

# Cryptography for

# Grassroots Organizing

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RWC 2023

Tokyo, Japan

\*speaker



“Cryptography rearranges power”

-Philip Rogaway

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“Cryptographers are professional catastrophizers.”

–Lucy Qin

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“Cryptographers are professional catastrophizers.”

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“Awareness is two steps forward—  
paranoia is two steps back.”

–Kim Marks/Civil Liberties Defense Center

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systems of power?

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How does our understanding inform our threat  
modeling and design choices?

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How does our understanding inform our threat modeling and design choices?

How might we work toward building power for communities?

# Threat Modeling Paradigm Shift



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**Trust Is Human:** Digital trust is recognized as an extension of highly complex human trust relationships

**Full Compromise Security:** Threat modeling is redesigned to center people's actual needs and lived experiences

**Grassroots Optimization:** Scale, efficiency, and accessibility are optimized for communities (not corporations and governments)

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- Introduction
- Threat Modeling Paradigm Shift
- Definition of Grassroots Organizing
- Lessons from History
- Lessons from the Current Landscape
- tigo: Trust Infrastructure for Grassroots Organizing
- Conclusion

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# Definition of Grassroots Organizing

Grassroots organizing is a process by which people work from within marginalized communities to effect social, political, economic, and environmental change.

# Operation Vula

South Africa (1986–1990): African National Congress (ANC) creates cryptography for grassroots organizing

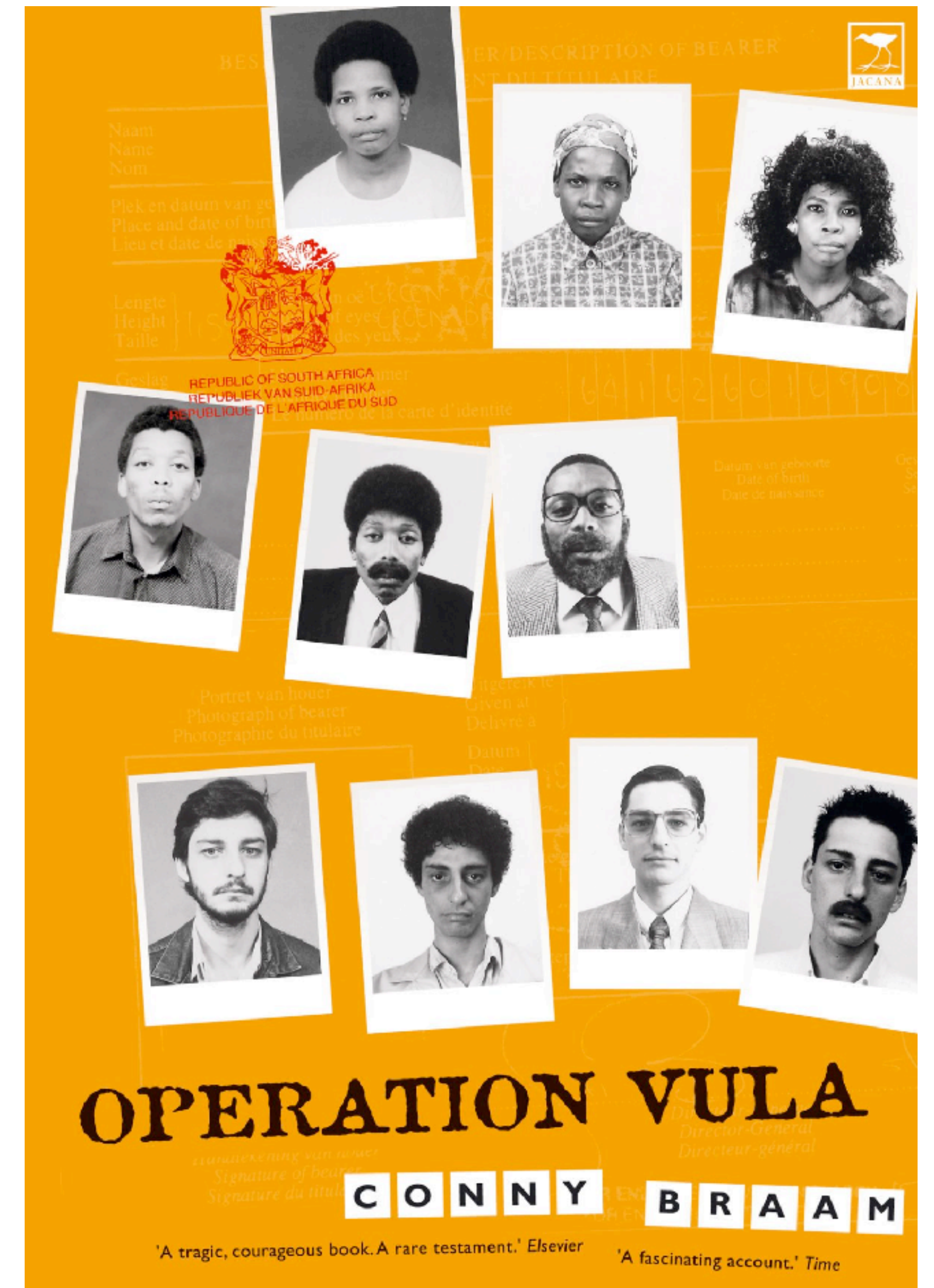


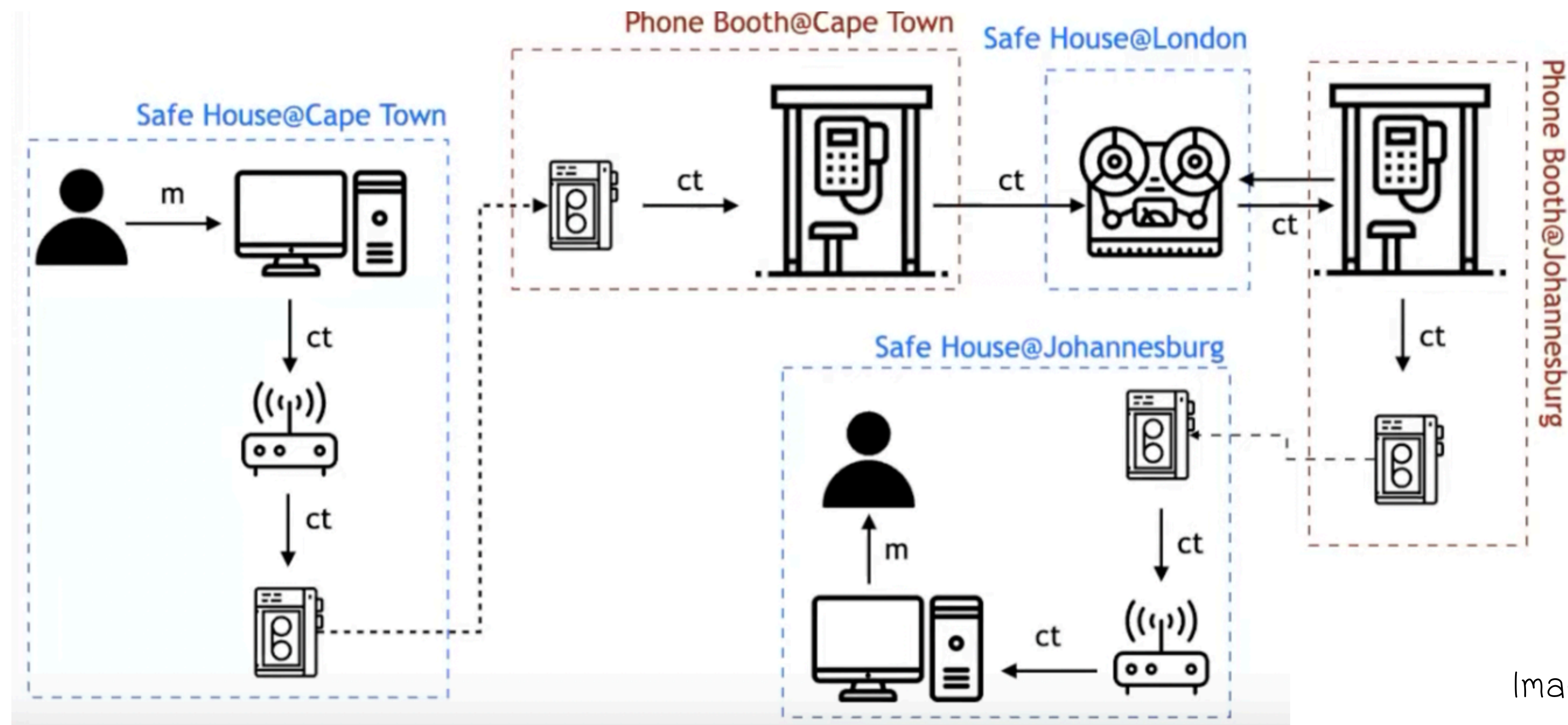
Image Credits: Jacana Media (2004), AP Photo/Udo Weitz, File (1990) via The Washington Post (2019)



# Operation Vula

South Africa (1986–1990): African National Congress (ANC) creates cryptography for grassroots organizing

Requirements:  
Asynchronous, Covert,  
Long Distance, Public



# Operation Vula

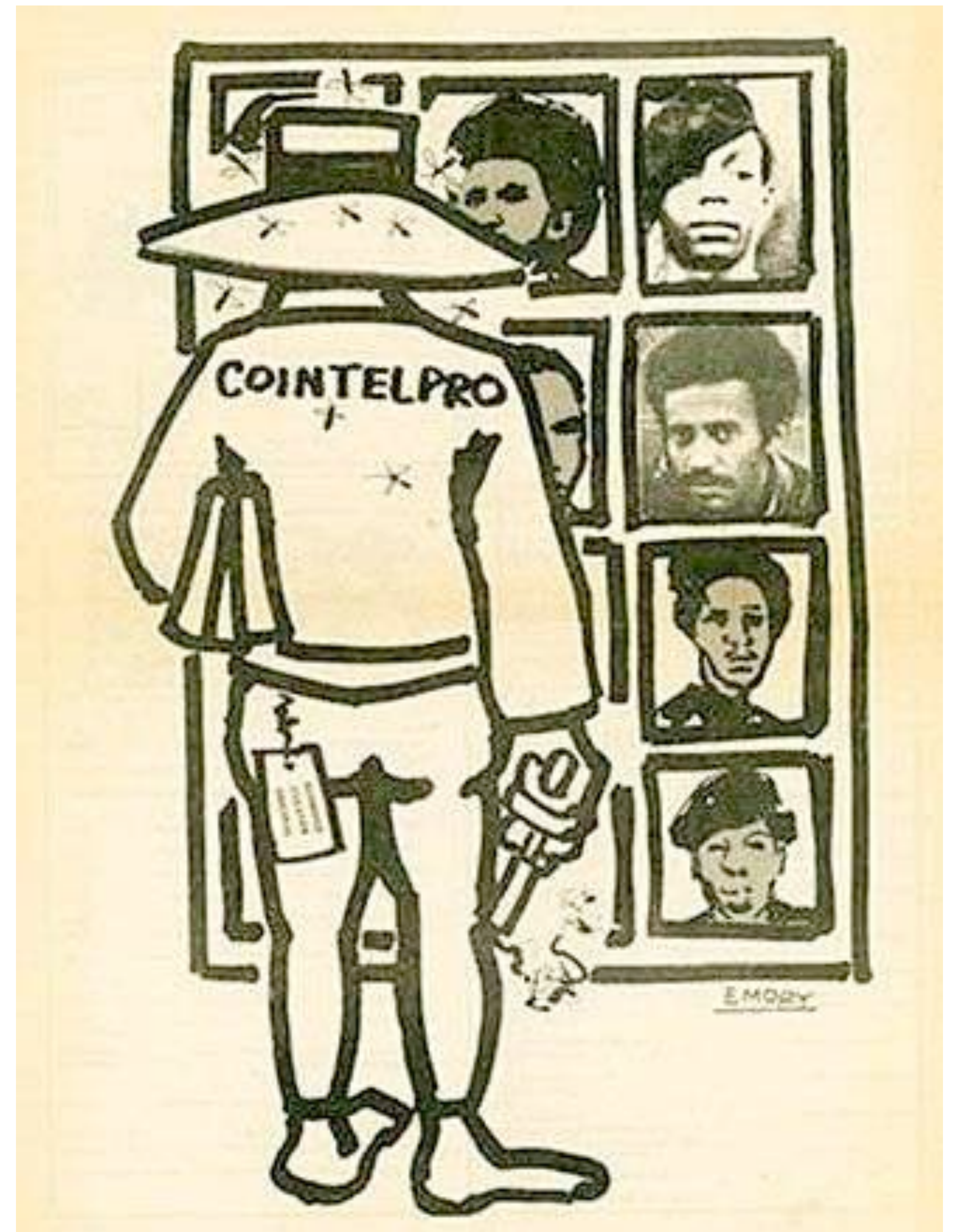
ANC Activist Tim Jenkin (1995): “I went to find out about secure encryption algorithms...

All I discovered was that cryptology was an arcane science for bored mathematicians, not for underground activists.

However I learned a few tricks and used these to develop a system to meet our security needs.”

# COINTELPRO

United States (1956–1971): Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) illegally & extensively surveils activists



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Blurred Boundaries: Surveillance leads to assassination, incarceration



Fred Hampton (1948–1969)



Angela Davis



Mae Mallory



Ericka Huggins

# COINTELPRO

United States (1956–1971): Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) illegally & extensively surveils activists

Blurred Boundaries: Surveillance leads to assassination, incarceration

The Church Committee Report (1975):

- Intimidation, manipulation, dragnet tactics
- No meaningful oversight & accountability
- Digital equivalents (Snowden 2013)

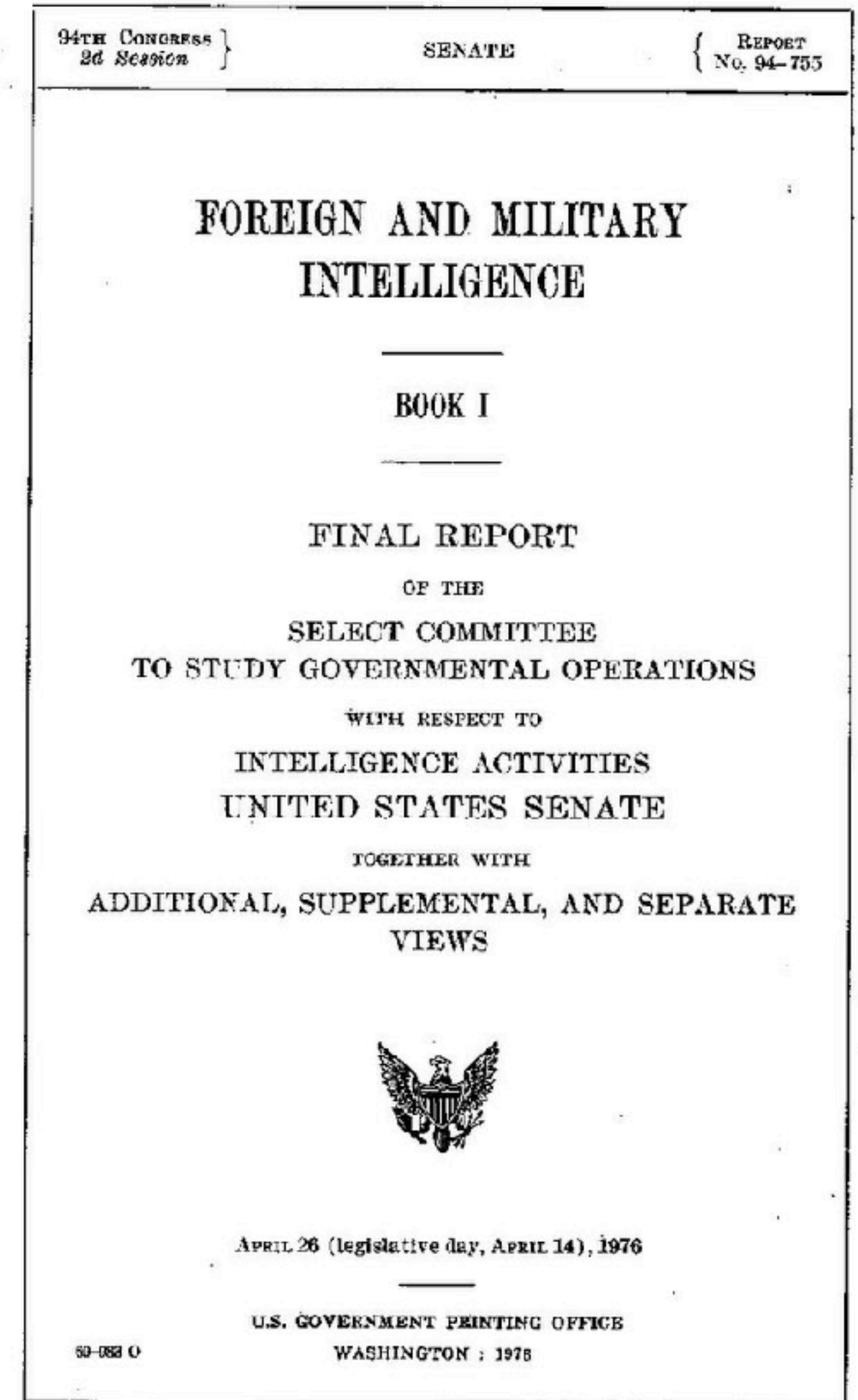


Image Credit: U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (1975)

# The Arab Spring

Many Countries (2010–2012): Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Yemen, Syria, Bahrain, Morocco, Iraq, Algeria, Lebanon, Jordan, Kuwait, and many more with minor protests



Image Credits: CBS News (2012), Reuters (2012)

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## The Role of Social Media

- Speed, Scope, and Scale (Rosenbloom 2021)
- Facilitator rather than direct or independent cause of change



Image Credits:  
Amin Ansari  
(2012), Anna Lena  
Schiller (2012),  
Wikimedia  
Commons (2011)

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Inspired Countless Movements



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# Modes of Suppression (Borradaile 2021; Boykoff 2007)

1. Direct Violence
2. The Legal System
3. Employment Deprivation
4. Conspicuous Surveillance
5. Covert Surveillance
6. Deception
7. Mass Media Influence

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\*Integrity,

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Trust

# Be Safe or Be Seen? (Lokot 2018)

Ethnographic Observation of Anti-Corruption Foundation Activists (Russia)

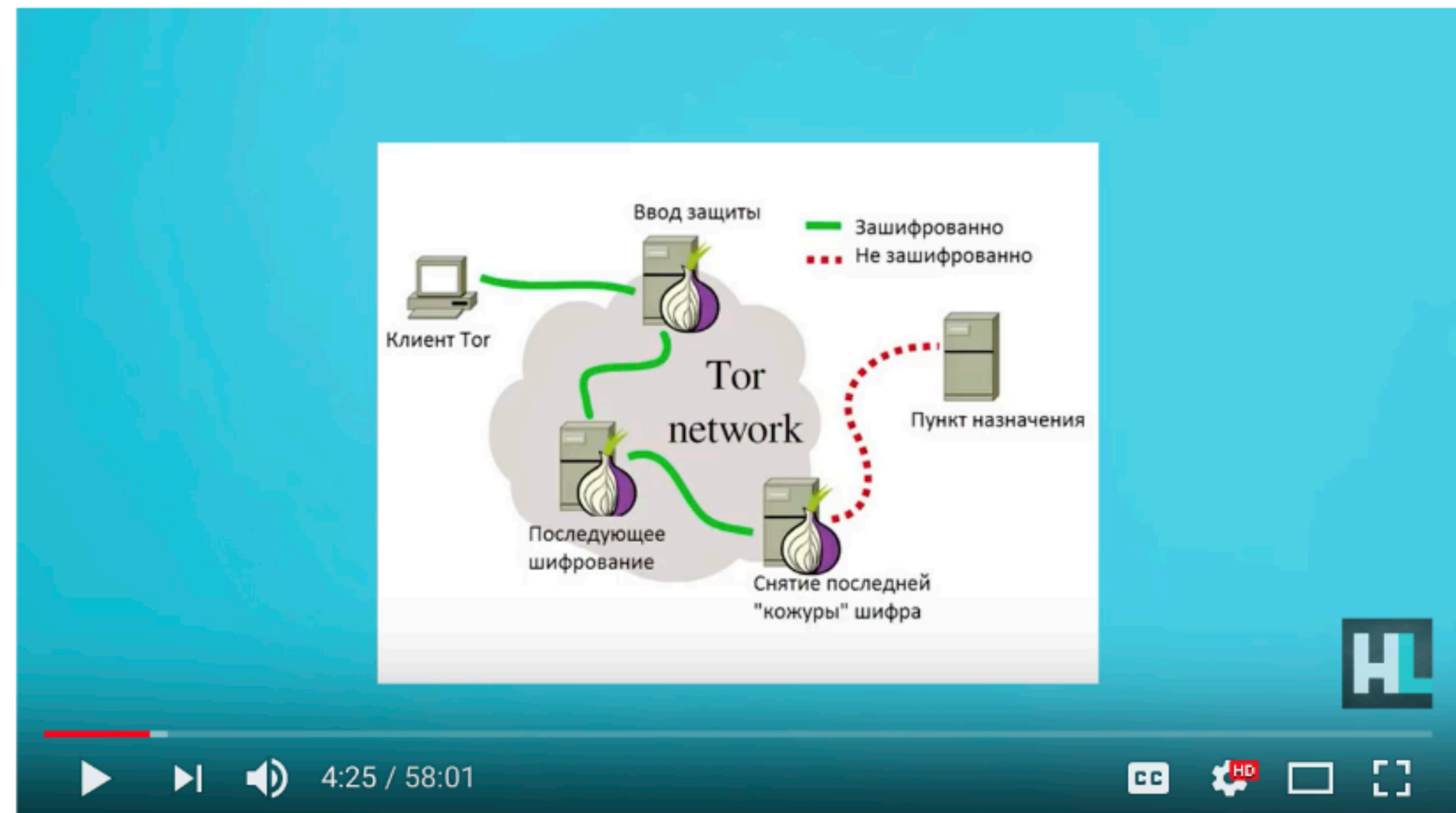


Image Credit: Evgeny Feldman/AP (2018)

# Be Safe or Be Seen? (Lokot 2018)

Ethnographic Observation of Anti-Corruption Foundation Activists (Russia)

Conspicuous Security:  
Tools and Education



Облако #002. Гость — Петр Диденко, «Общество защиты интернета». Tor, анонимность и обход блокировок

76,651 views

8.9K 3K SHARE

**Figure 2.** Screen grab from YouTube talk show "The Cloud," hosted by Leonid Volkov, explaining the basics of the Tor network. Episode 002 was devoted to online anonymity and circumventing website blocks.

Image Credit: Lokot (2018)

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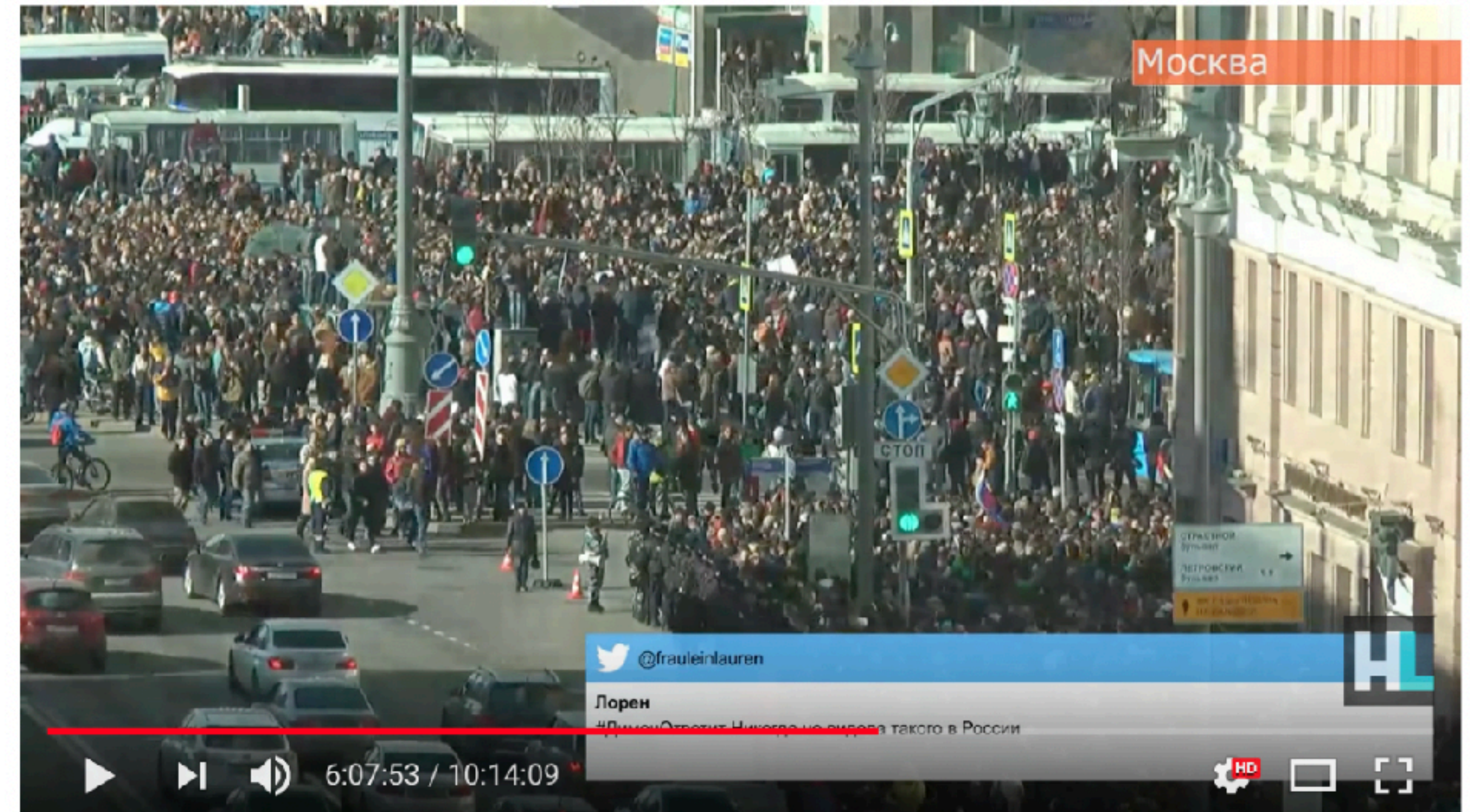
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Conspicuous Security:

Tools and Education

Strategic Visibility:

Transparency and Community



#ДимонОтветит. Митинги 26 марта по всей России. Прямой эфир

4,762,102 views

128K

17K

SHARE

...

**Figure 3.** Screen grab of YouTube live stream syndicated by FBK during the March 26, 2017, anti-corruption protests in Russia.



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Hong Kong (Albrecht et al. 2021): Bigger public groups, smaller encrypted groups with rigorous onboarding process

# Digital Trust is Physical Trust (Rosenbloom 2020)

Semi-Structured Interviews with 50 Black Lives Matter Activists (U.S.)



Image Credit: Tyger Williams/AP (2020)

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Direct Action Decision-Making:

Word of mouth, community evaluation



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Direct Action Decision-Making:

Word of mouth, community evaluation



Hong Kong (Albrecht et al. 2021): face-to-face precedes phone-to-phone because “standing on the front line together is very important for trust” (P10)”

# Device Compromise and Deletion (Albrecht et al. 2021)

Semi-Structured Interviews with 11 Anti-ELAB Protesters (Hong Kong)



Image Credit: Anthony Kwan/Getty (2019)

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Full Compromise Security:

Detection and mitigation

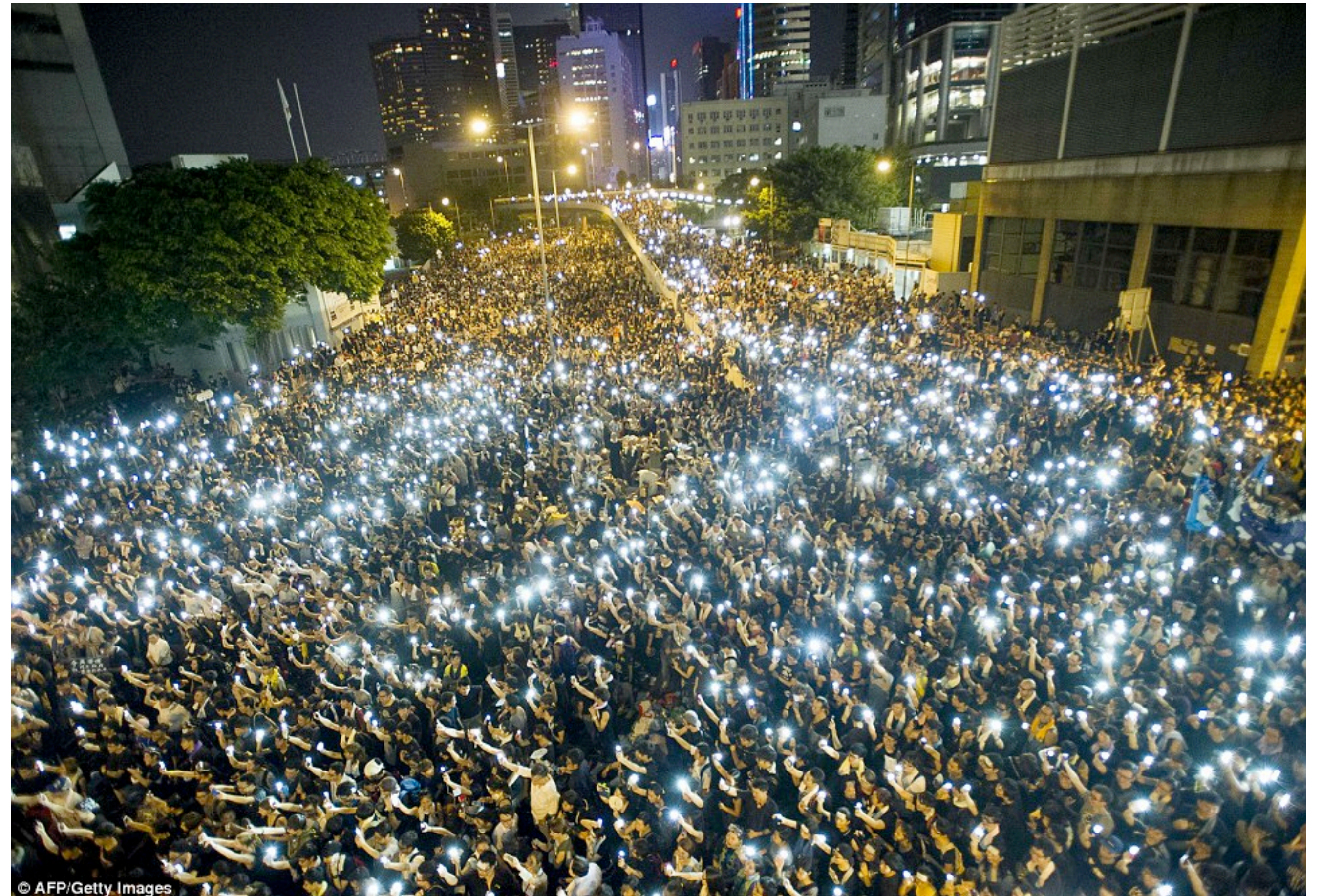


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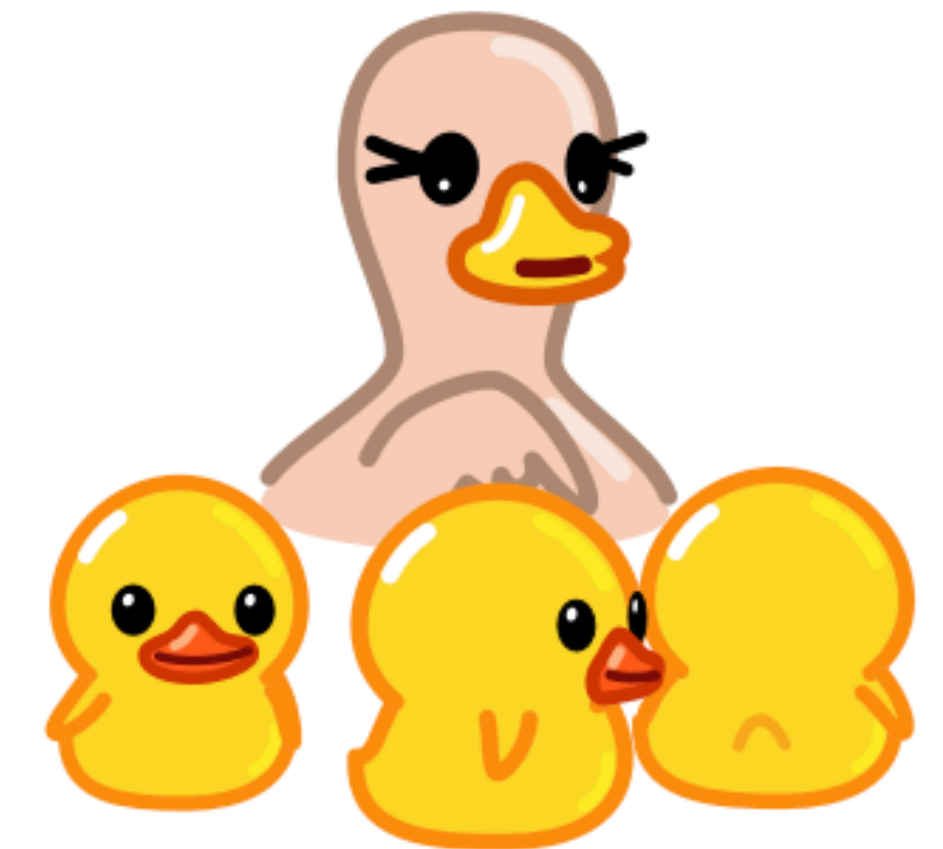
Arrest compromises contacts, logs



**Private**

Telegram messages are heavily encrypted and can self-destruct.

Why Telegram?



**Social**

Telegram groups can hold up to 200,000 members.



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Collective Security Culture (Borradaile 2021): Group reflex to minimize information sharing, digitizing, and retaining

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# tigro: Trust Infrastructure for Grassroots Organizing

How might we use cryptographic tools to adapt the existing trust and communication protocols of grassroots organizers from physical to digital spaces, without increasing the risk of surveillance, disinformation, and infiltration of grassroots movements?

tigro: Trust Infrastructure for Grassroots Organizing

**One Size Fits One:** Flexible library of primitives; applies (private) trust network information to any digital setting

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**Grassroots Optimization:** Individual device computation v. server computation over relatively small data sets

# tigro Adversarial Model

How might we model existing threats and mitigation strategies in digital space?



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## Digital Infiltration Adversary

- collects and aggregates as much information as possible
- corrupts (subpoenas) the server, corrupts (seizes) devices
- poses as a group member, spreads false information, entraps

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Semi-Honest Server: Privacy and Correctness

Malicious Server: Privacy but Not Correctness, Deletion

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## Security Strategy

Establish digital equivalents of existing security practices

# Establishing Security = Trust

Human trust as a core digital security concept

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## One Size Fits One

How organizers build and assess trust depends on:

- the person, place, or thing to be trusted (profiles, events, posts)
- the risk level associated with trust
- personal experience, collective security culture, etc.

# Establishing Security = Trust

Human trust as a core digital security concept

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## “Grounded” Cryptographic Protocols

Digital trust reduces to:

- physical interactions that establish “grounded pairs”
- qualitative trust measurements between grounded pairs

# tigro Core Protocols

## Ground Trust Ceremony

Like a key signing ceremony in spirit, but:

- Establishes a symmetric key linked to a physical meeting
- No PKI: digital activity is not linkable to a persistent identifier

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Allows grounded pairs to share digital annotations of arbitrary people, places, and things



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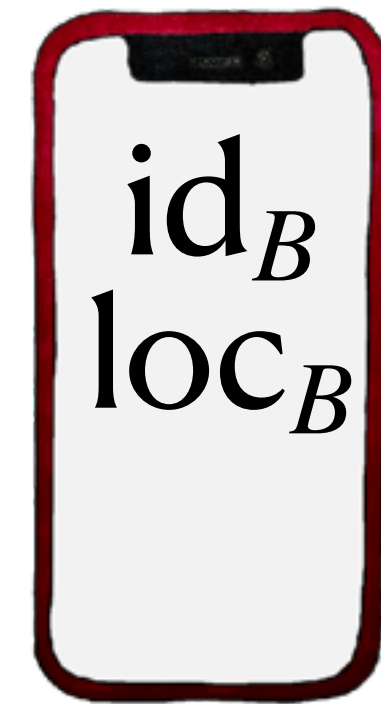
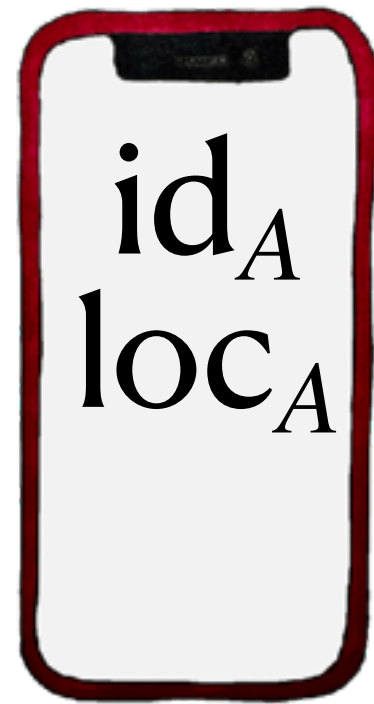
## (Grounded) Trust Metrics

Quantify trust using social network analytics (eg. HITS algorithm)

# Ground Trust Ceremony



Alice



Bob

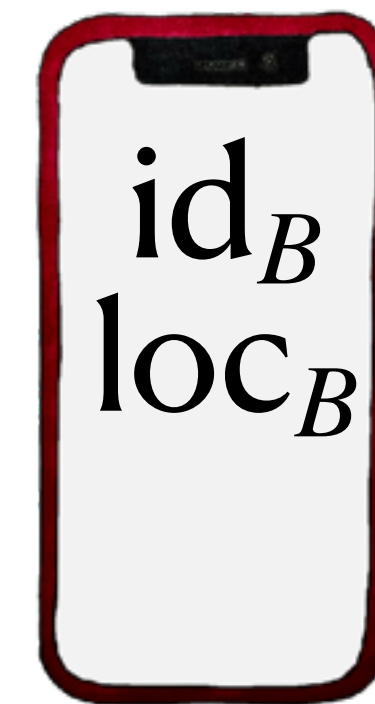
# Ground Trust Ceremony

**F**  
GKA

Grounded Key  
Agreement  
Ideal Functionality

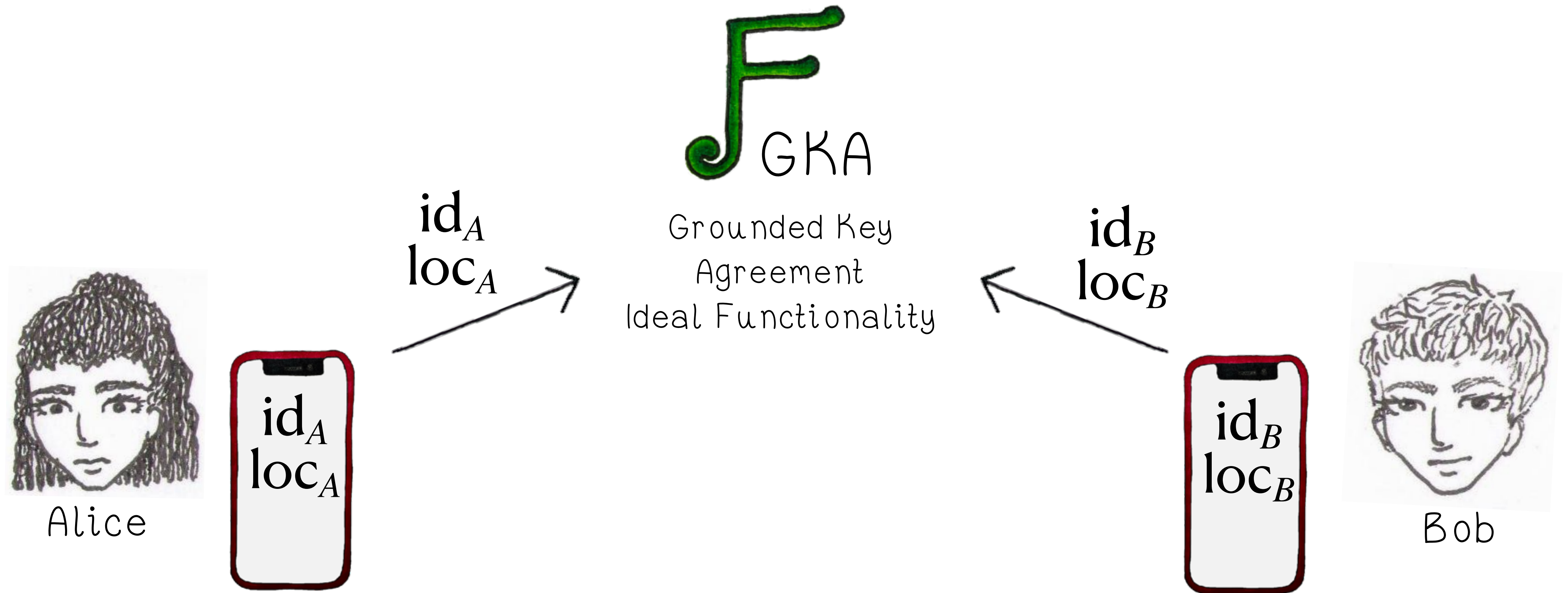


Alice



Bob

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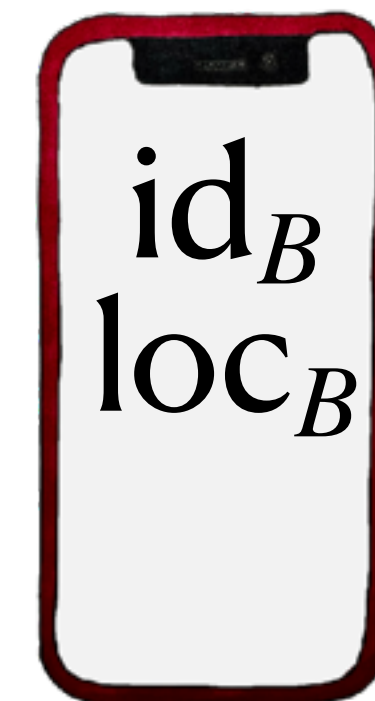
Ideal Functionality

if  $\text{loc}_A = \text{loc}_B$  :

$$k_{AB} \leftarrow_{\$} \{0,1\}^{\lambda}$$



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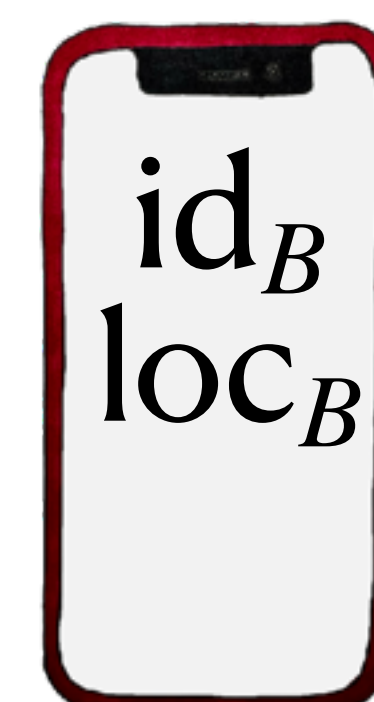
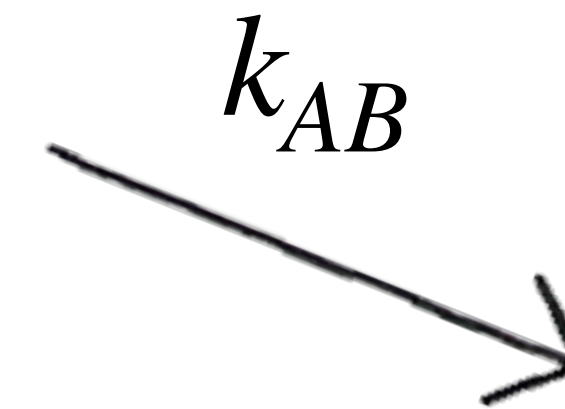
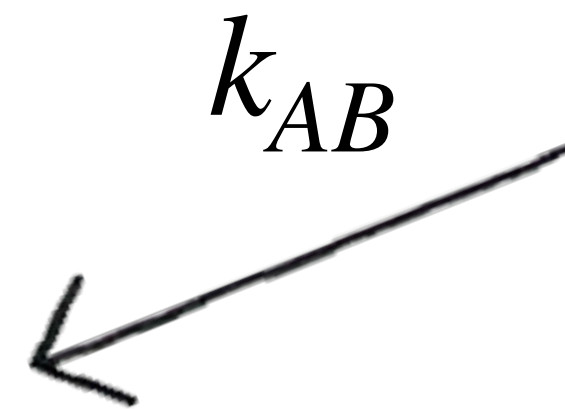
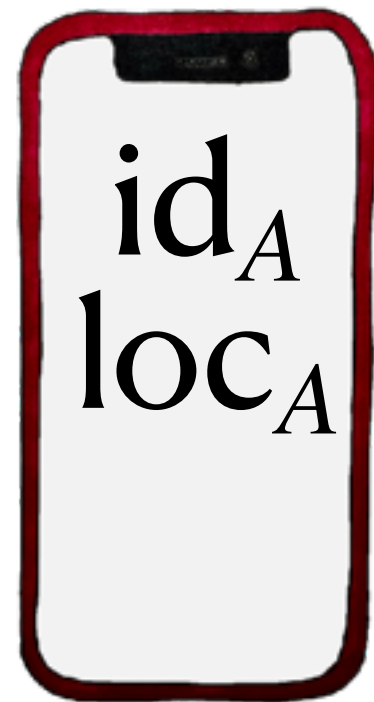
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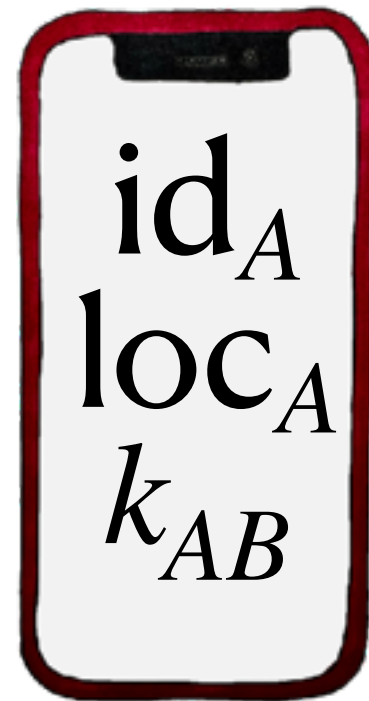
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Bob

# Ground Trust Ceremony

In practice, we can replace the key agreement ideal functionality with Diffie-Hellman over QR code exchange.



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Bob



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Alice



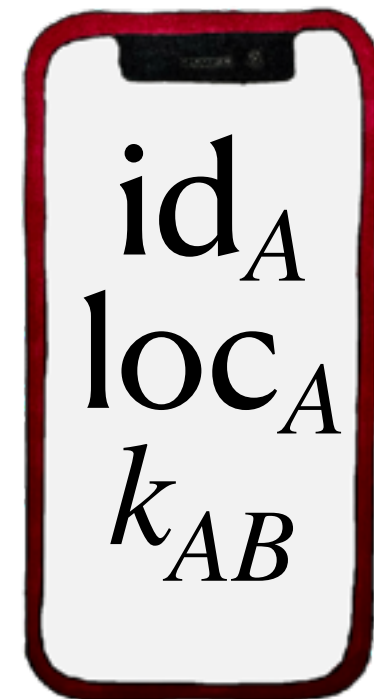
Bob

Alice and Bob can run further computations over an authenticated Bluetooth channel.

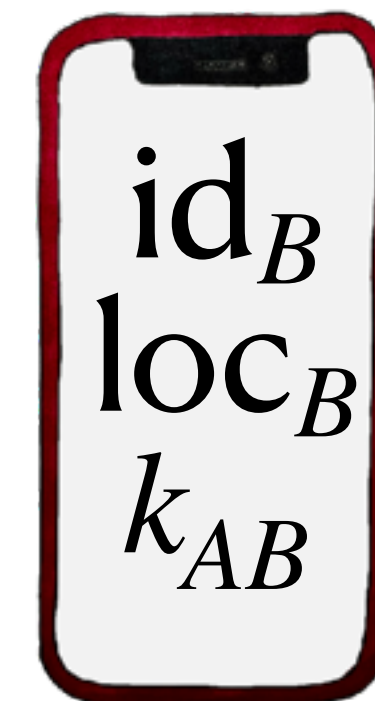
# Ground Trust Ceremony



Alice



Alice and Bob now share a key that is rooted in their physical interaction.



Bob

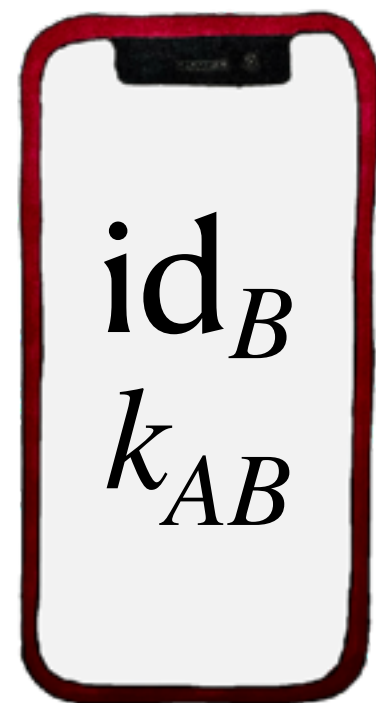
# Annotation System



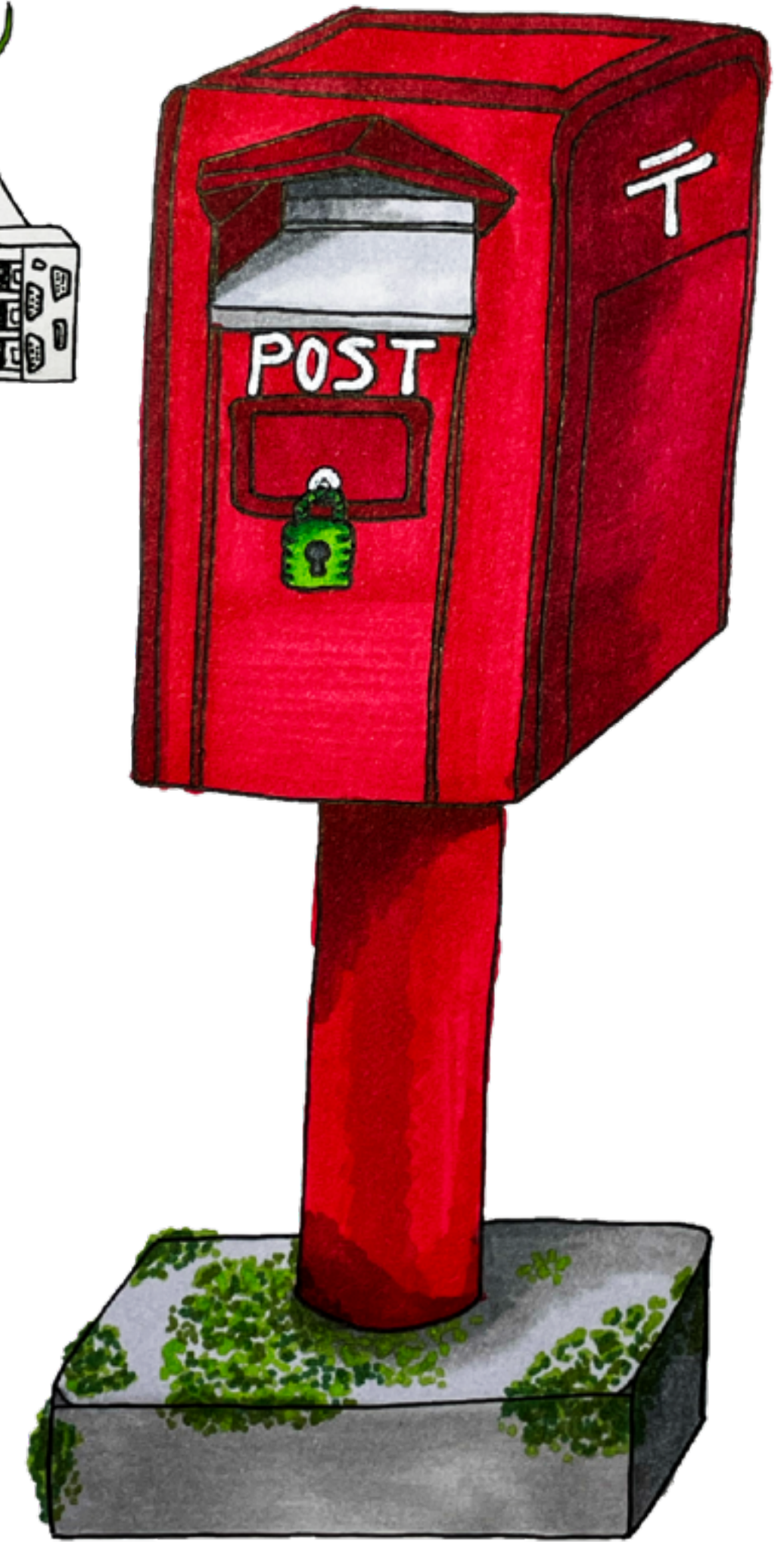
Alice



Bob



Tigro  
Server

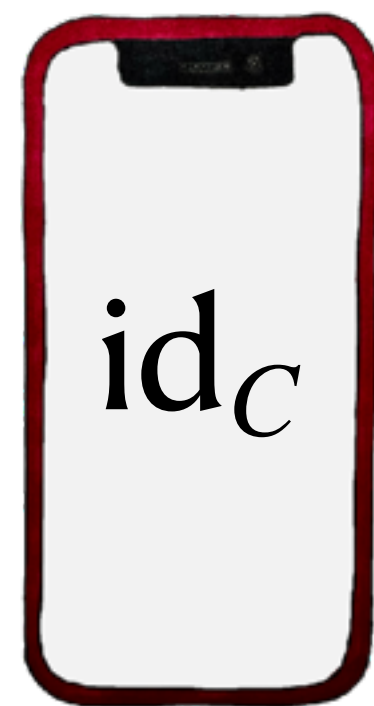


Shared Encrypted  
Mailbox (EMB)

# Annotation System



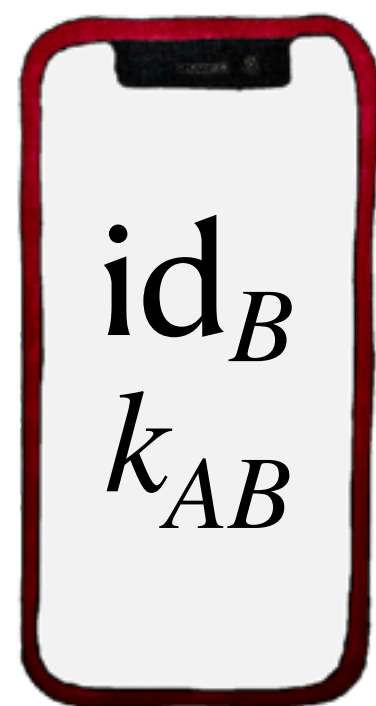
Alice



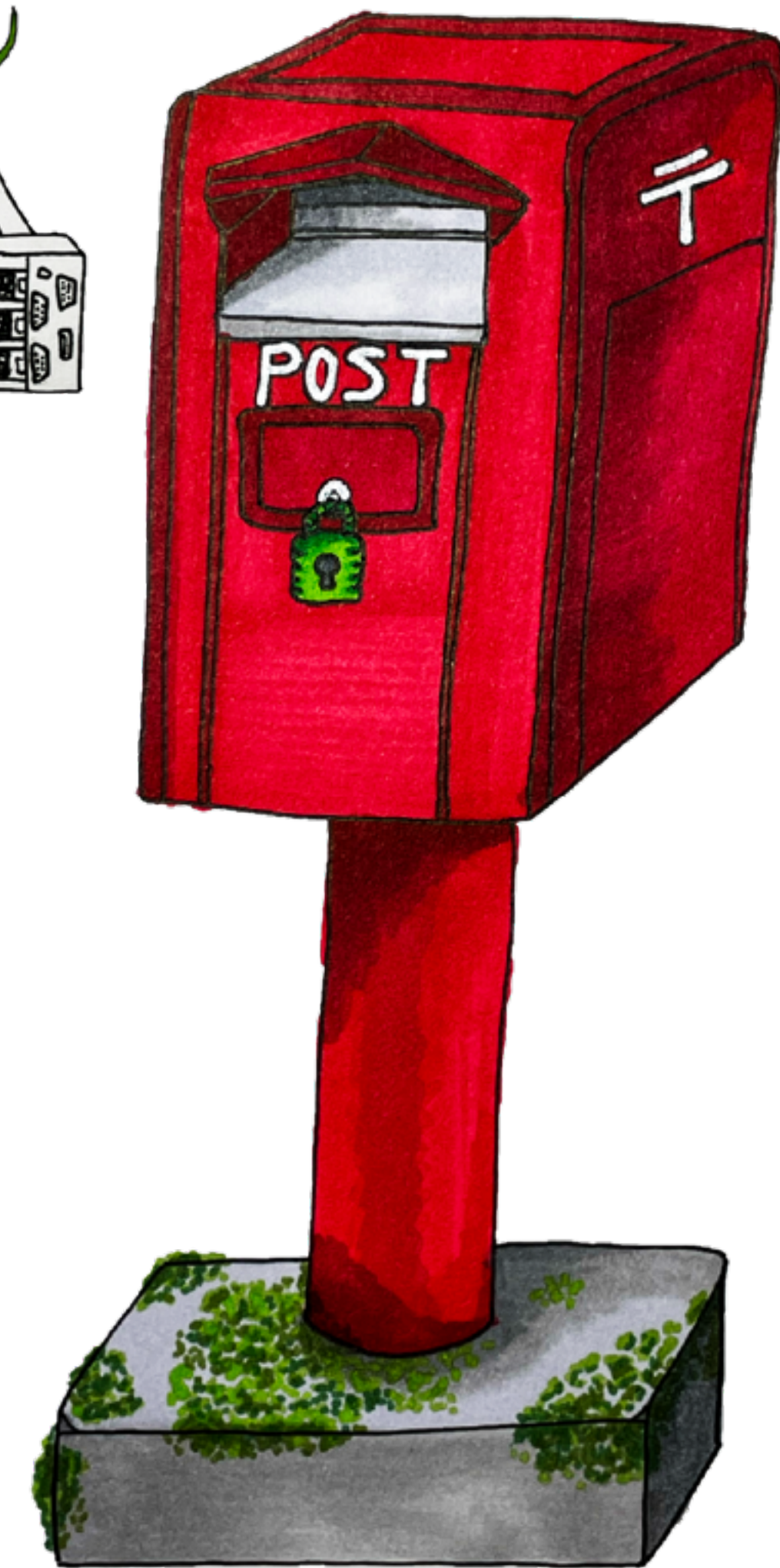
Charlie



Bob



Tigro  
Server

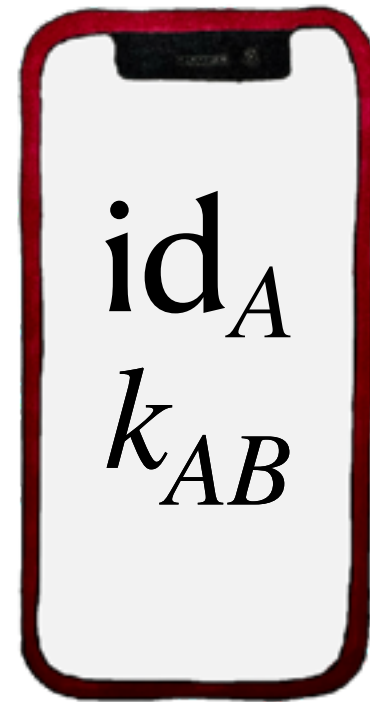


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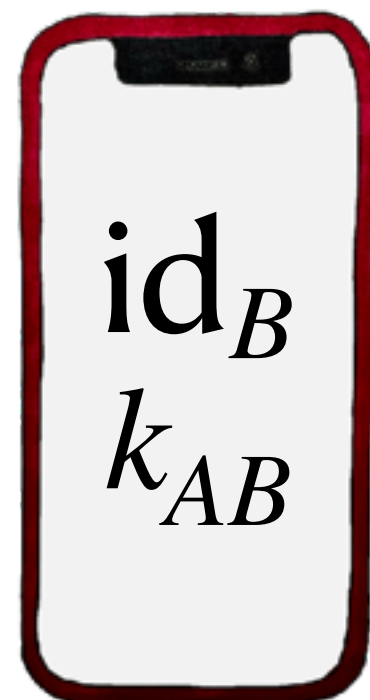
Alice



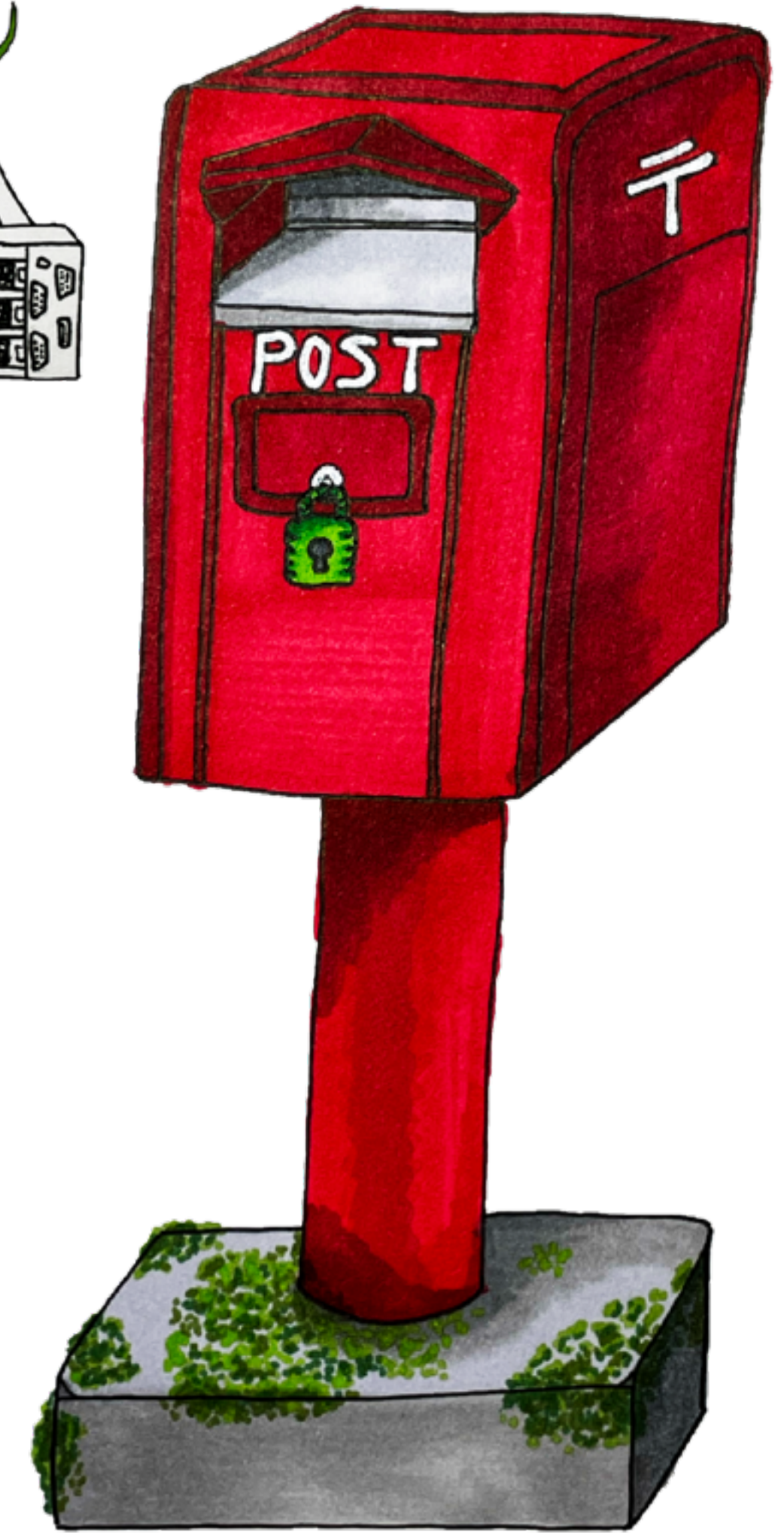
Annotate  $id_C$  :  
I met them at a  
mutual aid event.  
They seem  
trustworthy.



Bob



Tigro  
Server

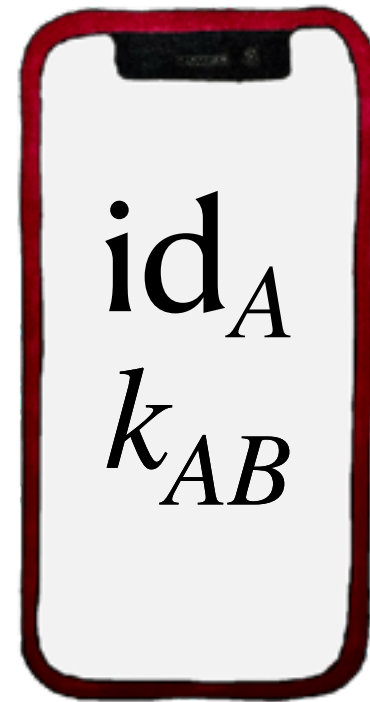


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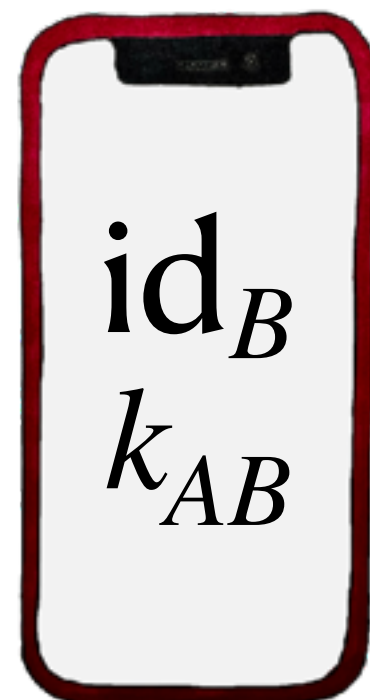
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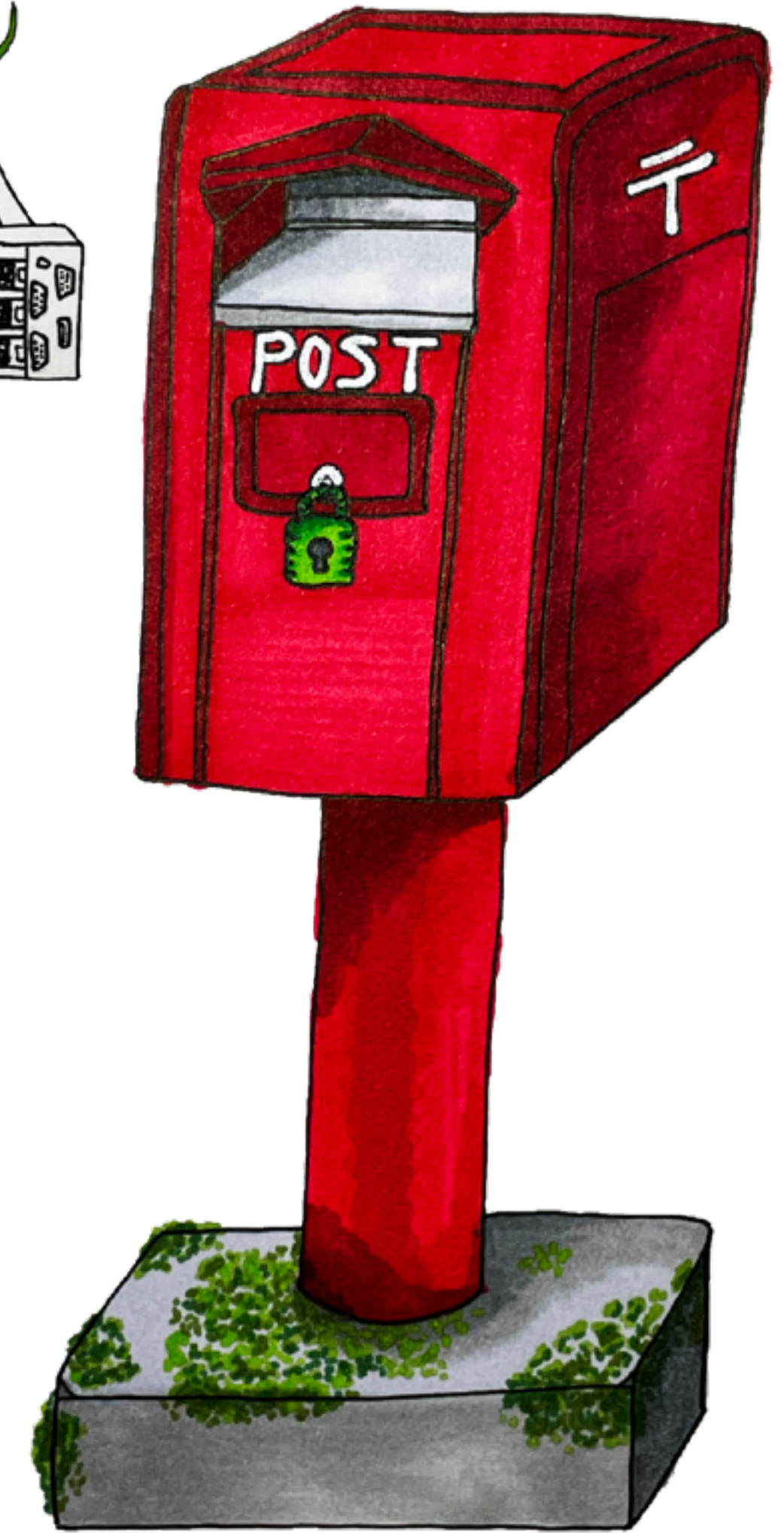
Annotate  $id_C$  :  
This person  
was agitating  
at a sit-in.  
Vibes were off.



Bob



Tigro  
Server

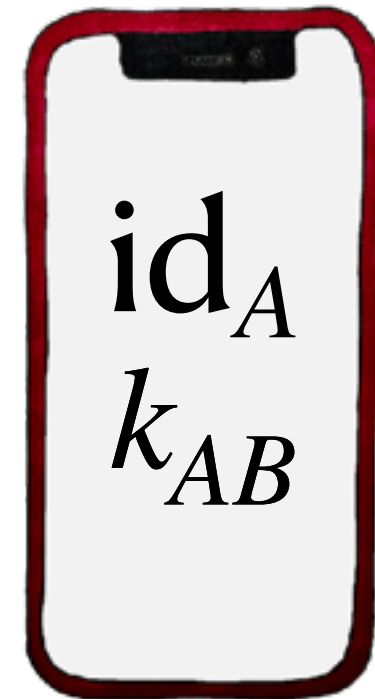


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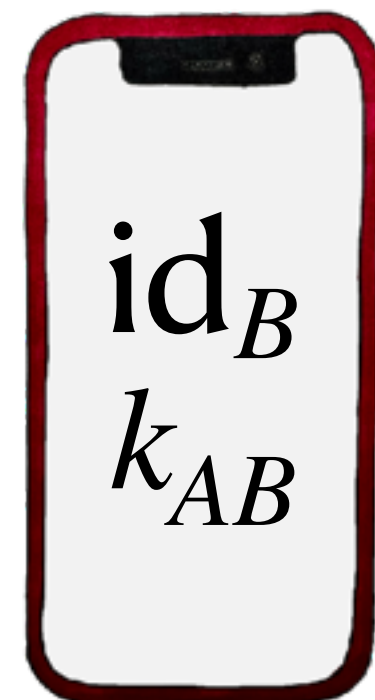
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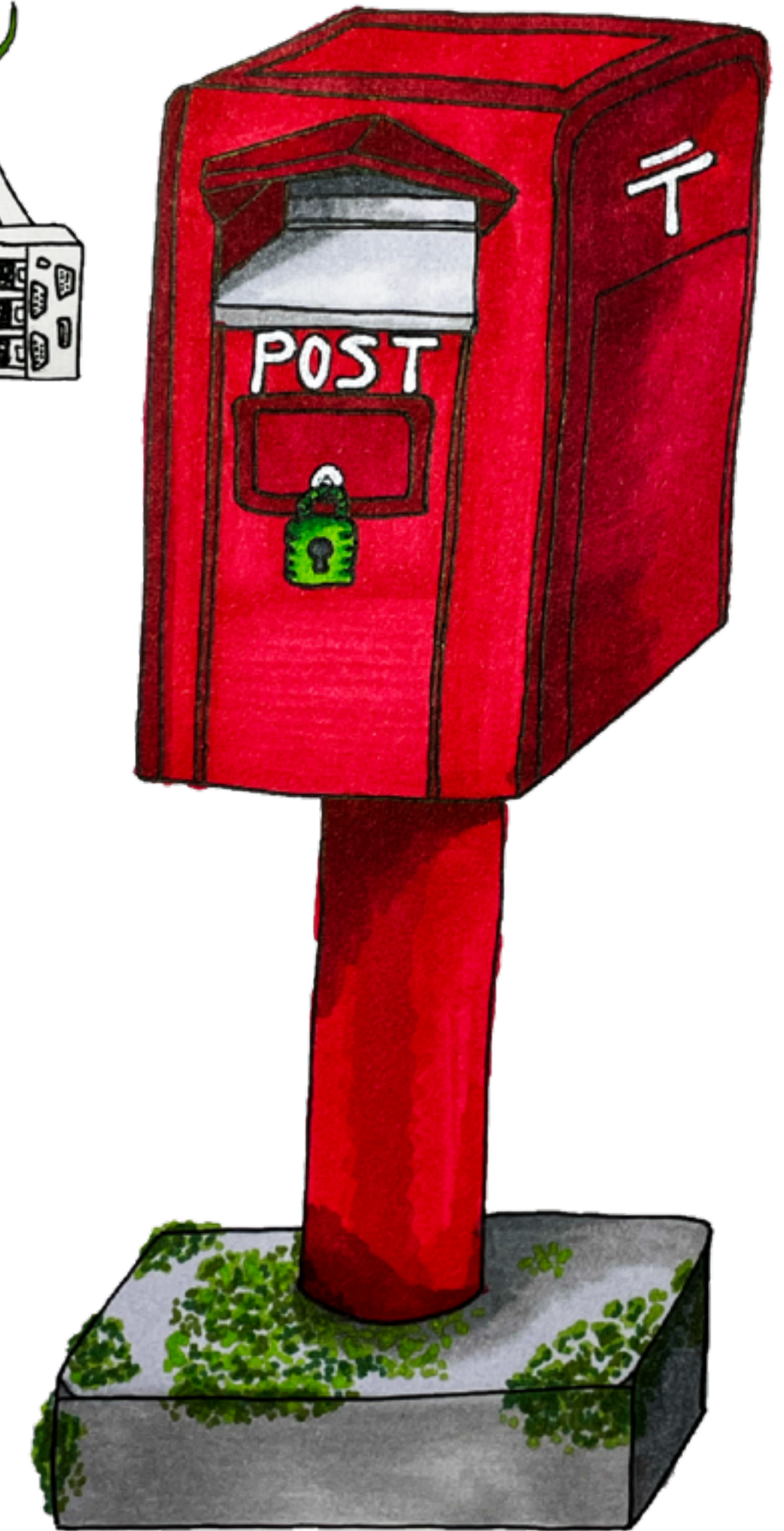
Bob



SendMail  
 $[id_C, anno]_{k_{AB}}$



Tigro  
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Mailbox (EMB)

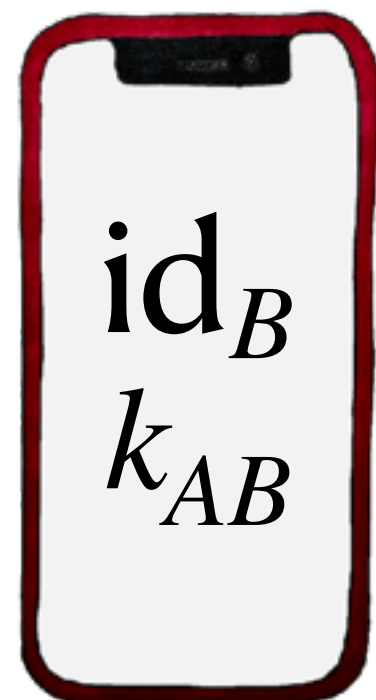
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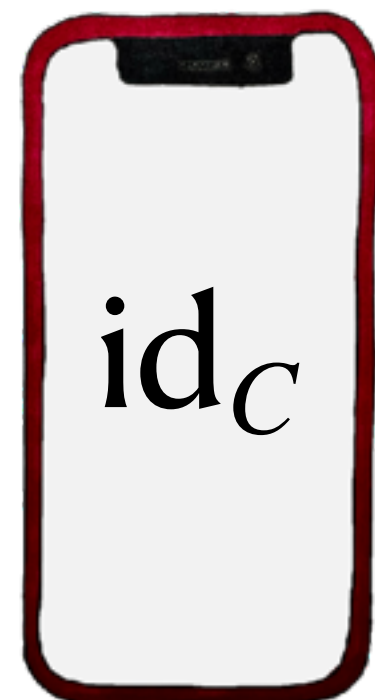
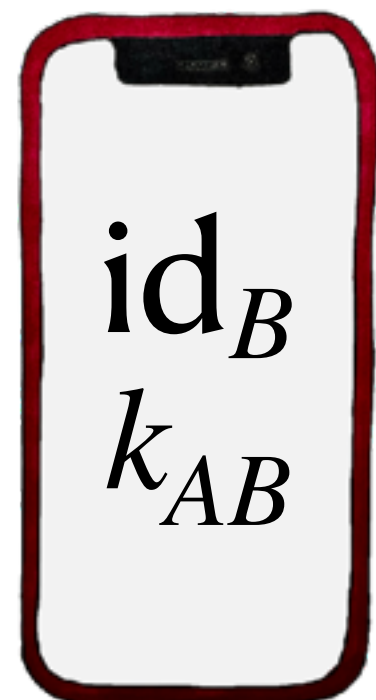
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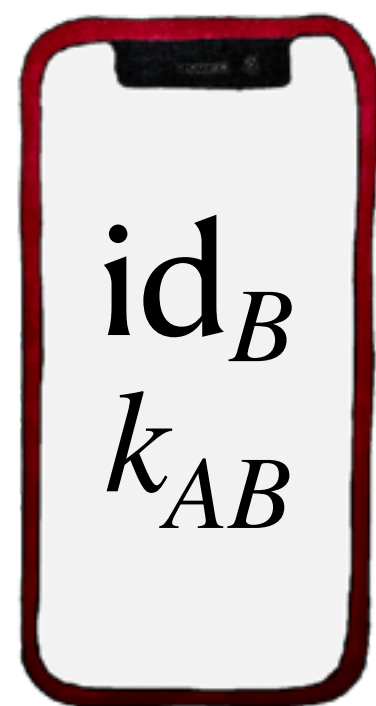
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Alice



Bob

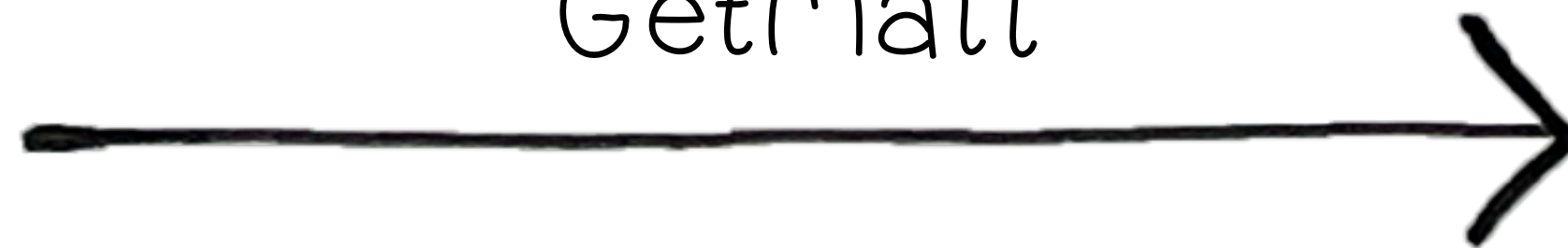


Tigro  
Server



$[id_C, anno]_{k_{AB}}$

GetMail



Shared Encrypted  
Mailbox (EMB)

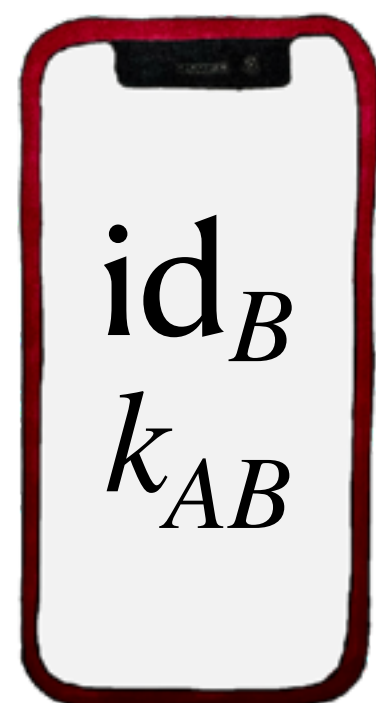
# Annotation System



Alice



Bob



Tigro  
Server

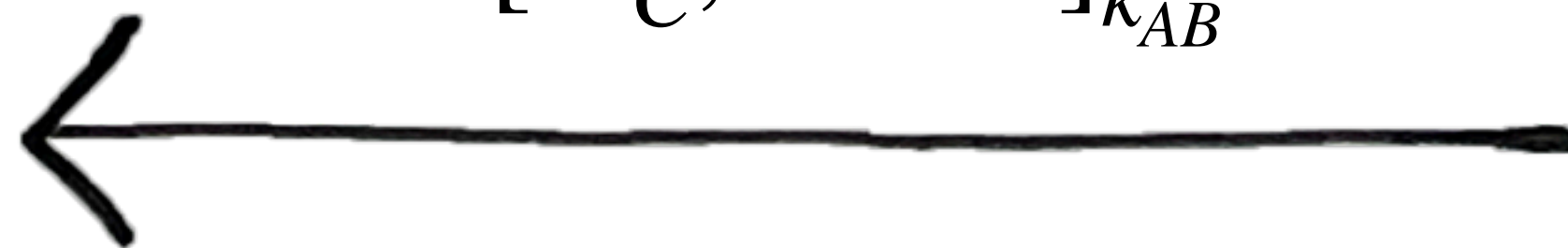


$[id_C, anno]_{k_{AB}}$

GetMail



$[id_C, anno]_{k_{AB}}$

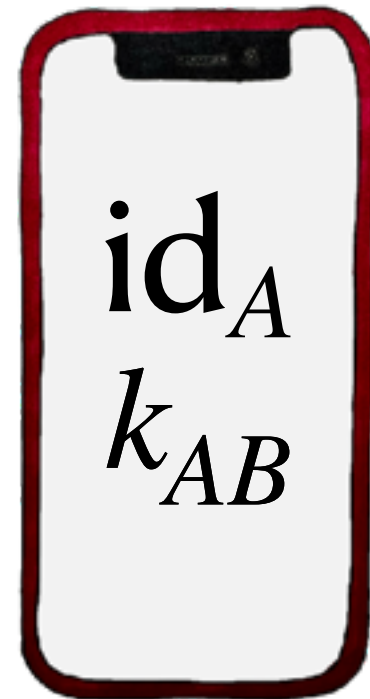


Shared Encrypted  
Mailbox (EMB)

# Annotation System



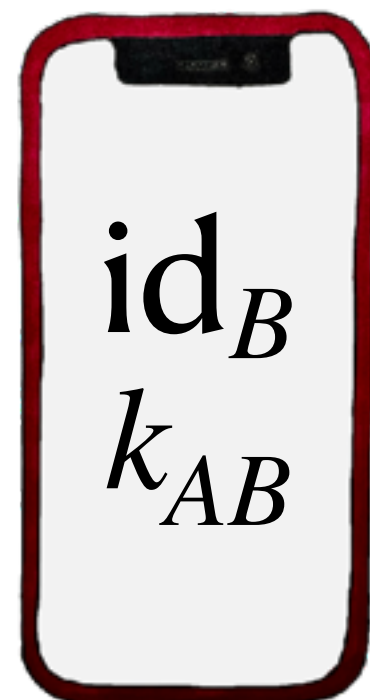
Alice



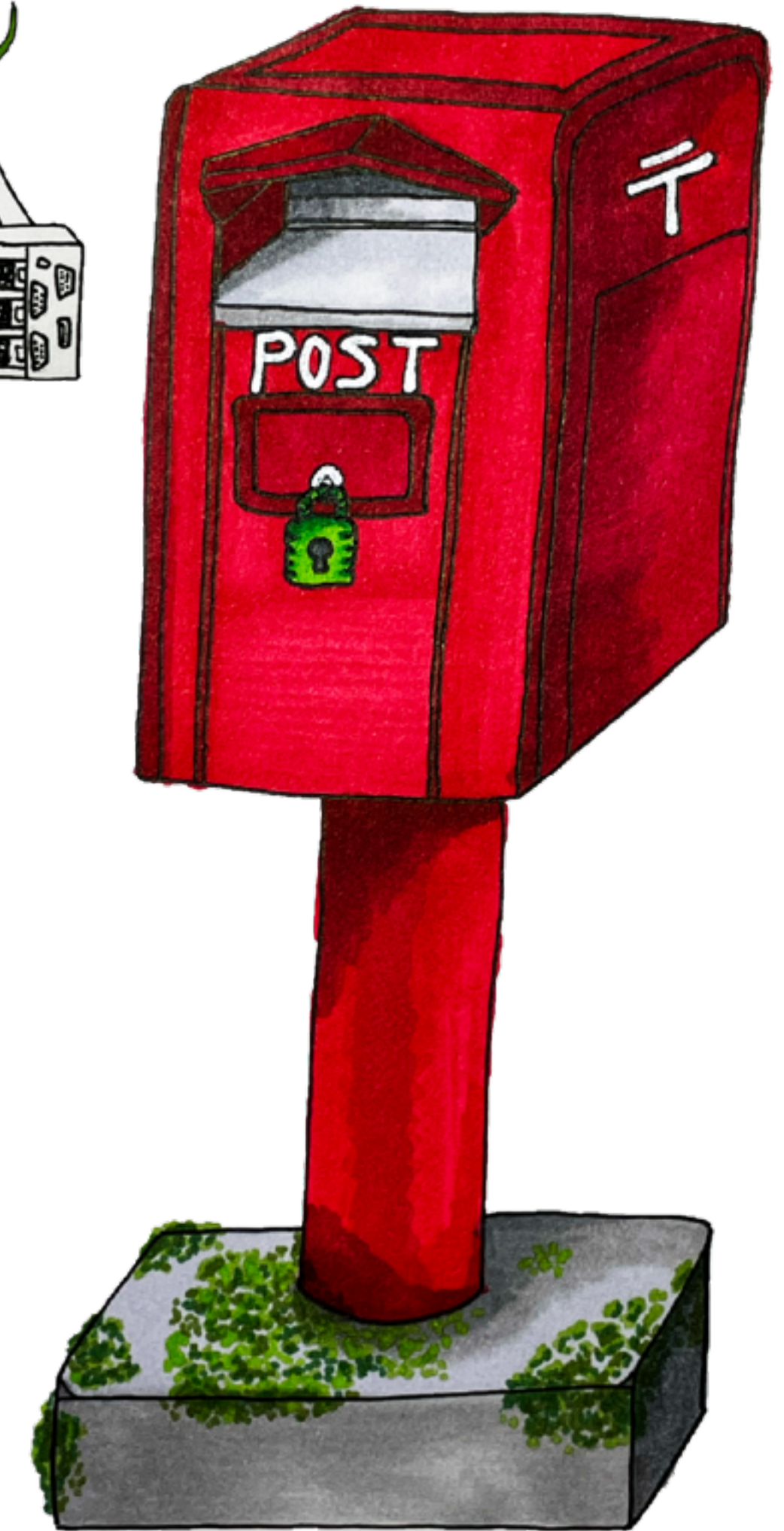
Event:  
Protest  
Organizer:  
Eve



Bob



Tigro  
Server

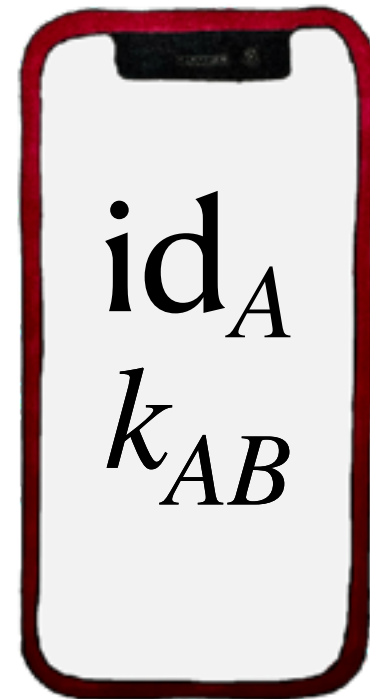


Shared Encrypted  
Mailbox (EMB)

# Annotation System



Alice



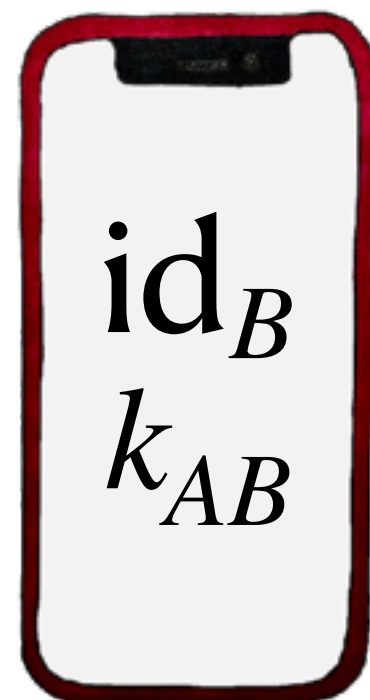
$id_A$   
 $k_{AB}$

Event:  
Protest  
Organizer:

Eve  
 $oid_E$



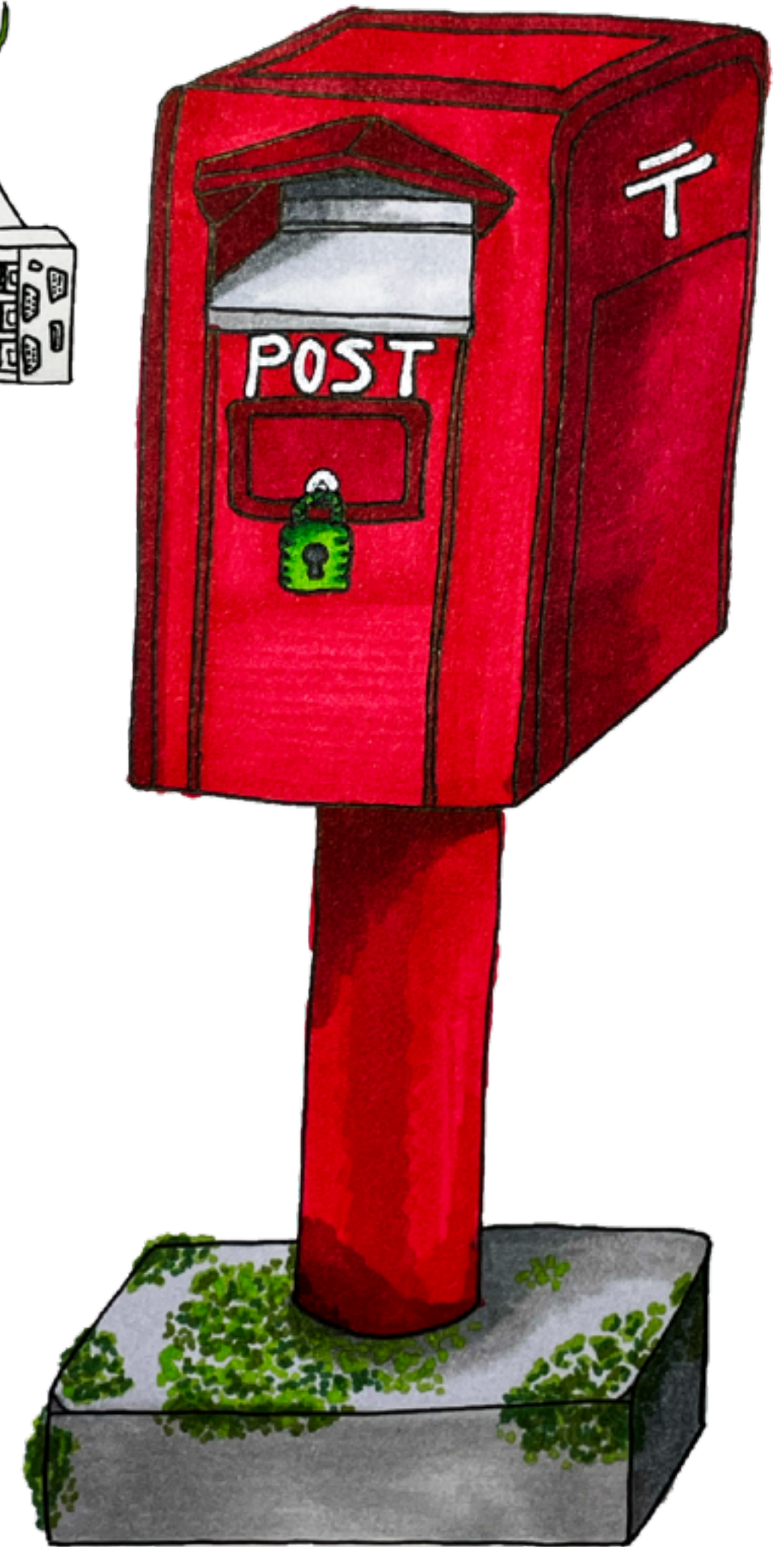
Bob



$id_B$   
 $k_{AB}$



Tigro  
Server

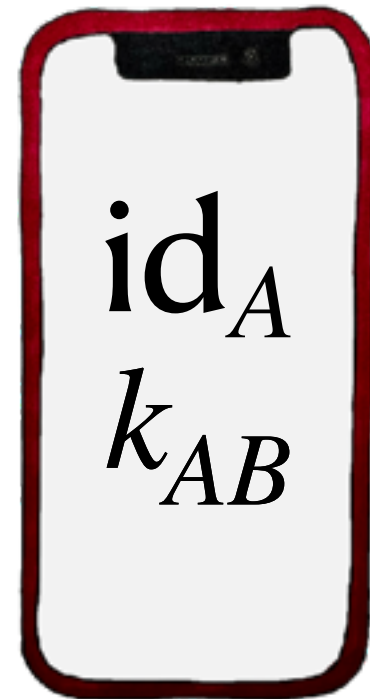


Shared Encrypted  
Mailbox (EMB)

# Annotation System



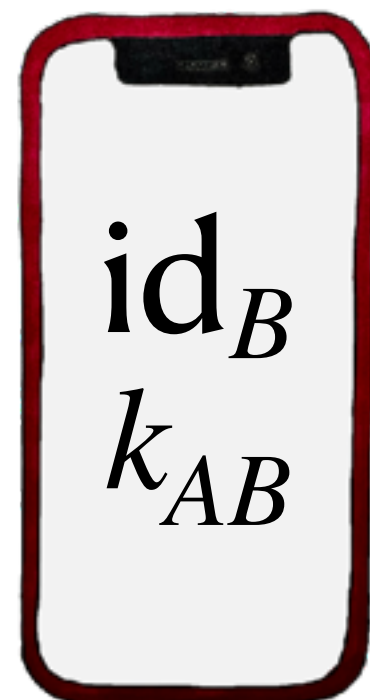
Alice



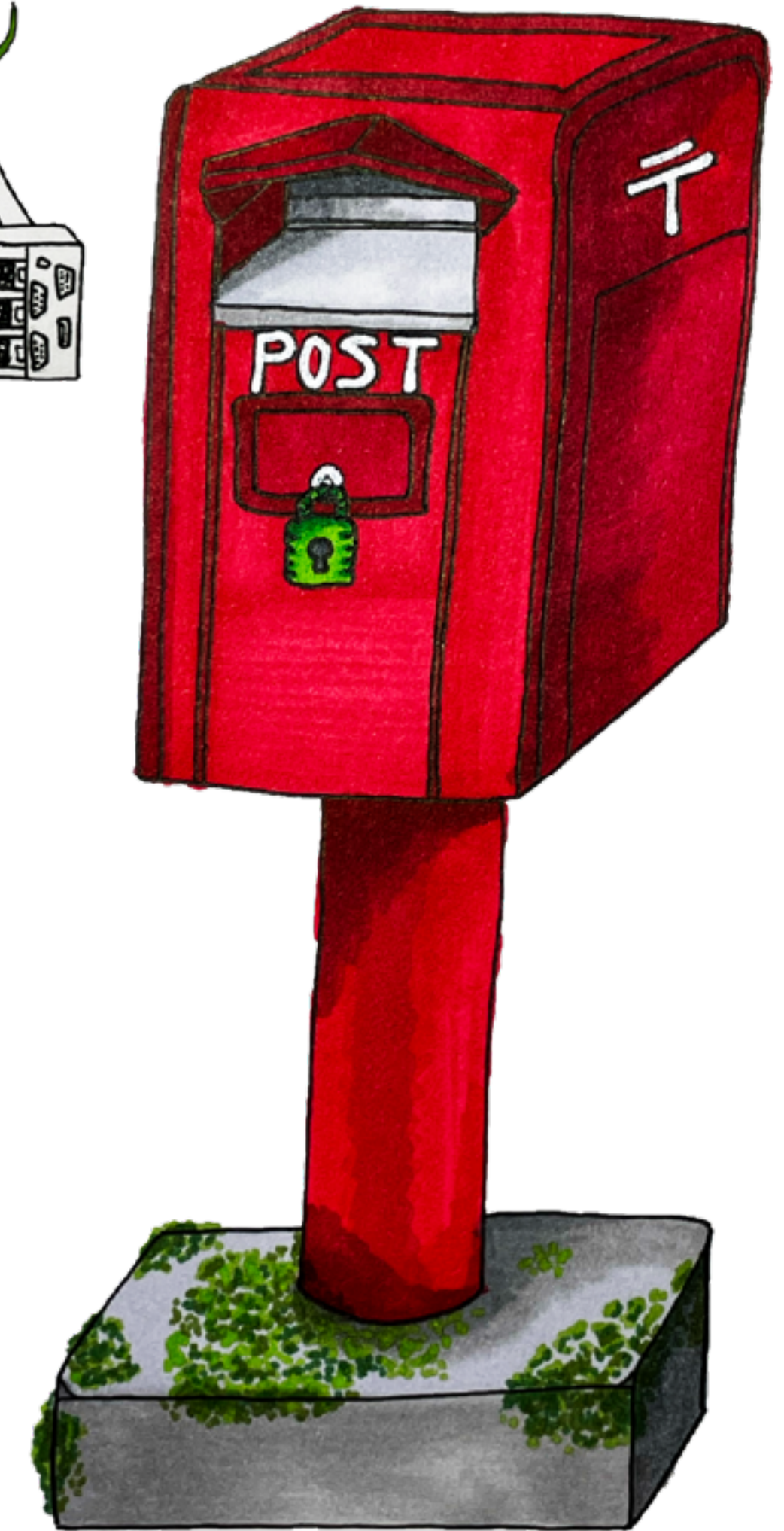
Annotate  $oid_E$ : This event is being organized by friends. Hope to see you there.



Bob



Tigro Server

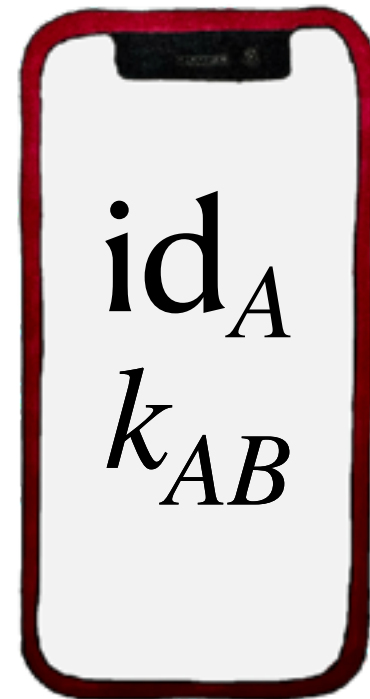


Shared Encrypted Mailbox (EMB)

# Annotation System



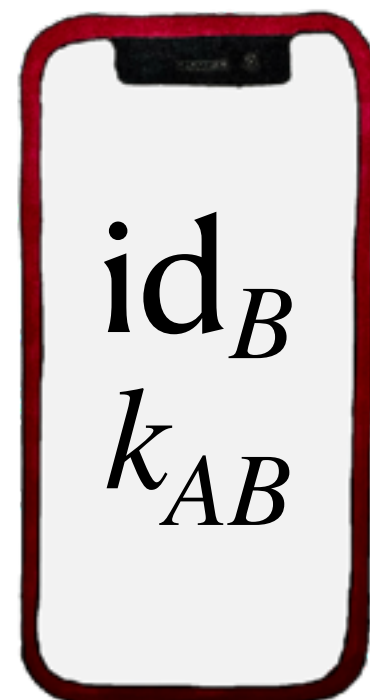
Alice



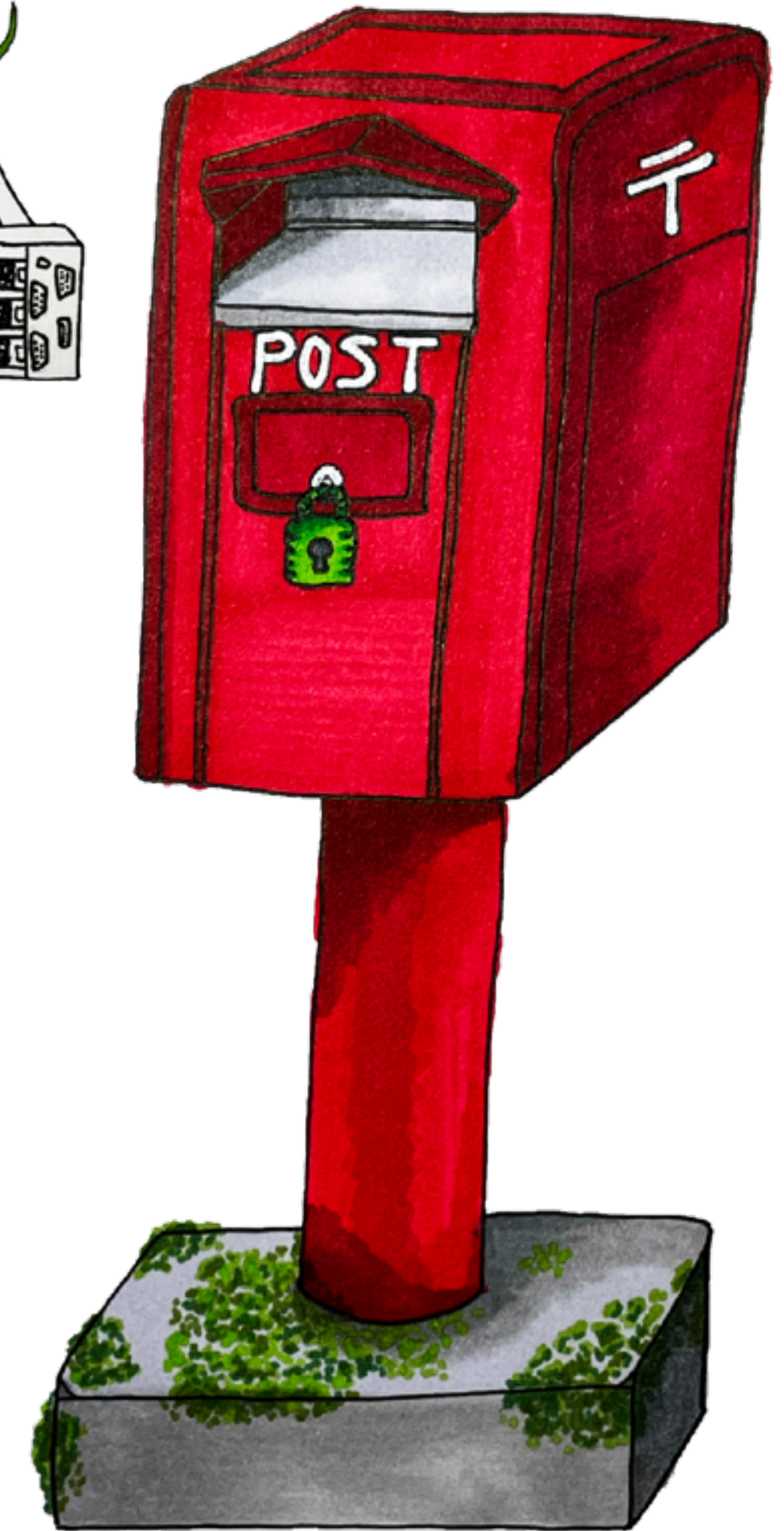
Annotate  $oid_E$ : No one I know can confirm the identity of Eve.  
Proceed with caution.



Bob



Tigro Server

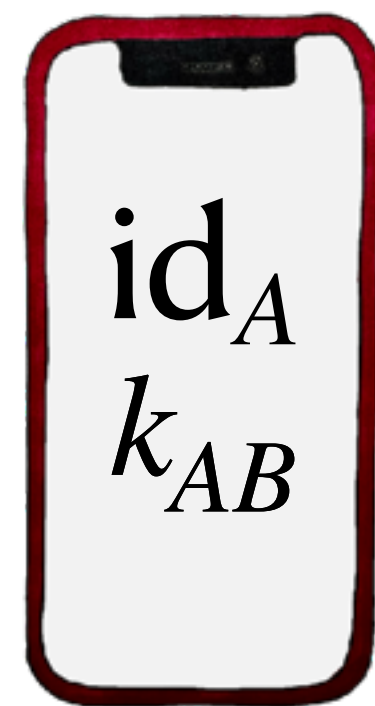


Shared Encrypted Mailbox (EMB)

# Annotation System



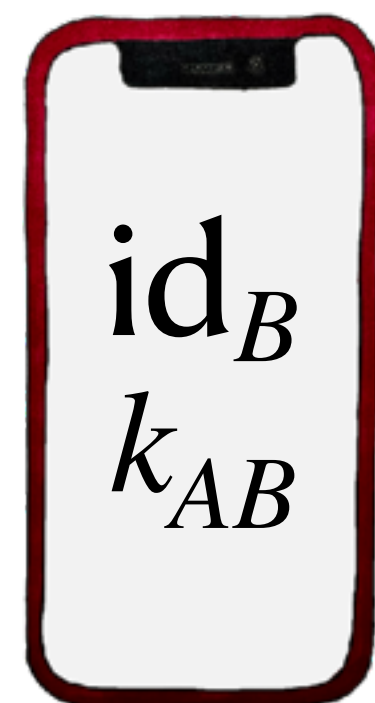
Alice



$id_A$   
 $k_{AB}$



Bob

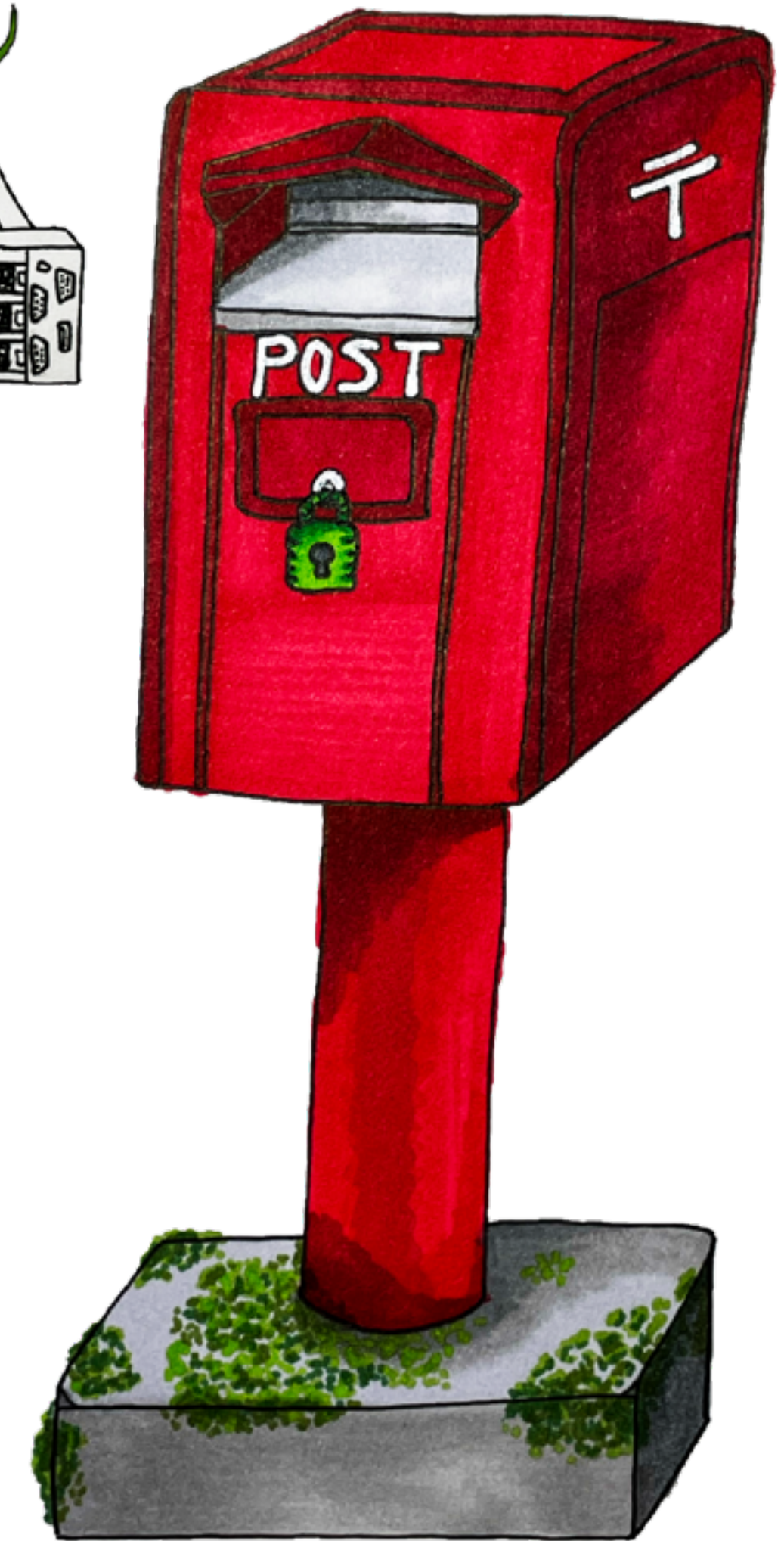


$id_B$   
 $k_{AB}$

SendMail  
 $[oid_E, anno]_{k_{AB}}$



Tigro  
Server



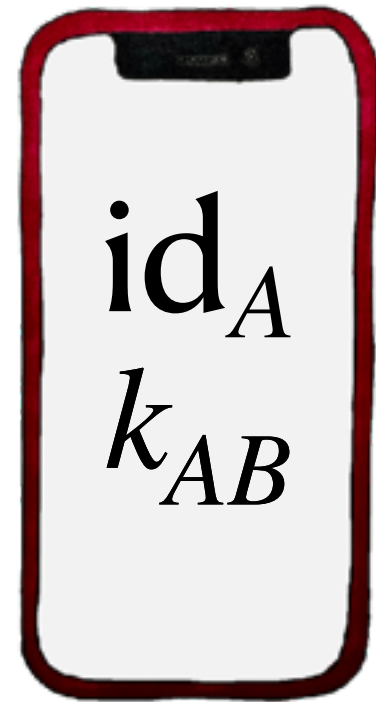
Shared Encrypted  
Mailbox (EMB)



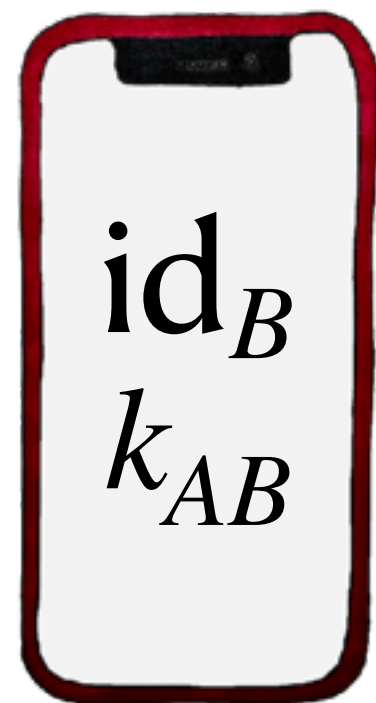
# Annotation System



Alice



Bob



Tigro  
Server

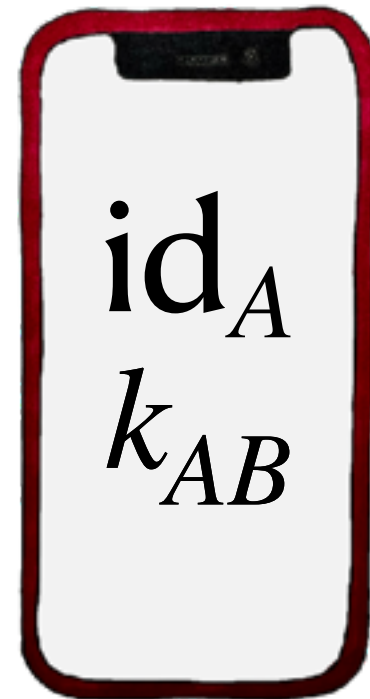


Shared Encrypted  
Mailbox (EMB)

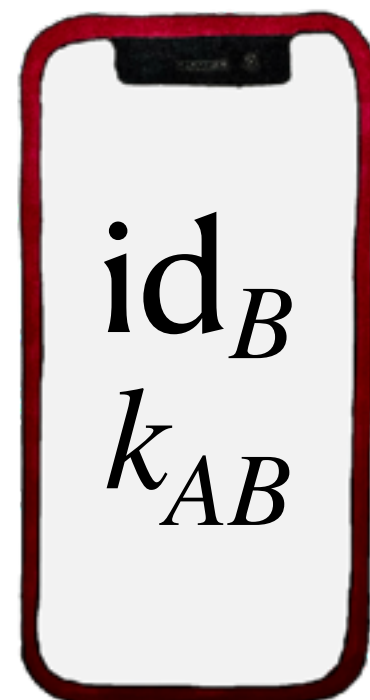
# Annotation System



Alice



Bob



Event:  
Protest  
Organizer:  
Eve  
 $oid_E$



Tigro  
Server



Shared Encrypted  
Mailbox (EMB)

# Annotation System



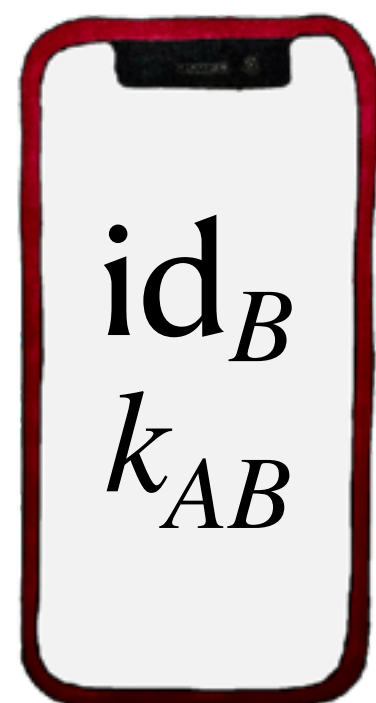
Alice



$id_A$   
 $k_{AB}$



Bob



$id_B$   
 $k_{AB}$

Event:  
Protest  
Organizer:  
Eve  
 $oid_E$

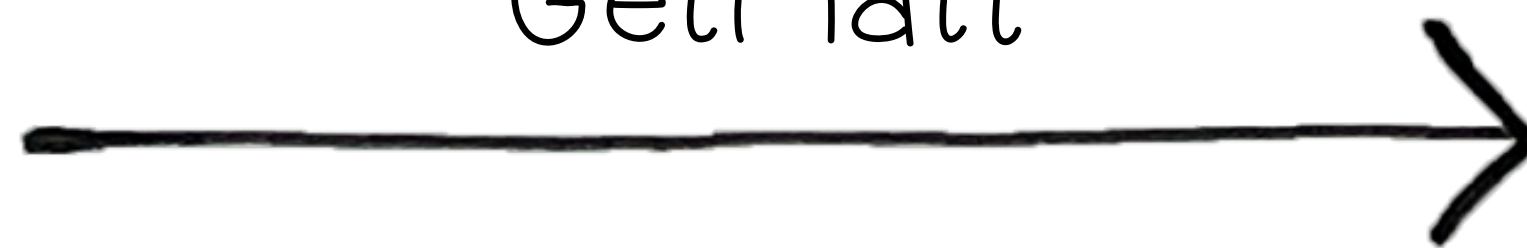


Tigro  
Server



Shared Encrypted  
Mailbox (EMB)

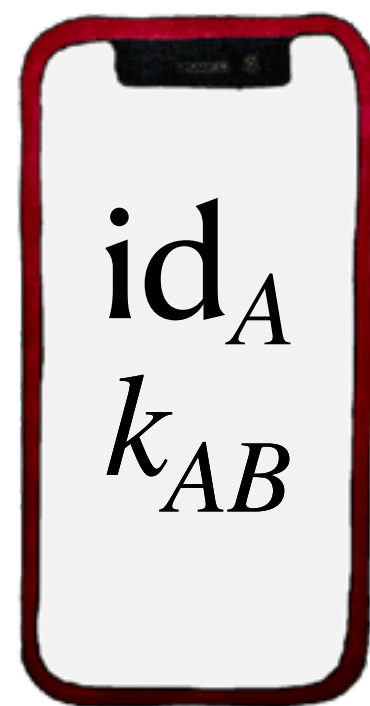
GetMail



# Annotation System



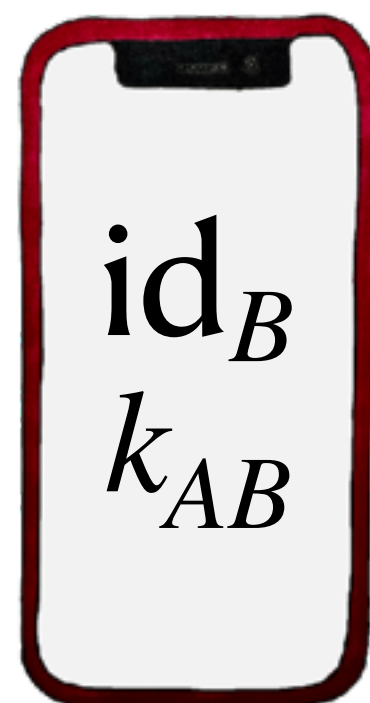
Alice



$id_A$   
 $k_{AB}$



Bob



$id_B$   
 $k_{AB}$

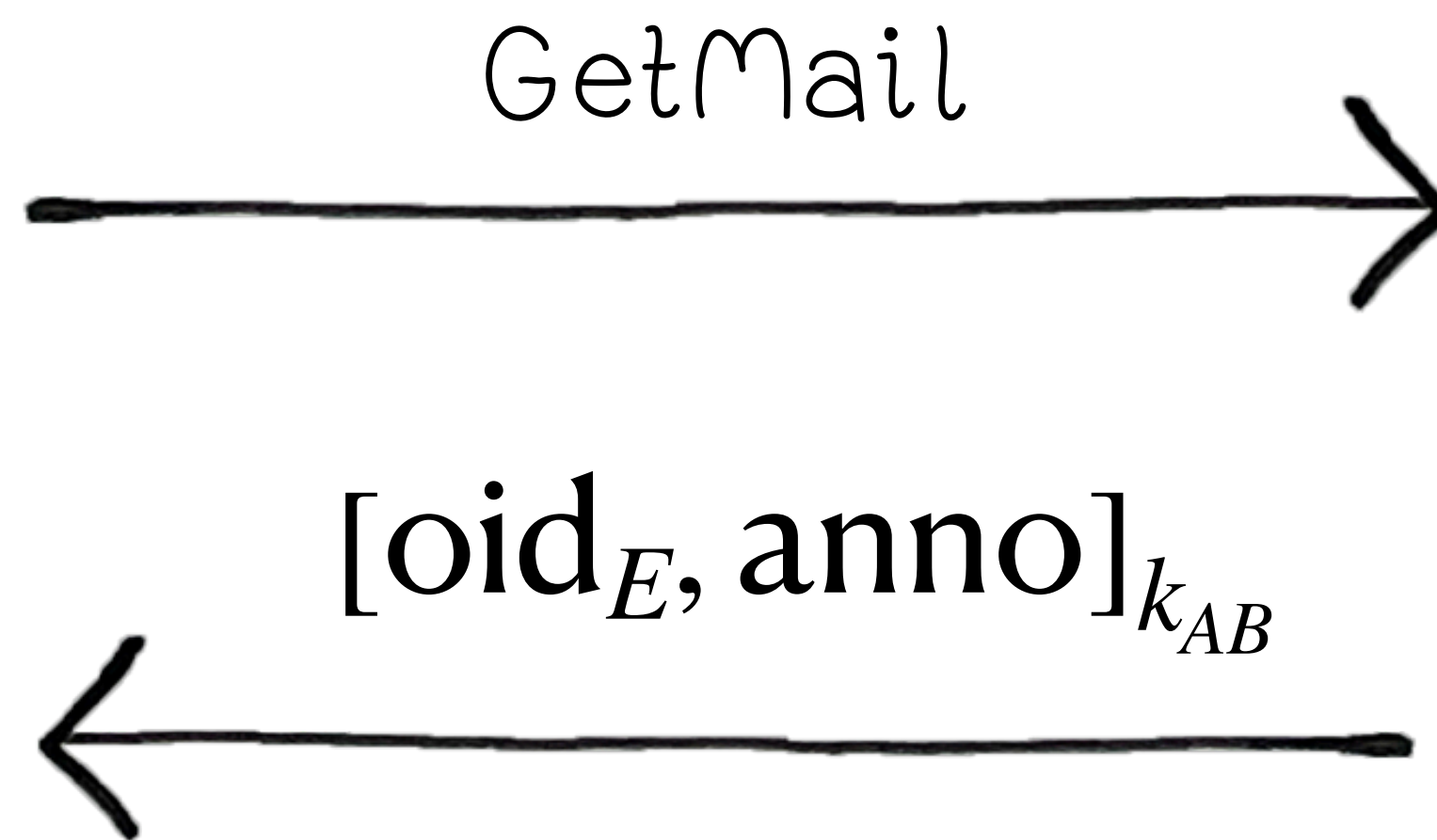
Event:  
Protest  
Organizer:  
Eve  
 $oid_E$



Tigro  
Server



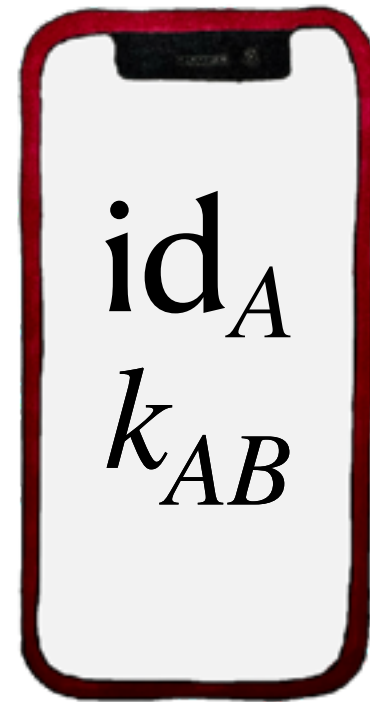
Shared Encrypted  
Mailbox (EMB)



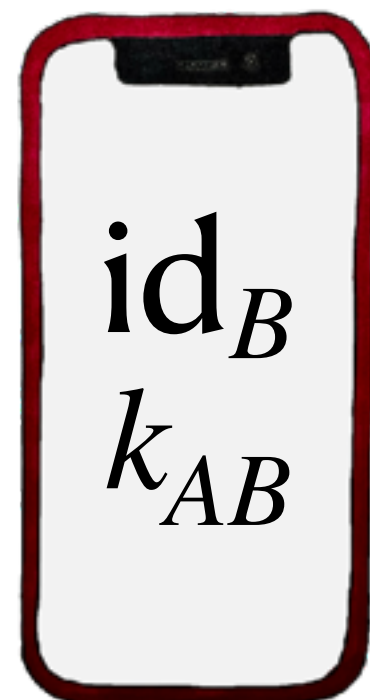
# Annotation System



Alice



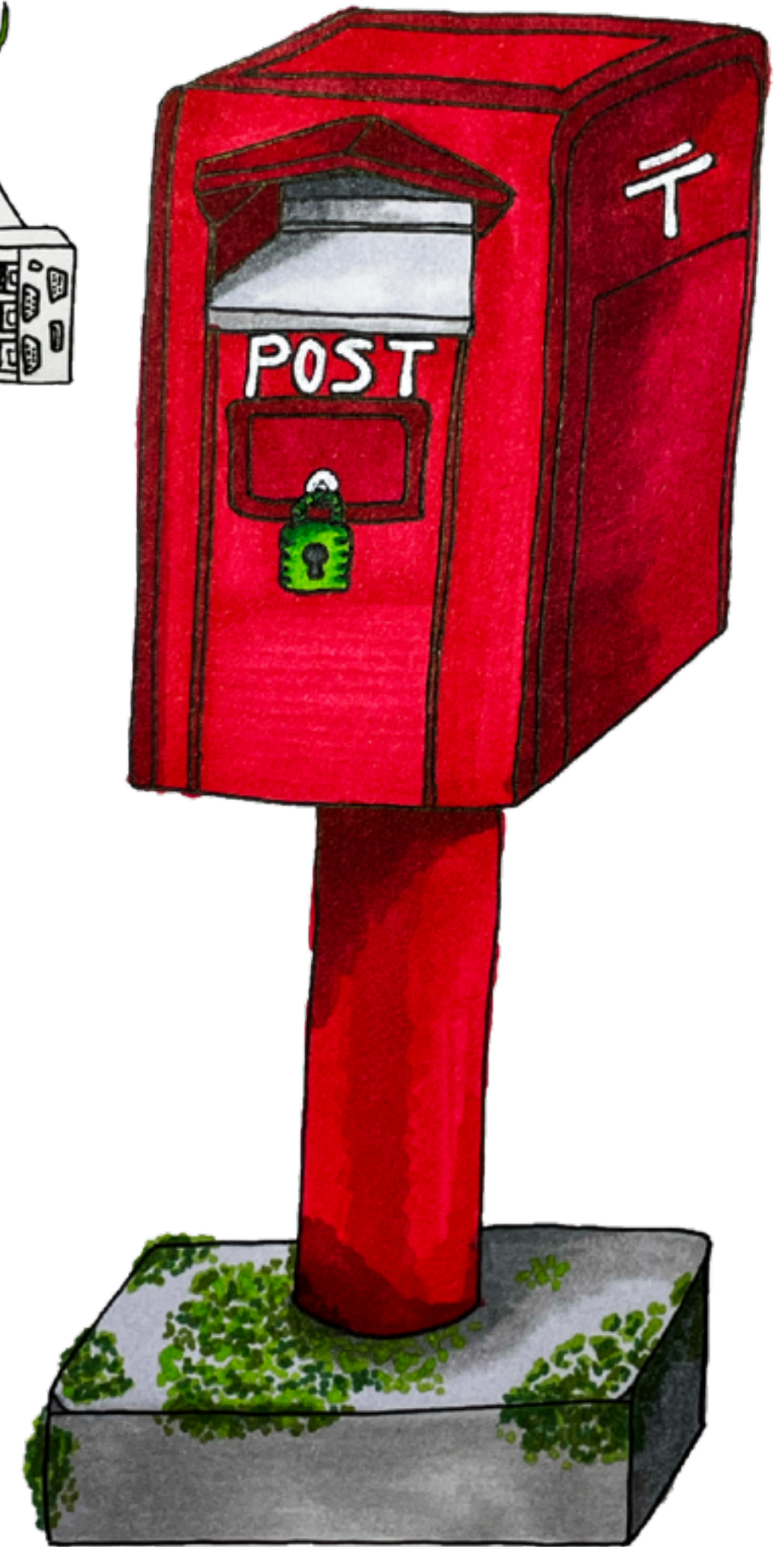
Bob



Alice and Bob  
can digitally &  
confidentially  
share trust  
assessments of  
any person,  
place, or thing.

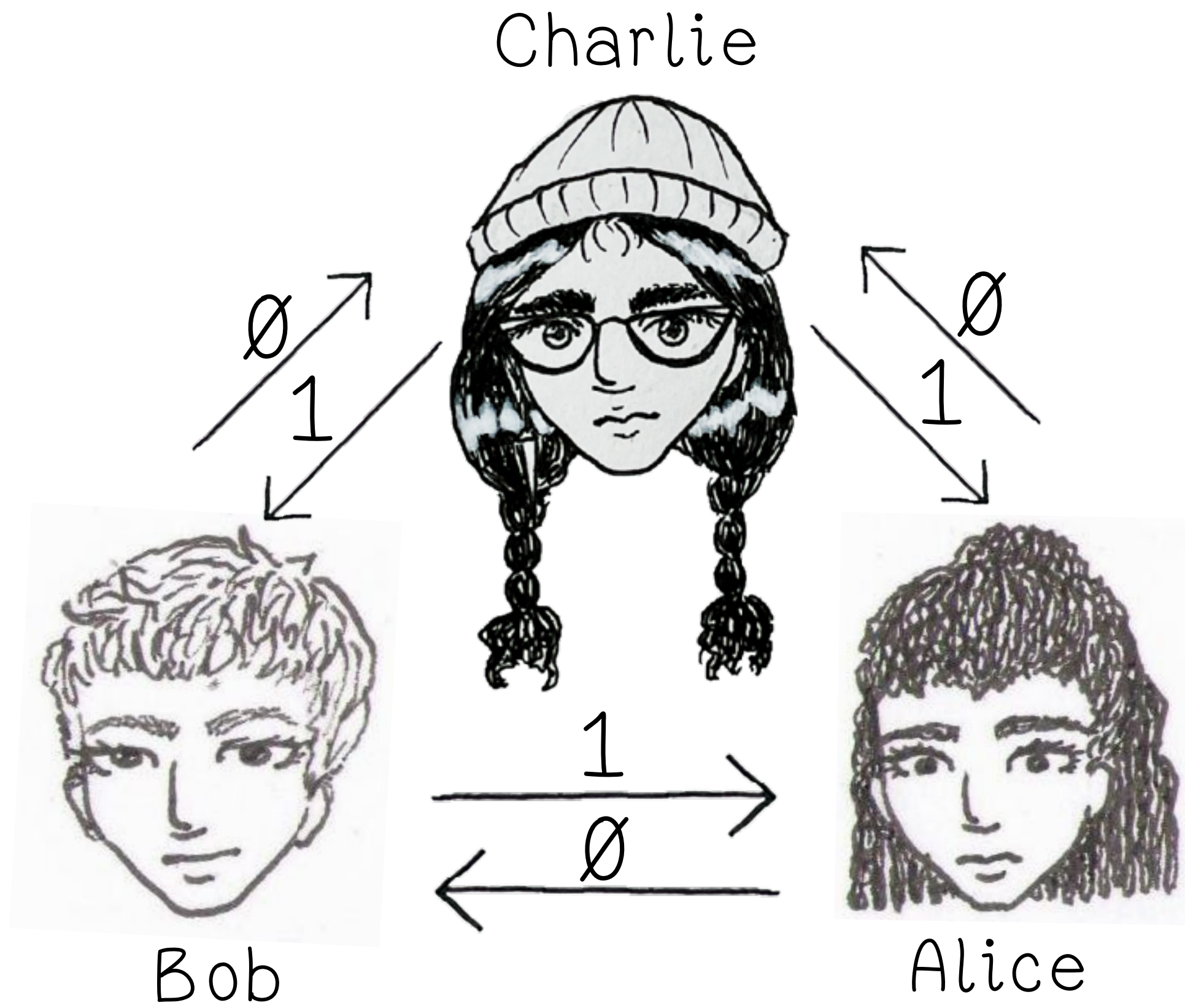


Tigro  
Server

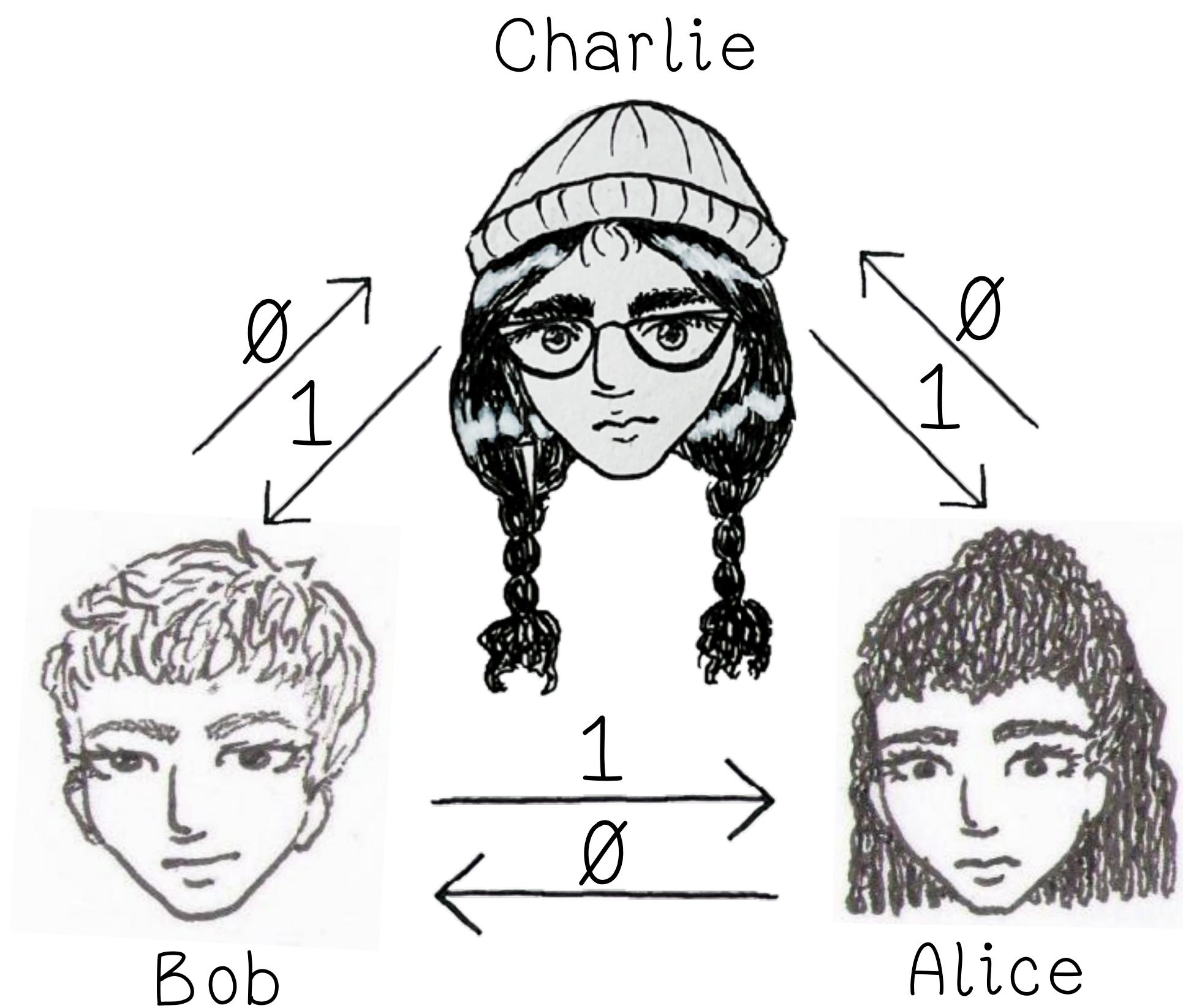


Shared Encrypted  
Mailbox (EMB)

# Trust Metrics Over Social Networks



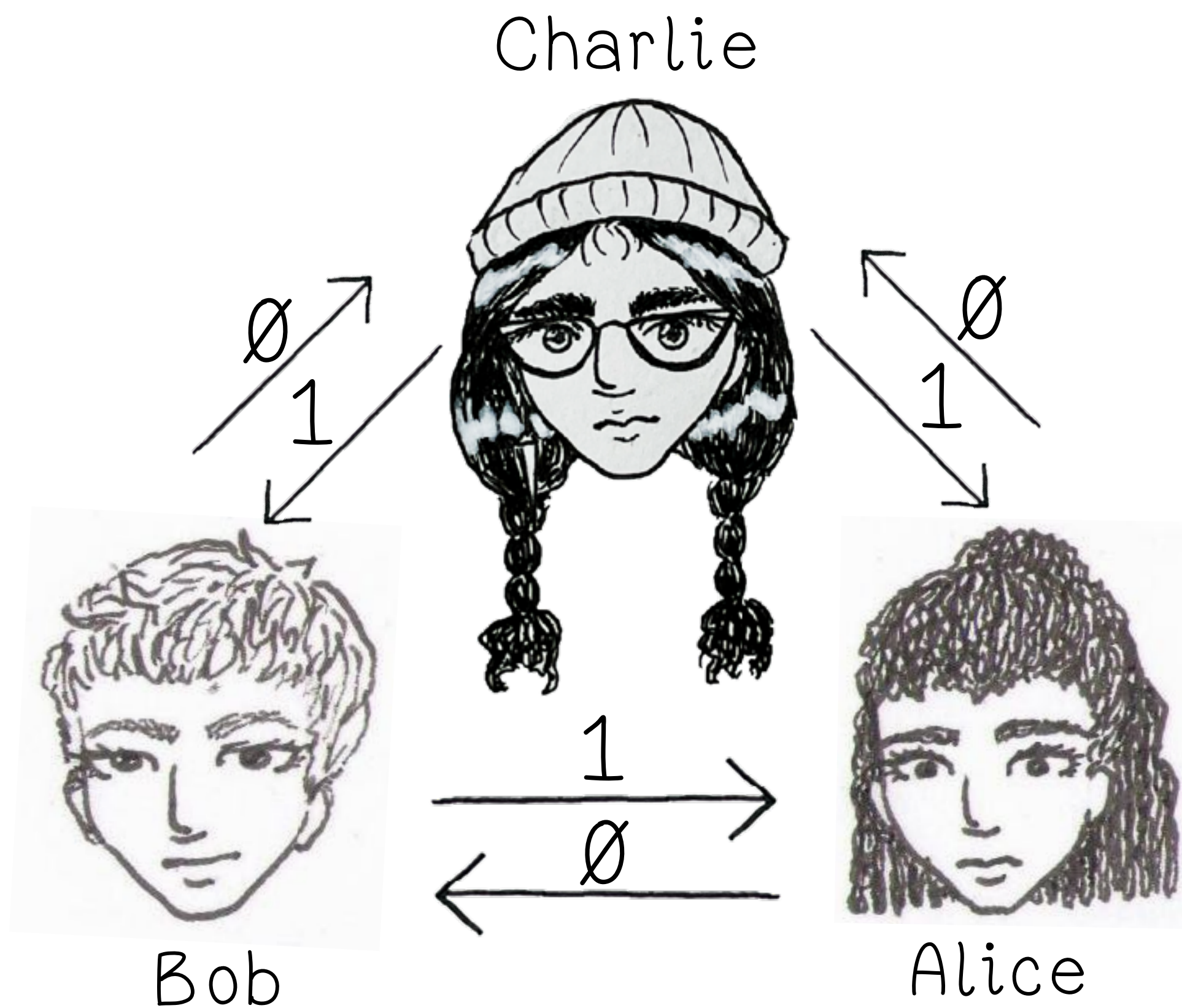
# Trust Metrics Over Social Networks



## Tentative Hypothesis:

Over a grounded social network graph, the **Hyperlink-Induced Topic Search** (HITS) algorithm can meaningfully measure a person's:

# Trust Metrics Over Social Networks



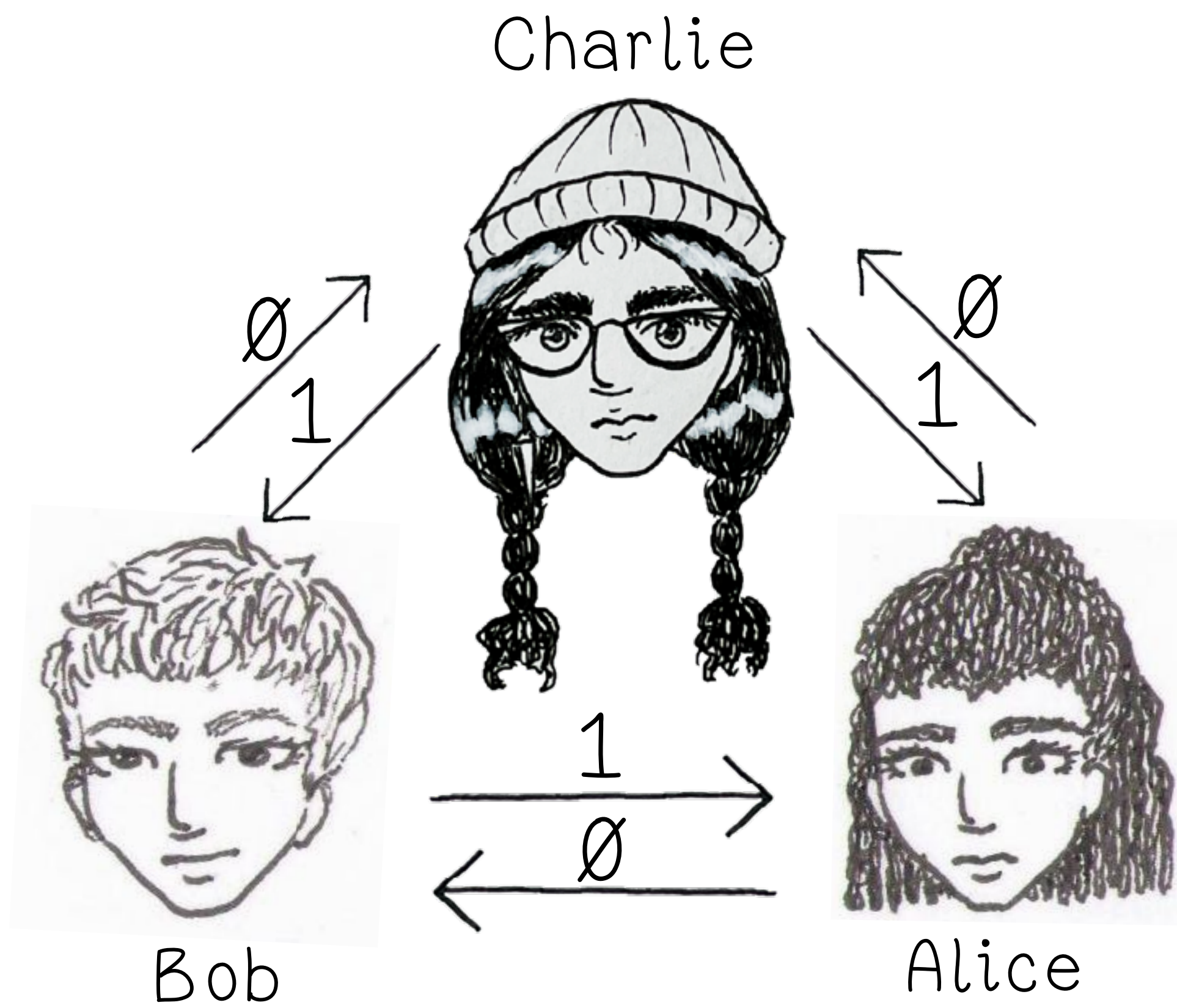
## Tentative Hypothesis:

Over a grounded social network graph, the **Hyperlink-Induced Topic Search (HITS)** algorithm can meaningfully measure a person's:

- **Connectivity** (physical proximity) to trusted organizers (**Hub Measure**)



# Trust Metrics Over Social Networks

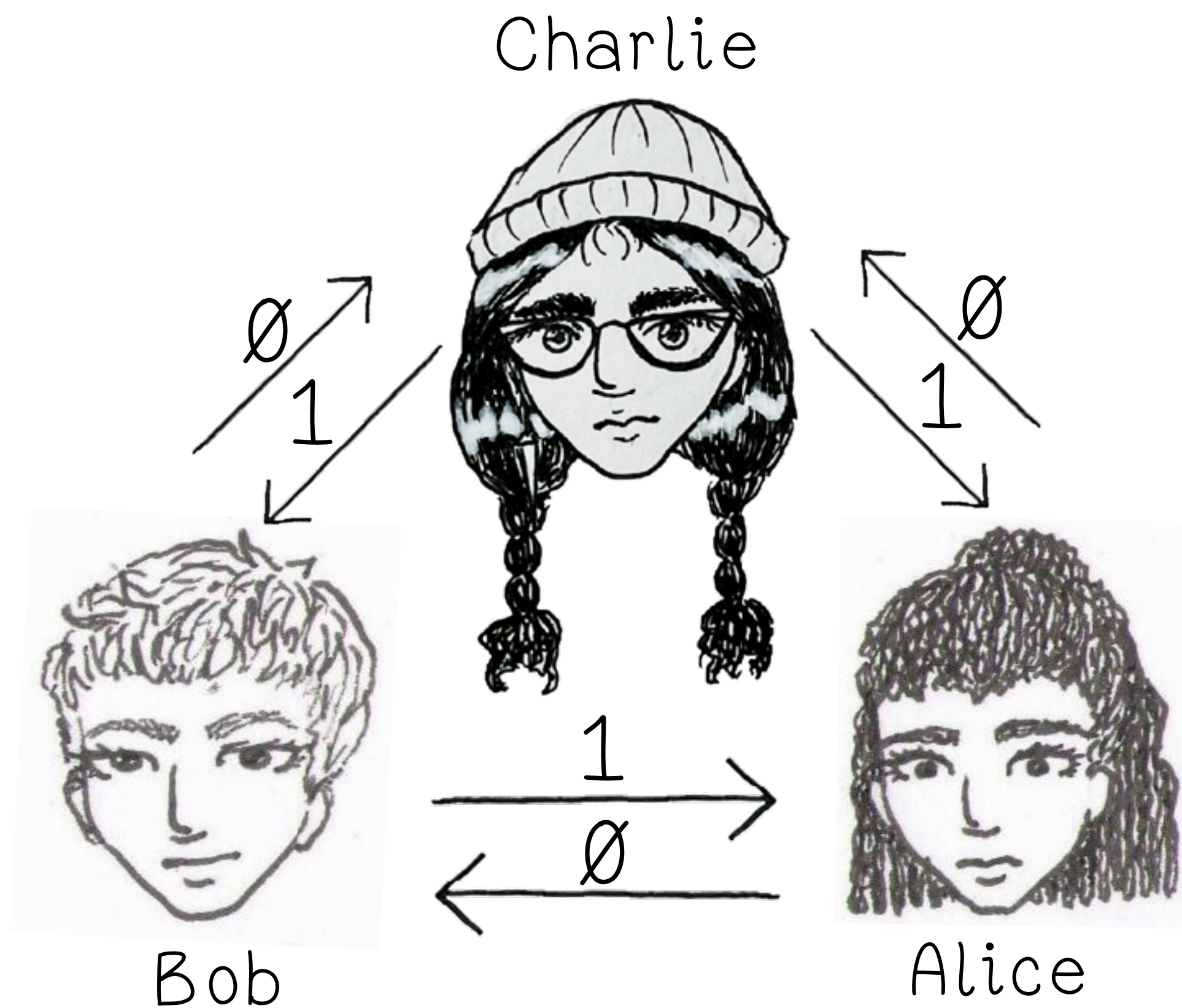


## Tentative Hypothesis:

Over a grounded social network graph, the **Hyperlink-Induced Topic Search** (HITS) algorithm can meaningfully measure a person's:

- **Connectivity** (physical proximity) to trusted organizers (**Hub Measure**)
- **Leadership** role in relation to others (**Authority Measure**)

# Trust Metrics Over Social Networks



## Tentative Hypothesis:

- Over a grounded social network graph, the **Hyperlink-Induced Topic Search (HITS)** algorithm can meaningfully measure a person's:
- **Connectivity** (physical proximity) to trusted organizers (**Hub Measure**)
  - **Leadership** role in relation to others (**Authority Measure**)

Disclaimers: Quantifiable metrics are still functions of qualitative metrics; Edge weights are up for debate (eg. could replace 0/1 with a survey); Digitizing this data (even in encrypted form) may be too risky.

# tigro Long-Term Goals

Phase 0: Finish analysis of the cryptographic protocols

# tigro Long-Term Goals

\*Help with work  
& funding welcome!

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Phase 1: Prototype protocols and conduct user studies\*

- Implementation: toward multi-platform design & security
- User studies: capturing the right notion of trust & UI/UX

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Phase 2: Build out applications, more user studies\*

- Implementation: context-dependent applications & security
- User studies: assess relevance of specific designs & UI/UX

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- Implementation: context-dependent applications & security
- User studies: assess relevance of specific designs & UI/UX

What kind of world do we want to build with our work?

Thank you for  
listening!

Interested in getting  
involved in the tigo  
project? Please find me!

Or, email

[leah\\_rosenbloom@  
brown.edu](mailto:leah_rosenbloom@brown.edu)



# Resources

1. Martin R Albrecht, Jorge Blasco, Rikke Bjerg Jensen, and Lenka Mareková. Collective information security in large-scale urban protests: the case of hong kong. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2105.14869*, 2021.
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