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DESIGN JUSTICE, AI, AND ESCAPE FROM THE MATRIX OF DOMINATION

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Part 1: #TravelingWhileTrans

Millimeter Wave Scanning, the Sociotechnical Reproduction of the Gender Binary, and the Importance of Embodied Knowledge to the Design of Artificial Intelligence

It's June 2017, and I'm standing in the security line at the Detroit Metro Airport. I'm on my way back to Boston from the Allied Media Conference (AMC), a “collaborative laboratory of media-based organizing” that's been held every year in Detroit for the past two decades.¹

As a nonbinary, transgender, femme-presenting person, my experience of the AMC was deeply liberating. It's a conference that strives harder than any that I know of to be inclusive of all kinds of people, including queer, trans, intersex, and gender nonconforming (QTI/GNC) folks. Although it's far from perfect, and every year inevitably brings new challenges and difficult conversations about what it means to construct a truly inclusive space, it's a powerful experience—a kind of temporary autonomous zone.²

Emerging from nearly a week immersed in this parallel world, I'm tired, but on a deep level, refreshed; my reservoir

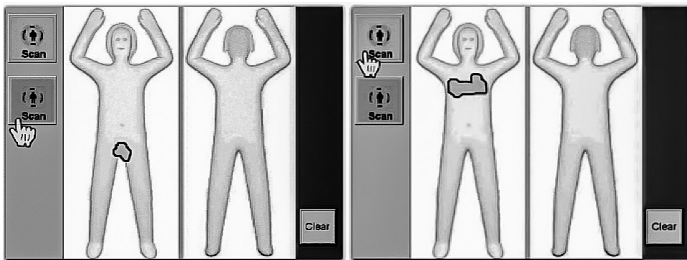
of belief in the possibility of creating a better future has been replenished.

Yet as I stand in the security line and draw closer to the millimeter wave scanning machine, my stress levels begin to rise. On one hand, I know that my white skin, U.S. citizenship, and institutional affiliation with MIT place me in a position of relative privilege. I will certainly be spared the most disruptive and harmful possible outcomes of security screening. For example, I don't have to worry that this process will lead to my being placed in a detention center or in deportation proceedings; I won't be hooded and whisked away to Guantanamo Bay or to one of the many other secret prisons that form part of the global infrastructure of the so-called War on Terror;³ most likely, I won't even miss my flight while detained for what security expert Bruce Schneier describes as "security theater."⁴

On the other hand, my heartbeat speeds up slightly as I near the end of the line because I know that I'm almost certainly about to be subject to an embarrassing, uncomfortable, and perhaps even humiliating search by a TSA officer, after my body is flagged as anomalous by the millimeter wave scanner. I know that this is almost certainly about to happen because of the particular sociotechnical configuration of gender normativity (cis-normativity) that has been built into the scanner, through the combination of user interface (UI) design, scanning technology, binary gendered body-shape data constructs, and risk detection algorithms, as well as the socialization, training, and experience of the TSA agents.⁵

The TSA agent motions me to step into the millimeter wave scanner. I raise my arms and place my hands in a triangle shape, palms facing forward, above my head. The scanner spins around my body, and then the agent signals for me to step forward out of the machine and wait with my feet on the pad

just past the scanner exit. I glance to the left, where a screen displays an abstracted outline of a human body. As I expected, bright fluorescent yellow pixels on the flat-panel display highlight my groin area. You see, when I entered the scanner, the TSA operator on the other side was prompted by the UI to select “male” or “female.” Since my gender presentation is non-binary femme, usually the operator selects “female.” However, the three-dimensional contours of my body, at millimeter resolution, differ from the statistical norm of “female bodies” as understood by the data set and risk algorithm designed by the manufacturer of the millimeter wave scanner (and its sub-contractors), and as trained by a small army of clickworkers tasked with labeling and classification (as scholars Lilly Irani and Nick Dyer-Witford, among others, remind us).⁶ If the agent selects “male,” my breasts are large enough, statistically speaking, in comparison to the normative male body-shape construct in the database, to trigger an anomaly warning and a highlight around my chest area. If the agent selects “female,” my groin area deviates enough from the statistical female



“Anomalies” highlighted in millimeter wave scanner interface, by Dr. Cary Gabriel Costello

Source: Cary Gabriel Costello, “Traveling While Trans: The False Promise of Better Treatment,” in *Trans Advocate*, 2016, http://transadvocate.com/the-tsa-a-binary-body-system-in-practice_n_15540.htm.

norm to trigger the risk alert. In other words, I can't win. I'm sure to be marked as "risky," and that will trigger an escalation to the next level in the TSA security protocol.

This is, in fact, what happens: I've been flagged. The screen shows a fluorescent yellow highlight around my groin. Next, the agent asks me to step aside, and (as usual) asks for my consent to a physical body search. Typically at this point, once I am close enough, the agent becomes confused about my gender. This presents a problem, because the next step in the security protocol is for either a male or a female TSA agent to conduct a body search by running their hands across my arms and armpits, chest, hips and legs, and inner thighs. The agent is supposed to be male or female, depending on whether my gender identity is male or female. As a nonbinary trans femme, I present a problem not easily resolved by the algorithm of the security protocol. Sometimes, the agent will assume I prefer to be searched by a female agent; sometimes, a male. Occasionally, they ask for my preference. Unfortunately, "neither" is an honest but not acceptable response. Today, I'm particularly unlucky: a nearby male-presenting agent, observing the interaction, loudly states "I'll do it!" and strides over to me. I say, "Aren't you going to ask me what I prefer?" He pauses, then begins to move toward me again, but the female-presenting agent who is operating the scanner stops him. She asks me what I prefer. Now I'm standing in public, flanked by two TSA agents, with a line of curious travelers watching the whole interaction. Ultimately, the male agent backs off and the female agent searches me, making a face as if she's as uncomfortable as I am, and I'm cleared to continue on to my gate.

The point of this story is to provide a small but concrete example from my own daily lived experience of how larger systems—including norms, values, and assumptions—are

encoded in and reproduced through the design of sociotechnical data-driven systems, or in political theorist Langdon Winner's famous words, how "artifacts have politics."⁷⁷ In this case, cishnormativity (the assumption that all people are cisgender, or in other words, have a gender identity and presentation that are consistent with the sex they were assigned at birth) is enforced at multiple levels of a traveler's interaction with airport security systems. The database, models, and algorithms that assess deviance and risk are all binary and cishnormative. The male/female gender selector UI is binary and cishnormative. The assignment of a male or female TSA agent to perform the additional, more invasive search is cis- and binary gender normative as well. At each stage of this interaction, airport security technology, databases, algorithms, risk assessment, and practices are all designed based on the assumption that there are only two genders, and that gender presentation will conform with so-called biological sex. Anyone whose body doesn't fall within an acceptable range of "deviance" from a normative binary body type is flagged as risky and subject to a heightened and disproportionate burden of the harms (both small and, potentially, large) of airport security systems and the violence of empire they instantiate. QTI/GNC people are thus disproportionately burdened by the design of millimeter wave scanning technology and the way that technology is used. The system is biased against us. Those who are (also) people of color (POC), Muslims, immigrants, and/or people with disabilities (PWD) are doubly, triply, or multiply burdened by, and face the highest risk of harms from, this system. Most cisgender people are unaware of the fact that millimeter wave scanners operate according to a binary and cishnormative gender construct; most trans people know, because it directly affects our lives.

I share this experience here because I feel it is an appropriate opening to my response to Joichi Ito's call to resist reduction, a timely intervention in the conversation about the limits and possibilities of artificial intelligence (AI).⁸ That call resonates very deeply with me, since as a nonbinary trans feminine person, I walk through a world that has in many ways been designed to deny the possibility of my existence. From my standpoint, I worry that the current path of AI development will reproduce systems that erase those of us on the margins, whether intentionally or not, whether in a spectacular moment of Singularity or (far more likely) through the mundane and relentless repetition of reduction in a thousand daily interactions with AI systems that, increasingly, will weave the very fabric of our lives.

In this response, I'd like to do three things. First, I've drawn from my own lived experience as a gender nonconforming, non-binary trans feminine person to illustrate how sociotechnical data-dependent systems reproduce various aspects of the matrix of domination (more on that below). Specifically, I've told a personal story that illustrates the reproduction of the binary gender system, and also hopefully demonstrates the importance of the intersectional feminist concepts of standpoint, embodied and situated knowledge, and nonbinary thought to AI systems design.⁹ This first point, in a nutshell: different people experience algorithmic decision support systems differently, and we must redesign these systems based on the lived experience of those they harm. Second, in the next section I hope to extend Ito's critique of capitalist profitability as the key driver of AI by describing the paradigm shift wrought in many fields by the Black feminist concepts of intersectionality and the matrix of domination. Third, I'll briefly trace the encouraging contours of a growing community of

designers, technologists, computer scientists, community organizers, and others who are already engaged in research, theory, and practices that take these ideas into account in the design and development of sociotechnical systems.

Part 2: AI, Intersectionality, and the Matrix of Domination

It asks us to “examine the values and the currencies of the fitness functions and consider whether they are suitable and appropriate for the systems in which we participate.”¹⁰ He is primarily concerned with the reduction of fitness in AI systems to efficiency and capitalist profitability. I share this concern, but I would also argue that we must resist the urge to reduce the cause of the planetary ecological crisis to capitalism alone. Instead, we’ll need to pay close attention to *intersectionality* and the *matrix of domination*, concepts developed by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw and sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (the 100th president of the American Sociological Association), respectively. These concepts help us understand how capitalism, white supremacy, and heteropatriarchy (class, race, and gender) are interlocking systems: they are experienced simultaneously by individuals who exist at their intersections. This has crucial implications for the design of AI systems.

Intersectionality was first proposed by Crenshaw in her 1989 article “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics.”¹¹ In the article, Crenshaw describes how existing antidiscrimination law (Title VII of the Civil Rights Act) repeatedly failed to protect Black women workers. First, she discusses an instance where Black women workers at General Motors (GM) were told they had no legal grounds for a discrimination case against their employer

because antidiscrimination law protected only single-identity categories. The court found that, since GM hired white women, the company did not systematically discriminate against all women; there was also insufficient evidence of discrimination against Black people in general. Thus, Black women, who did in reality experience systematic employment discrimination *as Black women*, were not protected by existing law and had no actionable legal claim.

In a second case described by Crenshaw, the court rejected the discrimination claims of a Black woman against Hugh Helicopters, Inc., because “her attempt to specify her race was seen as being at odds with the standard allegation that the employer simply discriminated ‘against females.’”¹² In other words, the court could not accept that Black women might be able to represent all women, including white women, as a class.

In a third case, the court did award discrimination damages to Black women workers at a pharmaceutical company, *as women*, but refused to award the damages to all Black workers, under the rationale that Black women could not adequately represent the claims of Black people as a whole.

Crenshaw notes the role of statistical analysis in each of these cases: sometimes, the courts required the inclusion of broader statistics for all women that countered Black women’s claims of discrimination; in other cases, the courts limited the admissible data to that which dealt solely with Black women, as opposed to all Black workers. In those cases, the low total number of Black women employees typically made statistically valid claims impossible, whereas strong claims could have been made if the plaintiffs were allowed to include data for all women, for all Black people, or both. Later, in her 1991 *Stanford Law Review* article “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality,

Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color;” Crenshaw powerfully articulates the ways that women of color often experience male violence as a product of intersecting racism and sexism, but are then marginalized from both feminist and antiracist discourse and practice, and denied access to specific legal remedies.¹³

The concept of intersectionality provided the grounds for a long, slow paradigm shift that is still unfolding in the social sciences, in legal scholarship, and in other domains of research and practice. This paradigm shift is also beginning to transform the domain of technology design. What Crenshaw calls “single-axis analysis,” where race or gender are considered independent constructs, has wide-reaching consequences for AI.

Universalist design principles and practices erase certain groups of people, specifically those who are intersectionally disadvantaged or multiply burdened under capitalism, white supremacy, heteropatriarchy, and settler colonialism. What is more, when technologists do consider inequality in technology design (and most professional design processes do not consider inequality at all), they nearly always employ a single-axis framework. Most design processes today are therefore structured in ways that make it impossible to see, engage with, account for, or attempt to remedy the unequal distribution of benefits and burdens that they reproduce. As Crenshaw notes, feminist or antiracist theory or policy that is not grounded in intersectional understanding of gender and race cannot adequately address the experiences of Black women, or other multiply burdened people, when it comes to the formulation of policy demands. The same must be true when it comes to our “design demands” for AI systems, including technical standards, training data, benchmarks, bias audits, and so on.

Intersectionality is thus an absolutely crucial concept for the development of AI. Most pragmatically, single-axis (in other words, nonintersectional) algorithmic bias audits are insufficient to ensure algorithmic fairness. While there is rapidly growing interest in algorithmic bias audits, especially in the fairness, accountability, and transparency in machine learning (FAT*) community, most are single-axis: they look for a biased distribution of error rates only according to a single variable, such as race or gender. This is an important advance, but it is essential that we develop a new norm of intersectional bias audits for machine learning systems.

For example, Joy Buolamwini of the MIT Media Lab and her project the Algorithmic Justice League have produced a growing body of work that demonstrates the ways that machine learning is intersectionally biased. In the project Gender Shades, Buolamwini and researcher Timnit Gebru show how facial analysis trained on “pale male” data sets performs best on images of white men and worst on images of Black women.¹⁴ In order to demonstrate this, they first had to create a new benchmark data set of images of faces, both male and female, with a range of skin tones. Not only does this work demonstrate that facial analysis systems are biased, it also provides a concrete example of the need to develop intersectional training data sets, intersectional benchmarks, and intersectional audits of machine learning systems. The urgency of doing so is directly proportional to the impacts (or potential impacts) of algorithmic decision systems on people’s life chances.

The Matrix of Domination

Closely linked to intersectionality, but less widely used today, the *matrix of domination* is a term developed by Black feminist scholar Patricia Hill Collins to refer to race, class, and gender

as interlocking systems of oppression. It is a conceptual model that helps us think about how power, oppression, resistance, privilege, penalties, benefits, and harms are systematically distributed. When she introduces the term in her 1990 book *Black Feminist Thought*, Collins emphasizes race, class, and gender as the three systems that historically have been most important in structuring most Black women's lives. She notes that additional systems of oppression structure the matrix of domination for other kinds of people. The term, for her, describes a mode of analysis that includes any and all systems of oppression that mutually constitute each other and shape people's lives. Collins also notes: "People experience and resist oppression on three levels: the level of personal biography; the group or community level of the cultural context created by race, class, and gender; and the systemic level of social institutions. Black feminist thought emphasizes all three levels as sites of domination and as potential sites of resistance."¹⁵ We need to explore how AI relates to domination and resistance at each of these three levels (personal, community, and institutional). For example, at the personal level, we might explore how interface design affirms or denies a person's identity through features such as, say, a binary gender dropdown menu during account profile creation. We might consider how design decisions play out in their impacts on different individuals' biographies or life chances.

At the community level, we might explore how AI systems design fosters certain kinds of communities while suppressing others, through the automated enforcement of community guidelines, rules, and speech norms, instantiated through content moderation algorithms and decision support systems. For example, ProPublica revealed that Facebook's internal content moderation guidelines explicitly mention that Black

children are not a protected category, while white men are;¹⁶ this inspires very little confidence in Zuckerberg's congressional testimony that Facebook feels it can deal with hate speech and trolls through the use of AI content moderation systems. Nor is Facebook's position improved by the leak of content moderation guidelines that note that "white supremacist" posts should be banned, but that "white nationalist" posts are within free speech bounds.¹⁷

At the institutional level, we might consider how the development of AI systems that reproduce and/or challenge the matrix of domination is influenced by institutional funding priorities, policies, and practices. AI institutions include funding agencies like the National Science Foundation (NSF) and the Department of Defense (DOD); large companies (Google, Microsoft, Apple); venture capital firms; standards-setting bodies (ISO, W3C, NIST); laws (such as the Americans with Disabilities Act); and universities and educational institutions that train computer scientists, developers, and designers.

Intersectional theory compels us to consider how these and other institutions that are involved in the design of AI systems will shape the distribution of benefits and harms across society. For example, the ability to immigrate to the United States is unequally distributed among different groups of people through a combination of laws passed by the U.S. Congress, software decision systems, executive orders that influence enforcement priorities, and so on. In 2018, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) had an open bid to develop "extreme vetting" software that would automate "good immigrant/bad immigrant" prediction by drawing from people's public social media profiles. After extensive pushback from civil liberties and immigrant rights advocates, DHS backpedaled and stated that the system was beyond "present-day

capabilities.” Instead, they announced a shift in the contract from software to labor: more than \$100 million dollars will be awarded to cover the employment of 180 people, tasked with manually monitoring immigrant social media profiles from a list of about 100,000 people.¹⁸ More broadly, visa allocation has always been an algorithm, one designed according to the political priorities of power holders. It’s an algorithm that has long privileged whiteness, hetero- and cis- normativity, wealth, and higher socioeconomic status.

Finally, Black feminist thought emphasizes the value of situated knowledge over universalist knowledge. In other words, particular insights about the nature of power, oppression, and resistance come from those who occupy a subjugated standpoint, and knowledge developed from any particular standpoint is always partial knowledge.

We have described the nearly overwhelming challenges presented by deeply rooted and interlocking systems of oppression. What paths, then, might lead us out of the matrix of domination?

Part 3: Building a World Where Many Worlds Fit

Against Ontological Reduction, toward Design for the Pluriverse, or Decolonizing AI

Ito ends his call to resist reduction on a hopeful note, with a nod toward the many people, organizations, and networks that are already working toward what he calls “a culture of flourishing.”¹⁹ He mentions high school students and MIT Media Lab students; the IEEE working group on the design of AI around human well-being; the work of Conservation International to support Indigenous peoples; and Shinto priests at the Ise Grand Shrine. I also believe that, despite the seemingly

overwhelming power of the matrix of domination, it is important to center the real world practices of resistance and the construction of alternatives. Accordingly, I'll end by describing a few more of the exciting emerging organizations and networks that are already working to incorporate intersectional analysis into the design of AI systems.

The idea of intentionally building liberatory values into technological systems is not new. For example, the appropriate technology movement advocated for local, sustainable approaches to technological development in the countries of the Global South, rather than wholesale adoption of technology developed to serve the needs and interests of those in the wealthiest countries.²⁰ In the 1980s, Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility emerged during the Cold War to advocate that computer scientists resist the incorporation of their work into the nuclear arms race.²¹ In the 1990s, the Values in Design approach, developed by scientists like Batya Friedman, came to the fore.²²

The past year has seen a wave of book-length critiques of the reproduction of race, class, and gender inequality through machine learning, algorithmic decision support systems, and AI.²³ There is a growing community of computer scientists focused specifically on challenging algorithmic bias. As mentioned earlier, beginning in 2014, the FAT* community emerged as a key hub for this strand of work.²⁴ FAT* has rapidly become the most prominent space for computer scientists to advance research about algorithmic bias: what it means, how to measure it, and how to reduce it. This is such important work, with the caveat noted in the previous section (the current norm of single-axis fairness audits should be replaced by a new norm of intersectional analysis). This will

require the development of new, more inclusive training and benchmarking data sets, as we saw with the work of the Algorithmic Justice League.

We also need to consider approaches that go beyond *inclusion* and *fairness* to center *justice*, *autonomy*, and *sovereignty*. For example, how do AI systems reproduce colonial ontology and epistemology? What would AI look like if it were designed to support, extend, and amplify Indigenous knowledge and/or practices? In this direction, there is a growing set of scholars interested in decolonizing technology, including AI. For example, in “Making Kin with the Machines” (chapter 1), Lewis, Arista, Pechawis, and Kite draw from Hawaiian, Cree, and Lakota knowledge to argue that Indigenous epistemologies, which tend to emphasize relationality and “are much better at respectfully accommodating the nonhuman,” should ground the development of AI.²⁵ Lilly Irani et al. have argued for the development of postcolonial computing;²⁶ Ramesh Srinivasan has asked us to consider Indigenous database ontologies in his book *Whose Global Village?*;²⁷ and anthropologist and development theorist Arturo Escobar has recently released a sweeping new book titled *Designs for the Pluriverse*.²⁸ In it, Escobar draws from decades of work with social movements led by Indigenous and Afro-descended peoples in Latin America and the Caribbean to argue for autonomous design. He traces the ways that most design processes today are oriented toward the reproduction of the “one-world” ontology. This means that technology is used to extend capitalist patriarchal modernity (the aims of the market and/or the state) and to erase Indigenous ways of being, knowing, and doing (ontologies, epistemologies, practices, and life-worlds). Escobar argues for a decolonized approach to design that focuses on collaborative and place-based practices,

and that acknowledges the interdependence of all people, beings, and the earth. He insists on attention to what he calls the ontological dimension of design: all design reproduces certain ways of being, knowing, and doing. He's interested in the Zapatista concept of creating "a world where many worlds fit,"²⁹ rather than the one-world project of neoliberal globalization.

Happily, research centers, think tanks, and initiatives that focus on questions of justice, fairness, bias, discrimination, and even decolonization of data, algorithmic decision support systems, and computing systems are now springing up like mushrooms all around the world. These include Data & Society, the AI Now Institute, and the Digital Equity Lab in New York City; the new Data Justice Lab in Cardiff; and the Public Data Lab in the EU.³⁰ Coding Rights, led by hacker, lawyer, and feminist Joana Varon, works across Latin America to make complex issues around data and human rights much more accessible for the general public, engages in policy debates, and helps produce consent culture for the digital environment. It does this through projects like Chupadados.org ("the data sucker") and the speculative transfeminist AI design deck.³¹ Others groups include Fair Algorithms, the Data Active group, and the Center for Civic Media at MIT; the Digital Justice Lab, recently launched by Nasma Ahmed in Toronto; Building Consentful Tech, by the design studio And Also Too in Toronto; the Our Data Bodies project; the FemTechNet network; and the People's Guide to AI, by Mimi Onuoha and Mother Cyborg (Diana Nucera).³²

A growing number of conferences and convenings are dedicated to related themes; besides FAT*, there is the ongoing Data for Black Lives Conference series; the 2018 Data Justice Conference in Cardiff; the Global Symposium on Artificial

Intelligence and Inclusion in Rio de Janeiro, organized by the Berkman Klein Center for Internet & Society (Harvard), the Institute of Technology and Society of Rio de Janeiro (ITS Rio), and the Global Network of Internet and Society and Research Centers (NoC); and the Design Justice Track at the Allied Media Conference in Detroit.³³

To end, it is worth quoting at length from the Design Justice Network Principles, first developed by a group of thirty designers, artists, technologists, and community organizers at the Allied Media Conference in 2015.

Part 4: Design Justice Network Principles

This is a living document.

Design mediates so much of our realities and has tremendous impact on our lives, yet very few of us participate in design processes. In particular, the people who are most adversely affected by design decisions—about visual culture, new technologies, the planning of our communities, or the structure of our political and economic systems—tend to have the least influence on those decisions and how they are made.

Design justice rethinks design processes, centers people who are normally marginalized by design, and uses collaborative, creative practices to address the deepest challenges our communities face.

1. We use design to **sustain, heal, and empower** our communities, as well as to seek liberation from exploitative and oppressive systems.
2. We **center the voices of those who are directly impacted** by the outcomes of the design process.
3. We **prioritize design's impact on the community** over the intentions of the designer.

4. We view **change as emergent from an accountable, accessible, and collaborative process**, rather than as a point at the end of a process.
5. We see the role of the **designer as a facilitator rather than an expert**.
6. We believe that **everyone is an expert based on their own lived experience**, and that we all have unique and brilliant contributions to bring to a design process.
7. We **share design knowledge and tools** with our communities.
8. We work towards **sustainable, community-led and -controlled outcomes**.
9. We work towards **non-exploitative solutions** that reconnect us to the earth and to each other.
10. Before seeking new design solutions, **we look for what is already working** at the community level. We honor and uplift traditional, indigenous, and local knowledge and practices.³⁴

The Design Justice principles resonate closely with Ito's suggestion for "participant design."³⁵ As we continue to race headlong toward the development of AI systems, we would do well to follow them.

In 1994, the Zapatistas appropriated the then nascent 'Net to circulate a clarion call for "One No, Many Yeses."³⁶ Fundamentally, it was a call to resist reduction. It is time to heed their words in our approach to the design of AI. We need to listen to the voices of Indigenous peoples, Black people, queer and trans folks, women and femmes, people with disabilities, immigrants and refugees, and all of those who are historically and currently marginalized, targeted, and erased under the matrix of domination. This is essential if we want to make space for many worlds, many ways of being, knowing, and doing, in our visions of AI and of planetary systems transformation.

Notes

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30. See datasociety.net, ainow.org, newschool.edu/digital-equity-lab, datajusticelab.org, and publicdatalab.org.
31. See chupadados.org.
32. See fatml.org, data-activism.net, civic.mit.edu, digitaljusticelab.ca, www.communitysolutionsva.org/files/Building_Consentful_Tech_zine.pdf, odbproject.org, and femtechnet.org/about/the-network.
33. See alliedmedia.org/amc2018/design-justice-track.
34. See Una Lee et al., “Design Justice Network’s Network Principles,” 2016, designjusticenetwork.org/network-principles.
35. Ito, “Resisting Reduction.”
36. Paul Kingsnorth, *One No, Many Yeses: A Journey to the Heart of the Global Resistance Movement* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2012).

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