viable Alternative to Conclusive Titling' (2019) 28 Washington International Law Journal 109 https://digitalcommons.law.uw.edu/wilj/vol28/iss1/5> accessed 9 October 2024.

⁸²⁵ Werbach, 'Trust, but Verify: Why the Blockchain Needs the Law' (n 109).

transaction has occurred. By incorporating legal requirements into a blockchain-based protocol or smart contract, States thus can determine when and how the law was applied and with whom - without incurring the risk that a centralized operator tampered with the logs.⁸²⁶ To illustrate, States around the globe implement anti-money laundering regulations, which require that financial institutions track flows of money, including virtual currencies, and report suspicious activity to stamp out money laundering, tax evasion, and terrorist financing.⁸²⁷ By relying on a blockchain, laws could require that regulated intermediaries such as virtual currency exchanges implement or interact with specific smart contracts that control the flow of transactions for these regulated intermediaries, enabling transactions to occur only if they satisfy the strict logic of the underlying code. A blockchain could be used, for instance, to verify whether an individual is permitted to transfer virtual currency. According to the information retrieved from the blockchain, a smart contract could limit the amount of virtual currency a person is legitimately entitled to transfer at any given time.

Tax collection could also conceivably be streamlined with blockchain technology. The use of automated smart contracts could help ensure that people, organizations, and potentially even machines relying on blockchain-based systems to pay taxes. For instance, instead of waiting for periodic tax returns, tax authorities could require that taxes be automatically calculated and remitted as soon as a transaction is complete by using specifically designed smart contracts that would be executed every time a party receives or disperses funds with a particular smart contract. Such a system would not only eliminate the need for periodic tax reporting but would also reduce the opportunities for people or companies to engage in tax evasion or other types of fraud. In much the same way, in the context of the Internet of Things, smart contracts could be deployed to ensure that blockchain-enabled devices automatically pay taxes whenever they engage in some form of profitable economic transaction even where these transactions do not involve any human intervention but rely on machine-to-machine interactions.⁸²⁸

In a supplementary role, where existing legal obligations bear the burden of 'trust', the blockchain is used exclusively to protect the integrity of data on the shared ledger.⁸²⁹ Though such an arrangement is the least ambitious mode of the blockchain application without any

⁸²⁶ Sklaroff (n 114).

⁸²⁷ Nicole Radziwill, 'Blockchain Revolution: How the Technology Behind Bitcoin Is Changing Money, Business, and the World (2018) 25 Quality Management Journal 64.

⁸²⁸ De Filippi and Wright (n 134).

⁸²⁹ Werbach, 'Trust, but Verify: Why the Blockchain Needs the Law' (n 109).

serious transformation attempt, the same is likely to be most comfortable for regulators and other government actors because it does not ask them to change their roles or rules substantially. On the whole, the blockchain, as a supplement to the law, can promote efficiency and reduce transaction costs but is unlikely to herald large-scale transformations in the industry structures or drive lasting innovations.⁸³⁰

In situations where the legal system is not sufficient to establish trust, distributed ledgers can complement and increase the coverage of the existing trust architecture.⁸³¹ Under traditional methods, scaling up centralized arrangements is often difficult and does not produce the necessary solutions.⁸³² However, when the blockchain empowers new markets and products, it performs so in such a manner that they are complementary to the existing legal regime.⁸³³

Let us reflect on the challenges of dealing with "*orphan works under copyright law*".⁸³⁴ Since the right holders of 'orphan works' are not known, anyone who may desire to utilize them cannot do so; for example, if a documentary filmmaker wants to incorporate certain archival footage, he or she is not in a position to negotiate a license even if they desire. Thus, orphan works are in a legally indeterminate state. Therefore, even if, in some cases, such orphan works are in the public domain, the risk of statutory damages for copyright infringement is too high and intimidates away potential users of the material. In this scenario, a blockchain-based distributed registry could provide the right opportunity to craft a new market.⁸³⁵ Such an arrangement would ensure that the stored information is available to all, and no intermediary would have excessive gatekeeping power. Moreover, such a complementary role could also trace the efforts to engage in the persistent search for rights-holders required under copyright law.⁸³⁶ As a complement to law, smart contracts could also be used to ensure that the users of orphan works pay requisite licensing fees to legitimate rights-holders. Though the distributed

⁸³⁰ Charalampos Alexopoulos and others, 'How Blockchain Technology Changes Government: A Systematic Analysis of Applications' (2021) 8 International Journal of Public Administration in the Digital Age 1.

⁸³¹ Casey and Vigna (n 23).

⁸³² Werbach, *The Blockchain and the New Architecture of Trust* (n 62).

⁸³³ De Filippi, Mannan and Reijers, 'Blockchain as a Confidence Machine: The Problem of Trust & Challenges of Governance' (n 9).

⁸³⁴ Jerry Brito and Bridget Dooling, 'An Orphan Works Affirmative Defense to Copyright Infringement Actions' (2005) 12Michigan Telecommunication & Technology Law Review 75.

⁸³⁵ Jake Goldenfein and Dan Hunter, 'Blockchains, Orphan Works, and the Public Domain' (2017) 41 Columbia Journal of Law & Arts 1..

⁸³⁶ ibid.

ledger would not entirely replace the need to have a standard copyright law, it would certainly extend in that direction.⁸³⁷

Blockchain also finds application as a substitute for the law in situations where there is no or weak traditional legal enforcement. If the feasible rule of law does not exist, then the rule of code of blockchain, to begin with, maybe a substantial enhancement. For example, blockchain technology in the form of Bitcoin and other cryptocurrencies can offer practical solutions to mitigate the lack of access to bank accounts being faced by several billion people in the developing world and to provide the required opportunities for easy credits and payments.⁸³⁸ The United Nations World Food Program has also demonstrated that the Ethereum blockchain can be successfully used to track food aid distribution to Syrian refugees in Jordan.⁸³⁹ The program ensured accountability in an environment where it is difficult to enforce traditional legal obligations.

Such approaches could enable blockchain technology to achieve specific regulatory objectives in ways that are more efficient and less costly than those of existing laws and regulations. Building on Lessig's analysis of how computer code can be used on the Internet both as a compliment and a supplement to the law, the use of blockchain technology could play an increasingly important role in regulating the behavior of individuals and machines. Depending on the initiatives of the governments and public institutions to adopt this technology, the focus of regulation can be shifted from 'code is law', that is, 'using code to implement specific rules into technology', to 'code as law', that is 'relying on technology to define and implement State mandated laws'.⁸⁴⁰

4.4.3.Blockchain code as transaction friction alleviator

Most blockchain participants or users have demonstrated two diametrically opposite approaches to dealing with conventional law. At one end of the pole, some work on blockchain to utilize the technology to circumvent the substantive duties that are made obligatory by conventional law, while others at the other end intend to utilize the technology to fulfill these

⁸³⁷ Patrick Murck, 'The True Value of Bitcoin' (2013) Cato Unbound: A Journal of Debate https://www.cato-unbound.org/2013/07/31/patrick-murck/true-value-bitcoin/> accessed 9 October 2024.

⁸³⁸ Susan Athey, '5 Ways Digital Currencies Will Change the World' (*World Economic Forum*, 22 January 2015) https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2015/01/5-ways-digital-currencies-will-change-the-world/ accessed 15 October 2024.

⁸³⁹ Uta Kohl, 'Blockchain Utopia and Its Governance Shortfalls', *Blockchain and Public Law* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2021).

⁸⁴⁰ De Filippi and Hassan (n 108); Hassan and De Filippi (n 89).

duties.⁸⁴¹ But there is also a third set of blockchain developers who are positioned somewhere between these two poles, those who are determined to use blockchain primarily to engage in novel forms of cooperation and innovation in ways that avoid the procedural burdens and associated costs and formalities associated with conventional legally supported forms of coordination.

One significant motivation to develop innovative blockchain applications is not just to escape the substantive obligations of conventional law but to escape from the economic and procedural limitations of conventional law,⁸⁴² which is considered as a legitimate objective.⁸⁴³ The law-makers and enforcement agencies dealing with conventional law respond to these applications variously depending upon their judgment on whether or not any intervention into blockchain systems is practically feasible, required, or appropriate.

As distributed ledgers promise to emerge as "*an important technological and economic phenomenon*"⁸⁴⁴, institutions are adopting an innovation-friendly approach. However, innovation friendliness must also be combined with respect for public policy objectives. While openness to new technologies is of paramount importance, policymakers must look beyond innovation narratives and engage critically with actual developments.⁸⁴⁵ This is easier said than done, especially in light of the possible multiple uses of blockchain. The decisions to be made are much more complex than the dichotomy between 'banning' or 'allowing' use cases of the technology.⁸⁴⁶ Rather, sensible regulatory frameworks must be designed so that a balance between innovation and public policy is maintained.⁸⁴⁷

While numerous applications of blockchain technology that strive to introduce newer forms of social and economic activities are in their infancy, their prospects are largely unknown in spite of all the hype around them. As against this, conventional law-makers are just keenly watching the game and, for the time being, just content to allow the ongoing blockchain innovation movement without attempting to exercise their sovereign authority, ensuing a relationship of

⁸⁴¹ Yeung, 'Regulation by Blockchain: The Emerging Battle for Supremacy Between the Code of Law and Code as Law' (n 199).

⁸⁴² ibid.

⁸⁴³ ibid.

⁸⁴⁴ Beck and others (n 118).

⁸⁴⁵ Butenko and Larouche (n 225).

⁸⁴⁶ Deloitte (n 242).

⁸⁴⁷ Crumpler (n 311).

'uneasy coexistence' between the rule of code and law. At the same time, the 'figure' engaged in building innovative blockchain applications has also adorned an attitude of suspicion towards conventional law, given that one of their central objectives is to nurture and develop novel innovative forms of social cooperation to get rid of the procedural burden, delays, and costs which are typically related to the conventional legal mechanism for facilitating transactions between strangers, resulting both systems displaying an attitude of 'mutual suspicion' towards the other.

By categorizing blockchain applications based on their motivations and potential impacts on legal interests, the analysis reveals varying degrees of interaction, from adversarial to cooperative dynamics, between blockchain and conventional law. This analysis facilitates to focus on the State's decisions regarding the adoption of blockchain technology, considering its advantages, trade-offs with the rule of law values, and impacts on governance.⁸⁴⁸ It emphasizes the importance of examining both macro-level intentions and micro-level design in order to ensure that blockchain applications align with the rule of law standards, highlighting the need for comprehensive analysis from both *ex-post* and *ex-ante* perspectives to legitimize the blockchain employment, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

4.5. Battle for supremacy between code and law

Technology and regulation are often "*posed as adversaries*"⁸⁴⁹: technology represents "*markets, enterprise and growth*"⁸⁵⁰ while regulation symbolizes "*government, bureaucracy and limits to growth*".⁸⁵¹ The less-emphasized story is that there are many blockchain projects that actually strive to build legally compliant products. The history of internet regulation confirms that industry might eventually welcome regulation as it facilitates its operation. For example, internet service providers did not set up corporations in Sealand⁸⁵² but in jurisdictions with solid legal and institutional structures and the required human capital. Ultimately, internet companies sought regulations to get the consumer confidence that comes with it and to have

⁸⁴⁸ See Chapter 9.

⁸⁴⁹ Wiener (n 745).

⁸⁵⁰ ibid.

⁸⁵¹ ibid.

⁸⁵² Frank B Arenas, 'Cyberspace Jurisdiction and the Implications of Sealand' (2002) 88 Iowa Law Review 1165.

predictability on the actions of their competitors. There are thus abundant benefits to consumers due to cooperation between regulators and technology companies.

Since blockchains are not detached from the real world, rather, the applications based on this technology owe their success largely to the society they serve, it is but natural for code to seek societal recognition not only through politics and popularity but also through law. When tokens act as avatars of real-world goods, related actions must be enforceable in the real world.⁸⁵³ When the issue of net neutrality being abandoned in the United States came up, observers expressed concerns that internet service providers may automatically decide to block traffic coming from blockchains or undermine users' ability to run a node.⁸⁵⁴ As such, law is essentially required for stability and legal acceptability of code necessary to translate code into facts.

Regulations can, furthermore, support the development of code. It can provide certainty to the 'figure' wishing to pursue a certain option or create incentives for development. When code is *"slow to evolve, law can assist by removing bottlenecks to innovations"*.⁸⁵⁵ Regulatory uncertainty nowadays affects many aspects of blockchain's operation. In fact, innovation paralysis⁸⁵⁶ due to fear of legal consequences can be prevented by proper and unambiguous legal frameworks, which can act as a stepping-stone towards the design of more sophisticated software. The relationship between law and code is multifaceted.⁸⁵⁷ This emphasizes that the code does not exist in a vacuum but constantly interacts with other normative postulates. The manifest interdependence of the world underlines the fact that the blockchain cannot be an 'alegal' construct immune to regulation.

There is, therefore, no formal "*battle for supremacy*" between code and law⁸⁵⁸ since the technology is deliberately embedded within the conventional law in a network to build upon

⁸⁵³ Caroline Bradley and A Michael Froomkin, 'Virtual Worlds, Real Rules' (2004) 49 New York Law School Law Review 103; Rheingold (n 727).

⁸⁵⁴ Ingo Vogelsang, 'Net Neutrality Regulation: Much Ado about Nothing?' (2018) 17 Review of Network Economics 225.
⁸⁵⁵ Brown and Marsden (n 705) 31.

⁸⁵⁶ Jamey A Darnell and Shalini Gopalkrishnan, 'Digital Information Overload: How Leaders Can Strategically Use AI to Prevent Innovation Paralysis' in Nocole Pfeffermann and Monika Schaller (eds), *New Leadership Communication—Inspire Your Horizon* (Springer 2023).

⁸⁵⁸ Yeung, 'Regulation by Blockchain: The Emerging Battle for Supremacy Between the Code of Law and Code as Law' (n 199).

and actively support conventional law's authority over the relationships and activities of the users or network participants. Nevertheless, tensions may arise between these systems, particularly in circumstances where either conventional legal rights and obligations do not translate easily into code or where the interactions between the parties on the platform do not reflect those arising under the legal instruments that establish and define their respective rights and duties.⁸⁵⁹ So, although the interaction between the two regulatory systems is intended to be complementary and supportive, tensions and conflict are likely to arise from time to time. In other words, the character of their dynamic interaction might be described as equivalent to the *"joys of marriage"*⁸⁶⁰ – with a continuous, dynamic relationship that occasionally causes disagreements and discords but eventually pursues to provide long-term mutual support and collaboration so that both partners can profit. In this system, stability is almost assured by the willingness of one partner to accept the superiority of the other rather than agreeing to the partnership of equals. In fact, the *"joys of patriarchal marriage*"⁸⁶¹ are more apt for such systems since legal philosophers believe that linguistic texts, including those used in legal contracts, will inevitably have an element of ambiguity and uncertainty associated with them.

It is possible to cause adverse effects, albeit unintentionally, on third parties who are not party to the agreement while implementing a contractual agreement between the parties through blockchain-enabled smart contracts. The smart contracts are not 'smart' in the sense that they are just computer-programmed code that verifies, executes, and enforces the terms and conditions of an arrangement automatically and require external input to determine real-world events.⁸⁶² And to that extent, they are not, strictly speaking, legal contracts.⁸⁶³ Since smart contracts can adversely impact third parties, it is feasible to use smart contracts to cause intentional harm or produce some other adverse third-party effects. Naturally, the question then follows, how to redress the grievance of those third parties. When the contracting parties are fully committed to the rights and obligations in their dealing with both on and off the blockchain⁸⁶⁴, they would be sympathetic to the concerns of the third party and would look for

⁸⁵⁹ ibid.

⁸⁶⁰ ibid.

⁸⁶¹ ibid.

⁸⁶² ibid.

⁸⁶³ Werbach, 'Trustless Trust' (n 8).

⁸⁶⁴ Yeung, 'Regulation by Blockchain: The Emerging Battle for Supremacy Between the Code of Law and Code as Law' (n 199).

arrangements that would reflect the allocation of rights and duties that could be due under conventional law. However, if the blockchain community does not support providing a feasible solution, affected third parties may have to seek the assistance of the conventional law for justice. If this is the case, then such blockchain applications cannot be said to be "*mutually aligned*"⁸⁶⁵ with conventional law and do not represent those classes of cases that are motivated by a desire to "*alleviate transactional friction*".⁸⁶⁶ However, just as many blockchain developers have proactively invited interactions with legal authorities and embraced conventional law, the law-makers have also taken positive actions to appreciate technological developments and provide legal recognition to the blockchain, although with the conviction that the 'code of law' outweighs 'code is law'.

In summary, when blockchain systems are developed unequivocally with an intent to support and partner with conventional legal systems by providing a feasible solution to execute and implement legally enforceable rights and obligations with speed, efficiency, and reliability⁸⁶⁷, the outcome of dynamic interaction between such systems can be appreciated as a manifestation of the so-called "*joys of patriarchal marriage*".⁸⁶⁸ In this regard, some conventional law-making bodies within liberal legal regimes, which advocate for "*anything not prohibited is permitted*"⁸⁶⁹, have taken initiatives to validate the transactions via blockchain systems and to confer legal recognition. These steps are intended to keep away from any overt "*battle for supremacy*"⁸⁷⁰ between the 'code of law' and 'code is law', the assumption, without any doubt, is that the sovereign is supreme and its authority through the conventional law will always prevail over 'code is law'.

Since the State at the macro-level has to make decisions regarding the choice of blockchain artifacts depending on the purpose of using such technology, the advantage the technology provides, the accepted trade-offs with certain rule of law values, and the impact of such choices on the rule of law, it is important to analyze these decisions. This analysis will then facilitate an understanding of what the State intends for the blockchain to afford for a particular usage,

⁸⁶⁵ Akinrotimi (n 814).

⁸⁶⁶ Casey and Vigna (n 23).

⁸⁶⁷ Yeung, 'Regulation by Blockchain: The Emerging Battle for Supremacy Between the Code of Law and Code as Law' (n 199).

⁸⁶⁸ ibid.

⁸⁶⁹ ibid.

⁸⁷⁰ Werbach, 'Trust, but Verify: Why the Blockchain Needs the Law' (n 109).

which must result in an *ex-post* legitimacy such that the affordance follows the rule of law. Once the State's intention and affirmation towards the usage of blockchain application is absolute, the effectuation of the purpose behind the technology, that is, the *ex-post* outcome, is delegated to the 'figure', at the micro level, who designs, programs, and develops the technology with the necessary *ex-ante* configurations and affordances. Because technology is a potent tool to enforce norms, it matters what the 'figure' has created, to what end, and what are the affordances provided by the technology. The synergetic relation between law and code also manifests where law helps code. Therefore, it is important that not only the ex-post conceptual code rules (outcome) echo the values of the rule of law (at the macro-level), but also the ex-ante command code rules are valid and legitimate (at the micro-level), affording the rule of law standards. Ex-ante analysis needs to go hand-in-hand with the ex-post analysis since the relationship between code and law is that of 'Tom and Jerry'; just focusing on one level, either macro or micro level, would not be sufficient to legitimize the technology. Not only the purpose behind the conceptual rules for using the technology should be justified but also the command code rules which make this (justified) purpose possible, should also be legitimized. Thus, there is a need to study and acknowledge the blockchain artifact at the micro level, that is, at the programming stage, from the perspective of design theory and philosophy of technology in order to comprehend the human-technology interaction and examine how the blockchain code impacts the behavior of the users. I will deal with these issues in the next chapter.

PART II – The Design of the Rule of Code

Normative Foundations of Design in Blockchain Artifact

Continuing from previous discussion, this chapter explores the blockchain artifact from the perspective of design theory and philosophy of technology to examine how the blockchain code impacts the behavior of the users and the underlying human-technology interaction at the micro level or the programming stage. For this purpose, I employ the theory of affordance in relation to the concept of inscription and descriptions and the theory of technological mediation. This chapter, thus, examines the question: *how does the blockchain artifact shape, guide, and influence user behavior*, given that blockchain, like other technologies, is centralized at the software governance level that is managed by a small group of people or a single party like developers, programmers, herein referred to as the 'figure'. This chapter will facilitate in appreciating the technological design issues from a normative standard perspective so that one may aspire to produce legitimate normative architectures and also identify the similarity and dissimilarity, if any, between the characteristics of code embedded in the blockchain and the attributes of legal norms under the rule of law environment.

5.1. Design perspectives in blockchain

In a blockchain artifact, the governance of the decentralized network is performed by following the rule-sets as determined for the performance of the technology. These rule-sets are recognized as working rules within the blockchain protocol, which convey a constitutionalizing sense amongst the 'figure' and users.⁸⁷¹ The blockchain protocol "*is essentially a set of code rules written in a programming language, governing what is, and what is not, allowed* ".⁸⁷² The main utility of the rule of code, which is essentially identified with this technology, is to dictate what individual nodes can or cannot perform, causing a profound impact on the user. From this perspective, the rule of code can be considered as a rulebook for computing, which determines the user actions. The 'figure' aims to execute the intentions of the users who engage

⁸⁷¹ Alastair Berg, Chris Berg and Mikayla Novak, 'Blockchains and Constitutional Catallaxy' (2020) 31 Constitutional Political Economy 188; Shruti Rajagopalan, 'Blockchain and Buchanan: Code as Constitution' in Richard E Wagner (ed), *James M. Buchanan: A Theorist of Political Economy and Social Philosophy* (Palgrave Macmillan 2018) 359.

⁸⁷² Rajagopalan (n 871).

with the blockchain through the code programmed in the artifact. Therefore, it seems that the rule of code has the power to constrain or affect individual users. For instance, a blockchainbased system designed to secure and verify evidence of human rights violations may impact users through its technical transparency and accountability features. If the rule of code is programmed in the artifact in such a manner that it fails to adequately protect user anonymity or lacks robust security measures, individuals providing crucial evidence might face risks of retaliation, potentially leading to self-censorship and hindering the reporting of human rights abuses. Additionally, poorly designed code embedded within the blockchain artifact might marginalize certain user groups, limiting their ability to contribute to decision-making processes. The transparency and fairness of the blockchain system, as shaped by its rule of code, are pivotal in ensuring trust among users by safeguarding the rights of those involved.

Notwithstanding many seminal works on the blockchains, scholars continue to look for answers regarding various uses of blockchains and how it is enabled, how blockchains are being applied in specific contexts, and users' perceptions of the technology. For example, the key attributes of blockchain are built on the values of decentralization, immutability vis-à-vis tamperresistant, data integrity, and transparency⁸⁷³, but it is not known how these attributes are perceived and how they trigger action by the users or what they afford to the users. Although one of the main forte of blockchain technology may be its capability to ensure trust, it is not very clear how trust is programmed, generated and developed and how it impacts the interactions of users, bringing in a certain element of uncertainty. This uncertainty is the most important challenge for the long-term advancement of blockchain technology. Not much legal literature is available deliberating on design theory and philosophy of technology to understand the human-technology interaction and how does the rule of code embedded in the blockchain environment influence the individuals. So far, design is being treated in abstraction without engaging on what things actually do and how they do. However, if the engagement does not include the perspective of design theory and philosophy of technology, then the legal view of technology becomes very truncated.

⁸⁷³ Wenyu Derek Du and others, 'Affordances, Experimentation and Actualization of FinTech: A Blockchain Implementation Study' (2019) 28 The Journal of Strategic Information Systems 50.

5.2. Affordance – concepts and major groupings

As technology advances, it becomes more capable of influencing a user's trust in it.874 Understanding affordances enabled by blockchain helps us to analyze user behavior through a heuristic framework by elucidating the relationships between their abilities to perceive and take action. The technological affordances of blockchains, shaped through the rule of code embedded in the artifact, convey the heuristic prompts, which can actuate positive or negative heuristics, contingent upon the way the affordances manifest. These affordances can manipulate the 'confirmation of trust' of a user⁸⁷⁵ and produce a new normativity. Users' perceptions of the affordances and disaffordances provided by the artifact can affect how they feel, what they expect, and how they confirm and satisfy their needs.⁸⁷⁶ Therefore, it is important to explore the theory of affordance coupled with the concept of technological normativity. Here, I refer to the 'technological normativity' in a manner that juxtaposes the code's normativity and, more familiarly, the legal normativity – as explained by Hildebrandt.⁸⁷⁷ In fact, technological normativity is about how a particular technological device or infrastructure limits human actions or behavior, where the 'figure' has the power to impose these effects in code deliberately or otherwise and can create the rule of code with an emerging characteristic.

The action possibilities arising from the relation between any technological features, including those of blockchain and goal-oriented actors who determine how the technology can be used to create value⁸⁷⁸, are termed as 'affordances'. It is the enablement of a specific action or behavior for a particular user by the artifact's design. The concept was originated by Gibson, a perceptual psychologist, who defined affordances as opportunities for actions that are offered to an actor by an object.⁸⁷⁹ Affordance is about how organisms perceive their environments, so

⁸⁷⁴ Asle H Kiran and Peter-Paul Verbeek, 'Trusting Our Selves to Technology' (2010) 23 Knowledge, Technology & Policy 409.

⁸⁷⁵ Miriam J Metzger and Andrew J Flanagin, 'Credibility and Trust of Information in Online Environments: The Use of Cognitive Heuristics' (2013) 59 Journal of Pragmatics 210.

⁸⁷⁶ Donghee Shin and Frank Biocca, 'Exploring Immersive Experience in Journalism' (2018) 20 New Media & Society 2800.
⁸⁷⁷ Hildebrandt, 'Legal and Technological Normativity: More (and Less) than Twin Sisters' (n 447).

⁸⁷⁸ Bendik Bygstad, Bjørn Erik Munkvold and Olga Volkoff, 'Identifying Generative Mechanisms through Affordances: A Framework for Critical Realist Data Analysis' (2016) 31 Journal of Information Technology 83.

⁸⁷⁹ James J Gibson, 'The Theory of Affordances', *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (Psychology Press 2014) 127.

it asks questions like what the animal is capable of in a particular environment at a particular moment. So, there is a set of relationships constantly evolving between the organism and the place it finds itself.⁸⁸⁰ Norman appropriated the theory of affordance and imported it into the design sphere and used the term 'affordance' to denote certain design aspects of an artifact. Affordance refers to those properties that determine *"how the object could possibly be used within the capability bound of the agent."*⁸⁸¹ These affordances possess an implicit moral imperative, which allows the 'figure' of blockchain-based systems to endorse ethical goals in society by joining the 'mining' with the ecological and social benefits⁸⁸².

The affordances can be both beneficial and injurious to the individual, although the extent of the benefit or the injury may vary, meaning affordances can have both negative and positive values at the same time. However, instead of using value judgemental terms such as 'positive' and 'negative' in the affordance discourse, the use of the terms 'inscriptions' and 'descriptions' that are based on "biological and behavioral facts"⁸⁸³ are preferred. For example, water can afford to quench thirst and is essential to sustain life; at the same time, it can also afford drowning and floods, which can mean injury and possible death.⁸⁸⁴ As the degree of the benefit or injury is dependent upon the organism in question, the affordances result from the relationship between the artifact and a particular individual, as governed by its properties, and are not from the physical properties of the artifact alone. Gibson explained this relationship by listing down the physical properties of a hypothetical walking surface, which are usually measured in standard physical units.⁸⁸⁵ However, its affordance has to be determined with respect to the user. If the surface is to provide support to a specific animal, then the affordance has to be measured with respect to the animal, which would obviously differ depending upon the animal under consideration.⁸⁸⁶ Thus, affordances are not just abstract physical properties, they are unique and cannot be quantified in physical science.⁸⁸⁷

⁸⁸⁰ ibid.

⁸⁸¹ Donald A Norman, The Psychology of Everyday Things (Basic Books 1988).

⁸⁸² Beth Kewell, Richard Adams and Glenn Parry, 'Blockchain for Good?' (2017) 26 Strategic Change 429.

⁸⁸³ Gibson (n 879) 129.

⁸⁸⁴ ibid 128-129.

⁸⁸⁵ Gibson (n 879).

 ⁸⁸⁶ Gibson (n 879) 119; Matteo Baldoni, Guido Boella and Leendert van der Torre, 'Modelling the Interaction between Objects:
 Roles as Affordances' in Jerome Lang and others (eds), *Knowledge Science, Engineering and Management* (Springer 2006).
 ⁸⁸⁷ Gibson (n 879) 120.

The concept of affordance highlights the inherent and simultaneous objectivity and subjectivity of an artifact's potential effects on the world. The existence of an affordance is determined by both the attributes of the object and the capabilities of the interacting agent.⁸⁸⁸ Needless to say, affordance is not a property but a relationship whose existence owes to the properties of both the artifact and the user. Thus, affordance can be defined as the potential for behavior associated with achieving an immediate concrete outcome that arises from the relationship between an object (e.g., a technological artifact) and a goal-oriented actor(s), that is, the user.⁸⁸⁹ The non-requirement of a trusted third party is the most significant affordance of blockchain technology, which is why the technology is considered to be an enabler of trust.⁸⁹⁰ "Blockchain systems try to minimize the need for trust and produce confidence by hard-coding rules into the system, both at the infrastructure level, possibly through smart contracts."⁸⁹¹

Traditionally, the State has the authority to determine an individual's identity. However, in the online world, authorities specify how to identify an individual, for which purpose an 'identifier' is assigned to that individual, and the identity is protected through credentials like passwords that have been granted to private entities or trusted third parties. This authority is manifested in the form of prompts asking users to log in using their social media identity or email address.⁸⁹² However, reliance on 'trusted third parties' is particularly problematic since it makes users dependent on multinational enterprises that control accounts and always have the capability to arbitrarily decide not to permit the users to access. Furthermore, users are required to divulge a great deal of private information without always knowing how their data will be used. Enterprises track users, gather user data in a methodical manner, and run targeted advertisements using their identity management business. In this kind of environment, a variety of private organizations hold the data of individuals. These organizations have access to information that users have been compelled to provide in order to carry out online transactions. Given the continued frequency of identity theft and data leaks in the virtual world, the security of this data is not always assured. In this scenario, blockchain technology may be able to

⁸⁸⁸ Donald A Norman, *The Design of Everyday Things: Revised and Expanded Edition* (Basic Books 2013) 11.

⁸⁸⁹ Bygstad, Munkvold and Volkoff (n 878).

⁸⁹⁰ Jun Dai, Yunsen Wang and Miklos A Vasarhelyi, 'Blockchain: An Emerging Solution for Fraud Prevention' (2017) 87 The CPA Journal 12.

 ⁸⁹¹ Primavera De Filippi and others, 'Blockchain Technology, Trust & Confidence: Reinterpreting Trust in a Trustless System?'
 (2022) HIIG Discussion Paper Series. hal-03895402

⁸⁹² Such identity services are frequently provided by large technological corporations such as Apple, Meta etc.

liberate people from the controlling activities of these big tech corporations by enabling a new form of digital identity management, such as "*self-sovereign identity*" (SSI), that affords users sole authority over their online persona – only they can manage their personal information, and only they have the power to decide with whom to share their information and what to share and for what purpose. The SSI might potentially compete with the current monopoly on State-assigned identities, and as such can compensate for the absence of State-issued identity documents, whether due to loss or destruction or simply because the State in question failed to furnish them. It could also be useful in circumstances where the identity document is not recognized by a State, such as in diplomatic crises. Such affordance enhances confidence levels in data and information management systems.

Apart from a trustless system, blockchain technology also affords tamper-resistance, disintermediation and distributed architecture, and redundancy.⁸⁹³ It is a decentralized ledger designed to register assets, and one of its affordances is traceability. Traceability can be leveraged to bring in transparency to record-keeping and tracking in supply chain.⁸⁹⁴ When 'alegality' is embedded into a blockchain-based technological architecture through which people interact, then it can be said that the technological design of a blockchain-based system is providing the affordance for an alegal act.⁸⁹⁵ Therefore, one can appreciate that the "*design constituency*"⁸⁹⁶ or the 'figure' – that is, the designer or a group of designers who create the artifact, must incorporate necessary features in the artifact to achieve the preferred relationship between it and the user. This is invariably a subjective exercise since it is not feasible for the 'figure' to foresee and predict features that every user desires. However, envisioning the specific types of users to whom the process will be directed and interpreting their requirements and idiosyncrasy into desirable features as surrogates for the characteristics that the code must incorporate to create the affordance relationships the 'figure' seeks is an essential component of the design procedure.⁸⁹⁷ Product interfaces are, thus, constructed on this

⁸⁹³ Nir Kshetri, 'Blockchain's Roles in Strengthening Cybersecurity and Protecting Privacy' (2017) 41 Telecommunications Policy 1027.

⁸⁹⁴ De Filippi, Mannan and Reijers, 'The Alegality of Blockchain Technology' (n 18).

⁸⁹⁵ ibid.

⁸⁹⁶ Bryan Pfaffenberger, 'Technological Dramas' (1992) 17 Science, Technology, & Human Values 282.

⁸⁹⁷ Jonathan RA Maier and Georges M Fadel, 'Affordance-Based Methods for Design' (ASME 2003 International Design Engineering Technical Conferences and Computers and Information in Engineering Conference. Volume 3b: 15th International Conference on Design Theory and Methodology, Chicago, 2-6 September 2003)

fundamental idea, interpreting and decoding the state of the underlying code into a format that the 'figure' intends the user is capable of comprehending.

5.2.1.Perceived and actual affordance

It is not necessary for an affordance to be perceived; rather, the affordance is about the relationships between the true characteristics of the artifact and the organism.⁸⁹⁸ Such a relationship exists eternally and is open to an action for as long as the pre-requisite factors are present and fulfilled in both the blockchain architecture and the organism, that is, the individual or the user, even though the individual may not be aware of the latent correlation.⁸⁹⁹ Such affordances have been referred as 'actual' affordance, as opposed to 'perceived' affordance.⁹⁰⁰

Whilst asked to describe the primary purpose of a chair, for instance, we will mention sitting, perching, etc., yet, in a different circumstance, we may think of other applications for the chair, like steps or standing on it to reach higher ground. Comparatively, graphical items and interactive features are significantly less versatile; although we can often make use of the keyboard, double-click, hold down a button and drag, and left/right click, the actual outcomes of these activities are limited by the interface. This means that the decisions made by users are predicated on assumptions, which are verified only after the activity is completed. Therefore, unless an individual predicts or acknowledges the presence of the affordance, they may not act upon the relationship between themselves and the artifact despite the manifestation of such possibility. Thus, perceived affordances are actions that individuals believe are feasible based on design, as opposed to actions that are truly possible and which may or may not embody the entire gamut of relationships that exist between the individual and the artifact. This indicates that the user perceives they can take an action that is not among those that are offered to them. This distinction between actual and perceived affordances is very significant in technological systems since the affordances in such systems exist independently of what is visible on the screen.

⁸⁹⁸ Norman, *The Design of Everyday Things: Revised and Expanded Edition* (n 888) 13.

⁸⁹⁹ Samer Faraj and Bijan Azad, 'The Materiality of Technology: An Affordance Perspective' in Paul M. Leonardi, and others (eds), *Materiality and Organizing: Social Interaction in a Technological World* (Oxford University Press 2012) 237, 250–251.

⁹⁰⁰ Donald A Norman, 'Affordance, Conventions, and Design' (1999) 6 Interactions 38.

In the case of computers, built-in physical affordances are of little interest⁹⁰¹ since the design and incorporation of the perceived affordances can only be controlled by the 'figure', which are of more use in providing an interface showcasing the purpose of the application intended by the 'figure'. In the coded artifacts, the perceived affordance determines what the 'figure' can accomplish with the code. It may serve as a metric for evaluating how well an application programming interface (API) is being developed and the code that the 'figure' is creating.⁹⁰² An API with a clear perceived affordance enables the 'figure' to gain an understanding of its purpose and apply it easily inside the Cybernetic Environment for which it was built.⁹⁰³ If the 'figure' does not comprehend the core purpose of the environment and the API they are using, it is difficult to make good use of the tools afforded to them in order to create a well-designed, sustainable system.⁹⁰⁴ Therefore, even in the rule of code architecture, it is essential to understand the concept of affordances and its offerings to the 'figure' and the user.

5.2.2. Technological and affective affordance

In the context of blockchain architecture, there are two broad categories of affordances, namely, technological affordance and affective affordance⁹⁰⁵, which resonate with actual affordance and perceived affordance, respectively. While technological affordance is about users' appreciation of blockchain based on their technical features and qualities⁹⁰⁶, affective affordance refers to users' interpretations of the use of blockchain service in relation to users' experience and subsequent contemplations about technological affordances.⁹⁰⁷ Record-keeping and cryptographic hash functions, which are the vital attributes of a blockchain system, can be counted towards technological affordances in blockchains.⁹⁰⁸ In this regard, autonomous automation, decentralization, tamper-resistant and immutability are specific technological affordances and infordances in a blockchain.⁹⁰⁹ By enabling the users to verify the technological attributes and

⁹⁰¹ ibid 39.

⁹⁰² Michael Meng, Stephanie Steinhardt and Andreas Schubert, 'Application Programming Interface Documentation: What Do Software Developers Want?' (2018) 48 Journal of Technical Writing and Communication 295.

⁹⁰³ Paulan Korenhof, Vincent Blok and Sanneke Kloppenburg, 'Steering Representations—towards a Critical Understanding of Digital Twins' (2021) 34 Philosophy & Technology 1751.

⁹⁰⁴ ibid.

⁹⁰⁵ Ashley Scarlett and Martin Zeilinger, 'Rethinking Affordance' (2019) 3 Media Theory 1.

⁹⁰⁶ Don D H Shin, 'Blockchain: The Emerging Technology of Digital Trust' (2019) 45 Telematics and Informatics.

⁹⁰⁷ ibid.

⁹⁰⁸ Upadhyay (n 822).

⁹⁰⁹ ibid.

functions of blockchains, technological affordances are in a position to shape the 'trust' factor. As regards affective affordances in blockchains, transparency, and reliability can be considered towards the same since these are interpreted by the users in the use of blockchain service.⁹¹⁰ Codification of trust⁹¹¹ and transparentizing⁹¹² in blockchain is one of the examples of affective affordance.⁹¹³ Additionally, in blockchains, affective affordance can be a perceived object that stimulates emotions such as assurance or privacy in users. In this context, emotional affordance is an extension of affective affordance that can be described as the ability to enable, prompt, and restrict the representation of specific emotional experiences developing between the technologies and the users. These affordances provide users with initial suggestions or emotional signals about the possibilities of user behavior.

The 'figure' can potentially manipulate the perceptions and emotional experiences of the users through choices while designing the interface. Consequently, actual (underlying) affordances can be concealed by molding the perceptions of the user about the possible functionalities of the artifact. For example, the ability to view and alter the source code of a web page is an actual underlying affordance of modern web browsers, which is kept hidden from users. Likewise, the 'unwaveringness' of the default configuration of an artifact might overwhelm the tendency of the individual to explore better configurations that support the users' interests or inclinations. This relates closely to the issue of 'dark patterns' in design or default configurations. It goes on to show that the relationship between the actual affordances of an artifact and the way they are communicated to the user is really important. Such communications might be clear, unequivocal, and isomorphic with the true state of the system at one end and misleading, abstract, and suppressing of the actual affordance at the other end. And most importantly, it is the 'figure' who defines the extent and quality of that communication in most cases.

⁹¹⁰ Shin (n 906).

⁹¹¹ Codification of trust is the process of incorporating a certain level of trust into systems that enable agreements between agents without the need for a third party.

⁹¹² Transperantizing is the process of opening up organizational processes and the data associated with them by depending on the persistence and immutability properties of blockchain technologies, respectively.

⁹¹³ Constantin W Lichti and Andranik Tumasjan, "My Precious!": A Values-Affordances Perspective on the Adoption of Bitcoin' (2023) 24 Journal of the Association for Information Systems 9.

5.2.3.Identifiers

The identifier, also referred to as 'signifier' in the study of UX design,⁹¹⁴ communicates to the user about the affordances that are present. It is a key component of the artifact's normativity and is connected to technological intentionality.⁹¹⁵ The 'figure' incorporates these identifiers into the design of the artifact, defining the way the artifact 'should' be used. The use of underlining to identify and reference certain elements, such as hyperlinks on the web, distinct from the plain surrounding text, is a straightforward example of an 'identifier'.⁹¹⁶ Obviously, the user must perceive that element of the artifact to act as an identifier. It can, however, be ambiguous – for example, a painted zebra stripe on the side of a road is an identifier, which is a signal about where to walk. But this affordance cannot stop an individual from crossing the road anywhere, unless there is a physical barricade, such as a fence by the side of the road. While identifiers are important elements that communicate to the user about how the artifact functions, the utility of an identifier is conditional to its accuracy, honesty, and entirety.⁹¹⁷

This is associated with the functionality of the identifiers being able to be determined at the appropriate time by the user. Therefore, it is very important for the 'figure' to be certain about the affordances to be signified and at what instant to be signified. Such a procedure will assist the user in shaping a precise mental image of the system.⁹¹⁸ Moreso, the 'figure' draws up the technological artifacts with certain affordances that are not signified, either to put a veil around complex utilities from users or to comply with the regulatory or ethical norms without publicizing it, since the application of the said technology might be inconsistent with the business interests and outlook of the supplier. For example, although the complex cookie preference notices provide an interface to the user to choose which cookies to set on the computer, in reality, often a textual link is provided as the mechanism of accessing this interface, which is usually less signified than the option to accept all cookies, supposedly a

⁹¹⁴ Muhammad Nazrul Islam and Harry Bouwman. 'Towards User–intuitive Web Interface Sign Design and Evaluation: A Semiotic Framework' (2016) 86 International Journal of Human-Computer Studies 121.

⁹¹⁵ Norman, *The Design of Everyday Things: Revised and Expanded Edition* (n 888) 13.

⁹¹⁶ N Katherine Hayles, 'Print Is Flat, Code Is Deep: The Importance of Media-Specific Analysis' (2004) 25 Poetics Today 67.

⁹¹⁷ Fernando Flores, and others, 'Computer Systems and the Design of Organizational Interaction' (1988) 6 ACM Transactions on Information Systems 153, 156–158.

⁹¹⁸ Frederic Stutzman and Woodrow Hartzog, 'Boundary Regulation in Social Media' (ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW '12), 2012) 769.; Woodrow Hartzog, *Privacy's Blueprint: The Battle to Control the Design of New Technologies* (Harvard University Press 2018).

more profitable option as it facilitates targeted behavioral advertising.⁹¹⁹ Overall, identifiers play an important role in helping the individual to construct an appropriate mental model of the system.

5.3. Normative dimensions of affordance in blockchain

Typically, the relationships between specific properties and features of an individual and an artifact give rise to affordances. While in many cases, affordances simply exist because of the attributes of the technology, the situations where the affordance arises through the conscious decision-making of the 'figure' is of interest in the context of code. In the case of code-based artifacts such as blockchain, affordances can be designed to make them user-friendly and craft new behavioral possibilities for "*technology is not the design of physical things. It is the design of practices and possibilities to be realized through artifacts*."⁹²⁰ From the perspective of regulating users' actions, the choices about rendering an artifact useful can cultivate mechanisms that proactively suggest particular courses of action. These conscious choices lead to designs being instilled with usefulness as well as with normative effect. However, these decision choices invariably manifest the assumptions of the 'figure' with respect to the function and purpose of the artifact and its user.⁹²¹ Of course, problematic assumptions can be challenged by the user in the case of legitimately designed artifacts.

In blockchains, actual affordances play a key role not only in enabling trust in an interface but also in users' understanding and experience of services. Once actual affordances in relation to trust are in place, the search begins for the perceived affordance dimensions (such as transparency and reliability) of the interaction process. Thus, users' cognitive processing of technical features is central to a transparent and reliable blockchain service. For example, in the case of blockchain services, when artifacts are validated to have the desired security and

⁹¹⁹ Aysun Ogut. "Stay Out of My Way!": The Impact of Cookie Consent Notice Design on Young Users' Decision' in Abbas Moallem, (ed), *HCI for Cybersecurity, Privacy and Trust* (Springer 2023) ≤https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-35822-7_34 >.

⁹²⁰ Peter-Paul Verbeek, *What Things Do: Philosophical Reflections on Technology, Agency, and Design* (Penn State Press 2005).

⁹²¹ Philip E Agre, 'From High Tech to Human Tech: Empowerment, Measurement, and Social Studies of Computing' (1994) 3 Computer Supported Cooperative Work 167, 184–185.

traceability, users feel assured about their privacy, and functions as emotional affordances. The user's affective process of evaluating transparency and reliability is afforded by these emotional prompts. As transparency and reliability are drawn from the degree of user trust, instilling a sense of these aspects into blockchain service is achieved by cognitive processing of blockchain services through user perceptions of security and safety. Thus, the trust acting as a heuristic cue – a cognitive shortcut for users to prompt assurance, may activate transparency and reliability in the blockchain.⁹²²

Most of the affordances and user interactions in blockchains hinge on the user trust heuristics. Because blockchain systems are complex in nature, users generally choose the heuristic of trust to make decisions⁹²³, considering the swift and consistent efficiency of assessments that heuristics can provide with limited information about material features.⁹²⁴ Since the average users are not acquainted with the details of blockchain operation and structure and have to use their own trust heuristics, they often have to trust a plausible judgment or related incident concerning security and safety that comes to mind while passing judgments and making decisions about blockchain service. In other words, the users' perceptions about the security and safety of blockchains that are drawn from the outside world affect user heuristics of trust. In a sense, trust remains within the user cognition and is neither premade nor a product of external stimulants.⁹²⁵

5.3.1.Design affordance, disaffordance, and dark patterns

The outcome of affordance can have a positive or negative effect (for example, water sustaining the life of an organism versus drowning or flooding it). These actions ought to be differentiated from the fact that interaction is not allowed and there is no affordance relationship.⁹²⁶ Actions can also be distinguished from the subjective misapprehension of the user, where the user believes to have a particular relationship between itself and the artifact when, in reality, there is no such relationship.⁹²⁷ When there is no affordance relationship between the user and the

⁹²² Donghee Shin and Yong Jin Park, 'Role of Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency in Algorithmic Affordance' (2019)98 Computers in Human Behavior 277.

⁹²³ Shin (n 906).

⁹²⁴ ibid.

⁹²⁵ ibid.

⁹²⁶ Norman, *The Design of Everyday Things: Revised and Expanded Edition* (n 888) 11.

⁹²⁷ Gibson (n 879); Norman, 'Affordance, Conventions, and Design' (n 900).

artifact, the notion of disaffordance indicates that there does not exist any affordance, whether or not the user is aware of this; these are actions that are blocked or constrained.⁹²⁸

Coming to discriminatory design, a number of disaffordances such as a lock that disaffords entry into a house, a fence that disaffords entry into a farm land, discriminates on purpose.⁹²⁹ There is also a subset of disaffordance, termed as dysaffordances that forces users to misidentify to access its functions. For example, non-binary people experience dysaffordance when they interact with a system, such as air-travel ticketing, that forces them to identify them as either male or female to complete the booking process. Similarly, users may experience the dysaffordances of facial detection technology, which fails to identify all face patterns.⁹³⁰ Therefore, it is important for the 'figure' to have a considered view on the distribution of affordances, disaffordances, and dysaffordances while designing the artifacts.

In order to understand the 'figure's' choice of affordances and disaffordances, it is vital to analyze the intention or the reasoning behind such a selection. Depending on the choice of the 'figure', the technology can be anything – "they can be like a chameleon, changing shape and appearance to match the situation".⁹³¹ Therefore, such an assessment can be done by scrutinizing the "architecture of control".⁹³², which broadly refers to the features, structures or methods that can be used to enforce or limit user behavior".⁹³³ This proposition of understanding the purpose behind the affordances and disaffordances denotes the identification of intended 'positive' affording by the 'figure' and the "deliberate, intentional, and strategic" 'negative' affording.⁹³⁴ The 'negative affordance' is about the concept of "engineered obedience".⁹³⁵ and is not a result of the unintentional or incompetent design. However, the concept of disaffordance is essential and must be appreciated in capturing the hypothesis of how a blockchain technological architecture can camouflage, restrain, or prohibit the likelihood

⁹²⁸ Gibson (n 879) 133–134; Norman, *The Design of Everyday Things: Revised and Expanded Edition* (n 888) 11–12.

⁹²⁹ Dylan E Wittkower, 'Principles of Anti-Discriminatory Design' (IEEE International Symposium on Ethics in Engineering, Science and Technology, 2016); Dylan E Wittkower, 'Technology and Discrimination' in Joseph C Pitt & Ashley Shew (eds), *Spaces for the Future: A Companion to Philosophy and Technology* (Routledge 2018) 37.

⁹³⁰ Sasha Costanza-Chock, 'Design Values: Hard-Coding Liberation?' (2020) Design Justice accessed 9 October 2024]">https://designjustice.mitpress.mit.edu/pub/3h2zq86d/release/1> accessed 9 October 2024].

⁹³¹ Norman, *The Psychology of Everyday Things* (n 881) 183.

⁹³² Lessig, Code Version 2.0 (n 256), chapter 4.

⁹³³ Dan Lockton, 'Architectures of Control in Product Design' (2006) Engineering Designer

⁹³⁴ Dan Lockton, 'Disaffordances and Engineering Obedience' (Architectures by Dan Lockton, 2006).

⁹³⁵ ibid.

of particular behaviors as an outcome of intentional and deliberate design decisions. This helps us to determine the role of the disaffordances in restricting the users' interaction with the technological artifact.⁹³⁶

The misuse of power by the 'figure' to exploit the user is reflected in 'abusive design' and 'dark patterns'. While 'abusive design' refers to designing deliberate disaffordances that are antagonistic to the user's interests, 'dark patterns' are about misusing commonly employed design conventions against the user.⁹³⁷ Here the intention of the 'figure' is to forego the user experience deliberately. Such evil designs can be deployed for coercion, confusion, distraction, interruption, obfuscation, and trickery. For example, confusion can be created by designing questions where double or triple negatives are used, users can be distracted through advertising, and popups can be introduced to interrupt the process. Even a free version of an application can be hidden by manipulating navigation; the closure of adverts can be obfuscated by reducing the contrast of the 'closure button'; users can also be tricked by designing adverts that appear to be new content.⁹³⁸ By using data analytics, these 'dark patterns' are targeted to different segments of users.⁹³⁹ Such design practices, though increase the level of frustration in a user, are employed to increase the income of website operators,⁹⁴⁰ since "*designers must please their clients, who are often not the actual users*".⁹⁴¹

In case of a 'smart contract', blockchain technology automatically identifies violations of the rules embedded in the 'smart contract', without having any consideration for the personal contexts affected by the technology's configurations.⁹⁴² "Automation has its benefit, but automation is dangerous when it takes too much control from the user's".⁹⁴³ This exemplifies

⁹³⁶ Graham Longford, 'Pedagogies of Digital Citizenship and the Politics of Code' (2005) 9 Techné: Research in Philosophy and Technology 68, 77.

⁹³⁷ Arvind Narayanan and others, 'Dark Patterns: Past, Present, and Future: The Evolution of Tricky User Interfaces' (2020)18 Queue 67.

⁹³⁸ Gregory Conti and Edward Sobiesk, 'Malicious Interface Design: Exploiting the User' (International World Wide Web Conference Committee (IW3C2), 2010) 273.

⁹³⁹ Colin M Gray and others, 'The Dark (Patterns) Side of UX Design' (CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI '18), 2018)); Jamie Luguri and Lior Jacob Strahilevitz, 'Shining a Light on Dark Patterns' (2021) 13 Journal of Legal Analysis 43.

⁹⁴⁰ Conti and Sobiesk (n 938) 278-279.

⁹⁴¹ Norman, The Psychology of Everyday Things (n 881).

⁹⁴² Reijers and Coeckelbergh (n 220).

⁹⁴³ Norman, The Psychology of Everyday Things (n 881) 197.

a disaffordance of the blockchain system, as it potentially enables abusive design by disregarding nuanced social considerations.

5.3.2. Mapping technological mediation and affordance

"Mapping" is a technical term defining the relationship between two or more things, in this case, between technology and their movements and the results in the world⁹⁴⁴, which focuses on the role of technological mediation. This principle, particularly, assists in exploring the interactions between individuals and artifacts, with a focus on the substantive featuress of certain artifacts.⁹⁴⁵ The aim is to understand how the technologies shape user experience, since any technology is not neutral in nature. It is, in actuality, a more complex and enigmatic artifact and thus is also not merely deterministic in nature.⁹⁴⁶ Therefore, texamination of the function that particular technologies serve in particular situations is the basis of the *"postphenomenological theory"*⁹⁴⁷ of mapping.

Drawing a parallel with perceived and actual affordances, the relationships between humans and artifacts may also be categorized into those of perception and those of action. The former is about what the individual thinks it can do with the artifact, while the latter tells about what the individual can actually perform; there is a "gulf of execution, between the intentions of the users and the allowable actions by the 'figure ".⁹⁴⁸ This relationship between the individual and the artifact undergoes manipulation through technology mediation, resulting in the constitution of a new reality comprising specific characteristics of both the user and the artifact.

Concurrently studying with the affordance theory, one can say that the ensemble of affordances or the capability matrix constitutes of technological mediation as a whole between a specific artifact and its user.⁹⁴⁹ Since the affordances of the artifacts are decided and incorporated by the 'figure', the choices made by the 'figure' contribute significantly to the artifact's mediation

⁹⁴⁴ ibid 23.

⁹⁴⁵ Verbeek (n 920) 3.

⁹⁴⁶ Ihde (n 445).

⁹⁴⁷ Kiran and Verbeek (n 874) 416.

⁹⁴⁸ Norman, *The Psychology of Everyday Things* (n 881) 51.

⁹⁴⁹ Kiran and Verbeek (n 874) 409.

of perception and action.⁹⁵⁰ A linkage is thus established with the notion of constitutive normativity ingrained in the infrastructure of the blockchain artifact.

5.4. Shaping actions and intentionality

Technology, in the form of an identifier, guides the perception of the users by amplifying or reducing certain features of the artifact.⁹⁵¹ Through technological intervention, a design can induce the user towards a specific use or distract the user from perceiving it. While identifiers do not have any direct coercive effect on the user, they guide and manipulate the perception of the user to shape the understanding of an artifact. These identifiers also mediate the ability of the user to form a precise mental picture of how the artifact functions and what the user should do with it.⁹⁵² With the power of design mediated by code, the user can go beyond the perception of the actual affordances of the technology to append their actions and inactions within the artifact's spatial domain.⁹⁵³ Technological intervention in the reality of constructs, in terms of perception and behavior, illustrates "*an important aspect of the non-neutrality of technology*"⁹⁵⁴ and indicates the substantial authority that the 'figure' enjoys who decides the interventions.

When the conception of perception is extended to security and privacy, in the case of blockchains, 'perceived privacy' assumes a crucial role because of the anonymous nature of the SSI-based blockchain applications. While the concept of privacy can be described as the ability of the user to govern the provisions by which their personal information is collected and consumed⁹⁵⁵, 'perceived privacy' is explained as the power of the users to regulate information and divulge selective information about themselves.⁹⁵⁶ Therefore, the degree to which blockchain users feel that the applications mediated by code protect their privacy may have a

⁹⁵⁰ Toni Robertson, 'The Public Availability of Actions and Artefacts' (2002) 11 Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW): The Journal of Collaborative Computing and Work Practice 299, 311.

⁹⁵¹ Ihde (n 445) 72.

⁹⁵² Norman, The Design of Everyday Things: Revised and Expanded Edition (n 888) 26, 31;. Hartzog (n 918).

⁹⁵³ Julie E Cohen, *Configuring the Networked Self: Law, Code, and the Play of Everyday Practice* (Yale University Press 2012); Robertson (n 950).

⁹⁵⁴ Verbeek (n 920) 131.

⁹⁵⁵ Zyskind and Nathan (n 96).

⁹⁵⁶ Primavera De Filippi, 'The Interplay between Decentralization and Privacy: The Case of Blockchain Technologies' (2016) Journal of Peer Production, Issue no. 7: Alternative Internets.

significant impact on their trust in the providers.⁹⁵⁷ Designing the technology in such a manner that it discloses information collection procedures will increase users' feelings of assurance and trust.⁹⁵⁸ As Norman said, it is necessary to "*make things visible*".⁹⁵⁹ Having clear privacy terms, which state how a firm uses user data and information, predicts attitudes and trust in an application.⁹⁶⁰ These results indicate that if blockchain users perceive that a blockchain application will safeguard their information, their trust in the blockchain systems and applications will be positively influenced.

In contrast to the technological intervention for shaping perception, which amplifies or diminishes the comprehensibility of real affordances, the technological mediation for shaping action induces or restrains certain behaviors – "*the deployment of technologies has created a new environment for human expression, whose rules are mediated mostly (if not solely) by code*".⁹⁶¹ Rather than just requesting a specific type of action, this kind of intermediation uses logical or physically persuasive force on the users in the form of "*logical constraints*".⁹⁶² Actually, the regulative nature of code becomes very apparent in this case since code can facilitate in favor of the coercion of action as compared to the just identifiers provided by the written legal norm. In case of blockchains, mediation in action by code is observable in 'traceability', which refers to the ability to locate where a product comes from and its entire track throughout the distribution chain.⁹⁶³ The 'code intermediating action' in a blockchain acts as a persuasive force on the users by ensuring that the information on the blockchain is 'fixed' and immutable and cannot be changed by any malign party, thereby providing transparency and accountability of any misuse.⁹⁶⁴

Code personifies a specific idea of the intention of the 'figure' about the usage of the artifacts. Thus, the rule of code can be referred to as "*procedural scripts for choreography of behavior*"

⁹⁵⁷ Nirmalee Raddatz and others, 'Becoming a Blockchain User: Understanding Consumers' Benefits Realisation to Use Blockchain-Based Applications' (2023) 32 European Journal of Information Systems 287.

⁹⁵⁸ Shin and Park (n 922).

⁹⁵⁹ Norman, *The Psychology of Everyday Things* (n 881) 188.

⁹⁶⁰ Shin and Park (n 922).

⁹⁶¹ Winner, 'Do Artifacts Have Politics?' (n 249).

⁹⁶² Norman, *The Psychology of Everyday Things* (n 881) 86.

⁹⁶³ Shin (n 906).

⁹⁶⁴ Swan and De Filippi (n 34).

activity",⁹⁶⁵ which illustrates how the 'figure' envisages to use the artifact. While the artifact's affordances or disaffordances are designed, usually three elements of the 'script', namely, the framework for behavior, the actors involved⁹⁶⁶, and the space for action⁹⁶⁷, based on the anticipated use of the artifact and the strategic business plan the 'figure' strives to adopt, are considered by the 'figure'.⁹⁶⁸ When code is a manifestation of political interests, its technological design might have important implications for individuals.⁹⁶⁹

The aforesaid concepts of inscription, or procedural scripts, are related to the 'technological intentionality' of the 'figure', where technologies encourage the use of certain aspects of the artifact that are distinctive from all the contingent possibilities. This concept can be explained with the example of a pen and a word processor.⁹⁷⁰ While neither the pen nor the word processor can predetermine the mode of writing with certainty, both the designs nevertheless "*promote or evoke a distinct way of writing*".⁹⁷¹

Artifacts develop "*intentionalities and inclinations within which use-patterns take dominant shape*" through the provision of 'procedural scripts' for the purposes of orchestration of behavioral activity.⁹⁷² Here, intention generally refers to the inclinations or directions that influence the usage of artifacts.⁹⁷³ Of course, this is closely linked with disaffordances set by the 'figure'. While technological artifacts can be designed and used to promote or block certain user behavior, these may not deliver the expected results. In fact, their implications can be appreciated fully when the historical and social contexts of their use are known. Therefore, the way technology is used by 'the user group' is also important.⁹⁷⁴ Thus, intentionality also refers

⁹⁶⁵Madeleine Akrich, 'The De-Scription of Technical Objects' in Wiebe E Bijker and John Law (eds), *Shaping Technology/Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change* (MIT Press 1992) 205; Bruno Latour, 'Where Are the Missing Masses? The Sociology of a Few Mundane Artifacts' in Wiebe E Bijker and John Law (eds), *Shaping Technology/Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change* (MIT Press 1992) 225.

⁹⁶⁶ Latour, 'Where Are the Missing Masses?' (n 965).

⁹⁶⁷ Akrich (n 965) 208.

 ⁹⁶⁸ Bibi van den Berg and Ronald E Leenes, 'Abort, Retry, Fail: Scoping Techno-Regulation and Other Techno-Effects' in
 Mireille Hildbrandt and Jeanne Gaakeer (eds), *Human Law and Computer law: Comparative Perspectives* (Springer 2013) 67.
 ⁹⁶⁹ Winner, 'Do Artifacts Have Politics?' (n 249).

⁹⁷⁰ Ihde (n 445) 141–142.

⁹⁷¹ Verbeek (n 920) 114–115.

⁹⁷² Ihde (n 445) 141.

⁹⁷³ Verbeek (n 920) 114.

⁹⁷⁴ Bernward Jeorges, 'Do Politics Have Artifacts' (1999) 29 Social Studies of Science 411.

to the intent of the user and the mechanism through which the artifact intermediates the user's interactions with the society by influencing the user's ability to function.⁹⁷⁵ Since the artifact mediates the sense of agency of the user and the possible interactions of the agency, the line between subjectivity and objectivity has been blurred.⁹⁷⁶ When the user attempts to achieve something, his or her perception of what can be done or cannot be done is mediated by the artifact, and thus, the understanding of the self and the co-constituted world is also influenced by that mediation.⁹⁷⁷ Thus, the artifact's technological mediation comprising of affordances and disaffordances determines the way the user and its world move - the operation is mutual and bi-directional.

Different configurations of mediation can make possible different actions depending upon the configuration of the artifact, the user, and the context of use.⁹⁷⁸ Though artifacts are designed for a purpose, that purpose also depends on their contextual use by the user.⁹⁷⁹ In our everyday lives, there exists a wide range of technology-mediated 'regimens' of influencing behavior. However, there are still numerous uncertainties surrounding the characteristics and extent of technological-mediated regulation. From this point of departure, Leenes inquires "*if intention is an essential element of behavioral modification, or do unintended consequences of design, for example, a CD player not being able to play DVDs even though the discs appear identical, also qualify as behavioral modification? Can a wall socket be considered a form of technological-mediated regulation, and if so, what does it regulate? While wall sockets and plugs do restrict the user's ability to use appliances abroad, is this a form of regulation in the context the users are concerned with or discussing?"⁹⁸⁰ This illustration indicates that the 'figure' does not have <i>ex-ante* control over the mediating effect of an artifact entirely. Nevertheless, the 'figure' would "*inscribe scripts and delegate responsibilities*"⁹⁸¹ in and to the

⁹⁷⁵ Ihde (n 445) 25.

⁹⁷⁶ Don Ihde, *Postphenomenology and Technoscience: The Peking University Lectures* (Suny Press 2009) 9; Verbeek (n 920)
161.

⁹⁷⁷ Cohen, Configuring the Networked Self: Law, Code, and the Play of Everyday Practice (n 953); Verbeek (n 920) 116.

⁹⁷⁸ Mads Møller Jensen and Jesper Aagaard, 'A Postphenomenological Method for HCI Research' (30th Australian Computer-Human Interaction Conference, OzCHI 2018) https://doi.org/10.1145/3292147.3292170 242-251.

⁹⁷⁹ Jenny L Davis, How Artifacts Afford: The Power and Politics of Everyday Things (MIT Press 2020).

⁹⁸⁰ Ronald Leenes, 'Of Horses and Other Animals of Cyberspace' (2019) 2019 Technology and Regulation 1.https://doi.org/10.26116/techreg.2019.001> accessed 9 October 2024

⁹⁸¹ Jensen and Aagaard (n 978).

artifacts and create one particular configuration of normativity through deductive reasoning which excludes others to some extent.

Therefore, in a way, before defining the area of activity of an artifact and making design choices, the 'figure' has to determine the threshold between what can or cannot be interpreted by the user. This threshold is "*the gulf of evaluation*"⁹⁸², which reflects "*the amount of effort that the user must exert to interpret the physical state of the system and to determine how well the expectations and intentions have been met*."⁹⁸³ "*The gulf is small when the system provides information about its state in a form that is easy to get, is easy to interpret, and matches the way the users think of the system*".⁹⁸⁴

Thus, affordances is a crucial notion to analyze and assess the inscriptions of code that mediate the user's fundamental connections with the world, serving as the foundational element of inscription and technological mediation.⁹⁸⁵ Since the actual disaffordances are fundamentally ingrained in the technological intentionality of the 'figure', the design of the artifact must afford to inscribe specific 'procedural scripts' for the choreography of behavioral acts for a particular user. Conversely, if certain actions are to be excluded, the 'figure' must either omit the affordances needed for such actions or disafford them for a particular class of user.

The similarities between the perceived and actual affordances of the artifact that demonstrate technological intentionality provide an opportunity for the user to adapt its response to the preset script of the artifact.⁹⁸⁶ However, if the 'actual' affordances of the artifact are beyond the intended 'procedural script' of the 'figure', the user will not be able to execute anything with the artifact that the 'figure' did not presuppose. Thus, the user will be able to enjoy freedom through the provisions of actual affordances and their identifiers, of course within the wider constraints of the artifact's mediation, on the 'space' left by the 'figure', intentionally or otherwise, for creative interpretation and action. This constraint is different from a 'condition' in the sense that "*neither is it an external limit or imperative*"⁹⁸⁷ and does not rationalize or

⁹⁸² Norman, The Psychology of Everyday Things (n 881) 50–51.

⁹⁸³ ibid.

⁹⁸⁴ ibid 51.

⁹⁸⁵ Kiran and Verbeek (n 874).

⁹⁸⁶ ibid 415.

⁹⁸⁷ Ilya Prigogine and Isabelle Stengers, *La Fin Des Certitudes: Temps, Chaos et Les Lois de La Nature*, vol 77 (Odile Jacob 1996) 74.

legitimize the action of the user. In fact, "*constraints leave no alternative than to act, although they do not imply or indicate how the practitioner must act*".⁹⁸⁸ Therefore, these affordances that arise due to constraints refer to the context-dependent relationships between an artifact and a particular user and are not just fixed attributes of the artifact. The 'figure' anticipates these affordances while considering the 'procedural script for choreography of behavioral activity', 'film-script', or 'use-pattern' for the user. For instance, the 'figure' implements the smart contract with the 'procedural scripts' affording interaction among multiple parties, humans or machines. These interactions are mediated by a blockchain application, controlled exclusively by a set of immutable and incorruptible rules embedded in its source code.⁹⁸⁹ It is only through the affordances provided by the 'figure' in the preset script that users are able to act upon, even though within the constraints; without such affordance, there will be no scope for interactions within the user interface.

5.5. Normativity in technological mediation

The technological normativity spectrum presents to be 'harder' at one end that offers no choice and 'softer' at the other end, that is, more recommendatory in nature than coercive.⁹⁹⁰ In 'harder' normativity, the artifact's scripts are said to be wired-in or rigid, meaning the user does not have any option, but to go along with the rule of code norms offered in the artifact.⁹⁹¹ For example, digital interfaces as in social media platforms such as Facebook or Instagram, evaluate and decide whether the users shall be provided with access to all the features of database or not. Earlier, Facebook had only the 'like' button with a thumbs-up. With the introduction of 'emojis', users can now express different emotions on this platform. The absence of a 'dislike' button or allowing certain emotions through 'emojis', Facebook forced its users to behave the way it wanted. Similarly, the user interface of Instagram also controls the activities of its users by not permitting the use of hyperlinks in picture descriptions. Such design choices are consciously adopted by social media platforms to compel their users to abide by their rules so as to influence and regulate user behavior. Rules are unambiguously defined

⁹⁸⁸ ibid.

⁹⁸⁹Hassan and De Filippi (n 89).

⁹⁹⁰ Berg and Leenes (n 968) 74–75.

⁹⁹¹ Jay P Kesan and Rajiv C Shah, 'Setting Software Defaults: Perspectives from Law, Computer Science and Behavioral Economics' (2006) 82 Notre Dame Law Review 583.

in code and are applied instantaneously at runtime without giving any further opportunity to ponder over the rules.

Blockchain relies on code and smart contracts to devise a new normative order to regulate individual actions and transactions.⁹⁹² The code-based rules, which provide affordances to users to formalize contractual agreements, are enforced through these smart contracts that are self-executing and self-enforcing.⁹⁹³ These blockchain-based smart contracts cannot be stopped arbitrarily unless they are codified so. Further, because of its 'rule-fetishness' behavior, it may not be possible for a single party to upgrade these code-based rules even for smooth execution.⁹⁹⁴ This 'rule-fetishness' is a crucial aspect of technological normativity. In fact, rule-fetishness, representation, instantaneity, and obscurantism are central elements in the concept of *crypto-legalism*.

The above scenario illustrates that technological design choices regulate the actions and behaviors of users by imposing certain rules through codes. In many ways, code has become synonymous with the law; it permits specific actions, prohibits some actions and also imposes certain actions.⁹⁹⁵ The structure of blockchain technology reflects a higher level of regulation that Lessig envisaged. Extending beyond Lessig's arguments, I suggest that design choices considered in blockchain technology are, in fact, design choices for the rule of code norms of regulation. As many scholars have argued, the original blockchain is not value-neutral; it is the manifestation and reinforcement of particular norms and values over others.⁹⁹⁶ Besides, applications of this technology may further transform social relations in a way that follows the systems' rigid and non-negotiable features.⁹⁹⁷ The shared capacity between institutions and blockchains for being normative entities indicates the possibility of understanding blockchain trust in terms of the features of institutional trust.

At the 'softer' end of the spectrum, the artifact's code nudges the user towards a specific modus operandi while allowing the user to indicate choices beyond the default configuration.⁹⁹⁸

⁹⁹² De Filippi and Hassan (n 108).

⁹⁹³Hassan and De Filippi (n 89).

⁹⁹⁴ibid.

⁹⁹⁵ Lessig, 'The Law of the Horse: What Cyber Law Might Teach' (n 44).

⁹⁹⁶ De Filippi and Loveluck (n 73); De Filippi and Hassan (n 108).

⁹⁹⁷ Reijers and Coeckelbergh (n 220).

⁹⁹⁸ Kesan and Shah (n 991).

However, the 'figure' deliberately put in codes to restrict this notional scope for exercising autonomy and discourage the users from exercising their choices by making default settings very 'unwavering'.⁹⁹⁹ Making a forced decision during installation or setup without suggesting a preferred alternative is one way to reduce this impact.¹⁰⁰⁰ In fact, there can be a spectrum of technological control over motor vehicles, ranging from 'soft' to 'hard.' In the 'soft' end, warning devices alert drivers when they exceed speed limits or encounter changed traffic conditions. As the technology becomes more aggressive, data — such as excess speed calculations and distance covered during speeding — can be transmitted to a central registry. The hard end of the spectrum consequently allows for perfect prevention by remotely disabling the vehicle or imposing speed limits through braking system modulation.¹⁰⁰¹

Enterprises will frequently interpret even stringent laws that demand the safeguarding of user autonomy in ways that covertly — or overtly — serve their own interests over those of the user.¹⁰⁰² This relates to how design practices are evolving in the modern era. One example of this is the interface subtly embedded with dark patterns, which look like they offer notional choice but are really meant to grab end users' attention. Such an act is often referred to as affordance of "*operant conditioning*"¹⁰⁰³, which is quite opposite to the notion of "*libertarian paternalism*"¹⁰⁰⁴ of nudging.¹⁰⁰⁵

The 'softer' edge of the normativity spectrum facilitates the procedural script to support not only interpretation and reinvention by the user but also 'resistance,' which is limited to the inherent boundaries of its spatial domain.¹⁰⁰⁶ If the user does not know an affordance, then the user cannot avail the affordance, making the role of identifiers particularly relevant. The inbuilt business model of the artifact will decide the degree to which it is multistable. To illustrate, the

⁹⁹⁹ Berg and Leenes (n 968); Kesan and Shah (n 991).

¹⁰⁰⁰Ravi Dhar and Itamar Simonson, 'The Effect of Forced Choice on Choice' (2003) 40 Journal of Marketing Research 146.
¹⁰⁰¹ Roger Brownsword, 'Law Disrupted, Law Re-Imagined, Law Re-Invented' (2019) Technology and Regulation 10; Pat O'Malley, 'The Politics of Mass Preventive Justice' in Andrew Ashworth, Lucia Zedner and Patrick Tomlin (eds), *Prevention and the Limits of the Criminal Law* (Oxford University Press 2013) 273, 280.

¹⁰⁰² The GDPR privacy notices are one example of this; Ogut (n 919); Sandra Wachter, 'Normative Challenges of Identification in the Internet of Things: Privacy, Profiling, Discrimination, and the GDPR' (2018) 34 Computer Law & Security Review 436.

¹⁰⁰³ Berg and Leenes (n 968) 71–72.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Berg and Leenes (n 968); Kesan and Shah (n 991).

¹⁰⁰⁵Berg and Leenes (n 968) 72-73.

¹⁰⁰⁶ ibid 77.

inscription of 500px can be formulated to upload photos to be viewed and commented by other participants,¹⁰⁰⁷ through a set of affordances for selecting an image, editing it, assigning a title and tags, and publishing on an application platform. Even if there is a great amount of impedance, the user cannot rewrite the inscription for that application. Nevertheless, inscriptions offer some scope for reinterpretation, resulting in new possibilities unintended by the 'figure' of the application.

The 'density' of the constraints on the user behavior diminishes progressively as one shifts from the harder end of the technological normativity, that is, the most 'rule-fetish' of the code norms to the softer edge of the spectrum.¹⁰⁰⁸ A particular threshold point chosen on this scale denotes a vital design choice in the development of an artifact, indicating the distinctive affordances based on their normative effect. Moreover, affordances existing on the spectrum can be characterized under "*request, demand, refuse, allow, encourage, or discourage*".¹⁰⁰⁹ These characteristics provide useful insights into the notion of affordance and facilitate an instinctive and unlearned appreciation of the relationship between the technological artifact and the user. It is apparent that the 'harder' affordances of "*request, demand, allow, and refuse*" resonate with the wired-in functions of the technology. Conversely, where the artifact's affordances are designed around nudging, it is likely to find the mechanisms of encouragement and discouragement. The design of an artifact represents a blend of these features since once the code is programmed in and choices are inscribed, a soft, hard, rule-fetish, or multistable form of normativity comes into existence.

5.6. Normativity in technological design

Constitutive rules are those rules that specify the process by which a construct or "*thought object*"¹⁰¹⁰ might come into being.¹⁰¹¹ This means that if the essentialities are not fulfilled, then

¹⁰⁰⁷ 500px is an application similar to Instagram for posting photos and is used among the photographers community to showcase their art; Tama Leaver, Tim Highfield and Crystal Abidin, *Instagram: Visual Social Media Cultures* (John Wiley & Sons 2020).

¹⁰⁰⁸ Hildebrandt, Smart Technologies and the End (s) of Law: Novel Entanglements of Law and Technology (n 548).

¹⁰⁰⁹ Jenny L Davis and James B Chouinard, 'Theorizing Affordances: From Request to Refuse' (2016) 36 Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society 241.

 ¹⁰¹⁰ Ota Weinberger, 'The Norm as Thought and as Reality' in Neil MacCormick and Ota Weinberger, *An Institutional Theory* of Law (Springer 1986), https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-015-7727-4_2> accessed 9. October 2024.
 ¹⁰¹¹ ibid.

the construct will not be able to come into existence. Contrastingly, regulative rules only seek action or inaction by an individual or a cohort. However, a regulative rule has no competence to impose that requirement directly; in this case, the individual must accept the request and act accordingly. The spectrum of technological normativity is concerned with the theoretical distinction between the aforesaid constitutive and regulative rules.¹⁰¹² In the case of the design of artifacts, code can initiate both constitutive and regulative normativities. Here, the 'figure' plays a role in deciding the threshold between the two. Interestingly, Hildebrandt observes that it is better to differentiate between constitutive and regulative techno-social arrangements "*if only to make clear that technology does not necessarily rule out choice in comparison to law*".¹⁰¹³

Buchanan's constitutional approach¹⁰¹⁴ establishes a system of normativity, combining constitutive and regulative elements, to guide engagement in the blockchain. This normativity, communicated through computer programming code in the format of smart contracts, mandates compliance from all users. Transactions failing to adhere to the rules encoded in the blockchain will face non-execution, while those conforming to these norms will successfully proceed. The (implicit) constitutional framework afforded by blockchain not only ensures self-execution and self-monitoring but also underscores the pivotal role of normative principles in shaping and regulating interactions within decentralized systems.¹⁰¹⁵ This fusion of constitutive and regulative normativity exemplifies the intricate balance between structural foundations and behavioral guidelines in technological design.

In the context of constitutive and regulative rules, the 'plastic' characteristics of the rule of code attain relevance, especially within the blockchain realm, since this plasticity creates numerous rules that allow and restrict certain user behaviors through technological normativity.¹⁰¹⁶ Thus, the inscriptions, affordances, and disaffordances embodied in the design of an artifact can be constitutive or regulative in nature.¹⁰¹⁷ A set of constitutive affordances determines the existence of the artifact, its nature, form of interface, platform, or physical dimensions. Therefore, when the user desires a specific functionality, it will not be available to

¹⁰¹²Hildebrandt, 'Legal and Technological Normativity: More (and Less) than Twin Sisters' (n 447).

¹⁰¹³ ibid.

¹⁰¹⁴ Rajagopalan (n 871).

¹⁰¹⁵ ibid.

¹⁰¹⁶ Reijers and Coeckelbergh (n 220).

¹⁰¹⁷ Hildebrandt, 'A Vision of Ambient Law' (n 132) 177–178.

the user, if the same feature is not allowed by the constitutive norms of the code. Thus, specific disaffordances and procedural scripts may function above the constitutive affordances of the artifact.¹⁰¹⁸ A corollary of this is that design invariably entails the prioritization of a single technical constitution or a specific configuration of normativity,¹⁰¹⁹ favoring it over the multitude of possibilities that code is inherently capable of accommodating.¹⁰²⁰ Of course, when considered from the perspective of regulative normativity, the user has a certain degree of choice within the spatial domain set up by the code. However, such "*regulative latitude*"¹⁰²¹ always functions within the parameters of constitutive rules beyond which no choice is allowed.

Due to their inherent attributes such as autonomous operations, tamper-proofness, incorruptibility and resilience, blockchain-based systems are being described as 'alegal', a term that stands for something that is neither legal nor illegal. These systems operate beyond the bounds of legality challenging the conventional legal orders within which they operate. Such 'alegal' acts can be executed by the technological design of blockchain-based systems through appropriate affordances. However, such a capability does not render these blockchain systems 'alegal' by virtue of being unregulatable "forces of nature", as articulated by Wood.¹⁰²² As a matter of fact, all these blockchain systems are inherently administered and regulated by humans, who function within the law, social norms and certain economic priorities. In this context, the 'figure' possesses the ability to shape behavior by opting for affordances that are primarily regulative, employing less 'rule-fetish' mechanisms that allow users to modify default configurations mediated by code or redefine the space beyond the 'figure's' predictions. This emphasizes that the behavioral disaffordances, which may include features being incorporated, disabled, or hidden within the artifact, are contingent upon the 'figure's' choices. The discretionary powers exercised by the 'figure' play a crucial role in constituting the behaviors of users.¹⁰²³

¹⁰¹⁸ Akrich (n 965); Lockton (n 934).

¹⁰¹⁹ Joseph Weizenbaum, *Computer Power and Human Reason: From Judgment to Calculation* (W. H. Freeman & Co. 1976) 37–38, 113.

¹⁰²⁰ James Grimmelmann, 'Regulation by Software' (2005) 114 Yale Law Journal 1719, 1723.

¹⁰²¹ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207).

¹⁰²² POW Media (n 136).

¹⁰²³ Berg and Leenes (n 968).

5.7. Technological governance and constitutional dynamics

While the behavior of the user is shaped, that is, enabled and constrained, by the normativity embedded and expressed in the design of the artifact, the 'figure' is also subjected to normativities expressed in more fundamental, infrastructural elements of the design process.¹⁰²⁴ This means that the 'figure' is susceptible to the consequences of disaffordance, procedural scripts, and mediation within the design environments, which they themselves use to create artifacts meant for users- "designers often think of themselves as typical users; after all, they are people too, and they are often users of their own designs".¹⁰²⁵ This environment, thus, positions the 'figure' as a type of user¹⁰²⁶, wielding ultimate power by crafting tools and coding methods. As the creator of the programming language, the 'figure' decides what all can be done by the 'figure' as a user. However, considering the 'figure' as a user can be misleading and specious.¹⁰²⁷ The 'figure' tends to project its "own rationalizations and beliefs onto the actions and beliefs of others".¹⁰²⁸ But the 'figure' as professional "should realize that human *belief and behavior are complex and there is no substitute for actual users*".¹⁰²⁹ This is because the expertise required to be the 'figure' is different from the expertise needed to be a user; the 'figure' is often an expert with the artifact which they are designing, while the 'user' is an expert at the job they are trying to execute with the artifact.¹⁰³⁰ "People, generally engineers" or managers, tend to feel that they are humans; therefore they can design something for other humans just as well as the trained interface expert".¹⁰³¹ "Design teams really need vocal advocates for the people who will ultimately use the interface".¹⁰³² Thus, the 'figure' starts

¹⁰²⁴ Cohen, *Configuring the Networked Self: Law, Code, and the Play of Everyday Practice* (n 953); Vaios Karavas, 'The Force of Code: Law's Transformation under Information-Technological Conditions' (2009) 10 German Law Journal 463.

¹⁰²⁵ Norman, *The Psychology of Everyday Things* (n 881) 155.

¹⁰²⁶ Cornelia Vismann and Markus Krajewski, 'Computer Juridisms' (2007) 29 Grey Room 90.

¹⁰²⁷ Norman, *The Psychology of Everyday Things* (n 881) 155.

¹⁰²⁸ ibid.

¹⁰²⁹ ibid.

¹⁰³⁰ John D Gould and Clayton Lewis, 'Designing for Usability: Key Principles and What Designers Think' (1985) 28 Communications of the ACM 3, 300.

¹⁰³¹ Christine A Riley and Alan B McConkie, 'Designing for Usability: Human Factors in a Large Software Development Organization' (IEEE International Conference on Systems, Man and Cybernetics, 1989) vol.1 <doi: 10.1109/ICSMC.1989.71286> 225-228.

¹⁰³² Norman, *The Psychology of Everyday Things* (n 881) 156.

developing an artifact within a design environment abound with procedural scripts and disaffordances, which mediates the product development process.

In blockchain, the 'figure' has to distinguish between 'choice of rules', and 'choice within rules'¹⁰³³. Constitutional politics that concerns choice within rules enforces boundaries around the sphere of ordinary politics, such as the type of blockchain, mode of verification, etc. For the purposes of this dissertation, the 'choice of rules' is essential since it is about consensus at the level of code or protocol. As the technology is put to use, and many bugs are observed, the 'figure' would like to remove these issues by modifying or upgrading the code. However, consensus is needed among the group of network users and the 'figure' to effect the changes. The 'choice of rules' concept is deeply ingrained in the code infrastructure of blockchain right from the beginning. Though the pioneer 'Bitcoin' constitution was coded by an individual and was not decided collectively by the network users, its author had embraced an open-source system, permitting other 'figure' to propose changes to the code or upgrades to the core software, acceptance of which would depend upon consensus by all the network users. Thus, any proposal for a new set of rules or changes to the existing set of rules or protocols in Bitcoin requires to be agreed upon by the nodes within the network in order to take effect. In fact, since the development of Bitcoin, the choice of rules has been an evolving process within an opensource network.

Thus, the descriptions and inscriptions within the blockchain technology define the structure within which the 'figure' executes the regular 'parliamentary' functions behaves as the *de facto* constitution.¹⁰³⁴ The power of the 'figure' is subservient to the normative power of design that encompasses the technological 'constitution'. Much like a legal constitution, the technical foundation impacts the entire design process, creating a technological 'constitution' that extends to the artifacts built upon it. This gives legitimacy to the design works of the 'figure' and imposes boundaries on the 'figure', which can be leveraged for normatively sought-after purposes. Thus, similar to the way the activities of the legislative body is bound by the constitution *ex-ante*, the formulation of legitimate rule of code is determined by its design environment..

¹⁰³³ Rajagopalan (n 871).

¹⁰³⁴ ibid.

The preceding discourse delved into how code establishes and governs the conduct of users, as elucidated by concepts of affordance, disaffordance, inscription, description, and technological mediation. In instances where a design significantly dictates behavior, it bestows a greater share of power upon the 'figure', elevating the influence of code over legal frameworks. However, a potential reorientation of power towards the user becomes achievable by embracing regulative normativity over constitutive norms. As Norman said, "technology is still young, still exploring its potential. Most programmers, though fluently, write programs that do wonderful things but that are unusable by the user. They are surprised to discover that their creations tyrannize the user. There is no longer any excuse for this. It is not that difficult to develop programs that make visible their actions, allow the user to see what is going on, that make the set of possible actions visible, and display the current state of the system in a meaningful and clear way."¹⁰³⁵ Therefore, a pivotal consideration in this transformation lies in discerning the modus operandi by which the creation of user-centric affordances is legitimized through the inherent rule of law values embedded in the 'figure'-facing affordances, resembling a technologically oriented interpretation of the principles of legitimacy and the rule of law. In order to pursue this transformation, it is necessary to discuss how, in connection with the rule of law philosophy, the rule-fetish representation of the code-based regulation demonstrating the mechanism by which the rule of code establishes and controls the behavior of the users formulates the notion of '*crypto-legalism*'. This will be the focus of the next chapter.

¹⁰³⁵ Norman, (n 888) 180.

6. *Crypto-Legalism* in 'the rule of code' architecture

After exploring the concepts of affordances to understand how code shapes and governs user behavior, the next logical step is to take up the issue of legitimization of such affordances. As such, this chapter will examine the crypto-legalism issues pertaining to the rule of code-based blockchain regulation, demonstrating - *how the characteristics of the code embedded in the blockchain architecture formulate to the notion of 'crypto-legalism'*? It endeavors to elucidate congruities between legalism within the legal domain and technological normativity, aiming to seamlessly incorporate the cushioning effects of the former into the latter, where it aims to answer a secondary question - *do the code rules in blockchain architecture, that is, the rule of code, meet the rule of law standards that can render them legitimate*?

6.1. Concept of crypto-legalism

Legalism can be of two types: strong and weak, and here the rule of code's characteristics epitomize the features of strong 'legalism', and hence it brings about the issue of unlegitimized regulations based on code and asserting that code is inferior to law. This, in no way, insinuates that the 'figure' harbors a legalistic ideology when making choices for designing the blockchain infrastructure. This is the case regardless of the intent of the 'figure', how vicious or virtuous that may be. The 'choice architecture' plays a role not only in the space of legislation where the precept needs to be legitimized for it to fit within the democratic realm of the regulating process¹⁰³⁶ but such inclination towards choice architecture can also be seen in the production stage of the code in some cases. In the rule of law adhered State, where legislations are subject to transparent discussions, uninhibited dialogs, and negotiations, the terms and conditions of citizenship need to be legitimized, whereas, in the rule of code governed State, the codes which govern the citizens are characteristically obscure and invisible that is attributable to specific technological aspects and also to the fact that many of the codes arbitrating the lives of the

¹⁰³⁶ Wintgens, Legisprudence: A New Theoretical Approach to Legislation (n 387) 2.

citizens are proprietary in nature.¹⁰³⁷ In the rule of code domain, the users "*are being persuaded, provoked, acclimatized and, if required, coerced, to agree to the norms of commercialized cyberspace*"¹⁰³⁸, that takes place in the absence of the democratic debate¹⁰³⁹ and legislative process of "*interpretation, contestation and remediation*"¹⁰⁴⁰. This process of drawing parallelism demonstrates the reproduction of the ideology of legalism in the ontological architecture of the code - in fact, the technological 'is' of code is merely the replication of the ideological 'ought' of legalism. It's just that if started from the credo that legalism is undesirable for the holistic aspect of the rule of law, which is being considered the primary threshold for the democratic State, for the purposes of this thesis, then the mechanism for alleviating it through the conventional legal discipline might also enrich and supplement the cognate sphere of code-based 'legislation'.

The notion '*crypto-legalism*' has been developed from the fact that blockchain-based selfexecuting smart contracts and decentralized (autonomous) organizations enforce their own rules on the parties through code norms programmed into their respective architecture and are detached from the traditional legitimacy process. Such rules defined and administered autonomously through the series of coded-programs are often termed as *lex cryptographica*.¹⁰⁴¹ The idea of *crypto-legalism* shows that the code's *rule-fetishness* – dependence on austere, binary logic instead of interpretable requirements – and legalism are kindred subjects. The magical notion of *crypto-legalism* mandates citizens to follow the rules as they are imparted to them without providing the citizens with the opportunity to contest or enquire about its effectiveness or legitimacy without seeking answers to questions about the origin or source of the questions; it does not take into consideration the holistic interpretation of the rule of law norms.

This new coded-legal constitution shapes the creation of the technology and its deployment, resulting in regulating the functionalities of the final product as well as the behavior of the user; the software regulates the online behavior of users similar to regulating real-world behavior

¹⁰³⁷ Tarleton Gillespie, 'The Relevance of Algorithms' in. Tarleton Gillespie and others (eds), *Media Technologies: Essays on Communication, Materiality, and Society* (MIT Press 2014)
< https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9780262525374.003.0009> accessed 9 October 2024

¹⁰³⁸ Paul Schiff Berman, Law and Society Approaches to Cyberspace (Routledge 2017).

¹⁰³⁹ Anthony G Wilhelm, Democracy in the Digital Age: Challenges to Political Life in Cyberspace (Routledge 2002).

¹⁰⁴⁰ Emmanuelle Avril and Johann N Neem, Democracy, Participation and Contestation (Routledge 2014).

¹⁰⁴¹ Wright and De Filippi (n 1).

through physical architecture.¹⁰⁴² It is what Lessig referred to as 'architecture'—the code, hardware, communication protocols, and structures that regulate human behavior - where rules are imposed, not through sanctions and not by States, but by the architecture of the particular technology space.¹⁰⁴³ In other words, a rule is defined through the code that governs the space.¹⁰⁴⁴

The principal reason for developing the idea of *crypto-legalism* is to deal with how the characteristics of legalism apply in the context of *lex cryptographica* even though it may seem incongruous to the regulative capacity of the rule of code from the analytical perspective of legalism. However, the analogy between legalism and crypto-legalism is far more profound than it may first seem. Firstly, legalism is apropos of the written rules to be followed. Code, due to its *rule-fetishness*, is rigid and leaves no room for interpretation and elucidation. Secondly, written rules are considered to be the representation of reality as per the ideology of legalism; however, the lex cryptographica not only represents but also comprises of the empirical and legal realities that are confronted by the users or even cannot be comprehended. Thirdly, rules under the domain of legalism reveal the "background truth"¹⁰⁴⁵ and are envisaged as something unaffected by time. Analogously, the rule of code endowed with characteristics such as normative ubiquity, instantaneity, and immutability at the point of execution dissolves time. Fourthly, in legalism, the provenance of the power of the sovereign is camouflaged so that individuals who are affected by the laws remain unaware or gloss over the political reasons behind its promulgation. These norms are considered as 'just existing', and individuals are expected to adhere to these rules without questioning. In fact, in this computing topology, a concealment curtain has been established due to non-transparency of the code and the promulgation of laws pertaining to trade secrets and confidentiality of commercial practices the technical and legal-economy obscurantism acts as a veil to conceal the 'sovereignty' of those programming.

Lex cryptographica in the configuration of code institutes and controls assorted forms of users, and in doing so, it not only exemplifies the ideology of strong legalism but also solidifies and augments it far beyond what the conventional legal domain can accomplish. This view implies

¹⁰⁴² Reidenberg (n 671).

¹⁰⁴³ Lessig, Code Version 2.0 (n 256).

¹⁰⁴⁴ Lessig, 'Law Regulating Code Regulating Law' (n 693).

¹⁰⁴⁵ Wintgens, 'Legisprudence as a New Theory of Legislation' (n 472).

not the freedom of the user but that of the 'figure' and promotes the attitude of instinctive following of rules enforced by the rule of code. *Lex cryptographica*, therefore, expects the citizens or user participants not to bother about its nuances and rather abide by the rules offered to them. However, this is different from how it is in the legal sphere, which, due to the presence of the interpretative aperture, creates a gap between the pronouncement of legal norms and adherence to its requirements where such an ideology of strong legalism can be notionally challenged by the citizens or rejected by societal values. In contrast, the rule of code does not even provide a prospective crevice for resistance; some standards of technological normativity are intrinsically present 'by default'. As the ground rules and the boundaries of the playground are predetermined at the inception stage, the user can hardly do anything to amend them, even though they are cognizant of what they are. Not only are they made to "*not think about it*"¹⁰⁴⁶, but they are also not allowed to fathom what it is that they are not thinking about.

Having said that, it is true to acknowledge that code is universal – its presence can be realized everywhere, and its manifestation in infrastructural and artifactual levels is experiencing growth inexorably. This can be seen with various blockchain adoptions where there are experiments of integrating the same with daily mundane jobs by developing sophisticated low-power infrastructure¹⁰⁴⁷ and diversifying into the domain of connected applications.¹⁰⁴⁸ In reality, the technological revolution is increasing our dependency on code and data infrastructure more and more, and it seems that the hype around the development and deployment of code and the consequential increasing reliance on it will not subside anytime soon. It is said that "*technologies invent us as we invent them*".¹⁰⁴⁹ As the distinction between offline and online content gets blurred, it has become imperative to safeguard their rights and the competence of the citizens to probe the innovative normativities that the rule of code enforces. As universalization of code would lead to realizing the next generation of virtuality,

¹⁰⁴⁶ Zenon Bańkowski and Maksymilian Del Mar, 'Images of Borders and the Politics and Legality of Identity' in Richard Nobles and David Schiff (eds), *Law, Society and Community* (Routledge 2016).

¹⁰⁴⁷ Ashwin Verma and others, 'Blockchain for Industry 5.0: Vision, Opportunities, Key Enablers, and Future Directions' (2022) 10 *IEEE* Access 69160.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Md Eshrat E Alahi and others, 'Integration of IoT-Enabled Technologies and Artificial Intelligence (AI) for Smart City Scenario: Recent Advancements and Future Trends' (2023) 23 Sensors 5206. https://doi.org/10.3390/s23115206> accessed 9 October 2024

¹⁰⁴⁹ Marco Nørskov, 'Revisiting Ihde's Fourfold "Technological Relationships": Application and Modification' (2015) 28 Philosophy & Technology 189.

more concrete steps are required to "*not surrender the offline capacity of the individuals*"¹⁰⁵⁰ in order to influence and have some say in the process of code-making as it reinvents human behavior.

6.1.1.Blockchain code rules represent 'reality'

Legal positivism and jusnaturalism, though they offer different philosophical perspectives on law, share a common view to the extent that legal norms represent reality. In the case of jusnaturalism, the law of the sovereign is valid if it reflects the universal knowledge and substantial underlying norms of nature. As for positivism, enactment of law is a prerogative of the sovereign, and representationalism is not very evident. Both Hobbes and Rousseau claim that sovereign actions based on the social contract are valid, and therefore, the laws derived from it are also valid. This is the result of their epistemological form of philosophy. Representationalism, therefore, is connoted as the elementary abstract hypothesis of these theories and conjectured as a critical aspect that identifies legalism.¹⁰⁵¹

The manner in which the rule of code-driven blockchain applications establishes normativity based on rules is certainly distinct from the approach taken by the legal system. The blockchain establishes "an ontological status of novelty or emergence in providing something new compared to what we have previously understood as reality".¹⁰⁵² In a "generative and systemic sense,"¹⁰⁵³ blockchain technology is "intertwined with many other aspects of what we are doing and thinking about ourselves and reality, in both physical and virtual domains"¹⁰⁵⁴. This decentralized technology connotes the "possibility of moreness for our existence in the world and our ability to shape and create reality".¹⁰⁵⁵ Taken to the extreme, blockchain normativity constitutes a "new and foundational mode of configuring reality".¹⁰⁵⁶ This technological normativity since the latter is necessarily constrained by its textual embodiment, while

¹⁰⁵⁰ Bryan Ford and Jacob Strauss, 'An Offline Foundation for Online Accountable Pseudonyms' (SocialNets 2008).

¹⁰⁵¹ Wintgens, 'Legisprudence as a New Theory of Legislation' (n 472) 4.

¹⁰⁵² Swan and De Filippi (n 34).

¹⁰⁵³ ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁴ ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁵ ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁶ ibid.

the instantiation of the rule of code is not so limited.¹⁰⁵⁷ However, the regulatory strength of the legal norms is restricted by its manifestation in the written script, which creates a hermeneutic interpretative gap between the requests made for the script and the interpretation of the rules of the script by the receiver and how it chooses to reflect on them in their behavior.¹⁰⁵⁸

This shows that the standards embedded into the rule of code of the regulating architecture are different from the standards manifested in textual legal rules. One of the differences is that the "binary logic of technical standards is not subject to the uncertainties arising from the inherent indeterminacy of language that plagues the use of rules"¹⁰⁵⁹. Another difference is about its rule-fetishness.¹⁰⁶⁰ As such, code can be considered to occupy a position subordinate to law, as it lacks the capacity to promulgate rules in a fundamental manner by offering users explicit precepts for interpretation and behavioral adaptation. Further, taking cognizance of the rule of code's representationalism does not provide for any dogmatic exegetic space for connecting its rules with any debated concept of 'truth' or empirical reality. The codes and their rules work very differently. They serve as influential tools that transpire behavioral possibilities as well as limitations from the commencement stage, exhibiting diversified degrees of normative force. The 'figure' may only inscribe the rule of code into the artifacts ex-ante to have a default response to avoid failure in unforeseen events.¹⁰⁶¹ The artifacts do not constitute the Austinian commands that mandate adherence,¹⁰⁶² or the *ex-post* representative normative benchmark of the society, which serve as a criteria for evaluating the standards of conduct.¹⁰⁶³ This results in the hermeneutic interpretative gap between the written script of the legal rule and its tangible effects on the behavior in the material world, experiencing diminishment. Further, there is 'the halting problem' being faced by the 'figure' – whether the algorithm will run infinitely or halt is not known to the 'figure' *a priori*.¹⁰⁶⁴. Thus, any simulation of possibilities with regard to

¹⁰⁵⁷ Hildebrandt, 'Legal and Technological Normativity: More (and Less) than Twin Sisters.' (n 447).

¹⁰⁵⁸ ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207) 92.

¹⁰⁶⁰ See Chapter 6, section 6.2.1. for more details.

¹⁰⁶¹ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207) 92.

¹⁰⁶² John Austin, The Province of Jurisprudence Determined (J Murray 1861).

¹⁰⁶³ Roy Bhaskar, *The Possibility of Naturalism: A Philosophical Critique of the Contemporary Human Sciences* (Routledge 2014).

¹⁰⁶⁴ Robert S Boyer and J Strother Moore, 'Proof Checking the RSA Public Key Encryption Algorithm' (1984) 91 The American Mathematical Monthly 181.

the performance of the artifact will always remain incomplete¹⁰⁶⁵ as contrasted to the conventional law, which is probabilistic, not deterministic in unforeseen circumstances.

The magnitude of the dissolution of the hermeneutic gap is profound, yet its obliteration in the virtual world is normal and easy, and not through malignity or intentional obscurantism but plainly by the very nature of the mechanism of the apparatus. Since the rule of code is a direct constituent of the artifact, this seeming gap can be easily dissolved as they are not simply isomorphic but, in fact, at least the same at the micro level. Code enables the conception of the programming language or script which marries both words and actions at once¹⁰⁶⁶, so what was 'ought' simply becomes 'is' or at least, will be, which results in the collision of rules and reality. These code-based technical rules embedded in the blockchain determine what people can or cannot do in a specific setting more effectively than the applicable laws.¹⁰⁶⁷ It, thus, does not merely denote reality but vigorously establishes it, which means that the behavioral possibilities are the constituents and are not simply controlled by the rule of code. If it is possible to break down legal rules into an 'if ... then' instantiation, then the code exemplifies and amplifies this reality, provided that this is how they have been expressed from the inception.¹⁰⁶⁸ The translation of the legal norms, which were once normative, upon translation into code becomes rules that are descriptive and not regulative; that is how the system, its components, and the users will predictably function. Thus, normativity evolves into descriptiveness. This provides an illustration of rule-following that possesses machine-like heteronomy characteristics that do not draw much attention.¹⁰⁶⁹ In a sense, the rules and their promulgation do not have any difference between them; the rule of code simply establishes reality, which is unlike the case for law, where the complaisant nature of its mode allows for a latitude of interpretation between norm and reality. In a blockchain environment, the smart contract is an example of a codified representation of a real-world legal document. In a smart contract, the code is equivalent to the actual contract agreed by two parties, and beyond this rule of code no additional contract exists. In a sense, it is a fictional real-world contract that becomes the basis for enforcing contractual terms in a court of law. For easy comprehension, a

¹⁰⁶⁵ Bernhard Reus, *Limits of Computation* (Springer 2016).

¹⁰⁶⁶ Latour, 'Where Are the Missing Masses?' (n 965).

¹⁰⁶⁷ Lessig, 'Law Regulating Code Regulating Law' (n 693).

¹⁰⁶⁸ Neil MacCormick, Institutions of Law: An Essay in Legal Theory (Oxford University Press 2007) 24.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Bańkowski and Del Mar (n 1046).

natural language code of contract may be prepared, but as far as legal enforcement is concerned, only code is acceptable.¹⁰⁷⁰

The rule of code requires to be analyzed at more than one level of ideation – the rules on the conceptual level or the macro level (referred to as conceptual code rules) and rules representing the technical commands within a certain programming language¹⁰⁷¹ at the micro level (referred to command code rules) to understand which level is important for manifesting the norms into actual programming code. The former level is specifically essential to ponder metaphysically at the macro level, which focuses on *ex-post* outcomes while comparing the instantiation of rules inscribed in code with the legal norms from which such rules have been developed, which may also be referred to as a techno-regulation level¹⁰⁷² at times and is ultimately what matters. This could include design patterns, architectural decisions, and overall system behavior, and understanding these conceptual code rules is crucial for aligning the code with the intended goals and functionality. However, the specific material aspects of the technical commands at the micro level which are the elementary units of the normativity, ultimately implementing the code, must not be intentionally disregarded. This involves understanding the syntax, semantics, and best practices of the chosen programming language. Analyzing rules at this level is essential to ensure that the code is correct, efficient, and maintainable. While it could be burdensome to concentrate on the fine points of the individual commands in source code, it is at this level where the operations take place, and therefore, to some extent, it is essential to put a light on this juncture. Analyzing the rule of code at both the macro and micro levels is essential because a failure at either level can lead to issues. If only the focus in on the macro level where the conceptual code rules are considered, the code may lack correctness or efficiency. If the emphasis is only on the micro level where the command code rules are considered, the code may adhere to the syntax but fail to meet the intended design goals. Since it is the actual programming code that executes the conversion of normativities which is designed without the knowledge of all its effects, there is a need to find an apposite ideation

¹⁰⁷⁰ Balázs Bodó, Daniel Gervais and João Pedro Quintais, 'Blockchain and Smart Contracts: The Missing Link in Copyright Licensing?' (2018) 26 International Journal of Law and Information Technology 311.

¹⁰⁷¹ Lodewijk Asscher, 'Code'as Law. Using Fuller to Assess Code Rules' (2006) in Egbert Dommering and Lodewijk Asscher (eds), *Coding Regulation, Essays on the Normative Role of the Information Society* (TMC Asser 2006) 61.

¹⁰⁷² Ronald Leenes, 'Framing Techno-Regulation: An Exploration of State and Non-State Regulation by Technology' (2011)5 Legisprudence 143.

balance between the individual directives and the technological normativities and their limits that cause the action or the effect in the physical world.

The individual code commands that are executed regardless of the nature of the after-effects (positive or negative) can be interpreted as a rule in terms of the affordance or disaffordance of a given value embedded into the system, in a manner that the way the code functions, guides the behavior of the user, influencing how they interact with the system based on the inherent capabilities or limitations encoded within the commands. For example, in the context of a login system:

def authenticate_user(username, password):

Check if username and password match in the database if is_valid_user(username, password): # Grant access return "Access Granted" else: # Deny access log_invalid_access_attempt(username) return "Access Denied"

The command code rule providing affordance dictates that if the provided username and password match a valid user in the database, access is granted. However, if there is no match, access is denied, and an invalid access attempt is logged, thus providing disaffordance to an individual to access. The added logging of invalid access attempts represents a rule that signifies the importance of monitoring and recording unauthorized login attempts. This reflects the idea that the command code rules are not just about granting or denying access but also encompassing the importance of security measures, considering values of legitimacy, which denotes that command code rules also follow the conceptual code rules. The act of logging invalid attempts can be viewed as a rule in response to values related to system security.

When the command or conceptual code rules fall short of representing the values of legitimacy, the rules representing those values need not be taken into account as they are not considered important. Only such disaffordances and commands that the code signifies are viewed as rules of some sort. This abstract aspect can be observed when technologies are designed in such a manner that privacy issues are not addressed during the development and application of the code, which can be viewed as tantamount to embedding a rule into the system, conceding that in the scheme of things, privacy is not the prime concern and in fact is inferior to other values. Since infringement of privacy is considered an acceptable outcome of the use of code, such

technologies actually influence the perceptions about proper and acceptable behavior.¹⁰⁷³ Adapting this formulation, it may be said that the code can and ought to be made harmonious with those values by offering specific affordances, such that the probability of normativity of code artifacts being illegitimate is diminished correspondingly. Such an exercise shows that it is not required to look directly at the source code to understand the normativity that the code imposes. This can be beneficial to link the traditional conception of various ingredients of 'legal' rule with the normative structure that command code rules institute and put into practice. This approach of sustaining a comprehensive sensitivity to the code's effects can help in avoiding narrowing the focus down to what the 'figure' purports the code's functionality is, an aspect that is prominent in most literature. More so, it is imperative to ponder not merely about the anticipated normative effects of an artifact but about all possible unanticipated outcomes. It becomes a substantial cause of concern if and when those effects weaken the legitimacy of the code's normativity. Instead of limiting our thoughts to what the 'figure' intends to do with the code, a relational emphasis on the theory of affordance and postphenomenology compels us to consider the actual operations and effects produced by the code itself.

6.1.2.Constitutive and regulative rules

Analyzing the rule of code across different ideation levels requires acknowledging if such rules are constitutive or regulative in nature when understanding the legalism within the code environment. This aspect of understanding the rule of code as constitutive or regulative rules flows from the legal jurisdictions where the rules are either constitutive of recognized institutional actions, establishing the conditions under which these actions can take place or rules that intend to influence or control behaviors that coud occur independently of any rule, seeking to manage pre-existing practices.¹⁰⁷⁴

In most cases, code rules are more constitutive. However, in cases where the user is encouraged to behave in a particular way and many digital systems are available that permit an array of behaviors for the interaction of users, it is possible for the rules to be regulative. One such example is social networks, which *ceteris paribus* provide users with an expansive scope on content and size of text, audio, video, and image elements that the users can upload. Yet, this

¹⁰⁷³ Ronald E Leenes and Bert-Jaap Koops, ''Code' and Privacy-or How Technology Is Slowly Eroding Privacy' in Egbert Dommering and Lodewijk Asscher (eds), *Essays on the Normative Role of Information Technology* (TMC Asser Press 2006) 191.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Hildebrandt, 'Legal and Technological Normativity: More (and Less) than Twin Sisters' (n 447).

supposedly unrestricted liberty to upload also has constitutive limits, such as 'only a certain quantity of data can be uploaded,' or the code will recognize and be operative only if text, images, or video files are in specified formats. For everyday usages, these limitations will not be noticeable or approachable, and so the user would remain oblivious of their existence, even though such boundaries are always present. Also, if the digital system is embodied with constitutive normativity to a greater extent compared to regulative rules, the 'figure' exercises more control in defining the nature of that behavior. Seemingly, this approach facilitates being more profitable since limiting the regulative space granted to the users enables them to concentrate on behavior that is favorable commercially. Augmenting the scope of the contingent regulative framework in lieu of the constitutive framework entails the expectation of further probable conditions, which results in increased coding and, hence, incurs increased expenditure in its creation, support, and maintenance. This would push commercial enterprises to adopt a constitutive rather than a regulative approach while designing code-based systems.

Regulative rules are aimed at regulating activities that are independent of the rules¹⁰⁷⁵, such as the possibility to drive at a certain high speed, even though there exist regulative rules that forbid over-speeding¹⁰⁷⁶, while constitutive rules create a possibility to execute specific actions¹⁰⁷⁷. For example, marriage as an institution cannot exist autonomously without the existence of the constitutive rule that is responsible for its establishment.¹⁰⁷⁸ Constitutive rules can be said to be inventive and multiplicative, while regulative rules are restrictive. For example, the rules of a game (be it soccer, basketball, or chess) do not regulate what is already happening; rather, they constitute the game. Outside of the realm of its constitutive rules, a game does not exist. If the rules of a game are ignored, even if people play something, it cannot be said that they are playing the intended game. It would not only be outside the domain of the general institution of the game but also be beyond the provisions of any given game.¹⁰⁷⁹

¹⁰⁷⁵ John Searle, 'What Is a Speech Act?', Philosophy in America (Routledge 2014).

¹⁰⁷⁶ Hildebrandt, 'Legal and Technological Normativity: More (and Less) than Twin Sisters' (n 447).

¹⁰⁷⁷ Christopher Cherry, 'Regulative Rules and Constitutive Rules' (1973) 23 The Philosophical Quarterly (1950-) 301; Jaap Hage, 'Two Concepts of Constitutive Rules' (2018) 4 Argumenta 21.

¹⁰⁷⁸ MacCormick, Institutions of Law: An Essay in Legal Theory (n 1068) 36–37.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Michał Piekarski, 'Normativity of Predictions: A New Research Perspective' (2019) 10 Frontiers in Psychology 453504.

The notion of the 'institutional fact' is derived from the differentiation between socially constructed 'specifics', and 'brute facts' that are present in empirical reality.¹⁰⁸⁰ Let us say A attends a soccer match between her favorite home team and a foreign team. A brings her dog with her. When the ball crosses the line into the cage, both A and her dog observe that fact. But it is only A and not her dog, who is able to observe the fact that A's home team has scored the goal, and subsequently when the spectators all cheer, A's dog only becomes frustrated and uneasy. So, the fact, that is, the fact that a ball crosses a line into a cage, is called a brute fact, and the second fact, that is, the fact that A's home team has scored a goal, is called an institutional fact.¹⁰⁸¹ These two facts represent the 'same' fact from two different perspectives. In other words, while brute facts are 'observer-independent', institutional facts are 'observerdependent'. An institution, therefore, reflects an organization or composition acknowledged within the appropriate community or organisms; for example, a university empowered to confer doctoral degrees is an 'institution' as its character is borne of certain attributes that are inculcated, monitored and maintained over a timeline by those who have the relevant authority to do so and can act as an institution-agency.¹⁰⁸² Institutional facts do not exist independently as they are 'observer-dependent' and owe their origin to the shared institutional world. They can only be instituted by adhering to the conditions consented by the members of the appropriate community. Such institutional facts are the result of the creative process of the constitutive rules. While legalism holds that the constitutive rules of law that bring into existence the system of institutional facts are 'out there', the other aspect is seeking answers to designing those constitutive rules.¹⁰⁸³ Consequently, there is tension between the two elements, which makes it necessary to delve into these conceptual notions to understand the means to design the rules.

It is possible to organize constitutive rules in a hierarchy to establish an essential or fundamental framework (sometimes referred to as a constitution), within which other rules can be made. Therefore, the legitimacy of the legal rule is derived from some basic acts that operate in the backdrop to validate norms that are endorsed at a later stage. In law as well, just like any

¹⁰⁸⁰ Elliott Hauser, 'Facts in the Machine: Systems of Record and the Performance of Sociotechnical Truth' (2023) Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology.

¹⁰⁸¹ Deirdre Nansen McCloskey, 'Getting Beyond Neo-Institutionalism: Virgil Storr's Culture of Markets' (2014) 27 The Review of Austrian Economics 463.

¹⁰⁸² MacCormick, *Institutions of Law: An Essay in Legal Theory* (n 1068) 35–37.
¹⁰⁸³ ibid.

game, the constitutive rules are necessary to introduce institutions, which include arrangements – contracts or marriage, and agencies – university or local bodies, and abstract institutional things - patents.¹⁰⁸⁴ In the case of marriage, the requirements stipulated in specific constitutive rules define the legal institution of marriage, and by following these rules, arrangement of marriage as an institutional fact becomes a reality. Marriages that take place beyond this institutional legal structure are not considered a legally recognized institutional fact.

While these institutional facts crafted through constitutive rules exist in reality within the law's institutional order, the rules of *lex cryptographica* in blockchain are 'brute' in the sense that they are just basic and instinctively present and are part of the architectural framework of the system. Thus, it can be said that the immutable and predetermined nature of code-based rules embedded in a blockchain, akin to the laws of nature, establishes a predefined framework that can either empower or constrain users and therefore, when the notion of rules attributes to the discrete instructions given to a system, then such instructions are 'brute facts' manipulating the empirical reality at the level of the system's hardware. The code-based rules become less 'brute', when viewed from the notion of ideation, opening up the possibility to have multiple courses of action to the user. The scope and magnitude of this prerogative, which is conceded to the user, depends on the intentional and unintentional affordance expressed in the design; however, whatever level of flexibility the design accords, it needs to be incorporated from its origination. This means that code-based rules are constitutive of our behavior¹⁰⁸⁵, and represent the inventive aspect of the constitutive structure of normativity-generation. Ultimately, in a rule of code domain, constitutive rules do not empower the users to create the appropriate normative constructs, such as, a contract or will, but the 'figure' responsible for programming and developing the code is vested with the authority to creatively institute a pertinent form of normativity, technical and non-legal, constituting the terms of the user behavior, seemingly that the users were subject to the sovereign power of the 'figure'. The rule of code limits the user autonomy materially by demarcating the boundaries of the behavior within the realm of the system. The architecture of the code organizes the rules on an *ex-ante* basis and, by default, does not permit any modification at the discretion of the user.¹⁰⁸⁶

¹⁰⁸⁴ ibid 35-36.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Hildebrandt, 'Legal and Technological Normativity: More (and Less) than Twin Sisters.' (n 447) 174.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Roger Brownsword, 'Code, Control, and Choice: Why East Is East and West Is West' (2005) 25 Legal Studies 1; Lawrence Lessig, 'The Zones of Cyberspace' (1996) 48 Stanford Law Review 1403.

In contrast to traditional legal rules, that are interpreted by the judiciary and applied on the merit of the case, code-based rules are written in the rigid and formalized language of code, and do not offer any benefit of flexibility and ambiguity of natural language.¹⁰⁸⁷ In the context of blockchain applications for human rights, while the rule of code's unambiguous and deterministic nature ensures transparency and trust¹⁰⁸⁸ because of the smart contracts, and facilitate fair distribution of resources in a tamper-resistant manner, the immutability of code in a blockchain can become a challenge in cases where amendments are required to adapt to evolving human rights standards or address unforeseen ethical concerns. Similar to the world order we observe, the limitations and enablement of code are like laws of nature.¹⁰⁸⁹ In case of smart contracts, blockchain ensures the integrity of code and its secure execution in a decentralized network. As the blockchain is immutable, a smart contract also exhibits immutability. Though the smart contracts can achieve immutability to the extent of host blockchains, such immutability is not always desirable.¹⁰⁹⁰ One major drawback of immutability is that it prevents any alteration of code of the smart contract even for rectification of errors and introduction of new functionalities.¹⁰⁹¹ Therefore, the lack of flexibility in the rule of code may hinder the system's ability to respond promptly to changing circumstances or to incorporate nuanced interpretations of rights, potentially limiting its effectiveness in complex, dynamic situations. Thus, the code of the smart contract may deviate from the intended objective, by not being able to correctly convert natural language into code. Such divergence may also occur due to the incompetence of the 'figure' or due to the inherent difficulty of translating legal obligations into a series of 'if ... then' statements. Therefore, in real world it becomes essential for the parties to agree to a 'version' in the event of any divergence.¹⁰⁹²

Therefore, the design of a system's code defines and constitutes the user's interactions with the system, enabling certain acts while blocking others. When considered from the context of the legal realm, the users are the target of these conceptual code rules, where how they behave is constituted. This is said to be the level to be focused on, where the rules for the macro level are

¹⁰⁸⁷ Hassan and De Filippi (n 89).

¹⁰⁸⁸ Quintais and others (n 156).

¹⁰⁸⁹ Kenneth A Bamberger, 'Technologies of Compliance: Risk and Regulation in a Digital Age' (2009) 88 Texas Law Review.669; Kroll and others (n 660).

¹⁰⁹⁰ Low and Mik (n 124) 170.

¹⁰⁹¹ ibid.

¹⁰⁹² ibid.

constituted by a greater level of rule adherence, that is the individual code commands, where the instructions contained in the code target the system and intend to produce user technological normativity at the macro level. Without the micro-level unconditional rule-fetishness of the source code that regulates and guides the system, the macro-level metaphysical rule-fetishness of the artifact that dictates the user will never come into existence. Even though the ideation level allows for some latitude for contingent behavior, it is not possible for the interactional possibilities to exist due to the delimiting nature of the rule of code courtesy of its rulefetishness. Therefore, the system has no choice or space for arbitrating whether to follow the instructions given to it or not as compared to the technological normativity that might be impeded by the user. In other words, the pattern of technological normativity that the user is subjected to is essentially a construct due to the authoritarian rule adherence system. Code in its multiple avatars, such as a script describing what will execute, a protocol for systems to follow, or a framework for navigating the user's behavior, indicates the crucial points at which empirical *modus operandi* can be introduced to ensure legitimacy.

6.2. Characteristics of crypto-legalism

Rather than swinging from one end to another, the idea here is to introduce checks and balances that can assist individual autonomy in the positive as well as the negative outcomes of the *lex cryptographica*. Therefore, there is a need for *ex-ante* mitigation of blockchain code(d) space, *lex cryptographica*, through design. As such, a discussion on the characteristics of legalism demonstrating how the cryptographical form of legalism goes far above the imagination of the dogmatic notion of strong legalism would be relevant.

6.2.1.Rule-fetishness

The strong legalism notion embedded in the code execution of a blockchain application ensures a dualistic treatment of rules *qua* rules, suggesting categorical and straightforward enforcement of rules, possibly indicating a dichotomous, yes-or-no application without much room for comprehension and interpretation or complexity. This characteristic contributes to increased transparency and trust in human rights processes within the blockchain, fostering a secure environment where predefined rules are applied consistently, predictably, and executed without any hindrance. However, this strict dualistic treatment of rules may limit its adaptability to evolving scenarios. For example, if a blockchain-based human rights application employs smart contracts with fixed, predefined criteria for granting asylum, the lack of flexibility in the

code could impede the system from accommodating exceptional cases or evolving geopolitical situations that necessitate a more nuanced evaluation of individuals seeking refuge. The 'rule-fetishness' nature of the rule of code which mindlessly executes the code might hinder the system's responsiveness, potentially leading to a lack of flexibility in addressing complex human rights issues and impeding the pursuit of a more context-sensitive purpose behind the employment of the blockchain.

This makes the process incompatible with the principle of legal certainty, which is the central requirement for the rule of law, that insinuates that rules should be clear, predictable, and understandable.¹⁰⁹³ This aspect of legal certainty flows in from the provision of continuity and flexibility in the application of the written law, which is dynamic and autonomous such that the law results in providing justice and effectiveness despite heterogeneous changes either in the social or technological infrastructure of the society *à la mode*¹⁰⁹⁴. In the legal sphere, the norms of the written law have their own space beyond that of the author: the author is never in a position to know how the transcript will be perceived; at the same time, the intention of the author can also not be presupposed. The legislator is given preordained *carte blanche* to use the text and turn the process of legal code enactment into an ingenious one rather than just a monotonous process.¹⁰⁹⁵ This creative customary *modus operandi* of embodying law into written text reflects the postulation of legal certainty¹⁰⁹⁶, implying a clear and unambiguous understanding of the law when interacting with the text.¹⁰⁹⁷ This process also acknowledges that when citizens interact with an apparatus, they normatively have the affordance to choose either to approach the text from a legalistic viewpoint or opt for an alternative perspective.¹⁰⁹⁸

In contrast, the execution of code represents the monotonous application of the rules.¹⁰⁹⁹ The enactment of code does not, normally, provide any scope for interpretation that is available in the legal sphere. The rules laid by the 'figure' are the rules that are to be followed by the user

¹⁰⁹³ Jeremy Waldron, *Thoughtfulness and the Rule of Law* (Harvard University Press 2023).

¹⁰⁹⁴ Hildebrandt, 'Legal and Technological Normativity: More (and Less) than Twin Sisters.' (n 447) 171–172.

¹⁰⁹⁵ ibid 172.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Martina Bajčić (ed), 'New Insights into the Semantics of Legal Concepts and the Legal Dictionary' (John Benjamins Publishing 2017) 1.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Adrian Vermeule, *Judging under Uncertainty: An Institutional Theory of Legal Interpretation* (Harvard University Press 2006).

¹⁰⁹⁸ Mireille Hildebrandt, 'Law as Information in the Era of Data-Driven Agency' (2016) 79 The Modern Law Review 1.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Brownsword, 'Code, Control, and Choice: Why East Is East and West Is West' (n 1086); De Filippi and Hassan (n 108).

as well as by the machine. This 'rule-fetishness' is drawing the bridge between *crypto-legalism* and legality, where orthodoxly, one end is fixed, has absolute rules with no means of interpretation, and the other end is partly or wholly unhinged, has comparatively flexible rules that allow for wider engagements but without detailing the structure to achieve the objectives. And in this bridge, the code is positioned on the fixed rule end side.¹¹⁰⁰ While written laws are constructed with the intention that with the passage of time and the ambiguity of language, it would provide the space where contemplation of evolving social norms or exceptional circumstances are permitted, whereas code demands strong and rigid precision and rigor which is not native in analogue law.¹¹⁰¹ In the absence of such precision, the code will be incapable of execution.

It can be said that 'rule-fetishness' is a term to explain the codes' nature to impose an unambiguous, demarcated, and pre-decided set of inflexible rules at the juncture of execution. Upon execution, the program follows these hard-edged rules such that nothing outside the pre-determined and limited ontology of the code will respond to changes, and everything that meets the internal conditions will be mindlessly executed. This is true even in cases where a pragmatic approach would demand consideration of other conditions so that the nature of the execution of code or the facts associated with it could be altered.

The mindless execution, the hard-edged inflexible rules, and the limited ontology which a given artifact can represent may be conceived and structured to admit different likelihoods.¹¹⁰² But the primary locus is the rule-based design choice which is the 'rule-fetish' structure of the code, which is pertinently binary in nature. "*In blockchain, the final smart contract source code needs to be compiled into machine-readable bitcode and uploaded on the blockchain. From then onwards, the binary computer code is the only definitive source of truth for the smart contract"*.¹¹⁰³ This will forecast the difference between the code(d) rules that the machines

¹¹⁰⁰ Grimmelmann (n 1020).

¹¹⁰¹ Bronwyn E Howell and Petrus H Potgieter, 'Uncertainty and Dispute Resolution for Blockchain and Smart Contract Institutions' (2021) 17 Journal of Institutional Economics 545; Rónán Kennedy, *The Ethical Implications of Lawtech* (Springer 2021); Rónán Kennedy, 'Rules as Code and the Rule of Law: Ensuring Effective Judicial Review of Administration by Software' (2024) 16 Law, Innovation and Technology 170; Zsolt Ződi, 'Algorithmic Explainability and Legal Reasoning' (2022) 10 The Theory and Practice of Legislation 67.

¹¹⁰² Floris Bex and Henry Prakken, 'On the Relevance of Algorithmic Decision Predictors for Judicial Decision Making' (18th International Conference on Artificial Intelligence and Law (ICAIL '21), 2021) 175.

¹¹⁰³ Karthikeyan Bhargavan and others, 'Formal Verification of Smart Contracts: Short Paper' (ACM Workshop on Programming Languages and Analysis for Security (PLA '16), 2016) HAL Id: hal-01400469

follow and what it constructs and operates in the representative world *qua* technological normativity, to which the users are subjected, where they know nothing about anything that lies beyond the border they have created.

The programmed and proximate nature of the code is the origin of the mindless execution of the code. As soon as the code is released in the required operating environment, the program will be executed as many times as possible as long as the *ex-ante* conditions of the rules are satisfied, with insignificant marginal costs.Except for resources for operation and periodical maintenance of the computing and network systems, no human intervention is required.¹¹⁰⁴ This is without consideration of the *ex-post* consequences or any reasons that imply that the code should not be executed. This shows that the ontology of the code is limited, and it is true to say that code "*produces only what it assumes*"¹¹⁰⁵; the mechanical outcome of the *ex-ante* postulations of the 'figure' is realized whatever may be their intention¹¹⁰⁶ – the challenge is not the expected misuse of the power of the code, but the inadvertent exercise of that power by the coder.

Regardless of that, such mindlessness of the code is a significant benefit that facilitates rapid innovation where it can be envisaged to execute the complex set of rules in a programmed manner under specific conditions. This aspect of validity hints at catastrophic effects depending on the behavior and ubiquity of the code in question. Although the 'figure' iteratively tests the codes they write to ascertain if their scripts perform as intended and fix the obvious bugs manifested, the possibility of having such bugs or malcontents in a code that ostensibly performs as intended during testing cannot be entirely ruled out since in either case, the system will function though the outcome may not be as intended. In the legal domain, this is obviously undesirable and requires space for interpretation. The laws and regulations, which are well conceived and fabricated, endeavor to take care of a variety of contingencies that are not always predicted by the lawmakers.¹¹⁰⁷ The ideal condition would be to draft laws and regulations in

¹¹⁰⁴ Grimmelmann (n 1020).

¹¹⁰⁵ Stephen Wolfram, 'Computational Law, Symbolic Discourse, and the AI Constitution'. in S. Matthew Liao (ed), *Ethics of Artificial Intelligence* (Oxford University Press 2020) <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190905033.003.0006> accessed 9 October 2024.

¹¹⁰⁶ Berg and Leenes (n 968).

¹¹⁰⁷ De Filippi and Wright (n 134) 199.

such a way that the same can be applied in different contexts and situations that are not envisaged by legislators without amending or changing the law.¹¹⁰⁸

Even in the case of orthodox legalism, where the legislation might produce a statutory rule that infringes the right of the citizens or creates a loophole for the malady, this rule can then be ignored by those subjected to, and if required, can also be quashed by the judiciary once the malady has been identified. Even in situations where strict liability rules are enforced, for example, traffic violations, enforcement still mandates an active process of investigation to provide an opportunity to the driver to justify their actions and plead for leniency, citing the conditions necessitated such action, which modulates a strongly legalistic application of the original rule.¹¹⁰⁹ However, as the blockchain is self-executing, an automatic response is generated the moment the embedded code is triggered. On the other hand, traditional law requires that unless legal compliance is monitored and ascertained, no rule violation can be sanctioned and enforced. This is because in the rule of law society, human interaction and their ability to apply rules to the actual situations where such violation has taken place, plays a definitive role in the interpretation and enforcement of rules.¹¹¹⁰

The flip side of the mindless execution is that if the precise circumstances for the predetermined rules in the code are not satisfied, then, notwithstanding any external condition that arises due to the operation that may harmonize with the code-based rule, the rule will never be executed. The rules embedded into a technological artifact would be interpreted in an identical fashion irrespective of the complexity of the set of rules that are being applied¹¹¹¹, in contrast to human's ability to apply the simultaneous rules with precision. Metaphorically speaking, the 'inflexible hard edges' of technological rules are not vulnerable to blurring.¹¹¹² The rule of code domain lacks the "*penumbra of doubt*"¹¹¹³ where the rule of code echoes the subjective interpretations of the 'figure', and not necessarily its established understanding that is

¹¹⁰⁸ Ronald Dworkin, 'Law as Interpretation' (1982) 9 Critical Inquiry 179.

¹¹⁰⁹ Katja De Vries and Niels van Dijk, 'A Bump in the Road. Ruling Out Law from Technology' in Mireille Hilderbrandt and Jeanne Gaakeer (eds), *Human Law and Computer Law: Comparative Perspectives* (Springer 2013) 89.

¹¹¹⁰ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207) 93.

¹¹¹¹ Grimmelmann (n 1020).

¹¹¹² ibid.

¹¹¹³ Brian Bix, 'H.L.A. Hart and the "Open Texture" of Language' (1991) 10 Law and Philosophy 51.

appreciated, recognized, and agreed by the legislature, courts, or society.¹¹¹⁴ There is no possibility of alternative interpretations¹¹¹⁵ in the domain of mechanical jurisprudence, which means that the code is incapable of accommodating ambiguity.¹¹¹⁶ Any ostensible ambiguity is considered imaginary since it has been intentionally designed so, and the ambiguity exists only at the level of human interpretation, rather than within the internal logic of the system. This speaks of the feature that code's ontology is limited and is in line with Hart's conceptualization of the open texture of language and his critiques against unambiguous regulation. In a real world it is not feasible to conceive all possibilities, and therefore a mechanical jurisprudence for all the possibilities can be thought of beforehand.¹¹¹⁷ Code fits this vision but not as imagined by Hart. In contrast, all human understandings are built on the interpretation of ambiguous 'limited' information, which is filled out by the existing prism of tacit knowledge¹¹¹⁸. While code is only responsive to the rules and representations designed into its ontology or is sensitive to "*intra-systemic meaning*"¹¹¹⁹, in the case of humans, it refers to the interactions that cross the boundaries between systems.¹¹²⁰

When the 'figure' writes a code and creates a program, every possible response to a complete array of inputs is anticipated and predetermined for every possible case it may adjudicate. "*The algorithm is the rule*".¹¹²¹ The 'figure' relies on the predetermined conditions and responses of the code's execution, and although this concretization will not reflect the empirical world reality¹¹²², or the essentiality of substantive law, or the legitimacy of normative values. This aspect of code tender no barrier to its execution on the basis of the ontology that the 'figure'

¹¹¹⁴ Zachary Cooper and Arno R Lodder, 'What's Law Got to Do with IT: An Analysis of Techno-Regulatory Incoherence' in Bartosz Brozek and others (eds), *Research Handbook on Law and Technology* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2023); Burkhard Schafer, 'Formalising Law, or the Return of the Golem' in Bartosz Brozek and others (eds), *Research Handbook on Law and Technology* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2023).

¹¹¹⁵ Jenna Burrell and Marion Fourcade, 'The Society of Algorithms' (2021) 47 Annual Review of Sociology 213.

¹¹¹⁶ Taina Bucher, If... Then: Algorithmic Power and Politics (Oxford University Press 2018).

¹¹¹⁷ Hart (n 414).

¹¹¹⁸ Ed Finn, What Algorithms Want: Imagination in the Age of Computing (MIT Press 2018).

¹¹¹⁹ Ralf Michaels and Joost Paulwelyn, 'Conflict of Norms or Conflict of Laws?: Different Techniques in the Fragmentation of Public International Law' (2011) 22 Duke Journal of Comparative and International Law 349; Vladislav Valentinov, 'Wiener and Luhmann on Feedback: From Complexity to Sustainability' (2017) 46 Kybernetes 386.

¹¹²⁰ Mireille Hildebrandt, 'The Adaptive Nature of Text-Driven Law' (2021) 1 Journal of Cross-disciplinary Research in Computational Law 1.

¹¹²¹ Grimmelmann (n 1020).

¹¹²² Agre (n 921).

designs their artifact around.¹¹²³ Given that it is virtually impossible to foresee all possible situations and to have rules and regulations to deal with all these circumstances, in practice, the laws banking on blockchain systems would have a limited scope than conventional laws. Since all the possibilities are not taken care of in a smart contract, it is possible to find loopholes in the system to bypass the rules. Individuals can assess the code of the smart contract and decide whether to trigger the embedded conditions or not so that they would not come under the purview of any given law that has been translated into code.¹¹²⁴

The traditional contract is subject to interpretation, traditional understanding of agreements, and legal contractual codes which are dependent on statutes, legal precedents, and principles. In contrast, smart contracts are marked by a lack of context. Therefore, smart contracts need to be self-sufficient by explicitly formulating and embedding code.¹¹²⁵ It may also be said that code reduces the complexity of the contingent world to a set of rules that the 'figure' can embed, irrespective of whether these rules are adequate or appropriate or not, in terms of the number of necessary representations of whatever contexts that the code will eventually operate in.¹¹²⁶ As such, the code responds only to the conditions and rules that are a kind of platonic simulacrum signified by the 'figure', who is only interested in finding answers to an obvious problem through specific technical measures which are contingent upon the inherent business models and the norms and values of the computing discourse of the 'figure'.¹¹²⁷ While doing so, the 'figure' may not evaluate other relevant possibilities, thus limiting to unwarranted specific circumstances and responses. To elaborate, if the 'figure' expects only responses X, Y, or Z to which the system will respond with X1, Y1, Z1 conditions or their combinations, then that is all the code will ever recognize. These conditions engulf the impenetrable sphere that is understood by the ontology of 'inflexible' code, meaning it is rigid and cannot be made sensitive to other conditions or responses without the code being altered. Once the commands are compiled to be executable by the system, the code becomes rigid and 'closed' for good, and no information that has not been represented can be incorporated to alter the nature of the

¹¹²³ Philip E Agre, Computation and Human Experience (Cambridge University Press 1997).

¹¹²⁴ De Filippi and Wright (n 134) 200.

¹¹²⁵ Daniel Drummer and Dirk Neumann, 'Is Code Law? Current Legal and Technical Adoption Issues and Remedies for Blockchain-Enabled Smart Contracts' (2020) 35 Journal of Information Technology 337.

¹¹²⁶ Burrell and Fourcade (n 1115).

¹¹²⁷ Agre (n 1123).

execution.¹¹²⁸ Similarly, if a user desires to add 'date of birth' record to a blockchain-based ledger, the platform will accept the input data so long as it meets the conditions embedded into the code– even if the said 'date of birth' is not correct.¹¹²⁹ Even if the text of the code is open to scrutiny, there is no scope for further interpretation by the users, and to that extent code is legalistic. Even when the user has access to and can understand the source code, there is no other option but to accept the rules as designed and embedded into the code during the course of the code's performance. However, for law, it must be able to accommodate and interact with systems outside its realms.¹¹³⁰

The connection between legalism and code-based regulation can be explained through a hypothetical blockchain-based smart-contract-enabled e-bank for lending money (microfinancing). The rules are (i) the borrowers shall make an application with requisite information for each loan, (ii) the loans must be repaid within the due date, (iii) number of loans availed by a borrower shall be within the specified limit, and (iv) no new loan will be sanctioned to those loan-seekers that have overdue amount. These rules are translated into code, regulating the e-bank's 'borrowing' system which is programmed to self-destruct after the predetermined borrowing period has expired. When compared to an 'offline' bank where human facilitators are available for interpretation, the rules in the digital system are 'bright line' that accept no interpretation – once the number of loans or quantum of loan limit is reached, the system self-destructs allowing the user to not loan any further monetary amount, regardless of any external factor such as the user falling sick obstructing him to repay the loan, which could have made the human facilitator make an exception, if no due process system is built into the coding framework. Therefore, including the affordance of accountability in the form of 'human in the loop' is a design choice made by the 'figure'. It not an obligation on their part.

In the absence of any conditional versions, these characteristics highlight a 'legalism' that is outside the horizon of the strongest of the orthodox legalisms, which provides for

¹¹²⁸ Markus Krajewski, 'Against the Power of Algorithms Closing, Literate Programming, and Source Code Critique' (2019)23 Law Text Culture 119.

¹¹²⁹ Alexander Wilhelm, 'Blockchain Technology and the Development of African Economies: Promises, Opportunities, and the Legal Issues at Stake' (2019) 22 RiA Recht in Afrika| Law in Africa| Droit en Afrique 3.

¹¹³⁰ Mireille Hildebrandt, 'Code-Driven Law: Freezing the Future and Scaling the Past' in Christopher Markou and Simon Deakin (eds), *Is Law Computable?: Critical Perspectives on Law and Artificial Intelligence* (Hart Publishing 2020) 67 https://www.cohubicol.com/assets/uploads/hildebrandt-freezing-the-future-and-scaling-the-past.pdf> accessed on 9 October 2024 .

elide(ification) of the interpretative space in code architecture. Because of the architecture's abrasiveness, rigidity, and lack of critical reasoning¹¹³¹, "*the software lies at the rule-bound end*"¹¹³² where there is little scope for "*ambiguity, discretion or subversion*"¹¹³³ as the computer rather than a human makes a program's decision, and there is only a little liberty to reason separately from either interpretation or even identifying the rule.¹¹³⁴ This is indeed why focusing on the production of the code is so important. At this stage, interpretation in a primary precautionary role can identify what critical aspects of the world must be represented and how the representations are limited. It also identifies the implications of code in reality and consequently, provides vital support in the process of designing the code.

6.2.2.Instantaneity

Due to the ex-ante 'rule-fetish' nature of code, exemplified by smart contracts with predefined criteria, where "the tamper-resistant and automated nature of blockchain-based applications works as a double-edged sword⁷¹¹³⁵, the technological system cannot, like law, reconstruct its responses considering *ex-post* information or determination that such information is germane. This characteristic is referred to as code's instantaneity¹¹³⁶ which relates to the temporality of code rules execution. For example, in a blockchain system for determining asylum eligibility, if fixed parameters within the rule of code, such as 'rigid adherence to a predetermined list of qualifying persecution categories', strictly define eligibility criteria without flexibility, overlooking geopolitical developments or individual circumstances such as threats or emergencies, the immediacy of code execution of the blockchain system may fail to adapt to evolving human rights situations, potentially denying asylum to those who need protection. Similar can be the case when the blockchain application is used for humanitarian aid services. If the initial criteria are based solely on fixed parameters such as 'rigid income thresholds' without room for reconsideration, such as without the ability to dynamically reassess eligibility based on factors like sudden economic downturns or changes in living conditions, the instantaneity of code execution may hinder the system from adjusting aid allocations in

¹¹³¹ Schafer (n 1114).

¹¹³² Schafer (n 550).

¹¹³³ Bańkowski and Del Mar (n 1046).

¹¹³⁴ MacCormick, *Rhetoric and the Rule of Law: A Theory of Legal Reasoning* (n 386), Chapter 2.

¹¹³⁵ De Filippi and Wright (n 134) 201.

¹¹³⁶ Grimmelmann (n 1020).

response to emerging crises or evolving needs, potentially leaving vulnerable populations without timely assistance in dynamic human rights situations.

Where law, being a potential regulator, is unfunctional in situations that lack of presumptions to manifest its stipulations in real-world behavior, the enablement and delimitation of code constructed by the 'figure' manifest their potency before the system is operational. This is because, as already discussed, the hermeneutic gap between the code script and behavior is collapsed, which means that the script constitutes both rule and reality, and the conditions of its imposition are priorly arranged and enforced instantaneously, without procrastination and without factoring other possibilities that might have been relevant, at the point of execution. At the moment of freeze, the corpus of specifications, features, and rules (configuration of normativity) can no longer be amended and are contained in the code, and the system compliantly executes it as quickly as it can. The code's exponential execution speed is severe and indecipherable to external triggers or mitigating factors.¹¹³⁷ The code's rule-fetish character, as such, moves away from the legal realm where the law's calculated approach emulates the stabilization of societal expectations.¹¹³⁸ While a code-based approach ensures that no rule is violated unless the underlying technological framework is tampered with, on the flipside, this can also impede the prospect of lawful pursuits. As permissible actions are restricted to predefined conditions, there is a possibility that legitimate functions of the user would be hampered due to a code-based rigid framework.¹¹³⁹

When the instantaneity characteristics and the rigid framework of the rule of code are combined in a smart contract, it may give rise to a situation which is detrimental to the parties involved. For example, if a smart contract which is used for tax management has a flaw in the code, then its output will be erroneous, and the user may end up paying more tax. Under such circumstances, only judicial intervention appears to be a viable option.¹¹⁴⁰

Therefore, the characteristic of instantaneity, reflected in the code embedded in the blockchain, requires the design of any modifications and amendments to its constitution to be incorporated at the stage when they are supplied to the artifact. Moreover, unlike any regular software, smart

¹¹³⁷ Hassan and De Filippi (n 89).

¹¹³⁸ Hildebrandt, 'A Vision of Ambient Law' (n 132) 186–187.

¹¹³⁹ De Filippi and Wright (n 134) 201.

¹¹⁴⁰ ibid 201–202.

contracts cannot simply be patched.¹¹⁴¹ "Smart contracts are by their nature irreversible after contract code terms have been agreed on".¹¹⁴² However, if all parties agree, one should be in a position to amend contract terms. In this regard, Wright and De Filippi point out, that "People are [. . .] free to decide the particular set of rules to which they want to abide, but after the choice has been made, they can no longer deviate from these rules to the extent that smart contracts are automatically enforced".¹¹⁴³ These rigid configurations are largely welcomed by the users as "natural and immutable fact"¹¹⁴⁴, as they consider the configuration and responses of the system to be more accurate than a human equivalent, which means that there is some sort of automation bias.¹¹⁴⁵

The default configurations may appear natural because of the familiarity of the system or because they are accepted as legitimate since people have become habituated to such arrangements offered by the system.¹¹⁴⁶ This deduces that the 'figure' has significant power over choosing the configuration from the inception to the end while being responsible and accountable.¹¹⁴⁷ This could potentially lead to the emergence of the modernized version of a totalitarian regime—a society based upon a restrictive technical framework that is almost exclusively controlled by self-enforcing contracts, owned and managed by a sophisticated network of decentralized organizations that dictate what people can or cannot do, without any kind of constitutional safeguards or constraints. As such, the default configurations militate

¹¹⁴¹ Sergei Tikhomirov, 'Ethereum: State of Knowledge and Research Perspectives' in Abdessamad Imine and others (eds), *Foundations and Practice of Security* (Springer 2018).

¹¹⁴² Wei-Tek Tsai and others, 'Beagle: A New Framework for Smart Contracts Taking Account of Law' (IEEE International Conference on Service-Oriented System Engineering (SOSE), 2019).

¹¹⁴³ Wright and De Filippi (n 1).

¹¹⁴⁴ Kesan and Shah (n 991) 591.

¹¹⁴⁵ Citron (n 712) 1271–1272.

¹¹⁴⁶ Unal Tatar, Yasir Gokce and Brian Nussbaum, 'Law versus Technology: Blockchain, GDPR, and Tough Tradeoffs' (2020)
38 Computer Law & Security Review 105454; Lee Tien, 'Architectural Regulation and the Evolution of Social Norms' (2003)
7 Yale Journal of Law & Technology 1.

¹¹⁴⁷ See pg 273, pg 313 - 315, and pg 333, 353-354 for further discussion on responsibility and accountability of the 'figure'. In designing and implementing the technology, it is the responsibility of the 'figure' to ensure that the application aligns with the preconditions of human existence and adheres to the fundamental values of the community. Furthermore, the 'figure' must take steps to balance the global commons with community values through deliberative and participatory mechanisms. The dissertation primarily focuses on understanding the intentionality of the 'figure' and presenting them with some normative reference points, where it is the duty of the 'figure' to design with configurations such as legacy switch, sunsetting mechanisms, room for agonism, autonomy, choice, and desirable inefficiency. In this context, questions of accountability arise in relation to the legacy switch and the notion of desirable inefficiency.

against any inquiry regarding more or less suitability of other configurations for the user. Instead, the defaults are admitted as fixed or immutable parameters making other possibilities impossible or unreasonable.¹¹⁴⁸ The users, most of the time infer that the 'figure' knows best and thus legitimizes the effect produced by the configurations.¹¹⁴⁹ More so, many times, it is the case that the users either lack the technical knowledge to scrutinize all the possible tailored options¹¹⁵⁰, or time to investigate¹¹⁵¹, much less to explore what inducements inspired the 'figure' to choose a particular configuration of defaults or why there is a periodical change in the functional units which do not always have the support of the users.¹¹⁵²

The 'figure' must also exercise its choice to achieve an equilibrium between the number of defaults i.e., options that can be changed by the user, and the quantum of pre-set processes since multiple options or a complex interface can add to distractions, eroding the utility of providing a choice.¹¹⁵³ This can result in commercial enterprises allowing for configurable options within the interface, which, upon exercising the option, is an adversary to the user, where the enterprise argues respect for the users' autonomy while at the same time undermining their interest in the face of commercial opportunism. An example of this is the change introduced into the Google Chrome browser interface at the design level that obscures the circumstance under which the user is logged into the Google services, even though the 'block third-party cookies' setting that would normally block such behavior has been activated.¹¹⁵⁴ Such a setting is also not a default configuration in the mainstream browser, and this privacy-enhancing 'extension' setting needs to be manually enabled by the user; this means that the user must first be aware of the availability of such an option or 'extension', what it does and how can it be enabled.¹¹⁵⁵

It is conceivable to determine and augment the subjective value judgments of the 'figure', and the consequential effects of the rules demonstrated in the code, when the systems are

¹¹⁴⁸ Ian Kerr, 'The Devil Is in the Default' (2017) 4 Critical Analysis of Law 91.

¹¹⁴⁹ Kesan and Shah (n 991) 611–612.

¹¹⁵⁰ ibid.

¹¹⁵¹ ibid 598.

¹¹⁵² Tien (n 1146) 16.

¹¹⁵³ Brownsword, 'Lost in Translation: Legality, Regulatory Margins, and Technological Management' (n 554) 1345.

¹¹⁵⁴ Alessandro Acquisti and others, 'Nudges (and Deceptive Patterns) for Privacy: Six Years Later' in Sabine Trepte and Philipp Masur (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Privacy and Social Media* (Routledge 2023) 257-269.

¹¹⁵⁵ Leenes and Koops (n 1073); Wright (n 776).

distributive in nature and are accepted extensively.¹¹⁵⁶ The 'figure' has an ample amount of latitude in determining how the code ought to function while it is in production, but promptly, as it runs its course, that latitude is frozen¹¹⁵⁷, facilitating its exponential augmentation as its outcome amalgamates with simultaneous and successive execution.¹¹⁵⁸ Drawing a parallel with the legal realm, it is termed as "*inner commitments*" where technological innovations are akin to the framework for public order.¹¹⁵⁹

As technology is like a ticking clock unlikely to reverse, it is quite challenging to change or delete the technology from society once it is developed, introduced, and accepted in society.¹¹⁶⁰ Thus, when normativity is at stake, the process that develops 'code is law' becomes a key concern. Due to the lack of a mechanism to make amendments to the code after the closure of the design stage, the normative value of those 'initial commitments' is more significant. These observations incentivize focussing on *ex-ante* programming of code along with its *ex-post* effects.

Even in cases where it is possible to update the code, its instantaneity would mean that its normative effects are in place before the code effectuates. Thus, it is imperative that the design is generated in a legitimate manner from its conception. Though code may undego revisions over time, the fact remains that it is immutable at the point of its compilation, pending certain changes in the future - and that is the reality. Users are compelled to embrace the exact same technological normativity that is defined and encoded in the most recent update. This remains unaltered until the subsequent update, which results in the normativity configurations remaining fixed for a variable period of time. Its updation ability is, hence, dependent on the design possibilities envisioned by the 'figure'.

6.2.3.Obscurantism

The rule of code operates in ways that are 'only' sometimes comprehensible by the 'figure' and not the user. This obscurantism gives way to the postulation that code entails users to "*not to*

¹¹⁵⁶ Grimmelmann (n 1020); Steven A Sloman, 'The Empirical Case for Two Systems of Reasoning' (1996) 119 Psychological Bulletin 3.

¹¹⁵⁷ Bamberger (n 1089) 710–711.

¹¹⁵⁸ Grimmelmann (n 1020); Levy (n 733).

¹¹⁵⁹ Winner, 'Do Artifacts Have Politics?' (n 249).

¹¹⁶⁰ Bert-Jaap Koops, 'Criteria for Normative Technology' in Roger Brownsword and Karen Young (eds), *Regulating Technologies. Legal Futures, Regulatory Frames and Technological Fixes* (Hart Publishing 2008) 157, 166.

think".¹¹⁶¹ If the users cannot appreciate the rules that influence their behavior, they cannot, in all probability, contemplate whether and how to react to such rules. For instance, in a blockchain system determining asylum eligibility, if the source code governing the decision-making process is intentionally obscured, asylum seekers may find it challenging to understand the specific criteria influencing their application outcomes. The obscurity in the code could lead to a lack of transparency, hindering individuals from comprehending how their asylum claims are evaluated and potentially eroding trust in the fairness and accountability of the system for human rights purposes.

This characteristic of the rule of code, as observable in the source code for any application, camouflages the users' experience; examples also include HTML, IP addresses, and web browser software serve as a desirable model of code's self-concealing character. In the case of HTML, it hides the textual data, that is eventually responsible for developing the graphical websites that the netizens see.¹¹⁶² Users can view source HTML code in most browsers, making it somewhat accessible. However, in blockchain artifacts, the compiled code that affects specific rules is not only inaccessible but also inexplicable, due to it being in machine-readable format.

Thus, irrespective of the programming language of the code, the system remains obscure; users cannot appreciate the codes and are compelled to just have faith in the system.¹¹⁶³ The user interface of the artifact i.e., the frontend, is far off and kept obsolete because of the multitude of operations taking place at the backend. The simplest operations, such as clicking an image on the webpage, require a host of invisible backend coding. More so, trying to comprehend all the details of every rule followed in the algorithmic process can be very burdensome.

The opaque algorithmic rules do not provide any insight into the decision-making process undertaken by the 'figure' to display information. Since the artifact offers a range of "*optimal*" choices, the users are under the illusion of having complete freedom of choice, which in reality is controlled by a network of algorithms as per the predefined metrics.¹¹⁶⁴ It has been noted

¹¹⁶¹ Daniel J Nicholson, 'The Machine Conception of the Organism in Development and Evolution: A Critical Analysis' (2014)48 Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences 162.

¹¹⁶² Longford (n 936) 82.

 ¹¹⁶³ Robin Williams and David Edge, 'The Social Shaping of Technology' (1996) 25 Research Policy 865; Langdon Winner, *Autonomous Technology: Technics-out-of-Control as a Theme in Political Thought* (MIT Press 1978) 284.
 ¹¹⁶⁴ Finn (n 1118); Wright and De Filippi (n 1).

that the users' behavior within the system's architecture is *a fait accompli* where the users have accepted the default configurations in their original condition such that immutable features of these configurations govern the behavior of those subjected to it within a medley of behavior-delimiting rules that might allow for minimal interpretation, if any. It is a sort of "*blind rule-following*".¹¹⁶⁵ This facilitates achieving compliance by default instead of by enforcing proactively. Thus, the normativity of the code is not dependent on the users and is also perspicuous to those whose behavior is governed by it or even those who have developed it. Moreover, there is no obligation to make it public and understandable to humans. As the complexity of code increases, the rule of code becomes unintelligible even to those who have programmed them, making it difficult for the user to investigate the rules to which the behavior of the user is subjected.

In contrast, traditional laws are interpreted by the judiciary to determine the applicability of a legal rule in a particular situation. Even the law may be reinterpreted if in the opinion of judges, the standard interpretation of the law is violative of the original intent.¹¹⁶⁶ In contrast, the core concepts of law, such as "*corporeality, finitude, and authentication*", that are fundamental to sovereignty, are challenged by the virtuality of code.¹¹⁶⁷ Obscurantism poses challenges to the conventional democratic legislative process. The rule of code diminishes the individual's capacity for reflection, giving rise to some degree of instrumentalism that deprives their ability to participate meaningfully in the society. This occurs even in situations where the individuals do not accord to what is forced on them by the code rule. Users have no other option but to follow the rules without having any say or authority regarding their formulation.¹¹⁶⁸ One of the effects of this might result in de-moralising the users *qua* citizens, numbing their feelings towards social norms and adversely impacting their ability to be altruistic.¹¹⁶⁹ The later point echoes with Fuller's discussion on the morality of aspirations and how it is in conflict with the legalistic morality of duty, in which case the rule comprises of the detailed map of requirements in respect of what is necessitated from the users who would be regulated.¹¹⁷⁰ By doing away

¹¹⁶⁵ Zenon Bańkowski and Burkhard Schafer, 'Double-Click Justice: Legalism in the Computer Age' (2007) 1 Legisprudence 31.

¹¹⁶⁶ De Filippi and Wright (n 134) 200.

¹¹⁶⁷ Karavas (n 1024); Vismann and Krajewski (n 1026) 92.

¹¹⁶⁸ Dennis D Hirsch, 'The Law and Policy of Online Privacy: Regulation, Self-Regulation, or Co-Regulation' (2010) 34 Seattle University Law Review 439.

¹¹⁶⁹ Brownsword, 'Code, Control, and Choice: Why East Is East and West Is West' (n 1086) 19.

¹¹⁷⁰ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385), Chapter 1.

with the necessity to mull over an appropriate course of action, the frequency of broaching such inquiries declines. A community that is entirely dependent on such regulatory frameworks, thereby precluding the opportunity for moral deliberations, ceases to operate as a 'true' moral community anymore.¹¹⁷¹ There should always be an opportunity to do good if one is to continue to exercise their reason as a moral actor. In many cases, the opacity of architectural regulation directly impacts the user's awareness and behavior.¹¹⁷² Such obscurantism keeps the law in a bind as legal norms are unable to obviate any disobedience or contestation of the technological factory default that may arise since the configurations regulating the user behavior are most of the times invisible and also due to non-presence of jurisdiction and court.¹¹⁷³ However, such a smokescreen of actual behavior can sometimes be good and not just otherwise; for example, hiding the complex technical behavior can be for the benefit of the user when such a technical behavior is adverse to the interests of the user.¹¹⁷⁴

It can be espoused that *crypto-legalism* does illustrate the absolute certainties, concomitantly hiding the same from the user's cognizance under the shroud of obscurantism. It has been suggested time and again that the origin of technology is concealed "*in the state-sponsored program or market-structured order, and it effects are abstruse because it is hard to envision the alternative*".¹¹⁷⁵ This mystifying function can be drawn parallel to the doctrine of the 'veil of sovereignty' in the legal realm, where it envelops the legislator's work, shielding the sovereign power from the scrutiny of the legal scholars and the citizens.¹¹⁷⁶ This results in creating a black box within the realm. Not only the supreme source of sovereignty but also the process by which it achieves a result is not to be held in question by the jurists.

In the blockchain realm, the autonomy and authority of the 'figure' are protected by technical as well as legal shrouds. The technical shroud relates to code-based obscurantism, where the shroud is technically encoded and is incapable of being deciphered or lifted by the user *qua*

¹¹⁷¹ Brownsword, 'Code, Control, and Choice: Why East Is East and West Is West' (n 1086) 19.

¹¹⁷² Marco Goldoni, 'The Normativity of Code as Law: Toward Input Legitimacy' (25th IVR Congress Law Science and Technology, Frankfurt am Main 2011).

¹¹⁷³ Hildebrandt, Smart Technologies and the End (s) of Law: Novel Entanglements of Law and Technology (n 548) 12.

¹¹⁷⁴ Omer Tene and Jules Polenetsky, 'To Track or "Do Not Track": Advancing Transparency and Individual Control in Online Behavioral Advertising' (2012) 13 Minnesota Journal of Law, Science & Technology 281.

¹¹⁷⁵ James Boyle, 'Foucault in Cyberspace: Surveillance, Sovereignty, and Hardwired Censors' (1997) University of Cincinnati Law Review 177.

¹¹⁷⁶ Wintgens, 'Legislation as an Object of Study of Legal Theory: Legisprudence' (n 480) 2.

citizens. The legal shroud shields the corporations through trade secrecy and anticircumvention laws, which puts a constraint on scrutinizing their code development and production practices and thus strengthening their quasi-sovereignty.¹¹⁷⁷ This enables the exclusive autonomy of the profit-seeking enterprise to be secure, saving itself from the occurrence of real-world harm, which might be covered by a technical shroud. The current neoliberal economic stance supports the idea of reallocating the sovereignty from the State to market mechanisms¹¹⁷⁸, at the same time concurrently prioritizing such unrestricted technological innovation as a public good.¹¹⁷⁹ Herein lies the paradox - the tenets of legalism are appealing to a certain extent because they assist in establishing a reference, that is, a line of legal certainty that is profitable to the business enterprise.¹¹⁸⁰ However, as these enterprises have somewhat mutated into *de facto* legislators of code-driven frameworks, the requirement for certainty has put a restriction on the liberty of the citizens. The reasons in support of such behavior of enterprises are not only the emergence of disparity of regulative power between State and code, but also the absence of stimuli to guarantee their design processes and products incorporate the standards of the rule of law, especially legal protection and legitimacy aspects, which are inherent to their liberty. In the absence of stimuli, the rule of code that aligns with and promotes business interests but is unfavorable to users is expected to win where the attributes of *crypto-legalism* are easier to put into effect.

Regarding the aim of legality in the rule of law environment, the market fundamentalist cannot be appealed to prevent the 'figure' from exploiting the *crypto-legalism* to advance their own benefits, and therefore, necessary safeguards need to be incorporated at the design stage. Also, since the 'strong' version of legalism not only epitomizes the characteristics of code but also intensifies their features much beyond what has been envisioned in legal literature, such legalism is eminently pertinent in the descriptive analysis of blockchain code. In fact, while these *crypto-legalistic* characteristics generally apply to all types of code, in a blockchain-based infrastructure, their severity increases due to the resilient, tamper-resistant, and autonomous

¹¹⁷⁷ Paul M Schwartz, 'Internet Privacy and the State' (1999) 32 Connecticut Law Review 815.

¹¹⁷⁸ Claudia Aradau and Tobias Blanke, *Algorithmic Reason: The New Government of Self and Other* (Oxford University Press 2022); Stephane Couture and Sophie Toupin, 'What Does the Notion of "Sovereignty" Mean When Referring to the Digital?' (2019) 21 New Media & Society 2305; William Davies, *The Limits of Neoliberalism: Authority, Sovereignty and the Logic of Competition* (Sage Publications 2014).

¹¹⁷⁹ Cohen, 'The Regulatory State in the Information Age' (n 706) 387–388.

¹¹⁸⁰ Wintgens, 'The Rational Legislator Revisited. Bounded Rationality and Legisprudence' (n 632) 4.

attributes of code. It is very important to embed the rule correctly into a smart contract because if it is not, it can be reversed only after judicial intervention.¹¹⁸¹

This analysis also helps us appreciate how code 'as it is now' reflects the characteristics of 'strong' legalism and, thus, how it 'ought' to be less legalistic. Therefore, it is necessary to study further on the normative *ex-post* and *ex-ante* standards for the production and use of code governing user behavior and note down the gaps in the analysis, which will be the focus of the next chapter, first, to understand the purpose behind the enforcement of the rule of code, and whether this purpose is in accordance with or to promote the rules of law, and second, to comprehend the mechanism to embed the principles of legality into the code architecture such that the code rules are legitimate and subsequently, instill in them the spirit of the rule of law.

¹¹⁸¹ De Filippi and Wright (n 134) 201.

Decoding the 'legitimacy' standards for Blockchain

While the previous chapter covers the topic of how the code 'as it is now' embedded in the blockchain reflects the characteristics of 'strong' legalism – *crypto-legalism* and how it 'ought' to be less legalistic, this chapter aims to provide a starting point to examine how the code embedded in the technology with its normative effects can be considered as legal and legitimate under the rule of law standards. The idea is to explore how the rule of law can blend effects, aspects, or affordances along with the commercial purpose of the code that provides an antidote for the negative impact of *crypto-legalism*. Therefore, the contemporary works on normative *ex-post* and *ex-ante* standards intended for the implementation of the technology and production of the code embedded in the blockchain are discussed in this chapter, with a view to address the question - *do the standards that make a legal rule in compliance with the rule of law legitimate?* The intention is to lay down the groundwork for a broader understanding of standards that can legitimize the design of blockchain, such that the *ex-post* effect from the implementation of the technology is in compliance with the rule of law values and fosters the rule of law, and not otherwise.

7.1. Legitimizing blockchain design

Predominantly, existing literatures have revolved around shaping the technology by assessing the regulation of and by technology; however, only a few analyze the standards that can legitimize its design.¹¹⁸² It echoes the skepticism towards viewing the code as law per se and instinctively pushes forward the notion that the code should not be equated with law, emphasizing that legal scholars should regard it primarily as a subject of legal regulation rather than the code being at par with the law. This discrepancy arises from the argument that often times, Lessig's work has been interpreted as merely granting license to envision limitless possibilities online, consequently tumbling into a 'science fiction trap'. The developemental

¹¹⁸² Marco Goldoni, 'The Politics of Code as Law: Towards Input Reasons' in Jane Reichel and Anna-Sara Lind (eds), *Freedom* of *Expression, the Internet and Democracy* (Brill 2015) 115, 123.

trajectory of code has been seldom scrutinized and even less recognised is the exercise of reflection on how regulators could use this process. This gap highlights a significant deficiency in the value of the current corpus of study.¹¹⁸³ This distrust exemplifies the facet of legalistic ideology, where the aversion of lawyers to contemplate extra-legal sources of normativity results in them retreating to their intellectual abodes. Such retreats enables them to assess and interpret 'law' as a distinct domain, insulated from other extraneous disquiets.¹¹⁸⁴ However, a study of the production of the blockchain code in parallel to the rule of law jurisprudence makes one realize that the code exhibits *crypto-legalism* – a form of strong legalism, which brings out the 'alegal' *ex-post* normative effect that necessitates the code to be less legalistic.

The commercial purpose of the immutable and decentralized nature of blockchain is to provide a secure and transparent platform, for example, for managing and verifying identities and distribution of resources. While blockchain offers a potential solution to challenges faced by displaced populations or citizens of any State, the rule of code embedded in the technological artifact plays a crucial role in shaping the norms and standards governing the behavior of the users. However, there are potential risks and challenges associated with the crypto-legalistic characteristics of the rule of code, especially when blockchain-enabled applications are used for protecting the fundamental rights of individuals, particularly the vulnerable section of society such as refugees. For instance, because of the inherent immutable and tamper-resistant feature of the technology, the rule-fetishness attribute of the code encoded in the blockchain takes the form of the 'extreme' strong legalism where the rule of code becomes absolute and rigid, potentially limiting the flexibility needed to adapt to evolving human rights circumstances, such that it becomes nearly impossible to correct the error and address the poor code design at the macro level as once code is programmed and data is recorded, it cannot be easily altered. Of course, the instantaneity of execution of the rules within the blockchain, builtin through an automated smart contract, can expedite processes such as identity verification, which is crucial for refugees seeking assistance and protection. This calls for the sensitisation

¹¹⁸³ Rebecca Crootof and others, 'Humans in the Loop' (2023) 76 Vanderbilt Law Review 429; Mireille Hildebrandt and Kieron O'Hara, 'Introduction: Life and the Law in the Era of Data-Driven Agency' in Hilderbrandt and others (eds), *Life and the Law in the Era of Data-driven Agency* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2020).

¹¹⁸⁴ Wintgens, 'The Rational Legislator Revisited. Bounded Rationality and Legisprudence' (n 632).

of the domain of the rule of law jurisprudence to alegal normativity, recognizing its significance alongside traditional legal norms in governing people's lives.¹¹⁸⁵

The issue is, therefore, how to legitimize this alegal aspect of the blockchain code from the perspective of the rule of law. I will begin by discussing the importance of considering both *exante* and *ex-post* perspectives in evaluating the legitimacy of blockchain technology and also highlight the significance of addressing normativity during the design phase of technology, emphasizing the challenges of rectifying issues post-deployment.

7.2. *Ex-post* and *Ex-ante* legitimacy in blockchain code

Since the ex-ante characteristics of crypto-legalism and legalism per se demonstrate that expost consequentialism is not adequate to relieve the negative effects in the blockchain environment, the deontology of *ex-ante* legitimacy is imperative¹¹⁸⁶, especially in the context of blockchain and its implications on human rights opportunities to guarantee the rule of law.¹¹⁸⁷ When blockchain is employed for digital identification purposes in vulnerable populations, the need for ex-ante legitimacy is underscored by several key factors, one of them being the irreversible nature of the rule of code embedded in the blockchain in the form of smart contracts where its implementation necessitates a thorough examination of normativity during the design and development phase. Once deployed, altering or rectifying the impact of the smart contract becomes challenging ex-post, especially when dealing with sensitive external circumstances. The gap between the two levels (ex-ante and ex-post) is sharp and distinct. While input legitimacy refers to achieving legitimacy through rules and procedures, output legitimacy means determining legitimacy based on the result.¹¹⁸⁸ From a normative technology perspective, the primary concern is *ex-ante* legitimacy and should be accentuated in the development and deployment of blockchain technology. In fact, the activity of cultivating technology is the central emphasis when normativity is at stake. Quite often, it would be too

¹¹⁸⁵ Brownsword, 'In the Year 2061: From Law to Technological Management' (n 3) 10–14, 30.

¹¹⁸⁶ Hassan and De Filippi (n 89).

¹¹⁸⁷ Busstra (n 296).

¹¹⁸⁸ Fritz W Scharpf, 'Economic Integration, Democracy and the Welfare State' (1997) 4 Journal of European Public Policy 18; Scharpf (n 435).

late to probe whether it is acceptable to use such technology in society because, by that time, a lot of things have already passed. It is akin to – "*the genie may be taken out of the bottle, but never to be put back in*".¹¹⁸⁹ In fact, one of the important components of acceptability criteria should be the 'rules of the game' criteria in the technology development process.¹¹⁹⁰

When evaluating the blockchain system based on its operation and real-world impact, such as in the context of providing humanitarian aid to refugees, the assessment focuses on the *ex-post* outcome. This includes delivering digital identities to refugees and migrants, enabling them to easily access their basic human rights like housing and education, as well as ensuring efficient distribution of aid resources. However, by the time these outcomes are observed, the opportunity to modify the system to address any shortcomings, such as lack of accountability, transparency, or lack of personal autonomy of individuals, may have passed or become limited. It has been propounded that two fundamental principles namely transparentizing and 'publicness', should govern the code programming¹¹⁹¹; this resonates with the rule of law values. According to the first principle, the rules embodied in code must be able to be understood and ascertained such that they are observable and the architects of such rules can be held responsible, while the later principle suggests that users who are bound by laws must have an opportunity to have a voice in these creations.

Focussing the analysis only on the macro level limits our vision to only the assessments of *expost* results, assuming that it can conspicuously detect all adverse effects, which is far from being accurate, primarily due to the code's inherent characteristics of obscurantism. The challenge with such an approach is that it does not directly address the issues of those who program the code. It creates a blockade between the jurisprudential scrutiny and the object of analysis, where lawyers are considered as *ex-post* evaluators of code, while failing to recognize the role of the 'figure' as its *ex-ante* creators. The focal shift towards the '*ex-ante*' level is not only on participation but also in cases where the participatory angle would be minimal, courtesy the private domains within which the code artifacts are incubated and created. The input aspect to the functionalities of the code are emphasized for legitimization. The 'private' programming of code results in the product not constituting the participatory democratic rule of law process per

¹¹⁸⁹ Jorge Luis Borges and Eliot Weinberger, 'The Thousand and One Nights' (1984) 38 The Georgia Review 564.

¹¹⁹⁰ Koops, 'Criteria for Normative Technology' (n 1160) 166.

¹¹⁹¹ Goldoni (n 1172) 128-129.

se, but they may be considered as 'inputs' since they are critical integrants of the product, which is the output of the design process and is finally liable for the consequences of the code in the real world. Treating the *ex-ante* standard as the 'nucleus' facilitates examining the design process to make sure that specific design features *in situ* allow for effective *ex-post* judgments and simultaneously abridge the need for judicial interventions, as the *ex-ante* standard configuration is considered more legitimate since the inception.

The privacy by design scholars have also made a note that when these concerns are addressed at the end of the design cycle, there is no or little scope for maneuvering the completed design. In most cases, such problems are addressed with inelegant and imperfect solutions.¹¹⁹² Moreso, focusing on the functionalist standards facilitates recognizing that some risky designs may be acceptable as long as the company takes necessary measures to reduce potential harm and verifies that questionable design choices were justified.¹¹⁹³ Such an instructive process can assist in mitigating the risks during the design process to a certain extent, complying with a desideratum that the proposed code must embody the standards of the legitimate normative order. This approach reduces not only the expenses but also the delays when a design is reconfigured *ex-post*.¹¹⁹⁴

Such *ex-post* reinforcements are many times ineffectual since the *ex-ante* standards and the features of *crypto-legalism* hinder the potency of such *ex-post* evaluations. Such rectification of the issue needs to be assessed from its conception since software development is integrated in nature. Due to the typical character and rationale of architectural regulations, concentrating merely on output legitimacy is often misguided. Further, as it is difficult to reverse the embedded code, the focus ought to be on the processes and stakeholders engaged in developing the technology. In many cases, it is also difficult to know how technology directly or indirectly impacts agents' behaviors, given the opacity of architectural regulation. Lastly, default

¹¹⁹² Ewa Luger and Michael Golembewski, 'Towards Fostering Compliance by Design; Drawing Designers into the Regulatory Frame' in Mariarosaria Taddeo and Luciano Floridi (eds), *The Responsibilities of Online Service Providers* (Springer 2017) 295.

¹¹⁹³ Hartzog (n 918).

¹¹⁹⁴ The delays occur *ex-post* because, after the technology evaluations takes place, it unveils that the code does not address one or more requirements, and as such, it takes time to mitigate the issue.

technology is also important in the sense that defaults are often considered to be a "*natural and immutable fact*".¹¹⁹⁵

This reinforces the fact that "*input-based legitimacy should become the primary foreground in choosing normative criteria*".¹¹⁹⁶ It is necessary to take into consideration the *ex-ante* legitimacy, in addition to the outcome that occurs *ex-post*, when the exercise is to import the traditional rulemaking or the orthodox rule of law principles into the blockchain environment. It emphasizes that *ex-ante* analysis must be performed alongside *ex-post* analysis, where the *ex-post* measures would continue to be crucial to sustaining a bond with institutional legal processes. This reflects the advocacy for the shift from a "*descriptive to a normative approach*"¹¹⁹⁷ for the rule of code, in opposition to the effects of legalism in a coded world where the normative becomes the descriptive.¹¹⁹⁸

7.3. Assessing and managing legitimacy standards

Here, I will focus on the theories propounded by Koops, Leenes, Brownsword, and Hildebrandt who have set out different narratives on the review and analysis of legitimacy in a technology. While Koops mostly discusses procedural and substantive standards for normative technology, Brownsword's and Leene's work hovers around techno-regulation and technological management, with Hildebrandt advancing the notion of legal protection by design, focusing on exercising user rights *ex-post*.

7.3.1.Standardization Theory

The theoretical foundation of procedural and substantive standards for normative technology has been laid down by Koops, which assesses how the standards that are conventionally applied to law can be applied to norms that are embedded in the technology.¹¹⁹⁹ The findings by Koops acknowledge the apprehensions that the core safeguards of democratic and constitutional values may not befully applicable or potentially entirely absent, in the context of the regulation by technology. Furthermore, the influence of legal norms on citizen behavior can be profoundly

¹¹⁹⁵ Goldoni (n 1172) 128.

¹¹⁹⁶ ibid.

¹¹⁹⁷ Zenon Bańkowski, 'Law, Love and Legality' (2001) 14 International Journal for the Semiotics of Law 199.

¹¹⁹⁸ Bańkowski and MacCormick (n 470).

¹¹⁹⁹ Koops, 'Criteria for Normative Technology' (n 1160).

significant. This acknowledgment facilitates moving forward and understanding the standards for normative technology.¹²⁰⁰ The process of translating and inscribing a legal norm should be evaluated separately because 'law in technology' cannot be precisely similar to 'law in the books'.¹²⁰¹ The choices available and applied during the translation process are not necessarily made by public authorities who operate within defined checks and balances but by the 'figure' who is responsible for technology development and who is, at best, answerable to technology audit. The rules embedded in technology can not be equivalent to the rules enacted by the legislation making institutions. Therefore, in situations where the norm-establishing technologies are employed by the public institutions, it is necessary to prioritise the rule of law values, that is the democratic and constitutional values. This is because the conventional checks and balances of the legislative processes are at risk of being undervalued through the utilization of such normative technology.

Instead of following the 'labyrinths' of discussions about 'what is good law' and imposing "*acceptability criteria*" based on theoritical interpretation of the law, a pragmatic-bottom-up approach has been adopted by Koops.¹²⁰² His approach towards finding the standards for the acceptability of normative technology focuses on outcome justice or *ex-post* justice. In this method, standards are considered valid because the user accepts the outcome as rational. Although he does acknowledge the importance of procedural justice, in which the standards are valid because appropriate procedures have been followed to find such standards, pointing towards the fact that in normative technology, *'ex-ante* legitimacy' is the primary concern, he does not delve into it.¹²⁰³

Koops classifies "*due process, legality, legal certainty, and checks and balances*"¹²⁰⁴, under the rule of law criteria and cites them as "*substantive instead of being procedural*" standards.¹²⁰⁵ While the rule of law is listed as primary, "*transparency of rulemaking, transparency of rules, checking alternatives, choice mechanism, flexibility, and accountability*" are listed as

¹²⁰⁰ ibid.

¹²⁰¹ Mireille Hildebrandt and Bert-Jaap Koops, 'The Challenges of Ambient Law and Legal Protection in the Profiling Era' (2010) 73 The Modern Law Review 428.

¹²⁰² Koops, 'Criteria for Normative Technology' (n 1160) 162.

¹²⁰³ ibid 170.

¹²⁰⁴ ibid 168.

¹²⁰⁵ ibid.

secondary standards.¹²⁰⁶ This implies that as per Koops, primary standards should be met first before fulfilling the secondary standards.¹²⁰⁷ However, I would like to argue that fulfilling the secondary level of standards will result in meeting the primary level. From a computational perspective, it should be feasible to target or embed secondary standards or values rather than targeting the essentially contested umbrella concept of the rule of law in its entirety. Koops pushes towards definitive practices, specifically in his class of secondary standards, which includes justifying choices and possibility of choice, audit, review, subsidiarity, proportionality, optimal-default setting, and context adaptability.¹²⁰⁸ Further, Koops prioritized testing of the standards against concrete technologies. He advocated that such evaluation of standards shall never "*be a straightforward or uncontested exercise*".¹²⁰⁹ Indeed, a number of criteria may vary depending on the culture, either in how they are interpreted, e.g., moral norms and democracy, or how important they are, e.g., human rights and autonomy.

Since the emphasis is more on substantive legitimacy in contrast to procedural form and recognizing that procedural standards must survive the temporal landscape as a benchmark, it is crucial to reevaluate the criteria that underpin legitimacy. The formal principles that confer legitimization should strengthen the formulation of all code-based norms, independent of its material characteristics. As a matter of fact, in the context of the rule of the framework, it is a prerequisite for those rules embedded in the technology to be legitimate.¹²¹⁰ An added advantage of focusing on procedure is that it simplifies the standard required since the number of standards at this level becomes limited.

Koops' standardization theory tentatively refers to *ex-post* legitimacy, which corresponds to the thick version of the rule of law. Consequently, the substantive aspects of the rule of law, upon becoming a component of the evaluation, contribute to both the difficulties and the complexity of standards that Koops refers to.¹²¹¹

¹²⁰⁶ ibid.

¹²⁰⁷ ibid 169.

¹²⁰⁸ ibid 168.

¹²⁰⁹ ibid 171.

¹²¹⁰ Hildebrandt and Koops (n 1201) 454.

¹²¹¹ Koops, 'Criteria for Normative Technology' (n 1160) 169–170.

7.3.2. Theory of 'Techno-Regulation'

The dogmatic expression 'techno-regulation' insists on understanding whether 'technoregulation' is to be considered as regulation or not. In this context, Julia Black's definition of 'regulation', which includes intention and cybernetic control model, has broad acceptance among scholars.¹²¹² According to Black, 'regulation' is a targeted attempt to change or modify the behavior, standards, or goals that aim to produce more or less identified outcomes. In other words, regulation is an attempt to modify the outcomes by deploying various mechanisms to set standards, gather information, and modify behavior.¹²¹³ Taking a cue from this definition, techno-regulation can be defined as the "*deliberate employment of technology to regulate human behavior*".¹²¹⁴, or "*the technology with intentionally built-in mechanisms to influence people's behavior*".¹²¹⁵

According to Brownsword, a type of techno-regulation is observed when regulators, after recognizing the desired pattern of behavior without evaluating its morality compliances, secure that behavioral pattern and obliterate options for non-conforming behavior by design.¹²¹⁶ These actions might require the involvement of regulatees themselves, their designs, their products, and the environment in which they work or use these products. Where techno-regulation is observed to be in force, further correction or enforcement is not required.¹²¹⁷ In fact, techno-regulation not just improves the likelihood of detection, prevention or compliance, it ensures compliance by eliminating all options for non-compliance.¹²¹⁸ However, this definition, which Brownsword reported prior to laying down the concept of technological management, includes only what Hildebrandt has termed 'constitutive' technological features where people are 'forced' to demonstrate certain behaviors and does not include what she terms 'regulative' technological features by which technology allows the users to exercise their choice to

¹²¹² Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207).

¹²¹³ Julia Black, 'Critical Reflections on Regulation' (2002) 27 Australian Journal of Legal Philosophy 1.

¹²¹⁴ Bert-Jaap Koops, 'Should ICT Regulation Be Technology-Neutral?' in Bert-Jaap Koops and others (eds), *Starting Points for ICT Regulation* (TMC Asser Press 2006).

¹²¹⁵ ibid.

¹²¹⁶ Brownsword, 'In the Year 2061: From Law to Technological Management' (n 3).

¹²¹⁷ Roger Brownsword, *Rights, Regulation, and the Technological Revolution* (Oxford University Press 2008).

¹²¹⁸ Sorcha MacLeod, *Global Governance and the Quest for Justice-Volume II: Corporate Governance* (Bloomsbury Publishing 2006).

disobey.¹²¹⁹ Techno-regulation could also be considered as a design modality that blocks any detrimental behavior by superseding human decisions and actions.¹²²⁰

Leenes expanded the concept of techno-regulation to include private sectors and States as the producers of code, who are intentionally embedding norms within the technology, affecting human behavior and regulating behavior.¹²²¹ The normative intention of the 'figure' is to command and manipulate the behavior of users in a certain way, and for this purpose, technological regulations as instruments must be enacted either by law, as a social norm, or as a market or architecture.¹²²² Therefore, regulation, being a deliberate and strategic action by the regulatory 'figure', aligns with Black's definition, which emphasizes the importance of a suistained and purposeful effort aimed at modifying the behavior to produce a "broadly identified outcome". ¹²²³ The distinction between 'is' and 'ought' gets totally blurred when the norms can only be discovered using the artifacts. Thus, in order to have legal status for 'techno-regulation', it is essential to have the intention of the 'figure' as well as the transparency of embedded norms. Since, quite often, the norms appear to be opaque, the validity of such norms is also debatable. As such, a reasonable view would be that transparency of norms and the processes to which they are subjected to are vital to appreciate the legalities of techno-norms.

Techno-regulation is borne out of both State (regulating norms enacted by legislature) and non-State regulators – the 'figure' - (norms enacted by private contracts or programming code). As a transition of power from legitimate States to the 'figure' in terms of regulation is ongoing, it must be ensured that the actions of the 'figure' are considered legitimate by the users. This can be realized by actively participating in the community discourse, which advocates for open communication of essential information.¹²²⁴ Such legitimacy is required because there is no ambiguity about the legal status of the norms programmed into the artifact while implementing contractual terms in the case of technological norms. While in other cases, such norms may not

¹²¹⁹ Hildebrandt, 'Legal and Technological Normativity: More (and Less) than Twin Sisters' (n 447) 169.

¹²²⁰ Mireille Hildebrandt, 'Legal Protection by Design: Objections and Refutations' (2011) 5 Legisprudence 223.

¹²²¹ Leenes (n 1072).

¹²²² Lessig, 'Law Regulating Code Regulating Law' (n 693).

¹²²³ Julia Black, 'What Is Regulatory Innovation?' in Julia Black and others (eds), *Regulatory Innovation* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2005).

¹²²⁴ Leenes (n 1072) 167.

be legally binding upon individuals, but in this case, they are.¹²²⁵ This overlaps with Brownsword's conceptualization of "*regulatory margin*"¹²²⁶ and Goldon's proclamation that transparentizing and 'publicness' are necessary requirements¹²²⁷.

7.3.3. Theory of 'Technological Management'

The theory of 'technological management' was propounded as a means for 'technoregulation'¹²²⁸ since "technological infrastructures structure social order".¹²²⁹ By 'technological management', one means "the use of technologies - typically involving the design of products or places, or the automation of processes with a view to managing certain kinds of risk"¹²³⁰ by excluding (i) the actions which might be susceptible to 'coercive' rules, and (ii) elements who can be accused of ignoring rules in the area of regulated activities. In this case, the regulator conjectures a desire for perfect control and elimination of noncompliance by employing a particular technology, whereas those who are regulated may have only a limited ability to damage, disrupt, and circumvent the technology put in place.¹²³¹ Such techno-regulation is acceptable when it adheres to the principles of the rule of law and human dignity, essentially constituting three segments: "(1) that one's capacity for making one's choices should be recognized; (2) that the choices one freely makes should be respected; and (3) that the need for a supportive context for autonomous decision-making should be appreciated and acted upon".¹²³² When transferred to the blockchain environment, this conception proposes that individuals retain and reserve the freedom of choice not to go along with the rule as programmed into the technological infrastructure. Here, the litmus test for appraisal of 'techno-regulation' is 'justification' - "whether we are over-regulating or underregulating".¹²³³

¹²²⁵ ibid 168.

¹²²⁶ Brownsword, 'Lost in Translation: Legality, Regulatory Margins, and Technological Management' (n 554) 1326.

¹²²⁷ Goldoni (n 1172).

¹²²⁸ Brownsword, Scotford and Yeung (n 792).

¹²²⁹ Roger Brownsword, Law, Technology and Society: Reimagining the Regulatory Environment (Routledge 2019).

¹²³⁰ Brownsword, 'In the Year 2061: From Law to Technological Management' (n 3).

¹²³¹ ibid 28.

 ¹²³² Roger Brownsword, 'What the World Needs Now: Techno-Regulation, Human Rights and Human Dignity' in Roger
 Brownsword (ed), *Global Governance and the Quest for Justice Vol 4: Human Rights* (Hart Publishing 2004).
 ¹²³³ ibid 205.

When technologies are used to govern behavior in a way that assures a certain outcome, the regulatory environment gradually shifts towards a 'mechanized' community, which is moving away from the possibility of it being within the framework of the rule of law, whereby the members of the community are incapacitated of their moral judgment to make a choice or are being 'demoralized', through the removal of options to exercise their right to freedom of choice.¹²³⁴ Though the regulation by technological management significantly differs from a normative legal environment, the rule of law principles ought to be applied to it. The power of technological management needs to be exercised with due care. Since it actually forces regulatory compliance, the users should also respect the constraints imposed by it.¹²³⁵ Moreover, to retain the rule of law ecosystem, the individual should be empowered with the capacity to choose moral signals, that is respecting the legitimate interests of all, or prudential signals, that is about one's interest to do it, rather than non-normative signals. An example would be trying to open the door without the required biometric confirmation (enabling the mechanism to open), which is impossible without fulfilling the requirement.¹²³⁶ From this logic, technology management seems challenging not only because it intuitively favors a specific form of alegal and amoral reasoning but also it can circumvent practical reasons absolutely¹²³⁷, effacing opportunities for either moral or prudential signals.¹²³⁸ This results in desensitizing the social norms and, ultimately, the collapse of the rule of law community.¹²³⁹

This calls for a requirement of a 'regulatory margin' between the transition from normative regulations¹²⁴⁰ towards non-normative regulations¹²⁴¹ to deliberate on the complex regulatory environment.¹²⁴² Initially, the main purpose of the 'margin' was to provide an opportunity to amplify the prudential signals at the cost of the moral signals. With time, the margin's function turned down such prudential signals and transitioned to non-normative signals.¹²⁴³ Now, for the purposes of ratifying the use of technological management before the product is integrated

¹²³⁴ Brownsword, 'Code, Control, and Choice: Why East Is East and West Is West' (n 1086) 4.

¹²³⁵ Brownsword, 'The Ideal of Legality and the Rule of Law' (n 5) 112.

¹²³⁶ Brownsword, 'Lost in Translation: Legality, Regulatory Margins, and Technological Management' (n 554) 1323–1324.

¹²³⁷ Brownsword, 'Code, Control, and Choice: Why East Is East and West Is West' (n 1086) 13.

¹²³⁸ Brownsword, 'In the Year 2061: From Law to Technological Management' (n 3) 34-35.

¹²³⁹ Brownsword, 'Code, Control, and Choice: Why East Is East and West Is West' (n 1086) 19.

¹²⁴⁰ Normative regulation includes measures that invite compliance such as social and moral norms.

¹²⁴¹ Non-normative regulation includes measures that do not permit the scope of choice.

¹²⁴² Brownsword, 'Lost in Translation: Legality, Regulatory Margins, and Technological Management' (n 554) 1351.

¹²⁴³ ibid.

into society, deliberations must take place *ex-ante*. Otherwise, it will lead to the illegitimate use of code which, due to its *rule-fetish* characteristics of instantaneity (efficient rule enforcement), compresses the 'regulatory margin' which was permitted earlier in enforcement where the friction and conflict due to larger 'regulatory margin' was the driver for affirmative social changes earlier.¹²⁴⁴

For example, when technologies are developed to serve techno-regulatory solutions, there could be of two strands - one, a less effective regulation that allows non-compliance to some extent that impacts legitimate choices and rights of the users, and two, an effective regulation that forces us to abandon the dignity of choice.¹²⁴⁵ Brownsword's work shows that for the diligent application of 'techno-regulation,' the following three standards need to be considered -(1) respect for individual dignity by preserving choices (more the choice, better it is); (2) the trade-off between the regulator and the regulatee while configuring norms; and (3) the necessity to delay 'regulatory margin' that can enable this reciprocity. These three standards though laid down as *ex-post* assessment criteria, are very essential in the context of *ex-ante* legitimacy.

While at the policy level, such an approach is appreciated, it does not get along well with the exercises of coding that implement techno-regulations at the micro level. There must be awareness of the decisions taken such that it does not result in unrestrained use of code for regulation; the main purpose of considering '*ex-ante*' decisions is to appreciate the value of human dignity, which is personified in sustaining the ability of the user to think and exercise choice. This theorem of human dignity can be expanded to consider the prominent rule of law ideal such as Fuller's principles of legality – "*human dignity as underlying the rule of law because, by following the publicly declared rules, governments, and legal officials act in ways that are reasonably predictable which, in turn, enables citizens to plan their lives – that is to say, the rule of law is in line with respect for human dignity because it respects human autonomy*"¹²⁴⁶. The seminal Fullerian ideas are open to many interpretations, which enables us to understand the mutual relationship between the user and the State. In the blockchain environment (the non-normative regulatory environment) also, these ideas facilitate in laying

¹²⁴⁴ Brownsword, 'In the Year 2061: From Law to Technological Management' (n 3) 36–37.

¹²⁴⁵ MacLeod (n 1218).

¹²⁴⁶ Brownsword, 'The Ideal of Legality and the Rule of Law' (n 5) 118; Raz (n 371).

down the antidote for the 'regulatory margin' that can assist in embedding the rule of law values of "*participation, transparency, due process*"¹²⁴⁷, that will legitimize such regulation.¹²⁴⁸

7.3.4. 'Legal Protection by Design'

This concept has evolved from the standpoint of understanding and defining 'ambient law'¹²⁴⁹, opening up the facet of research for studying the incorporation of democratic and constitutional values into technological architecture. The concept of 'legal protection by design', was developed by Hildebrandt, which is a successor to this notion of 'ambient law'. In her earlier works, Hildebrandt argued that "the normative impact of the ambient technologies or smart technologies will change the mélange of positive and negative freedom that forms the backbone of constitutional democracy unless ways and means are found to enunciate the legal framework of democracy and the rule of law, the so-called 'ambient law', which intends to regulate the technological architecture".¹²⁵⁰ This is because, in this frequently changing evolutionary world, command code rules in some sense, inherit the characteristic of strong legalism, and depend on a written and unwritten law, extending its scope and competence to afford effectual protection against manipulation.¹²⁵¹ However, the rule of code not only depends but also goes beyond the scope of written law. Neither any introduction of administrative rules will protect the users of the technology nor the self-regulation of the industry will achieve adequate protection unless citizens actively participate in the infrastructure assessment to enable computation.¹²⁵² This requires 'ambient law' to be developed in such a manner that enables 'legal protection by design'.¹²⁵³

What we are concerned with here is the question regarding the design of the artifact and what and how it empowers the user to exercise their choices? Is it possible for users to contest the design choice and pursue judicial action? "*The requirement of 'resistability' precludes deterministic environments, and the 'contestability' requirement eliminates invisible*

 ¹²⁴⁷ Brownsword, 'Lost in Translation: Legality, Regulatory Margins, and Technological Management' (n 554) 1363–1364.
 ¹²⁴⁸ ibid.

¹²⁴⁹ Hildebrandt and Koops (n 1201).

¹²⁵⁰ Hildebrandt, 'A Vision of Ambient Law' (n 132).

¹²⁵¹ Joshua Cohen, 'Reflections on Habermas on Democracy' (1999) 12 Ratio Juris 385.

¹²⁵² Hildebrandt and Koops (n 1201).

¹²⁵³ Hildebrandt, 'Legal Protection by Design: Objections and Refutations' (n 1220).

regulation.^{"1254} Such an exercise should not be hindered by the effects of the proactive blockchain infrastructure, whether intended or unintended. According to Hildebrandt, there are two criteria for the nondoctrinal *ex-ante* elements of 'legal protection by design', that is, choice and transparency.¹²⁵⁵ She does not, however, support her thesis with concrete suggestions on how this can be achieved, but lays down an overarching goal of 'legal protection by design'. She also believes that it is a formidable challenge for the traditional doctrinal research methods to develop a methodology for 'legal protection by design'.¹²⁵⁶ Such exercise calls for developing an approach that involves "*testing how the configurations or design of the affordances can best serve the goals of the rule of law*"¹²⁵⁷ such as "*Gerechtigkeit (distributive and reciprocal justice, fairness, equality), Zweckmässigkeit (purposiveness, expediency, and instrumentality) and Rechtssicherheit (legal certainty and the positivity of law)*".¹²⁵⁸ The values of "*justice, purposiveness, and legal certainty*" culminating from the idea of 'law is justice' are extracted from Radbruch's Antinomian conception of law.¹²⁵⁹

It implies that the emphasis is on the design phase, where the prototypes of affordances of the product are conceived and developed, and where there is room for consideration to determine whether or not they satisfy both the commercial requirements of the product and the desired rule of law values. The approach of 'legal protection by design' necessitates considering the legal affordances such that it facilitates in disaffording particular behaviors of the user while designing commercial affordances (such that it becomes attractive and valuable to the user) of a product. The rule of code must ubiquitously allow the ideals of legality and the rule of law to be operative, which means "*emphasizing on a series of requirements, notably, transparency and publicity of norms that are imposed (allowing end-user to observe what rules the artifact is subjecting them to), democratic legitimation, the possibility of disobedience or resistance*

¹²⁵⁴ Hildebrandt, Smart Technologies and the End (s) of Law: Novel Entanglements of Law and Technology (n 548) 218.

¹²⁵⁵ Hildebrandt and Koops (n 1201) 456.

¹²⁵⁶ Hildebrandt, *Smart Technologies and the End (s) of Law: Novel Entanglements of Law and Technology* (n 548) 218. ¹²⁵⁷ ibid.

¹²⁵⁸ Mireille Hildebrandt, 'Radbruch's Rechtsstaat and Schmitt's Legal Order: Legalism, Legality, and the Institution of Law' (2015) 2 Critical Analysis of Law 42.

¹²⁵⁹ ibid.

(allowing the user to exercise choice as to which rule must apply), and contestability in a court of law (allowing the end-user to contest the norms in court)".¹²⁶⁰

This approach, thus, focuses on both *ex-ante* and *ex-post* legitimacy standards where the main concern is about the ability of the user to exercise their rights *ex-post*. In the next chapter, I will go for in-depth examination of 'the rule of law by design' mechanism – what it entails and how it facilitates embedding the technology with not only the *ex-post* rule of law conceptual purpose norms but also the *ex-ante* rule of law affordances such that the blockchain artifact is legitimate and serves its purpose of promoting and fostering the rule of law values and standards.

¹²⁶⁰ Mireille Hildebrandt, 'Law as an Affordance: The Devil Is in the Vanishing Point (s)', 4 Critical Analysis of Law (2017) 116, 122.

PART III – The Rule of Law Translation – Design and Implementation

8. The Rule of Law by design

This chapter will navigate through the 'by design' conceptualization to understand its nuances and apply the same idea to formulate 'the rule of law by design' – what it entails and how it facilitates embedding the technology with both the *ex-post* rule of law conceptual purpose norms and the *ex-ante* rule of law affordances such that the blockchain artifact is legitimate and lives to its purpose of promoting and fostering the rule of law values and standards. The aim is to find the answer to the question: *how to translate the rule of law standards and values into the architecture of technology?*

8.1. Shaping the architecture

'The rule of law by design' approach encourages determining the code's function in a blockchain artifact and assessing the purpose of the technology being employed. It allows legal professionals to deal with the technology, its code, its regulations, its effects, and its verisimilitude. This means the methods and instruments that compose the 'constitution' upon which the technology and its code is 'enforced' must be considered. This also includes the *"software development methodologies and the integrated development environments"*¹²⁶¹ where the text of code is written. At this point, 'constitutional' protections are likely to be ingrained and purposed into the blockchain infrastructure. This provides the opportunity to appraise and afford a benchmark that is considered legitimate, and that can be channeled into the production and employment of blockchain artifacts. It also steers us to take a pragmatic view of code – about its development, production, and intended function and purpose.

Due to the *crypto-legalistic* characteristics of *lex cryptographica*, which executes the blockchain, the impact of the rule of code on our lives is not only enormous but also more effective than what the law aims to achieve. That is why the rule of code that does not adhere to the rule of law values or is not legitimate should not be put into effect. Such an act occurs, especially where the technology and its code are less concerned about abuses of design power. Even though code is not law, it is prudent to be concerned about techno-regulation and

¹²⁶¹ Sebastian Dyck and Tim A Majchrzak, 'Identifying Common Characteristics in Fundamental, Integrated, and Agile Software Development Methodologies' (45th Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences, 2012).

technological management¹²⁶² similar to the conventional system because the rule of code must be assessed by reflecting on the techno-regulation effects anent the freedom and individual autonomy in comparison to the balance affected by the rule of law. Moreover, the nature of the rule of code is such that its outcome or *ex-post* effects are predetermined, at least its broad structure. Thus, this approach additionally requires us to directly communicate and engage with the 'figure' to understand the practices and critical internal production mechanisms. As a result, this would allow not only the legal critique of the rule of code for its *ex-post* effect but also for its *ex-ante* state.

Since the assertion to develop the blockchain 'less legalistic' or according to 'the rule of law by design' may be incoherent and result in questions for the 'figure,' Djeffal has suggested: "*to formulate a design principle of designability*".¹²⁶³ According to him, the main objective of the principle of designability is to "*translate general democratic values into design in a general and workable manner*".¹²⁶⁴ Though he, in his paper, has discussed about the democratization of AI, this logic can also be extended to blockchain for the purpose of translating the rule of law values and standards and designing it into the architecture of the technology.

Lessig reveals "how the architecture or code can be changed in order to realize a collective or social end, lamenting the poverty of existing thinking concerning the implications of employing design-based approaches to shape social outcomes".¹²⁶⁵ When 'architecture' is thought of as a means of shaping behavior, it is chiefly concerned about designing of space, place and external environment in general, to encourage certain behaviors while dissuading others.¹²⁶⁶ Technologically coded architecture is a "kind of law that determines the act of people (what they can and cannot do)"¹²⁶⁷, where the architects of the rule of code wield disproportionate power. Since the rule of code has the ability to set behavioral rules in online space and the design choices are available to choose these rules, there is a possibility of backdoor control of

¹²⁶² Brownsword, (n 4); Brownsword, (n 359); Brownsword, Scotford and Yeung (n 792).

¹²⁶³ Christian Djeffal, 'AI, Democracy and the Law' in Andreas Sudmann (ed), *The Democratization of Artificial Intelligence: Net Politics in the Era of Learning Algorithms.* (transcript 2019) 255.

¹²⁶⁴ ibid.

¹²⁶⁵ Lessig, Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace (n 201) 91 - 92.

¹²⁶⁶ One popular example is the bridges on Long Island to block buses.

¹²⁶⁷ Lessig, Code Version 2.0 (n 256).

such power by State agencies antagonistic to civil liberties by controlling and influencing the architects of technological artifacts.

In this regard, a key concern that arises at the production stage of the code, is that the 'figure' who programs such code inevitably has the power to construct alternative normative orders. These normative frameworks can substitute conventional law as a principal means for regulating behavior. Yet, these enterprises are not bound by the formal and procedural rule of law standards while producing codes regulating human behavior, whereas sovereign legislatures are bound by elaborate constitutional procedures conforming with the rule of law so that democratically elected representatives cannot arbitrarily enact laws to regulate citizens' behavior. By that analogy, private enterprises engaged in the production and deployment of the blockchain should also be subjected to equal or more rigorous checks and balances, since the normative force of the rule of code produced through the 'private' legislation can also be unlawful.¹²⁶⁸

Code embedded into technological artifacts, behaves as law and regulates human behavior normatively.¹²⁶⁹ Since the law is dependent upon the artifact that is to be regulated and the 'sovereignty' of the 'figure', the balance of power shifts against the law, rendering it not so powerful as one might suppose. As such, legal professionals cannot bank just on pleas for "*greater regulation*"¹²⁷⁰, especially if the latter is not equipped with the knowledge or cannot appreciate design practices, importantly where the illegitimacies of the rule of code can be mitigated by bringing in the principles of the design thinking approach into the design process. This is where the knowledge and necessity for 'the rule of law by design' comes into application.

As has been discussed, blockchain which works around the rule of code that has been set forth within its architecture, where the inherent characteristics of the rule of code, such as rule-fetishness, immutability, instantaneity, and obscurantism represent the strongest version of legalism, is not neutral and is alegal. It depends on the choices and decisions made by the 'figure' and as such also regulates the user behavior and sets rules to their actions.¹²⁷¹ Such

 ¹²⁶⁸ Bert-Jaap Koops, 'Law, Technology, and Shifting Power Relations' (2010) 25 Berkeley Technology Law Journal 973.
 ¹²⁶⁹ Goldoni (n 1172).

¹²⁷⁰ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207).

¹²⁷¹ Benedetta Cappiello and Gherardo Carullo, *Blockchain, Law and Governance* (Springer 2021).

non-neutrality of the technology and its alegality leads to unintended consequences and injustices, especially when the blockchain application is being employed for humanitarian affairs such as aid distribution or for protecting the vulnerable population. To address these concerns and mitigate the ex-post effects of strong legalism, which is crucial for upholding the rule of law, it is imperative to introduce mechanisms that temper the rigidity and enhance the fairness and adaptability of the system. This may entail embedding principles of due process, accountability, and transparency directly into the design and operation of the blockchain infrastructure. For instance, introducing features that enable human oversight and discretion in decision-making, establishing clear and accessible channels for contestability, and ensuring that the underlying algorithms are transparent and auditable can help uphold the rule of law. By prioritizing the rule of law values and affordances in the design and implementation of blockchain applications, the system's adherence to the rule of law can be enhanced while maintaining the benefits of technological efficiency and automation. Therefore, the goal is to 'lessen' the *ex-post* effect of the characteristics of the strong legalism as is reflected from the ex-ante code 'as it is now' and to make it 'less legalistic' and ensure the legitimacy of the blockchain to a certain 'acceptable' extent such that the rule of law values and standards are sustained.

8.1.1.Evolution of 'by design' concept

The solution to the problems of human-machine interface lies in the relationship between engineers and sociologists, which is similar to the relationship between a blind person and a lame person.¹²⁷² Separating the technicalities of a machine and social and cognitive aspects is an artificial construct between the technologist (the blind person) and sociologist (the lame person). Unless social aspects are added to the technicalities of engineers the problem is unlikely to be solved. This point is also applicable to the relationship between computer engineers and lawyers.¹²⁷³

Therefore, in order to bridge the gap between the knowledge of machines and the knowledge of law, the 'by design' approach can be facilitated as a good intervention mechanism.¹²⁷⁴ The phrase 'by design' refers to "*not only about engineering but also about human-machine-*

¹²⁷² Pierre Lévy, The Semantic Sphere 1: Computation, Cognition and Information Economy (John Wiley & Sons 2013).

¹²⁷³ Hildebrandt, 'A Vision of Ambient Law' (n 132) 189.

¹²⁷⁴ Goossens (n 15) 83.

interfacing, highlighting that inscription of legal norms is not only a matter of technique but also an art".¹²⁷⁵ It denotes ensuring compliance with legal obligations by way of technical enforcement¹²⁷⁶, as well as the primary goal of warranting legal protection.¹²⁷⁷ It can be perceived as a user-centric approach to law that incorporates empathy of the 'figure' toward people, which instinctively helps to spell out the precincts of rights, rules, and policies. 'By-design' process is essentially a collaborative, participatory process that starts with humans and their emotional and social needs.¹²⁷⁸ Therefore, all designers and non-designers are encouraged to understand the potential of by-design as an instrument of change.¹²⁷⁹

The design of the artifacts alters the associated conditions to persuade the user to behave in a certain way so that the behavioral response of the individual is as intended. If the user does not behave in the desired manner, then the anticipated design outcomes will not be achieved due to ineffective intervention. The design-based approaches aim not only to alter the impact of harm-generating behavior but also to eliminate the harm-generating behavior. For example, by introducing a car ignition locking system that prevents the starting of the car engine unless all passengers wear seat belts, the risk of serious injuries to passengers is prevented or eliminated.¹²⁸⁰ Installing speed breakers encourages change in the behavior of drivers to reduce speed. Installing airbags alters the harm-generating behavior. Installing a smart transport system may eliminate the harm-generating behavior in its entirety.¹²⁸¹ Thus, comprehension of various design approaches could facilitate the legal design formulation of aspirational changes.

8.1.2.Law by design

In contemporary scholarship, the 'by design' concept is positioned at the intersection of law, philosophy, and technology. It is explained through two notions: 'value-sensitive design' and the 'compliance by design'. Hagan views the 'by-design' methodology as complementary to

¹²⁸⁰ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207) 82.

¹²⁷⁵ Hildebrandt, 'Legal Protection by Design: Objection and Refutations' (n 1220): Djeffal, 'AI, Democracy and the Law' (n 1263); Mireille Hildebrandt and Antoinette Rouvroy (eds), *Law, Human Agency and Autonomic Computing* (Routledge 2011).

¹²⁷⁶ Mireille Hildebrandt, Law for Computer Scientists and Other Folk (Oxford University Press 2020).

¹²⁷⁷ Hildebrandt and Koops (n 1201) 460.

¹²⁷⁸ For my research, this would imply the need for transparency, accountability, predictability, and consistency in the system.

¹²⁷⁹ Tony Fry, 'Configuring Design as Politics Now', The Routledge Companion to Design Studies (Routledge 2016).

¹²⁸¹ ibid 86 - 87.

existing legal methods, such as empirical legal studies¹²⁸², with Perry-Kessaris putting forward the value of design approaches to socio-legal studies¹²⁸³. These notions envisage translating 'values' or 'legal requirements' into technical specifications and, eventually, designing socio-technical systems.

The 'value sensitive design' approach acknowledges that by embedding particular values into a system, architectural design choices can create opportunities or barriers for specific social and political viewpoints. In the case of the 'compliance by design' approach, legal norms are directly embedded into the design of socio-technical systems. This approach emphasizes the importance of human interpretations and evaluations to enhance conformity while designing systems with byzantine requirements. In a way, the objective is to address the field-specific requisites of substantive law within the design of techno-artifacts such that compliance is achieved (not guaranteed). Thus, this approach concentrates on techno-regulation by design with the thought that it would enhance the transfer of regulatory norms across various domains. It ensures that appropriate mechanism are established to address compliance according to the legal norms.¹²⁸⁴

Extending the concept of 'compliance by design', some authors have termed the notion 'legal by design' or 'legal compliance by design'¹²⁸⁵, which falls under the concept of techno-regulation¹²⁸⁶, where the emphasis is on the fact that technologies such as blockchain have the capability to effectuate or restrict and motivate or estop the conduct and behavior of users, which results in a "*de facto* regulatory effect".¹²⁸⁷ These regulatory effects arise not only due to the premeditated design of the technology, that is, the default configurations that 'must' be engineered, but also because of the unintentional outcome of the design choices, which were built for other purposes and with different aspirations or because of the unforeseen usage of the

¹²⁸² Margaret Hagan, 'Legal Design as a Thing: A Theory of Change and a Set of Methods to Craft a Human-Centered Legal System' (2020) 36 Design Issues 3.

¹²⁸³ Amanda Perry-Kessaris, 'Making Socio-Legal Research More Social by Design: Anglo-German Roots, Rewards, and Risks' (2020) 21 German Law Journal 1427.

¹²⁸⁴ Artiben Patel and others, 'Regulatory Perspective: Human-Machine Interfaces' in Rishabha Malviya and others (eds), *Human-Machine Interface: Making Healthcare Digital* (Wiley 2023) 375.

¹²⁸⁵ Berg and Leenes (n 968); De Filippi and Hassan (n 108); Mireille Hildebrandt, 'Saved by Design? The Case of Legal Protection by Design' (2017) 11 NanoEthics 307.

¹²⁸⁶ Leenes (n 1072).

¹²⁸⁷ Mireille Hildebrandt, "Legal by Design'or 'Legal Protection by Design'?', *Law for Computer Scientists and Other Folk* (Oxford University Press 2020).'

technology¹²⁸⁸, such as the blockchain application initially built with the purpose of protecting the rights of the vulnerable population, resulting in causing discrimination among the individuals. While there is no 'completely agreed' meaning of regulation, a functional cybernetic approach is broadly used and accepted. In this approach, a regulatory system is characterized as having the ability to set standards, gather information about the state of the system, and modify the system so as to align it with the purpose for which it has been developed.¹²⁸⁹ This standard-setting function of the regulatory system involves designing of technical standards, which can be implanted into the architecture of the regulatory design apparatus. Whether the standard-setting function is effective or not is typically evaluated from "*the extent to which it ensures that the chosen policy goal is achieved in practice*".¹²⁹⁰ In a way, the standard-setting activity simply shifts to design engineers, who have been assigned the job of embedding regulatory policy objectives into the design and operation of the regulating apparatus.¹²⁹¹

'Legal by design' argumentation calls for the interpretation of the legal norm in a coherent, precise manner, which can then be translated into the binary language or the programming language.¹²⁹² For example, a landlord and a tenant enter into a smart contract, enabled by blockchain, regarding rental payments wherein the contract stipulates that the tenant must pay the rent by the third of each month. However, what constitutes a valid payment timeframe may depend on factors like banking holidays, weekends, or unexpected technical issues with online payment platforms. Since the performance of the contract takes place off-chain and to ensure accurate interpretation of timely receipts, a DBMS is integrated into the contract to verify payment receipts and provide clear signals about whether or not the legal obligation is fulfilled. In order to determine whether the performance computes as 'reasonable', the DBMS would be inputted with a set of variables concerning the contextual factors, after having interpreted them from the contract, to determine if the payment was made within a reasonable timeframe. As the term 'reasonableness' is subjective in nature under the law and depends upon the relevant case law and should be interpreted taking into account the specific circumstances and factors of the

¹²⁸⁸ ibid.

¹²⁸⁹ Christopher Hood, Henry Rothstein and Robert Baldwin, *The Government of Risk: Understanding Risk Regulation Regimes* (Oxford University Press 2001) 23.

¹²⁹⁰ Julia Black, Rules and Regulators (Oxford University Press 1997).

¹²⁹¹ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207) 92.

¹²⁹² Hildebrandt, 'The Public (s) Onlife: A Call For Legal Protection by Design' (n 284).

case, making the aspect of timely payment to be inherently contextual. This may require human oversight in terms of interpretation and discretion in line with the legal principles, and thus, while smart contracts do enhance efficiency, it is highly unlikely that they can be equated with or guarantee "*legal compliance by design due to the rigidity of the code*"¹²⁹³, without accounting for contextual nuances.

Therefore, in the case of 'legal protection by design', fundamental legal values are factored into the design processes and technologies, particularly concerning transparency and contestability of design features.¹²⁹⁴ This approach does not warrant enforcement of legal norms but puts a spotlight on the issue of legal protection by addressing that the legal values are not winnowed out by the 'default' affordances of the technological artifact, which is essential for diagnosing whether democratic values have been ingrained into the architecture. This approach requires that the technology be designed in such a manner that it ensures the due process rights of the users such that they are able to contest its application. The method of embedding values in design processes begins by identifying the stakeholders, relevant values, and methods for choosing values. Thereafter, technical investigations are deployed to explore the feasibility of embedding values in design. In this approach, values may or may not be embedded into a design, but the values and implications of design choices are highlighted affirmatively in a framework.

The 'legal protection by design' and 'legal by design' can be said to incorporate the 'law by design obligation', which is defined as "*the duty to incorporate legal principles in design processes of technologies*".¹²⁹⁵ Djeffal gave the example of security by design to signify this obligation¹²⁹⁶, which under Recital 12 of the Cybersecurity Act mentions the non-binding requirement upon the 'figure' of the ICT products and services "*to implement measures at the earliest stages of design and development to protect the security*...".¹²⁹⁷ A few other examples of 'law by design obligation' can also be located in the GDPR which standardized a modern

¹²⁹³ Hildebrandt, '10.'Legal by Design'or "Legal Protection by Design"?' (n 1287).

¹²⁹⁴ Ibid; Hildebrandt (n 1220);, Hildebrandt 'Saved by Design? The Case of Legal Protection by Design' (n 1285).

¹²⁹⁵ Christian Djeffal, 'Law by Design Obligations: The Future of Regulating Digital Technologies in Europe?' (2024) SSRN Electronic Journal (SSRN 4765471) 3.

¹²⁹⁶ ibid 3–4.

¹²⁹⁷ Recital 12, Regulation (EU) 2019/881 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17 April 2019 on ENISA (the European Union Agency for Cybersecurity) and on information and communications technology cybersecurity certification and repealing Regulation (EU) No 526/2013 (Cybersecurity Act).

and proactive design approach. This is particularly evident in the obligation under Article 35, GDPR, to carry out a data protection impact assessment for particularly high-risk data processing.¹²⁹⁸ Article 35(7)(d) states that a data protection impact assessment must contain "the measures envisaged to address the risks, including safeguards, security measures and mechanisms to ensure the protection of personal data and to demonstrate compliance with this Regulation taking into account the rights and legitimate interests of data subjects and other persons concerned".¹²⁹⁹ This article explicitly indicates the necessity for data protection by default and by design which reflects the spirit of Article 25, wherein it requires the 'figure' to "both at the time of the determination of the means for processing and at the time of the processing itself, implement appropriate technical and organisational measures, such as pseudonymisation, which are designed to implement data-protection principles, such as data minimisation, in an effective manner and to integrate the necessary safeguards into the processing in order to meet the requirements of this Regulation and protect the rights of data subjects".¹³⁰⁰ Article 25, thus, mandates the design of technological artifacts to incorporate data minimization by default, not just at the *ex-post* level but also at the *ex-ante* level, along with other GDPR obligations by design. This means that data protection should be taken into account when designing a system from the outset so that the implementation of the data protection principles is already built into the system and unintended or non-intended use of the system would be prevented from the outset by 'technical and organizational measures', if possible.

The implementation of data protection by design, therefore, means, right from the beginning of the system development process, a few basic principles of data protection through the use of suitable design strategies, design patterns, and privacy-enhancing technologies, including knowledge of common errors, the legal situation, current threats, and attack method, etc., are to be implemented.¹³⁰¹ This affects both the architecture and many detailed aspects of the design of the system. Therefore, this requirement takes into consideration factors like "*state of the art, the cost of implementation and the nature, scope, context, and purposes of processing*"¹³⁰², which means that the measures must be practical, in view of the commercial

¹²⁹⁸ Article 35, General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) – Legal Text, https://gdpr-info.eu/ accessed 28 April 2024.

¹²⁹⁹ Article 35(7)(d), ibid

¹³⁰⁰ Article 25, ibid.

¹³⁰¹ Tatar, Gokce and Nussbaum (n 1146); Wachter (n 1002).

¹³⁰² Article 25, , 'General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) – Legal Text' https://gdpr-info.eu/ accessed 8 October 2024.

purpose of the technology. However, it does not allow the commercial purpose to possess disproportionate "*risks of varying likelihood and severity for rights and freedoms*"¹³⁰³ of individuals, and as such these risks have to be factored in when programming the operations, where the principle of proportionality necessitates "*higher the risk, the more protection must be implemented by design*".¹³⁰⁴ The need for protection must be assessed based on the underlying context of use and the associated risks. This desideratum is accentuated by paragraph 2 of Article 25, requiring the technical and organization measures to be implemented in such a manner that "*only data which is necessary for each specific purpose is processed*,"¹³⁰⁵ which emphasizes the data protection principles of data minimization and purpose limitation. This underlines a 'cautious approach' or 'risk-based approach'¹³⁰⁶ to the protection of personal data, echoing the established security principles like "*select before you collect*"¹³⁰⁷, which seeks to implement legally mandated precautions by the data controllers to safeguard the rights and freedom of individuals.

Moreover, where the 'data protection impact assessment' makes the risks transparent and requires the formulation of technical and organizational measures to reduce, or, at best, eliminate these risks, the data protection through technological design ensures that these measures in the event of other sanctions against the person responsible are also directly integrated into the system.¹³⁰⁸ This requires that the principle be made more concrete when standardizing the system. The data protection by design provision is important because it is actually a normatively anchored expression of legal protection through technological design.¹³⁰⁹

Another by-design obligation can be found under Article 22, which Djeffal states to have an *"uncharted potential"*.¹³¹⁰ This Article is highly relevant for blockchain since it targets the

¹³⁰³ ibid.

¹³⁰⁴ ibid.

¹³⁰⁵ ibid.

¹³⁰⁶ Wachter (n 1002).

¹³⁰⁷ Jeanne Gaakeer, "Select before You Collect": Uses and Abuses of Profiling and Data Mining in Law and Literature"(2020) 14 Pólemos 57.

¹³⁰⁸ Hildebrandt, 'Saved by Design? The Case of Legal Protection by Design' (n 1285).

¹³⁰⁹ Hildebrandt, "Legal by Design'or 'Legal Protection by Design'?" (n 1287).

¹³¹⁰ Christian Djeffal, 'The Normative Potential of the European Rule on Automated Decisions: A New Reading for Art. 22 GDPR' (2020) 81 Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht 847.

implication of automated decision-making. It has been argued that Article 22 should also be interpreted as a 'by-design' obligation to ensure compliance with the law, as it mandates that in case of automated decision-making, "the data controller shall implement suitable measures to safeguard the data subject's rights and freedoms and legitimate interests".¹³¹¹ Thus, the 'law by design obligation' "does not prescribe how technologies should be designed through material requirements or mandatory processes"¹³¹²; instead, it allows "legal principles to be translated into concrete technology designs"¹³¹³. As such, the law by design obligation "addresses actors who can influence the design of technologies over time"¹³¹⁴. The European Data Protection Board indicates that this incorporates the technical measures - "Controllers should carry out frequent assessments on the data sets they process to check for any bias and develop ways to address any prejudicial elements, including any over-reliance on correlations. Systems that audit algorithms and regular reviews of the accuracy and relevance of automated decision-making, including profiling, are other useful measures. Controllers should introduce appropriate procedures and measures to prevent errors, inaccuracies, or discrimination on the basis of special category data. These measures should be used on a cyclical basis, not only at the design stage but also continuously, as the profiling is applied to individuals. The outcome of such testing should feed back into the system design."¹³¹⁵ These measures illustrate how the 'legal protection by design' can be translated into a functional necessity shaping the design of systems for processing personal data. This approach helps prevent unjustified breaches of data protection regulations while offering tangible and efficient protection at the level of technical (micro) and organizational (macro) levels and precluding situations where safeguarding an individual's rights and freedoms would seem illusory.

Moreover, it can be said that the root of all fundamental rights guarantees is the inviolable dignity of all human beings. Legislating data protection is not an end in itself and must always be interpreted with regard to the protective purpose and the risk to those affected; the ultimate protective purpose of data protection law lies in ensuring human dignity when processing personal data. Human dignity as a starting point and as a justifiable concept ensures that only

¹³¹¹ ibid.

¹³¹² Djeffal, 'Law by Design Obligations: The Future of Regulating Digital Technologies in Europe?' (n 1295) 4.

¹³¹³ ibid.

¹³¹⁴ ibid.

¹³¹⁵ Data Protection Working Party, 'Guidelines on Automated Individual Decision-Making and Profiling for the Purposes of Regulation 2016/679'.

a comprehensive and careful examination of the concrete effects on the people affected leads to a result. This is where the added value of the concepts of 'human dignity by design' and 'data protection by design' lies.¹³¹⁶ The concept of human dignity by design derives its justification not so much from a substantially changed normative requirement but rather from a change in the mental attitude when solving problems.

The by-design approach explores the extent to which the illegitimacies of the normative effects of the technology "can be deliberately managed to realize the legal principles in sociotechnical settings; they not only manage the effects of technology by prescribing hard and fast rules but they motivate the steering of the design of technologies by operationalizing legal principles to work outside the professional legal system".¹³¹⁷ Thus, these approaches suggest that law serves as an instrument to shape and guide the trade-off and identifying opportunities to resolve issues at the technical level.¹³¹⁸ As such, these notions of design, legal by design, data protection by design, human dignity by design, or legal protection by design are co-related to each other. It can be said that these notions of 'by-design' in the legal domain are a subset of the rule of law by design concept because the rule of law by design aims not only to guarantee enforcement of any legal norm but also to ensure that legal protection is not discarded due to the affordances of the technological environment.¹³¹⁹

8.2. Applying the 'rule of law' principles in design

The purpose and intention of 'the rule of law by design' is to have some form of regulation and legal protection encapsulated in the technology since the technology has the ability to influence and shape human behavior in accordance with the objectives of the 'figure' and the regulators such as the State.¹³²⁰ This form of law by design obligation is a "*principle-based regulation*"

¹³¹⁶ Jan Trzaskowski, 'Persuasion, Manipulation, Choice Architecture and Dark Patterns' in Andrej Savin and Jan Trzaskowski (eds), *Research Handbook on EU Internet Law* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2023).

¹³¹⁷ Djeffal, 'Law by Design Obligations: The Future of Regulating Digital Technologies in Europe?' (n 1295) 26.

¹³¹⁸ Djeffal, 'AI, Democracy and the Law' (n 1263).

¹³¹⁹ Hildebrandt, "Legal by Design'or 'Legal Protection by Design'?" (n 1287).

¹³²⁰ Emre Bayamlıoğlu and Ronald Leenes, 'The 'Rule of Law' Implications of Data-Driven Decision-Making: A Techno-Regulatory Perspective' (2018) 10 *Law, Innovation and Technology* 295; Ugo Pagallo, 'On the Principle of Privacy by Design

with an obligation to translate a legal goal into technology without providing precise procedural or substantive requirements"¹³²¹, where the aim is to "internalize values in the context of technology development"¹³²². Therefore, through this approach, the State primarily targets the 'figure' responsible for designing and programming the artifact with the rule of law requirements and standards and obligates them to ensure that the system meets the specified legal requirements. Once the 'figure' adheres to this obligation, the rule of law by design exerts an impact on the behavior of the users interacting with the technology, for example, by restricting certain 'alegal' uses of the application. These restriction or constraints yield their signification as they emerge during the process of their coming into existence. "In times of stability, the accomplishment of constraints by practitioners will resemble more compliance with a pre-existing norm, but this is only an impression".¹³²³ This means that this mechanism does not boil down the constraints to such mere compliance because that would close the door for any transformation of norms to comply with. Hence, the figure has to think twice before programming a code in a blockchain, given that there are certain rule of law standards that they have to keep in mind. "If the requirements evoke a conventional dimension of a practice, the obligations might call to mind its identity, but again not in a petrified or given form".¹³²⁴ This means that obligations do not guarantee the fixed identity of practice, but instead, they define the "peculiar mode of hesitation of its practitioners"¹³²⁵. These hesitations may yield changes and evolutions of the practice concerned. This calls for the need to emphasize "the constraints of a practice, its obligations and requirements,"1326 which confront every 'figure' with the question of how to change without betraying. In other words, as Latour says, "both requirements and obligations are part of what makes a good practitioner because their interplay guarantees both change and innovation of a practice against its dogmatic refuge and immobilism and consistency and continuity against its evaporation or colonialization"¹³²⁷. The same assertion will also be applicable to the 'figure' who is responsible for designing and

and Its Limits: Technology, Ethics and the Rule of Law' in Serge Gutwirth, Ronald Leenes and others (eds), *European Data Protection: In Good Health?* (Springer 2012) 331.

¹³²¹ Djeffal, 'Law by Design Obligations: The Future of Regulating Digital Technologies in Europe?' (n 1295) 2.

¹³²² ibid.

¹³²³ Prigogine and Stengers (n 987).

¹³²⁴ Latour, 'Scientific Objects and Legal Objectivity' (n 353).

¹³²⁵ Latour, The Making of Law: An Ethnography of the Conseil d'Etat (n 360).

¹³²⁶ Gutwirth, De Hert and De Sutter (n 645).

¹³²⁷ Latour, The Making of Law: An Ethnography of the Conseil d'Etat (n 360).

developing the blockchain, such that they take into consideration the requirements of the technology and obligations of the rule of law standards and values.

It can be said that 'the rule of law by design' mechanism incorporates a form of delegation wherein the State obliges the 'figure' to enforce the prescribed rule of law standards and values upon those who utilize it or are impacted by the technology. Therefore, 'the rule of law by design' targets both inspecting the *ex-ante* micro level and the *ex-post* macro level. There is no hierarchy between the two levels, and should be perceived to have an equal footing that works together contemporaneously to formulate the technology such that the artifact sustains the rule of law values and standards.

Brownsword, in his book 'Law 3.0'¹³²⁸, has also emphasized that it is necessary to apply the rule of law principles intentionally to the design and implementation of technologies that 'regulate' behavior and outcomes¹³²⁹. He called this kind of regulation "*technological management*"¹³³⁰, which uses technologies to achieve goals instead of legal rules or normative identifiers.¹³³¹ In the context of blockchain, technological management can involve using smart contracts, decentralized applications, and consensus protocols to control transactions, interactions, and identities on a distributed ledger without relying on intermediaries, authorities, or legal enforcement. However, technological management in blockchain can also create problems or conflicts with the existing legal and moral order and raise issues of accountability, transparency, and legitimacy.¹³³²

Therefore, some conditionalities are essential to make sure that technological management is consistent with the rule of law. First, technological management should not harm the basic conditions that are necessary for human society to exist, which Brownsword called "*the commons*"¹³³³. The rule of law emphasizes that the 'figure' has the main duty to protect and maintain the commons. Second, the rule of law requires that the use of technology and its

¹³²⁸ Roger Brownsword, Law 3.0: Rules, Regulation, and Technology (Routledge 2020).

¹³²⁹ Monika Zalnieriute, Lyria Bennett Moses and George Williams, 'The Rule of Law "By Design"?' (2021) 95 Tulane Law Review 1063.

¹³³⁰ Akinrotimi (n 814).

¹³³¹ Brownsword, 'Smart Contracts: Coding the Transaction, Decoding the Legal Debates' (n 755).

¹³³² Václav Janeček, 'Rethinking Law, Regulation, and Technology by Roger Brownsword' (2022) 30 International Journal of Law and Information Technology 512 < https://doi.org/10.1093/ijlit/eaad003> accessed 16 October 2024.

¹³³³ Brownsword, Law 3.0: Rules, Regulation, and Technology (n 1328).

ordering matches its intrinsic constitutive characteristics, such as whether they are liberal or communitarian, rights-based or utilitarian. Third, when technological management is suggested as a way to manage risks, the rule of law demands that there is open and inclusive public discussion about the strategy that ought to be reasonable and respectful. In changing environments where decisions are made case by case, there may be a need for human intervention, as in the case of autonomous vehicles that allow human override in moral dilemmas or emergencies. Also, the right to due process against decisions enforced by technological management should be kept, especially if they limit or force certain actions or exclude some people or groups. This need for human intervention as a last resort may even be a default condition in the rule of law. Fourth, any limitations on the use of technological management that are agreed upon after public deliberation should be respected, ensuring alignment with agreed rules and the society's constitutive principles. Fifth, users should be confident that there are ways to hold accountable the implementation of technological measures to deal with problems or failures. Sixth, the range of technological management should not go beyond that of similar traditional rules, and seventh, technological management should not try to trick or trap users but match the reasonable expectations of users and make sure they know how it works. Finally, eighth, users may want public approval and oversight of private use of technological ordering, as institutions that protect fundamental rights should balance rather than support private economic power. Therefore, the rule of law states that private use of technological management must follow general principles that govern its use.

In addition, the rule of law can also act as a guide in different ways in the context of technology regulation in the form of political guidelines.¹³³⁴ Firstly, political guidelines can be implemented directly through technology design. With regards to the *de facto* dominance of the large digital corporations, the notion of *de facto* regulation by technical design is to be considered. This is referred to as 'regulation by technical design' or 'law by design'. It should be noted that technology can also have such a *de facto* regulatory effect without this being intended. Secondly, political guidelines can be implemented through legal norms that are aimed at the 'figure' responsible for designing the technology and oblige them to implement the political guidelines in the design of the technology. This is what is at the center of the concept of 'legal protection through technology design' or 'legal protection by design', which, from the perspective of the user of the technology, is a preventive regulation. Thirdly, political guidelines

¹³³⁴ Reidenberg (n 671).

can be implemented through legal norms that are aimed at the users of the technology and require them to use or not to use the technology in a certain way. These are classic repressive regulations. Repressive regulation is well suited to regulating numerous areas of life, especially because it allows for a certain degree of flexibility and corresponds to our liberated, social, and legal system. What looks like a violation of the law does not always have to be a violation of the law; think of the simple case of self-defense or limitations in copyright law. A constitutional procedure for enforcing repressive regulation is very well suited to taking such exceptions and nuances into account.

Preventive regulation or 'legal protection by design' appears to be a suitable and appropriate means of countering the arbitrary exercise of government power while at the same time enforcing the law. However, this is not simply intended to promote the spread of legal protection through technology. Examples of this can be vehicles that no longer allow exceeding the maximum speed limit; such measures usually entail significant risk, susceptibility to errors, and other weaknesses that must be taken into account when considering legal protection through technology design in a specific area of application. Finally, it should also be noted that 'law by design' usually includes technology programs and thus also the program's inherent properties of potential instability, error, and manipulation.

Therefore, 'the rule of law by design' concept presented here is nothing more than a logical extension of these notions of design in the legal domain in the context of the computational society –"*what unites is the desire to delve deeper into the process of technology design to uncover potentials to steer technologies to wards certain normative expectations by influencing the processes of innovation*".¹³³⁵ Effective fundamental legal protection is only conceivable in an increasingly digitized State administration if the legal situation is implemented in code as precisely as possible and without loopholes. In an ideal situation, only legitimate administrative action is actually possible, at least in the completely automated storylines. Therefore, it is an esoteric philosophical indignation about the characteristics of the rule of law and its operative functionalism in and through computational architectures and not just about the application of the rule of law doctrine within the computational context.¹³³⁶

¹³³⁵ Djeffal, 'Law by Design Obligations: The Future of Regulating Digital Technologies in Europe?' (n 1295) 27.

¹³³⁶ Hildebrandt, 'Legal Protection by Design: Objections and Refutations' (n 1220) 238–239.

The concept of 'the rule of law by design' endeavors to incorporate the specific values of fundamental rights and the rule of law principles into the technological infrastructures.¹³³⁷ It is an umbrella concept that, on the one hand, is concerned about the compliance of technological normativity with substantive law and, on the other, about ways to ensure that such legal protection can be both resisted and contested in the conventional court of law. The fundamental purpose of this concept is to mandate that the rule of law values and standards are upheld throughout "the entire process of inventing, programming, adopting, designing and utilizing the system".¹³³⁸ Unlike mere regulation of technology use, which involves the application of the law externally, obligation centered around the 'by-design' seeks to influence, steer, and enhance the entire socio-technical process of technology creation and utilization from within.¹³³⁹ While it is possible to incorporate the specific rule of law features 'by design', applying the same approach to the rule of law is not forthright since it may not be feasible to automate complex socio-legal requirements fully. Linking design to values makes such choices visible and explicit. Understanding the impact of design choices on the rule of law thus requires first a definitive statement of the values associated with the rule of law that could be implemented technically (at least partially). Therefore, as said before, 'the rule of law by design' encourages one to look for the 'figure' to develop these systems such that it reinstates the protection that is central to the rule of law. For example, the system ought to require the decision-making of the algorithm output to be a human-readable explanation, enhancing the transparency of such decision-making. It would also necessitate that these systems be pre-tested for their output contestability. Further, procedural checks and balances have to be introduced in default settings to offset inequalities and unfair distributions. In a democratic society, regulating citizens' behavior must achieve minimum standards of the rule of law irrespective of regulatory tools.

The duty delegated to the 'figure' goes beyond the simple enforcement of the rule of law values and standards as outlined in the law. The 'figure' cannot fulfill its obligation without interpreting them: legal requirements are typically expressed in broad terms, necessitating the 'figure' to ascertain how these general formulations apply to the specific contexts in which the

¹³³⁷ Hildebrandt, "Legal by Design'or 'Legal Protection by Design'?" (n 1287).

¹³³⁸ Gordon Baxter and Ian Sommerville, 'Socio-Technical Systems: From Design Methods to Systems Engineering' (2011)23 Interacting with Computers 4.

¹³³⁹ Djeffal, 'AI, Democracy and the Law' (n 1263).

technology architecture is anticipated to function.¹³⁴⁰ Once the substance of the relevant legal requirement is established, the 'figure' must determine the technical methods that meet the demands of the rule of law. Certain requirements may compel the 'figure' to abstain from employing particular techniques¹³⁴¹, while others may necessitate the incorporation of specific rules directly into the system's code.¹³⁴² As a result of these processes, the rule of law by design evolves into a form of co-regulation, wherein the State delegates not only the execution power but also the authority to define the actual content of the legal standards and the mechanisms employed to enforce them.¹³⁴³

Consider the accuracy requirement introduced by the EU's regulation for artificial intelligence (AI) systems (the 'AI Act'¹³⁴⁴). Within the framework of the rule of law by design mechanism, Article 15(1) establishes a crucial provision for ensuring accountability and adherence to legal standards in the development and deployment of AI systems.¹³⁴⁵ Under this provision, any high-risk AI system must attain a level of accuracy appropriate to its intended function.¹³⁴⁶ By integrating such provisions, the AI Act upholds the principles of legality and predictability, ensuring that AI technologies operate within established legal boundaries and do not undermine fundamental rights or societal values. This relationship between Article 15(1) and the rule of law underscores the importance of regulatory oversight and legal compliance in harnessing the potential of AI while safeguarding against potential harms or abuses. This requirement significantly impacts the behavior of third parties: both public and private actors will only be permitted to procure and utilize AI systems that adhere to the accuracy standards. This assurance extends to the general population, who can trust that any AI system developed in compliance with the law will possess adequate accuracy for its intended use. However, the 'figure' retains considerable discretion in selecting techniques that meet the accuracy standard: they may opt for the most precise system they can devise, or they may design a system with sufficient accuracy to fulfill the design requirements while also being easily comprehensible to

¹³⁴⁰ Hildebrandt, "Legal by Design'or 'Legal Protection by Design'?" (n 1287).

¹³⁴¹ Hildebrandt, 'Saved by Design? The Case of Legal Protection by Design' (n 1285).

¹³⁴² Casanovasabc, González-Conejeroc and de Kokerab (n 283).

¹³⁴³ Leenes (n 1072).

¹³⁴⁴ European Commission, 'Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council laying down Harmonised Rules on Artificial Intelligence (Artificial Intelligence Act) and Amending Certain Union Legislative Acts 2021 [COM/2021/206 final]'.

¹³⁴⁵ Article 15(1), ibid.

¹³⁴⁶ Article 15(1), ibid.

users.¹³⁴⁷ Consequently, the choices and decisions made by the 'figure' have the potential to yield diverse systems, even when starting from the same requirements.

A crucial aspect of upholding the rule of law in the governance and regulation of technology is comprehending the choices made during the invention or implementation of the technology. Numerous design decisions are made during the development and programming; some of them are made with a purposeful intention, while some carry significant ramifications. From the lens of the rule of law, it is essential to recognize and emphasize specific design choices in association with the architecture, application, and other attributes of the technology in employment. If there is an alternative to choose from, there is a choice and decision to be made. Taking cognizance of such choices also necessitates having the rule of law mindset that remains open to various possibilities without automatically favoring particular outcomes. Particularly, the computer scientists who are typically trained to prioritize specific objectives like efficiency often overlook the implications of decision choices that align and maximize their preferred value – "what we detect, then, is that the better regulation principles straddle matters that speak not only to the way in which an agency is constituted (particularly relating to the way that an agency is held to account) but also to the way in which an agency operates".¹³⁴⁸

Aiming the technology to be based on the rule of law by design may at times, be necessary to uphold the neutrality of the law concerning emerging technologies. Neutrality in this context implies that the emergence of new technological infrastructure should not weaken the spirit and effectiveness of legal protections. This aligns with the approach developed by Nissenbaum in her decision-making heuristics regarding contextual integrity, which investigates whether and how new socio-technical practices infringe upon existing values.¹³⁴⁹ This involves adopting a prudent stance, but not one that is overly cautious, regarding norms and values such as privacy or contextual integrity. The approach is prudent in that it concentrates on existing rights or values rather than advocating for new ones. It is not overly cautious because it acknowledges that to safeguard and maintain these values or rights, their spirit and

¹³⁴⁷ Johann Laux, Sandra Wachter and Brent Mittelstadt, 'Three Pathways for Standardisation and Ethical Disclosure by Default under the European Union Artificial Intelligence Act' (2024) 53 Computer Law & Security Review 105957.

¹³⁴⁸ Roger Brownsword and Karen Yeung, 'So What Does the World Need Now? Reflections on Regulating Technologies' in Roger Brownsword and Karen Yeung (eds), *Regulating Technologies: Legal Futures, Regulatory Frames and Technological Fixes* (Hart Publishing 2008).

¹³⁴⁹ Sebastian Benthall, Seda Gürses and Helen Nissenbaum, *Contextual Integrity through the Lens of Computer Science* (Now Publishers 2017); Helen Nissenbaum, 'Privacy as Contextual Integrity' (2004) 79 Washington Law Review 119.

effectiveness must be assessed in light of relevant new technologies, recognizing that the design of such technologies influences the values and legal norms they uphold or supersede. To some extent, it is accepted that new technology may prompt a reconfiguration of norms and values; however, the emphasis is that this reconfiguration should not compromise the spirit and substance of existing values solely to accommodate new business models or more efficient administration. From the rule of law frame of reference, it can be added that legal norms are established or endorsed by the democratic legislature, and altering their scope should not occur without involving the affected constituency or individuals.

The rule of law by design may be perceived as an endeavor to transpose the affordances of the legal script¹³⁵⁰ onto the technological infrastructure that may have vastly different affordances, but such an endeavor is destined to fail. Clearly, affordances cannot be transplanted; they can only be identified and, to some extent, adjusted or crafted into the technology. The objective is to identify, configure, or craft affordances that align with specific legal norms that might otherwise lose their efficacy or to develop socio-technical systems that embody particular legal norms. This endeavor should always consider the potential for "*resistibility and contestability*"¹³⁵¹ of the resulting normativity and should consistently involve assessing how the configuration or crafting of affordances can best advance the objectives of justice, legal certainty, and purposiveness. Therefore, the rule of law by design mechanism calls for the need to articulate and craft the rule of law standards and values into affordances to embody them in the technological architecture through the command code rules at the micro level and the conceptual purpose code norms at the macro level.

8.2.1. Legal standards in technological artifacts

Computer scientists have implemented some of the techniques that they devised for encoding legal requirements and instruments into software to enable digital systems to tackle diverse issues. These systems range from automating tax rules and social security benefits¹³⁵² to verifying compliance with standardized trade regulations.¹³⁵³ The effectiveness of these

¹³⁵⁰ Hildebrandt, 'Legal Protection by Design: Objections and Refutations' (n 1220).

¹³⁵¹ Hildebrandt, 'The Public (s) Onli Fe: A Call For Legal Protection by Design' (n 284).

¹³⁵² Doa A Elyounes, "Computer Says No!": The Impact of Automation on the Discretionary Power of Public Officers' (2021)
23 Vanderbilt Journal of Entertainment and Technology Law 451.

¹³⁵³ Monika Zalnieriute, Lyria Bennett Moses and George Williams, 'The Rule of Law and Automation of Government Decision-making' (2019) 82 Modern Law Review 425.

approaches implies that, in certain situations, legal requirements can be accurately translated into code rules, which subsequently enforce the encoded requirements by situating "*specific legal principles as goals*".¹³⁵⁴ In this case, protecting the fundamental rights of individuals can be a "*broad and extensive*" goal, whereas protection of the right to privacy or security can be considered as a "*specific*" goal.¹³⁵⁵ In such instances, law by design or techno-regulation proves to be a viable approach for the State.

However, transposing legal rules into technical rules is a delicate process that could significantly affect the way we deal with law and technology. Though legal systems are deliberately designed to be ambiguous, leaving scope for judicial interpretation, they also give the engineers and developers the power to embed their version of law into the technical artifacts.¹³⁵⁶ Hence, while code is increasingly assuming the traditional functions of law, the law is also assuming the characteristics of code.¹³⁵⁷ As more and more contractual rules and legal provisions are incorporated into smart contracts, the traditional conception of the law might be required to evolve into something that can better be assimilated into code.¹³⁵⁸

Translating the rule of law standards and values into software requires the legal norms to follow the structure of conditional statements, such as *"if [this condition], then [that consequence]*"¹³⁵⁹, which closely resembles the conditional logic found in programming languages.¹³⁶⁰ If the conditions and outcomes of a norm can be translated into a code rule, like the examples mentioned earlier, it is amenable to programming. However, this translation is not always feasible, especially when the conditions of a norm pertain to human and societal elements that cannot be easily captured in binary code or technical artifacts, such as those related to the development of human personality.¹³⁶¹ Additionally, encoding becomes problematic when automating a norm would contradict its intended objectives, as in the case

¹³⁵⁴ Djeffal, 'Law by Design Obligations: The Future of Regulating Digital Technologies in Europe?' (n 1295) 15.
¹³⁵⁵ ibid.

¹³⁵⁶ De Filippi and Hassan (n 108).

¹³⁵⁷ Dimitropoulos, 'The Law of Blockchain' (n 63).

¹³⁵⁸ De Filippi and Wright (n 134); Dimitropoulos, 'The Law of Blockchain' (n 63).

¹³⁵⁹ Andrew J Jones and Marek Sergot, 'On the Characterisation of Law and Computer Systems: The Normative Systems Perspective' in John-Jules C Meyer and Roel J Wieringa (eds), *Deontic Logic in Computer Science: Normative System Specification* (John Wiley and Sons 1994) 275.

¹³⁶⁰ De Filippi and Wright (n 134).

¹³⁶¹ Hildebrandt, 'Code-Driven Law: Freezing the Future and Scaling the Past' (n 1130).

of the principle that a defendant in a jury trial should be judged by their peers.¹³⁶² Consequently, the substance of a legal rule may pose challenges to its expression in the technological architecture.

Additional challenges arise when the concept of the rule of law by design introduces other forms of legal requirements. In a few scenarios, the rule of law by design concept does not mandate the 'figure' to directly incorporate specific legal norms but mandates only overarching principles. The rule of law principle imposes obligations on those governed by it — in this instance, the 'figure' — without explicitly outlining the specifics of these obligations, which necessitates contextual assessment.¹³⁶³ Consequently, the 'figure' tasked with implementing the rule of law principle must anticipate potential issues that could arise in each operational context of their system and propose technical solutions beforehand.¹³⁶⁴ However, executing such anticipatory measures may not always be feasible in every case.

There are two instances of the rule of law by design mechanism, which sheds light on the limitation of anticipatory approaches to the rule of law principles. In the accuracy-by-design illustration provided earlier, with respect to Article 15 of the EU AI Act, there is a potential conflict of values between accuracy and transparency since certain highly accurate systems may be opaque and inscrutable to the users, posing a challenge. However, this conflict can be resolved during the design process. As long as the system achieves the requisite level of accuracy to meet the established standards and maintains sufficient transparency to adhere to the transparency by-design specification, the 'figure' retains the autonomy to balance these values within the system. Once the choice is decided upon that aligns with the rule of law, it stands as an acceptable solution to the value conflict until the circumstances dictate otherwise.¹³⁶⁵

¹³⁶² De Filippi, Mannan and Reijers, 'Blockchain Technology and the Rule of Code: Regulation via Governance' (n 94).

¹³⁶³ Kennedy, 'Rules as Code and the Rule of Law: Ensuring Effective Judicial Review of Administration by Software' (n 1101).

¹³⁶⁴ De Filippi, Mannan and Reijers, 'Blockchain Technology and the Rule of Code: Regulation via Governance' (n 94); Goldoni, 'The Normativity of Code as Law: Towards Input Legitimacy' (n 1172); Kennedy, 'Rules as Code and the Rule of Law: Ensuring Effective Judicial Review of Administration by Software' (n 1101).

¹³⁶⁵ Bayamlıoğlu and Leenes (n 1320); Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4); Zalnieriute, Moses and Williams (n 1353).

The 'figure' may encounter challenges when value judgments lack consistency over time. Take, for instance, a situation in which a social media platform must automatically delete posts containing hate speech. An erroneous removal decision could significantly infringe upon a user's rights, particularly freedom of expression¹³⁶⁶, making accuracy a crucial factor in this context. While automated filters may identify many unlawful posts, they may also yield incorrect outcomes, particularly when dealing with parodies, for example.¹³⁶⁷ The accuracy of a removal decision not only hinges on the context of the communication itself—such as whether it was intended as a joke or a legitimate form of protest—but also on the prevailing cultural norms within society. The 'figure' is unlikely to anticipate all relevant factors in advance, and even if they do, the standards they embed into the technology artifact may become outdated as societal attitudes toward certain types of discourse evolve.

The examples provided above indicate that adhering strictly to the rule of law principles may prove insufficient under certain circumstances, particularly when legal norms cannot be fully delineated before implementation or when relevant factors defy binary categorization. In such scenarios, compliance with the rule of law by design becomes a matter of risk management.¹³⁶⁸ This is perceived as a negative 'law by design obligation' where it seeks to reduce the risk or the harm generated by the artifact in question¹³⁶⁹, and thus, the 'figure' is obligated to select and implement measures that mitigate identifiable risks to the values at stake.¹³⁷⁰ If these choices diverge from the priorities of the State or result in unacceptable side effects, the actual impact of the system on users and third parties is likely to deviate from the State's initial expectations.¹³⁷¹ Compliance with broadly defined rule of law principles may, therefore, undermine or, at the very least, fail to advance the objectives that led the State to adopt the rule of law by design approach in the first instance. As such, for the rule of law by design approach to be employed effectively, it necessitates that the legal rules be translated coherently into specific value sets or requirements rather than overarching values.

¹³⁶⁶ Barrie Sander, 'Freedom of Expression in the Age of Online Platforms: The Promise and Pitfalls of a Human Rights-Based Approach to Content Moderation' (2019) 43 Fordham International Law Journal 939.

¹³⁶⁷ Althaf Marsoof and others, 'Content-Filtering AI Systems–Limitations, Challenges and Regulatory Approaches' (2023)32 Information & Communications Technology Law 64.

¹³⁶⁸ Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4).

¹³⁶⁹ Djeffal, 'Law by Design Obligations: The Future of Regulating Digital Technologies in Europe?' (n 1295) 4-5.

¹³⁷⁰ Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4).

¹³⁷¹ ibid.

It is important to emphasize that effectuating the rule of law by design mechanism into the technology fosters legitimacy to a certain extent, thereby mitigating any form of potential coercion towards users.¹³⁷² The relevance and significance of legitimacy for the rule of law by design mechanism is ensured by three factors.¹³⁷³ Firstly, the effectiveness of this mechanism hinges upon the adherence of 'the figure' to the norms and standards they are mandated to follow during the technology design process. Secondly, the users who are subjected to encoded rules possess the potential to influence the system's operation or the role the technology plays in society. Finally, considerations of legitimacy are pertinent from moral and political standpoints, such as upholding democratic ideals by ensuring individuals have a voice and 'choice' in shaping the 'rhythm' of their lives.¹³⁷⁴ Hence, even technology designed with the explicit purpose of upholding the rule of law and democratic principles with meticulous technical precision could face compromise if the legitimacy of the embedded rule of code is not established beforehand, as the *ex-post* legitimacy effects rely on the initial *(ex-ante)* production's legitimacy.

Technological artifacts can achieve *ex-post* legitimacy based on the outcome. If individuals or groups perceive the effects of the governance of technology as favorable, they are more inclined to comply with its demands, even if those demands conflict with some of their personal interests.¹³⁷⁵ At the same time, it is essential to understand the effectiveness of the artifacts in achieving their objectives to evaluate the legitimacy of design-based instruments. For example, a smart car can be designed in two different ways to reduce motor vehicle accidents caused by driver fatigue. One, the smart car can be designed to issue a warning to the driver when the system detects driver fatigue so that the driver can stop and rest. Thus, the artifact endeavors to bring in behavioral change. Another design approach could be in which the smart car automatically directs the driver to a parking lot and prevents further journey when it detects on driver fatigue. In this case, the artifact overrides human action to achieve the desired results leaving no scope for human agency to thwart the desired goal. Only when the design seeks to change behavior, or to alter harm-generating behavior, or to reduce undesirable social

¹³⁷² Koops, 'Criteria for Normative Technology' (n 1160); Reijers and Coeckelbergh (n 220).

¹³⁷³ Chapter 17, The benchmarks of legitimacy, Brownsword, Law 3.0: Rules, Regulation, and Technology (n 1328).

¹³⁷⁴ Chapter 17, The benchmarks of legitimacy, ibid.

¹³⁷⁵ Brownsword, Scotford and Yeung (n 792); Schmidt (n 649).

outcomes, there may be some latitude for human agency to put impediments to achieving the goals.¹³⁷⁶

Additionally, technology can attain *ex-ante* legitimacy by involving relevant stakeholders in its development processes, thereby reassuring these stakeholders that the artifact considers their values and concerns.¹³⁷⁷ These mechanisms for building legitimacy are not mutually exclusive, as sources of *ex-ante* legitimacy may either reinforce¹³⁷⁸, compensate¹³⁷⁹ for, or undermine¹³⁸⁰ one another and have an impact on the *ex-post* effects. Therefore, the evaluation of legitimacy in technology must consider how potential sources of legitimation manifest and interact with each other in practical contexts.¹³⁸¹ Since the legitimacy of the artifact depends upon the standards and values that have been incorporated into the architecture of the technology and its operation, the rule of law by design facilitates this legitimacy by ensuring that the standards that provide affordance to the command code rules and the values which afford the conceptual code rules of the operation must comply with the rule of law and render legal protection to the users. As such, the rule of law by design also targets ex-ante legitimacy in order to produce a legitimate *ex-post* result. From the perspective of the *ex-post* legitimacy, it is evident that embedding legal standards can be a double-edged sword such that, on the one hand, good design standards can result in the artifact enforcing and governing the behavior of users uniformly and fairly, but on the other hand, design standards which have been incoherently expressed and translated into the technology architecture may fail to achieve the desired outcomes. Thus, it is important to realize the formulation of a good, coherent, and specific design standard to embed the spirit of legitimacy and the rule of law within the technology artifact, so as to accomplish the desired output.

¹³⁷⁶ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207) 89.

¹³⁷⁷ Eric J Iversen, Thierry Vedel and Raymund Werle, 'Standardization and the Democratic Design of Information and Communication Technology' (2004) 17 Knowledge, Technology & Policy 104.

¹³⁷⁸ Brownsword, Law 3.0: Rules, Regulation, and Technology (n 1328); Janeček (n 1332).

¹³⁷⁹ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207).

¹³⁸⁰ Goldoni, 'The Normativity of Code as Law: Towards Input Legitimacy' (n 1172).

¹³⁸¹ Brownsword, *Law 3.0: Rules, Regulation, and Technology* (n 1328); Brownsword and Yeung (n 1348); Hildebrandt, *Smart Technologies and the End (s) of Law: Novel Entanglements of Law and Technology* (n 548).

8.2.2. 'Inner morality' of code norms

Brownsword¹³⁸² and Asscher¹³⁸³, both have put forward the idea of adapting or applying Fuller's principles of legality, which is nested within the rule of law, to the rules of technological instruments. Fuller has outlined eight standards or principles that are considered crucial to any legal system. According to him, failure in any one of these eight standards does not just result in a bad system of law but actually results in a system that is 'alegal'. These principles are applicable to all systems, including technology. He also asserted that "*being at the top of the chain of command does not exempt the legislature from its responsibility to respect the demands of the internal morality of law; indeed, it intensifies that responsibility*".¹³⁸⁴ Since there are proposals to regulate and utilize blockchain more by the governments to realize the policy goals in the future¹³⁸⁵, it will be interesting to observe how 'the rule of code' that governs the technology satisfies the Fuller standards.

Brownsword has demonstrated a pluralistic perspective that is focused more on conventional legal theories concerning code, which is sensitive to the development and production of codes by the 'figure' that has the potential to "*be hostile or complement or supersede Hartian legal norms*".¹³⁸⁶ Contextually, the principles of legality, a concept interlinked to the rule of law¹³⁸⁷, are binding on regulators, notwithstanding the substantive aspect of the regulations.¹³⁸⁸ He tends to maintain an ontological separation between the 'rule' or norm that exalts the use of a particular regulation on code and the nominal effect of the regulation itself, which introduces a gap between his analysis and the substantial elements of the code¹³⁸⁹ – "*there is the choice between normative and non-normative ordering, between rules – signaling ought and ought not – and design – signaling can and cannot*"¹³⁹⁰. Thus, it creates a void between the design

¹³⁸² Brownsword, 'The Ideal of Legality and the Rule of Law' (n 5) 114.

¹³⁸³ Asscher (n 1071).

¹³⁸⁴ Fuller, 'The Morality of Law' (n 385) 39, 64.

¹³⁸⁵ Clavin and others (n 329).

¹³⁸⁶ Brownsword, 'In the Year 2061: From Law to Technological Management' (n 3) 10–14, 19.

¹³⁸⁷ Krygier, 'The Rule of Law: Legality, Teleology, Sociology' (n 392).

¹³⁸⁸ Roger Brownsword, 'Regulatory Cosmopolitanism: Clubs, Commons, and Questions of Coherence' (2010) Tilburg University TILT Law & Technology Working Paper; Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4) 113.

¹³⁸⁹ Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4) 113.

¹³⁹⁰ Brownsword, 'The Ideal of Legality and the Rule of Law' (n 5) 119.

considerations, such as the limitations or disaffordances posed by an artifact, and how it practically mediates or facilitates user interaction.

I will pursue this argument while discussing the analysis of the Fullerian principles on inner morality of law with the code norms – "*in such environments, there are many concerns for the virtues of the rule of law, but what would we make of the Fullerian criteria in such settings*?"¹³⁹¹.

Standard 1 - Fuller identifies that the legislative rules should be of general application, which, when applied to the blockchain environment, the fact that the code norms in question should resonate with the conception of generality and must be germane at all times. This means that the blockchain code and smart contracts need to have general application, rather than being too specific to any individual or situation. However, in some cases, the articulations of the rule of code might be specific to particular individuals – for example, precision profiling, when personalized, is likely to identify and isolate dangerous individuals or a class of them¹³⁹², adhering to the principle of generality. However, in another instance, when the 'figure' releases 'too many' updates in a short period of time, it fractures the uniformity of the code across the user database.¹³⁹³ Such a precautionary vantage point is required to ensure fairness and consistency in the functionality of the technological artifact.

Standard 2 - According to Brownsword, in the controlled, regulated space that is technologically managed, there is no rule book to adhere to, where the relationship between regulators and users is no longer arbitrated by rules, and the actions of users are no longer rule-guided. However, I do not agree with the logic stated by Brownsword since the technologies are governed by the code norms determined by the rule book or the constitution of that particular technology, which is adhered to by the 'figure' while programming the system with the functionalities required for a purpose. For Brownsword, "*what matters is not the rules that result from a 'law-making' process are published, but that proposals for the use of technological management are published. What matters is not so much that regulatees know where they stand but that they have a fair warning that a particular use of technological*

¹³⁹¹ ibid.

¹³⁹² Anthony J Casey and Anthony Niblett, 'The Death of Rules and Standards' (2016) 92 Indiana. Law Journal 1401; Anthony J Casey and Anthony Niblett, 'Self-Driving Contracts' (2017) 43 Journal of Corporation Law 1.

¹³⁹³ Ahmed E Hassan and Richard C Holt, 'Studying the Chaos of Code Development' (10th Working Conference on Reverse Engineering (WCRE '03), 2003).

management might be made for public purposes and, concomitantly, a fair opportunity to participate in the processes that will determine whether such use is to be authorized".¹³⁹⁴ In other words, Brownsword translates Fullerian's second standard to the decision requirements in relation to the intended use of technological management.¹³⁹⁵ The focal point is not the actual technical transparency but the transparency of intent, and the distinction or the gap between the two is indeed problematic.

The result is that in situations where the rule is not intended to guide the conduct of the users but to mandate the use of technological management, the proposal might take the form of an authorizing rule. The idea of notifying such rules for democratic participation would be to fortify the legality of the use of technological management.¹³⁹⁶ In fact, the use of technological management should be authorized in a transparent manner, and there should be a certain degree of openness about its operation.¹³⁹⁷ For blockchain, this would involve transparency of the purpose of employing the technology, that is the guiding values, including the transparency of the code. This will not only facilitate the diminishment of the opaque nature of the blockchain artifact but also ensure that the users can understand how the apparatus functions.

Standard 3 - There are cases where retrospective acts are possible in the technologically managed environment, such as digital records being deleted and amended or in contractual relationships, retroactive adjustments of the positions of the parties are made. However, in general, where technological management is initiated to deactivate a particular act or to eliminate any earlier practice, it takes effect prospectively, which means any changes to the environment are prospective, and technological management does not advance any new hazards of "*unfair retrospective penalization of conduct*".¹³⁹⁸ This channels the requirement for the blockchain protocols or smart contracts not to be applied retroactively, as this could undermine trust and predictability in the system.

Standard 4 - In the context of technological management, regulatory clarity might be somewhat less important, but it is not entirely superfluous. The 'figure' is still required to communicate with their users, and more importantly, they need to indicate the specific choices that are

¹³⁹⁴ Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4) 117.

¹³⁹⁵ ibid.

¹³⁹⁶ ibid.

¹³⁹⁷ Brownsword, 'The Ideal of Legality and the Rule of Law' (n 5) 125.

¹³⁹⁸ ibid 120.

available. In this manner, the clarity of communication still counts in technologically managed code rules. Obviously, if the regulatory environment is designed in such a way that users have no other choice than to perform a specific act, then they will conduct only in that manner, even if there is no clarity. Even so, the regulatory signal should be clearly and decisively transmitted such that the user behavior can be directed with less friction and confusion.¹³⁹⁹ Therefore, as regards clarity, the Fullerian standard emphasizes that there should not be any uncertainty about the rules to be followed by users. The rules should be comprehensible and free from ambiguity so that the users are made conscious that the technological measures will regulate their conduct in some way.¹⁴⁰⁰ When interpreted from the perspective of the blockchain environment, this design standard requires ensuring that the rule of code or smart contracts are written in a comprehensible and unambiguous fashion.

Standard 5 - This Fullerian standard can be associated with the technological requirements to be consistent in allowing a certain 'act' or otherwise.¹⁴⁰¹ When the technological programs react to one another, they may cause inconsistencies that are inconvenient to the user. Due to such inconsistencies, it may so happen that users are misled, inviting penalty provisions that should have been prevented by the rule. However, since penalty inviting conduct has occurred due to the failure of the technology, it would be unjust to apply the penalty. More so, if the users performed the act with *bona fide* intention that because the code permits certain actions, it implies that the said action is 'permitted', it would be unfair to penalize the users.¹⁴⁰² In the context of blockchain, this design standard emphasizes the importance of ensuring different nuggets of the rule of code or different smart contracts do not contradict with each other, which ought to lead to conflicts or system failures.

Standard 6 - Brownsword has discussed this standard in relation to the user's abstract mental state and how various legal systems deal with criminalities leading to frustration of the users because of the futility of such legal systems.¹⁴⁰³ He focuses on the subjective position of the users rather than the legitimacy of the technologically managed action. However, positioning

¹³⁹⁹ Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4) 122.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Brownsword, 'The Ideal of Legality and the Rule of Law' (n 5) 121–122.

¹⁴⁰¹ ibid 122–123.

¹⁴⁰² Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4).

¹⁴⁰³ ibid 120–121.

this design standard in the blockchain environment calls for the necessity to ensure that the rule of code or smart contracts only require actions that are technically feasible within the system.

Standard 7 - If a technological management application permits, or otherwise, certain actions due to either technological impairment or intentional changes made to the regulatory code, then the users become uncertain about the intention of the norm. This invites confusion among the users, which is undesirable and may lead to a diminishing of the respect that users have for the system¹⁴⁰⁴ caused by too many code changes or technological modifications, resulting in users acting in violation of the terms of the system and thus resulting in the levy of unjust penalties because of the lack of consistency.¹⁴⁰⁵ "*Just as a lack of clarity in the law breaches the fair warning principle, the same applies to a lack of constancy*".¹⁴⁰⁶ Therefore, within the blockchain architecture, there is need to maintain a level of stability over time, while still allowing for necessary updates and improvements.

Standard 8 - The principle of congruence demands that in case norms are administered by automated systems, technology should faithfully follow the rules as desired. This not only presents a significant challenge to the coding of regulations¹⁴⁰⁷ but also brings up the issue of legality within the Fullerian universe of norms. The moot question is, in the context of technological management, whether congruence or the spirit of congruence is the necessary condition for the legitimacy of a specific use of technological management?¹⁴⁰⁸ Whether the underlying normative rule, which satisfies or would satisfy the rule of law, is sufficient for the administration of norms? Since technological management is unlike a rule that compels the users to conduct in a particular way, whether no additional conditions are to be considered? In the true spirit of congruence, the actions of the 'figure' and their enforcement agents should resonate with the spirit of congruence that the articulation of technological management should be within the limits that have been published for its particular use as well as coherent with background limiting principles.¹⁴⁰⁹ Thus, with reference to any application, the private use

¹⁴⁰⁴ David J Smith, 'Changing Situations and Changing People' in Andrew von Hirsch, David Garland and Alison Wakefield (eds), *Ethical and Social Perspectives on Situational Crime Prevention* (Hart Publishing 2004) 147, 170.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Brownsword, 'The Ideal of Legality and the Rule of Law' (n 5) 122.

¹⁴⁰⁶ ibid.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Citron (n 712).

¹⁴⁰⁸ Brownsword, 'The Ideal of Legality and the Rule of Law' (n 5) 123.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4).

of technological management, such as assessing commercial risk, should be allowed only within the publicly approved parameters. And in case new uses are intended, they should be approved through a public special procedure.¹⁴¹⁰ Appreciation of the rule of law dictates that powers should be operationalized in a way that it is *intra vires*, and the rules and principles that fix the boundaries for the use of technological management are pivotal reference points to ascertain whether there has been an abuse of power.¹⁴¹¹ Therefore, this design standard relates to ensuring that the actual operation of blockchain systems and execution of smart contracts aligns with their state purposes and rules.

Fullerian standards are all about the need for "*openness, or transparency*"¹⁴¹², in authorizing the use of technological management measures for specific regulatory purposes, together with the essence of fairness and due process¹⁴¹³. There needs to be an empowered set-up to frame rules and processes for adopting measures of technological management through public debates for specific uses. "*Openness, transparency, and due process*"¹⁴¹⁴ are maintained where an individual's choice and decision-making ability are preserved.¹⁴¹⁵ As mentioned before, Brownsword has maintained the fundamental differentiation between code and the 'offline' rules which stimulate the technological measure and its use by the user. In fact, except for a casual remark about transparency,¹⁴¹⁶, he resists any engagement with the 'concrete' design aspects of the code.¹⁴¹⁷ Though it is certainly essential that the underlying rule of policy is compatible with the rule of law, it might not be a sufficient condition to accept a specific use of technological management.¹⁴¹⁸

Unlike Brownsword's attention toward the legitimacy of the rule of code and the sheer purpose of those rules, Asscher focusses on the idea of code and the 'figure' who is responsible for the architectural development of the technology. His thrust is not only on writing the code but also

¹⁴¹⁰ Brownsword, 'The Ideal of Legality and the Rule of Law' (n 5) 123–124.

¹⁴¹¹ ibid 124.

¹⁴¹² Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4).

¹⁴¹³ Ian Kerr, 'Prediction, Pre-Emption, Presumption: The Path of Law after the Computational Turn' in Mireille Hildebrandt and Katja de Vries (eds), *Privacy, Due Process and the Computational Turn* (Routledge 2013) 91, 109.

¹⁴¹⁴ Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4).

¹⁴¹⁵ ibid 129-131.

¹⁴¹⁶ ibid 138.

¹⁴¹⁷ ibid 139.

¹⁴¹⁸ ibid.

on analyzing and designing the system – whether code can function as law and the 'figure' as law-makers and what that means to the rule of law, specifically legitimacy, and democracy.¹⁴¹⁹ He applies Fuller's principles with the intention of raising questions for the assessment of code.¹⁴²⁰

The first question is whether legal rules can be distinguished from code. Hart and others have situated great importance on the conceptual notion of rules. Here, the technical commands in a code are not to be confused as rules; rather, appreciation of rules at the conceptual level is a must.¹⁴²¹ As technological standards are closely associated with legal rules, both substantive rules, as well as technological standards directly impact user behavior. "*As technological standards influence on behavior increases, they will increase in similarity to legal rules*".¹⁴²² Therefore, public government institutions and political institutions should confirm the legitimacy of choices offered by technological standards by ensuring the involvement of all parties through an appropriate control structure.

The rules at the macro level are inevitably dependent on "*technical commands within a certain computer language*"¹⁴²³, which is at the micro level. The rule of code at the micro level is a bone of contention, by definition, that cannot be easily set aside, and thus, it is certainly essential to emphasize, at least to some extent, on what the code says and does for all intents and purposes. The failure to engage and develop a connection with the normativities that code generates permits its illegitimacies to go unchecked at the micro level, and at the macro level, the code does what it professes to do or implements the conventional rule that the 'figure' has embedded.

The second question is whether the rule of code is transparent. Is it possible for the citizens to recognize and fathom the code rules they are subjected to? Whether code can be trusted? Are the conventional rules being changed arbitrarily? In the case of computational mechanism, can the users be sure of what the function of the code is and is this the result that is expected from

¹⁴¹⁹ Asscher (n 1071).

¹⁴²⁰ ibid.

¹⁴²¹ Luís Duarte d'Almeida, James Edwards and Andrea Dolcetti (eds), *Reading HLA Hart's' The Concept of Law'* (Hart Publishing 2013).

¹⁴²² Asscher (n 1071) 83.

¹⁴²³ Mireille Hildebrandt, 'Law as Computation in the Era of Artificial Legal Intelligence: Speaking Law to the Power of Statistics' (2018) 68 University of Toronto Law Journal 12.

it?¹⁴²⁴ While the principle of human autonomy is an important facet of democratic control, it is imperative to have knowledge of the law. Therefore, the law ought to be accessible and predictable. A reliable system of rules must be designed for consistency and a certain predictability. Such rules can act as laws only when they are not subject to irrational change at any time. This means that while analyzing the morality of code law, the unpredictability of software development and deployment provides an even greater challenge.¹⁴²⁵ Software is a constantly updated regulatory model; if simply keeping up is a non-trivial exercise, making meaningful predictions presents an even greater challenge.¹⁴²⁶

Thirdly, whether the code is consistent not only in the temporal sense, that is, in the sense of congruence with other code rules, but also with the orthodox legal rules. This question articulates the trust that users can have in the code.

Fourthly, whether the etymology of the code rules are clear, such that the user can identify the one who is responsible for the production of a certain code or part thereof – is there a distinct sovereign who can be held accountable for the software's influence?¹⁴²⁷ Lessig speaks of the governors of code: "*the authors of code – code writers- are a kind of governor…we should be asking, who are these lawmakers, and how do they make law*".¹⁴²⁸ Therefore, it must identify the person responsible for writing the code and implementing the same so as to designate the code as a legitimate system of regulation. Further, it is also imperative to ask who is responsible for a certain code rule and who has the power to modify or delete a certain code rule.

Lastly, whether the rule of code enjoys 'autonomy' and if it is appreciated through the defence of the option of whether or not to obey.¹⁴²⁹ The choice of whether or not to obey is, in fact, an inducement to make a law that is just and rational. If a sovereign State regulates the code, then it is imperative to determine whether the user has any choice as to what components of the code he has to 'obey' and what need not be. For instance, is it still feasible to use some sort of screen

¹⁴²⁴ Asscher (n 1071) 84.

 ¹⁴²⁵ James A Highsmith, *Agile Software Development Ecosystems* (Addison-Wesley Professional 2002).
 ¹⁴²⁶ ibid.

¹⁴²⁷ Asscher (n 1071) 84.

¹⁴²⁸ Lessig, Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace (n 201) 6.

¹⁴²⁹ Asscher (n 1071) 84–85.

or filter and make one's own decisions with regard to the observable information, or is there only a single set of code rules over which the user has no choice and must entirely accept?¹⁴³⁰

According to Asscher, the first question is relatively easier to answer, and if that question is answered in a negative, then the remaining four questions can be left unanswered or unassessed; however, this is more complex than it might seem. Questions two and three are interconnected; the reliability and accessibility of a system point to some of the basic requirements that are part of even the more basic rule systems. A failure to answer these questions shall point to a lack of legitimacy. The fourth question relates to the practical aspect. With respect to the fifth question, Asscher draws a bridge between the user's right to withhold their freedom of choice 'explicitly' and the issue of competition.¹⁴³¹ This is in contrast to Brownsword's postulation that choice is the foundation for moral reasoning and community¹⁴³²; restoration and maintenance of the balance between the code and law is the key. This question is related to one of the elements of the conventional process of legislation and application of law, that is, the practice of balancing competing interests through democratic checks and balances. For Asscher, the Fullerian analysis of code is felicitous to evaluate whether the balance of power has moved away from institutional law towards the "*world of code*" and, whether intervention of the State is required to alter and restore the balance.¹⁴³³

Thus, when legal rules are enforced by code, the code must be (1) transparent, at least comprehensible to those regulated by it or are subjected to, (2) trustworthy and reliable so that it performs as per expectations, and is not changed arbitrarily, (3) identifiable in relation to its producers, and (4) in a position to offer the users the choice of whether or not to obey its rules. These standards will be helpful in mapping out the framework for the rule of law affordances.

In the next chapter, I utilize the rule of law by design approach, to examine what decisions must be made by the State and international organizations at the macro-level regarding the deployment of blockchain and how the purposes and intention behind the employment of the technology can be infused with the spirit of fostering the rule of law.

¹⁴³⁰ ibid.

¹⁴³¹ ibid 85.

¹⁴³² Brownsword, 'In the Year 2061: From Law to Technological Management' (n 3).

¹⁴³³ Asscher (n 1071) 85-86.

9. Blockchain choices and State decisions

This chapter intends to formulate a choice mechanism for blockchain employed for public services and humanitarian purposes to understand the decisions made by the State and international organizations at the macro-level regarding the deployment of the technology such that the purpose and intention behind the employment of blockchain is infused with the spirit of fostering the rule of law for fulfilling public services requirements as well as serving humanitarian causes. It answers the question: *What choice(s) does the State need to make when implementing blockchain from the rule of law perspective in a legitimate manner?* This analysis will facilitate in understanding what the State may intend for a particular blockchain application to afford for a particular usage which must result in an *ex-post* legitimacy such that the technological affordances follow the rule of law.

9.1. Blockchain as the technological choice

The macro-level decision-making mechanism by the State is devised to further its key interests and as such, these decision choices have an overarching influence over the general governance architecture of the State.¹⁴³⁴ Studies of this institutional apparatus insinuate that the State is the 'basic building block' of the political order in the modern world¹⁴³⁵, and the leaders who influence and exercise the power of State authority¹⁴³⁶ are at the 'apex' of this pyramid. These leaders are concerned with a bounded set of goals¹⁴³⁷ that result in an advancement of the material notions of the rule of law such as human rights. The comparative importance of these goals is adjudged on the basis of leaders' perception of the situations at that time when they were considered. The relative priorities assigned to these judgments are also contingent on many 'environmental factors' such as geography, climate, demography, geopolitics, economy,

¹⁴³⁴ Alasdair Roberts, 'Bridging Levels of Public Administration: How Macro Shapes Meso and Micro' (2020) 52 Administration & Society 631.

¹⁴³⁵ Alex Jeffrey and Joe Painter, Political Geography: An Introduction to Space and Power (Sage 2008) 20.

¹⁴³⁶ Peter Allen, The Political Class: Why It Matters Who Our Politicians Are (Oxford University Press 2018) Chapter 1.

¹⁴³⁷ Charles E Merriam, 'The Ends of Government' (1944) 38 American Political Science Review 21.

and the state of technology prevalent at that time.¹⁴³⁸ Therefore, it is important to analyze the choices made at the apex level and how these choices reflect the rule of law values. Were there any trade-offs of values? Which values were prioritized, and why? This is necessary because macro-level strategic decisions also shape the micro-level choices and affordances as well as the relationship between the government officials, developers, and the user, that is the relation between the individuals within the system and those outside of it.¹⁴³⁹ Therefore, in order to understand the 'design' choices and affordances at the micro level, that is, the programming stage, I will first decipher the 'why,' 'what,' and 'which' of the choices that are decided for and 'designed-in' at the macro-level.

Since blockchain offers a high degree of confidence, transparency, and accountability, blockchain consortiums are being adopted for public services and humanitarian purposes, which can reduce, or even eliminate, the need for centralized oversight by agencies.¹⁴⁴⁰ The use of blockchain technology facilitates the fostering of new relationships between multiple actors, which are traditionally addressed through government regulation and other traditional means.

The very first choice to make is whether blockchain technology is the appropriate instrument to be deployed for the purposes of public administration services and humanitarian actions by the State and international organizations, where a system must satisfy the rule of law values to a certain extent, to obliterate any arbitrary exercise of power and corruption within the traditional institution. The blockchain architecture should protect the system from manipulation to ensure predictability and consistency, allow publicity for transparency and accountability, and have provisions to rectify for due process. As public and private blockchains satisfy different elements of the rule of law¹⁴⁴¹, the State and international organizations can opt for either private or public blockchain depending on their priorities – access to justice or anti-

¹⁴³⁸ John Merriman Gaus, *Reflections on Public Administration* (University of Alabama Press 2006).

¹⁴³⁹ Asmuth Leth Olsen and others, 'Behavioral Public Administration: Connecting Psychology with European Public Administration Research' in Edoardo Ongaro and others (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of Public Administration and Management in Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan 2017) 1121.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Primavera De Filippi, 'Blockchain Technology as an Instrument for Global Governance' (2021) SciencesPo Chair Digital, Governance and Sovereignty 1.

¹⁴⁴¹ See section 9.1.2 for further explanation.

corruption.¹⁴⁴² However, the act of fulfilling the different rule of law values as prioritized may limit the use of the blockchain.

I assert that blockchain-based technological artifacts can reach its full potential in different fields of development if an appropriate framework is in place. This means that blockchain applications must resonate with the rule of law values for better governance and systematized employment, especially in case of a two-pronged situation, for example, where it concerns the issue of non-discrimination as well as the productivity and efficiency-based use of technology. Nevertheless, the core principles of humanity, freedom, impartiality, and neutrality are important considerations in any technological solution.¹⁴⁴³ Consequently, a blockchain application in a particular public administration and humanitarian operation can be considered a suitable artifact for usage if it passes all the following tests:

- 1. Do the gains offset the costs of deploying this new technology?
- 2. Do the system requirements need an immutable digital ledger?
- 3. Is it essential to have a technology that supports decentralization through distribution and built-in trust through transparency?
- 4. Does the purpose, intention, and *ex-post* value of the proposed technology comply with the rule of law values?

Blockchain is not the right technological solution if all the answers to the above question are not affirmative, suggesting that other technological choices should be explored for a feasible solution. In addition to the above-mentioned questions, there also lies a fundamental question: *"Whether the technology threatens to change the cultural environment in a way that no aspirant moral community can live with"*.¹⁴⁴⁴ When such a threat arises due to the technology, the State and international organization proposing to utilize the technology should desist from deploying the technology further. This is because *"when States trade technologically guaranteed compliance for legitimacy,"* they strike a deal with the intention to *"dispense with a public*"

¹⁴⁴² Hughes (n 296); Parenti, Noori and Janssen (n 233); Jorge Pomareda, 'How Blockchain Technology Enables Citizen Participation and Anti-Corruption in Government Services' (2022) 14 Amsterdam Law Forum 52.

¹⁴⁴³ Junaid Qadir and others, 'Crisis Analytics: Big Data-Driven Crisis Response' (2016) 1 Journal of International Humanitarian Action 1.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Roger Brownsword and Karen Yeung (eds), *Regulating Technologies: Legal Futures, Regulatory Frames and Technological Fixes* (Hart Publishing 2008) 48.

distinction between right and wrong".¹⁴⁴⁵ However, if blockchain-based solutions reduce or eliminate the harmful consequences (maybe unintentional) of socially valued activity, then such solutions may be embraced, provided they consume a reasonable amount of resources. Of course, a higher degree of scrutiny and caution would be required if the design is embedded or targeted at living organisms.¹⁴⁴⁶

Therefore, compliance of the technology with the rule of law values is the key, where issues pertaining to infringement of the "*cultural environment of the aspirant moral community*".¹⁴⁴⁷ which is essentially based on the rule of law principles, would require to be addressed upholding the harm principle¹⁴⁴⁸ before deploying the same where the stakes are high. This means that the 'figure' must ensure that no harm is done to the generic conditions of human dignity and the fundamental rights of the user. It follows that the 'figure' should always take into consideration the "*critical infrastructural*"¹⁴⁴⁹ values of the rule of law, which reflects "*the antecedents and essential nature*"¹⁴⁵⁰ of human dignity and human existence and thus puts the protection and upholding of the rule of law values at a higher pedestal. At the same time, it is to be appreciated that immutability, transparency, or decentralization attributes of the technology, which are considered intrinsic, are not always essential for all applications since they depend on the purpose based on which the technology is being employed. Therefore, design choices to realize the objective of the application can be built around the design of blockchain-enabled systems.

¹⁴⁴⁵ ibid.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207) 104.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Brownsword, 'Lost in Translation: Legality, Regulatory Margins, and Technological Management' (n 554).

¹⁴⁴⁸ According to the harm principle, people should be allowed to do what they choose as long the action does not negatively impact another individual. Jonathan Baron, 'Blind Justice: Fairness to Groups and the Do-no-harm Principle' (1995) 8 Journal of Behavioral Decision Making 71; Arthur Ripstein, 'Beyond the Harm Principle' (2006) 34 Philosophy and Public Affairs 215.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Roger Brownsword, 'Artificial Intelligence and Legal Singularity: The Thin End of the Wedge, the Thick End of the Wedge, and the Rule of Law' in Simon Deakin and Christopher Markou (eds), *Is Law Computable: Critical Perspectives on Law and Artificial Intelligence* (Hart Publishing 2020) 135; Roger Brownsword and Han Somsen, 'Law, Innovation and Technology: Fast Forward to 2021' (2021) 13 Law, Innovation and Technology 1.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Brownsword, 'Artificial Intelligence and Legal Singularity: The Thin End of the Wedge, the Thick End of the Wedge, and the Rule of Law' (n 1449).

9.1.1.Intentionality of design

As has been discussed before, blockchain works according to its own rules and principles¹⁴⁵¹, which are, though not law in the strictest sense, but display law-like characteristics.¹⁴⁵² Similar to traditional laws, the *lex cryptographica* of blockchain can also regulate individual's behavior by coding various smart contracts into it.¹⁴⁵³ Since individuals' direct role in international law is limited, and the States are the primary actors in international affairs, the use of blockchains serves a dual purpose – it enables the States to expand their role in global policy-making bodies and also supports the international organizations to withdraw from their traditional role as implementing agency of the transnational State policies.¹⁴⁵⁴ While the States can use blockchain to improve the efficiency and efficacy of public administration with better legal compliance at reduced costs, international organizations can use it as an effective instrument to realize their development goals. In fact, the utility of blockchain extends beyond these transactional goals strengthening the rule of law to eradicate corruption in public services.¹⁴⁵⁵

Though blockchain technology majorly advances the causes of democratic institutions, it is distinctly user agnostic, which means as a 'living'¹⁴⁵⁶ tool, it can be used for both good and bad causes, depending on the purpose for which it was designed, which is interdependent on the intention of the 'figure'. Essentially, according to the intention of the 'figure', an artifact can either be designed as a norm-setting or norm-enforcing technology,¹⁴⁵⁷ regulative or constitutive technology,¹⁴⁵⁸ panopticon technology for monitoring and detecting non-compliance or exclusionary technology to eliminate the option of non-compliance.¹⁴⁵⁹

¹⁴⁵¹ See page 29.

¹⁴⁵² See page 168.

¹⁴⁵³ De Filippi and Hassan (n 108); Wright and De Filippi (n 1); Yeung, 'Regulation by Blockchain: The Emerging Battle for Supremacy between the Code of Law and Code as Law' (n 199).

¹⁴⁵⁴ Paul Beckett, *Ownership, Financial Accountability and the Law: Transparency Strategies and Counter-Initiatives* (Routledge 2019); Seunghwan Myeong and Yuseok Jung, 'Administrative Reforms in the Fourth Industrial Revolution: The Case of Blockchain Use' (2019) 11 Sustainability 3971; Wilhelm, 'Rule of Law 4.0: Blockchain Technology and the Development of Legal Institutions in Africa' (n 290).

¹⁴⁵⁵ World Economic Forum, 'Will Blockchain Curb Corruption?' (World Economic Forum, 12 March 2018) https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/03/will-blockchain-curb-corruption/> accessed 3 May 2024.

¹⁴⁵⁶ De Filippi, 'Plantoid – The Birth of a Blockchain-Based Lifeform' (n 139) 51–62.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Koops, 'Criteria for Normative Technology' (n 1160).

¹⁴⁵⁸ Hildebrandt, 'A Vision of Ambient Law' (n 132).

¹⁴⁵⁹ Chapter 9 and 10, Brownsword, Rights, Regulation, and the Technological Revolution (n 1217).

Moreover, the 'figure' must always take into consideration that though the technology can be intentionally designed to be used as a regulatory instrument, but more often than not, the artifact may afford an 'unintentional' use of the technology.

Therefore, the blockchain needs to be designed with affordances that relate to the "*discernment* of what the software can do for bolstering the rule of law,".¹⁴⁶⁰ It is important to recognize, as Yeung highlights, that there exists a diverse set of design-focused strategies where each strategy has its own unique effect on the 'moral choice', and it is also crucial to consider the "*nuanced nature of regulating by design*".¹⁴⁶¹ Depending on the design of blockchain and the way it is implemented, individuals and institutions can achieve a multitude of outcomes.

In the case of the design of conventional digital technology applications, the code can be assessed and modified to rectify the design flaws even after launching the technological artifact. Once the flaw is identified and a solution is feasible, a new version of the application or the product can be released by incorporating the changes in the code. However, in the case of blockchain, modification of code is complex since the infrastructure is immutable in nature that relies on the consensus among its network nodes, and any changes in the code require approval from the majority of the nodes in the network, resulting in invalidating the block created based on the old code. Even so, all transactions and information already processed in a blockchain application are immutably stored in a distributed ledger. This necessitates the *exante* design considerations to identify the attributes that would require to be prioritized over others during the design process.

In fact, prior to choosing blockchain technology for any application, it is essential to clearly identify the problems and the expected outcomes. Therefore, the State should be *au fait* with the intention and design of the technology since the artifact can be designed to demonstrate trustworthiness that supports transparency and accountability, but may not actually effectuate trust as observed by Onora.¹⁴⁶² Ironically, technology crafted for trustworthiness, such as for public participation, could paradoxically exacerbate the erosion of trust.¹⁴⁶³ In the case of blockchain, the rules governing human interactions with the technology are determined from

¹⁴⁶⁰ Kewell, Adams and Parry (n 882); Andrej Zwitter and Mathilde Boisse-Despiaux, 'Blockchain for Humanitarian Action and Development Aid' (2018) 3 Journal of International Humanitarian Action 1.

¹⁴⁶¹ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207).

¹⁴⁶² Onora O'neill, Autonomy and Trust in Bioethics (Cambridge University Press 2002) Chapter 6.

¹⁴⁶³ Cass R Sunstein, 'Paradoxes of the Regulatory State' (1990) 57 University of Chicago Law Review 407.

the earliest stages of design because once blockchain technology is implemented, any further change or modification cannot be achieved easily – "Once standards have been established, there is no opportunity for adjustment within the system itself if the standards turn out to be misaligned with their intended policy goal".¹⁴⁶⁴

For this purpose, it is essential to employ the rule of law by design approach to craft the artifact in congruence with the legal values to bring it closer to the 'inner morality of code'. This brings the focus on 'the law-by-design obligation', which is composed of three ingredients – "*the first is an evaluation of the consequences of the planned technology in its socio-technical environment, the second is an assessment of potential modifications for mitigation of negative consequences and the third refers to the proportionality test which is used to appraise to what extent and how the original design is to be altered*".¹⁴⁶⁵ The first step in the design process is to establish the intentionality of design through a conventional design process, that is, assessing "*the subject, aims, and purposes of the technology*".¹⁴⁶⁶ It includes *inter alia* defining the problem or the 'illegitimacy' to be tackled, specifying the outcome being expected, assessing the associated ecosystem, formulating the design philosophy, and finally, determining the appropriateness of choosing blockchain as the technology solution. The contextual elements of the aforementioned steps in a conventional design approach include the blockchain community, the users of the blockchain application, the existing infrastructure, and prevalent and possible technologies that may affect the outcome.

Once the intentionality of the design is established, in the second phase, the foundational issues pertaining to legal protection and the rule of law are considered to understand their effects on the outcome. Since "the exact description of potential negative impacts"¹⁴⁶⁷ maps out the "discrepancies between design goals and projects impact of the technology"¹⁴⁶⁸, it induces "a search for mitigation strategies, leading to a revised design proposal that must undergo scrutiny for potential societal impacts".¹⁴⁶⁹ In the same line of thought, the House of Lords Select Committee on Artificial Intelligence suggested that the development of the code for the

1469 ibid.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207) 93–94.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Djeffal, 'Law by Design Obligations: The Future of Regulating Digital Technologies in Europe?' (n 1295) 16–20.

¹⁴⁶⁶ ibid 16.

¹⁴⁶⁷ ibid 17.

¹⁴⁶⁸ ibid.

use of AI should satisfy the proposed five overarching principles - one, it should be "for the common good and benefit of humanity", two, it should be based on "principles of intelligibility and fairness", three, it should protect "rights or privacy of individuals, families or communities", four, all citizens have the right to know and enjoy the benefits of AI, and the fifth, AI should not have the power "to hurt, destroy or deceive, human beings".¹⁴⁷⁰ While these principles may not be expressly constitutive in nature, they certainly reveal the type of relationship that can exist between smart machines and humans.¹⁴⁷¹ Such principles, though envisaged in the context of artificial intelligence, can also be applied to the blockchain, such that the technology is coherent with the principles relating to the rule of law. Through iterative assessments, every design decision is evaluated with respect to its effect on the outcome or how it will be affected by other elements of the ecosystem, such as community, infrastructure, technology, and users. Further, design choices, such as the type of blockchain platform and consensus protocol, have a significant bearing on the users and stakeholders as well as the desired outcome. Thus, all significant design decisions can be mapped with the key components of the ecosystem. This helps us to relate the design decisions with the user's perspectives, the community dynamics, the role of existing infrastructure and processes, and technological choices. The ambition of this approach is to introduce a new socio-technical setting through "not the technology... but the technology in its environment".¹⁴⁷²

There are three ranges of regulatory responsibility, which, when applied in the context of blockchain, necessitates the regulators, that is, the State and the 'figure', to consider design choices as to how they should approach the technology to ensure it aligns with the responsibilities. These regulatory responsibilities are one, to maintain the essential preconditions necessary for human coexistence within any type of social structure, two, to respect and uphold the fundamental values integral to that community, and three, to seek out an equitable equilibrium among competing legitimate interests. Brownsword emphasized that the first responsibilities were deemed to be "contingent, depending on the fundamental values and the

¹⁴⁷⁰ 'AI in the UK: Ready, Willing and Able?' (House of Lords Select Committee on Artificial Intelligence, 2018) 100, paragraph 417.

¹⁴⁷¹ Brownsword, Law, Technology and Society: Reimagining the Regulatory Environment (n 1229).

¹⁴⁷² Djeffal, 'Law by Design Obligations: The Future of Regulating Digital Technologies in Europe?' (n 1295) 17.

¹⁴⁷³ Chapter 17, Brownsword, Law 3.0: Rules, Regulation, and Technology (n 1328).

interest recognized in each particular community".¹⁴⁷⁴ He noted down that "*the paramount responsibility for regulators is to protect and preserve: first, the essential conditions for human existence; second, the generate condition for human agency and self-development; and third, the essential conditions for the development and practice of moral agency*".¹⁴⁷⁵

Since blockchain has the potential to impact the foundational conditions for human existence by offering secure and transparent systems for transactions and data management, the 'figure' must ensure that blockchain applications do not compromise these foundational conditions. For example, ensuring data privacy and security protocols are robust to protect individuals and prevent harm. That is, as Koops has so clearly elucidated- "privacy has an infrastructural character" where privacy spaces are an essential requirement to have autonomy, and in their absence, "there is no opportunity to be oneself".¹⁴⁷⁶ Blockchain can empower individuals by giving them greater control over their data and transactions, which demands the 'figure' to foster an environment where blockchain applications facilitate meaningful self-development and an agency reflecting the right and freedom of autonomy – "to choose one's own ends, goals, purposes, and so on; and to form a sense of one's own identity",¹⁴⁷⁷, while safeguarding against exploitation or manipulation. Given that different communities may have distinct values and 'self-interest' when it comes to blockchain, the 'figure' and State should respect these values while overseeing the blockchain implementations. For instance, in a community that prioritizes decentralization and transparency, the 'figure' might focus on ensuring that the blockchain systems remain decentralized and transparent in their operations, "and conversely to reject this development" would be judged as being contrary to the self-interest of the community.¹⁴⁷⁸ This requires the State and the 'figure' to prioritize measures that protect the integrity of blockchain networks, ensuring they remain reliable and secure, which might involve enforcing standards for data encryption, authentication, and resilience against cyber threats.

The next phase requires the proportionality test for the purposes of "*judiciously balancing and weighing*"¹⁴⁷⁹ the benefits and negative impacts of the choices.¹⁴⁸⁰ Thus, it is necessary for the

¹⁴⁷⁴ Chapter 17, ibid.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Brownsword, Law, Technology and Society: Reimagining the Regulatory Environment (n 1229).

¹⁴⁷⁶ Koops, 'Criteria for Normative Technology' (n 1160).

¹⁴⁷⁷ Roger Brownsword, 'So What Does the World Need Now? Reflections on Regulating Technologies' (n 1348).

¹⁴⁷⁸ Koops, 'Criteria for Normative Technology' (n 1160).

¹⁴⁷⁹ Djeffal, 'Law by Design Obligations: The Future of Regulating Digital Technologies in Europe?' (n 1295) 19.¹⁴⁸⁰ ibid 17.

State along with the 'figure' to navigate the balance between promoting beneficial blockchain innovation and addressing potential risks or negative impacts; this balancing of interest standard was emphasized in the Google Spain case in order to draw a line to prevent over-regulation and under-regulation.¹⁴⁸¹ This phase signifies the transition of the appraisal of the technology from "*a simplistic binary framework to a more nuanced and iterative process*".¹⁴⁸² At this stage, regulatory frameworks encourage innovation while mitigating risks such as fraud or misuse of blockchain systems. This requires opting for the choice to design the technology for the ethical use of blockchain technology, ensuring it aligns with principles of fairness, accountability, and justice, which would involve establishing guidelines for transparent governance and ethical decision-making within blockchain networks.

9.1.2. Public blockchain or private blockchain?

At the macro level, decision-makers put emphasis on framing rules and norms that are drawn from historical, cultural, constitutional, and legal foundations of the rule of law, which would affect the organization, accountability, and control of a blockchain-based system. Keeping this in view, the State will have to make a decision on the choice of the blockchain type they want to deploy to realize their policy goals, functions and aspirations. A well-articulated comprehension of the blockchain infrastructures and their associated relationship with law facilitates the development of a legal-political economic framework of blockchain that can shape the interaction between the *lex cryptographica* and those of the physical world.¹⁴⁸³

As has been mentioned before, blockchain-based systems can be categorized as 'public' or 'private' depending on whom the ownership of data infrastructure rests.¹⁴⁸⁴ These systems can also be grouped as 'permissionless' or 'permissioned' based on the restrictions enforced on network participants in terms of read, write, and commit functions. While in the former, the platform is accessible to all, where anyone can participate, in the case of 'permissioned' systems, only selected bodies are authorized to participate and validate in the platform. These

¹⁴⁸¹ Ioannis Iglezakis, 'The Right to Be Forgotten in the Google Spain Case (Case C-131/12): A Clear Victory for Data Protection or an Obstacle for the Internet?' (2014) SSRN Electronic Journal (SSRN 2472323); Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207).

¹⁴⁸² Djeffal, 'Law by Design Obligations: The Future of Regulating Digital Technologies in Europe?' (n 1295) 17.

¹⁴⁸³ See Chapter 2, section 2.4 and Chapter 4.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Garrick Hileman and Michel Rauchs, 'Global Blockchain Benchmarking Study' (2017). Cambridge Centre for Alternative Finance, University of Cambridge.

systems demonstrate varying degrees of decentralization, transparency, accountability, trust, security, privacy, scalability, speed, and confidentiality, according to the type of blockchain. In the case of public and permissionless blockchains, dimensions concerning transparency, accountability, trust, and security for data infrastructure get a boost, while scalability, speed, and performance are likely to be deficient. In contrast, private and permissioned blockchains permit control over data privacy and the governance of the system to a certain extent.

Particularly, the choice of a blockchain system in a public administration may necessitate the trade-off of privacy for public security issues pertaining to policy priorities with the impact of the decision-making among the network actors and organization of governance at different levels. As these trade-off conditions are context-dependent, the criticality of these dimensions varies among different public sectors. For public sector organizations dealing with security and intelligence services of the State, the privacy and security of individuals and data infrastructure are the most important and sensitive factors. However, in public service delivery and distribution systems, the transparency and immutability of public blockchains are crucial. Therefore, a hard choice needs to be made by the regulators on the type of blockchain to be employed for the policy goals they are pursuing.

9.2. Infusing the rule of law values

While designing a response to the 'illegitimacy' or negative impact posed by the technology, the 'figure' including the State, needs to be sensitive towards the rule of law values such as transparency and accountability and should undertake any revision of design configuration only when "*specifically mandated to do so*".¹⁴⁸⁵ Such perceptiveness is required¹⁴⁸⁶ because, first, "*the State-sponsored code-based regulation may undermine constitutional values of transparency and accountability*"¹⁴⁸⁷ and second, "*the capacity of the private sector to employ code for private gain, may override the legislatively authorized balance between competing values*".¹⁴⁸⁸ Therefore, it is necessary to identify and design the conditions required to ensure the rule of law values in the architecture of blockchain and smart contracts.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Brownsword and Yeung (n 1444).

¹⁴⁸⁶ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207) 95–96.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Lessig, Code Version 2.0 (n 256); Lessig, Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace (n 201).

¹⁴⁸⁸ ibid

For the purpose of designing and configuring a technology in accordance with the rule of law, Trebilcock and Iacobucci outlined ten design 'sine qua non', although in the context of regulatory design in competition law, that can also be employed for general applications. These principles can be grouped into five pairs in relation to trade-offs between them: "independence and accountability, expertise and detachment, transparency and confidentiality, efficiency and due process, and predictability and flexibility". ¹⁴⁸⁹ These 'sine qua non' address both the constitution and operation of technology, highlighting the tensions inherent in their design. For instance, the principle of transparency necessitates a careful balancing act with confidentiality, accountability must be weighed against independence, and the need for consistency or predictability has to be balanced with the demand for flexibility. However, these interrelationships get more complicated since many of the values "interact with each other in polycentric,"¹⁴⁹⁰ often mutually reinforcing or conflicting with each other. For example, while accountability may impede administrative efficiency by necessitating contestability provisions, expertise can enhance efficiency. Similarly, confidentiality and flexibility may undermine due process, which in turn might clash with expertise.¹⁴⁹¹ Though Trebilcock and Iacobucci's desiderata do not directly address the substance of the 'regulatory' standards, the legitimacy of the substance is integral to the design of the technology, particularly in the tension between efficiency and due process, which reflects a broader conflict amongst utilitarian ethics favoring efficiency and rights-based ethics advocating due process, as advanced by Brownsword.¹⁴⁹² Therefore, the substance of the rule of law design standards should be assessed concerning its legitimacy prior to implementing within the technology.

Essentially, the technology may not reflect the common values or norms of the society to a certain extent but rather reflect the preferences or interests of the 'figure', who may have different or conflicting agendas or motivations or moral dilemmas. Within the design of the technology, the 'figure' encounters various moral dilemmas. One of the dilemmas involves uncertainty about the right course of action, such as deciding "*whether the right thing is to tell the truth or to tell a white lie*"¹⁴⁹³, for instance, between maintaining confidentiality and making

¹⁴⁸⁹ Michael J Trebilcock and Edward M Iacobucci, 'Designing Competition Law Institutions: Values, Structure, and Mandate'(2009) 41 Loyola University Chicago Law Journal 455.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207).

¹⁴⁹¹ Trebilcock and Iacobucci (n 1489) 9.

¹⁴⁹² Brownsword and Yeung (n 1444) 37–38.

¹⁴⁹³ Brownsword and Yeung (n 1444).

the risks transparent to the users. Another dilemma pertinent to discussions on the impact of design-based techno-regulation arises when the 'figure' acknowledges the morally correct action (e.g., keeping the promise to uphold the rule of law and protect the fundamental rights of the individuals) but is tempted by self-interest to act contrary to it (e.g., breaking the promise for financial gain). This scenario reflects a conflict between the autonomous moral will and the heteronomous will, driven by personal inclinations and desires. Practically speaking, this conflict involves four main elements: "(*a*) awareness of the morally required action, (*b*) inclination or desire to act contrary to it, (*c*) a genuine practical choice between the two actions, and (*d*) circumstances facilitating the contrary action." ¹⁴⁹⁴ In order to design around or design out the negativity or illegitimacies posed by the technology, the State, along with the 'figure', is required to address any of these elements. Therefore, it is necessary that this technology should be subject to democratic oversight and participation while being in harmony with the fundamental rights and principles of the legal system, which are at the core of the rule of law.

Drawing from Koops's approach towards acceptability of 'code as law' considering democratic and constitutional values, code as law should respect the principles of legitimacy, transparency, accountability, accessibility, contestability, and adaptability - which imitate the rule of law principles. Blockchain can also be considered as a form of techno-regulation and technological management as it uses code to regulate the interactions on and off the system and also creates a new mode of governance. If a technological artifact is developed as a form of 'technoregulation' and not merely to assist traditional social constructions, then there is a choice to be made: "to settle for less effective regulation, possibly permitting a degree of non-compliance that impinges on the rights and legitimate choices of 'victims' or, for the sake of effectiveness, to adopt techno-regulation, seemingly abandoning the importance that we attach to the dignity of choice".¹⁴⁹⁵ This decision carries profound implications for how we perceive responsibility and rights within our society. By leveraging blockchain, there emerges a novel approach to regulation that transcends the dichotomy presented. Blockchain's inherent transparency and tamper-resistant attributes offer a middle ground, facilitating effective regulation while upholding individual rights to a certain extent. Through smart contracts where the rules can be encoded into the architecture, blockchain enables the creation of regulatory frameworks that

¹⁴⁹⁴ ibid.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Brownsword, 'So What Does the World Need Now? Reflections on Regulating Technologies' (n 1348).

are both robust and adaptable, fostering accountability without sacrificing autonomy. Thus, in the realm of techno-regulation, blockchain emerges as a synthesis of efficiency and ethical considerations, offering a path forward that reconciles the demands of regulation with the dignity of choice and responsibility. Therefore, blockchain requires critical evaluation and regulation based on the rule of law values that ensure compatibility and alignment of the system with the morals and interests of the society, either by "fixing the 'environment' or by fixing 'humans" and through designing "out the very possibility of non-compliance", especially "where technology is deployed in support of traditional measures of prevention and enforcement".¹⁴⁹⁶ In such a situation "respect for human rights and human dignity continues to be relevant to the lines that we draw around the acceptable use of the technology".¹⁴⁹⁷

In a public blockchain, the entire sequence of blocks is stored in perpetuity. Thus, records of all the transactions taking place in a blockchain are stored permanently, thus enhancing the transparency of the system. Since blockchain rigorously follows a consensus mechanism, the 'rouge' members in the network can neither alter historical records nor transact a business unless the requirements of the code under which the blockchain operates are fulfilled. Thus, a public blockchain has the potential for public verifiability of its records by design. It can be said that blockchain, when seen in the form of techno-regulation or technological management, can increase the transparency of transactions by making them visible and traceable on the network, but at the same time, it can also reduce the transparency of transactions by obscuring or concealing the underlying logic or purpose of the code. This may create issues of accountability, responsibility, and liability, especially when the code fails, malfunctions, or produces unintended or harmful consequences. For instance, who should be held accountable for the losses or damages caused by a faulty or fraudulent smart contract? Who should be responsible for fixing or updating the code when it becomes obsolete or incompatible? Who should be liable for the breaches or violations of the code or the law? Therefore, blockchain as an instrument should be subject to audit, review, and verification and should be compliant with the applicable rules and standards of the rule of law.

Blockchain can be designed to improve the accountability dimension within the applications by enabling dispute resolution and enforcement mechanisms. But it can also impair the

¹⁴⁹⁶ ibid.

¹⁴⁹⁷ MacLeod (n 1218).

accountability of transactions by restricting or eliminating the recourse to external or alternative remedies and circumstances. This may create issues of justice, fairness, and redress, especially for those who are harmed or dissatisfied by the outcomes of the transactions. For example, how can a user challenge or appeal a decision made by a smart contract? How can a user seek compensation or restitution for a wrong or injury caused by a blockchain transaction? How can a user enforce a right or obligation arising from a blockchain transaction? Therefore, blockchain technology should provide adequate and effective means of recourse and remedy and should respect the jurisdiction and authority of the legal system.

Likewise, blockchain can be designed to facilitate the contestability aspect by enabling feedback and evaluation mechanisms, but at the same time, it can also hinder the contestability of transactions by creating rigidity and path dependence. This may create issues of innovation, diversity, and evolution, especially for those who want to change or improve the technology or the transactions. For example, how can a user express or communicate their preferences or opinions about a blockchain service or platform? How can a user influence or participate in the development or governance of the technology or the transactions? How can a user adapt or modify the technology or the transactions to suit their needs or expectations? Therefore, blockchain technology should allow and encourage the participation and contribution of all parties in the design and operation of the technology and should enable the flexibility and diversity of the technology.

It has been pointed out by Ostrom¹⁴⁹⁸ that decentralizing and coordinating may be difficult to achieve without proper monitoring or enforcement. While monitoring is required to ensure that all actors remain accountable and act in accordance with the general system of rules¹⁴⁹⁹, enforcement is necessary to ensure that all actors who deviate from these rules will be sanctioned appropriately, including exclusion from the system.¹⁵⁰⁰ The problem with decentralized monitoring is that it could be construed as an invasion of privacy for the users. This issue can be addressed by adopting *ex-post verifiability* concept, using blockchain technology to record data in an encrypted and tamper-resistant manner so that its content and

¹⁴⁹⁸ Elinor Ostrom, 'Decentralization and Development: The New Panacea' in Keith Dowding, James Hughes and Helen Margetts (eds), *Challenges to Democracy: Ideas, Involvement and Institutions* (Palgrave Macmillan 2001) 237.

¹⁴⁹⁹ It is important to note here that in a centralized setting, this is generally referred to as surveillance.

¹⁵⁰⁰ This is usually referred to as policing. De Filippi, 'Blockchain Technology as an Instrument for Global Governance' (n 1440) 8.

integrity can be verified later by the relevant agencies.¹⁵⁰¹ Enforcement can also be achieved in a decentralized setting by means of *ex-ante automation*, using a system of smart contracts for the trusted execution of specific agreements.¹⁵⁰² Through *ex-post verifiability*, blockchain technology could increase the trust level of public and private institutions and, at the same time, reduce the need for global scrutiny and oversight.¹⁵⁰³ Through *ex-ante automation*, blockchain could also facilitate new forms of cooperation amongst different institutions by providing a trusted mechanism for coordination without depending on any centralized (trusted) agency.¹⁵⁰⁴ Therefore, with blockchain, the States and international organizations should be able to ensure that specific legal and societal requirements are fulfilled before providing a particular public service or disbursing humanitarian aid to refugees by deploying a proactive and agile process embedded with the rule of law values. Such a system will efficiently eliminate corruption and patronage, as there is no need to rely on an individual or institution to record or execute a transaction, thereby strengthening the predictability and consistency of the system.

9.2.1.Blockchain for public services

As already discussed, blockchain applications in government structures and processes can bring qualitative changes to public services and build 'trust' into the system, which has implications on the society-state relationship for social participation as well as formulation of public policies. Out of notable use cases, I have discussed a few to understand how and why States have made design choices and utilized the technology. This will help us appreciate the concept of the rule of law values by design in the technological artifact.

The Mexican Government, in response to the suggestions of the World Economic Forum (WEF), initiated the project "*Blockchain HACKMX*" to "*promote government digital innovation*" and "*improve the delivery of digital public services*".¹⁵⁰⁵ The objective was to combat "*the weak rule of law*" and "*corruption*" in Mexico to realize full economic

¹⁵⁰¹ David Rozas and others, 'When Ostrom Meets Blockchain: Exploring the Potentials of Blockchain for Commons Governance' (2021) 11 Sage Open 21582440211002526.

¹⁵⁰² Hassan and De Filippi (n 89).

¹⁵⁰³ Primavera De Filippi and others, *Scanning the European Ecosystem of Distributed Ledger Technologies for Social and Public Good: What, Why, Where, How, and Ways to Move Forward* (Publications Office of the European Union 2020). 3 ¹⁵⁰⁴ ibid; De Filippi, 'Blockchain Technology as an Instrument for Global Governance' (n 1440) 8.

¹⁵⁰⁵ World Economic Forum (n 1455).

potential.¹⁵⁰⁶ Blockchain HACKMX, built on the open-source Ethereum platform, is a decentralized (private) blockchain that can execute smart contracts. This tool is comprised of many smart contracts corresponding to different steps of public procurement. The system does not allow bypassing of any step in the validation process, and thus, by design, it fulfills the rule of law values of predictability, consistency, and accountability in governance. Given the distinct advantages and potential, it has been suggested Blockchain HACKMX be utilized to establish an ecosystem for the digital delivery of public services.¹⁵⁰⁷

Another relevant use case is the blockchain strategy adopted by the United Arab Emirates (UAE). As a part of Dubai Blockchain Strategy, UAE intends to provide all public services using blockchain technology.¹⁵⁰⁸ Dubai has implemented a centralized payment gateway with over 40 public and private entities for government payment collection.¹⁵⁰⁹ The system enables UAE citizens, residents, visitors, and businesses to pay online for smart services. Blockchain-based applications have also been implemented in other major sectors: commerce, real estate, transportation, security, health, education, and tourism.¹⁵¹⁰ The UAE Government envisages running social welfare programs, collecting taxes, providing passport and visa services, and managing land records on blockchain applications to ensure transparency, accountability, accuracy, and integrity in government functions¹⁵¹¹ by deploying private blockchain.

Likewise, the Government of Estonia has been a pioneer in implementing blockchain-based technologies in public administration.¹⁵¹² Its flagship project, E-Estonia, based on three

¹⁵⁰⁶ Fabian Zbinden and Galia Kondova, 'Economic Development in Mexico and the Role of Blockchain' (2019) 7 Advances in Economics and Business 55.

¹⁵⁰⁷ José Guadalupe Morales Montelongo, 'Tecnología Blockchain: Iniciativas Para La Agenda de Transformación Digital de Los Responsables de TIC En Las Instituciones de Educación Superior de México' (2018) <https://www.ties.unam.mx/num01/pdf/blockchain_TIES.pdf> accessed 15 October 2024.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Aisha Bin Bishr, 'Dubai: A City Powered by Blockchain' (2019) 12 Innovations: Technology, Governance, Globalization4.

¹⁵⁰⁹ ibid.

 ¹⁵¹⁰ Ahmed Alketbi, Qassim Nasir and Manar Abu Talib, 'Novel Blockchain Reference Model for Government Services:
 Dubai Government Case Study' (2020) 11 International Journal of System Assurance Engineering and Management 1170.
 ¹⁵¹¹ ibid

¹⁵¹² Alexopoulos and others (n 830).

technological pillars, namely "e-ID"¹⁵¹³, "X-Road"¹⁵¹⁴, and "KSI Blockchain"¹⁵¹⁵, envisages digitalizing the entire gamut of citizen-centric activities.¹⁵¹⁶ The third component of Estonian digital infrastructure, "KSI Blockchain," a public blockchain, is used to "guarantee the integrity and security of registries, identities, transactions and data privacy of its users".¹⁵¹⁷ This component is central to an array of services such as e-voting, e-Health Records, e-Prescription databases, e-Law and justice systems, e-Banking, and e-Business Register. Here, the blockchain affords authorized individuals access to data and, at the same time, secures the data of individuals, thus, by design, incorporating the rule of law values of transparency and accountability. By deploying blockchain in its digital architecture, Estonia ensures data integrity and authenticity and provides "the ability to 100% trust government data in any situation".¹⁵¹⁸ The systems are designed to harness blockchain's potential in relation to transparency and data ownership at the institutional level to foster a participatory approach toward governance. Similarly, registration of land titles can be executed on a distributed ledger to ensure that the transactions are immutable, transparent, and trustworthy.¹⁵¹⁹ Since this system can store all the details of land records, such as description, geo-coordinates, site photographs, and history of previous transactions, such a land registry would be more desirable for collaterals and credit. Moreover, in case of natural disasters, land records can be recovered easily if the data is stored in a distributed ledger rather than paper-based land records.¹⁵²⁰

¹⁵¹³ e-ID is a Digital identity service, which includes an electronic ID-card-based system used to access digital services.

¹⁵¹⁴ X-Road is an open-source data exchange layer solution that enables interoperability between institutional organizations. It serves to exchange information between public institutions in a secure way and allows data to be automatically exchanged not only internally but also between countries.

¹⁵¹⁵ Keyless Signature Infrastructure (KSI) is a timestamp system used for preserving the integrity of the digital documents within multiple public registries.

¹⁵¹⁶ Tarmo Kalvet, 'Innovation: A Factor Explaining e-Government Success in Estonia' (2012) 9 Electronic Government, an International Journal 142.

¹⁵¹⁷ Silvia Semenzin, David Rozas and Samer Hassan, 'Blockchain-Based Application at a Governmental Level: Disruption or Illusion? The Case of Estonia' (2022) 41 Policy and Society 386.

¹⁵¹⁸ Deepika Sachdev, Deepankar Chakrabarti and Ankur Mittal, 'Review of Ownership Based Blockchain Frameworks in Government Applications' (2019) 6 IITM Journal of Business Studies 22.

¹⁵¹⁹ Wilhelm, 'Rule of Law 4.0: Blockchain Technology and the Development of Legal Institutions in Africa' (n 290) 4.

¹⁵²⁰ Maurice Barbieri and Dominik Gassen, 'Blockchain-Can This New Technology Really Revolutionize the Land Registry System' (World Bank Conference on Land and Poverty, 2017); Raquel Benbunan-Fich and Arturo Castellanos, 'Digitization of Land Records: From Paper to Blockchain' (International Conference on Information Systems 2018) 15; Ralph Merkle, 'DAOs, Democracy and Governance' (2016) 37 Cryonics Magazine 28.

Few other countries and organizations are also using blockchains for e-voting since coercion resistance is achieved by blockchain through its transparency and accountability by design.¹⁵²¹ The province of Gyeonggi-do of South Korea used a blockchain-powered platform with reasonable success to vote on community projects. At the national level, Sierra Leone has conducted general elections by using blockchain to store votes in an immutable ledger anonymously. The electoral process, particularly with respect to control of security and agility in the process, could be better managed with this technology.¹⁵²² The proposed model for evoting purpose is mostly private blockchain, which allows individuals due process rights, while limiting transparency and accountability of the system by design.¹⁵²³ In such a system, each vote-token transaction can be easily tracked down and accounted for.¹⁵²⁴ On the flip side, it may pose a possible conflict between the necessity to identify and authenticate voters and the requirement to guarantee the secrecy of the ballot as a democratic principle.¹⁵²⁵ Hjálmarsson¹⁵²⁶ proposed a solution for this by advancing the use of permissioned blockchain¹⁵²⁷ as e-voting systems strive to achieve privacy and security goals. Each voter is assigned an identity wallet to participate in the electoral process. The voter can vote after the election administrator creates a smart ballot contract for each corresponding district node. Then the data of the voter is verified at the district node and added to the blockchain. Only voting data (not the voters) is stored in the blockchain to comply with privacy requirements. Such anonymized voting data stored are also available for review in the public domain.

These use cases draw a picture of different blockchain models employed that promote different values, such as privacy, security, and transparency.

9.2.2.Blockchain for humanitarian purposes

Though blockchain technology is being employed by States to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of public administration, it is also one of the most important instruments that

¹⁵²¹ Atzori (n 14); Quintais and others (n 156).

¹⁵²² Nir Kshetri and Jeffrey Voas, 'Blockchain-Enabled e-Voting' (2018) 35 IEEE Software 95.

¹⁵²³ Francesco Fusco and others, 'Crypto-Voting, a Blockchain Based e-Voting System.' (10th International Joint Conference on Knowledge Discovery, Knowledge Engineering and Knowledge Management (IC3K 2018), 2018) 223.

 ¹⁵²⁴ Stanisław Barański and others, 'Practical I-Voting on Stellar Blockchain' (2020) 10 Applied Sciences 7606.
 ¹⁵²⁵ ibid.

¹⁵²⁶ Friðrik Þ Hjálmarsson and others, 'Blockchain-Based e-Voting System' (IEEE 11th International Conference on Cloud Computing (CLOUD), 2018) 983.

¹⁵²⁷ What Hjálmarsson referred to as permissioned blockchain was actually a hybrid of public and private blockchain.

assist in launching advanced information and communicative applications in humanitarian operations, as has been identified in Chapter 2.¹⁵²⁸ However, most of these studies focus only on improving the efficiency, coordination, and transparency of humanitarian operations without considering its impact on the humanitarian principles of humanity, neutrality, impartiality, and independence, which are in congruence with the rule of law values.¹⁵²⁹ In line with the values of legality or the rule of law philosophy, the primary purpose of humanitarian operations is to assist, for instance, vulnerable people, reduce their suffering, preserve human dignity, and save lives.¹⁵³⁰ Though the composition of offline and online human endeavors is rapidly changing due to large-scale digitization¹⁵³¹, the core humanitarian principles must be preserved in any technological solution.¹⁵³² The pertinency of an information system for any humanitarian application is contingent upon its potential to integrate humanitarian values and ensure human dignity into the application¹⁵³³ since preserving human dignity must be integral to the design of technologies for humanitarian purposes.¹⁵³⁴

In humanitarian operations, the blockchain design choices are guided by the desired outcomes and a philosophical approach to the rule of law. For example, a blockchain-based aid distribution system would require the rule of law by design approach to ensure equal and equitable access to all the members of a community. The rule of law as the guiding design philosophy would prioritize the available design choices to minimize aid distribution disparities if there are substantial inequalities in power among the members of the community.

¹⁵²⁸ Hossein Baharmand and others, 'Developing a Framework for Designing Humanitarian Blockchain Projects' (2021) 131 Computers in Industry 103487 < https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0166361521000944> accessed 15 October 2024; Rebecca Walton, Robin E Mays and Mark Haselkorn, 'Enacting Humanitarian Culture: How Technical Communication Facilitates Successful Humanitarian Work' (2016) 63 Technical Communication 85.

¹⁵²⁹ Nathan Cooper, 'Learning Review: Blockchain Open Loop Cash Transfer Pilot Project' (2018) IFRC <https://preparecenter.org/resource/blockchain-open-loop-cash-transfer-pilot-project/> accessed 15 October 2024.; Joshua Hallwright and Elsa Carnaby, 'Complexities of Implementation: Oxfam Australia's Experience in Piloting Blockchain' (2019) 2 Frontiers in Blockchain 10.

¹⁵³⁰ Baharmand and others (n 1528).

¹⁵³¹ Andrej J Zwitter, Oskar J Gstrein and Evan Yap, 'Digital Identity and the Blockchain: Universal Identity Management and the Concept of the "Self-Sovereign" Individual' (2020) 3 Frontiers in Blockchain 26 doi: 10.3389/fbloc.2020.00026.
¹⁵³² Zwitter and Boisse-Despiaux (n 1460).

¹⁵³³ Gino S. Coletti P, Robin. E. Mays, and Adam Widera, 'Bringing Technology and Humanitarian Values Together: A Framework to Design and Assess Humanitarian Information Systems' (4th International Conférence on Information and Communication Technologies for Disaster Management (ICT-DM), 2017).

¹⁵³⁴ Reem Talhouk and others, 'A Call for Embedding Dignity in Humanitarian Technologies' (9th International Conference on Communities & Technologies - Transforming Communities (C&T '19), 2019).

Resolving these issues at the outset of the design process provides the required legal protection intentionality that assists in achieving design trade-offs. This process ensures that the choice of technology and other associated aspects are focused on realizing the expected outcome.

Since blockchain technology affords to increase transparency and traceability in the supply chain¹⁵³⁵, several blockchain-based applications are being used to improve real-time tracking and logistics¹⁵³⁶ and to ensure the traceability and provenance of specific goods or services.¹⁵³⁷ Such systems have been implemented for humanitarian purposes since they enable improving visibility and accountability¹⁵³⁸, enhancing trust, collaboration, and resilience¹⁵³⁹, leveraging partnerships with logistics service providers¹⁵⁴⁰, and facilitating resource sharing.¹⁵⁴¹ Since blockchain allows for real-time tracking capability with respect to food, medicine, and other basic goods that are in transit for any crisis zone, the technology could be used by humanitarian authorities to trace across the globe.¹⁵⁴² Though the correctness, legitimacy, or accuracy of the data stored in a blockchain cannot be guaranteed, the system discourages inaccurate or negligent information as it is always possible to trace back the source of such information due to *"the non-censorability and non-repudiability of the information recorded on a blockchain"*.¹⁵⁴³ Moreover, in case of a pandemic, blockchain-based systems can be designed not only to record and track the virus, but also to keep track of various tests and vaccines provided to people without impinging upon their privacy too much.¹⁵⁴⁴ Such monitoring is

¹⁵³⁵ Kristoffer Francisco and David Swanson, 'The Supply Chain Has No Clothes: Technology Adoption of Blockchain for Supply Chain Transparency' (2018) 2 Logistics 2.

¹⁵³⁶ De Filippi and others (n 1503).

¹⁵³⁷ Boulais (n 327); 'Blockchain: The Solution for Transparency in Product Supply Chains' (*Provenance*, 21 September 2015)
https://www.provenance.org/news-insights/blockchain-the-solution-for-transparency-in-product-supply-chains accessed
15 October 2024.

¹⁵³⁸ Ali Ihsan Ozdemir and others, 'The Role of Blockchain in Reducing the Impact of Barriers to Humanitarian Supply Chain Management' (2021) 32 The International Journal of Logistics Management 454.

¹⁵³⁹ Rameshwar Dubey and others, 'Blockchain Technology for Enhancing Swift-Trust, Collaboration and Resilience within a Humanitarian Supply Chain Setting' (2020) 58 International Journal of Production Research 3381.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Baharmand and others (n 1528).

¹⁵⁴¹ Cécile L'Hermitte and Nirmal-Kumar C Nair, 'A Blockchain-enabled Framework for Sharing Logistics Resources during Emergency Operations' (2021) 45 Disasters 527.

¹⁵⁴² De Filippi and others (n 1503).

¹⁵⁴³ De Filippi, 'Blockchain Technology as an Instrument for Global Governance' (n 1440).

¹⁵⁴⁴ ibid.

feasible by following the 'transparency by design' mechanism in public blockchain and is helpful to achieve the rule of law and humanitarian values optimally.

The blockchain-based supply chain system has been incorporated and deployed effectively to combat human slavery and exploitation. For example, a blockchain-based project to track tuna fish from 'bait to plate' had been launched by the World Wildlife Fund (WWF)¹⁵⁴⁵ in Fiji. The idea is to tackle the modern slavery and human rights abuses prevalent in the fishing industry. In this project, the journey of each tuna fish is recorded to ensure that they are not obtained from illegal fishing boats that are prone to slavery and exploitation.¹⁵⁴⁶ Each tuna fish, when caught, is tagged with a radio-frequency identification (RFID) tag and a quick response (QR) code. These tags are then stored on the blockchain and scanned at multiple points as they move to the market. Even after processing, by linking the QR code tags on the processed fish packages with the information stored on the blockchain, it is possible for the user to verify that the fish has been sourced from legal fishing boats that do not engage in modern slavery and human rights abuse.

Another issue that affects the humanitarian operations related to refugees is their lack of proper identification documents. The blockchain's architecture has the potential to change the way we interact with data. Users' data can only be shared among partners and entities in the exact same way it was recorded, canceling out any chance of fraud and secretarial errors¹⁵⁴⁷ due to the immutable characteristics of blockchain. The focus is on having a public ledger that, by design, affords transparency and accountability, where everyone is the owner of their digital identity, as envisioned in a decentralized governance model. As many refugees fleeing from a conflict zone do not possess identification documents, they are often subjected to exploitation and human trafficking. In the absence of any document establishing their citizenship, it becomes impossible to legally transact with such people and to provide humanitarian aid. Since such people are not tracked by any government, they easily become victims of modern slavery with no clear citizenship. Even if the victims of modern slavery have any identity documentation, the same is confiscated by the 'rouge' employers to exploit them at the workplace and control their movement. This problem can be addressed by storing unique biometric data, such as

 ¹⁵⁴⁵ Rosanna Cole, Mark Stevenson and James Aitken, 'Blockchain Technology: Implications for Operations and Supply Chain Management' (2019) 24 Supply Chain Management: An International Journal 469.
 ¹⁵⁴⁶ ibid.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Don Tapscott and Alex Tapscott, 'How Blockchain Will Change Organizations' (2016) MIT Sloan Management Review.

fingerprint and iris scans, of the victims and creating a virtual identity on a blockchain. As the records on the blockchain are immutable, forged identification documents cannot be created by the traffickers to illegally transport victims over borders. When the identities can be verified by using the information stored on a blockchain, the import of physical identity documents is greatly diminished. In fact, human traffickers and rouge employers cannot control and exploit victims by confiscating physical documents, and as a result, the vulnerability of paperless refugees to trafficking will also be reduced. Further, as blockchain by design is not bound by physical boundaries, the identification information could be accessed anywhere in the world if access to that blockchain application is available through the internet at that location.¹⁵⁴⁸

This demonstrates that blockchain, fulfilling the values of the rule of law and humanitarian law, has a colossal amount of potential for usage in this area, given that 'good' design choices have been made.

9.3. Design choices for blockchain-based systems

As blockchain applications are designed to apply the same set of rules consistently to all transactions without any exception, their use in the public sector and humanitarian domain improves predictability and consistency.¹⁵⁴⁹ While normative use of blockchain demonstrates increased efficiency in public management and humanitarian purposes, it can potentially incorporate the rule of law values beyond such transactional goals. However, there are disagreements about which rule of values would be or ought to be augmented into blockchain. There needs to be, thus, more agreement on how a blockchain should be designed in relation to the concepts of transparency, accountability, and legal certainty.

While designing a blockchain application for the public sector and humanitarian sector, it is imperative to critically analyze the governance decisions at the macro level to figure out how the decisions impact each other and what design choices are feasible to fulfill the requirements of the rule of law values and how do such decisions affect the principles of transparency and accountability.

¹⁵⁴⁸ David Shrier, Weige Wu and Alex Pentland, 'Blockchain & Infrastructure (Identity, Data Security)' (2016) MIT-Connection Science Part 3.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Pomareda (n 1442).

9.3.1.Infrastructure architecture

The decisions concerning the infrastructure architecture of blockchain applications are primarily about the type of blockchain – private or public, depending upon the ownership of infrastructure. Since these classifications are not watertight, deploying a hybrid blockchain with certain permissions is also feasible.¹⁵⁵⁰ Public and permissionless blockchains are adopted in situations where trust and security in the context of transparency and accountability are the principal concerns and not scalability and performance. If it is desirable to control data privacy and security, then private and permissioned blockchains are primarily used. This choice would be contingent upon the rationale of deploying the technology or the functions that the State or the international organizations want to attain consistent with the rule of law values and commitments. While designing a blockchain-based application, a tussle between the technology and the rule of law values inevitably takes place.

'Equality before law' necessitates that all individuals are subjected to the same set of rules and due process mechanisms, including the right to access and rectify the relevant information and the right to seek remedy against a decision, which is allowed in all cases without discrimination. However, if blockchain technology is deployed, then the transactions would be automatically executed as per preset rules, and the individuals will not have any access, nor can they ascertain the correctness of the input data used for a specific transaction. Only with a special built-in mechanism designed to incorporate changes at the programming stage can any change be affected in a public blockchain, which is immutable in nature. Though such a system is advantageous for being predictable and consistent, there is no way of making an appeal against a decision to undo the same. As such, the blockchain application may weaken the due process rights of individuals due to a lack of intelligibility in the decision-making process and, hence, fail to challenge the decisions that affect them. A private blockchain, on the other hand, can allow changes.¹⁵⁵¹ In a way, the choice to promote some rule of law values through blockchain may lead to undermining of certain other values and characteristics.

Design features and actual execution determine the transparency, accountability, predictability, and consistency of a blockchain application. While blockchain technology invariably

¹⁵⁵⁰ Garrick Hileman and Michel Rauchs (n 1484)..

¹⁵⁵¹ Yeung, 'Regulation by Blockchain: The Emerging Battle for Supremacy between the Code of Law and Code as Law' (n 199).

comprises of encryption and anonymity attributes, a public blockchain supports transparency and peer validation. In a public or permissionless blockchain, all the information is stored in blocks permanently, and every transaction is available as a public record, ensuring transparency and accountability by design. As a design solution, it offers immutability except when the majority of nodes take contrarian decisions, and it provides consistent and predictable results by eliminating the probability of appeal to negate a decision. In such blockchains, transparency clashes with the classical concept of privacy since everybody can see others' transactions. On the other hand, a permissioned or private blockchain allows the participants with the necessary permission to 'control' the transparency rather than increase the transparency of government institutions. In such applications, citizens cannot access all transactions and history of modification unless granted the requisite permission. Moreover, since subsequent changes are not possible post-implementation unless specific provisions are made while designing the blockchain application, there could be friction between blockchain and the rule of law values.

It seems that governments prefer private blockchains to deliver public services since such blockchains allow them to retain centralized control at the expense of certain rule of law values such as transparency. Priorities of the government – anti-corruption or access to justice, are the deciding factors for adopting a particular type of blockchain – private or public. Depending upon the design choices for infrastructure architecture, various trade-off conditions vary.¹⁵⁵² If building trust among the users is the foremost reason, then transparency is given precedence over other properties such as performance, flexibility, and usability. However, decisions regarding infrastructure architecture are invariably political and involve optimization of the trade-off conditions.

Since blockchain technology has been specifically designed to be tamper-resistant, the erasure of records is not a choice, especially in the case of public blockchains where there is an additional degree of data being fragmented among multiple nodes, possibly in different jurisdictions. When such fragmented data is encrypted, it becomes virtually impossible for the data subject to know who exactly has the particular data. The controller of the node also does

¹⁵⁵² As many as twenty-three endogenous trade-off conditions among seven blockchain properties such as usability, performance, flexibility, security, transparency, law & regulation, and community have been identified. Niclas Kannengießer and others, 'Trade-Offs between Distributed Ledger Technology Characteristics' (2020) 53 ACM Computing Surveys (CSUR) 1.

not know whose data they have.¹⁵⁵³ In comparison, permissioned blockchains or private blockchains are quite distinct to the extent that it is possible for the controller to make a copy of specific blocks for the data subject and then anonymize them, leaving only a binary trace. This characterization of public and private blockchains is extremely important concerning the protection of data in situations where a technological tool is used to transact and record the personal data of vulnerable populations such as refugees, trafficking victims, etc. When seemingly innocuous transactions are tagged with real-time locations, even simple data points can be sensitive and life-threatening for refugees, victims of human trafficking who have escaped, or political dissidents who are on the run. Thus, a single data set can have catastrophic potential if it falls into the wrong hands. The dangers posed by a potential data breach or fault in security are real, which gets further amplified in the case of the personal datasets garnered during humanitarian action. In a normal business transaction, personal data is collected and processed as per bilateral agreement with both sides having equal say to agree or disagree to data sharing. But, in the case of humanitarian aid, the circumstances do not favor the user, who has little option but to agree to user data collection in case of emergency assistance.¹⁵⁵⁴ Seeking aid in adverse situations is not the same as applying for a club membership. Hence, permitting someone to collect biometric data from an individual who is in distress, disorganized, scattered, and comparatively less technically literate is not comparable to that from an individual in normal or favorable situations.¹⁵⁵⁵

This illustrates the profound importance of data collected in aid and relief efforts, making it clear that the protection of the data of users is required not only to set up a comprehensive legal framework but also to design systems that represent political and moral principles. Therefore, when blockchain is deployed as an instrument to record and store user data, the 'figure' ought to analyze how the technological artifact can empower individuals and groups to participate in the decision-making processes and also protect their interest with this data. But the moot question is, once a blockchain application is operational in the humanitarian sector with the informed consent of the users to process their data on the blockchain, what would happen if the users decide to withdraw their consent?¹⁵⁵⁶ For example, if a refugee who has been participating in a humanitarian program and has been receiving aid automatically for a long

¹⁵⁵³ Zyskind and Nathan (n 96).

¹⁵⁵⁴ Talhouk and others (n 1534).

¹⁵⁵⁵ Coppi and Fast (n 195).

¹⁵⁵⁶ G. S. Coletti P., Mays, and Widera (n 1533).

time by virtue of data being stored in a blockchain, one can safely assume that the welfare of the refugee is favorably bound to the system. If such a refugee decides not to receive aid in this manner anymore, then what should be the recourse? Thus, the blockchain architecture should be designed to have some reasonable tussle points in the withdrawal process while complying with the legal requirements. However, this issue goes beyond legal compliance and into the realm of human dignity and the rule of law. The ability of people to autonomously decide the degree of involvement with a specific system and to choose the data collection and processing methods is the pivotal pillar of the data justice "*disengagement with technology*" concept.¹⁵⁵⁷

Further, certain conditions, particularly the capability to access information and to consent, being part of a violently displaced population, render consent ineffective.¹⁵⁵⁸ In these circumstances, rather than relying on consent, collecting and processing data for 'the vital interests of the subjects' would be prudent until the prevention of immediate danger. As already explained, while blockchain secures data, it makes its users too technology-dependent, which is rather burdensome. This aspect of blockchain needs to be considered carefully so as to provide authentic autonomous choices representing the unique values and needs of individuals and groups.

Since the technology of the artifact allows design and built-in features that promote the rule of law, the artifact must be accepted and trusted in society. To ensure that the technical specifications of the application correspond to legal requirements, both technical and legal experts are involved in the design, development, and testing stages. Education and public awareness about the trustworthiness of blockchain applications are also important. Furthermore, as in value-based design, it would be required to track the rule of law values against the system's technical requirements and undertake expensive purpose-built open-source software. The legislative changes must also be affected wherever needed to ensure legal compliance.

As for blockchain, the limitation is that it has yet to implement disparate rule of law values simultaneously. While adequate publicity is required to foster transparency and accountability, rectification is necessary to facilitate due process. Safeguards are also essential to infuse

¹⁵⁵⁷ Morgan Currie, Jeremy Knox and Callum McGregor (eds), *Data Justice and the Right to the City* (Edinburgh University Press 2022).

¹⁵⁵⁸ Benjamin T Greer, 'Connecting the Dots of an Opaque Crime: Analyzing the Information-Sharing Framework and Practices of California's Human-Trafficking Task Forces' (NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL MONTEREY CA 2022).

predictability and consistency. Unless these concerns are addressed, the much-discussed advantages of the rule of law may not accrue to the general public.

9.3.2.Decision-making mechanism

The decision-making mechanism depends upon whether it is an on-chain or off-chain governance process.¹⁵⁵⁹ In the case of on-chain governance, the proposal, participation, and decision-making process are embedded within the technology architecture through a protocol, that is, the rule of code constitution in the form of programming language. Since the decision-making procedures have been encoded in the blockchain infrastructure, the protocol executes the decision automatically once the pre-determined set of rules has been fulfilled. Since the system ensures that no individual or group can impose their will on the blockchain community, the on-chain governance appears to be the preferred mode of governance.¹⁵⁶⁰ Such a mode of governance embraces key ideas of legal positivism, notably, the type of positivism espoused by Kelsen¹⁵⁶¹, which intends to exclude any notion of private human judgment within the law-making and also to settle disputes by enforcing processes based on rational, factual tests only.¹⁵⁶² Here, it does not matter who makes the laws or who is the sovereign as long as the automated process of law-making and enforcement is working well.¹⁵⁶³

In a blockchain-based system, the validity of the transactions is not determined by their contents but by their conformity with the factual and mathematical verification process. This has an uncanny similarity with Kelsen's legal theory - "*by presupposing the basic norm (...) one ought to behave as the constitution prescribes*".¹⁵⁶⁴ In an on-chain blockchain governance system, once a basic norm is presupposed, one has to behave as the protocol or the rule of code prescribes. All the decision-making rules and processes embedded in a blockchain are derived from this basic norm. On the contrary, in the case of off-chain governance, which looks like

¹⁵⁵⁹ Reijers and others (n 821).

¹⁵⁶⁰ ibid.

¹⁵⁶¹ Kelson believed that laws are valid if promulgated in accordance with the 'basic norm' of the legal order and with the legislative procedure that is authorized by this basic norm. Lars Vinx, *Hans Kelsen's Pure Theory of Law: Legality and Legitimacy* (Oxford University Press, 2007) 23, 40.

¹⁵⁶² This is most evident in Kelsen's conception of a pure legal rule. Kelsen (n 410).

¹⁵⁶³ Reijers and others (n 821).

¹⁵⁶⁴ Kelsen (n 408); Reijers and others (n 821).

real-world politics, decision-making is based on internal and external rules and processes.¹⁵⁶⁵ In this case, external interventions into the blockchain that are not prescribed by the protocol are allowed.¹⁵⁶⁶ While it portrays a democratic alternative to the rigid on-chain governance model, it intrinsically introduces the problem of personal sovereignty by allowing strong individuals to dominate the decision-making processes.

However, this plutocratic behavior of blockchain is not just limited to off-chain governance. Similar behaviors are also noticed in on-chain governance. As the on-chain governance manifests the features of a positivist legal system, it gives rise to competing private interests.¹⁵⁶⁷ In a sense, on-chain blockchain governance systems are vulnerable to private participants, similar to the way the liberal democracies are¹⁵⁶⁸ but not to a greater degree like the off-chain governance. Ultimately, all such systems shall lead to corporate consolidation or to plutocracy.¹⁵⁶⁹ The blockchain-based systems do not offer a combination of democratic and plutocratic decision-making processes. In fact, such systems implement an exclusively plutocratic governance structure, particularly in on-chain governance.¹⁵⁷⁰ What sets blockchain-based systems apart from States is that their participants are free to leave or to implement a hard fork¹⁵⁷¹ in order to launch a new voluntary community.¹⁵⁷²

9.3.3.Accountability mechanism

Accountability at the macro level is about regulating and enforcing rules in governance matters such as dispute resolution and change management. In blockchain governance, it is feasible to identify four forms of accountability mechanisms: coercion, voluntarism, targeting, and framework regulation.¹⁵⁷³

¹⁵⁷² Reijers and others (n 821).

¹⁵⁶⁵ Reijers and others (n 821).

¹⁵⁶⁶ ibid.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty* (University of Chicago Press 2005) 13, 48, 63.

¹⁵⁶⁸Reijers and others (n 821).

¹⁵⁶⁹ A plutocracy implies government or rule by the wealthy and consequently favors private interests over the common good.¹⁵⁷⁰ Reijers and others (n 821).

¹⁵⁷¹ A hard fork involves a significant and non-backward-compatible modification to the network's protocol, which has the potential to lead to the emergence of a distinct blockchain if a consensus is not achieved.

¹⁵⁷³ Oliver Treib, Holger Bähr and Gerda Falkner, 'Modes of Governance: Towards a Conceptual Clarification' (2007) 14 Journal of European Public Policy 1.

Coercion is typically associated with regulations and detailed procedures that are rigid and binding. The concept of lex cryptographica is representative of coercion in blockchain applications.¹⁵⁷⁴ In this accountability mechanism, smart contracts are executed mechanically in a deterministic manner as per the rigid rules already encoded in the blockchain. Since codes must be written at the design stage prior to their implementation, it inherently limits the usefulness of code-based rules. This is particularly challenging in areas where it is not possible to determine the possibilities beforehand.¹⁵⁷⁵ Thus, the self-enforcing nature of blockchain instruments significantly tilts the power equations in favor of the 'figure' who establishes the regulatory code standards as compared to the users.¹⁵⁷⁶ Voluntarism is about governance by legally non-binding instruments and implementing rather broad goals. In a blockchain, soft forks would represent the principle of volunteerism. In this approach, the functions are modified while the structure of the blockchain remains unaltered. In the case of targeting, detailed regulatory procedures (though non-binding) are used. Initiating improvement proposals and digital applications in a blockchain could be considered as examples of targeting. Finally, in the case of framework regulation, the mechanism favors binding rules but with a tweak that users may or may not agree to policy options. Hard forks in a blockchain are examples of this mechanism; when a rule is modified and adopted in the blockchain, then the older version is not accepted by the nodes of the latest blockchain.

9.4. Legitimacy of using blockchains

Since legitimacy is a prerequisite to ensure loyalty, a system has to be constructed in such a way as to be perceived as legitimate. In a blockchain system, "*legitimacy is one of the most important scarce resources*"¹⁵⁷⁷ and is the main "*social force*" that directly impacts its governance.¹⁵⁷⁸ Legitimacy may be defined as a "higher-order acceptance" occurring in contexts in which "*large groups of actors [...] work together for their common interest*".¹⁵⁷⁹ It

¹⁵⁷⁴ De Filippi and Wright (n 134).

¹⁵⁷⁵ ibid.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207) 94–95.

 ¹⁵⁷⁷ Vitalik Buterin, 'The Most Important Scarce Resource Is Legitimacy'.(2021) Vitalik Buterin's Website.
 <vitalik.eth.limo/general/2021/03/23/legitimacy.html> accessed 15 October 2024
 ¹⁵⁷⁸ ibid.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Vitalik Buterin, 'Credible Neutrality as a Guiding Principle' (*Nakamoto*, 2020) <https://nakamoto. com/credible-neutrality> accessed 15 October 2024.

is a descriptive phenomenon that refers to the community acceptance of a blockchain system, which depends on whether most people find the traits of the system as "*psychologically appealing*".¹⁵⁸⁰ The six traits that are appealing to most blockchain communities are brute force, continuity, fairness, process, performance, and participation.¹⁵⁸¹ According to Buterin, when a blockchain-based system exhibits these traits, the community perceives it to be legitimate.¹⁵⁸²

As per law, States have the sole recognition as legitimate actors¹⁵⁸³, who can create and confer 'legitimacy' through specific constitutional provisions that restrict the discretionary or arbitrary power of certain agencies, individuals, or groups of individuals.¹⁵⁸⁴ This recognition extends to the framework of international organizations, which upholds the conventional model of legitimacy within international law. As such, these organizations, constituted by States, are accountable exclusively to them. As far as the legitimacy of international organizations is concerned, it is intrinsically linked to States on a 'transmission belt'.¹⁵⁸⁵ This 'transmission belt' mechanism links domestic institutions to national governments, which in turn connects with international organizations and further to their governance institutions and compliance mechanisms.

Thus, when the blockchain is employed by the State directly, it is considered legitimate by virtue of the State being the 'sole' will of the sovereign.¹⁵⁸⁶ The use of blockchain by international organizations also requires this orthodox model of legitimacy to justify the employment of the technology, or else there would be conflicts with the sovereign legitimate actors. For example, the issuance of identification documents falls within the competence of the State. However, this function of the State, in certain circumstances, may be delegated to international organizations when they are authorized to issue such documents, for instance,

¹⁵⁸⁰ Buterin, 'The Most Important Scarce Resource Is Legitimacy' (n 1577).

¹⁵⁸¹ ibid

¹⁵⁸² ibid.

 $^{^{1583}}$ Buchanan and Keohane (n 431) .

¹⁵⁸⁴ Primavera De Filippi, Morshed Mannan, and others, 'Report on Blockchain Technology & Legitimacy' (2022) EUI Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Research Project Report.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Lisa Maria Dellmuth and Jonas Tallberg, 'The Social Legitimacy of International Organisations: Interest Representation, Institutional Performance, and Confidence Extrapolation in the United Nations' (2015) 41 Review of International Studies 451.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Wintgens, 'Legisprudence as a New Theory of Legislation' (n 472).

with the use of blockchain.¹⁵⁸⁷ A dispute can very well arise between the State with a traditional document identification system and the international organization with its records in the digital ledger pertaining to the legal validity of identification documents issued by them. A sovereign State may refuse someone who is not in its records but possesses a digital identification document issued on blockchain by an international organization. Since the transmission-belt legitimacy in international law is considered as weak¹⁵⁸⁸, the widespread use of blockchain in international organizations must be favored by the traditional model of legitimacy. Since international organizations have been vested with powers that impact the sovereign states and private stakeholders, particularly in the matter of human rights¹⁵⁸⁹, alternative legitimacy frameworks that can substantiate the use of blockchain by these institutions have to be sought in 'deliberative democracy' models.¹⁵⁹⁰

Here, the focus is on *ex-post* legitimacy, which emphasizes on the output of the actions of the public authorities. It is about the effectiveness of the rules or the extent to which the rule delivers the result effectively and efficiently.¹⁵⁹¹ As long as a decision or a rule produces desirable policy outcomes, the same may be considered legitimate. Efficacy, enforcement, and coverage are important standards to evaluate *ex-post* legitimacy.¹⁵⁹² *Ex-post* legitimacy also resonates with substantive legitimacy, which is about the actual substance of the decisions and rules with respect to principles such as justice, democracy, and human rights, which are held in high esteem in society. As such, using blockchain technology to serve humanitarian causes and public services is likely to be more legitimate from the lens of *ex-post* legitimacy. However, since one form of legitimacy may not compensate for other forms of legitimacy, it is essential to also increase the *ex-ante* legitimacy which canvasses the input and procedural legitimacy¹⁵⁹³.

¹⁵⁸⁷ This is a hypothetical example.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Dellmuth and Tallberg (n 1585).

¹⁵⁸⁹ Anne Peters, 'International Organizations: Effectiveness and Accountability' (2016) Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law & International Law (MPIL) Research Paper 11.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Paul Schiff Berman, 'From International Law to Law and Globalization' (2005) 43 Columbia Journal of Transnational Law 485.

¹⁵⁹¹ Scharpf (n 435) 16–28.

¹⁵⁹² Ellen Mastenbroek, Stijn van Voorst and Anne Meuwese, 'Closing the Regulatory Cycle? A Meta Evaluation of Ex-Post Legislative Evaluations by the European Commission' (2016) 23 Journal of European Public Policy 1329.

¹⁵⁹³ See Chapter 10 for further discussions.

9.4.1.Legitimacy through trust and confidence

In blockchain systems, the actions of the network participants can be constrained with the rule of code using on-chain mechanisms. However, the rule of code does not mean that such rules would always be considered as legitimate.¹⁵⁹⁴ There are two interrelated aspects – trust and confidence, which must be accounted for to probe legitimacy.¹⁵⁹⁵ Confidence on the system stems from 'the predictability' attribute drawn from the code-based technological certainty of a blockchain and its on-chain governance structure. Thus, the 'governance by the infrastructure' gives rise to confidence. However, the 'trust' factor needs to be considered since the off-chain governance or the 'governance of the infrastructure' is unpredictable and uncertain. The 'trust' and the 'confidence' in blockchain systems are inherently interrelated because it is essential to have trust in the underlying governance structure of a blockchain network to instill confidence in the functioning and technological certainty of a blockchain.¹⁵⁹⁶

Drawing from Vitalik Buterin's classification of the varied 'sources' of legitimacy, "*continuity*, *process*, and *performance of the system*"¹⁵⁹⁷ are key to increasing its confidence. A system ought to have confidence-building and trust-building elements in the right proportions to establish its perceived legitimacy. If confidence elements are in deficit due to a lack of process and performance certainty, then the requirement of trust will be 'more' towards perceiving the system as legitimate. However, the contribution of trust to legitimacy may not be enough to guarantee such legitimacy.¹⁵⁹⁸ "*Principles and values such as fairness and the ability to contribute meaningfully to governance in terms of participation are necessary additional ingredients*".¹⁵⁹⁹ Since a veritable 'trustless' system with perfectly codified rules does not provide enough space for trust, participation, and freedom from decision-making, too much confidence also hinders the system's legitimacy.¹⁶⁰⁰ As the 'trustless'-ness leads to the elimination of individual agency, it may decrease the legitimacy of the system since the users and participants perceive that they do not have any constructive role in the development of the

¹⁵⁹⁴ De Filippi, Mannan and others (n 1584).

¹⁵⁹⁵ De Filippi and others (n 891).

¹⁵⁹⁶ ibid at 16–19.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Buterin, 'The Most Important Scarce Resource Is Legitimacy' (n 1577).

¹⁵⁹⁸ Margaret Levi, 'Trustworthy Government and Legitimating Beliefs', (2019) 61 Nomos 362, 368.

¹⁵⁹⁹ ibid.

¹⁶⁰⁰ De Filippi and others (n 891).

functioning of the system.¹⁶⁰¹ Similar to a legitimate government that uses its coercive authority to preserve liberty and equality of individuals¹⁶⁰², a blockchain system must enforce the coercive authority of the rule of code to preserve individual autonomy and agency, to be perceived as legitimate.

9.4.2.Legitimacy through transparency and choice

Technically speaking, the blockchain technology embraced by the States for public service delivery applications are not public blockchains per se; rather, these are private blockchains being used for public purposes. In other words, with technological developments, States increasingly use more private and permissioned blockchains, as compared to public permissionless blockchains. In fact, international organizations have mostly opted for private and permissioned blockchains have mostly opted for private and permissioned blockchains to achieve their policy objectives.¹⁶⁰³ This not only diminishes their legitimacy from the standpoint of participation and transparency as the mode of legitimation but also brings up *ex-ante* legitimacy issues.¹⁶⁰⁴ Since the private permissioned blockchains used in the operation of international organizations do not allow any voice to the individuals (outside of the system, such as the user, since the governing body of such systems usually comprises public officials), it may infringe the fundamental right of an individual to exercise freedom of expression. Ultimately, the substantive legitimacy of international organizations is harmed due to the use of private permissioned blockchain because of the contradictions between those who have access to blockchain and those who do not have.

Further, the 'privatization' of blockchain in international law may stifle the blockchain innovation¹⁶⁰⁵, that has been instrumental in providing free access to all individuals desirous of participating in the network. Being public institutions, international organizations should avoid the privatization of blockchain and deploy public permissionless blockchains to pursue their goals. However, one cannot say with certainty that there are no issues in using public

¹⁶⁰¹ De Filippi, Mannan and Reijers, 'Blockchain as a Confidence Machine: The Problem of Trust & Challenges of Governance' (n 9).

¹⁶⁰² Arthur Isak Applbaum, *Legitimacy without Illusions: The Right to Govern in a Wanton World* (Harvard University Press 2019) 4.

¹⁶⁰³ De Filippi, Mannan and Reijers, 'Blockchain as a Confidence Machine: The Problem of Trust & Challenges of Governance' (n 9).

¹⁶⁰⁴ Dimitropoulos, 'The Law of Blockchain' (n 63).

¹⁶⁰⁵ Dimitropoulos, 'The Use of Blockchain by International Organizations: Effectiveness and Legitimacy' (n 195).

permissionless blockchains under international law. As a matter of fact, some of the typical characteristics of blockchain that are supposed to protect may be harmful to individuals under certain conditions. "In many cases, they [refugees] abandon everything, and it's a big problem when they don't have any way to prove who they are to the refugee camp. So, there's a lot of discussion about using blockchain technology to give someone a digital identity. The risk that you run into there is creating a very robust, hard-to-change record that collects everyone's data. If you were a refugee, would you really want to become part of this system? Why would you trust this party and trust that they're not going to go give it to your government? There remain many hard questions here".¹⁶⁰⁶

It is said that the grand intention of blockchain has been to entrust economic and political power to individuals or users, bypassing public and private intermediaries, including the State. In reality, however, private miners have the power to use commercial server firms to validate transactions on the blockchains, and the 'figure' as a private entity works on further development of the blockchain code. Therefore, it is necessary that the 'figure' behave with integrity and reasonableness, indicating that their decision-making procedures are transparent and inclusive. The decisions of the 'figure' should be explainable to the user in a manner that plausibly connects to these procedures. If the 'figure' struggles to meet this standard, perhaps due to reliance on 'smart' technologies that function effectively but are 'alien' to humans, a resolution must be reached, where either regulatory dependence on the technology reduces or user expectations shift – *"it is not yet possible to generate thorough explanations for the decisions that are made, this may mean delaying their deployment for particular uses until alternative solutions are found"*.¹⁶⁰⁷

A contrarian notion of 'public-ness' or 'transparency' that the advocates of blockchain say is that it is about having universal access to public resources, irrespective oforigin of the technology. In that sense, international organizations' operations should be at least accessible to the individuals and the States concerned. The legitimacy issues concerning international organizations may be addressed by means of public permissionless blockchains utilizing the concept of 'transparency by design'. Since the established aspects of 'public-ness' are not to be disregarded, international organizations would be required to intervene to rectify transactions that are considered erroneous in the real world or that would be treated as irregular

¹⁶⁰⁶ Walch, 'In Code (Rs) We Trust: Software Developers as Fiduciaries in Public Blockchains' (n 216).

¹⁶⁰⁷ House of Lords (n 1470).

under international and domestic laws. For example, if refugees are not provided with any dispute resolution mechanism within the blockchain application and their issues are not addressed by rectifying the transactions (account details, etc.) to render justice¹⁶⁰⁸, they would be deprived of access to basic needs. This is in line with what Brownsword fears - "*technoregulation approaches the problem of social order in a way that does not rely on building normative consensus; it is amoral; it does by-pass the realm of values; and it does not rely on moral discipline or obedience to authority".¹⁶⁰⁹ Moreover, "it bypasses practical reason altogether … far from a normalizing crime, techno-regulation seeks to eliminate it as an option".¹⁶¹⁰*

When individual decisions and actions are outside the scope of the code architecture in a blockchain, the users lose their ability to seek remedy through human reasoning and judegement. This implies that when the 'figure' restricts the individual's capacity to engage in moral deliberation and decision-making, it undermines the essential conditions for a thriving moral community.¹⁶¹¹ In such cases, the 'figure' wields greater influence over the users compared to the lawmakers, effectively elevating their authority. However, a moral community will grow only if the individuals are competent to choose. They must have the choice to choose both right as well as wrong.¹⁶¹² Thus, the increased power enjoyed by the 'figure' calls for closer attention to the design failures while instituting regulatory-coded standards¹⁶¹³ - having greater accountability towards the rule of law values of the society¹⁶¹⁴. Even there may be a need for the State to close down a blockchain system by attacking the gatekeepers within their jurisdiction, because some blockchain systems may be too widely distributed such that it may get difficult to be restricted by the States.¹⁶¹⁵

Such conflicts can only be settled normatively by developing meta-norms that go beyond law as well as blockchain. A reasonable equillibrium of conflicting interests within a particular

¹⁶⁰⁸ Dimitropoulos, 'The Law of Blockchain' (n 63).

¹⁶⁰⁹ Brownsword, 'Code, Control, and Choice: Why East Is East and West Is West' (n 1086).

¹⁶¹⁰ ibid.

¹⁶¹¹ ibid.

¹⁶¹² Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207) 97–98.

¹⁶¹³ Brownsword and Yeung (n 1444).

¹⁶¹⁴ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207) 95–95.

¹⁶¹⁵ Michael Anderson Schillig, "Lex Cryptographi (c) a', 'Cloud Crypto Land'or What?–Blockchain Technology on the Legal Hype Cycle' (2023) 86 The Modern Law Review 31.

community can be achieved by respecting the requirements for sustained social existence, aspirations, and fundamental values of the community.¹⁶¹⁶ It is emphasized that technological tools should only be used for regulation if they conform to a threefold legitimacy licensing framework, which includes "a global common license, a community license, and a social license".¹⁶¹⁷ The foregoing discussions on the legitimacy of the use of blockchain by international bodies indicate that there is a need to move beyond the traditional legitimacy and governance models. This three-level test can be applied to the blockchain, which would require the technology, in order to be legitimate, to hinge on the design choices for being globally accessible, community-endorsed, and socially accepted, which are the ideals inscribed in the rule of law. Firstly, it accentuates that any technological measures, including blockchain, must be compatible with the "preconditions for human social existence and the global commons".¹⁶¹⁸ In the context of blockchain, this could mean ensuring that the technology respects principles such as privacy, security, decentralization, and sustainability. For example, blockchain applications should prioritize data protection, transparency, and accountability so to align with the rule of law values. Secondly, it highlights that the design choices in the blockchain should align with the fundamental values of the particular community for which the technology is being employed. Different types of blockchains and their specific purpose and aspirations of usage have varying priorities and principles. For instance, some communities may prioritize absolute decentralization and censorship resistance, while others may prioritize scalability and efficiency. Therefore, blockchain designs should reflect the values and preferences of the specific community they aim to serve, reflecting the unique cultural and ethical standards that define them. Thirdly, it requires the 'figure' to engage in transparent and inclusive processes to reach a reasonable accommodation of diverse views and concerns within the community, particularly on the values of innovation versus its risks.

This should not be seen as an abandonment of the core of all legitimacy models, that is, "*public power is and should eventually be accountable to the public*"¹⁶¹⁹, but should be seen as an upgraded version of the traditional legitimacy model. This is important because, in a

¹⁶¹⁶ Brownsword, Law 3.0: Rules, Regulation, and Technology (n 1328) 71–76; Wright and De Filippi (n 1).

¹⁶¹⁷ Brownsword, Law 3.0: Rules, Regulation, and Technology (n 1328) 71–76.

¹⁶¹⁸ ibid.

¹⁶¹⁹ ibid.

democratic environment, international institutions, including blockchain, will prosper only if public considers them to be legitimate entities.¹⁶²⁰

9.4.3.Legitimacy through 'human in the loop'

There is another factor in enhancing the legitimacy of the technology, according to Brownsword, which is the 'human in the loop' factor or 'democratic oversight'. Though I will discuss this in detail in the next chapter as an affordance of accountability that is necessary to be incorporated within the blockchain system, the main idea behind it for *ex-post* legitimacy is that, while blockchain can automate processes and remove the need for intermediaries, there are still decisions that may require human judgment, especially in situations with legal or ethical implications. This technology operates on predefined rules and consensus mechanisms, but certain essential tasks may still necessitate human intervention.¹⁶²¹ These tasks could include governance decisions, dispute resolution, or ensuring compliance with legal frameworks. Even within decentralized systems, there may be a need for human oversight to uphold fairness, accountability, and justice. One can also find a similar emphasis on human intervention under Article 22 of the GDPR, which imposes a prohibition on "solely automated decisions that have legal or other significant effects" in relation to an individual¹⁶²², and provides for humans to be brought back to the loop. Similarly, blockchain systems must also consider the implications of automated processing. This involves ensuring transparency, accountability, and mechanisms for human intervention where necessary to address biases, errors, or unforeseen circumstances.

Design choices in blockchain systems influence their legitimacy and acceptance within communities. These choices encompass governance models, consensus mechanisms, privacy features, and mechanisms for human oversight. Transparent and inclusive design processes that consider ethical, legal, and social implications can enhance the legitimacy of blockchain systems. In actuality, there are three different aspects of mental models of the technological architecture, one, 'the design model', which is the mental conceptualization of the 'figure', two, 'the user's model', which the user will develop to elucidate the functions of the system,

¹⁶²⁰ Buchanan and Keohane (n 431) 407.

¹⁶²¹ Joanna J Bryson, Mihailis E Diamantis and Thomas D Grant, 'Of, for, and by the People: The Legal Lacuna of Synthetic Persons' (2017) 25 Artificial Intelligence and Law 273.

¹⁶²² Article 22, European Commission, 'General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) – Legal Text' (*General Data Protection* Regulation (GDPR)) https://gdpr-info.eu/ accessed 8 October 2024.

and three, 'the system image' which the 'figure' uses to communicate and respond. While the 'design model' and the 'user's model' are ideally equivalent, the 'system image' is critical to ensure consistency because the user and the 'figure' use the physical appearance and functions of the system to communicate through the system.¹⁶²³ Thus, the 'figure' needs to make design choices, bearing in mind the system image, which is critical to ensure that everything about the blockchain application is consistent with and exemplifies the operation of the proper conceptual model in adherence with the fundamental rights of users, transparency and accountability *vis-à-vis* the rule of law, such that the artifact is legitimate.

Additionally, within the blockchain, the code assumes the role of 'law,' whereby the technology permits law to transmute into code. This supports *lex cryptographica*, which has the potential to remove ambiguities present in the law and make the interpretation and administration of laws by traditional enforcement agencies progressively redundant. So much so that blockchain could even challenge the sovereignty of the State.¹⁶²⁴ Further, though blockchains are considered to be self-enforcing 'technical' machines, they are not so in reality. Blockchains are developed and crafted by humans, and so also their regulations, that is, the rule of code. Thus, blockchains and their regulation depend on human decisions, which are subject to political or other interests¹⁶²⁵ for internal governance and user functions. The bias of the 'figure' also affects the code and underlying algorithms and causes prejudiced and unjust treatment of the users.¹⁶²⁶ Therefore, in the next chapter, I will lay down the rule of law affordances to mitigate the crypto-legalistic characteristics of the rule of code to attain ex-ante legitimacy to a certain degree. I will apply the rule of law by design approach to formulate and plot the rule of law affordances against the crypto-legalistic characteristics of the rule of code, that would be useful to assess and guide the development process so that the blockchain artifacts, irrespective of their end use, are within the perimeter of the rule of law and to ameliorate the negative effects, to a certain extent, arising due to the *crypto-legalistic* characteristics of the artifact.

¹⁶²³ Norman, *The Psychology of Everyday Things* (n 881) 189–190.

¹⁶²⁴ Katarzyna Ziolkowska, 'Distributing Authority–State Sovereignty in the Age of Blockchain' (2021) 35 International Review of Law, Computers & Technology 116.

¹⁶²⁵ Sarah Manski and Ben Manski, 'No Gods, No Masters, No Coders? The Future of Sovereignty in a Blockchain World' (2018) 29 Law and Critique 151; Winner, 'Do Artifacts Have Politics?' (n 249).

¹⁶²⁶ Frank Pasquale and Danielle Keats Citron, 'Promoting Innovation While Preventing Discrimination: Policy Goals for the Scored Society' (2014) 89 Washington Law Review 1413.

10. Plotting the rule of law affordances

This chapter amalgamates the theories and notions set forth in the previous chapters, where I engage the theoretical perspectives of the rule of law with the relational theories of design not just as the standardization for the use of code as a regulator but also to consider the desirability, efficacy, and legitimacy of the code. The aim of this chapter, thus, is to answer the question how the rule of law affordances can assist in evaluating and guiding the design of blockchain technology, so as to ameliorate its crypto-legalistic characteristics? Accordingly, I start with plotting the rule of law affordances against the characteristics of crypto-legalism, using the Fullerian standards of legality, which will facilitate the development of a relationship between the rule of law standards and values and the affordances that can assist in immersing their aspirations into the design of the rule of code. This plotting exercise will facilitate in realizing the relationship between the degree of the rule of law affordances and the degree of the cryptolegalistic characteristics of the code in terms of the increasing difficulty of implementation. The employment of the affordance theory as a conceptual lens for what code ought to do and not just to describe what it does provides an unorthodox modus operandi to recognize and relate novel varieties of interaction that ought to prevent the negative effects of legalism and advance the positives of legality.

10.1. Reducing crypto-legal characteristics

In the case of technological artifacts, the affordances provide opportunities to enquire about the features provisioned in a particular design. These affordances also provide a set of aspirational objectives for the affordances themselves so as to attain legitimacy and desired efficacy. In a way, the 'figure' should not only ponder about the intended end use of the code from a commercial standpoint but also assess rationally whether the said features of the artifact are within the boundaries of the rule of law or not and if not, how it might fall within the purview of the rule of law.

Since the rule of code performs the job of manifesting the normativity of code, which is ultimately embodied, not paying much heed to the *ex-ante* decisions regarding the use of code will introduce an Achilles heel in the analysis. Though a technological irritant, it is an unavoidable activity. I have discussed earlier how user behavior is directly influenced by the design of the artifact and how the text of the command code rule represents the design. The

exercise here is not to question the rationale behind the designing of the code of a specific artifact but rather to investigate the resulting functions of the code and whether its normativity affords legitimacy, independent of their prior justifications. The distinction, though very subtle, is critical to understanding the implications of the code's behavior and its regulatory context. If the motivation behind the design is not analyzed critically, it is possible not only to fail to observe the actual performance of the artifact but also to approve the flawed belief about the robustness of the implementation of the code since the decision to use code is sound.

The logic behind crafting the rule of law affordances and embedding them into the blockchain artifact ex-ante is to address the Collingridge dilemma - "the social consequences of technology cannot be predicted early in the life of the technology. By the time undesirable consequences are discovered, however, the technology is often so much part of the whole economics and social fabric that its control is extremely difficult. This is the dilemma of control. When change is easy, the need for it cannot be foreseen; when the need for change is apparent, change has become expensive, difficult, and time-consuming".¹⁶²⁷ The blockchain-based human rights application, which employs smart contracts with fixed, predefined criteria for granting asylum¹⁶²⁸, illustrates some of the challenges and limitations of applying the rule of law in complex and dynamic situations. While the use of smart contracts may enhance the transparency, efficiency, and accountability of the asylum process, it may also undermine the flexibility, responsiveness, and context-sensitivity of the system due to the rule-fetish and instantaneity characteristics of the blockchain code. The smart contracts may not be able to accommodate exceptional cases or evolving geopolitical situations that require a more nuanced evaluation of individuals seeking refuge. Moreover, the smart contracts may not be able to reflect the changes in the laws or the human rights principles that may occur over time. Thus, the example shows that there is a need for the rule of law as affordances to counter the crypto*legalistic* characteristics of the technological artifact and, as such, render the artifact legitimate. In fact, "law is necessary not because of limitations in technology, but limitations in people"¹⁶²⁹ and "law ... must remain the overriding constraint on our society".¹⁶³⁰

¹⁶²⁷ David Collingridge, *The Social Control of Technology*. (St. Martin's Press 1980) 11.

¹⁶²⁸ Crumpler (n 311); 'More than Money: Blockchain and Its Applications for Human Rights Protections' (Australian Human Rights Institute, 2018) https://www.humanrights.unsw.edu.au/news/more-money-blockchain-and-its-applications-human-rights-protections> accessed 8 May 2024.

¹⁶²⁹ Werbach, The Blockchain and the New Architecture of Trust (n 62) 154.

¹⁶³⁰ Thibault Schrepel and Vitalik Buterin, 'Blockchain Code as Antitrust' (2021) Berkeley Technology Law Journal 1, 12.

The objective, therefore, is to steer the development and production mechanisms of code in ways that reduce its *crypto-legalism* within the blockchain artifact. The crucial question is: does the design afford due process rights, the freedom to choose (personal autonomy), transparency, and deferment to the user? Does the design afford (human) supervision and accountability to the 'figure'? The goal of this litmus test's commitment to the *ex-ante* rule of law measures (legality, legitimacy) is to ensure that irrespective of the substantiveness of *expost* functionality, technological normativity includes mechanisms to restructure the *crypto-legalism's* historical trajectories which influence its current development.

10.2. Plotting the rule of law affordances against crypto-legalism

In line with the rule of law design standards of legality and legitimacy, the mapping of the Fullerian design standards against the appropriate attributes of *crypto-legalism* demonstrates the way these standards apply across different normative orders of institutional law and code. This will help to understand how the affordance reflects the objectives of the standards within the boundaries of the rule of law. While many of the proposed affordances intersect with each other since the application of an affordance is not limited to enhancing a particular characteristic signified, a holistic consideration would be able to achieve and facilitate technological normativity byconcurrently addressing various pertinent matters that is legitimate in the eyes of 'the rule of law'.

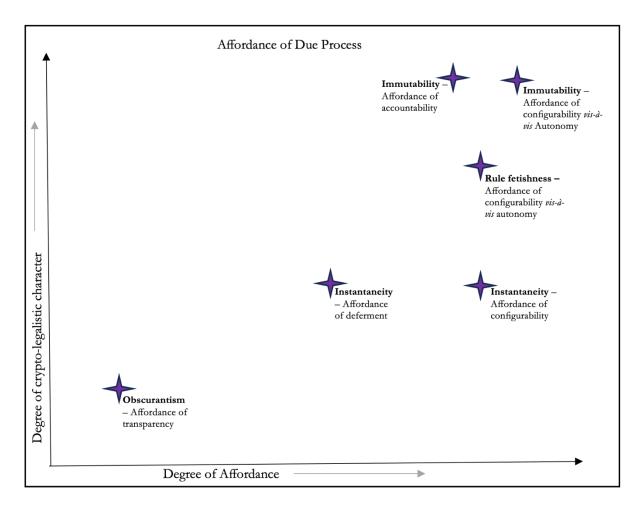


Figure 1. Plotting the rule of law affordances

On this graph, I have plotted down the relation between the degree of rule of law affordances in terms of the increasing difficulty of implementation with the degree of the *crypto-legalistic* characteristics of the blockchain code from low to high. Here, I have considered four cryptolegalistic characteristics, namely, immutability, rule-fetishness, instantaneity, and obscurantism on the y-axis. Various affordances such as autonomy, configurability, accountability, deferment, and transparency have been plotted on the x-axis. Though the affordances have been plotted here as 'points', they are to be considered as a cluster of elements that perform in unison to realize and establish the legitimacy of the 'geography' of technological normativity. The artifact is deemed to have certain affordances whose relevance varies contingent upon the function and expected end-use of the particular technological product, and thus, the justification for such affordances also differs accordingly.

The idea is to discuss and explore an array of normative reference points that are unequivocally concerned with the rule of law issues. Though it is implausible that the affordances in privately crafted code would attain 'absolute' legitimacy, the attempt to achieve the same becomes more

crucial given the characteristics of *crypto-legalism*. These attempts and explorations entail human judgment and commitment to design the artifact 'legitimately'.

10.2.1. Immutability

As the graph illustrates, the immutability attribute of code has a higher degree of *crypto-legalism* in blockchain architecture, which makes it very hard to amend the code after it has been scripted and programmed into the architecture to balance the affordance of configurability *vis-à-vis* autonomy and affordance of accountability with its *crypto-legalistic* nature. This is because the immutability of code in blockchain draws itself from the inherent fundamental characteristics of the technology, that is immutable artifact, due to the network's decentralized nature, cryptographic techniques, and consensus mechanism. The immutability of code is a desirable property for blockchain applications that require trustless transactions, such as smart contracts. However, immutability also poses some challenges, such as the difficulty of correcting errors, updating the code, or complying with legal regulations that may require users to be given autonomy to choose among options coded in the artifact relating to, for example, data erasure or modification.

The issues associated with the immutability of code intersect with those exhibited by its 'rulefetishness' and 'instantaneity' characteristics. The attribute of immutability can be said to be compatible with the Fullerian design standard 7, which describes the constancy of rules over time and its frequency of change, where the standard is appertained in a reverse fashion, implying that "*code is resistant to change*"¹⁶³¹, a fact that must be considered while programming at the micro level. At the same time, there needs to be a delicate balance between duty and aspiration such that when defining the boundaries, it is necessary to acknowledge the potential emergence of path dependencies – situations where the choices made in the past and present significantly impact future possibilities – where these paths can inadvertently bind the users within the confines of a specific design. Since users are being coerced to operate within the constraints of a particular blockchain design, leaving less scope for modification in the future, there is a need to recognize and raise awareness regarding the sensitivity toward the concreteness of the imposed rule of code. This demands that the justification for imposing the rule of code that regulates user behavior should go through continuous assessment of time,

¹⁶³¹ Lisa A Shay and others, 'Do Robots Dream of Electric Laws? An Experiment in the Law as Algorithm' in Ryan Calo and others (eds), *Robot Law* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2016).

calling into action the principle of temporality, an additional requirement which conforms to Fullerian design standard 7. Considering the manner in which the immutable rule of code manifests into a specific configuration of technological normativity, it is essential to endorse the affordance of configurability *vis-à-vis* autonomy and to balance it with the affordance of accountability. Immutability, further, can be linked with Fullerian design standard 4 on clarity, specifically focusing on the notion of coherence, and also with Fullerian design standard 5 on non-contradictory and consistent norms. 'Only' coherence 'consistent' with the 'internal justification' of the system is not enough. As such, there needs to be a feasibility to alter the rule of code when there is a change in the 'external' justification. The absence of such an affordance would mean that reliance on the 'illegitimate' rule of code may persist, notwithstanding the legitimacy of the rule of code at the time of initial deployment.

10.2.1.1. Affordance of Configurability vis-à-vis Autonomy

Since the rule of code in the blockchain continues to operate 'immutably' even if the same has been rendered illegitimate or meaningless, the ex-ante anticipation of future effects and a resolution thereof becomes important. Thus, the 'figure' which is responsible for designing the blockchain applications should be aware of contingencies ahead of time. However, in reality, the normative scope of the configuration of code is limited to those facts that the 'figure' can reasonably ascertain. So, unless the rule of code is designed with the affordance of configurability to check for complexities and emergencies, the code will operate as pre-defined, even if the external contingency calls for a different action.¹⁶³² For instance, smart contracts can be designed to accept human judgment as input while executing the contract. Fulfillment of contractual conditions can be determined by making such conditions dependent on judgments of external parties.¹⁶³³ Also, it is important to see if it is possible to anticipate and fix all significant exigencies that might arise in the future, and if so, whether they would be supported by external parties.¹⁶³⁴ Here, the fundamental assumption is that the external parties will continue to provide services as was designed for the initial version of the blockchain. But if the said third party modifies the code and formats, or stops providing services, then the blockchain applications would be stuck and become inoperable. In terms of due process rights, if a judicial process is invoked to address such disputes, it would be difficult to identify the

¹⁶³² Weber (n 160) 705.

¹⁶³³ De Filippi and Hassan (n 108).

¹⁶³⁴ De Filippi and Wright (n 134) 202.

parties to demonstrate legal standing to contest or seek a decree, as only anonymous public keys are used for identification in a blockchain. In any case, the judicial remedy would be the *ex-post* event after the code has been executed with all its illegalities or negativities.

While deciding the affordance of configurability vis-à-vis autonomy to be incorporated into the code, if the 'figure' is uncertain about whether specific vital information will be available at the time of execution, then the wired-in components of the code should be restricted to avoid inclusion of such uncertainties. Further challenges accrue when distinguishing between the functional characteristics of the blockchain application that can be automated and the nonfunctional characteristics that cannot or should not be automated.¹⁶³⁵ In case of heavy automation, most or all of the effects of crypto-legalism are seen to have intensified and become more pronounced, whereas, in case of less automation where the code's logic is oversimplified, blockchain is reduced to a "dumb"¹⁶³⁶ artifact and may lose its functionality.¹⁶³⁷ However, this could be a beneficial constraint, transforming the code into a tool¹⁶³⁸ for implementing realworld agreements, with humans maintaining the responsibility and being accountable for handling and resolving any uncertainty.¹⁶³⁹ Hence, while the function of the blockchain application is limited to those specific elements that can be reliably and predictably represented and enforced through code, the social aspect of consensus, encompassing formal legal contracts, remains the focal point for the variable components of real-world human agreements.1640

However, if the 'figure' is reluctant to sacrifice the 'smartness' of the blockchain application and opts for heavy automation, the external variables it depends on must be verifiable at the moment of execution, that is, *ex-post* assessment. This suggests the use of data points in the future¹⁶⁴¹ that are trustworthy, reliable, and precise. However, this could pose an accountability issue as it shifts away the figure's decision-making responsibility to third-party services,

¹⁶³⁵ Donovan (n 241).

¹⁶³⁶ Jeffrey M Lipshaw, 'The Persistence of "Dumb" Contracts' (2019) 2 Stanford Journal of Blockchain Law and Policy 1.

¹⁶³⁷ Agata Ferreira, 'Regulating Smart Contracts: Legal Revolution or Simply Evolution?' (2021) 45 Telecommunications
Policy 102081; Dennis Kennedy, 'Thinking Smartly about Smart Contracts' (2018) 44 Law Practice 56; Raskin (n 251).
¹⁶³⁸ Eliza Mik, 'Contracts in Code?' (2021) 13 Law, Innovation and Technology 478.

¹⁶³⁹ Mykyta Sokolov, 'Smart Legal Contract as a Future of Contracts Enforcement' (2018) SSRN Electronic Journal; Werbach and Cornell (n 106).

¹⁶⁴⁰ Levy (n 733) 3.

¹⁶⁴¹ One of the suggested tool is Oracle which is responsible for delivering reliable data from off-chain sources to smart contracts on the blockchain.

regarding the key aspects of the artifact's logic, thereby undermining their responsibility towards the performance of their own design and diminishing their control over their own work. A viable solution could be designing the blockchain applications with some sunsetting features so that the artifact will become inactive if the system is not able to verify a certain fact with the required level of certainty at the moment of execution.¹⁶⁴² When the *ex-post* alteration of code is not feasible, and in such a situation, it is confronted with the challenge of executing the code indefinitely without any modifications, then this mechanism offers a viable solution.¹⁶⁴³ If the intermediate and extended impacts of the system's technological normativity cannot be foreseen and predicted, then the 'figure' ought to implement a sunsetting mechanism to constrain the potential consequences of the rule of code running indiscriminately in unfamiliar or irrelevant circumstances. This calls for intentional designing of the safety measure into the rule of code through the affordance of configurability.

Related to the affordance of configurability is the concept of the "*legacy switch*"¹⁶⁴⁴, which disables optional affordances, for example network access, and limits the system to its core functions only.¹⁶⁴⁵ For instance, in a smartphone, activating the legacy switch would disable features like internet browsing, leaving only core functions like calling and messaging. This contrasts with the affordance of deferment, where it gives the user more control and flexibility over the system¹⁶⁴⁶ and allows to delay an action or decision¹⁶⁴⁷ because the concept of 'legacy switch' does not allow the user to choose when to resume the optional affordance, but rather disable them permanently or until the switch is reversed. The 'legacy switch' reduces the complexity and functionality of the system and may limit the user's options and preferences.¹⁶⁴⁸ However, the efficacy of this approach is contingent upon the type of artifact; if the networking

¹⁶⁴² Antonios Kouroutakis, 'The Virtues of Sunset Clauses in Relation to Constitutional Authority' (2020) 41 Statute Law Review 16.

¹⁶⁴³ Finck, 'Blockchains: Regulating the Unknown' (n 716).

¹⁶⁴⁴ Paul Ohm, and Nathaniel Kim, 'Legacy Switches: A Proposal to Protect Privacy, Security, and the Environment from the Internet of Things' (2023) 84 Ohio State Law Journal 101.

¹⁶⁴⁵ ibid 101–107.

¹⁶⁴⁶ 'What Are Affordances?' (Interaction Design Foundation) https://www.interaction-design.org/literature/topics/affordances> accessed 15 October 2024.
¹⁶⁴⁷ ibid.

¹⁶⁴⁸ Sandra K Evans and others, 'Explicating Affordances: A Conceptual Framework for Understanding Affordances in Communication Research' (2017) 22 Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication 35, https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12180> accessed 15 October 2024.

is the key to the application, then disabling it by activating a 'legacy switch' might cause the application to be practically useless.

The blockchain applications, such as the decentralized identity system, use the technology to provide users with control over their personal data, helping to protect their privacy and prevent identity theft. In this context, a 'legacy switch' could be a feature that disables certain optional affordances, such as sharing personal data with third-party applications. A 'legacy switch' could be helpful here because it could allow the user to enhance their privacy and security by turning off some features that may expose their personal data to other parties. This way, they could still use the core functions of the decentralized identity system, such as verifying their identity or accessing their data, without compromising their privacy or risking identity theft.

In essence, this necessitates the proactive '*ex-ante*' flipping of the 'legacy switch', constraining the application's design from the outset, with the understanding that it could otherwise possess excessive normative influence. However, the viability of such a theoretically legitimated blockchain application, in terms of its market appeal, remains ambiguous.

10.2.1.2. Affordance of Accountability

Although the tamper-resistant and immutable attributes of blockchain are its key value propositions¹⁶⁴⁹, however, from the standpoint of traditional contract law, it is tricky in the sense that it causes the blockchain to execute when the conditions satisfy the *ex-ante* interpretation formalized in the code, despite certain interventions which might have sought more adaptability and flexibility.¹⁶⁵⁰ In terms of accountability, blockchains are problematic since this technology requires that a consensus must be reached to effect any change and also does not allow the breach of the contract unilaterally. While it is possible to observe the execution of the application as the output is immutably stored on the underlying chain, what is important to ensure the normativity of the code from the point of view of accountability is the affordances that are weakened by the immutability 'feature' of a blockchain is also important. *"In the case of competences where the administrative authority has a margin of appreciation*

¹⁶⁴⁹ De Filippi and Wright (n 134) 35–37.

¹⁶⁵⁰ Jason G Allen, 'Wrapped and Stacked:"Smart Contracts" and the Interaction of Natural and Formal Language' (2018) 14
European Review of Contract Law 307; Mateja Durovic and Franciszek Lech, 'The Enforceability of Smart Contracts' (2019)
5 The Italian Law Journal 493; Gregory Klass, 'How to Interpret a Vending Machine: Smart Contracts and Contract Law' (2023) 7 Georgetown Law Technology Review. 69.

that requires the balancing of interests or interpretive discretion, rigid rule-based smart contracts realistically seem to be deployable in the case of circumscribed competencies without discretion".¹⁶⁵¹ The code will continue to be present in the blockchain and will execute as stored, even if the rule of code is considered illegitimate, or the parties to the contract have changed their mind, or even in case of death of the concerned.

As regards the accountability of the 'figure', they must not release code without putting in place the conditions required to ensure accountability and mitigation of any unanticipated negative outcomes. This notion closely aligns with revocability, whereby users retain the option to withdraw any permissions they might have conceded to the 'figure'.¹⁶⁵² In this regard, the principle of revocability demands that the 'figure' ought to have the ability to maintain some control over the artifact.¹⁶⁵³ In order to be considered legitimate, the 'figure' must foresee apriori the potential necessity for making alterations ex-post, which requires the design of the artifact to be re-configurable; otherwise, such a design would become prima facie illegitimate at any time in the future. However, anticipating and predicting the possibility of future amendments depends on many externalities, where the 'figure' must identify in advance the necessary information and details that must be known before the deployment of the technology. The trusted third parties must also provide accurate information to the 'figure'.¹⁶⁵⁴ Since the variety of factors and their complexities are key determinants, it may not be feasible to fulfill the standard of accountability 'absolutely'¹⁶⁵⁵, and thus question of the legitimacy of the blockchain applications a priori still persists. In many cases, therefore, code is sold off in the marketplace without having any provision for ex-post software updates or commitments to address security vulnerabilities in future.¹⁶⁵⁶

With regards to the concept of the legacy switch, which is used as a mechanism for affordance of configurability, the 'figure' has the power to permanently disable the optional affordances

¹⁶⁵¹ Goossens (n 15) 81.

¹⁶⁵² Seda Gürses, Carmela Troncoso and Claudia Diaz, 'Engineering Privacy by Design' (2011) 14 Computers, Privacy & Data Protection 25; Moni Naor and Benny Pinkas, 'Efficient Trace and Revoke Schemes' (2010) 9 International Journal of Information Security 411.

¹⁶⁵³ Winner, Autonomous Technology: Technics-out-of-Control as a Theme in Political Thought (n 1163) 314.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Pasquale (n 760).

¹⁶⁵⁵ Berryhill, Bourgery and Hanson (n 291).

¹⁶⁵⁶ Deven R Desai and Joshua A Kroll, 'Trust but Verify: A Guide to Algorithms and the Law' (2017) 31 Harvard Journal *of* Law & Technology. 1; Raskin (n 251).

without enabling the user the option to resume the disabled affordances. Such a deactivation cannot be reversed by the user until the 'figure' turns off the 'legacy switch'. This raises questions about the control and use of the 'legacy switch'. Who decides when to activate it, and under what circumstances? To give a simple example, should the user have the power to activate the switch on a work laptop, or should it be controlled by the computer department? Instead of relying solely on the technology's built-in rules (the rule of code), traditional regulatory roles, such as legal regulations, might be needed to address these issues.

If identification management application provides users control over their personal data, with the 'legacy switch' that deactivates the extra feature like giving personal information to other third-party applications, questions are raised about the affordance of accountability: who should have the control to activate this switch? Should it be the user who might want to maintain their privacy and control over their personal data? Or should it be the 'figure' responsible for the development and governance management of the identity system who might want to ensure the system's integrity and prevent misuse? Here, instead of focusing on the rule of code feature, traditional regulatory roles, such as those played by data protection authorities, might be needed to resolve these challenges.

The rule of code-based artifacts that prevail over human action offers significant benefits such as 'consistency' and 'immediacy' as compared to the traditional rule-based instruments while avoiding the use of critical resources required for monitoring and administering regulatory rules.¹⁶⁵⁷ However, the pertinent point is if there is no commitment from the 'figure' in respect of service support, updates, and maintenance for a reasonable period, or no commitment about sunsetting or phased discontinuation of the application or any specific components of its functionality, or no commitment about retaining adequate control to allow a 'legacy switch' in case of necessity, then the design would not be legitimate and as such the artifact does not afford the required level of accountability.

The 'figure' must include affordances of accountability into the design of the artifact so that changes, if required, to the rule of code can be incorporated. It also means that if there is no commitment from the 'figure' to such standards of accountability, then one can derive that the legitimacy of the design has not been established and its technological normativity is unwarranted. Likewise, if the technological architecture does not allow updation as a design

¹⁶⁵⁷ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207) 93.

feature due to limited connectivity, processing power, or other considerations, then the scope of the functionality of the code should be, to that extent, limited to ensure that the 'rigid' or 'immutable' code will not impact negatively in future. As such, the 'figure' must foresee external change and either facilitate remote updation or restrict the scope of the design's normativity from the beginning. In cases where it is not easy to predict these potential contingencies, *ex-post* remedial strategies, such as engaging a trusted third party, must be put in place. In the absence of any of these measures, it can be concluded that the design is *a priori* illegitimate.

10.2.2. Rule-fetishness

Another attribute of blockchain code that has a strong *crypto-legalistic* tendency is rule-fetishness, which is evident from the graph. This means that, with rule-fetishness, it is not simple to re-script the code with the affordance of configurability *vis-à-vis* autonomy but is as complicated and demanding as the attribute of the immutability of code. That is because rule-fetishness refers to the adherence to the predefined 'rigid' rules of the blockchain code, which can be modified by the consensus of the network users or the 'figure'.¹⁶⁵⁸ Immutability, on the other hand, refers to the resistance to any change or deletion of the code rule and data embedded within the blockchain, which is enforced by the cryptographic and distributed nature of the technology.¹⁶⁵⁹ Therefore, re-scripting the rule of code before setting down the code into the artifact is not too complicated as compared to updating the code rules when they are already programmed in, as the former requires less computational and coordination effort than the latter.¹⁶⁶⁰

Since the rule of code is inflexible and extremely precise and does not allow any ambiguity, it applies to all users 'fairly' and 'equally' without any discrimination irrespective of the attribute of the person such as their gender, race, age, religion, etc. However, this 'rigid' inflexible feature is a desirable quality 'only' if the design of the code is legitimate. Moreover, characteristics such as tamper resistance, auto-execution, and resilience empower the authoritative 'figure' to incorporate its 'set of rules' into blockchain-based applications so that all users of the applications will have to abide by the rules set by the 'figure'. It may ultimately

¹⁶⁵⁸ De Filippi and Wright (n 134); Dimitropoulos, 'The Law of Blockchain' (n 63); Werbach, 'Trust, but Verify: Why the Blockchain Needs the Law' (n 109).

¹⁶⁵⁹ Tatar, Gokce and Nussbaum (n 1146).

¹⁶⁶⁰ Brownsword, 'Smart Contracts: Coding the Transaction, Decoding the Legal Debates' (n 755).

assist the authoritarian and rigid regime to control its subjects through a series of self-executing code-based rules.¹⁶⁶¹ Further, if the preset desideratum is satisfied, the code executes the rules and, in the same vein, does not execute in situations where those prerequisites are not fulfilled. It does not matter how 'nearly' the desideratum is fulfilled, or what would be the possible consequences of executing or not executing the said rule of code. This aspect of rule-fetishness, which is at the core of *crypto-legalism*, is concerned with the balancing of the blockchain constitution or the 'default' behavioral constraints of the design and its regulative aspects. Thus, rule-fetishness is related to the threshold between what has been coded and the regulatory latitude available to the users to decide whether or not to yield to a suggested restriction. This necessitates the need for the affordance of configurability *vis-à-vis* the affordance of autonomy to be incorporated into the design of the technology artifact.

10.2.2.1. Affordance of Configurability vis-à-vis Autonomy

The rule of code of the blockchain artifact is fixed and executed mindlessly without further reflection once it has been embedded and without any intermediaries or authorities, demonstrating its rule-fetishness attribute. This means that the architecture of blockchain is rigid, inflexible, and immutable, which can create problems when the code rules need to be changed or adapted. In other words, this 'rule-fetishness' attribute, in addition to the 'immutability' characteristics of code, could pose significant problems. This is where the affordance of configurability comes in, which is the faculty to modify the configuration and parameters of the artifact, which is diametrically opposite to the notion of immutability. Configurability allows for some degree of flexibility and customization, which can offset upshots of the instantaneity and immutability attribute of the code, core components of the rule-fetishness and thus challenges the rule-fetishness of code, which is based on the idea that code is superior and that the rule of code should be followed without questioning or interpretation. By allowing configurability, we acknowledge that code is not perfect or absolute and must be modified or improved.

The affordance of configurability calls for a provision to make a choice that depends on relevant options and appropriate timing¹⁶⁶² to ameliorate rule-fetishness and empower the user with autonomy. However, configurability with too many options can be baffling and daunting,

¹⁶⁶¹ De Filippi and Wright (n 134) 203.

¹⁶⁶² Kesan and Shah (n 991) 601.

particularly for users who lack expertise or are inexperienced and can turn out to be more of a hindrance than help.¹⁶⁶³ Even when critical reflection shows that customization could be beneficial in the form of providing options that serve their interests and/or preferences¹⁶⁶⁴, many users still consider it as time-consuming and avoid it. Thus, deciding the approach to the affordance of configurability of code in advance is important to empower the relevant audience with autonomy.

If the possibility of choices and configurability has not been foreseen at the design stage, the tamper-resistance characteristic turns into a bottleneck during execution. Therefore, it is crucial to decide prudently how much of the code would be rule-fetish and how much would be dependent on the input by the user and the external contingency to afford configurability *vis-à-vis* autonomy. As the issue of choice is closely related to the issue of immutability, designing the threshold between wired-in and configurable code is critical in light of the continuity of code in a blockchain. Further, the threshold could have legal implications, given the complexities involved in the automatic execution of the rule of code in blockchain applications.¹⁶⁶⁵ In the context of rule-fetishness, it is to be noted that default configurations of code do influence and guide the user's appreciation of the behavioral possibilities it affords. Even when the code allows choices, these default configurations are trusted by the users as the right choices created by the 'figure'; the user perceives the 'default' situation as normal and acceptable and even as legitimate in pervasive systems. Due to automation bias, the user tends to trust the outcome of the operation executed by the artifact.¹⁶⁶⁶

It is inevitable to have some degree of configuration in any artifact, including the things we see around in the offline world, which suggests the fundamental non-neutral character of technologies. The 'figure' cannot leave the interpretation of the design of the artifact openended or ambiguous on purpose, which can be deliberately misinterpreted, unlike the legislators who intentionally leave the meaning of a textual norm vague. Therefore, the 'figure' has to limit the endless course of action of the *lex cryptographic tabula rasa* by making certain choices in the configuration. This makes it necessary to pursue deliberate interventions or

¹⁶⁶³ ibid 627.

¹⁶⁶⁴ ibid 598.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Levy (n 733) 3.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Citron (n 712) 1271–1272.

decisions to ensure that the default configurations are legitimate in order to make the artifact itself legitimate.

The job of decision-making is *de facto* outsourced to the 'figure' through the default setting mechanism, in which the focus shifts from the user as well as the sovereign. In a way, it is essential to nudge the 'figure' to establish default configurations that align with recognized societal notions¹⁶⁶⁷, like the rule of law. If the concern is about the legitimacy of behavioral regulation, then the attributes of the code that comprise of the choices must resonate with the same value of legitimacy. The quality of choices referring to the substantive functionalities in the artifact that are authorized to the user to configure or allow the user to customize, and the number of choices are central design questions. The answers determine the extent to which autonomy is provided to the users and the way in which this affordance of configurability *vis-à-vis* autonomy is communicated or signified through the design of choices to the user. If these choices do not empower the user to exercise its freedom of autonomy¹⁶⁶⁸ in a true sense, just making a provision of choice for the sake of it won't make the artifact or its code legitimate.

On a scale of configurability, the affordances could range from wired-in functionality that cannot be modified at one end, through default settings that offer certain choices to modify, to complete customization provision at the other end.¹⁶⁶⁹ It is pertinent to note that even at the level of 'complete customization,' the configurability is not really completely autonomous because the design considerations, by definition, restrict the limitless possibilities, that consequently defines the boundaries for the user to function autonomously. However, an important concern is how much the users are aware of their power to configure.¹⁶⁷⁰ Since it is entirely contingent upon the perception of the affordance of configurability *vis-à-vis* autonomy (freedom to choose), it is not sufficient if the affordance is only real but is unknown or so complex that it is not practicable to afford. There are also factors such as efficiency and the consideration of rookie users¹⁶⁷¹, which drive the design decisions in the real world. However, these goals, particularly with regard to the criteria for measurement of efficiency and

¹⁶⁶⁷ Rajiv C Shah and Christian Sandvig, 'Software Defaults as de Facto Regulation the Case of the Wireless Internet' (2008)11 Information, Community & Society 25, 42.

¹⁶⁶⁸ John Owens and Alan Cribb, "'My Fitbit Thinks I Can Do Better!"Do Health Promoting Wearable Technologies Support Personal Autonomy?' (2019) 32 Philosophy & Technology 23.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Kesan and Shah (n 991) 591.

¹⁶⁷⁰ ibid 597.

¹⁶⁷¹ ibid 600.

determination of the 'novice-ness' of the user, are largely vague, especially because the impact of the default would often impact on blurry values that are hard to quantify.¹⁶⁷²

The design process is also influenced by the legal philosophies of default rules¹⁶⁷³, which help to ponder over both immutable configurations that are wired-in and 'just' default configurations or what is merely arranged as a default and can yet be changed and adjusted.¹⁶⁷⁴ In case of immutable or wired-in configurations, it must be contestable, that is, the design must have provisions to notify the user and allow for judicial due process rights. In harmony with the affordances of due process and transparency, the user ought to be provided with an easy-to-use interface that permits them with the ability to personalize the configuration of the program or software.¹⁶⁷⁵ In situations where the settings do not have any material impact on the basic societal concerns, for example, data security or privacy, the laying down of the initial default configurations begins with the abstraction that 'this is what the target users would have intended and wanted', while adhering to the design and usability conventions.¹⁶⁷⁶ This 'would have wanted' code of behavior entails the 'figure' to anticipate the outcome had there been an opportunity to deliberate between itself and the user.¹⁶⁷⁷

Further, if an information asymmetry exists or emerges between the 'figure' and the user, it is essential that the default settings safeguard the interests of the user by providing them with enough appropriate information or guiding them to change the settings (to non-default) if they want.¹⁶⁷⁸ Thus, it is the responsibility of the 'figure' to explain the negative consequences of the non-default settings to the users before the user chooses them. In other words, the default settings are those which the 'figure' 'would not have intended and wanted' to be part of non-default settings that would require informing the users.

¹⁶⁷² ibid.

¹⁶⁷³ Alan Schwartz and Robert E Scott, 'The Common Law of Contract and the Default Rule Project' (2016) 102 Virginia Law Review 1523.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Kesan and Shah (n 991) 614.

¹⁶⁷⁵ ibid 615-616.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Norman, 'Affordance, Conventions, and Design' (n 900) 40.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Lilian Edwards, 'Data Protection and E-Privacy: From Spam and Cookies to Big Data, Machine Learning and Profiling' in Lilian Edwards (ed), *Law, Policy and the Internet* (Hart Publishing 2018).

¹⁶⁷⁸ Ian Ayres and Robert Gertner, 'Filling Gaps in Incomplete Contracts: An Economic Theory of Default Rules' (1989) 99 Yale Law Journal 87.

The justification for this 'would not have intended and wanted' code of behavior is grounded on the theory of externalities (often employed in Economics) which refers to wide-ranging negative impacts of the parties who are not directly related.¹⁶⁷⁹ By the same logic, the default settings should lessen these externalities. Especially when high stakes are involved, no 'regulatory margin' in defaults should be allowed, and the best-considered option should be wired in.¹⁶⁸⁰ The rigidity of a default setting gets strengthened by cognitive biases that influence the exercise of choice and autonomy by the user. Thus, it is all the more important for the 'figure' to initially configure the rule of code with the right list of objectives and interests.¹⁶⁸¹ The default settings and the 'stature' accorded to these settings in an interface can also influence the awareness of users about its usage. As such, it is essential for the 'figure' to clearly draw the attention of users to defaults that need more attention but are not so important that they have to be fixed or wired-in. These attention-seeking mechanisms can include, among others, alerts and notifications asking the user to make a choice. This mechanism is instrumental in affording positive deferment within the technology architecture. The user may be required to make a choice when they first use the application, with no predefined option to prompt the user's decision or a choice to avoid the configured organizational request. Further, the design of these affordances of autonomy must consider how the natural language affects and influences the understanding of the options.¹⁶⁸² The idea is that the design should not promote the goal of the business at the cost of legitimacy. A corollary to this logic is that it is de facto illegitimate to use adversarial design methods.

Analyzing 'choice' from the perspective of configurability and autonomy adds nuance to the rather straight forward idea that more choice is, per se, better, and technological normativity preserves the possibility of choice. As a principle, the spirit of legitimacy should be exhibited at each locale as the user rides through the inscriptions of the artifact by its affordances. If the choice is not appropriate, then it may not be sufficient to ensure the legitimacy of the code. Simply providing more options is not the objective of the design; rather, it must afford environments to exercise autonomy in a meaningful way.

¹⁶⁷⁹ ibid; Eric A Posner, 'There Are No Penalty Default Rules in Contract Law' (2006) 33 Florida State University Law Review563.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Kesan and Shah (n 991) 621–622.

¹⁶⁸¹ ibid 633.

¹⁶⁸² Cass R Sunstein and Richard H Thaler, 'Libertarian Paternalism Is Not an Oxymoron' (2003) 70 University of Chicago Law Review 1159, 1179–1183.

A necessary requirement for implementing blockchain applications for humanitarian purposes is mitigating the 'rule-festishness' characteristic of code. One approach to do that is to reconsider the 'rule-fetish' attribute simply as stewards of the multi-interpretability and focus on what ought to be effected programmatically. For example, the objective of the Wise Contract¹⁶⁸³ is not just automation of the purposive elements of a contract-like agreement but rather maintaining the flexibility of text-based agreements and supplementing it with limited functionalities of code that complements the text based agreements.¹⁶⁸⁴ Minimum code semantics are applied to the natural language text of the agreement to enable the rule of code characteristics through the use of hash function and public key cryptography. Since the actual text of the agreement preserves all the nuanced interpretations that a natural language can accommodate¹⁶⁸⁵, this arrangement facilitates combining the notional immutability of the agreement with the inherent flexibility of expression. Thus, the code contributes to producing the ancillary advantages to the essential terms and conditions of the agreement, reflecting the substantive content of the contract in the format of immutability and 'radix' checking while retaining the human aspects of the execution of the agreement. In this case, choices are not included in inscriptions or codes and thus are outside this rule of code environment. "Within the rule of code-based regimes, inescapable problems of inclusiveness and determinacy that arise at the code rule-programming stage can be addressed at the enforcement stage through sensitive interpretation and application".¹⁶⁸⁶ Restricting the rule-fetishness of blockchain code to such ancillary benefits evidently avoids a 'strong legalism' outcome, but in practice, it may cause a dent in the perceived value of the application.

The idea of 'conflicts' in technological artifacts deals with the issue of choice and the function of design while acting in response to the interests of different stakeholders.¹⁶⁸⁷ The 'figure' ought to anticipate the conflicts that may arise due to techno-legal, social, or even economic reasons. Due to the tension between the commercial interests of *crypto-legalism* and the spirit of legitimacy, it leads to the construction of a room for conflict. This conflict room is used by

¹⁶⁸³ It is commonly referred to as Ricardian contract.

¹⁶⁸⁴ James Hazard and Helena Haapio, 'Wise Contracts: Smart Contracts That Work for People and Machines' (20th International Legal Informatics Symposium (IRIS 2017), 2017) 425.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Hildebrandt, 'The Adaptive Nature of Text-Driven Law' (n 1120).

¹⁶⁸⁶ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207) 93.

¹⁶⁸⁷ Dirk Trossen and Alexandros Kostopoulos, 'Exploring the Tussle Space for Information-Centric Networking' (TPRC 2011).

the 'figure' to press forward its interests such that the rule-fetishness and immutability attribute provide predictability, the characteristic of obscurantism ensures protection of commercial and trade secrets but conceals vacillating normativities, while the attribute of instantaneity yields prompt feedback and tangible outcomes that can be marketed. Thus, this demonstrates a possible conflict situation between the interests of the user and that of the 'figure', since the efforts of the 'figure' are directed towards channeling the user's behavior in predictable and profitable ways.

It is important to anticipate conflict points during the programming phase so as to avoid any challenges during execution. The affordance of configurability *vis-à-vis* autonomy can deal with these conflicts by anticipating problems and making provisions for choices for different possibilities. Designs that are rigid will fail to hold whereas those that accommodate variability will adapt and ensure.¹⁶⁸⁸ Although there are concerns associated with infrastructural designs¹⁶⁸⁹, there are designs that afford autonomy to users and promote equal treatment to all. Of course, the extent of autonomy to be exercised depends on the main aspirations of the design of the artifact. This fulfills the requirement of the code to allow users to make choices to uphold their moral compass.

The constitutive power of the 'figure', which is the ability to shape the behavior and preferences of the user, thus drifts away from the 'figure' when the provision of choice is allowed to occupy the conflict room.¹⁶⁹⁰ Since this requirement, once articulated in code, impacts the business model of the 'figure' leading to possible existential questions about the desirability of a given application, it calls for an assessment of the design of the artifact through Fullerian design standard 2 on promulgation of norms, in relation to the principle of alternativity which requires that there should be a 'good reason' to impose a 'rule-fetish' and 'immutable' rule instead of leaving a room for choice. Therefore, this standard demands that not only should it be more desirable to implement the unconfigurable normativity in the code rather than configurable normativity or affordance of configurability, but also there must be a necessity for rigid application of the rule itself, rather than relying on less rule-fetish mechanism like a recommended default, or a modifiable setting.¹⁶⁹¹ In the present context, Fullerian design

¹⁶⁸⁸ David D Clark and others, 'Tussle in Cyberspace: Defining Tomorrow's Internet' (ACM SIGCOMM'02, 2002) 347, 348.

¹⁶⁸⁹ David D Clark, 'Tools of Engagement: Mapping the Tussles in Cyberspace' (2010) MIT Political Science Department, ECIR Working Paper No. 2010-4.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Clark and others (n 1688) 350–353.

¹⁶⁹¹ Pak-Hang Wong, 'Democratizing Algorithmic Fairness' (2020) 33 Philosophy & Technology 225.

standard 2, read in line with the principle of alternativity, would evaluate first the necessity of having a particular description or inscription for the operation of the artifact and demand a justification for such an inscription or description for deteriorating social interaction. If it is not, then it can be concluded that the restriction on the user's freedom is neither necessary nor justified and, hence, should not be included *a priori* in the design.

If a particular affordance is considered necessary, the next logical question would then be about the rule-fetishness of the implementation – how does the 'figure' achieve the functionality needs of the artifact through wired-in codes? Would the user be provided an opportunity to exercise choice or an option for complaisant configuration by the code? Or does it imply there is a necessity for nudging, or inscription, or wiring-in of one of the possible options to exclude others? While nudging is less constraining, wiring-in is the most rule-fetish form of technological normativity. Of course, Fullerian design standard 2 would require that the resolution to opt for a more rule-fetish, less choice-oriented design approach must be backed by justification since such a decision places larger restrictions on the freedom of the user.

Within the concept of 'conflicts', the anticipation of conflict of interest is associated with the concept of agonism in the rule of law,¹⁶⁹² meaning thereby that it can be productive to have a confrontational argument that facilitates contrasting opinions to be voiced and to reach conciliation. Since dissent is at "*the core of the rule of law*"¹⁶⁹³, the design can consciously promote and permit dissent in the form of *ex-ante* participatory design processes¹⁶⁹⁴, which considers the views of all the stakeholders and targets to achieve an agreement at the design stage. Of course, such approaches are not expected to be adopted in all cases.¹⁶⁹⁵ Participatory design processes such as constructive technology assessment strive to legitimize a prototype by incorporating the views of the different parties in its substantive characteristics.¹⁶⁹⁶ Since the stakeholders, in a sense, have approved the features, the design is considered legitimate. This is a separate concern from the perspective of *crypto-legitimacy* that I am trying to aim for,

 ¹⁶⁹² Mireille Hildebrandt, 'Algorithmic Regulation and the Rule of Law' (2018) 376 Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society A: Mathematical, Physical and Engineering Sciences 20170355, at 7–8.
 ¹⁶⁹³ ibid 7.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Henrik Carlsen and others, 'Assessing Socially Disruptive Technological Change' (2010) 32 Technology in Society 209.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Marie Lena Heidingsfelder, Fabian Bitter and Ronja Ullrich, 'Debate through Design. Incorporating Contrary Views on New and Emerging Technologies' (2019) 22 The Design Journal 723.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Jacquelin Burgess and Jason Chilvers, 'Upping the Ante: A Conceptual Framework for Designing and Evaluating Participatory Technology Assessments' (2006) 33 Science and Public Policy 713.

as these processes are developed on the merit of inclusion of diversity of actors instead of any causal hypothesis that provides legitimacy.¹⁶⁹⁷ Instead of a minimalist idea of the rule of law that does not depend on or influence the substantive views of the participants on the quality of a design, these approaches follow the maximalist notion of the rule of law.¹⁶⁹⁸

Since, alongside the 'room' for conflicts, the preservation of an agonistic room can also be treated as a constitutional principle in the programming of the rule of code, it is quite feasible to preserve the room for both choice and agonism to circumvent forcing one outcome *ex-ante* and consequently *ex-post*. This design configuration for (autonomous) choice considerations implicitly direct the 'figure' to 'retreat' deliberately from imposing any constitutive outcome, and thereby preserving room for agonism and conflict within the operating landscape of the technological artifact. While this leads to a contraction of the realm of the morality of duty, such as *crypto-legalism* and external limitation on freedom, the aspirational domain, such as legality and individual freedom gets bigger. The decisions at the design time facilitate this change in agonism at the runtime, and at the same time, the design also affords room for agonism during its operation. Yet 'agonism' is still considered as an operational feature of the artifact rather than as a design feature. How far it is possible to implement this extended affordance of autonomy (to choose) will depend on the artifact's intended use.

An important practical design approach for facilitating a conflict room is to modularize different functions of the artifact so that a separation of interest is maintained which means that the function within the conflict room must become disjoined from the functions that fall outside the boundary of the room.¹⁶⁹⁹ This idea gels well with Fullerian design standard 2, which also demands conformity to the principle of normative density. When Fullerian design standard 2, closely connected with the notion of normative density, is associated with code, it connotes that the bundling together of the rule of code norms that are not conceptually related should be avoided because the user should not be forced to accept heterogeneous normativities which are

¹⁶⁹⁷ ibid.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Jørgen Møller and Svend-Erik Skaaning, 'Systematizing Thin and Thick Rule of Law Definitions', *The Rule of Law: Definitions, Measures, Patterns and Causes* (Palgrave Macmillan 2014) 13; Rodolfo Sarsfield, 'Conceptualizing the Rule of Law' in Juan Antonio Le Clercq and Jose Pablo A Sacramento (eds), *Rebuilding the State Institutions: Challenges for Democratic Rule of Law in Mexico* (Springer 2020) 19.

¹⁶⁹⁹ Vint Cerf and Patrick Ryan, 'Internet Governance Is Our Shared Responsibility' (2014) 10 I/S: A Journal of Law and Policy for the Information Society 1; Clark and others (n 1688) 348; Costas Kalogiros, Alexandros Kostopoulos and Alan Ford, 'On Designing for Tussle: Future Internet in Retrospect' in Miquel Oliver and Sebastia Sallent (eds), *The Internet of the Future* (Springer 2009).

not essential in the eyes of the user. This notion can be demonstrated in the consent mechanism established by GDPR, wherein the regulation mandates separate consent for separate processing operations and does not allow bundling of consent with the performance when the latter is dependent upon the former.¹⁷⁰⁰

When these normativities display *crypto-legalism*, their agglomeration in an artifact can result in serious adverse consequences as their legalistic features amplify the ramifications on one another. Modularization of different elements of normativity according to their specific features or functions can enhance the ability of the user to understand the effects of the system. This assumes importance since only the 'figure' is able to modularize the design along the contours of conflict, preventing the issues from escalating.¹⁷⁰¹ Segmentation of these distinct functionalities facilitates and enhances user comprehension, enabling more targeted responses to each aspect. This underscores the bond and friction between the affordance of configurability vis-a-vis autonomy and default configurations.

From the perspective of the user, designing to afford autonomy in choice (choosing) in an artifact needs the inscriptions to be responsive to various architectural consequences of blockchains, such as the technological normativity typical to blockchain and *de facto* immutability. As the normative density or the normative impact of the logic of the code increases, the necessity to preserve autonomy over choice also becomes significant. In real life, it is achieved through featuring notifications to the user, defining appropriate choices, and including suitable logic to deal with the end result. However, anticipating all the pertinent points where choice would be required is very problematic in the case of blockchains, given its unusual characteristics. Actually, these requirements may challenge the very basis of deploying blockchain applications, particularly those that are powered to perform with minimal or no human involvement, raising a further fundamental question about the *a priori* legitimacy of such applications.

10.2.3. Instantaneity

As illustrated on the graph, the next attribute in line with a *crypto-legalistic* tendency is instantaneity of code, where it is comparatively easier to balance its origin instinctual nature with affordance of configurability *vis-à-vis* affordance of autonomy and affordance of

¹⁷⁰⁰ Articles 7(2) and 7(4); Recitals 32, 42, and 43, General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) – Legal Text, (n 1298).

¹⁷⁰¹ Clark and others (n 1688) 348.

deferment. Instantaneity of code does not necessarily imply a fixed or predetermined outcome, as rule-fetishness and immutability do. The instantaneity of code means that code executes as soon as possible, without waiting for human validation or intervention – it preserves the original functionality and purpose of the code without allowing external factors or actors to interfere or modify it. However, the code can still be configurable, autonomous, and deferable, depending on the design and logic of the code. For example, a smart contract can execute instantly, but it can also have parameters that can be changed by the users, or conditions that can trigger different actions, or events that can delay or cancel the execution.

When the attribute of the instantaneity of code is read in line with the Fullerian design standards 5 and 6 - contradictory and impossible rules – it is deduced that the contradictions and lack of consistency in the language of the rule of code can confuse the user at the interface level and impossible code rules can steer the users into no logical solution scenarios, when the rule of code executes instantaneously and automatically, without the need for human intervention. Similarly, frequent modifications and alterations to the code can introduce significant complications. When users become habituated to certain processes or methods of an artifact, then if changes are affected by a software update, coping with such changes could be problematic as the scope for such changes would vary depending on the artifact's utility. In real life, modifications in respect of the design of the interfaces of online platforms have bewildered the users so much so that causing backlash.¹⁷⁰² Apart from changes to code, changes to the functionalities of the artifact can also have significant implications. For example, the periodic changes effected to the algorithm of Facebook considerably alters the results and affects the perception of the users, having wide societal implications.¹⁷⁰³

From the point of view of Fuller's principle of inner morality, the instantaneity of code brings up design standard 2 in relation to the notion of normative density that requires *ex-ante* consideration of design for the immediate imposition of a given normative configuration. As instantaneity also heightens the density of the technological normativity, it involves Fullerian design standard 7 emphasizing the principle of temporality that demands sensitivity towards

¹⁷⁰² Sebastian Sevignani, 'The Problem of Privacy in Capitalism and Alternative Social Media: The case of Diaspora' in Christian Fuchs and Vincent Mosco (eds), *Marx in the Age of Digital Capitalism* (Brill, 2016) 413-446.

¹⁷⁰³ Tarleton Gillespie, 'Algorithmically Recognizable: Santorum's Google Problem, and Google's Santorum Problem' in David Beer (ed), *The Social Power of Algorithms* (Routledge 2019).

the application of normative standards and the continuing justifications necessary to maintain the relevance and appropriateness of the method utilized in pursuit of normative objectives.

10.2.3.1. Affordance of Configurability

The human-in-the-loop principle is the primary mechanism for affordance of configurability in code-mediated processes. It is possible to differentiate between the components of the technical process that can be performed mechanically by an apparatus and those that necessitate human involvement particularly because the latter encompasses essential human actions required to validate the output of the machine. This distinction is crucial, as each of these components carry important social, legal, and ethical values, that influence the overall operation and accountability of the system

The application of this principle can be seen in autonomous weapon systems, where the ultimate decision to trigger the systems is taken by a human controller, even though such systems boast of being autonomous all the way.¹⁷⁰⁴ In this regard, from a policing perspective, the conservation of inefficiency principle can be suggested, according to which, by retaining some degree of human discretion within the enforcement process, a certain level of legitimacy can be ensured.¹⁷⁰⁵ The human-in-the-loop principle is a form of necessary fortification against the inflexible and rigid code that suggests a proportionate increase of the desirable inefficiency and indeterminacy when actions such as surveillance and crime detection are preset in code.¹⁷⁰⁶

In cases where the users themselves assume the role of the human-in-the-loop, the interfaces must afford users' notification, choice as well as configurability before the execution of the code. Further, all the relevant information should be delivered in tranches at appropriate intervals through notifications as the user moves ahead through the imprints of code, rather than front-loading the entire information at the beginning along with the voluminous terms and conditions of the agreement when the user might not be able to visualize all possible implications.¹⁷⁰⁷ The objective is to granularize permissions, ensuring they are contextually

¹⁷⁰⁴ Jack M Beard, 'Autonomous Weapons and Human Responsibilities' (2014) 45 Georgetown Journal of International Law.
617; Winner, *Autonomous Technology: Technics-out-of-Control as a Theme in Political Thought* (n 1163).

 ¹⁷⁰⁵ Woodrow Hartzog and others, 'Inefficiently Automated Law Enforcement' (2016) Michigan State Law Review 1763.
 ¹⁷⁰⁶ ibid 1763–1778.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Ludmila Lupinacci, 'Phenomenal Algorhythms: The Sensorial Orchestration of "Real-Time" in the Social Media Manifold' (2022) New Media & Society 14614448221109952; José Van Dijck and Thomas Poell, 'Understanding Social Media Logic' (2013) 1 Media and Communication 2.

applicable, and to empower users to make an informed decision, based on this tailored information.

Human in the loop principle is also essential to maintain indeterminacy, which refers to certain aspects of an episode that are not effectively reflected in the code.¹⁷⁰⁸ Whereas code can impose such interpretation, under-determinacy should be retained to allow appropriate responses considering the subjective and complex nature of the real world.¹⁷⁰⁹ In such scenarios, the human has a role in closing the contextual gaps which suffer from insensitivity shown by computational representations towards them, but which are still crucial to the pursuit of user autonomy or justice.¹⁷¹⁰ The broad objective is to ensure that the design affords the human-in-the-loop principle at appropriate points in code through the affordance of configurability so that wired-in code does not erode the aspirations of freedom and autonomy.

While text as a normative vehicle is shallow, code is said to have depth, which cannot be easily observed and comprehended due to its intrinsic complexities.¹⁷¹¹ Therefore, the focus is on designing interfaces that afford the appropriate deferment in blockchain applications, alongside an appropriate autonomy and configuration, allowing technical feedback so as to facilitate a model for the user to visualize what is going to happen next.¹⁷¹² "Unless there is some feedback mechanism by which failure in the design standards can be appropriately communicated to designers" to rectify or modify "the failure will continue to repeat itself within the system".¹⁷¹³ Thus, in blockchain applications, it is essential to conduct prior assessments of the consequences arising from the near instantaneous and predetermined execution of code according to its embedded preset logic. This necessitates introduction of mechanism that provide appropriate affordance of configurability vis-à-vis autonomy along with the affordance of deferment when appropriate.

10.2.3.2. Affordance of Deferment

Many of the considerations of rule-fetishness also apply to instantaneity. Since the blockchain applications are code-based, they can be instantaneously enforced without relying on

¹⁷⁰⁸ Pasquale (n 760) 49.

¹⁷⁰⁹ Hildebrandt, 'Legal and Technological Normativity: More (and Less) than Twin Sisters' (n 447) 177.

¹⁷¹⁰ Hartzog and others (n 1705) 1785.

¹⁷¹¹ John Cayley, 'The Code Is Not the Text (Unless It Is the Text)' (2002) 10 Electronic Book Review.

¹⁷¹² Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207) 93–94.

¹⁷¹³ ibid.

interventions of institutions and human-enabled transfers.¹⁷¹⁴ Although speed and mindless execution of the rule of code are the prototypical elements of *crypto-legalism*, it has its own pitfalls. Though blockchain can be beneficial to the legal system and society, its "*increased automation could result in decreased freedom and autonomy*".¹⁷¹⁵

The affordances of text as a mode result in the existence and character of law¹⁷¹⁶, which in turn allows the legal norms to facilitate understanding and consensus through democratic evolution and appropriate response to societal changes.¹⁷¹⁷ However, when legal norms are instantiated in code programming, they become under-determined and subject to interpretation, depending on the perspective of the interpretation. While the affordance of text as a technology facilitates understanding and consensus, it is, in principle, contingent upon the 'figure' for its implementation. Further, since the 'figure' responsible for developing the technology generally believes that inefficiency and friction are inherently against the interests of the user, a serious commitment on the part of the 'figure' is called for considering the inelastic nature of the code. However, such a stand undermines a market-centered rationality that (supposedly) presumes both instrumental and intrinsic values of the user. The important point here is to identify the intersectional points where the instrumental concept of 'efficiency' is necessary. The potential to remove the perceived inefficiency of the processes and systems is the hallmark of blockchain applications.¹⁷¹⁸ Unless the code is designed appropriately, this could be very problematic. When the immutability of a blockchain is combined with poor designing of code, it could be indeed serious. As has been observed by De Filippi and Wright, the smart contracts' automated and instantaneous characteristics, along with their inability to modify the rule of code embedded within it, may cause even a flawed piece of code to run continuously, causing harm to all parties concerned.¹⁷¹⁹ Therefore, identifying the points where it is required to avoid the concept of efficiency to protect broader value is important. However, this method to deal with inefficiency is not to be encouraged where the 'figure' does not optimize the code. In any case, such a step would be arbitrary since the deferments that are introduced or maintained depend on the expertise and conscientiousness of the 'figure' in identifying and improving them. In

¹⁷¹⁴ Levy (n 733); Werbach and Cornell (n 106).

¹⁷¹⁵ Wright and De Filippi (n 1) 43.

¹⁷¹⁶ Hildebrandt, Smart Technologies and the End (s) of Law: Novel Entanglements of Law and Technology (n 548).

¹⁷¹⁷ Chapter 3, ibid.

¹⁷¹⁸ Chapter 3, ibid.

¹⁷¹⁹ De Filippi and Wright (n 134) 201.

some cases, it might even be irresponsible, where the broader objectives suffer due to the lack of optimization, which adversely impacts what should be universal goals. In a way, identifying the values that are critical to the user and deliberately implementing deferments in the code's inscriptions is the key.

This brings us to the conceptualization of "desirable inefficiency"¹⁷²⁰, wherein the efficiency of the code is tempered on purpose to preserve certain values that might be weakened otherwise.¹⁷²¹ Efficiency can be defined as how well the rule of code reduces the use of resources like space, time, energy, or cost to achieve a specified acceptability requirement for a given task.¹⁷²² In the case of a desirable inefficiency approach, some goals of 'efficiency' are sacrificed to solve certain other problems. Such an approach tries to provide a solution for the two-pronged problem. At the primary level, the technical outcome that is "the mechanistic metrics of success and failure"¹⁷²³, sought by the 'figure' is the problem, whereas at the secondary level, necessitating "human judgment, values, or discretion in the definition of success and failure"¹⁷²⁴ is the problem. The problem at the secondary level needs the intentional imposition of inefficiency, enabling humans to perform something that only humans are capable of. The notion of desirable inefficiency calls for the exploration of a novel interdisciplinary research plan to examine the integration and incorporation of values into code.¹⁷²⁵ In our day-to-day interactions with technology, we come across many digital speedbumps and stop signboards - securing mobile phones with numerical or pattern passcodes, which is an example of desirable inefficiency. If a wrong passcode is entered, there is a mandatory deferment in entering the second time. This mandatory waiting time will increase, and even the phone will refuse to respond for some time if several incorrect attempts are made to unlock the phone.¹⁷²⁶ Here, phone designers use time deferments to make the unlocking process inefficient in order to prevent thieves from rapidly guessing the passcode of the

¹⁷²⁰ Paul Ohm and Jonathan Frankle, 'Desirable Inefficiency' (2018) 70 Florida. Law Review. 777.

¹⁷²¹ ibid.

¹⁷²² Phillip Stanley-Marbell and others, 'Exploiting Errors for Efficiency: A Survey from Circuits to Applications' (2020) 53 ACM Computing Surveys (CSUR) 1.

¹⁷²³ Joshua A Kroll, 'The Fallacy of Inscrutability' (2018) 376 Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society A: Mathematical, Physical and Engineering Sciences 20180084.

¹⁷²⁴ Ohm and Frankle (n 1720) 31.

¹⁷²⁵ ibid 5.

¹⁷²⁶ Clay Christensen, Michael E Raynor and Rory McDonald, 'What is Disruptive Innovation?' (2015) Harvard Business Review https://hbr.org/2015/12/what-is-disruptive-innovation> accessed 15 October 2024.

device.¹⁷²⁷ With this built-in inefficiency, the aim of the 'figure' is to maintain equilibrium between the inconvenience imposed on the user and the security of the device.¹⁷²⁸

Desired inefficiency is also consciously introduced in blockchain proof-of-work applications. The operation of storing the output of a transaction in a blockchain application database, which otherwise is almost instantaneous, can and may be designed to be inefficient so that the values of trust and clock time can be reintroduced.¹⁷²⁹ In such applications, while the fundamental challenge is achieving "*tamper-resistant validation*" of transactions, the enhanced problem is "*fair validation*" of transactions¹⁷³⁰ which adds a layer of complexity to the validation process.

Moreover, the service of 'human' processing systems does matter in several circumstances. The idea of applying desirable inefficiency to the code at the interface end of the user is particularly meaningful when it facilitates other human values, such as respect for autonomy or affordance of autonomy. Sometimes, even if it is technically feasible to achieve greater efficiency, opting for a less efficient design may be preferable. This choice makes it viable to segregate the elements in the design of the artifact, which involves diverging or conflicting interests.¹⁷³¹ The deliberate inclusion of slowness and inefficiency in the code's design can assist to incorporate broader normative standards and values. The objective is to set up slowness and inefficiency as potentially beneficial features.

The conceptualization of desirable inefficiency, when incorporated into the user-facing code in terms of affordances and inscriptions, can throttle *lex cryptographic* instantaneity in favor of comprehension and empowerment. By purposefully reducing temporal compression, fragmentation and densification in the user-code interactions, the notion of slow computing pitchforks humans to the forefront of technology.¹⁷³² Such a viewpoint also connects with the philosophy of technology that considers instantaneity as a major risk to the rule of law vis-a-

¹⁷²⁷ Morten Bay, 'The Ethics of Unbreakable Encryption: Rawlsian Privacy and the San Bernardino iPhone' (2017) 22 First Monday.

¹⁷²⁸ Lorrie Faith Cranor and Simson Garfinkel, *Security and Usability: Designing Secure Systems That People Can Use* (O'Reilly Media, 2005).

¹⁷²⁹ Ohm and Frankle (n 1720) 19–22.

¹⁷³⁰ ibid 29–30.

¹⁷³¹ Clark (n 1689).

¹⁷³² Alistair Fraser and Rob Kitchin, *Slow Computing* (Bristol University Press 2020).

vis justice.¹⁷³³ Therefore, the rule of law values ought to be accorded with reasonable time and space to function in the social domain without being constrained by the notion of efficiency and strategic manipulation that is centered on technological rationality.¹⁷³⁴ Since the rule of law largely depends on communicative rationality and, thereby, on the provision of 'open rooms'. Thus, the affordance of deferment is about limiting "*technological rationality*", such as certainty, efficiency, and speed, in favor of those rooms.¹⁷³⁵ At the same time, it is linked to a counterintuitive notion that fosters ambiguity intentionally in an affordance so that the responses of the user are not limited to only those possibilities constituted by the 'figure'.

Similar to the affordance of configurability, the affordance of deferment also entails identifying and recognizing suitable circumstances where a certain amount of autonomy ought to be afforded to the user. This allows them to assess the circumstances before continuing with further code execution.¹⁷³⁶ Since every possible outcome of execution cannot be foreseen in advance,¹⁷³⁷ any attempt to hedge emergencies emerging due to the same will probably launch unforeseen and undesirable results. At the same time, the concept of imposing friction is strongly rebuffed in blockchain applications.

However, lack of friction often opposes the exercises of autonomy demonstrated through choices and consequences.¹⁷³⁸ Automatic sharing of everyday events, such as going to the groceries or exercising in fitness studio on social media platforms without any information feeding by the user, is a simple outcome of a reduction in frictional code.¹⁷³⁹ Due to the incorporation of the affordance of deferment into the technological system, the user has to follow a couple of steps, like manually inputting the information into the application and then confirming it to share online and also, in some cases, manually choosing the individuals to

¹⁷³³ Andrew D Zimmerman, 'Toward a More Democratic Ethic of Technological Governance' (1995) 20 Science, Technology, & Human Values 86.

¹⁷³⁴ Andrew Feenberg, Between Reason and Experience: Essays in Technology and Modernity (MIT Press 2010).

¹⁷³⁵ Chapter 2, Cohen, Configuring the Networked Self: Law, Code, and the Play of Everyday Practice (n 953).

¹⁷³⁶ Francesco Vitale, William Odom and Joanna McGrenere, 'Keeping and Discarding Personal Data: Exploring a Design Space' (Designing Interactive Systems Conference (DIS '19), 2019) 1463.

¹⁷³⁷ Bhargavan and others (n 1103).

¹⁷³⁸ Chiara Krisam and others, 'Dark Patterns in the Wild: Review of Cookie Disclaimer Designs on Top 500 German Websites' (European Symposium on Usable Security (EuroUSEC 2021), 2021); Narayanan and others (n 937) 82.

¹⁷³⁹ Brett Frischmann and Susan Benesch, 'Friction-In-Design Regulation as 21st Century Time, Place, and Manner Restriction' (2023) 25 Yale Journal of Law & Technology 376.

share the details with. Unlike the one-click mechanism¹⁷⁴⁰, the aforementioned 'non-automated' steps involve thoughtful and conscious decisions by the user.

If designs are not complemented with appropriate informative identifiers, then such designs, even if provisioned with efficient affordances, can have unanticipated and unfavourable outcomes. For example, the frictionless sharing feature of Instagram in connection with Facebook is problematic for many as they do not realize with whom they are sharing intimate posts.¹⁷⁴¹ From that perspective, the notion of friction connects with the design process where the quantum of friction presupposes a compound design decision, that instinctively benefits certain users while being burdensome for others.¹⁷⁴² In this context, the ability to share should not be switched on as a design principle before the execution of the act itself. According to this concept of friction, "*it should not be easier to share an action online as compared to doing it*".¹⁷⁴³ Of course, analogous principles could be applied to any rule of code-based step that will have normative effects and the code should afford the user an opportunity to consider before taking the next step. Thus, by deliberately designing friction into the relevant parts of the code of the artifact as an affordance of deferment, users are given an opportunity to review and make a considered decision before the code executes the next step.¹⁷⁴⁴

10.2.4. Obscurantism

As represented on the graph, out of all the characteristics of blockchain code, obscurantism is the attribute whose *crypto-legalistic* nature can be balanced with the affordance of transparency relatively easily. Obscurantism of code is not inherent or essential to the system but rather contingent or optional. That is, the obscurantism of code is not a necessary feature of blockchain code but rather a design choice or a consequence of other factors. Therefore, obscurantism in code can be reduced or eliminated by changing the design or the implementation of the code or by providing additional information or tools to the users. For example, the code can be made more readable, documented, or standardized, or the system can provide interfaces, dashboards, or audits that reveal the code, its functionality, its execution,

 ¹⁷⁴⁰ Rebecca A Hayes, Caleb T Carr and Donghee Yvette Wohn, 'One Click, Many Meanings: Interpreting Paralinguistic
 Digital Affordances in Social Media' (2016) 60 Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media 171.
 ¹⁷⁴¹ ibid.

¹⁷⁴² William McGeveran, 'The Law of Friction', (2013) University of Chicago Legal Forum 15, 53–54.

¹⁷⁴³ ibid 63.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Ryan Calo, 'Code, Nudge, or Notice' (2013) 99 Iowa Law Review 773.

and its outcomes.¹⁷⁴⁵ The other attributes of code, on the other hand, are more inherent to the system and, therefore, more difficult to balance with the rule of law affordances. The attributes such as rule-fetishness, immutability, and instantaneity are necessary features of blockchain code, or at least desirable for the system to achieve its commercial goals. Therefore, changing or compromising these attributes of code can affect the functionality, performance, or security of the system or undermine its purpose or value.¹⁷⁴⁶

In the context of *crypto-legalism*, obscurantism is primarily associated with Fullerian design standards 2 and 4, which describe the promulgation of rules in relation to the principles of alternativity and normative density and clarity of rules. As per Fullerian design standard 2, ordinary rules by which the citizens are governed must be known to them so that they can press for their rights, responsibilities, and entitlements when disregarded by the administrative authorities. Further, there ought to be agreement or harmony between the rule and the official action derived from it, in consonance with the Fullerian design standard 8. Of course, citizens are also empowered to observe the operation of the artifacts, an essential precondition to challenge the rules. Attaining the legality of rules is very difficult or impossible when the rules are obscure and incoherent. A rule should be intelligible for it to be legally validated and legitimate.

The use of the rule of code is subjected to a higher threshold of justification since the user is not able to see the rules incorporated in the code. Though the threshold of justification is lowered with the decrease in the level of rule-fetish measures the design adopts, the obscurantism of the code must be considered in the best interests of the user. In relation with the notion of normative density, Fullerian design standard 2 enunciates that it could be challenging for the users to comprehend the intensity of the technological normativity to which their behavior has been subjected, if the code becomes opaquer. Threats of penalty are positioned at the more dense end of the normative density spectrum, while simple recommendations are positioned at the less dense end. With this, Fullerian design standard 2 envisages balancing the policy objectives and the means to achieve the same. At the same time, the usage of a specific designing procedure must be validated taking into account other design

¹⁷⁴⁵ Fabio Tollon, 'Artifacts and Affordances: From Designed Properties to Possibilities for Action' (2022) 37 AI & Society 239.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Rebecca Adler-Nissen and Alena Drieschova, 'Track-Change Diplomacy: Technology, Affordances, and the Practice of International Negotiations' (2019) 63 International Studies Quarterly 531.

standards, specifically whether substitute instruments have accomplished similar results more legitimately. The user often assumes that the characteristics of the code are natural and not just some possibilities among innumerable others. This obscurantism surrounding normative impact becomes especially pronounced in situations where there is a necessity to legitimize strong configurations of dis-affordances and inscriptions that guide the behavior of the user.

10.2.4.1. Affordance of Transparency

Social scientists and scholars from the humanities support 'explainability', which covers both descriptive accounts and critical simulations.¹⁷⁴⁷ From the perspective of affordance of transparency, even though the code is accessible by all in a public blockchain, the problem of command code rule (source code) transparency potentially persists – the artifact does not automatically become comprehensible to the user by having access to the application's code. In the case of blockchain applications, initiatives such as solidity contracts that allow special forms of comments are an effort to address this problem.¹⁷⁴⁸ This special form of comments, named the Ethereum Natural Specification Format (NatSpec)¹⁷⁴⁹ facilitates rich documentation for various functions and variables and segmentation thereof into developer-focused messages and user-facing messages. When the user interacts with the contract, it can access these messages. By using NatSpec, the 'figure' can provide descriptive code commentaries about the operation of the application from which a natural language explanation can be automatically generated.¹⁷⁵⁰ Here is an example of how NatSpec comments can be used in the code to document a blockchain application designed for digital identity management:

/// @title Digital Identity Management Smart Contract

/// @notice This smart contract allows users to create and manage their digital identities on the blockchain.

contract DigitalIdentityManager {

¹⁷⁴⁷ Ellie Rennie and others, 'Toward a Participatory Digital Ethnography of Blockchain Governance' (2022) 28 Qualitative Inquiry 837.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Elif Hilal Umucu, 'Solidity: Smart Contract Language or Legal Contract Language' (2021) SSRN Electronic Journal http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3916072>. accessed 15 October 2024.

¹⁷⁴⁹ 'NatSpec Format — Solidity 0.8.26 Documentation' https://docs.soliditylang.org/en/latest/natspec-format.html accessed 15 October 2024.

 ¹⁷⁵⁰ Christopher D Clack, 'Languages for Smart and Computable Contracts' (2022) in Jason Allen and Peter Hunn (eds), *Smart Legal Contracts: Computable Law in Theory and Practice* (Oxford University Press 2022) https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780192858467.003.0013> accessed 15 Oct. 2024.

```
struct Identity {
   string username;
   string email;
   address userAddress;
   bool isVerified;
}
```

// Mapping of Ethereum addresses to digital identities
mapping(address => Identity) public identities;

/// @notice Create a new digital identity.

/// @dev The caller's Ethereum address will be linked to this identity.

/// @param _username The desired username for the identity.

/// @param _email The email address for the identity.

function createIdentity(string memory _username, string memory _email) public {

require(bytes(_username).length > 0, "Username cannot be empty");

require(bytes(_email).length > 0, "Email cannot be empty");

require(identities[msg.sender].userAddress == address(0), "Identity already exists for this address");

```
identities[msg.sender] = Identity({
    username: _username,
    email: _email,
    userAddress: msg.sender,
    isVerified: false
});
```

```
}
```

/// @notice Verify an identity.

/// @dev Only authorized entities can verify identities.

/// @param _userAddress The Ethereum address of the identity to be verified.

function verifyIdentity(address _userAddress) public {

require(msg.sender == authorizedVerifier, "Only authorized entities can verify identities");

require(identities[_userAddress].userAddress != address(0), "Identity does not exist for this address");

identities[_userAddress].isVerified = true;

}

/// @notice Get information about an identity.

/// @param _userAddress The Ethereum address of the identity.

 $/\!/\!/$ @return username The username associated with the identity.

/// @return email The email associated with the identity.

```
/// @return isVerified A boolean indicating if the identity is verified.
function getIdentityInfo(address _userAddress) public view returns (string memory
username, string memory email, bool isVerified) {
    Identity memory identity = identities[_userAddress];
    return (identity.username, identity.email, identity.isVerified);
}
```

address public authorizedVerifier;

```
/// @notice Set an authorized entity to verify identities.
/// @dev Only the owner of the contract can set the verifier.
/// @param _verifier The Ethereum address of the authorized entity.
function setAuthorizedVerifier(address _verifier) public {
    require(msg.sender == owner, "Only the owner can set the verifier");
    authorizedVerifier = _verifier;
  }
}
```

In this example, /// @title Digital Identity Management Smart Contract provides a highlevel description of the smart contract's purpose; /// @notice This smart contract allows users to create and manage their digital identities on the blockchain further clarifies the contract's functionality. NatSpec comments are used for explaining the purpose and usage of functions such as createIdentity, verifyIdentity, getIdentityInfo, and setAuthorizedVerifier. These comments help users understand how to interact with the digital identity management contract and emphasize the transparency and purpose of the contract.

The objective is to provide transparency in operation, that is, transparency in the imposition of normativity, so as to explain to the user the logic of the blockchain application. In fact, this mechanism is about recording the use of a code rule at any particular point on a normativity scale and communicating the documentation or information to the user. However, transparency has often been criticized as a tool by which the 'figure' justifies their decisions that are against the interest of the user.¹⁷⁵¹ By including lengthy descriptions of functionality in voluminous documents, the legitimacy of the transparency can be achieved, but it does not have any practical value to the user to enlighten about the functions or processes.¹⁷⁵² The idea behind

¹⁷⁵¹ Bryan Casey, Ashkon Farhangi and Roland Vogl, 'Rethinking Explainable Machines' (2019) 34 Berkeley Technology Law Journal 143; Lilian Edwards and Michael Veale, 'Slave to the Algorithm? Why a'right to an Explanation'is Probably Not the Remedy You Are Looking For' (2017) 16 Duke Law. & Technology. Review 18.

¹⁷⁵² Byron Newberry, 'Engineered Artifacts' in Diane P Michelfelder, Natasha McCarthy and David E Goldberg (eds), *Philosophy and Engineering: Reflections on Practice, Principles and Process* (Springer 2013) 165.

transparency is that by providing more information it will empower the users to make informed decisions about which products will be a catalyst for greater competition and better products.

However, the 'figure's' comprehension and interpretation of the code, which is often subjective and personal, is a continuing hindrance to this approach. Unless the 'figure' 'accurately' documents the logic of the application in natural language at appropriate moments, the end result would be less desirable than if there were no explanation at all, and the user will have a misdirected trust in the understanding of the system. Further, such explanatory notes that are not written with 'accuracy' bring in an auxiliary interpretative layer between the code's normativity and the user, thus increasing the possibility of committing errors and misinterpretations by both the 'figure' and the user.

There are also solutions for transparency that seek to engage directly with the user. For example, in order to facilitate third party audit, the command code rule that lies beneath the regulatory, technological systems could be needed to be open.¹⁷⁵³ Though such an idea has been acceptable to public sector regulators¹⁷⁵⁴, business corporations, in general, have not been very supportive of the idea of opening up their proprietary codes of products and services.¹⁷⁵⁵ Another approach could be to have an escrow system, where the command code rule of the artifact would be under the custody of a trusted third party to be published only at the direction of a court in case of litigation.¹⁷⁵⁶

Of course, these approaches do not consider the entire context and texture of the code's corporeality. Code is not just about technical details but also about social and cultural values that are built into it. While the study of bare code facilitates the accumulation of information about the artifact and its functions, an expansive sensitivity to design concepts, such as affordance, inscription, and description, is still essential to fully appreciate its implications on the execution, since the rule of code and design choices for it enable and limit what users can do with it. Further, since such approaches are not based on *ex-ante* legitimacy, the programming

¹⁷⁵³ Chapter 8, Lessig, Code Version 2.0 (n 256).

¹⁷⁵⁴EuropeanCommission,Open-SourceSoftwareStrategy2020-2023(2020).<https://commission.europa.eu/document/download/97e59978-42c0-4b4a-9406-</td>

⁸f1a86837530_en?filename=en_ec_open_source_strategy_2020-2023.pdf> accessed 15 October 2024.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Bertil Rolandsson, Magnus Bergquist and Jan Ljungberg, 'Open Source in the Firm: Opening up Professional Practices of Software Development' (2011) 40 Research Policy 576.

¹⁷⁵⁶ Walter D Denson, 'The Source Code Escrow: A Worthwhile or Worthless Investment' (2002) 1 Rutgers Bankruptcy Law Journal 1.

of illegitimate code cannot be avoided just by relying on *ex-post* assessment, and therefore, the harmful code or malware would continue to operate, possibly indefinitely, if no issues are detected in the *ex-post* assessment.

The real purpose of transparency is not just limited to the openness of the command code rule but to facilitate comprehension so that the 'figure' can ensure reasonable correspondence between the conceptual framework of the system in the user's mind and the actual artifact.¹⁷⁵⁷ Needless to say, the 'figure' has the capability to signify the particular functionalities of the artifact that have been enabled for the user¹⁷⁵⁸ - "communicating the results of the design processes helps the public or specific stakeholders to better understand how the technology has been designed and how have been mitigated"¹⁷⁵⁹. This template uses resources from the interface of the artifact to formulate advertisements, press releases, and instruction manuals that are largely under the control of the 'figure'. The Digital Services Act also mandates such a requirement - "to publish comprehensive reports" of the "systematic risks... and best practices to mitigate the risks of providers of very large online platforms and of very large online search engines"¹⁷⁶⁰. Such transparency enables user trust and compliance towards the artifact.¹⁷⁶¹ As the conceptions of the 'figure' are likely to be distinctly different from the idea and understanding of the user who is less informed, a sense of empathy by the 'figure' with the user is also a necessity.¹⁷⁶²

The user should be able to grasp, to a reasonable extent, the functioning of the code within the technological artifact through the affordance of transparency in the programming of the code rules as well as in operation. This affordance of transparency is linked with the affordance of accountability, that is, the ability to hold the system accountable. Since technology is often updated with either new features or disabling features, the 'figure' has the responsibility to inform the user of these changes that alter the interaction between the user and the system.

¹⁷⁵⁷ Norman, *The Design of Everyday Things: Revised and Expanded Edition* (n 888) 31.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Mark Bergman, Kalle Lyytinen and Gloria Mark, 'Boundary Objects in Design: An Ecological View of Design Artifacts'(2007) 8 Journal of the Association for Information Systems 11.

¹⁷⁵⁹ Djeffal, 'Law by Design Obligations: The Future of Regulating Digital Technologies in Europe?' (n 1295) 21.

¹⁷⁶⁰ Article 35(2), Regulation (EU) 2022/2065 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 19 October 2022 on a Single Market For Digital Services and amending Directive 2000/31/EC (Digital Services Act) https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/2022/2065/oj accessed 15 October 2024

¹⁷⁶¹ Djeffal, 'Law by Design Obligations: The Future of Regulating Digital Technologies in Europe?' (n 1295) 21.

¹⁷⁶² Norman, The Design of Everyday Things: Revised and Expanded Edition (n 888) 31.

When seen from the prism of Fullerian design standard 4, which throws light on the notion of coherence, the programming language of the code ought to be consistent in terms of the Fullerian design standard 5 on non-contradictions and consistency of norms in relation to the idea of coherence. Ensuring the comprehensibility and usability of the artifact is the responsibility of the 'figure'.¹⁷⁶³ In terms of the legisprudential principle of coherence, harmonized with Fullerian design standard 7, once the user becomes familiar with the functioning of the artifact, any arbitrary change can be confusing and misleading. Hence, the design of the artifact should not be inconsistent or conflicting to avoid any misconception on the part of the user.

'Radix' is a vitalcomponentfor affording transparency, that relates to the affordance of due process. This approach can be tricky since even relatively simple computing systems are often an assemblage of a number of components.¹⁷⁶⁴ The 'figure' must afford reasonable indications of the sources of the code so that the user can be adequately informed and able to appropriate the affordance of due process. In reality, however, the user is unlikely to realize that the back-end processing of technological artifacts relies heavily on a host of services and third-party code libraries. As such, transparency of 'radix' requires that such information be provided to the user.

In the context of legitimation, the designed purposive functionalities of the conceptual code rules are linked with the environment, falling under Fullerian design standard 5. As such, in addition to justifying the rule on internal legal grounds, it must also be backed by externalities that justify its nature. To contextualize, the affordance of transparency in the rule of code blueprint will need the reason for having a particular functionality if the same is not manifested in the artifact. A corollary of this argument is that an unexpected functionality needs to be justified by an external theory other than internal rationality. If the affordance of transparency cannot justify the normativity of the functionalities, then the 'figure' should not include such functionalities in the design of the artifact. In this regard, introducing a geolocator into an alarm clock application is an apt example where affordance of transparency is necessary; the reason being that determining the location is not a standard affordance of an alarm clock.¹⁷⁶⁵ These

¹⁷⁶³ ibid 32.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Lauren Thornton, Bran Knowles and Gordon Blair, 'Fifty Shades of Grey: In Praise of a Nuanced Approach towards Trustworthy Design' (ACM Conference on Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency (FAccT '21), 2021) 64–76. https://doi.org/10.1145/3442188.3445871> accessed 15 October 2024.

¹⁷⁶⁵ Darrell M West, The Future of Work: Robots, AI, and Automation (Brookings Institution Press 2018).

affordances ought to be considered by the 'figure', keeping in view the transparency of purpose (to use the application).¹⁷⁶⁶

However, a word of caution - the 'figure' must not suffer from a false sense of transparency with the idea that 'any function can be incorporated by giving due notice and choice to the user'.¹⁷⁶⁷ From this perspective, a 'monitoring citizen' would be a better normative ideal than a "*well-informed citizen*".¹⁷⁶⁸ Though, in theory, the idea of a fully informed user seems desirable, considering the complexity and pervasiveness of code, it is not. A 'monitoring citizen' may not be aware of all functionalities and all activities but can effectively observe and monitor them and can conduct inquiries and contest policies when necessary.¹⁷⁶⁹ Rather than aiming for full transparency, which is a sort of mirage, the idea of an 'appropriate' amount of affordance of transparency is more reasonable as a guiding principle for programming technological artifacts such as blockchain. With this, the user can be afforded almost all essential information about the rationale and functionalities of the code.

10.2.5. 'Umbrella' Affordance of Due Process

One of the main issues to consider is how to afford due process rights in a technological artifact, which means allowing the code to be challenged and, thus, by drawing inference, challenging the 'figure' in the judicature. This is essential for upholding the rule of law in the realm of blockchain regulation. From a legal perspective, the possibility of switching from a normative framework of code to those of the conventional law is crucial for preserving the function, authority, and integrity of the rule of law in the code's alegal domain. Affordance of due process is hindered by *crypto-legalism*, which demands that the users comprehend the normative systems they are subjected to mount any legal challenge. Friction in the form of affordance of deferment and transparency as an affordance are related to this, as they involve the user's capacity to inspect and question the rule of code they are bound by. This represents the side of the coin that is for the user in terms of due process rights, but the other side of the coin institutes

¹⁷⁶⁶ Stevienna De Saille, 'Innovating Innovation Policy: The Emergence of "Responsible Research and Innovation" (2015) 2 Journal of Responsible Innovation 152.

¹⁷⁶⁷ Woodrow Hartzog, 'The Public Information Fallacy' (2019) 99 Boston University Law Review 459.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Jeroen Van den Hoven, 'E-Democracy, E-Contestation and the Monitorial Citizen' (2005) 7 Ethics and Information Technology 51.

¹⁷⁶⁹ Lawrence Lessig, 'The Architecture of Privacy: Remaking Privacy in Cyberspace' (1999) 1 Vanderbilt Journal of Entertainment and Technology Law 56; Van den Hoven (n 1768).

the legal systems, especially the judicature. Regardless of the advantages or disadvantages of the design, it must always be feasible for the user to seek legal recourse to determine the illegality and illegitimacy of the code. This guarantees that the rule of law has an enduring influence in design process, even when the code operates as a distinct alegal normative structure. PART IV – Conclusion and Way Forward

11. Conclusion

"The maturation and widespread deployment of technology accelerates a shift of power from legal rules and regulations to software protocols and other code-based systems. Such a shift would have an important effect on our daily lives: blockchain-based systems and lex cryptographica would mold social, economic, legal, and political interactions. The design of blockchain-based protocols and lex cryptographica – and decisions related to their development – would ultimately dictate how these systems work and shape our means of interaction. Existing bureaucratic systems, operated by people and institutions abiding by the rule of law, would be replaced by technocratic systems, operated by technical structures and code-based rules that ultimately constrain human behavior and discretionary choice. Algorithms would define the range of possible actions that individuals may or may not take to the detriment of potentially valuable alternatives. The focal point of power in many of these systems, however, would no longer be centralized institutions and hierarchical structures but rather informal systems of (often invisible) rules dictated by programmers deploying code. As a result, the growing reliance on algorithms to shape our interactions with one another and with third-party operators would increasingly object us to the 'rule of code' as opposed to the 'rule of law' – eventually placing us in an algocracy."¹⁷⁷⁰

Scrutinizing the coexistence of 'the rule of law + blockchain' and analyzing its different aspects from the rule of law by design perspective is what I aim to achieve through this dissertation. As has been rightly pointed out by Schrepel, the classical 'law and technology' approach, which is widely used¹⁷⁷¹, targets legal rules as an instrument to focus on the hiccups produced by technology¹⁷⁷². However, there is a need for the action 'law+technology' to call for legal rules to nullify the negative ramifications while maintaining the technology's benefits.¹⁷⁷³ Echoing Schrepel, I bring this conjecture to my dissertation – while acknowledging the positive aspects of the technology, I pursue building a study to reduce the harmful effects of the blockchain by using the rule of law by design framework as a moral aspiration to bring in the change in the artifact by answering my central research question - '*can the rule of law shape, guide, and*

¹⁷⁷⁰ De Filippi and Wright (n 134) 55.

¹⁷⁷¹ European Commission (n 1344).

¹⁷⁷² Thibault Schrepel, 'Law + Technology' (2023) The Journal of Law and Technology @ Texas 1, 2.

¹⁷⁷³ See Chapter 2, section 2.4 to read more on the risks and opportunities of the blockchain for the rule of law.

influence the design and implementation of blockchain technology in a legitimate manner?'. The nucleus of this question is, as expressed by Jasanoff, "though technological systems rival legal constitutions in their power to order and govern society, there is no systematic body of thought, comparable to centuries of legal and political theory, to articulate the principles by which technologies are empowered to rule us".¹⁷⁷⁴ The aforesaid research question indicates that the dissertation is not about formulating another thesis on regulating blockchain but more concerned about shaping and guiding the intentionality of the 'figure' that is, the designers, innovators, and stakeholders involved in developing, designing and implementing the blockchain technology, which can potentially regulate human behavior 'strongly' as compared to the law¹⁷⁷⁵, through code that is commended as a "powerful regulator"¹⁷⁷⁶ since "technology is not particularly suited as a regulatory target"¹⁷⁷⁷ because "it is generally not the technology that is regulated, but rather a socio-technical landscape".¹⁷⁷⁸

11.1. Reflections on the rule of law, blockchain and legitimacy

The rule of law can be and must be used as an instrument for shaping blockchain since this technology has been sought as a solution for strengthening the rule of law-based society and negating the detrimental aspect of the centralized government, such as the arbitrary exercise of power, due to the blockchain's inherent characteristics of immutability, tamper-resistant, distributed nature, and automated execution which promises transparency and accountability, by the States and international organizations. This allows the technology to produce normative impacts on the rule of law and society where the technology is employed for the purposes of fulfilling human rights and humanitarian goals as well as democratic e-public service aspirations. Moreover, since blockchain gives rise to the notion of the rule of code or *lex cryptographica*, which operates according to pre-defined and specific rules, without any human intervention, through smart contracts programmed via code, it portrays itself as a trust and

¹⁷⁷⁴ Sheila Jasanoff, *The Ethics of Invention: Technology and the Human Future* (WW Norton & Company 2016) 9–10.

¹⁷⁷⁵ See page 177.

¹⁷⁷⁶ Leenes (n 980) 3.

¹⁷⁷⁷ Lyria Bennett Moses, 'How to Think about Law, Regulation and Technology: Problems with 'Technology'as a Regulatory Target' (2013) 5 Law, Innovation and Technology 1.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Leenes (n 980) 4.

confidence machine to be employed in order to curb corruption in a democratic society – "the decisions that shape the public's everyday experience are found not in legislative codes but software codes and are made not by elected officials in parliaments, but by scientists and innovators in private settings. Their choices will resonate for generations to come".¹⁷⁷⁹

Since, in addition to positive impacts, adverse normative effects are also created by the technology due to the blockchain being employed for illegal purposes such as tax evasion or human trafficking¹⁷⁸⁰ or because of lack of proper governance¹⁷⁸¹, it becomes necessary to eliminate or minimize any such conceptual norms which generate alegal *ex-post* effect, in order to preserve the rule of law domain, by guiding the 'figure', in the form of affordance possibilities and design choices. Therefore, the research question is tailored in a manner to investigate the purpose behind the employment of the technology in the form of (design) choices made and decisions taken by the State to provide for a framework such that the technology is implemented with the intention to comply with the rule of law to generate and realize the common good.

The research question not only pertains to shaping the blockchain at the implementation level, that is, *ex-post* or, as I refer to, macro-level, but also emphasizes on the micro level, that is, *ex-ante* or design level. This is because the blockchain gives rise to the notion of the rule of code, or *lex cryptographica*, which acts as a hegemony rule structure over the rule of law for the protection of fundamental rights of users or citizens, which results in a space where there is the coexistence of two 'so-called' divergent environments. Where the rule of law provides fundamental rights with certain limitations, such as not violating the rights of others, the *lex cryptographica* environment questions this model and facilitates fundamental rights to be guaranteed with absolutism, irrespective of whether this absolute power may violate the rights of individuals.¹⁷⁸² Moreover, it creates a novel normative architecture, uncoupling the traditional infrastructure on which the rule of law and legal legitimacy is based, where it has the potential to codify legal norms and define as technological code in the form of smart contracts governing the normative contractual relationship between parties, and as such that

¹⁷⁷⁹ Roger Brownsword, *Rethinking Law, Regulation, and Technology* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2022) 252.

¹⁷⁸⁰ See Chapter 2, section 2.4.1 and Chapter 4, section 4.2.

¹⁷⁸¹ See Chapter 2, section 2.2.2.

¹⁷⁸² See Chapter 2, section 2.4.2.

the line between law and code gets blurred.¹⁷⁸³ Unlike traditional legal rules that are only enforceable after the event (*ex-post*), regulation by code can proactively restrict individual actions since the rule of code is at once rule and reality, ensuring compliance before any potential violation occurs (*ex-ante*). In other words, code-based regulation prevents people from violating technical rules even before they can act. Since the *lex cryptographica* acts as an autonomous agent, live and ready to be executed when nudged by a transaction, and has the potential to replace the responsibilities of the State¹⁷⁸⁴ that works according to the rule of law as a principle of governance mechanism and penetrates the fabric of society, it is crucial to establish that the rule of code norms are programmed in a legitimate manner and is in compliance with the rule of law, in order to not risk losing the basic tenets of the democratic society. This calls for the development of a schema that would facilitate the design of the technology to uphold the rule of law and be permissible for the public interest.

It has been determined that technology, including blockchain, is never neutral¹⁷⁸⁵ and is inherently 'alegal by design'¹⁷⁸⁶ where "they tend to reflect the inherent biases in whatever environment they originate from".¹⁷⁸⁷ However, technologists view the artifact to be flourishing on "scientific knowledge and objective facts"¹⁷⁸⁸, intentionally separating technology and politics where politics is based on subjective values. When the technology solely bases itself on modifying behaviors, by any means possible, it forsakes and undervalues the rule of law notion of checks and balances, and this occurs because of "the lack of democratic control"¹⁷⁸⁹ over the technological artifact. "Where the law is created in the public domain, technoregulation (even when adopted by 'the state') often is not"¹⁷⁹⁰ – this is why technological artifacts such as blockchain must be positioned within the rule of law environment – "a

¹⁷⁸³ See Chapter 2, section 2.2, page 34.

¹⁷⁸⁴ See Chapter 2, section 2.2.2, page 43.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Hildebrandt, 'A Vision of Ambient Law' (n 132); Winner, 'Do Artifacts Have Politics?' (n 249).

¹⁷⁸⁶ See page 33 to 34.

¹⁷⁸⁷ Markus Naarttijärvi, 'Legality and Democratic Deliberation in Black Box Policing' (2019) Technology and Regulation (2019) 35, 39.

¹⁷⁸⁸ Andrew Feenberg, Critical Theory of Technology, vol 5 (Oxford University Press 1991) 149.

¹⁷⁸⁹ Leenes (n 1072) 147–148.

¹⁷⁹⁰ ibid.

framework that encapsulates the mutual entanglements between culture, politics and technology".¹⁷⁹¹

The principle of the rule of law in modern democratic systems is a fundamental pillar of the moral dimension, which reduces the rule-fetish nature of legalism. It requires that rules are publicly declared in advance and have the qualities of generality, equality, and certainty.¹⁷⁹² Without these qualities, the rule of law would "either collapse into ethics and come to depend on the ethical inclinations of those in power and authority, or collapse into arbitrary rule by law, undoing the checks and balances secured by an independent judiciary".¹⁷⁹³ An intelligible, reliable, and predictable order is essential for protecting rights, preventing arbitrariness, and holding the State accountable for unlawful acts. The notion of the rule of law primarily consists of universality and relatively consistent application over time in a prospective and noncontradictory manner.¹⁷⁹⁴ Citizens need to know the limits and proper scope of their rights in advance for those rights to be meaningful, and as such, the rule of law allows individuals to modify their conduct in accordance with legal standards, enabling them to act autonomously and empowering them to a certain extent. Some argue that reciprocity, as embodied by the rule of law, allows individuals to achieve a certain level of self-governance. According to Murphy, the rule of law establishes specific criteria that legislators must follow to govern legitimately, limiting power outside the legal framework.¹⁷⁹⁵ This brings in the dichotomy between the notion of 'what ought to be' and 'what is' the characteristics of the legal norm.¹⁷⁹⁶

The rule of law is a guidance tool that enables the valuation of "*the projective capacities of men and women*"¹⁷⁹⁷, an idea that can be realized only where the rules are clear, transparent, and notified. Since the rule of law carries the archetype of being 'good', that is, every individual accepts it and is in favor of it, even though some may have dissimilitude views about the concept¹⁷⁹⁸, the rule of law should be worth striving after as a measurement of a 'good', specifically, when developing, designing, and implementing the technology. In this context, I

¹⁷⁹¹ ibid.

¹⁷⁹² Tamanaha (n 364).

¹⁷⁹³ Mireille Hildebrandt, 'The Artificial Intelligence of European Union Law' (2020) 21 German Law Journal 74.

¹⁷⁹⁴ Jeremy Waldron, 'The Rule of Law in Contemporary Liberal Theory' (1989) 2 Ratio Juris 79, 84.

¹⁷⁹⁵ Colleen Murphy, 'Lon Fuller and the Moral Value of the Rule of Law' (2005) 24 Law and Philosophy 239.

¹⁷⁹⁶ Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4) 102.

¹⁷⁹⁷ Nigel E Simmonds, 'Central Issues in Jurisprudence: Justice, Laws, and Rights' (Sweet & Maxwell 1986) 120.

¹⁷⁹⁸ Tamanaha (n 364) 3.

utilize the Fuller's standards of inner morality of law and related legisprudential conceptualization which lay down the rule of standards that the characteristics of the legal rules must possess, that are conducive to shaping the *ex-ante* and *ex-post* evaluation of various normative rule-making processes.¹⁷⁹⁹ With the Fullerian principles diagnosing values that are "*internal to the law in the sense that they form a part of the concept of law itself*,"¹⁸⁰⁰ reflecting "*what the law is only by reference to its purpose, and its purpose is an ideal rule of law*" ¹⁸⁰¹, my analysis establishes the aspect of legalism and legality and draws out the issues or notions that undermine the legitimacy of legal rules within the rule of law framework.¹⁸⁰² This discussion shows that without legality, the law collapses into legalism, "*which separates law from morality or into a rule by men that delivers us to the whims of whoever is in power or authority*".¹⁸⁰³

Since the rules and norms within the coded architecture play a role in social ordering, there is an underscored conflict between the rule of code and the rule of law.¹⁸⁰⁴ As Brownsword said, "there is a distinction between traditional normative rule-based regulatory instruments and non-normative technological management"¹⁸⁰⁵, that is, the conventional rule of law environment and the blockchain environment, and the relationship between the two is akin to that of 'Tom and Jerry'.¹⁸⁰⁶ One of the features of the rule of code is that it entails law being approached as a language a computer can consume, which resonates with the idea that code helps better understand, create, and enforce the law.¹⁸⁰⁷ To test this aspect of 'law as code' or the rule of code, the regulatory sandbox technique or the "boxing methods"¹⁸⁰⁸ has been advocated where it requires "placing the technology in an environment in which it cannot cause

¹⁷⁹⁹ See Chapter 3.

¹⁸⁰⁰ Simmonds (n 1797) 122.

¹⁸⁰¹ ibid.

¹⁸⁰² See Chapter 3, section 3.2.

¹⁸⁰³ Hildebrandt, 'The Artificial Intelligence of European Union Law' (n 1793).

¹⁸⁰⁴ See Chapter 4, section 4.1 and 4.2

¹⁸⁰⁵ Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4) 102.

¹⁸⁰⁶ See Chapter 4.

¹⁸⁰⁷ See Chapter 4, section 4.1.

¹⁸⁰⁸ Schrepel, 'Law + Technology' (n 1772) 12. This was mentioned in Schreprel's paper on Law + Technology, but the idea was originated by Nick Bostrom on his paper on Super-intelligence. Nick Bostrom, *Superintelligence: Paths, Dangers, Strategies* (Oxford University Press 2014).

harm^{"1809}, to order build a "*barrier between the diagnosis and its implementation in the real world*".¹⁸¹⁰ This technique stops technology from automatically breaking the law but also delays the decision-making process and reintroduces more human cognitive constraints. On the other hand, the diagnosis generated by code can be immediately put into action in real-life situations. However, there is a higher chance that the constraints of the code may result in legal violations.

Whereas the rule of law environment provides the citizen with the choice to follow the legal norm or not, the blockchain environment does not offer such a choice; it resonates with the 'take it or leave it' state of affairs, where the rule of code norms determines the individual user behavior, leaving no *carte blanche* for the user to consider the degree to which one wants to observe the code norm. It is essential to recognize the link between the normative intention of the 'figure' and the technological artifact that infuses within itself these intentions, which encourages and realizes the mapping of the rule of law against the technology.¹⁸¹¹ Moreover, in the blockchain domain, the 'figure' who might be a private enterprise is bestowed with authority to make rules "*that are locked away in the black box*".¹⁸¹² While the rule of law ensures that the political dynamics shaped by the legal system reflect the ethical principles of reciprocity such that the technology portrays obscurantism characteristics, disabling users from knowing what decisions they have been subject to. Such functioning of the technology may result in a "*downward spiral of diminished trust*"¹⁸¹⁴ among the users.

Thus, "if we do not learn how to uphold and extend the legality that protects individual persons against arbitrary or unfair state interventions, the law will lose its hold on our imagination. It may fold back into a tool to train, discipline, or influence people whose behaviors are measured and calculated to be nudged into compliance, or the law will be replaced by techno-regulation, whether or not that is labeled as law".¹⁸¹⁵ Whereas the rule of law, conceived as "a positivist

¹⁸⁰⁹ Schrepel, 'Law + Technology' (n 1772) 12.

¹⁸¹⁰ ibid.

¹⁸¹¹ Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4) 102.

¹⁸¹² ibid.

¹⁸¹³ Murphy (n 1795) 239.

¹⁸¹⁴ Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4) 102.

¹⁸¹⁵ Hildebrandt, Smart Technologies and the End (s) of Law: Novel Entanglements of Law and Technology (n 548) 226.

system of rules^{"1816}, directs society and governs behavior by sanctioning certain behaviors and actions as illegal, the code, on the other hand, fancies itself for being "*self-sufficient to address the problems created by technology*"¹⁸¹⁷, which resonates with the observation of Lessig.¹⁸¹⁸ Here, the argument is not that the code can substitute for law but rather that code can effectively regulate users' actions in a similar way because the structure of any technological artifact shapes its usage, enabling the 'figure' to function as a regulator.¹⁸¹⁹

Moreover, through technological mediation, the artifact refashions not only the "*implications of law through its interpretation into new contexts or new possibilities that the technology affords*"¹⁸²⁰, but also reconfigures by way of "*normative refraction*"¹⁸²¹ that happens when the legal standards interact with the coded values, design and decision choices, and norms of the technology used. Therefore, from the point of departure, I explain and extrapolate how blockchain technology affords user behavior by inhibiting, constraining, and restricting their actions.¹⁸²² It recognizes that the materialization of the blockchain artifacts and the rule of code has a role to play "*in what we do, how we perceive and interpret the world, how we make our choices, and under what conditions*"¹⁸²³. The ability of the rule of code to influence human behavior and determine what information is deemed accurate is endorsed as legitimate power. However, the challenge with the emerging blockchain epistemology is "*the kind of knowing*"¹⁸²⁴ which implies it may not align with our intentions or wishes if we seek to uphold the rule of law but instead with what technology enables. In the words of Berry, "*subtractive approaches to comprehending reality (episteme) generate fresh understandings and techniques for governing reality (techne*)".¹⁸²⁵ Thus, by employing the theory of affordance and

¹⁸¹⁶ Martin Krygier, 'Rule of Law (and Rechtsstaat)' in James R Silkenat, James E Hickey Jr. and Peter D Barenboim (eds), *The Legal Doctrines of the Rule of Law and the Legal State (Rechtsstaat)* (Springer 2014); Michel Rosenfeld, 'The Rule of Law and the Legitimacy of Constitutional Democracy' (2001) 74 Southern California Law Review 1307.

¹⁸¹⁷ Schrepel, 'Law + Technology' (n 1772).

¹⁸¹⁸ Lessig, 'Law Regulating Code Regulating Law' (n 693).

¹⁸¹⁹ See Chapter 4, section 4.2 and 4.3.2.

¹⁸²⁰ Naarttijärvi (n 1787) 36.

¹⁸²¹ ibid.

¹⁸²² See Chapter 5.

¹⁸²³ Verbeek (n 920).

¹⁸²⁴ Elias G Carayannis and others, 'Known Unknowns in an Era of Technological and Viral Disruptions—Implications for Theory, Policy, and Practice' (2021) Journal of the Knowledge Economy 1; Finck, 'Blockchains: Regulating the Unknown' (n 716).

¹⁸²⁵ David Berry, The Philosophy of Software: Code and Mediation in the Digital Age (Springer 2016) 15.

technological mediation, I establish that "the technology will affect what law governs, but also how the law governs".¹⁸²⁶

As the law "carries a commitment to the idea of man as a rational purposive agent, capable of regulating his conduct by rules rather than as a pliable instrument to be manipulated, it carries a commitment to the values of the rule of law as expressed in the Fuller's eight principles".¹⁸²⁷ This is the premise of Fullerian inner morality law which states that "the rule of law is the enterprise of subjecting human conduct to the governance of rules".¹⁸²⁸ Ingeminating this view, the rule of law is applied to the blockchain environment, advancing an analogical comparison between the legal norms and the rule of code norms embedded into the technology, which resulted in the origin of the notion of *crypto-legalism*.¹⁸²⁹

Taking the rule of law as a meta-principle facilitates assuming an autonomous individual who can challenge the legal norms and offer a new interpretation. In contrast, the standards implemented by the blockchain paradigm do not allow for "*effective contestation, but only rationalized logical and probabilistic reasoning*".¹⁸³⁰ This leads to an "*all-or-nothing approach that does not align with the principles of proportionality, individual autonomy, expediency, and certainty*".¹⁸³¹ As such, the binary nature of Turing computation, an inherent feature of blockchain artifact, and its logical consistency eliminate the discretionary power of the legal system to consider external knowledge when addressing complex cases. Inherently, this technology is a 'black box' stimulating its obscurantism *crypto-legalistic* characteristics due to its complexity and trade and commercial protections. The lack of transparency and the difficulty in comprehending the functioning of these systems, which are increasingly utilized by States and international organizations, pose a challenge to traditional legal principles underpinning the rule of law, such as transparency, fairness, and explainability. Even though the law may become entirely predictable with the use of the rule of code, it will still not have

¹⁸²⁶ Naarttijärvi (n 1787) 37.

¹⁸²⁷ Simmonds (n 1797) 122.

¹⁸²⁸ Brownsword, 'In the Year 2061: From Law to Technological Management' (n 3) 3.

¹⁸²⁹ See Chapter 6.

¹⁸³⁰ Mireille Hildebrandt, Jacques Bus, Malcolm Crompton and George Metakides (eds), *Digital Enlightenment Yearbook* 2012 (IOS Press 2012).

¹⁸³¹ TJ McIntyre and Colin Scott, 'Internet Filtering: Rhetoric, Legitimacy, Accountability' in Roger Brownsword and Karen
Yeung (eds), *Regulating Technologies: Legal Futures, Regulatory Frames and Technological Fixes* (Hart Publishing 2008)
109.

the required transparency and moral accountability, as it needs to be open to scrutiny and in compliance with the rule of law.¹⁸³²

The regulatory landscape shifts when blockchain-enabled smart contracts are utilized to control behavior to ensure a predictable result.¹⁸³³ As a result, the user's behavior is no longer based on moral norms because the environment is managed to prevent specific actions or to limit the available options. The signals change from being based on prudence (whether something ought or ought not to be done based on self-interest) or morality (whether something should or should not be done based on respect for one's own and others' legitimate interests) to indicating what is reasonably achievable or feasible (or what is not reasonably attainable or impossible).¹⁸³⁴ In the translation from a conventional legal order to the blockchain environment, there appears to be a loss of the orthodox concept of normativity - 'ought' and 'ought not' are replaced by 'can' and 'cannot'.¹⁸³⁵ In this type of system, thus, individuals are unable to act based on their own judgments of what should be done, whether for self-interest or for moral reasons. The 'rigid' interpretation of code or its rule-fetishness decides what is legal or executable and what is not, which is very different from how law takes into effect – "legal effect is not a matter of brute force or mechanical application, but a matter of ensuring what use of language counts as having what effect. The effect is not causal but performative".¹⁸³⁶ The well-known DAO breach exemplifies the details of this functioning of code. The inadequately constructed code of a smart contract enabled a perpetrator to withdraw more than 3.6 million Ether¹⁸³⁷ (approximately 50 million dollars at that time and about 13.2 billion dollars today¹⁸³⁸) without the consent of its creator. The rule of code advocates contended that the action did not constitute theft because the attacker did not hack into the code but took advantage of or exploited it.¹⁸³⁹ Here, it portrays the notion of 'code is law' into working, which shows that the rule of code can be considered a normative enterprise.

¹⁸³² Adam M Samaha, 'Judicial Transparency in an Age of Prediction' (2008) 53 Villanova. Law Review 829.

¹⁸³³ See Chapter 6, section 6.1.1.

 ¹⁸³⁴ Brownsword, 'Lost in Translation: Legality, Regulatory Margins, and Technological Management' (n 554) 1323–1324.
 ¹⁸³⁵ ibid.

¹⁸³⁶ Hildebrandt, 'The Artificial Intelligence of European Union Law' (n 1793).

¹⁸³⁷ Hassan and De Filippi, 'Decentralized Autonomous Organization' (2021) 10 Internet Policy Review https://doi.org/10.14763/2021.2.1556> accessed 15 October 2024.

¹⁸³⁸ The amount estimate as on 24 May 2024.

¹⁸³⁹ De Filippi and Wright (n 134).

As legal scholars hinge on the abstraction of law as a normative enterprise, the question arises regarding the methodology of interpreting technological changes to the systems of social order, and the implications of regulating the technology through design.¹⁸⁴⁰ This question pertains to the transition of 'code is law' to 'code as law'. To achieve such a shift, it is necessary to utilize the regulatory force of code to fully implement legal regulations in three different ways. One, legal obligations can be embedded directly into code. For instance, if a smart contract must include a withdrawal provision, then the platform can reject the contract if the provision is missing. Two, code can be designed to ensure that users adhere to specific legal obligations. Even though it doesn't directly translate legal duties into code, it demonstrates its capability to communicate legal information.¹⁸⁴¹ Third, while code is not explicitly created to maximize the enforcement of legal rules, it nonetheless assists users in complying with those rules. The emergence of public blockchains with non-coercive and horizontally structured governance substantially diminishes various malicious and arbitrary exercises of power techniques.¹⁸⁴² These techniques entail utilizing technical control of an infrastructure, that is, the rule of code, to impact compatible products and to reduce any infringement.

These mechanisms of transitioning to 'code as law' are also demonstrated through the works of Koops, Leenes, Brownsword, and Hildebrandt.¹⁸⁴³ Since the reconfiguration of the technology is grounded on a behaviorist, cybernetic comprehension of human society continuously intertwining standard setting with monitoring and behavior modification¹⁸⁴⁴, examining the contemporary works on normative *ex-post* and *ex-ante* standards – "*aiming to anticipate and prevent wrongdoing rather than punish or compensate after the event*"¹⁸⁴⁵ - facilitates drawing a landscape of affordances and values that can be employed and intended for the implementation of the technology and production of the application of the ideals

¹⁸⁴⁰ Yeung, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' (n 207).

¹⁸⁴¹ See Chapter 4, section 4.3.2.

¹⁸⁴² See Chapter 4, section 4.3.3.

¹⁸⁴³ See Chapter 7.

¹⁸⁴⁴ Hildebrandt, 'The Artificial Intelligence of European Union Law' (n 1793); Mark Leiser and Andrew Murray, 'The Role of Non-State Actors and Institutions in the Governance of New and Emerging Digital Technologies' in Roger Brownsword (ed), *Oxford Handbook of Law, Regulation and Technology* (Oxford University Press 2016).

¹⁸⁴⁵ Brownsword, 'Law Disrupted, Law Re-Imagined, Law Re-Invented' (n 1001) 13.

of the rule of law, specifically legality and legitimacy, onto the technology and its rule of code in order to channel and steer the conduct of the user and the intention of the 'figure'.¹⁸⁴⁶

The basis of the rule of law is that it is "*the fulcrum of normative legal orders*"¹⁸⁴⁷, which provides constraints on both institutions and citizens.¹⁸⁴⁸ It does not allow unjust governance and arbitrary exercise of the power of the law by its institutions, officials, and representatives. When governance meets the necessary criteria, the rule of law imposes restrictions on the citizens who are required to adhere to adequately established laws and demands accountable citizenship.¹⁸⁴⁹ Therefore, the ideals of the rule of law, such as legality and legitimacy, stand at disempowering the alegal technological normativity – "*the question is, though, how we should articulate and apply these protective ideals*".¹⁸⁵⁰

11.2. Relevance of the rule of law by design

'The rule of law + blockchain' fosters a coalescence of "social and technical constraints that leverage their strengths"¹⁸⁵¹, while acknowledging that the rule of law and blockchain are cooked with different ingredients "whose combination creates synergies".¹⁸⁵² The rule of law and blockchain "are complements, so one should not erode the other. Even more, each should use the other".¹⁸⁵³ It reinforces the question, "How well does our existing conceptual apparatus serve us?"¹⁸⁵⁴ The fundamental ideas of human rights and human dignity, which resonate with the virtue of legality and the rule of law, serve as the intellectual foundation we must safeguard to maintain a critical separation between emerging technologies and their perceived positive and negative uses and practices.¹⁸⁵⁵ Schrepel observes that "the '+' approach is a positive

¹⁸⁴⁶ Brownsword, 'Lost in Translation: Legality, Regulatory Margins, and Technological Management' (n 554); Brownsword, *Law 3.0: Rules, Regulation, and Technology* (n 1328) 100.

¹⁸⁴⁷ Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4) 107.

¹⁸⁴⁸ ibid.

¹⁸⁴⁹ ibid 138.

¹⁸⁵⁰ ibid.

¹⁸⁵¹ Schrepel, 'Law + Technology' (n 1772) 3.

¹⁸⁵² ibid.

¹⁸⁵³ ibid.

¹⁸⁵⁴ Brownsword, 'Lost in Translation: Legality, Regulatory Margins, and Technological Management' (n 554) 1322.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Brownsword, 'What the World Needs Now: Techno-Regulation, Human Rights and Human Dignity' (n 1232).

contribution to the legal systems, not a concession to technology^{"1856} This approach is also taken by the legislators when formulating the AI Act, which aims to "*ensure legal certainty to facilitate investment and innovation in AI*".¹⁸⁵⁷

The rule of law by design emphasizes on the '+' perspective rather than '&', which helps to understand what Darwin calls 'complexity science'.¹⁸⁵⁸ According to Darwin, complexity science explores how the interplay between systems shapes and is reshaped by the evolving environment they collectively influence.¹⁸⁵⁹ The by-design methodology provides a critical insight for States operating in the digital sphere. It is essential to avoid eliminating the unique attribute of technology through legal regulations, such as mandating a single point of access in blockchain governance. Doing so may cause the technology to lose relevance in favor of others. Technologies exist and endure alongside others precisely because they offer unique value. Stripping away the elements that set a technology apart from others diminishes its value and can lead to its obsolescence. Regulators must ensure they do not hinder a technology's ability to adapt, thrive, and coexist with other technologies. A blockchain smart contract is unchangeable. It cannot be erased, halted, or modified. This immutability poses constraints for both the 'figure' who is the creator of the smart contract and the regulator, mainly when the smart contract facilitates an illegal transaction. In relation to this, one may read Article 30 of the EU Data Act, which has provided the implementation of a "mechanism to terminate the ongoing execution of transactions".¹⁸⁶⁰ This proposed mechanism would challenge the survival of blockchain's inherent attribute of immutability¹⁸⁶¹, specifically immutable smart contract code. For instance, opting to introduce a 'kill-switch' within the smart contract can be interpreted in two ways under the Data Act – firstly, smart contracts that include a kill-switch function will be considered legally compliant, whereas those without one will not receive the same presumption; secondly, only smart contracts featuring a kill switch function are deemed legal, while those without are not.

¹⁸⁵⁶ Schrepel, 'Law + Technology' (n 1772) 3.

¹⁸⁵⁷ European Commission (n 1344).

¹⁸⁵⁸ Charles Darwin, On the Origin of Species: Facsimile of the First Edition (1859) 69.

¹⁸⁵⁹ ibid.

¹⁸⁶⁰ Regulation (EU) 2023/2854 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 December 2023 on Harmonised Rules on Fair Access to and Use of Data and Amending Regulation (EU) 2017/2394 and Directive (EU) 2020/1828 (Data Act)' https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/2023/2854> accessed 22 May 2024.

¹⁸⁶¹ Thibault Schrepel, Blockchain+ Antitrust: The Decentralization Formula (Edward Elgar Publishing 2021).

However, the immutability attribute distinguishes smart contracts from other forms of contracts. It generates value, fosters trust between parties by preventing one-sided non-execution, reduces transaction costs associated with monitoring and enforcement,¹⁸⁶² and helps combat corruption by preventing malicious alterations once the smart contract is on the network. In a parallel universe, immutability in blockchain can be problematic when courts declare past transactions as illegal or when a user mistakenly sends a token to the wrong address. However, immutability is crucial for maintaining the integrity of the information on the blockchain. For instance, if an AI system running on a blockchain malfunctions, the company cannot erase entries from the database to conceal the reasons behind the malfunction. Once again, this attribute has both negative and positive implications. Therefore, immutability must be regulated while being preserved.

The rule of law by design assists in understanding both the technology and the relevant rule of law principles better and thereby prevents disconnection between the two so that the strengths of both are not sacrificed.¹⁸⁶³ The disconnection becomes an issue when legal regulations require compliance with technically challenging or potentially harmful obligations for technology. For instance, requiring the addition of kill-switch functions to existing smart contracts on the blockchain effectively puts these contracts to no use. There is also a risk that the 'figure' may poorly implement these ideas due to a lack of technical and legal expertise. Moreover, through the rule of law by design, the legal norms can be translated to different affordances and standards that should not be abandoned. Hence, an obligation is imposed on the 'figure' to embed moral and technical constraints, both *ex-ante* and *ex-post*. These by-design obligations safeguard the survival of technology because if the blockchain enforces a rule that is in line with the rule of law, then it can be deduced that the technological artifact is also living up to the rule of law values.¹⁸⁶⁴ Such a process encourages to have a relook at the normativity of law with respect to legality and the rule of law, where the technological artifact and its normativity exert pressure on the basic premise that law is a normative enterprise.¹⁸⁶⁵

The approach of the rule of law by design has been conceived to fulfill three main functions: firstly, establishing the 'die-hard' rule or standard; secondly, overseeing compliance, not only

¹⁸⁶² Schrepel and Buterin (n 1630).

¹⁸⁶³ See Chapter 8.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4) 102.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Brownsword, 'Lost in Translation: Legality, Regulatory Margins, and Technological Management' (n 554) 1323.

through warranting the incorporation of legal rules into the artifact but also ensuring that the notion of legal protection is not winnowed out of the system; and thirdly, rectifying non-compliance.¹⁸⁶⁶ "While there is more to the legal enterprise than channeling conduct, as a channeling instrument, the law involves direction, detection, and correction".¹⁸⁶⁷

11.2.1. State decisions and the rule of law affordances

The rule of law by design approach is apt because it focuses on upholding the existing standards and values instead of prescribing the new ones. However, it is not overly conservative since it recognizes the need to assess the substance and effectiveness of these values and standards in light of new technologies, considering the fact that the design of such technologies can impact the values and legal norms they support or override. It is essential to acknowledge that new technology may reform our norms and values; the key is to ensure that any new configuration does not diminish the significance of existing values to align with new business models or more efficient administration.¹⁸⁶⁸

In respect of Fuller's standards of inner morality of law, adherence to the rule of law requires the State to provide explicit authorization for using technological artifacts, whether through general or specific provisions. This means that if authorization is lacking or an appropriate procedure for adopting a technological artifact has not been followed, then such an artifact would be deemed illegitimate.¹⁸⁶⁹ Therefore, given the powerful influence of technology on society and the behavior of individuals, I have explored the State decisions and their intentionality of design choices¹⁸⁷⁰ in the employment and implementation of a blockchain for public services and humanitarian purposes.¹⁸⁷¹ The rule of law requires that the proposals for the implementation of blockchain artifacts to be promulgated, be infused with the intentionality to incorporate the values of transparency, accountability, predictability, and due process as well as legal protection, while at the same time, ascertaining both the fundamental regulatory intent and the specific technological solution to be used. Additionally, regardless of whether the

¹⁸⁶⁶ Bronwen Morgan and Karen Yeung, *An Introduction to Law and Regulation: Text and Materials* (Cambridge University Press 2007) 74–75.

¹⁸⁶⁷ Brownsword, 'Lost in Translation: Legality, Regulatory Margins, and Technological Management' (n 554) 1323.

¹⁸⁶⁸ Hildebrandt, Smart Technologies and the End (s) of Law: Novel Entanglements of Law and Technology (n 548) 216.

¹⁸⁶⁹ Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4) 111.

¹⁸⁷⁰ See Chapter 9 with emphasis on section 9.1.1

¹⁸⁷¹ See Chapter 9 with emphasis on section 9.2.

regulation method is a legal rule or a technological solution, the rule of law denounces regulatory processes that are inclined to deceive or ensnare those being regulated.¹⁸⁷² It has been discovered that the State's legitimacy in employing the blockchain can be registered through three mechanisms –first, through trust and confidence, that is, on-chain governance or off-chain governance; second, transparency, that is, public or private blockchains; and third, human in the loop, that is democratic oversight.¹⁸⁷³

"Although the Fullerian principles of legality are focused on the use of rules as the regulatory instrument, the spirit of promulgation, of transparency and of fair dealing that underlies Fuller's specification of his principles can be copied across to the use of technological management".¹⁸⁷⁴ However, the attempt is not to apply these legal standards and values as affordances 'directly' to the blockchain, which demonstrates different technological and affective affordances since such an attempt will result in failure. The rule of law affordances is "detected, configured, and designed"¹⁸⁷⁵ to be compatible with Fuller's inner morality of law "that might otherwise lose their force"¹⁸⁷⁶, to create blockchain artifacts that reflect and embed these legal standards and values. These affordances "should always include attention to the 'resistibility' and contestability of the ensuing normativity". It requires "testing how the configuration or design of the affordances can best serve the goals of justice, legal certainty, and purposiveness".¹⁸⁷⁷

The entire premise of plotting the rule of law affordances against the *crypto-legalistic* characteristics of code¹⁸⁷⁸ lies in the argument that – "should we wish to preserve the legal protection of the rule of law in the context of a democratic society, we cannot take for granted that the upcoming technology will afford such legal protection. We will have to take a stand for the substance of the norms and the values we wish to retain, and this will involve active participation in the design of the onlife world".¹⁸⁷⁹ Therefore, I employed the concept of Fuller's inner morality of law, which acted as a 'virtuous' instrument to translate legal norms

¹⁸⁷² Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4) 139.

¹⁸⁷³ See Chapter 9, section 9.4

¹⁸⁷⁴ Brownsword, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (n 4) 139.

¹⁸⁷⁵ Hildebrandt, Smart Technologies and the End (s) of Law: Novel Entanglements of Law and Technology (n 548) 218.
¹⁸⁷⁶ ibid.

¹⁸⁷⁷ ibid.

¹⁸⁷⁸ See Chapter 10.

¹⁸⁷⁹ Hildebrandt, Smart Technologies and the End (s) of Law: Novel Entanglements of Law and Technology (n 548) 219.

to plot the rule of law affordances for the reconfigured formulation of the rule of code, allowing the retention, articulation, and "interpretation of the moral commitments"¹⁸⁸⁰ into the blockchain architecture and plotting the rule of law affordances with the mindset that the 'figure' can comprehend the legal norm results in misleading and flawed translations of legal norms to the rule of code. This causes predestined discordance between legal expectations and actual code functionality. It is acknowledged that introducing new laws may assist in bridging a few of the discordances; however, it is not sufficient to address the issue at the substratum layer, particularly as increasingly complex and 'strict' textual legal rules can hinder rather than promote compliance. Due to the absence of legislations that are more compatible with blockchain technology, the rule of law by design provides an 'action-guiding test' framework for the 'figure' in programming the rule of code that may not be strictly legal but is formulated and configured to embody the rule of law standards, values including the notion of legality and legitimacy. The plotting exercise can minimize the risk of substantive illegitimacy - for instance, by affording a kill switch to disable the application - and can support due process procedures if such illegitimacy is discovered - "in the transition from legal normativity to technological normativity, we do not have to lose the spirit of the rule of law"¹⁸⁸¹. Thus, once the legal standards and values of the rule of law are construed and mapped into command code rules and conceptual code rules, compliance with these affordances and design requirements is guaranteed to a minimalist extent - the spirit of legitimacy and the rule of law is inherited.

11.3. Limitations

In this dissertation, I have primarily focused on blockchain and plotted affordances according to the principal attributes of the technology. There have been instances where I have referred to public and private blockchains to illustrate the state decision intentionality mechanism and the function of the rule of law affordances against it. The dissertation is limited in the sense that all types of blockchain with varied computing power have not been covered here, although the outcome (the state design choice frameworks and the rule of law affordances) will apply to the different kinds of blockchain in varying degrees.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Brownsword, 'Lost in Translation: Legality, Regulatory Margins, and Technological Management' (n 554) 1325.
¹⁸⁸¹ ibid 1364.

11.4. Avenues for further research

The underlying philosophy of the entire discussion on infusing the rule of law values in blockchain-based applications at the macro level in State decisions *vis-à-vis* the affordances at the micro level is that *"technology should be brought into the public sphere where it increasingly belongs"*.¹⁸⁸² The front-end transparency, thus, will serve as a crucial complement to the legal requirements of back-end transparency.¹⁸⁸³

While the "*technological form of life is part and parcel of culture, just as culture in the human sense inevitably implies technologies*"¹⁸⁸⁴, the scope of present research does not cover exploration with respect to the technical implementation of the rule of law values and standards into the technological system. So, a good starting point for further research about the rule of law in blockchain would be to study the mechanisms pertaining to an integrated research ecosystem and an agile environment.

The creation of an integrated research ecosystem, coupled with the fostering of an agile environment, stands as a cornerstone for driving forward innovation¹⁸⁸⁵ and collaborative success between the rule of law and technology. By seamlessly blending various research disciplines and methodologies within a unified framework, this approach accelerates the discovery process and enhances research initiatives' adaptability.¹⁸⁸⁶ An agile environment further empowers researchers and stakeholders to respond swiftly to new insights and shifting priorities¹⁸⁸⁷ among the different rule of law values, ensuring that the pursuit of knowledge remains dynamic and aligned with real-world needs. This approach aligns well with the continuous assessment of validity and legality, that is, legitimacy, the bedrock of the rule of law. Simply designing for legitimacy, privacy, or legal compliance early in the process is insufficient; continuous evaluation throughout the process is essential, a principle facilitated

¹⁸⁸² Feenberg, Critical Theory of Technology (n 1788).

¹⁸⁸³ Hildebrandt, Smart Technologies and the End (s) of Law: Novel Entanglements of Law and Technology (n 548) 223.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Ihde (n 445).

¹⁸⁸⁵ Dyck and Majchrzak (n 1261).

 ¹⁸⁸⁶ Alexander Poth, C Heere and DA Levien, 'Agile Team Autonomy and Accountability with a Focus on the German Legal Context' in Murat Yilmaz. and others (eds), *Systems, Software and Services Process Improvement* (Springer 2023).
 ¹⁸⁸⁷ Highsmith (n 1425).

by the cyclical agile methodology.¹⁸⁸⁸ Together, these strategies form a potent combination that promotes efficiency, creativity, and ground-breaking advancements across the board.¹⁸⁸⁹ Since these mechanisms would have a profound influence on State decisions, researchers ought to study critical components of these mechanisms to embed the rule of law values.

Another avenue for research is the analysis of the impact of the inclusion of Natural Language Processing (NLP) to automate the execution of smart contracts by identifying the legal norms or the rule of law norms within the legislation and linguistically embedding them into the contract. By harnessing NLP, smart contracts can be programmed to interpret and execute legal norms directly from legislative texts.¹⁸⁹⁰ This process involves the extraction and codification of the rule of law principles and rules into a form that can be recognized and acted upon by smart contracts. By embedding legal norms linguistically into smart contracts, these agreements can automatically respond to specific triggers and conditions outlined in the law, thereby reducing the need for manual oversight and minimizing the risk of misinterpretation.¹⁸⁹¹ Furthermore, the use of NLP in smart contract automation could lead to more dynamic and adaptable legal frameworks. As laws and regulations evolve, NLP algorithms can continuously update the embedded legal norms within smart contracts, ensuring that they remain compliant with current legislation.¹⁸⁹² The fusion of NLP and smart contracts holds the promise of creating a more efficient, transparent, and responsive legal system, paving the way for innovations in various sectors that depend heavily on contract law. Therefore, there is further scope to see what role NLP has to play in the intersection of 'the blockchain + the rule of law' in terms of characterizing the rule of code, whether creating a positive or negative effect on the behavior and actions of individuals.

¹⁸⁸⁸ Richmond Y Wong and Deirdre K Mulligan, 'Bringing Design to the Privacy Table: Broadening "Design" in "Privacy by Design" through the Lens of HCI' (CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI '19), 2019) 262 <https://doi.org/10.1145/3290605.3300492> accessed 15 October 2024.

¹⁸⁸⁹ Michael A Madaio and others, 'Co-Designing Checklists to Understand Organizational Challenges and Opportunities around Fairness in AI' (CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI '20), 2020). https://doi.org/10.1145/3313831.3376445> accessed 15 October 2024.

¹⁸⁹⁰ Emiliano Monteiro and others, 'Combining Natural Language Processing and Blockchain for Smart Contract Generation in the Accounting and Legal Field' in Madhusudan Singh and others (eds), *Intelligent Human Computer Interaction*. (Springer 2020).

¹⁸⁹¹ Allen (n 1650).

¹⁸⁹² John J Nay, 'Law Informs Code: A Legal Informatics Approach to Aligning Artificial Intelligence with Humans' (2022)20 Northwestern Journal of Technology and Intellectual Property 309.

The convergence of 'blockchain + the rule of law' presents an opportunity for further exploration in the realm of the metaverse, particularly concerning the integration of smart contracts to ensure legal compliance and regulation of avatar behavior and actions¹⁸⁹³. The blockchain-enabled smart contracts have the potential to serve as an instrument for resolving disputes within virtual environments and as a regulatory tool.¹⁸⁹⁴ Therefore, it is essential to examine the normative encounters within the metaverse, especially with regard to the effect of the rule of code on the legal norms and its normative implications on the physical world¹⁸⁹⁵ – what role will blockchain-enabled smart contacts play in understanding the normative relationship of avatars, and among avatars. This also raises questions about the decisions of the State - what design choices will be taken into account when implementing smart contracts in the metaverse to ensure alignment with the rule of law? How does the interaction between diverse normativities within the metaverse impact the rule of law and international law? This inquiry also delves into the rule of law by design obligations to shape the rule of code upon which smart contracts in the metaverse are constructed. Moreover, blockchain-enabled digital identity management has been suggested for use in managing the identity of avatars in the virtual space.¹⁸⁹⁶ There is a need to investigate rule of law by design strategies to ensure privacy, security, and interoperability while adhering to international legal standards. The employment of blockchain-enabled applications within the metaverse may also impact international human rights norms, necessitating the proposal of rule of law by-design solutions to promote freedom of expression, non-discrimination, and privacy protection within the virtual space.

¹⁸⁹³ Ignas Kalpokas and Julija Kalpokienė, *Regulating the Metaverse: A Critical Assessment* (Routledge 2023); Luca Turchet,
⁶ Musical Metaverse: Vision, Opportunities, and Challenges' (2023) 27 Personal and Ubiquitous Computing 1811.

¹⁸⁹⁴ Eric Wagner and others, *Metaverse Und Recht* (CH Beck 2023).

¹⁸⁹⁵ Sabine Himmelsbach and others, Algorithmic Imaginary (Christoph Merian Verlag 2023).

¹⁸⁹⁶ Elizabeth M Renieris, Beyond Data : Reclaiming Human Rights at the Dawn of the Metaverse (MIT Press 2023).

12. Bibliography

Abd Wahab A and others, 'Examining the Software Developers' Perception in Open-Source Software of Blockchain Project Using Association Rules Mining' in Nur H Zakaria and others (eds), *Computing and Informatics* (9th International Conference, ICOCI 2023 Malayasia 13-24 September 2023, Springer 2024) 287

Acar G, Englehardt S and Narayanan A, 'Four Cents to Deanonymize: Companies Reverse Hashed Email Addresses' (*Freedom to Tinker*, 9 April 2018)

Acquisti A and others, 'Nudges (and Deceptive Patterns) for Privacy: Six Years Later' in Sabine Trepte and Philipp Masur (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Privacy and Social Media* (Routledge 2023) 257

Adler-Nissen R and Drieschova A, 'Track-Change Diplomacy: Technology, Affordances, and the Practice of International Negotiations' (2019) 63 International Studies Quarterly 531

Agamben G, 'Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life' (Daniel Heller-Roazan tr, Stanford University Press 1998)

Agre PE, Computation and Human Experience (Cambridge University Press 1997)

——, 'From High Tech to Human Tech: Empowerment, Measurement, and Social Studies of Computing' (1994) 3 Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW) 167

'AI in the UK: Ready, Willing and Able?' (House of Lords Select Committee on Artificial Intelligence, 2018) 100, paragraph 417

Akinrotimi AO, 'Legal Ramifications of Blockchain Technology' in Mohammad Khan and others (eds), *Decentralised Internet of Things: A Blockchain Perspective* (Springer 2020) 217

Akrich M, 'The De-Scription of Technical Objects' in Wiebe E Bijker and John Law (eds), *Shaping Technology/Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change* (MIT Press 1992) 205

Alahi MEE and others, 'Integration of IoT-Enabled Technologies and Artificial Intelligence (AI) for Smart City Scenario: Recent Advancements and Future Trends' (2023) 23 Sensors 5206

Alexopoulos C and others, 'How Blockchain Technology Changes Government: A Systematic Analysis of Applications' (2021) 8 International Journal of Public Administration in the Digital Age 1

Alketbi A, Nasir Q and Abu Talib M, 'Novel Blockchain Reference Model for Government Services: Dubai Government Case Study' (2020) 11 International Journal of System Assurance Engineering and Management 1170

Allen JG, 'Wrapped and Stacked:"Smart Contracts" and the Interaction of Natural and Formal Language' (2018) 14 European Review of Contract Law 307

Allen P, *The Political Class: Why It Matters Who Our Politicians Are* (Oxford University Press 2018)

Amos M, 'R v Secretary of State for the Home Department, Ex p Anderson-Ending the Home Secretary's Sentencing Role' (2004) 67 Modern Law Review 108

Anderson Schillig M, "'Lex Cryptographi (c) a," 'Cloud Crypto Land'or What?–Blockchain Technology on the Legal Hype Cycle' (2023) 86 The Modern Law Review 31

Andreas A, 'Bitcoin Security Model: Trust by Computation' (2016) Radar O'Reilly

Applbaum AI, *Legitimacy without Illusions: The Right to Govern in a Wanton World* (Harvard University Press 2019)

Aradau C and Blanke T, *Algorithmic Reason: The New Government of Self and Other* (Oxford University Press 2022)

Arenas FB, 'Cyberspace Jurisdiction and the Implications of Sealand' (2002) 88 Iowa Law Review 1165

Aristotle, The Politics (Ernest Barker tr, Oxford University Press 2009)

Arner DW, Barberis J and Buckey RP, 'FinTech, RegTech, and the Reconceptualization of Financial Regulation' (2016) 37 Northwestern Journal of International Law and Business 371

Arvicco, 'A Crypto-Decentralist Manifesto' (2016) < http://etherplan.com/A-Crypto-Decentralist-Manifesto-en.pdf> accessed 9 October 2024

Asscher L, 'Code'as Law. Using Fuller to Assess Code Rules' in Egbert Dommering and Lodewijk Asscher (eds), *Coding Regulation, Essays on the Normative Role of the Information Society* (TMC Asser 2006) 61

Athey S, '5 Ways Digital Currencies Will Change the World' (*World Economic Forum*, 22 January 2015) <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2015/01/5-ways-digital-currencies-will-change-the-world/> accessed 15 October 2024

Atria F, On Law and Legal Reasoning (Hart Publishing 2002)

Atzori M, 'Blockchain Technology and Decentralized Governance: Is the State Still Necessary?' (2017) 6 Journal of Governance and Regulation 45

Austin J, The Province of Jurisprudence Determined, vol 2 (J Murray 1861)

Avril E and Neem JN, Democracy, Participation and Contestation (Routledge 2014)

Ayres I and Gertner R, 'Filling Gaps in Incomplete Contracts: An Economic Theory of Default Rules' (1989) 99 Yale Law Journal 87

Bacon J and others, 'Blockchain Demystified: A Technical and Legal Introduction to Distributed and Centralized Ledgers' (2018) 25 Richmond Journal of Law and Technology 1

Bagby JW, Reitter D and Chwistek P, 'An Emerging Political Economy of the Blockchain: Enhancing Regulatory Opportunities' (2019) 88 UMKC Law Review 419

Baharmand H and others, 'Developing a Framework for Designing Humanitarian Blockchain Projects' (2021) 131 Computers in Industry 103487 <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0166361521000944> accessed 15 October 2024

Bajčić M (ed), New Insights into the Semantics of Legal Concepts and the Legal Dictionary (John Benjamins Publishing 2017)

Baldoni M, Boella G and van der Torre L, 'Modelling the Interaction between Objects: Roles as Affordances' in Jerome Lang and others (eds), *Knowledge Science, Engineering and Management* (Springer 2006)

Balkin JM, Cultural Software: A Theory of Ideology (Yale University Press 1998)

Bamberger KA, 'Technologies of Compliance: Risk and Regulation in a Digital Age' (2009) 88 Texas Law Review 669

Bankowski Z, 'Institutional Legal Positivism' (1989) 20 Rechtstheorie 289

—, 'Duty And Aspiration' in Zenon Bańkowski (ed), *Living Lawfully: Love in Law and Law in Love* (Springer 2001) https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-2099-1_5

-----, 'Law, Love and Legality' (2001) 14 International Journal for the Semiotics of Law 199

Bańkowski Z and Del Mar M, 'Images of Borders and the Politics and Legality of Identity', in Richard Nobles and David Schiff (eds), *Law, Society and Community* (Routledge 2016)

Bańkowski Z and MacCormick N, 'Legality without Legalism' in Werner Krawietz and others (eds), *The Reasonable as Rational: On Legal Argumentation and Justification. "Festschrift" for Aulis Aarnio* (Duncker & Humbolt GmbH 2000) 46

Bańkowski Z and Schafer B, 'Double-Click Justice: Legalism in the Computer Age' (2007) 1 Legisprudence 31

Barański S and others, 'Practical I-Voting on Stellar Blockchain' (2020) 10 Applied Sciences 7606

Barbieri M and Gassen D, 'Blockchain-Can This New Technology Really Revolutionize the Land Registry System' (World Bank Conference on Land and Poverty, 2017)

Barlow JP, 'A Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace'(2019) 18 Duke Law & Technology Review 5

Baron J, 'Blind Justice: Fairness to Groups and the Do-no-harm Principle' (1995) 8 Journal of Behavioral Decision Making 71

Baudrillard J, Le Système Des Objets (Gallimard 1968)

Baxter G and Sommerville I, 'Socio-Technical Systems: From Design Methods to Systems Engineering' (2011) 23 Interacting with Computers 4

Bay M, 'The Ethics of Unbreakable Encryption: Rawlsian Privacy and the San Bernardino iPhone' (2017) 22 First Monday

Bayamlıoğlu E and Leenes R, 'The 'Rule of Law'Implications of Data-Driven Decision-Making: A Techno-Regulatory Perspective' (2018) 10 Law, Innovation and Technology 295

Bayern SJ, 'Of Bitcoins, Independently Wealthy Software, and the Zero-Member LLC' (2014) 108 Northwestern University Law Review 1485 https://ir.law.fsu.edu/articles/41> accessed 5 October 2024.

Beard JM, 'Autonomous Weapons and Human Responsibilities' (2014) 45 Georgetown Journal of International Law 617

Beck R and others, 'Opportunities and Risks of Blockchain Technologies: Report from Dagstuhl Seminar 17132' (2017) 7 Dagstuhl Reports

Becker K, 'Blockchain Matters—Lex Cryptographia and the Displacement of Legal Symbolics and Imaginaries' (2022) 33 Law and Critique 113

Beckett P, Ownership, Financial Accountability and the Law: Transparency Strategies and Counter-Initiatives (Routledge 2019)

Beetham D, The Legitimation of Power (Humanities Press International 1991)

Bekkers V and Edwards A, 'Legitimacy and Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Assessing Governance Practices', *Governance and the Democratic Deficit* (Routledge 2007)

Belli L, Francisco PA and Zingales N, 'Law of the Land or Law of the Platform? Beware of the Privatisation of Regulation and Police', *Platform Regulations: How Platforms are Regulated and How They Regulate Us* (FGV DIREITO RIO 2017) 41

Benbunan-Fich R and Castellanos A, 'Digitization of Land Records: From Paper to Blockchain'(International Conference on Information Systems 2018) 15

Benthall S, Gürses S and Nissenbaum H, *Contextual Integrity through the Lens of Computer Science* (Now Publishers 2017)

Bentham J, 'Chapter XIV. Of Preappointed Evidence', '*Rationale of Judicial Evidence' The Works of Jeremy Bentham* Vol. 6 (Russel & Russel 1962)

Bentley DJ, 'John Rawls: A Theory of Justice' (1972) 121 UPenn Law Review 1070 <https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/penn_law_review/vol121/iss5/4> accessed 9 October 2024

Berg A, Berg C and Novak M, 'Blockchains and Constitutional Catallaxy' (2020) 31 Constitutional Political Economy 188 Berg B van den and Leenes RE, 'Abort, Retry, Fail: Scoping Techno-Regulation and Other Techno-Effects' in Mireille Hildbrandt and Jeanne Gaakeer (eds), *Human Law and Computer law: Comparative Perspectives* (Springer 2013)

Bergman M, Lyytinen K and Mark G, 'Boundary Objects in Design: An Ecological View of Design Artifacts' (2007) 8 Journal of the Association for Information Systems 11

Berman PS, 'From International Law to Law and Globalization' (2005) 43 Columbia Journal of Transnational Law 485

—___, Law and Society Approaches to Cyberspace (Routledge 2017)

Berry D, The Philosophy of Software: Code and Mediation in the Digital Age (Springer 2016)

Berryhill J, Bourgery T and Hanson A, 'Blockchains Unchained: Blockchain Technology and Its Use in the Public Sector' (2018) 28 OECD Working Papers on Public Governance https://doi.org/10.1787/3c32c429-en> accessed 6 October 2024.

Bex F and Prakken H, 'On the Relevance of Algorithmic Decision Predictors for Judicial Decision Making' (18th International Conference on Artificial Intelligence and Law (ICAIL '21), 2021) 175

Bhargavan K and others, 'Formal Verification of Smart Contracts: Short Paper' (ACM Workshop on Programming Languages and Analysis for Security (PLA '16), 2016) HAL Id: hal-01400469

Bhaskar R, *The Possibility of Naturalism: A Philosophical Critique of the Contemporary Human Sciences* (Routledge 2014)

Bingham, Lord, 'The Rule of Law' (2007) 66 The Cambridge Law Journal 67

Bishr AB, 'Dubai: A City Powered by Blockchain' (2019) 12 Innovations: Technology, Governance, Globalization 4

'Bitcoin's Anarchy Is a Feature, Not a Bug' (*Bloomberg.com*, 14 March 2018) https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2018-03-14/bitcoin-blockchain-demonstrates-the-value-of-anarchy> accessed 6 October 2024

Bix B, 'H.L.A. Hart and the "Open Texture" of Language' (1991) 10 Law and Society 51

Black J, Rules and Regulators (Oxford University Press 1997)

—, 'Critical Reflections on Regulation' (2002) 27 Australian Journal of Legal Philosophy 1

——, 'What Is Regulatory Innovation?' in Julia Black and others (eds), *Regulatory Innovation* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2005)

'Blockchain - Legal Implications, Questions, Opportunities & Risks'(*Deloitte*, September 2022) https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/global/Documents/Tax/dttl-tax-global-blockchain-wp-sept-2022.pdf> accessed 9 October 2024

'Blockchain: The Solution for Transparency in Product Supply Chains' (*Provenance*, 21 September 2015) https://www.provenance.org/news-insights/blockchain-the-solution-for-transparency-in-product-supply-chains accessed 15 October 2024

'#Blockchain4Humanity : Use the Blockchain Technology to Help Combat Child Trafficking in Moldova. - Home' < https://ideas.unite.un.org/blockchain4humanity/Page/Home> accessed 06 October 2024

Bodó B, Gervais D and Quintais JP, 'Blockchain and Smart Contracts: The Missing Link in Copyright Licensing?' (2018) 26 International Journal of Law and Information Technology 311

Boehme-Neßler V, 'Complexity Management: Reinventing Democracy', *Digitising Democracy: On Reinventing Democracy in the Digital Era-A Legal, Political and Psychological Perspective* (Springer 2020) 119

Boersma M and Nolan J, 'Can Blockchain Help Resolve Modern Slavery in Supply Chains?' (2020) 20 AIB Insights https://doi.org/10.46697/001c.13542> accessed 7 October 2024

Borges JL and Weinberger E, 'The Thousand and One Nights' (1984) 38 The Georgia Review 564

Bostrom N, Superintelligence: Paths, Dangers, Strategies (Oxford University Press 2014)

Bosu A and others, 'Understanding the Motivations, Challenges and Needs of Blockchain Software Developers: A Survey' (2019) 24 Empirical Software Engineering 2636

Boulais O, 'Exploring Provenance of Tuna Using Distributed Ledgers' (2019) Viral Communications

Boyer RS and Moore JS, 'Proof Checking the RSA Public Key Encryption Algorithm' (1984) 91 The American Mathematical Monthly 181

Boyle J, 'Foucault in Cyberspace: Surveillance, Sovereignty, and Hardwired Censors' (1997) 66 University of Cincinnati Law Review 177

Bradley C and Froomkin AM, 'Virtual Worlds, Real Rules' (2004) 49 New York Law School Law Review 103

Brito J and Dooling B, 'An Orphan Works Affirmative Defense to Copyright Infringement Actions' (2005) 12 Michigan Telecommunication & Technology Law Review 75

Brotsis S and others, 'Blockchain Solutions for Forensic Evidence Preservation in IoT Environments' (IEEE Conference on Network Softwarization (NetSoft), Paris, France 2019). doi: 10.1109/NETSOFT.2019.8806675

Brown I and Marsden CT, *Regulating Code: Good Governance and Better Regulation in the Information Age* (MIT Press 2023)

Brownsword R, 'What the World Needs Now: Techno-Regulation, Human Rights and Human Dignity' in Roger Brownsword (ed), *Global Governance and the Quest for Justice Vol 4: Human Rights* (Hart Publishing 2004)

—, 'Code, Control, and Choice: Why East Is East and West Is West' (2005) 25 Legal Studies 1

—, Rights, Regulation, and the Technological Revolution (Oxford University Press 2008)

——, 'Regulatory Cosmopolitanism: Clubs, Commons, and Questions of Coherence' (2010) Tilburg University TILT Law & Technology Working Paper

——, 'Lost in Translation: Legality, Regulatory Margins, and Technological Management' (2011) 26 Berkeley Technology Law Journal 1321

——, 'In the Year 2061: From Law to Technological Management' (2015) 7 Law, Innovation and Technology 1

——, 'Technological Management and the Rule of Law' (2016) 8 Law, Innovation and Technology 1.

------, 'Law Disrupted, Law Re-Imagined, Law Re-Invented' (2019) Technology and Regulation 10

—, 'Smart Contracts: Coding the Transaction, Decoding the Legal Debates' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019) 311

——, 'The Ideal of Legality and the Rule of Law', *Law, Technology and Society: Reimagining the Regulatory Environment* (Routledge 2019)

——, 'Artificial Intelligence and Legal Singularity: The Thin End of the Wedge, the Thick End of the Wedge, and the Rule of Law' in Simon Deakin and Christopher Markou (eds), *Is Law Computable?: Critical Perspectives on Law and Artificial Intelligence* (Hart Publishing 2020) 135

—, Law 3.0: Rules, Regulation, and Technology (Routledge 2020)

——, *Rethinking Law, Regulation, and Technology* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2022)

Brownsword R and Goodwin M, Law and the Technologies of the Twenty-First Century: Text and Materials (Cambridge University Press 2012)

Brownsword R, Scotford E and Yeung K, 'Law, Regulation, and Technology: the Field, Frame and Focal Questions' in Roger Brownsword and others (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Law, Regulation and Technology* (Oxford University Press 2017) 3

Brownsword R and Somsen H, 'Law, Innovation and Technology: Fast Forward to 2021' (2021) 13 Law, Innovation and Technology 1

Brownsword R and Yeung K (eds), *Regulating Technologies: Legal Futures, Regulatory Frames and Technological Fixes* (Hart Publishing 2008)

——, 'So What Does the World Need Now? Reflections on Regulating Technologies' in Roger Brownsword and Karen Yeung (eds), *Regulating Technologies: Legal Futures, Regulatory Frames and Technological Fixes* (Hart Publishing 2008)

Brunnée J and Toope SJ, *Legitimacy and Legality in International Law: An Interactional Account* (1st edn, Cambridge University Press 2010)

Bryson JJ, Diamantis ME and Grant TD, 'Of, for, and by the People: The Legal Lacuna of Synthetic Persons' (2017) 25 Artificial Intelligence and Law 273

Buchanan A and Keohane RO, 'The Legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions' (2006) 20 Ethics & International Affairs 405

Bucher T, If... Then: Algorithmic Power and Politics (Oxford University Press 2018)

Buckley RP, Didenko AN and Trzecinski M, 'Blockchain and Its Applications: A Conceptual Legal Primer' (2023) 26 Journal of International Economic Law 363

Burgess J and Chilvers J, 'Upping the Ante: A Conceptual Framework for Designing and Evaluating Participatory Technology Assessments' (2006) 33 Science and Public Policy 713

Burk DL, 'Copyright and the Architecture of Digital Delivery' (2014) 19 First Monday 10 https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v19i10.5544> accessed 9 October 2024

Burman A, 'Making Land Titles in India Marketable: Using Title Insurance as a Viable Alternative to Conclusive Titling' (2019) 28 Washington International Law Journal 109 https://digitalcommons.law.wu.edu/wilj.vol28/iss1/5> accessed 9 October 2024

Burrell J and Fourcade M, 'The Society of Algorithms' (2021) 47 Annual Review of Sociology 213

Busstra M, 'Designing for Good: Blockchain Technology and Human Rights' (2020) Intergovernmental Organisation's In House Counsel Journal 31

Butenko A and Larouche P, 'Regulation for Innovativeness or Regulation of Innovation?' (2015) 7 Law, Innovation and Technology 52

Buterin V, 'Visions Part I: The Value of Blockchain Technology' (*Ethereum Foundation Blog*, 13 April 2015) https://blog.ethereum.org/2015/04/13/visions-part-1-the-value-of-blockchain-technology> accessed 15 October 2024

—, 'Credible Neutrality as a Guiding Principle' (*Nakamoto*, 2020) <https://nakamoto. com/credible-neutrality> accessed 15 October 2024

——, 'The Most Important Scarce Resource Is Legitimacy' (2021) Vitalik Buterin's Website. <vitalik.eth.limo/general/2021/03/23/legitimacy.html> accessed 15 October 2024

——, *Proof of Stake: The Making of Ethereum and the Philosophy of Blockchains* (Seven Stories Press 2022)

—, 'A Next Generation Smart Contract and Decentralized Application Platform' (2014) 3 Ethereum White Paper 37.

Bygstad B, Munkvold BE and Volkoff O, 'Identifying Generative Mechanisms through Affordances: A Framework for Critical Realist Data Analysis' (2016) 31 Journal of Information Technology 83 Calo R, 'Code, Nudge, or Notice' (2014) 99 Iowa Law Review 773

-----, 'Digital Market Manipulation' (2014) 82 George Washington Law Review 995

Canevaro M, 'The Rule of Law as the Measure of Political Legitimacy in the Greek City States' (2017) 9 Hague Journal on the Rule of Law 211

Cappiello B and Carullo G, Blockchain, Law and Governance (Springer 2021)

Carayannis EG and others, 'Known Unknowns in an Era of Technological and Viral Disruptions—Implications for Theory, Policy, and Practice' (2021) Journal of the Knowledge Economy 1

Carlsen H and others, 'Assessing Socially Disruptive Technological Change' (2010) 32 Technology in Society 209

Casanovasabc P, González-Conejeroc J and de Kokerab L, 'Legal Compliance by Design (LCbD) and through Design (LCtD): Preliminary Survey' (2049 CEUR Workshop Proceedings, 1st Workshop on Technologies for Regulatory Compliance (TERECOM 2017), Luxembourg, 13 December 2017) https://ddd.uab.cat/record/189386> accessed 6 October 2024.

Casey AJ and Niblett A, 'The Death of Rules and Standards' (2016) 92 Indiana Law Journal 1401

-----, 'Self-Driving Contracts' (2017) 43 Journal of Corporation Law 1

Casey B, Farhangi A and Vogl R, 'Rethinking Explainable Machines' (2019) 34 Berkeley Technology Law Journal 143

Casey MJ and Vigna P, 'In Blockchain We Trust' (2018) 121 MIT Technology Review 10

Cayley J, 'The Code Is Not the Text (Unless It Is the Text)' (2002) 10 Electronic Book Review

Cerf V and Ryan P, 'Internet Governance Is Our Shared Responsibility' (2014) 10 I/S: A Journal of Law and Policy for the Information Society 1

Chen Y and others, 'Applications of Blockchain in Industry 4.0: A Review' (2022) Information Systems Frontiers https://doi.org/10.1007/s10796-022-10248-7

Cherry C, 'Regulative Rules and Constitutive Rules' (1973) 23 The Philosophical Quarterly (1950-) 301

Christensen C and Raynor ME, *The Innovator's Solution: Creating and Sustaining Successful Growth* (Harvard Business School Press 2003)

Christensen C, Raynor ME and McDonald R, 'What is Disruptive Innovation' (2015) Harvard Business Review https://hbr.org/2015/12/what-is-disruptive-innovation> accessed 15 October 2024

Citron DK, 'Technological Due Process' (2007) 85 Washington University Law Review1249

Clack CD, 'Languages for Smart and Computable Contracts' (2022) in Jason Allen and Peter Hunn (eds), *Smart Legal Contracts: Computable Law in Theory and Practice* (Oxford University Press 2022) <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780192858467.003.0013> accessed 15 October 2024

Clark DD, 'Tools of Engagement: Mapping the Tussles in Cyberspace' (2010) MIT Political Science Department, ECIR Working Paper No. 2010-4

Clark DD and others, 'Tussle in Cyberspace: Defining Tomorrow's Internet' (ACM SIGCOMM'02, 2002)

Clark I, Legitimacy in International Society (1st edn, Oxford University Press 2005)

Clavin J and others, 'Blockchains for Government: Use Cases and Challenges' (2020) 1 Digital Government: Research and Practice 1

Cohen J, 'Reflections on Habermas on Democracy' (1999) 12 Ratio Juris 385

Cohen JE, 'Cyberspace as/and Space' (2007) 107 Columbia Law Review 210

——, Configuring the Networked Self: Law, Code, and the Play of Everyday Practice (Yale University Press 2012)

—, 'The Regulatory State in the Information Age' (2016) 17 Theoretical Inquiries in Law 369

Cole R, Stevenson M and Aitken J, 'Blockchain Technology: Implications for Operations and Supply Chain Management' (2019) 24 Supply Chain Management: An International Journal 469

Collingridge D, The Social Control of Technology (St. Martin's Press 1980)

Collomb A, De Filippi P and Klara S, 'Blockchain Technology and Financial Regulation: A Risk-Based Approach to the Regulation of ICOs' (2019) 10 European Journal of Risk Regulation 263

Consolidated version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union 1957 (OJ C)

Conti G and Sobiesk E, 'Malicious Interface Design: Exploiting the User' (International World Wide Web Conference Committee (IW3C2), 2010) 273.

Cooper JM and Hutchinson DS, Plato: Complete Works (Hackett Publishing 1997)

Cooper N, 'Learning Review: Blockchain Open Loop Cash Transfer Pilot Project' (2018) IFRC <https://preparecenter.org/resource/blockchain-open-loop-cash-transfer-pilot-project/> accessed 15 October 2024.

Cooper Z and Lodder AR, 'What's Law Got to Do with IT: An Analysis of Techno-Regulatory Incoherence' in Bartosz Brozek and others (eds), *Research Handbook on Law and Technology* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2023) Coppi G and Fast L, 'Blockchain and Distributed Ledger Technologies in the Humanitarian Sector' (HPG Commissioned Report 2019)

Corkery M and Silver-Greenberg J, 'Miss a Payment? Good Luck Moving That Car' (*New York Times*, 24 September 2014)

Costanza-Chock S, 'Design Values: Hard-Coding Liberation?' (2020) Design Justice https://designjustice.mitpress.mit.edu/pub/3h2zq86d/release/1> accessed 9 October 2024

Cottier T, 'The Legitimacy of WTO' in Linda Yuch (ed), *The Law and Economics of Globalisation* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2009)

Couture S and Toupin S, 'What Does the Notion of "Sovereignty" Mean When Referring to the Digital?' (2019) 21 New Media & Society 2305

Cranor LF and Garfinkel S, Security and Usability: Designing Secure Systems That People Can Use (O'Reilly Media, 2005)

Crepaldi M, 'Why Blockchains Need the Law: Secondary Rules as the Missing Piece of Blockchain Governance' (17th International Conference on Artificial Intelligence and Law (ICAIL '19), 2019) https://doi.org/10.1145/3322640.3328780 189-193.

Crootof R and others, 'Humans in the Loop' (2023) 76 Vanderbilt Law Review 429

Crumpler W, 'The Human Rights Risks and Opportunities in Blockchain' (2021) <https://www.csis.org/analysis/human-rights-risks-and-opportunities-blockchain> accessed 16 March 2024

Cruz JP, Kaji Y and Yanai N, 'RBAC-SC: Role-Based Access Control Using Smart Contract' (2018) 6 IEEE Access 12240

'Crypto Fund III' (*a16z crypto*, 24 June 2021) <https://a16zcrypto.com/posts/article/crypto-fund-iii/> accessed 21 April 2024

Currie M, Knox J, and McGregor C (eds), *Data Justice and the Right to the City* (Edinburgh University Press 2022).

d'Amato, 'The Concept of Human Rights in International Law' in Michael Addo (ed), *International Law of Human Rights* (Routledge 2006)

d'Almeida LD, Edwards J and Dolcetti A (eds), *Reading HLA Hart's' The Concept of Law'* (Hart Publishing 2013)

Dai J, Wang Y and Vasarhelyi MA, 'Blockchain: An Emerging Solution for Fraud Prevention' (2017) 87 The CPA Journal 12

Darnell JA and Gopalkrishnan S, 'Digital Information Overload: How Leaders Can Strategically Use AI to Prevent Innovation Paralysis' in Nocole Pfeffermann and Monika Schaller (eds), *New Leadership Communication—Inspire Your Horizon* (Springer 2023)

Darwin C, On the Origin of Species: Facsimile of the First Edition (1859) 69

Data Protection Working Party, 'Guidelines on Automated Individual Decision-Making and Profiling for the Purposes of Regulation 2016/679'

Davies W, *The Limits of Neoliberalism: Authority, Sovereignty and the Logic of Competition* (Sage Publications 2014)

Davis JL, *How Artifacts Afford: The Power and Politics of Everyday Things* (MIT Press 2020)

Davis JL and Chouinard JB, 'Theorizing Affordances: From Request to Refuse' (2016) 36 Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society 241

De Filippi P, 'The Interplay between Decentralization and Privacy: The Case of Blockchain Technologies' (2016) Journal of Peer Production, Issue No. 7: Alternate Internets

——, 'Blockchain Technology and Decentralized Governance: The Pitfalls of a Trustless Dream' (2019) *Decentralized Thriving: Governance and Community on the Web 3.0*, hal-02445179

——, 'Blockchain Technology as an Instrument for Global Governance' (2021) SciencesPo Chair Digital, Governance and Sovereignty 1

——, 'Plantoid - The Birth of a Blockchain Based Lifeform' in Ruth Catlow and others (eds), *Artists Re: Thinking the Blockchain* (Torque & Furtherfield 2017) 51

De Filippi P and Hassan S, 'Blockchain Technology as a Regulatory Technology: From Code Is Law to Law Is Code' (2016) 21 First Monday https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v21i12.7113 accessed 15 October 2024

De Filippi P and Loveluck B, 'The Invisible Politics of Bitcoin: Governance Crisis of a Decentralized Infrastructure' (2016) 5 Internet Policy Review

De Filippi P, Mannan M and others, 'Report on Blockchain Technology & Legitimacy' (2022) EUI Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Research Project Report

De Filippi P, Mannan M and Reijers W, 'Blockchain as a Confidence Machine: The Problem of Trust & Challenges of Governance' (2020) 62 Technology in Society 101284

—, 'Blockchain Technology and the Rule of Code: Regulation via Governance' (2022) hal-03883249

-----, 'The Alegality of Blockchain Technology' (2022) 41 Policy and Society 358

De Filippi P and Mauro R, 'Ethereum: The Decentralised Platform That Might Displace Today's Institutions' (2014) 25 Internet Policy Review

De Filippi P and others, *Scanning the European Ecosystem of Distributed Ledger Technologies for Social and Public Good: What, Why, Where, How, and Ways to Move Forward* (Publications Office of the European Union 2020)

De Filippi P and others, 'Blockchain Technology, Trust & Confidence: Reinterpreting Trust in a Trustless System?' (2022) HIIG Discussion Paper Series. hal-03895402

De Filippi P and Wright A, *Blockchain and the Law: The Rule of Code* (Harvard University Press 2018)

Deirdre C and Päivi L, 'In Search of Transparency for EU Law-Making: Trilogues on the Cusp of Dawn' (2017) 54 Common Market Law Review 1673

De Saille S, 'Innovating Innovation Policy: The Emergence of "Responsible Research and Innovation" (2015) 2 Journal of Responsible Innovation 152

Delimatsis P, 'When Disruptive Meets Streamline: International Standardization in Blockchain' in Daniel Kraus and others (eds), *Blockchains, Smart Contracts, Decentralised Autonomous Organisations and the Law* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2019) https://doi.org/10.4337/9781788115131.00010>

Dellmuth LM and Tallberg J, 'The Social Legitimacy of International Organisations: Interest Representation, Institutional Performance, and Confidence Extrapolation in the United Nations' (2015) 41 Review of International Studies 451

Denson WD, 'The Source Code Escrow: A Worthwhile or Worthless Investment' (2002) 1 Rutgers Bankrupty Law Journal 1

Der U, Jähnichen S and Sürmeli J, 'Self-Sovereign Identity \$-\$ Opportunities and Challenges for the Digital Revolution' (2017) arXiv preprint arXiv:1712.01767

Desai DR and Kroll JA, 'Trust but Verify: A Guide to Algorithms and the Law' (2017) 31 Harvard Journal of Law & Technology 1

Dhar R and Simonson I, 'The Effect of Forced Choice on Choice' (2003) 40 Journal of Marketing Research 146

Dicey AV, 'Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution: Introduction to the Eighth Edition (1915)' (2007) 13 Giornale di Storia Costituzionale 171

Dimitropoulos G, 'Global Currencies and Domestic Regulation' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019) 112

-----, 'The Law of Blockchain' (2020) 95 Washington Law Review 1117

——, 'The Use of Blockchain by International Organizations: Effectiveness and Legitimacy' (2022) 41 Policy and Society 328

Djeffal C, 'AI, Democracy and the Law' in Andreas Sudmann (ed), *The Democratization of Artificial Intelligence: Net Politics in the Era of Learning Algorithms* (transcript 2019) 255

—, 'The Normative Potential of the European Rule on Automated Decisions: A New Reading for Art. 22 GDPR' (2020) 81 Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht 847

——, 'Law by Design Obligations: The Future of Regulating Digital Technologies in Europe?' (2024) SSRN Electronic Journal (SSRN 4765471)

Donovan A, 'Blockchain: Developing Regulatory Approaches for the Use of Technology in Legal Services' (2019) Legal Services Board UK

Drummer D and Neumann D, 'Is Code Law? Current Legal and Technical Adoption Issues and Remedies for Blockchain-Enabled Smart Contracts' (2020) 35 Journal of Information Technology 337

Du WD and others, 'Affordances, Experimentation and Actualization of FinTech: A Blockchain Implementation Study' (2019) 28 The Journal of Strategic Information Systems 50

Du Z and others, 'Blockchain-Based Access Control Architecture for Multi-Domain Environments' (2024) 98 Pervasive and Mobile Computing 101878

Dubey R and others, 'Blockchain Technology for Enhancing Swift-Trust, Collaboration and Resilience within a Humanitarian Supply Chain Setting' (2020) 58 International Journal of Production Research 3381

Ducas E and Wilner A, 'The Security and Financial Implications of Blockchain Technologies: Regulating Emerging Technologies in Canada' (2017) 72 International Journal 538

Durovic M and Lech F, 'The Enforceability of Smart Contracts' (2019) 5 Italian Law Journal 493

Dworkin R, 'Law as Interpretation' (1982) 9 Critical Inquiry 179

——, *Law's Empire* (Harvard University Press 1986)

Dyck S and Majchrzak TA, 'Identifying Common Characteristics in Fundamental, Integrated, and Agile Software Development Methodologies' (45th Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences, 2012)

Dyson E, 'Cyberspace and the American Dream: A Magna Carta for the Knowledge Age (Release 1.2, August 22, 1994)' (1996) 12 The Information Society 295

Dyzenhaus D, Legality and Legitimacy: Carl Schmitt, Hans Kelsen and Hermann Heller in Weimar (Oxford University Press 1999)

-----, 'Hobbes and the Legitimacy of Law' (2001) 20 Law and Philosophy 461

Edwards L, 'Data Protection and E-Privacy: From Spam and Cookies to Big Data, Machine Learning and Profiling' in Lilian Edwards (ed), *Law, Policy and the Internet* (Hart Publishing 2018)

Edwards L and Veale M, 'Slave to the Algorithm? Why a'right to an Explanation'is Probably Not the Remedy You Are Looking For' (2017) 16 Duke Law & Technology Review 18

Eecke P van and Truyens M, 'L'Oréal v. eBay: The Court of Justice Clarifies the Position of Online Auction Providers' (2011) 12 Computer Law Review International 129

Eich S, 'Old Utopias, New Tax Havens: The Politics of Bitcoin in Historical Perspective' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds). *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019) 85

Ekman A, 'China's Blockchain and Cryptocurrency Ambitions: The First-Mover Advantage' (2021) European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS)

Elyounes DA, "Computer Says No!": The Impact of Automation on the Discretionary Power of Public Officers' (2021) 23 Vanderbilt Journal of Entertainment and Technology Law 451

European Banking Authority, 'EBA Opinions on Virtual Currencies' (EBA/OP/2014/08, 4 July 2014)

European Commission, 'Open Source Software Strategy 2020-2023' (2020) <https://commission.europa.eu/document/download/97e59978-42c0-4b4a-9406-8f1a86837530_en?filename=en_ec_open_source_strategy_2020-2023.pdf> accessed 15 October 2024

European Commission, 'Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council laying down Harmonised Rules on Artificial Intelligence (Artificial Intelligence Act) and Amending Certain Union Legislative Acts 2021 [COM/2021/206 final]'

European Convention on Human Rights 1950

Evans SK and others, 'Explicating Affordances: A Conceptual Framework for Understanding Affordances in Communication Research' (2017) 22 Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication 35 https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12180 accessed 15 October 2024

Fakhri M, 'Reconstructing the WTO Legitimacy Debates Towards Notions of Development' (2009) CLPE Research Paper

Faraj S and Azad B, 'The Materiality of Technology: An Affordance Perspective' in Paul M Leonardi and others (eds), *Materiality and Organizing: Social Interaction in a Technological World* (Oxford University Press 2012) 237

Faria I, 'Trust, Reputation and Ambiguous Freedoms: Financial Institutions and Subversive Libertarians Navigating Blockchain, Markets, and Regulation' (2019) 12 Journal of Cultural Economy 2

'FBI Announces Results of Nationwide Sex Trafficking Operation' (*US Department of Justice Office of Public Affairs*, 15 August 2022) https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/fbi-announces-results-nationwide-sex-trafficking-operation accessed 7 October 2024

Feenberg A, Critical Theory of Technology, vol 5 (Oxford University Press 1991)

—____, Between Reason and Experience: Essays in Technology and Modernity (MIT Press 2010)

—, *Questioning Technology* (Routledge 2012)

Feng T and others, 'Research on Privacy Enhancement Scheme of Blockchain Transactions' (2019) 2 Security and Privacy 6

Fenster M, 'The Opacity of Transparency' (2005) 91 Iowa Law Review 885

Ferreira A, 'Regulating Smart Contracts: Legal Revolution or Simply Evolution?' (2021) 45 Telecommunications Policy 102081

Finck M, *Blockchain Regulation and Governance in Europe* (Cambridge University Press 2018)

——, 'Blockchains as a Regulatable Technology', *Blockchain Regulation and Governance in Europe* (Cambridge University Press 2018)

—, 'Blockchains: Regulating the Unknown' (2018) 19 German Law Journal 665

——, 'Digital Co-Regulation: Designing a Supranational Legal Framework for the Platform Economy' (2018) 43 European Law Review 47

Finn E, What Algorithms Want: Imagination in the Age of Computing (MIT Press 2018)

Finnis J, Natural Law and Natural Rights (Oxford University Press 2011) 270

Fischer H, 'Technology Perspectives on Code' in Egbert Dommering and Lodewijk Asscher (eds), *Coding Regulation: Essays on the Normative Role of Information Technology* (TMC Asser Press 2006) 17

Flores F and others, 'Computer Systems and the Design of Organizational Interaction' (1988) 6 ACM Transactions on Information Systems 153

'Follow the Bitcoin to Find Victims of Human Trafficking' (*NYU Tandon School of Engineering Press Release*, 16 August 2017) https://engineering.nyu.edu/news/follow-bitcoin-find-victims-human-trafficking> accessed 9 October 2024

Ford B and Strauss J, 'An Offline Foundation for Online Accountable Pseudonyms' (SocialNets 2008)

Francisco K and Swanson D, 'The Supply Chain Has No Clothes: Technology Adoption of Blockchain for Supply Chain Transparency' (2018) 2 Logistics 2

Franck TM, 'Legitimacy in the International System' (1988) 82 The American Journal of International Law 705

—, The Power of Legitimacy among Nations (1st edn, Oxford University Press 1990)

-----, Fairness in International Law and Institutions (Oxford University Press UK 1995)

Fraser A and Kitchin R, Slow Computing (Bristol University Press 2017)

Friedman B, 'Value-Sensitive Design' (1996) 3 interactions 16

Friedman LM, Law and Society- An Introduction (Prentice Hall 1977)

Frisby D, Bitcoin: The Future of Money? (Unbound Publishing 2014)

Frischmann B and Benesch S, 'Friction-In-Design Regulation as 21st Century Time, Place, and Manner Restriction' (2023) 25 Yale Journal of Law and Technology 376

Fry T, 'Configuring Design as Politics Now', *The Routledge Companion to Design Studies* (Routledge 2016)

Fukuyama F, 'China and East Asian Democracy: The Patterns of History' (2012) 23 Journal of Democracy

Fuller LL, 'Positivism and Fidelity to Law--A Reply to Professor Hart' (1958) 71 Harvard Law Review 630

—, 'The Morality of Law' (1964)

Fuller T, Gnomologia: Adagies and Proverbs; Wise Sentences and Witty Sayings, Ancient and Modern, Foreign and British, vol 1 (B Barker 1732)

Fusco F and others, 'Crypto-Voting, a Blockchain Based e-Voting System.' (10th International Joint Conference on Knowledge Discovery, Knowledge Engineering and Knowledge Management (IC3K 2018), 2018) 223

Gaakeer J, "Select before You Collect": Uses and Abuses of Profiling and Data Mining in Law and Literature' (2020) 14 Pólemos 57

Galuba W and Girdzijauskas S, 'Overlay Network' in LING LIU and M TAMER ÖZSU (eds), *Encyclopedia of Database Systems* (Springer 2009) https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-39940-9_1231

Garcia M, The Patterns of Architecture (John Wiley & Sons 2009)

Gaus JM, Reflections on Public Administration (University of Alabama Press 2006)

Gavin Wood - Allegality (POW Media, 2015) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zh9BxYTSrGU> accessed 22 March 2024

Gencer AE and others, 'Decentralization in Bitcoin and Ethereum Networks' in Sarah Meiklejohn and Kazue Sako (eds), *Financial Cryptography and Data Security* (Springer 2018) 24 <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-58387-6>

'General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) – Legal Text' < https://gdpr-info.eu/> accessed 28 April 2024

Ghiro L and others, 'What Is a Blockchain? A Definition to Clarify the Role of the Blockchain in the Internet of Things' (2021) arXiv preprint arXiv:2102.03750

Gibson JJ, 'The Theory of Affordances', *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception: Classic Edition* (Psychology Press 2014)

Gill L, 'Law, Metaphor, and the Encrypted Machine' (2018) 55 Osgoode Hall Law Journal 440

Gillespie T, 'The Relevance of Algorithms' in Tarleton Gillespie and others (eds), *Media Technologies: Essays on Communication, Materiality, and Society* (MIT Press 2014) < https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9780262525374.003.0009> accessed 9 Oct. 2024

——, 'Algorithmically Recognizable: Santorum's Google Problem, and Google's Santorum Problem' in David Beer (ed), *The Social Power of Algorithms* (Routledge 2019)

Goldenfein J and Hunter D, 'Blockchains, Orphan Works, and the Public Domain' (2017) 41 Columbia Journal of Law & Arts 1

Goldoni M, 'The Normativity of Code as Law: Toward Input Legitimacy' (25th IVR Congress Law Science and Technology, Frankfurt am Main, 2011).

——, 'The Politics of Code as Law: Towards Input Reasons' in Jane Reichel and Anna-Sara Lind (eds), *Freedom of Expression, the Internet and Democracy* (Brill 2015) 115

Golumbia D, *The Politics of Bitcoin: Software as Right-Wing Extremism* (University of Minnesota Press 2016)

Gomes P, 'The Blockchain: Change Everything Forever' in Ruth Catlow and others (eds),

Artists Re: Thinking the Blockchain (Torque & Furtherfield 2017) 85

Goodhart AL, 'The Nature of International Law' (1936) 22 Transactions of the Grotius Society 31

Goodrich P, 'Screening Law' (2009) 21 Law & Literature 1

Goossens J, 'Challenges and Opportunities of Blockchain and Smart Contracts for Democracy in the Distributed, Algorithmic State' in Oreste Pollicino, & Giovanni De Gregorio (eds), *Blockchain and Public Law: Global Challenges in the Era of Decentralisation* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2021) 76

Gould JD and Lewis C, 'Designing for Usability: Key Principles and What Designers Think' (1985) 28 Communications of the ACM 300

Gowder P, The Rule of Law in the Real World (Cambridge University Press 2016)

Gray CM and others, 'The Dark (Patterns) Side of UX Design' (CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI '18), 2018)

Grech A, Sood I and Ariño L, 'Blockchain, Self-Sovereign Identity and Digital Credentials: Promise Versus Praxis in Education' (2021) 4 Frontiers in Blockchain 616779

Greenleaf G, 'An Endnote on Regulating Cyberspace: Architecture vs Law?' in David S Wall (ed), *Cyberspace Crime* (Routledge 2003)

Greer BT, 'Connecting the Dots of an Opaque Crime: Analyzing the Information-Sharing Framework and Practices of California's Human-Trafficking Task Forces' (NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL MONTEREY CA 2022)

Grimmelmann J, 'Regulation by Software' (2005) 114 Yale Law Journal 1719

Grundmann S and Hacker P, 'Digital Technology as a Challenge to European Contract Law: From the Existing to the Future Architecture' (2017) 13 European Review of Contract Law 255

G'sell F and Martin-Bariteau F, 'The Impact of Blockchains for Human Rights, Democracy, and the Rule of Law' (2022) Council of Europe

Guadamuz A and Marsden C, 'Blockchains and Bitcoin: Regulatory Responses to Cryptocurrencies' (2015) 20 First Monday

Guegan D, 'Public Blockchain versus Private Blockhain' (2017) halshs-01524440

Gürses S, Troncoso C and Diaz C, 'Engineering Privacy by Design' (2011) 14 Computers, Privacy & Data Protection 25

Gutwirth S, De Hert P and De Sutter L, 'The Trouble with Technology Regulation: Why Lessig's 'Optimal Mix'Will Not Work' in Roger Brownsword and Karen Yeung (eds), *Regulating Technologies: Legal Futures, Regulatory Frames and Technological Fixes* (Oxford University Press 2008) 193

Gutierrez RJ, 'Democracy and the Rule of Law: Myth or Reality' (2009) 47 Duquensne Law Review 803

Habermas J, 'How Is Legitimacy Made Possible via Legality?' (2023) Revus. Journal for Constitutional Theory and Philosophy of Law/Revija za ustavno teorijo in filozofijo prava

Habib G and others, 'Blockchain Technology: Benefits, Challenges, Applications, and Integration of Blockchain Technology with Cloud Computing' (2022) 14 Future Internet 341

Hacker P, 'Personalizing EU Private Law: From Disclosures to Nudges and Mandates' (2017) 25 European Review of Private Law

Hacker P and others, 'Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges - An Introduction' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019) 13

Hagan M, 'Legal Design as a Thing: A Theory of Change and a Set of Methods to Craft a Human-Centered Legal System' (2020) 36 Design Issues 3

Hage J, 'Two Concepts of Constitutive Rules' (2018) 4 Argumenta 21

Hallwright J and Carnaby E, 'Complexities of Implementation: Oxfam Australia's Experience in Piloting Blockchain' (2019) 2 Frontiers in Blockchain 10

Hamilton R and Leuprecht C, 'The Crime Crypto Nexus:Nuancing Risk Across Crypto-Crime Transactions' in Doron Goldbarsht and Louis de Koker (eds), *Financial Crime and the Law. Ius Gentium: Comparative Perspectives on Law and Justice* (Springer 2024) <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-59543-1_2>

Hart H, The Concept of Law (Oxford University Press 1961)

Hartzog W, *Privacy's Blueprint: The Battle to Control the Design of New Technologies* (Harvard University Press 2018)

-----, 'The Public Information Fallacy' (2019) 99 Boston University Law Review 459

Hartzog W and others, 'Inefficiently Automated Law Enforcement' (2016) Michigan State Law Review 1763

Hassan AE and Holt RC, 'Studying the Chaos of Code Development' (10th Working Conference on Reverse Engineering (WCRE '03), 2003)

Hassan S and De Filippi P, 'The Expansion of Algorithmic Governance: From Code Is Law to Law Is Code' (2017) Field Actions Science Reports: The Journal of Field Actions 88

-----, 'Decentralized Autonomous Organization' (2021) 10 Internet Policy Review https://doi.org/10.14763/2021.2.1556> accessed 15 October 2024

Hauser E, 'Facts in the Machine: Systems of Record and the Performance of Sociotechnical Truth' (2023) Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology

Hayes RA, Carr CT and Wohn DY, 'One Click, Many Meanings: Interpreting Paralinguistic Digital Affordances in Social Media' (2016) 60 Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media 171

Hayles NK, 'Print Is Flat, Code Is Deep: The Importance of Media-Specific Analysis' (2004) 25 Poetics Today 67

Hazard J and Haapio H, 'Wise Contracts: Smart Contracts That Work for People and Machines' (20th International Legal Informatics Symposium (IRIS 2017), .2017) 425

Heidingsfelder ML, Bitter F and Ullrich R, 'Debate through Design. Incorporating Contrary Views on New and Emerging Technologies' (2019) 22 The Design Journal 723

Heinemann T and Weiß M, 'Biotechnologische Grenzregime' (2016) An Der Grenze-Die Biotechnologische Überwachung von Migration

Hermstrüwer Y, 'Blockchain and Public Administration' in Oreste Pollicino and Giovanni De Gregorio (eds), *Blockchain and Public Law* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2021)

Highsmith JA, Agile Software Development Ecosystems (Addison-Wesley Professional 2002)

Hildebrandt M, 'A Vision of Ambient Law' (2008) Regulating Technologies 175

——, 'Legal and Technological Normativity: More (and Less) than Twin Sisters.' (2008) 12 Techne: Research in Philosophy & Technology 169

-----, 'Legal Protection by Design: Objections and Refutations' (2011) 5 Legisprudence 223

——, 'Balance or Trade-off? Online Security Technologies and Fundamental Rights' (2013) 26 Philosophy & Technology 357

——, 'Radbruch's Rechtsstaat and Schmitt's Legal Order: Legalism, Legality, and the Institution of Law' (2015) 2 Critical Analysis of Law 42

——, Smart Technologies and the End (s) of Law: Novel Entanglements of Law and Technology (Edward Elgar Publishing 2015)

——, 'The Public (s) Onlife: A Call For Legal Protection by Design' in Lucio Floridi (ed), *The Onlife Manifesto: Being Human in a Hyperconnected Era* (Springer 2015) 181

——, 'Law as Information in the Era of Data-Driven Agency' (2016) 79 The Modern Law Review 1

——, 'Law as an Affordance: The Devil Is in the Vanishing Point (s)' (2017) 4 Critical Analysis of Law116

-----, 'Saved by Design? The Case of Legal Protection by Design' (2017) 11 NanoEthics 307

——, 'Algorithmic Regulation and the Rule of Law' (2018) 376 Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society A: Mathematical, Physical and Engineering Sciences 20170355

——, 'Law as Computation in the Era of Artificial Legal Intelligence: Speaking Law to the Power of Statistics' (2018) 68 University of Toronto Law Journal 12

——, "Legal by Design'or 'Legal Protection by Design'?', *Law for Computer Scientists and Other Folk* (Oxford University Press 2020)

—, 'Code-Driven Law: Freezing the Future and Scaling the Past' in Christopher Markou and Simon Deakin (eds), *Is Law Computable?: Critical Perspectives on Law and Artificial Intelligence* (Hart Publishing 2020) 67 <https://www.cohubicol.com/assets/uploads/hildebrandt-freezing-the-future-and-scaling-thepast.pdf> accessed on 9 October 2024

-----, Law for Computer Scientists and Other Folk (Oxford University Press 2020)

-----, 'The Artificial Intelligence of European Union Law' (2020) 21 German Law Journal 74

——, 'The Adaptive Nature of Text-Driven Law' (2021) 1 Journal of Cross-disciplinary Research in Computational Law 1

Hildebrandt M, Bus J, Crompton M and Metakides G (eds), *Digital Enlightenment Yearbook 2012* (IOS Press 2012)

Hildebrandt M and Koops B, 'The Challenges of Ambient Law and Legal Protection in the Profiling Era' (2010) 73 The Modern Law Review 428

Hildebrandt M and O'Hara K, 'Introduction: Life and the Law in the Era of Data-Driven Agency' in Mireille Hildebrandt and others (eds), *Life and the Law in the Era of Data-Driven Agency* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2020)

Hildebrandt M and Rouvroy A (eds), *Law, Human Agency and Autonomic Computing* (Routledge 2011)

Hileman G and Rauchs M, 'Global Blockchain Benchmarking Study' (2017) Cambridge Centre for Alternative Finance, University of Cambridge

Himmelsbach S and others, Algorithmic Imaginary (Christoph Merian Verlag 2023)

Hirsch DD, 'The Law and Policy of Online Privacy: Regulation, Self-Regulation, or Co-Regulation' (2010) 34 Seattle University Law Review 439

Hirschman AO, Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States, vol 25 (Harvard University Press 1970)

Hjálmarsson FÞ and others, 'Blockchain-Based e-Voting System' (IEEE 11th International Conference on Cloud Computing (CLOUD), .2018) 983

Hoffman R, 'The Future of the Bitcoin Ecosystem and "Trustless Trust"–Why I Invested in Blockstream' (2014) 17 LinkedIn Pulse 573

Holovaty S, The Rule of Law vol 1 (Phoenix Publishing House 2006) 214

Hood C and Margetts H, *The Tools of Government in the Digital Age* (Bloomsbury Publishing 2007)

Hood C, Rothstein H and Baldwin R, *The Government of Risk: Understanding Risk Regulation Regimes* (Oxford University Press 2001)

Howell BE and Potgieter PH, 'Uncertainty and Dispute Resolution for Blockchain and Smart Contract Institutions' (2021) 17 Journal of Institutional Economics 545

HughesE,'ACypherpunk'sManifesto'(1993)<https://nakamotoinstitute.org/library/cypherpunk-manifesto/> accessed 6 October 2024 .

Hughes K, 'Blockchain, the Greater Good, and Human and Civil Rights' (2017) 48 Metaphilosophy 654

Hui Y, Recursivity and Contingency (Rowman & Littlefield 2019)

'Human Rights and the Rule of Law | UNODC' *Acts 4 Rule of Law* (February 2019)<http://www.act4ruleoflaw.org/en/news/humanrights> accessed 16 March 2024

Hurd I, *After Anarchy: Legitimacy and Power in the United Nations Security Council* (Princeton University Press 2007) http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7srr1 accessed 7 October 2024

Hyvärinen H, Risius M and Friis G, 'A Blockchain-Based Approach towards Overcoming Financial Fraud in Public Sector Services' (2017) 59 Business & Information Systems Engineering 441

Iglezakis I, 'The Right to Be Forgotten in the Google Spain Case (Case C-131/12): A Clear Victory for Data Protection or an Obstacle for the Internet?' (2014) SSRN Electronic Journal (SSRN 2472323)

Ihde D, *Technology and the Lifeworld: From Garden to Earth* (Indiana University Press 1990)

—____, Postphenomenology and Technoscience: The Peking University Lectures (Suny Press 2009)

IRE 902(12) & (13), Federal Rules of Evidence (US) https://www.law.cornell.edu/rules/fre accessed 15 October 2024

Islam MN and Bouwman H, 'Towards User–intuitive Web Interface Sign Design and Evaluation: A Semiotic Framework' (2016) 86 International Journal of Human-Computer Studies 121

Israel B, 'In a Step toward Fighting Human Trafficking, Sex Ads Are Linked to Bitcoin Data' (*Berkeley News*, 16 August 2017) https://news.berkeley.edu/2017/08/16/in-a-step-toward-fighting-human-trafficking-sex-ads-are-linked-to-bitcoin-data/ accessed 9 October 2024

Iversen EJ, Vedel T and Werle R, 'Standardization and the Democratic Design of Information and Communication Technology' (2004) 17 Knowledge, Technology & Policy 104

Jacob D, 'Every Vote Counts: Equality, Autonomy, and the Moral Value of Democratic Decision-Making' (2021) 21 Res Publica 1

Janeček V, 'Rethinking Law, Regulation, and Technology by Roger Brownsword' (2022) 30 International Journal of Law and Information Technology 512 < https://doi.org/10.1093/ijlit/eaad003> accessed 16 October 2024

Jasanoff S, *The Ethics of Invention: Technology and the Human Future* (WW Norton & Company 2016)

Jeffrey A and Painter J, *Political Geography: An Introduction to Space and Power* (Sage 2008)

Jensen MM and Aagaard J, 'A Postphenomenological Method for HCI Research' (30th Australian Computer-Human Interaction Conference, OzCHI2018), 2018) https://doi.org/10.1145/3292147.3292170>

Jeorges B, 'Do Politics Have Artifacts' (1999) 29 Social Studies of Science 411

Jones AJ and Sergot M, 'On the Characterisation of Law and Computer Systems: The Normative Systems Perspective' in John-Jules C Meyer and Roel J Wieringa (eds), *Deontic Logic in Computer Science: Normative System Specification* (John Wiley and Sons 1994) 275

Juskalian R, 'Inside the Jordan Refugee Camp That Runs on Blockchain' (2018) MIT Technology Review

Kaeseberg T, 'The Code-Ification of Law and Its Potential Effects' (2019) 20 Computer Law Review International 107

Kalogiros C, Kostopoulos A and Ford A, 'On Designing for Tussle: Future Internet in Retrospect' in Miquel Oliver and Sebastia Sallent (eds), *The Internet of the Future* (Springer 2009) Kalpokas I and Kalpokienė J, *Regulating the Metaverse: A Critical Assessment* (Routledge 2023)

Kalvet T, 'Innovation: A Factor Explaining e-Government Success in Estonia' (2012) 9 Electronic Government, an International Journal 142

Kannabiran G, Bardzell J and Bardzell S, 'How HCI Talks about Sexuality: Discursive Strategies, Blind Spots, and Opportunities for Future Research' (SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems., 2011) 695

Kannengießer N and others, 'Trade-Offs between Distributed Ledger Technology Characteristics' (2020) 53 ACM Computing Surveys (CSUR) 1

Karavas V, 'The Force of Code: Law's Transformation under Information-Technological Conditions' (2009) 10 German Law Journal 463

Karisma K and Moslemzadeh Tehrani P, 'Blockchain: Legal and Regulatory Issues' in Soheil Saraji and Si Chen (eds), *Sustainable Oil and Gas Using Blockchain* (Springer 2023) https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-30697-6_4

Kay RS, 'Original Intention and Public Meaning in Constitutional Interpretation' (2009) 103 Northwestern University Law Review 703

Keller D (ed), *Law, Borders, and Speech Conference: Proceedings and Materials* (Stanford Law School, Stanford Center for Internet and Society, 2017) <<u>https://cyberlaw.stanford.edu/publications/proceedings-volume></u>

Kelly K, *Out of Control: The Rise of Neo-Biological Civilization* (Addison-Wesley Longman Publishing 1994)

Kelsen H, General Theory of Norms (Oxford University Press 1991)

——, General Theory of Law and State (Routledge 2017)

Kennedy D, 'Thinking Smartly about Smart Contracts' (2018) 44 Law Practice 56

Kennedy R, The Ethical Implications of Lawtech (Springer 2021)

——, 'Rules as Code and the Rule of Law: Ensuring Effective Judicial Review of Administration by Software' (2024) Law, Innovation and Technology 170

Kerr I, 'Prediction, Pre-Emption, Presumption: The Path of Law after the Computational Turn', in Mireille Hildebrandt and Katja de Vries (eds), *Privacy, Due Process and the Computational Turn* (Routledge 2013) 91

—, 'The Devil Is in the Default' (2017) 4 Critical Analysis of Law 91

Kesan JP and Shah RC, 'Setting Software Defaults: Perspectives from Law, Computer Science and Behavioral Economics' (2006) 82 Notre Dame Law Review 583

Kewell B, Adams R and Parry G, 'Blockchain for Good?' (2017) 26 Strategic Change 429

Khan SN and others, 'Blockchain Smart Contracts: Applications, Challenges, and Future Trends' (2021) 14 Peer-to-peer Networking and Applications 2901

Kiran AH and Verbeek P-P, 'Trusting Our Selves to Technology' (2010) 23 Knowledge, Technology & Policy 409

Klass G, 'How to Interpret a Vending Machine: Smart Contracts and Contract Law' (2023) 7 Georgetown Law Technology Review 69

Kohl U, 'Blockchain Utopia and Its Governance Shortfalls', *Blockchain and Public Law* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2021)

Koops B-J, 'Criteria for Normative Technology' in Roger Brownsword and Karen Yeung (eds), *Regulating Technologies. Legal Futures, Regulatory Frames and Technological Fixes* (Hart Publishing 2008) 157

——, 'Law, Technology, and Shifting Power Relations' (2010) 25 Berkeley Technology Law Journal 973

——, 'Should ICT Regulation Be Technology-Neutral?' in Bert-Jaap Koops and others (eds), *Starting Points for ICT Regulation* (TMC Asser Press 2006)

Korenhof P, Blok V and Kloppenburg S, 'Steering Representations—towards a Critical Understanding of Digital Twins' (2021) 34 Philosophy & Technology 1751

Kouroutakis A, 'The Virtues of Sunset Clauses in Relation to Constitutional Authority' (2020) 41 Statute Law Review 16

Krajewski M, 'Against the Power of Algorithms Closing, Literate Programming, and Source Code Critique' (2019) 23 Law Text Culture 119

Krisam C and others, 'Dark Patterns in the Wild: Review of Cookie Disclaimer Designs on Top 500 German Websites' (European Symposium on Usable Security (EuroUSEC 2021), 2021)

Kroll JA, 'The Fallacy of Inscrutability' (2018) 376 Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society A: Mathematical, Physical and Engineering Sciences 20180084

Kroll JA and others, 'Accountable Algorithms' (2017) 165 UPenn Law Review 633

Krygier M, 'The Rule of Law: An Abuser's Guide' (2007) University of New South Wales Faculty of Law Research Series. Paper 4.

——, 'The Rule of Law: Legality, Teleology, Sociology' in Gianluigi Palombella and Neil Walker (eds), *Re-Locating the Rule of Law* (Hart Publishers 2008)

——, 'Four Puzzles about the Rule of Law: Why, What, Where? And Who Cares?' (2011) 64 Getting to the Rule of Law 89

—, 'Rule of Law (and Rechtsstaat)' in James R Silkenat, James E Hickey Jr. and Peter D Barenboim (eds), *The Legal Doctrines of the Rule of Law and the Legal State (Rechtsstaat)* (Springer 2014)

——, 'The Rule of Law: Pasts, Presents, and a Possible Future' (2016) 12 Annual Review of Law and Social Science 203

Kshetri N, 'Blockchain's Roles in Strengthening Cybersecurity and Protecting Privacy' (2017) 41 Telecommunications Policy 1027

Kshetri N and Voas J, 'Blockchain-Enabled e-Voting' (2018) 35 IEEE Software 95

Ku RSR, 'The Creative Destruction of Copyright: Napster and the New Economics of Digital Technology' (2002) 69 University of Chicago Law Review 263

Kumar M, 'Applications of Blockchain in Digital Forensics and Forensics Readiness' in Yasmine Maleh and others (eds), *Blockchain for Cybersecurity and Privacy* (CRC Press 2020) 339

Lagarde C, 'Addressing the Dark Side of the Crypto World' (IMF Blog, 13 March 2018)

Lamport L, 'The Weak Byzantine Generals Problem' (1983) 30 Journal of the Association for Computing Machinery 1

Lamport L, Shostak R and Pease M, 'The Byzantine Generals Problem' (1982) 4 ACM Transactions on Programming Languages and Systems 382

Landes WM and Posner RA, 'The Independent Judiciary in an Interest-Group Perspective' (1975) 18 Journal of Law and Economics 875

Latour B, 'On Technical Mediation - Philosophy, Sociology, Genealogy' (1994) 3 Common knowledge 29

——, 'Where Are the Missing Masses? The sociology of a Few Mundane Artifacts' in Wiebe E Bijker and John Law (eds), *Shaping Technology/Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change* (MIT Press 1992) 225

—, 'Scientific Objects and Legal Objectivity' in Allain Pottage and Matha Mundy (eds), *Law, Anthropology, and the Constitution of the Social: Making Persons and Things* (Cambridge University Press 2004) 73-114

—, The Making of Law: An Ethnography of the Conseil d'Etat (Polity 2010)

Laux J, Wachter S and Mittelstadt B, 'Three Pathways for Standardisation and Ethical Disclosure by Default under the European Union Artificial Intelligence Act' (2024) 53 Computer Law & Security Review 105957

Leaver T, Highfield T and Abidin C, *Instagram: Visual Social Media Cultures* (John Wiley & Sons 2020)

Lee J-H, 'Rise of Anonymous Cryptocurrencies: Brief Introduction' (2019) 8 IEEE Consumer Electronics Magazine 5, 20

Leenes R, 'Framing Techno-Regulation: An Exploration of State and Non-State Regulation by Technology' (2011) 5 Legisprudence 143

-----, 'Of Horses and Other Animals of Cyberspace' (2019) 2019 Technology and Regulation 1 <https://doi.org/10.26116/techreg.2019.001> accessed 9 October 2024

Leenes RE and Koops B-J, ''Code' and Privacy-or How Technology Is Slowly Eroding Privacy' in Egbert Dommering and Lodewijk Asscher (eds), *Essays on the Normative Role of Information Technology* (TMC Asser Press 2006) 191

'Legal | Uber' < https://www.uber.com/legal/en/> accessed 7 April 2024

Lehdonvirta V, 'The Blockchain Paradox: Why Distributed Ledger Technologies May Do Little to Transform the Economy' (2016) 21 Policy and Internet Blog, November 2016

Lehdonvirta V and Ali R, 'Governance and Regulation', *Distributed Ledger Technology: Beyond Blockchain* (UK Government Office for Science 2016) 40

Leiser M and Murray A, 'The Role of Non-State Actors and Institutions in the Governance of New and Emerging Digital Technologies' in Roger Brownsword (ed), *Oxford Handbook of Law, Regulation and Technology* (Oxford University Press 2016)

Lessig L, 'The Zones of Cyberspace' (1996) 48 Stanford Law Review 1403

-----, *Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace* (Basic Books 1999) <https://lessig.org/images/resources/1999-Code.pdf> accessed 6 October 2024

——, 'The Architecture of Privacy: Remaking Privacy in Cyberspace' (1999) 1 Vanderbilt Journal of Entertainment & Technology Law 56

——, 'The Law of the Horse: What Cyber Law Might Teach' (1999) 113 Harvard Law Review 501

——, 'Law Regulating Code Regulating Law' (2003) 35 Loyola University Chicago Law Journal 1

——, Code Version 2.0 (Basic Books 2006)

<https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=cheer> accessed 6 October 2024

Levi M, 'Trustworthy Government and Legitimating Beliefs' (2019) 61 Nomos 362

Levy KEC, 'Book-Smart, Not Street-Smart: Blockchain-Based Smart Contracts and The Social Workings of Law' (2017) 3 Engaging Science, Technology, and Society 1, 3 https://doi.org/10.17351/ests2017.107> accessed 9 October 2024

Lévy P, *The Semantic Sphere 1: Computation, Cognition and Information Economy* (John Wiley & Sons 2013)

L'Hermitte C and Nair NC, 'A Blockchain-enabled Framework for Sharing Logistics Resources during Emergency Operations' (2021) 45 Disasters 527

Lianos I, 'Blockchain Competition–Gaining Competitive Advantage in the Digital Economy: Competition Law Implications' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019) Lichti C and Tumasjan A, "'My Precious!": A Values-Affordances Perspective on the Adoption of Bitcoin' (2023) 24 Journal of the Association for Information Systems 9

Lindahl H, 'We and Cyberlaw: The Spatial Unity of Constitutional Orders' (2013) 20 Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies 697

Lipshaw JM, 'The Persistence of "Dumb" Contracts' (2019) 2 Stanford Journal of Law and Policy 1

Liu H-Y and others, 'Artificial Intelligence and Legal Disruption: A New Model for Analysis' (2020) 12 Law, Innovation and Technology 205

Lockton D, 'Architectures of Control in Product Design' (2006) Engineering Designer

—, 'Disaffordances and Engineering Obedience' (Architectures by Dan Lockton, 2006)

Lone AH and Mir RN, 'Forensic-Chain: Blockchain Based Digital Forensics Chain of Custody with PoC in Hyperledger Composer' (2019) 28 Digital Investigation 44

Longford G, 'Pedagogies of Digital Citizenship and the Politics of Code' (2005) 9 Techné: Research in Philosophy and Technology 68

Lorca FJ, 'Microsoft Corporation vs. the US Court of Justice and the European Community' (Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series Vol. 9, No. 10, June 2009)

Low KF and Mik E, 'Pause the Blockchain Legal Revolution' (2020) 69 International & Comparative Law Quarterly 135

Luciano D and Prichett G, 'Cryptology: From Caesar Ciphers to Public-Key Cryptosystems' (1987) 18 The College Mathematics Journal 2

Luger E and Golembewski M, 'Towards Fostering Compliance by Design; Drawing Designers into the Regulatory Frame' in Mariarosaria Taddeo and Luciano Floridi (eds), *The Responsibilities of Online Service Providers* (Springer 2017) 295

Luguri J and Strahilevitz LJ, 'Shining a Light on Dark Patterns' (2021) 13 Journal of Legal Analysis 43

Luhmann N, 'Law as a Social System' (1988) 83 Northwestern University Law Review 136

Lupinacci L, 'Phenomenal Algorhythms: The Sensorial Orchestration of "Real-Time" in the Social Media Manifold' (2022) New Media & Society 14614448221109952

MacCormick N, *Rhetoric and the Rule of Law: A Theory of Legal Reasoning* (Oxford University Press 2005)

—, Institutions of Law: An Essay in Legal Theory (Oxford University Press 2007)

-----, 'The Ethics of Legalism' (1989) 2 Ratio Juris 2, 184

MacLean J, Rethinking Law as Process: Creativity, Novelty, Change (Routledge 2012)

MacLeod S, *Global Governance and the Quest for Justice-Volume II: Corporate Governance*, vol 2 (Bloomsbury Publishing 2006)

Madaio MA and others, 'Co-Designing Checklists to Understand Organizational Challenges and Opportunities around Fairness in AI' (CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI '20), 2020). https://doi.org/10.1145/3313831.3376445> accessed 15 October 2024

Maier JR and Fadel GM, 'Affordance-Based Methods for Design' (ASME 2003 International Design Engineering Technical Conferences and Computers and Information in Engineering Conference. Volume 3b: 15th International Conference on Design Theory and Methodology, Chicago, 2-6 September 2003)

Mainelli M, 'Blockchain Will Help Us Prove Our Identities in a Digital World' (2017) Harvard Business Review https://hbr.org/2017/03/blockchain-will-help-us-prove-our-identities-in-a-digital-world> accessed 6 October 2024

Mainelli M and Smith M, 'Sharing Ledgers for Sharing Economies: An Exploration of Mutual Distributed Ledgers (Aka Blockchain Technology)' (2015) 3 Journal of Financial Perspectives 3

Makridakis S and Christodoulou K, 'Blockchain: Current Challenges and Future Prospects/Applications' (2019) 11 Future Internet 258

Mallard A, Méadel C and Musiani F, 'The Paradoxes of Distributed Trust: Peer-to-Peer Architecture and User Confidence in Bitcoin' (2014) Journal of Peer Production

Malloy RP, 'Real Estate Transactions: Policy Considerations for Law, Technology and Globalization' (2005) 27 Law & Policy 81

Manski S and Manski B, 'No Gods, No Masters, No Coders? The Future of Sovereignty in a Blockchain World' (2018) 29 Law and Critique 151

Marks S, 'The End of History? Reflections on Some International Legal Theses', *The Nature of International Law* (Routledge 2017)

Marsoof A and others, 'Content-Filtering AI Systems–Limitations, Challenges and Regulatory Approaches' (2023) 32 Information & Communications Technology Law 64

Martin J, 'Lost on the Silk Road: Online Drug Distribution and the 'cryptomarket' (2013) 14 Criminology and Criminal Justice 351

Mastenbroek E, van Voorst S and Meuwese A, 'Closing the Regulatory Cycle? A Meta Evaluation of Ex-Post Legislative Evaluations by the European Commission' (2016) 23 Journal of European Public Policy 1329

Maxwell D, Speed C and Pschetz L, 'Story Blocks: Reimagining Narrative through the Blockchain' (2017) 23 Convergence 1

May T, 'The Crypto Anarchist Manifesto' (1992)

Mazur O, 'Can Blockchain Revolutionize Tax Administration?' (2022) 127 Penn State Law Review 115

McCloskey DN, 'Getting Beyond Neo-Institutionalism: Virgil Storr's Culture of Markets' (2014) 27 The Review of Austrian Economics 463

McGeveran W, 'The Law of Friction' (2013) University of Chicago Legal Forum 15

McIntyre T and Scott C, 'Internet Filtering: Rhetoric, Legitimacy, Accountability' in Roger Brownsword and Karen Yeung (eds), *Regulating technologies: Legal Futures, Regulatory Frames and Technological Fixes* (Hart Publishing 2008)

McNamee J and Pérez MF, 'Fundamental Rights and Digital Platforms in the European Union: A Suggested Way Forward', *How Platforms are Regulated and How They Regulate Us* (FGV DIREITO RIO 2017) 99

Meierhenrich J and Loughlin M, 'Thinking about the Rule of Law' in Jens Meierhenrich and Martin Loughlin (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to the Rule of Law* (Cambridge University Press 2021) 3

Meiklejohn S and Orlandi C, 'Privacy-Enhancing Overlays in Bitcoin' in Michael Brenner and others (eds), *Financial Cryptography and Data Security* (Springer 2015) 127 <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-48051-9_10> (Springer 2015)

Meng M, Steinhardt S and Schubert A, 'Application Programming Interface Documentation: What Do Software Developers Want?' (2018) 48 Journal of Technical Writing and Communication 295

Mennicken A and Salais R, The New Politics of Numbers: An Introduction (Springer 2022)

Merkle R, 'DAOs, Democracy and Governance' (2016) 37 Cryonics Magazine 28

Merriam CE, 'The Ends of Government' (1944) 38 American Political Science Review 21

Metzger MJ and Flanagin AJ, 'Credibility and Trust of Information in Online Environments: The Use of Cognitive Heuristics' (2013) 59 Journal of Pragmatics 210

Michaels R and Paulwelyn J, 'Conflict of Norms or Conflict of Laws?: Different Techniques in the Fragmentation of Public International Law' (2011) 22 Duke Journal of Comparative and International Law. 349

Mik E, 'Contracts in Code?' (2021) 13 Law, Innovation and Technology 478

Møller J and Skaaning S-E, 'Systematizing Thin and Thick Rule of Law Definitions', *The Rule of Law: Definitions, Measures, Patterns and Causes* (Palgrave Macmillan 2014) 13

Monteiro E and others, 'Combining Natural Language Processing and Blockchain for Smart Contract Generation in the Accounting and Legal Field' in Madhusudan Singh and others (eds), *Intelligent Human Computer Interaction* (Springer 2020)

Moore MS, 'A Natural Law Theory of Interpretation' (1985) 58 Southern California Law Review 277

Morales Montelongo JG, 'Tecnología Blockchain: Iniciativas Para La Agenda de Transformación Digital de Los Responsables de TIC En Las Instituciones de Educación Superior de México' (2018) < https://www.ties.unam.mx/num01/pdf/blockchain_TIES.pdf> accessed 15 October 2024

'More than Money: Blockchain and Its Applications for Human Rights Protections' (Australian Human Rights Institute, 2018) <https://www.humanrights.unsw.edu.au/news/more-money-blockchain-and-its-applicationshuman-rights-protections> accessed 8 May 2024

Morgan B and Yeung K, *An Introduction to Law and Regulation: Text and Materials* (Cambridge University Press 2007)

Moses LB, 'How to Think about Law, Regulation and Technology: Problems with 'Technology'as a Regulatory Target' (2013) 5 Law, Innovation and Technology 1

Möslein F, 'Conflicts of Laws and Codes: Defining the Boundaries of Digital Jurisdictions' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019) 275-288

—, 'Legal Boundaries of Blockchain Technologies: Smart Contracts as Self-Help?' in Alberto De Franceschi and Reiner Schulze (eds), *Digital Revolution–New Challenges for Law* (C.H. Beck and Nomos 2019) 331

Mulligan C, 'Applications in Government' in Mark Walport, *Distributed Ledger Technologies: Beyond Blockchain* (Government Office for Science 2016)

Murck P, 'The True Value of Bitcoin' (2013) Cato Unbound: A Journal of Debate https://www.cato-unbound.org/2013/07/31/patrick-murck/true-value-bitcoin/ accessed 9 October 2024

Murphy C, 'Lon Fuller and the Moral Value of the Rule of Law' (2005) 24 Law and Philosophy 239

Murray A, *Information Technology Law: The Law and Society* (Oxford University Press 2013)

Musso P, 'Technique et Politique: Diabolique et Symbolique' (2021) 1 Pistes. Revue de philosophie contemporaine. Éthique, Politique, Philosophie Des Techniques 83

Myeong S and Jung Y, 'Administrative Reforms in the Fourth Industrial Revolution: The Case of Blockchain Use' (2019) 11 Sustainability 3971

Naarttijärvi M, 'Legality and Democratic Deliberation in Black Box Policing' (2019) Technology and Regulation 35

Nakamoto S, 'A Peer-to-Peer Electronic Cash System' (2008) 4 Bitcoin 15

Naor M and Pinkas B, 'Efficient Trace and Revoke Schemes' (2010) 9 International Journal of Information Security 411

Narayanan A and others, 'Dark Patterns: Past, Present, and Future: The Evolution of Tricky User Interfaces' (2020) 18 Queue 67

'NatSpec Format — Solidity 0.8.26 Documentation' <https://docs.soliditylang.org/en/latest/natspec-format.html> accessed 15 October 2024

Nay JJ, 'Law Informs Code: A Legal Informatics Approach to Aligning Artificial Intelligence with Humans' (2022) 20 Northwestern Journal of Technology and Intellectual Property 309

Nedzel NE and Capaldi N, *The Anglo-American Conception of the Rule of Law* (Springer 2019)

Nemitz P, 'Democracy Through Law - The Transatlantic Reflection Group and Its Manifesto in Defence of Democracy and the Rule of Law in the Age of "Artificial Intelligence" (2021) European Law Journal 237

Newberry B, 'Engineered Artifacts' in Diane P Michelfelder, Natasha McCarthy and David E Goldberg (eds), *Philosophy and engineering: Reflections on Practice, Principles and Process* (Springer 2013) 165

Nicoli N, Louca S and Iosifidis P, 'Social Media, News Media, and the Democratic Deficit. Can the Blockchain Make a Difference?' (2022) 20 tripleC: Communication, Capitalism and Critique 2, 163

Nicholson DJ, 'The Machine Conception of the Organism in Development and Evolution: A Critical Analysis' (2014) 48 Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences 162

Nissenbaum H, 'Privacy as Contextual Integrity' (2004) 79 Washington Law Review 119

Norman DA, *The Design of Everyday Things: Revised and Expanded Edition* (Basic Books 2013)

—, The Psychology of Everyday Things (Basic Books 1988)

-----, 'Affordance, Conventions, and Design' (1999) 6 interactions 38

Nørskov M, 'Revisiting Ihde's Fourfold "Technological Relationships": Application and Modification' (2015) 28 Philosophy & Technology 189

North DC, Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance (Cambridge University Press 1990)

Nozick R and Nagel T, Anarchy, State, and Utopia, vol 5038 (Basic Books 1974)

Ogut A, "Stay Out of My Way!": The Impact of Cookie Consent Notice Design on Young Users' Decision' in Abbas Moallem, (ed), *HCI for Cybersecurity, Privacy and Trust* (Springer 2023) https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-35822-7_34 >.

Ohm P and Frankle J, 'Desirable Inefficiency' (2018) 70 Florida Law Review 777

Ohm P and Kim N, 'Legacy Switches: A Proposal to Protect Privacy, Security, and the Environment from the Internet of Things' (2023) 84 Ohio State Law Journal 101

Ølnes S and Jansen A, 'Blockchain Technology as Infrastructure in Public Sector: An Analytical Framework' (19th Annual International Conference on Digital Government Research: Governance in the Data Age, 2018) Article 77, 1–10 https://doi.org/10.1145/3209281.3209293 accessed 6 October 2024

Olsen AL and others, 'Behavioral Public Administration: Connecting Psychology with European Public Administration Research' in Edoardo Ongaro and others (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of Public Administration and Management in Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan 2017) 1121

O'Malley P, 'The Politics of Mass Preventive Justice' in Andrew Ashworth, Lucia Zedner and Patrick Tomlin (eds), *Prevention and the Limits of the Criminal Law* (Oxford University Press 2013) 273, 280

O'neill O, Autonomy and Trust in Bioethics (Cambridge University Press 2002)

Ortolani P, 'The Judicialisation of the Blockchain' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019) 289

O'Shields R, 'Smart Contracts: Legal Agreements for the Blockchain' (2017) 21 North Carolina Banking Institute 177 < http://scholarship.law.unc.edu/ncbi/vol21/iss1/11> accessed 5 October 2024

Ostrom E, 'Decentralization and Development: The New Panacea' in Keith Dowding, James Hughes and Helen Margetts (eds), *Challenges to Democracy: Ideas, Involvement and Institutions* (Palgrave Macmillan 2001) 237

Owen T, *Disruptive Power: The Crisis of the State in the Digital Age* (Oxford University Press 2015)

Owens J and Cribb A, "'My Fitbit Thinks I Can Do Better!"Do Health Promoting Wearable Technologies Support Personal Autonomy?' (2019) 32 Philosophy & Technology 23

Ozdemir AI and others, 'The Role of Blockchain in Reducing the Impact of Barriers to Humanitarian Supply Chain Management' (2021) 32 The International Journal of Logistics Management 454

P. G. S. Coletti, R. E. Mays, and A. Widera, 'Bringing Technology and Humanitarian Values Together: A Framework to Design and Assess Humanitarian Information Systems' (4th International Conference on Information and Communication Technologies for Disaster Management (ICT-DM), 2017)

Pagallo U, 'On the Principle of Privacy by Design and Its Limits: Technology, Ethics and the Rule of Law' in Serge Gutwirth, Ronald Leenes and others (eds), *European Data Protection: In Good Health?* (Springer 2012) 331

Parenti C, Noori N and Janssen M, 'A Smart Governance Diffusion Model for Blockchain as an Anti-Corruption Tool in Smart Cities' (2022) 1 Journal of Smart Cities and Society 71

Pasquale F, *The Black Box Society: The Secret Algorithms That Control Money and Information* (Harvard University Press 2015)

——, 'A Rule of Persons, Not Machines: The Limits of Legal Automation' (2019) 87 George Washington Law Review 1

Pasquale F and Cashwell G, 'Four Futures of Legal Automation' (2015) 63 UCLA Law Review. Discourse 26

Pasquale F and Citron DK, 'Promoting Innovation While Preventing Discrimination: Policy Goals for the Scored Society' (2014) 89 Washington Law Review 1413

Patel A and others, 'Regulatory Perspective: Human-Machine Interfaces' in Rishav Malviya and others (eds), *Human-Machine Interface: Making Healthcare Digital* (Wiley 2023) 375

Peck ME, 'Blockchain World-Do You Need a Blockchain? This Chart Will Tell You If the Technology Can Solve Your Problem' (2017) 54 IEEE Spectrum 38

Pereira J, Tavalaei MM and Ozalp H, 'Blockchain-Based Platforms: Decentralized Infrastructures and Its Boundary Conditions' (2019) 146 Technological Forecasting and Social Change 94

Perez C, Technological Revolutions and Financial Capital (Edward Elgar Publishing 2003)

Perry-Kessaris A, 'Making Socio-Legal Research More Social by Design: Anglo-German Roots, Rewards, and Risks' (2020) 21 German Law Journal 1427

Peters A, 'International Organizations: Effectiveness and Accountability' (2016) Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law & International Law (MPIL) Research Paper

Petersmann E-U, 'The WTO Constitution and Human Rights' (2000) 3 Journal of International Economic Law 19

Pfaffenberger B, 'Technological Dramas' (1992) 17 Science, Technology, & Human Values 282

Piekarski M, 'Normativity of Predictions: A New Research Perspective' (2019) 10 Frontiers in Psychology 453504

Pollicino O and De Gregorio G, *Blockchain and Public Law: Global Challenges in the Era of Decentralisation* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2021)

Pomareda J, 'How Blockchain Technology Enables Citizen Participation and Anti-Corruption in Government Services' (2022) 14 Amsterdam Law Forum 52

Popovski V and Turner N, *Legality and Legitimacy in International Order* (United Nations University 2008)

Posner EA, 'There Are No Penalty Default Rules in Contract Law' (2006) 33 Florida State Law Review 563

Poth A, Heere C and Levien D-A, 'Agile Team Autonomy and Accountability with a Focus on the German Legal Context' in Murat Yilmaz and others (eds), *Systems, Software and Services Process Improvement* (Springer 2023) Potts J, Rennie E and Goldenfein J, 'Blockchains and the Crypto City' (2017) 59 it-Information Technology 285

Pouwelse J and others, 'The Bittorrent P2p File-Sharing System: Measurements and Analysis' in Miguel Castro and others (eds), *Peer-to-Peer Systems IV* (Springer 2005)

Priel D, 'The Place of Legitimacy in Legal Theory' (2011) 57 McGill Law Journal 1

Prigogine I and Stengers I, La Fin Des Certitudes: Temps, Chaos et Les Lois de La Nature, vol 77 (Odile Jacob 1996)

Qadir J and others, 'Crisis Analytics: Big Data-Driven Crisis Response' (2016) 1 Journal of International Humanitarian Action 1

Quintais JP and others, 'Blockchain and the Law: A Critical Evaluation' (2019) 2 Stanford Journal of Blockchain Law & Policy 86

Radbruch G, 'II. LEGAL PHILOSOPHY', *The Legal Philosophies of Lask, Radbruch, and Dabin* (Kurt Wilk Tr., Harvard University Press 1950)

Raddatz N and others, 'Becoming a Blockchain User: Understanding Consumers' Benefits Realisation to Use Blockchain-Based Applications' (2023) 32 European Journal of Information Systems 287

Radziwill N, 'Blockchain Revolution: How the Technology Behind Bitcoin Is Changing Money, Business, and the World' (2018) 25 Quality Management Journal 64.

Rajagopalan S, 'Blockchain and Buchanan: Code as Constitution' in Richard E Wagner (ed), *James M. Buchanan: A Theorist of Political Economy and Social Philosophy* (Palgrave Macmillan 2018) 359

R (Alconbury Developments Ltd and Ors) v Secretary of State for the Environment, Transport and the Regions (2003) UKHL 2 AC 295, para.73

Raskin M, 'The Law and Legality of Smart Contracts' (2017) 1 Georgetown Law Technology Review 305

Raz J, Practical Reason and Norms, vol 26 (Hutchinson 1975)

——, 'The Rule of Law and Its Virtue' in Richard Bellamy (ed), *The Rule of Law and the Separation of Powers* (Routledge 2017) 77, 210

Reddick CG, Cid GP and Ganapati S, 'Determinants of Blockchain Adoption in the Public Sector: An Empirical Examination' (2019) 24 Information Polity 379

Regulation (EU) 2019/881 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17 April 2019 on ENISA (the European Union Agency for Cybersecurity) and on information and communications technology cybersecurity certification and repealing Regulation (EU) No 526/2013 (Cybersecurity Act)

Regulation (EU) 2022/2065 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 19 October 2022 on a Single Market For Digital Services and amending Directive 2000/31/EC (Digital Services Act)' https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/2022/2065/oj accessed 15 October 2024

Regulation (EU) 2023/2854 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 December 2023 on Harmonised Rules on Fair Access to and Use of Data and Amending Regulation (EU) 2017/2394 and Directive (EU) 2020/1828 (Data Act) https://eurlex.europa.eu/eli/reg/2023/2854> accessed 22 May 2024

Reidenberg JR, 'Lex Informatica: The Formulation of Information Policy Rules through Technology' (1997) 76 Texas Law Review 553

Reijers W and Coeckelbergh M, 'The Blockchain as a Narrative Technology: Investigating the Social Ontology and Normative Configurations of Cryptocurrencies' (2018) 31 Philosophy & Technology 103

Reijers W and others, 'Now the Code Runs Itself: On-Chain and off-Chain Governance of Blockchain Technologies' (2021) 40 Topoi 821

Renieris EM, Beyond Data : Reclaiming Human Rights at the Dawn of the Metaverse (The MIT Press 2023)

Rennie E and others, 'Toward a Participatory Digital Ethnography of Blockchain Governance' (2022) 28 Qualitative Inquiry 837

Renwick R and Gleasure R, 'Those Who Control the Code Control the Rules: How Different Perspectives of Privacy Are Being Written into the Code of Blockchain Systems' (2021) 36 Journal of Information Technology 16

Reus B, Limits of Computation (Springer 2016)

Revell T, 'AI Uses Bitcoin Trail to Find and Help Sex-Trafficking Victims' *New Scientist* (24 August 2017) https://www.newscientist.com/article/2145355-ai-uses-bitcoin-trail-to-find-and-help-sex-trafficking-victims/ accessed 7 October 2024

Reyes CL, 'Conceptualizing Cryptolaw' (2017) 96 Nebraska Law Review 384

Rheingold H, *The Virtual Community: Finding Commection in a Computerized World* (Addison-Wesley Longman Publishing 1993)

Riley CA and McConkie AB, 'Designing for Usability: Human Factors in a Large Software Development Organization' (IEEE International Conference on Systems, Man and Cybernetics, 1989) vol.1 <doi: 10.1109/ICSMC.1989.71286> 225-228

Ripstein A, 'Beyond the Harm Principle' (2006) 34 Philosophy and Public Affairs 215

Roberts A, 'Bridging Levels of Public Administration: How Macro Shapes Meso and Micro' (2020) 52 Administration & Society 631

Robertson T, 'The Public Availability of Actions and Artefacts' (2002) 11 Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW) 299 Rodrigues U, 'Law and the Blockchain' (2018) 104 Iowa Law Review 679

Rodriguez AML, 'Blockchain and Its Impact on Human Rights' in Ana Mercedes Lopez Rodriguez, Michael D Green and Maria Kubica (eds), *Legal Challenges in the New Digital Age* (Brill Nijhoff 2021)

Rogaway P, 'The Moral Character of Cryptographic Work' (2015) IACR Cryptol, ePrint Arch. 2015/1162

Rohr J and Wright A, 'Blockchains, Private Ordering, and the Future of Governance' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019) 43

Rolandsson B, Bergquist M and Ljungberg J, 'Open Source in the Firm: Opening up Professional Practices of Software Development' (2011) 40 Research Policy 576

Rosenfeld M, 'The Rule of Law and the Legitimacy of Constitutional Democracy' (2000) 74 Southern California Law Review 1307

Rousseau J-J, *Rousseau: 'The Discourses' and Other Early Political Writings*, vol 1 (Cambridge University Press 1997)

Rouvroy A and Stiegler B, 'Le Régime de Vérité Numérique. De La Gouvernementalité Algorithmique à Un Nouvel État de Droit' (2015) Socio. La nouvelle revue des sciences sociales 113

Rozas D and others, 'When Ostrom Meets Blockchain: Exploring the Potentials of Blockchain for Commons Governance' (2021) 11 Sage Open 21582440211002526

Sachdev D, Chakrabarti D and Mittal A, 'Review of Ownership Based Blockchain Frameworks in Government Applications' (2019) 6 IITM Journal of Business Studies 22

Samaha AM, 'Judicial Transparency in an Age of Prediction' (2008) 53 Villanova Law Review 829

Sander B, 'Freedom of Expression in the Age of Online Platforms: The Promise and Pitfalls of a Human Rights-Based Approach to Content Moderation' (2019) 43 Fordham International Law Journal 939

Sarsfield R, 'Conceptualizing the Rule of Law' in Juan Antonio Le Clercq and Jose Pablo A Sacramento (eds), *Rebuilding the State Institutions: Challenges for Democratic Rule of Law in Mexico* (Springer 2020) 19

Scarlett A and Zeilinger M, 'Rethinking Affordance' (2019) 3 Media Theory 1

Schafer B, 'Legal Tech and Computational Legal Theory' in Georg Borges and Christoph Sorge (eds), *Law and Technology in a Global Digital Society: Autonomous Systems, Big Data, IT Security and Legal Tech* (Springer 2022)

——, 'Formalising Law, or the Return of the Golem' in Bartosz Brozek and others (eds), *Research Handbook on Law and Technology* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2023)

Scharpf F, Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic? (Oxford University Press 1999)

Scharpf FW, 'Economic Integration, Democracy and the Welfare State' (1997) 4 Journal of European Public Policy 18

Scheiber N, 'How Uber Uses Psychological Tricks to Push Its Drivers' Buttons', *Ethics of Data and Analytics* (Auerbach Publications 2022)

Schmidt VA, 'Conceptualizing Legitimacy: Input, Output, and Throughput' in Vivien A Schmidt (ed), *Europe's Crisis of Legitimacy: Governing by Rules and Ruling by Numbers in the Eurozone* (Oxford University Press 2020) <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198797050.003.0002> accessed 6 April 2024

Schmitt C, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty* (University of Chicago Press 2005)

Schrepel T, 'Is Blockchain the Death of Antitrust Law? The Blockchain Antitrust Paradox' (2018) 3 Georgetown Law Technology Review 281

—, 'Anarchy, State, and Blockchain Utopia: Rule of Law versus Lex Cryptographia' (2019) in Ulf Bernitz and others (eds), *General Principles of EU Law and the EU Digital Order* (Kluwer Law International 2020)

-----, 'Collusion by Blockchain and Smart Contracts' (2019) 33 Harvard Journal of Law and Technology 117

—, 'Libra: A Concentrate of' Blockchain Antitrust'' (2019) 118 Michigan Law Review 160

——, Blockchain+ Antitrust: The Decentralization Formula (Edward Elgar Publishing 2021)

-----, 'Law + Technology' (2023) The Journal of Law and Technology @ Texas 1

Schrepel T and Buterin V, 'Blockchain Code as Antitrust' (2021) Berkeley Technology Law Journal 1

Schwartz A and Scott RE, 'The Common Law of Contract and the Default Rule Project' (2016) 102 Virginia Law Review 1523

Schwartz PM, 'Internet Privacy and the State' (1999) 32 Connecticut Law Review 815

Searle J, 'What Is a Speech Act?', Philosophy in America (Routledge 2014)

Searle JR, The Construction of Social Reality, vol 2 (Free Press 1995)

Semenzin S, Rozas D and Hassan S, 'Blockchain-Based Application at a Governmental Level: Disruption or Illusion? The Case of Estonia' (2022) 41 Policy and Society 386

Sevignani S, 'The Problem of Privacy in Capitalism and Alternative Social Media: The case of Diaspora' in Christian Fuchs and Vincent Mosco (eds), *Marx in the Age of Digital Capitalism* (Brill, 2016) 413-446

Seyedsayamdost E and Vanderwal P, 'From Good Governance to Governance for Good: Blockchain for Social Impact' (2020) 32 Journal of International Development 943

Shah RC and Sandvig C, 'Software Defaults as de Facto Regulation the Case of the Wireless Internet' (2008) 11 Information, Community & Society 25

Shapiro SJ, 'Law, Plans, and Practical Reason' (2002) 8 Legal Theory 387

Shaw MN, International Law (Eighth edition, Cambridge University Press 2017)

Shay LA and others, 'Do Robots Dream of Electric Laws? An Experiment in the Law as Algorithm' in Ryan Calo and others (eds), *Robot Law* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2016)

Shin D and Biocca F, 'Exploring Immersive Experience in Journalism' (2018) 20 New Media & Society 2800

Shin D and Park YJ, 'Role of Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency in Algorithmic Affordance' (2019) 98 Computers in Human Behavior 277

Shin DDH, 'Blockchain: The Emerging Technology of Digital Trust' (2019) 45 Telematics and Informatics 101278 https://doi.org/10.2016/j.lele.2019.101278> accessed 15 October 2024

Shklar JN, Legalism: Law, Morals, and Political Trials (Harvard University Press 1986)

——, 'The Liberalism of Fear' in Nancy L Rosenblum (ed), *Liberalism and the Moral Life* (Harvard University Press 1989)

Shrier D, Wu W and Pentland A, 'Blockchain & Infrastructure (Identity, Data Security)' (2016) MIT-Connection Science Part 3

Shrimali B and Patel HB, 'Blockchain State-of-the-Art: Architecture, Use Cases, Consensus, Challenges and Opportunities' (2021) Journal of King Saud University-Computer and Information Sciences

Simmonds NE, Central Issues in Jurisprudence: Justice, Laws, and Rights (Sweet & Maxwell 1986) 120

Simonite T, 'Meet the Man Who Really Built Bitcoin' (2014) 117 MIT Technology Review 21

Sklaroff JM, 'Smart Contracts and the Cost of Inflexibility' (2017) 166 UPenn Law Review 263

Sloman SA, 'The Empirical Case for Two Systems of Reasoning.' (1996) 119 Psychological Bulletin 3

Smith A, The Theory of Moral Sentiments (Penguin 2010)

Smith DJ, 'Changing Situations and Changing People' in Andrew von Hirsch, David Garland and Alison Wakefield (eds), *Ethical and social Perspectives on Situational Crime Prevention* (Hart Publishing 2004) 147

Sokolov M, 'Smart Legal Contract as a Future of Contracts Enforcement' (2018) SSRN Electronic Journal

Spinello RA, 'Code and Moral Values in Cyberspace' (2001) 3 Ethics and Information Technology 137

Srinivasan B, 'Software Is Reorganizing the World' (2013) Wired Magazine

Stanley-Marbell P and others, 'Exploiting Errors for Efficiency: A Survey from Circuits to Applications' (2020) 53 ACM Computing Surveys (CSUR) 1

Strauss DA, The Living Constitution (Oxford University Press 2010)

Stutzman F and Hartzog W, 'Boundary Regulation in Social Media' (ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW '12), 2012) 769

Suchman MC, 'Managing Legitimacy: Strategic and Institutional Approaches' (1995) 20 Academy of Management Review 571

Sueur AL, 'Robot Government: Automated Decision-Making and Its Implications for Parliament' in Alexander Horne and Andrew Le Sueur (eds), *Parliament: Legislation and Accountability* (Hart Publishing 2016)

Sullivan C and Burger E, 'E-Residency and Blockchain' (2017) 33 Computer Law & Security Review 470

Sunstein CR, 'Paradoxes of the Regulatory State' (1990) 57 University of Chicago Law Review 407

——, 'Impersonal Default Rules vs. Active Choices vs. Personalized Default Rules: A Triptych' (2013) NYU Law & Economics Research Paper Series

Sunstein CR and Thaler RH, 'Libertarian Paternalism Is Not an Oxymoron' (2003) 70 University of Chicago Law Review 1159

Supiot* A, 'L'inscription Territoriale Des Lois' (2008) Esprit 151

Supiot A, La Gouvernance Par Les Nombres (Fayard 2015)

Swan M, Blockchain: Blueprint for a New Economy (O'Reilly Media 2015)

Swan M and De Filippi P, 'Toward a Philosophy of Blockchain' (2017) 48 Metaphilosophy 5

Talhouk R and others, 'A Call for Embedding Dignity in Humanitarian Technologies' (9th International Conference on Communities & Technologies - Transforming Communities (C&T '19), 2019)

Tamanaha BZ, On the Rule of Law: History, Politics, Theory (Cambridge University Press 2004)

Tan E, Mahula S and Crompvoets J, 'Blockchain Governance in the Public Sector: A Conceptual Framework for Public Management' (2022) 39 Government Information Quarterly 101625

Tapscott D and Tapscott A, *Blockchain Revolution: How the Technology Behind Bitcoin Is Changing Money, Business, and the World* (Portfolio 2016)

-----, 'How Blockchain Will Change Organizations' (2016) MIT Sloan Management Review

Tasca P and Piselli R, 'The Blockchain Paradox' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-Social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019)

Tatar U, Gokce Y and Nussbaum B, 'Law versus Technology: Blockchain, GDPR, and Tough Tradeoffs' (2020) 38 Computer Law & Security Review 105454

Tene O and Polenetsky J, 'To Track or" Do Not Track": Advancing Transparency and Individual Control in Online Behavioral Advertising' (2012) 13 Minnesota Journal of Law Science and Technology 281

Thomas CA, 'The Uses and Abuses of Legitimacy in International Law' (2014) 34 Oxford Journal of Legal Studies 729

Thornton L, Knowles B and Blair G, 'Fifty Shades of Grey: In Praise of a Nuanced Approach towards Trustworthy Design' (ACM Conference on Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency (FAccT '21), 2021) 64–76. https://doi.org/10.1145/3442188.3445871 accessed 15 October 2024

Tian Z and others, 'Block-DEF: A Secure Digital Evidence Framework Using Blockchain' (2019) 491 Information Sciences 151

Tien L, 'Architectural Regulation and the Evolution of Social Norms' (2003) 7 Yale Journal of Law and Technology 1

Tikhomirov S, 'Ethereum: State of Knowledge and Research Perspectives' in Abdessamad Imine and others (eds), *Foundations and Practice of Security* (Springer 2018).

Tillemann T and others, 'The Blueprint for Blockchain and Social Innovation' (2019) New America

Toggenburg GN and Grimheden J, 'The Rule of Law and the Role of Fundamental Rights: Seven Practical Pointers' in Carlos Closa and Dimitry Kochenov (eds), *Reinforcing Rule of Law Oversight in the European Union* (Cambridge University Press 2016)

Tollon F, 'Artifacts and Affordances: From Designed Properties to Possibilities for Action' (2022) 37 AI & Society 239

Tozzi C, 'Decentralizing Democracy: Approaches to Consensus within Blockchain Communities' (2019) 16 Teknokultura: Revista de Cultura Digital y Movimientos Sociales 2

Trebilcock MJ and Iacobucci EM, 'Designing Competition Law Institutions: Values, Structure, and Mandate' (2010) 41 Loyola University Chicago Law Journal 455 Treib O, Bähr H and Falkner G, 'Modes of Governance: Towards a Conceptual Clarification' (2007) 14 Journal of European Public Policy 1

Treisman D, *The Architecture of Government: Rethinking Political Decentralization* (Cambridge University Press 2007)

Trossen D and Kostopoulos A, 'Exploring the Tussle Space for Information-Centric Networking' (TPRC 2011)

Trzaskowski J, 'Persuasion, Manipulation, Choice Architecture and "Dark Patterns" in Andrej Savin and Jan Trzaskowski (eds), *Research Handbook on EU Internet Law* (2nd edition, Edward Elgar Publishing 2023)

Tsai W-T and others, 'Beagle: A New Framework for Smart Contracts Taking Account of Law' (IEEE International Conference on Service-Oriented System Engineering (SOSE), 2019)

Turchet L, 'Musical Metaverse: Vision, Opportunities, and Challenges' (2023) 27 Personal and Ubiquitous Computing 1811

Umucu EH, 'Solidity: Smart Contract Language or Legal Contract Language' (2021) SSRN Electronic Journal https://dx.doi.org/10.1239/ssrn.3916072> accessed 15 October 2024

UNCITRAL Model Law on the Use and Cross-Border Recognition of Identity Management and Trust Services https://www.un-ilibrary.org/content/books/9789210028530 accessed 17 June 2024

Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948

Upadhyay N, 'Demystifying Blockchain: A Critical Analysis of Challenges, Applications and Opportunities' (2020) 54 International Journal of Information Management 102120

'Using Blockchain to Drive Supply Chain Transparency and Innovation' (*Deloitte United States*, June 2023) https://www2.deloitte.com/us/en/pages/operations/articles/blockchain-supply-chain-innovation.html> accessed 7 October 2024

Valentinov V, 'Wiener and Luhmann on Feedback: From Complexity to Sustainability' (2017) 46 Kybernetes 386

Van Bokkem D and others, 'Self-Sovereign Identity Solutions: The Necessity of Blockchain Technology' (2019) arXiv preprint arXiv:1904.12816

Van den Hoven J, 'E-Democracy, E-Contestation and the Monitorial Citizen' (2005) 7 Ethics and Information Technology 51

Van der Elst C and Lafarre A, 'Blockchain and Smart Contracting for the Shareholder Community' (2019) 20 European Business Organization Law Review 111

Van Dijck J and Poell T, 'Understanding Social Media Logic' (2013) 1 Media and Communication 2

Van Hout MC and Bingham T, 'Responsible Vendors, Intelligent Consumers: Silk Road, the Online Revolution in Drug Trading' (2014) 25 International Journal of Drug Policy 183

Varadarajan D, 'Trade Secret Fair Use' (2014) 83 Fordham Law Review 1401

Verbeek P-P, *What Things Do: Philosophical Reflections on Technology, Agency, and Design* (Penn State Press 2005)

Verma A and others, 'Blockchain for Industry 5.0: Vision, Opportunities, Key Enablers, and Future Directions' (2022) 10 IEEE Access 69160

Vermeule A, *Judging under Uncertainty: An Institutional Theory of Legal Interpretation* (Harvard University Press 2006)

Vigna P and Casey MJ, *The Age of Cryptocurrency: How Bitcoin and Digital Money Are Challenging the Global Economic* (St. Martin's Press 2015)

—, The Truth Machine: The Blockchain and the Future of Everything (Picador 2019)

Vinx L, Hans Kelsen's Pure Theory of Law: Legality and Legitimacy (Oxford University Press 2007)

Vismann C and Krajewski M, 'Computer Juridisms' (2007) 29 Grey Room 90

Vitale F, Odom W and McGrenere J, 'Keeping and Discarding Personal Data: Exploring a Design Space' (Designing Interactive Systems Conference (DIS '19), 2019) 1463

Vogelsang I, 'Net Neutrality Regulation: Much Ado about Nothing?' (2018) 17 Review of Network Economics 225

Vries KD and Dijk N van, 'A Bump in the Road. Ruling Out Law from Technology' in Mireille Hilderbrandt and Jeanne Gaakeer (eds), *Human Law and Computer Law: Comparative Perspectives* (Springer 2013) 89

Wachter S, 'Normative Challenges of Identification in the Internet of Things: Privacy, Profiling, Discrimination, and the GDPR' (2018) 34 Computer Law & Security Review 436

Wagner E and others, *Metaverse Und Recht* (CH Beck 2023)

Walch A, 'The Bitcoin Blockchain as Financial Market Infrastructure: A Consideration of Operational Risk' (2015) 18 NYU Journal of Legislation & Public Policy 837

——, 'The Path of the Blockchain Lexicon (and the Law)' (2016) 36 Review of Banking and Financial Law 713

—, 'In Code (Rs) We Trust: Software Developers as Fiduciaries in Public Blockchains' in Philipp Hacker and others (eds), *Regulating Blockchain: Techno-social and Legal Challenges* (Oxford University Press 2019).

Waldron J, 'The Rule of Law in Contemporary Liberal Theory' (1989) 2 Ratio Juris 79

——, 'The Concept and the Rule of Law' (2008) NYU School of Law Public Law & Legal Theory Research Paper Series, Working Paper 218

——, 'The Rule of Law and the Importance of Procedure' in James Fleming (ed) *Getting to the Rule of Law* (NYU Press 2011) 3

------, 'The Rule of Law' (2016) in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2023/entries/rule-of-law/>

——, 'Is the Rule of Law an Essentially Contested Concept (in Florida)?' in Richard Bellamy (ed), *The Rule of Law and the Separation of Powers* (Routledge 2017) 117

-----, 'The Core of the Case against Judicial Review' (2006) 115 Yale Law Journal 1346

—, *Thoughtfulness and the Rule of Law* (Harvard University Press 2023)

Walport M, *Distributed Ledger Technology: Beyond Block Chain* (Government Office for Science 2016)

Walton R, Mays RE and Haselkorn M, 'Enacting Humanitarian Culture: How Technical Communication Facilitates Successful Humanitarian Work' (2016) 63 Technical Communication 85

Wang F and De Filippi P, 'Self-Sovereign Identity in a Globalized World: Credentials-Based Identity Systems as a Driver for Economic Inclusion' (2020) 2 Frontiers in Blockchain 28

Warrington J, Politics, and Athenian Constitution (JM Dent 1961)

Watkins F, *The Political Tradition of the West: A Study in the Development of Modern Liberalism* (Harvard University Press 1948)

Weber I and Staples M, 'Programmable Money: Next-Generation Blockchain-Based Conditional Payments' (2022) 4 Digital Finance 127

Weber M, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (Simon and Schuster 2009)

—, General Economic History (Routledge 2017)

Weber RH, "'Rose Is a Rose Is a Rose Is a Rose"–What about Code and Law?' (2018) 34 Computer Law & Security Review 701

Weinberger O, 'The Norm as Thought and as Reality' in Neil MacCormick and Ota Weinberger, *An Institutional Theory of Law* (Springer 1986), https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-015-7727-4_2 accessed 9. October 2024

Weizenbaum J, From Computer Power and Human Reason: From Judgment to Calculation (W H Freeman & Co 1976)

Wendel WB, 'Legal Ethics and the Separation of Law and Morals' (2005) 91 Cornell Law Review 67

Wenger A, 'Bitcoin: Clarifying the Foundational Innovation of the Blockchain' (2014) Continuations 4

Werbach K, 'Trustless Trust' (2016) <https://youtu.be/Uj342yXUkCc?feature=shared> accessed 15 October 2024

—, *The Blockchain and the New Architecture of Trust* (MIT Press 2018)

——, 'Trust, but Verify: Why the Blockchain Needs the Law' (2018) 33 Berkeley Technology Law Journal 487

Werbach K and Cornell N, 'Contracts Ex Machina' (2017) 67 Duke Law Journal 313

West DM, *The Future of Work: Robots, AI, and Automation* (Brookings Institution Press 2018)

'What Are Affordances?' (Interaction Design Foundation) <https://www.interactiondesign.org/literature/topics/affordances> accessed 15 October 2024

Wiener JB, 'The Regulation of Technology, and the Technology of Regulation' (2004) 26 Technology in Society 483 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tecsoc.2004.01.033> accessed 9 October 2024

Wilhelm A, 'Blockchain Technology and the Development of African Economies: Promises, Opportunities, and the Legal Issues at Stake' (2019) 22 RiA Recht in Afrika| Law in Africa| Droit en Afrique 3

—, 'Rule of Law 4.0: Blockchain Technology and the Development of Legal Institutions in Africa' (2019) SSRN Electronic Journal 9, 10 http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3481982 accessed 15 October 2024

Wilhelm AG, *Democracy in the Digital Age: Challenges to Political Life in Cyberspace* (Routledge 2002)

Williams R and Edge D, 'The Social Shaping of Technology' (1996) 25 Research Policy 865

Winner L, Autonomous Technology: Technics-out-of-Control as a Theme in Political Thought (MIT Press 1978)

——, *The Whale and the Reactor: A Search for Limits in an Age of High Technology* (University of Chicago Press 2010)

-----, 'Do Artifacts Have Politics?' (1980) 109 Daedalus 1, 121

Wintgens LJ, 'Legislation as an Object of Study of Legal Theory: Legisprudence' in Luc J Wintgens (ed), *Legisprudence: A New Theoretical Approach to Legislation* (Hart Publishing 2002) 20

——, Legisprudence: A New Theoretical Approach to Legislation (Hart Publishing 2002)

—, 'Coherence of the Law' (1993) 79 ARSP: Archiv für Rechts-und Sozialphilosophie/Archives for Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy 483 -----, 'Legisprudence as a New Theory of Legislation' (2006) 19 Ratio Juris 1

——, 'The Rational Legislator Revisited. Bounded Rationality and Legisprudence' in Luc J Wintgens and A. Oliver-Lalana (eds), *The Rationality and Justification of Legislation: Essays in Legisprudence* (Springer 2013)

—, Legisprudence: Practical Reason in Legislation (Routledge 2016)

——, 'Legitimacy and Legitimation from the Legisprudential Perspective', *Legislation in Context: Essays in Legisprudence* (Routledge 2016)

—, The Theory and Practice of Legislation: Essays in Legisprudence (Routledge 2017)

WIPO Copyright Treaty 1996

Wiseman M, 'The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program' in Christopher J O' Leary and others (eds), *Strengths of the Social Safety Net in the Great Recession: Supplemental Nutrition Assistance and Unemployment Insurance.* (Upjohn Institute for Employment Research 2019) 93.

Wittkower DE, 'Principles of Anti-Discriminatory Design' (IEEE International Symposium on Ethics in Engineering, Science and Technology, 2016)

——, 'Technology and Discrimination' in Joseph C Pitt & Ashley Shew (eds), *Spaces for the Future: A Companion to Philosophy and Technology* (Routledge 2018) 37.

Wolfram S, 'Computational Law, Symbolic Discourse, and the AI Constitution' in S. Matthew Liao (ed), *Ethics of Artificial Intelligence* (Oxford University Press 2020) https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190905033.003.0006> accessed 9 October 2024

Wong P-H, 'Democratizing Algorithmic Fairness' (2020) 33 Philosophy & Technology 225

Wong RY and Mulligan DK, 'Bringing Design to the Privacy Table: Broadening "Design" in "Privacy by Design" through the Lens of HCI' (CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI '19), 2019) 262 https://doi.org/10.1145/3290605.3300492 accessed 15 October 2024

Woolgar S and Cooper G, 'Do Artefacts Have Ambivalence: Moses' Bridges, Winner's Bridges and Other Urban Legends in S&TS' (1999) 29 Social Studies of Science 433

World Economic Forum, 'Will Blockchain Curb Corruption?' (*World Economic Forum*, 12 March 2018) https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/03/will-blockchain-curb-corruption/ accessed 3 May 2024

Wright A and De Filippi P, 'Decentralized Blockchain Technology and the Rise of Lex Cryptographia' (2015) < http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2580664> accessed 15 October 2024

Wright D, 'Enforcing Privacy' in David Wright and Paul De Hart (eds), *Enforcing Privacy: Regulatory, Legal and Technological Approaches* (Springer 2016)

Wu H and Zheng G, 'Electronic Evidence in the Blockchain Era: New Rules on Authenticity and Integrity' (2020) 36 Computer Law & Security Review 105401

Wu T, 'When Code Isn't Law' (2003) 89 Virginia Law Review 679

Wulfhorst E, 'U.S. Lawsuits Accuse Online Ad Site of Promoting Child Sex Trafficking' *Reuters* (8 February 2017) https://www.reuters.com/article/usa-trafficking-lawsuits-idUSL1N1FS1EA accessed 7 October 2024.

Yeung K, 'Towards an Understanding of Regulation by Design' in Roger Brownsword and Karen Yeung (eds), *Regulating Technologies: Legal Futures, Regulatory Frames and Technological Fixes* (Hart Publishing 2008) 79, 88

——, 'Blockchain, Transactional Security and the Promise of Automated Law Enforcement: The Withering of Freedom under Law?' (2017) TLI Think Paper 58/2017

——, 'Algorithmic Regulation: A Critical Interrogation' (2018) 12 Regulation & Governance 505

——, 'Regulation by Blockchain: The Emerging Battle for Supremacy Between the Code of Law and Code as Law' (2019) 82 Modern Law Review 207.

——, "'Hypernudge": Big Data as a Mode of Regulation by Design', *The Social Power of Algorithms* (Routledge 2019)

Zalnieriute M, Moses LB and Williams G, 'The Rule of Law and Automation of Government Decision-making' (2019) 82 Modern Law Review 425

-----, 'The Rule of Law "by Design"?' (2021) 95 Tulane Law Review 1063

Zambrano R, Seward RK and Sayo P, 'Unpacking the Disruptive Potential of Blockchain Technology for Human Development' (2017) IDRC White Paper 34 < https://idl-bncidrc.dspacedirect.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/d3b90b9f-3b6f-43f7-898aacab22228c89/content> accessed 6 October 2024

Zbinden F and Kondova G, 'Economic Development in Mexico and the Role of Blockchain' (2019) 7 Advances in Economics and Business 55

Zimmerman AD, 'Toward a More Democratic Ethic of Technological Governance' (1995) 20 Science, Technology, & Human Values 86

Ziolkowska K, 'Distributing Authority–State Sovereignty in the Age of Blockchain' (2021) 35 International Review of Law, Computers & Technology 116

Zittrain J, 'Internet Points of Control' in Sandra Braman (ed), *The Emergent Global Information Policy Regime* (Palgrave Macmillan 2004)

Ződi Z, 'Algorithmic Explainability and Legal Reasoning' (2022) 10 The Theory and Practice of Legislation 67

Zou M, 'Code, and Other Laws of Blockchain†' (2020) 40 Oxford Journal of Legal Studies 645 https://doi.org/10.1093/ojls/gqaa018 accessed on 15 October 2024

'Zug Digital ID: Blockchain Case Study for Government Issued Identity' (*Consensys*, 2018) <https://consensys.io/blockchain-use-cases/government-and-the-public-sector/zug> accessed 6 October 2024

Zwitter A and Boisse-Despiaux M, 'Blockchain for Humanitarian Action and Development Aid' (2018) 3 Journal of International Humanitarian Action 1

Zwitter AJ, Gstrein OJ and Yap E, 'Digital Identity and the Blockchain: Universal Identity Management and the Concept of the "Self-Sovereign" Individual' (2020) 3 Frontiers in Blockchain 26 doi: 10.3389/fbloc.2020.00026

Zyskind G and Nathan O, 'Decentralizing Privacy: Using Blockchain to Protect Personal Data' (IEEE Security and Privacy Workshops, 2015) 180-184