

# **Intellectual and Institutional History**

i290M Open Collaboration and Peer  
Production

Sebastian Benthall

we've  
used tools

we've  
analyzed data

today,  
we'll  
tell stories

“The movement, as a practice of discussion and argument, is made up of stories. It is a practice of storytelling: affect- and intellect-laden lore that orients existing participants toward a particular problem, contests other histories, parries attacks from outside, and draws in new recruits.”



Chris Kelty, *Two Bits: The Cultural Significance of Free Software*

our  
pedagogical  
strategy  
is immersion

There are  
many different  
stories about  
the same  
thing

# Where you start the story matters





Let's start  
with...  
*the Internet*

Internet *standards*  
...the design of the  
Internet itself...  
is the product of  
open collaboration

“In the earliest days of the Internet and its predecessors, almost everyone who used the network was either involved in building it or worked for an organization that had a role in its creation.”



Froomkin, M, “Habermas@Discourse. Net: Toward a Critical Theory of Cyberspace.”

“There is a community, a shared culture, of expert programmers and networking wizards that traces its history back through decades to the first time-sharing minicomputers and the earliest ARPAnet experiments. The members of this culture originated the term ‘hacker’. Hackers built the Internet. Hackers made the Unix operating system what it is today. Hackers make the World Wide Web work. If you are part of this culture, if you have contributed to it and other people in it know who you are and call you a hacker, you're a hacker..”



Raymond, E, “How To Become A Hacker”

“...the founders were starting from scratch, rather than inheriting a system of decisionmaking that created endowments or advantages, and the early participants were graduate students who tended to know each other, shared a common professional socialization, and were relatively equal in (low) status.”



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In 1968, the four ARPA computer science contractors (UCLA, SRI, UCSB, University of Utah) for a packet switching network began meeting.

Somebody left the graduate students in charge.



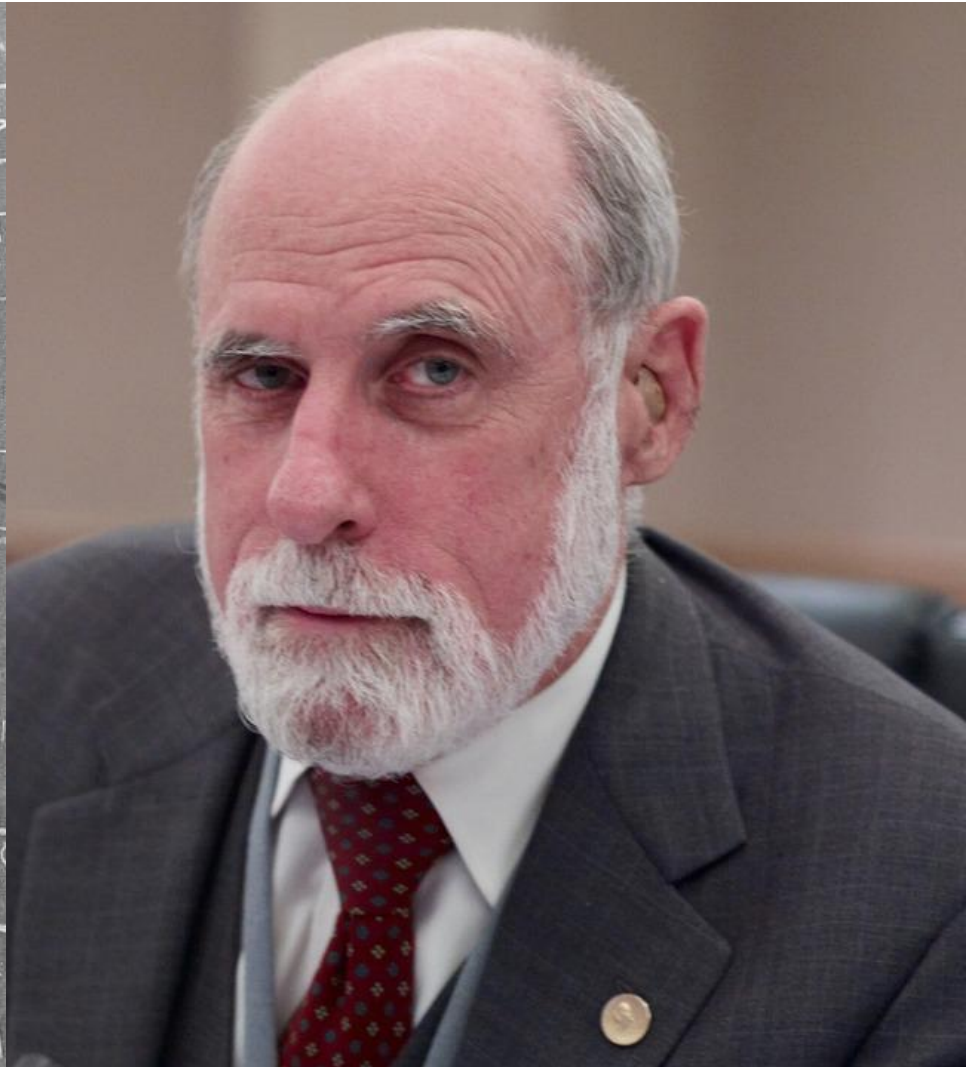
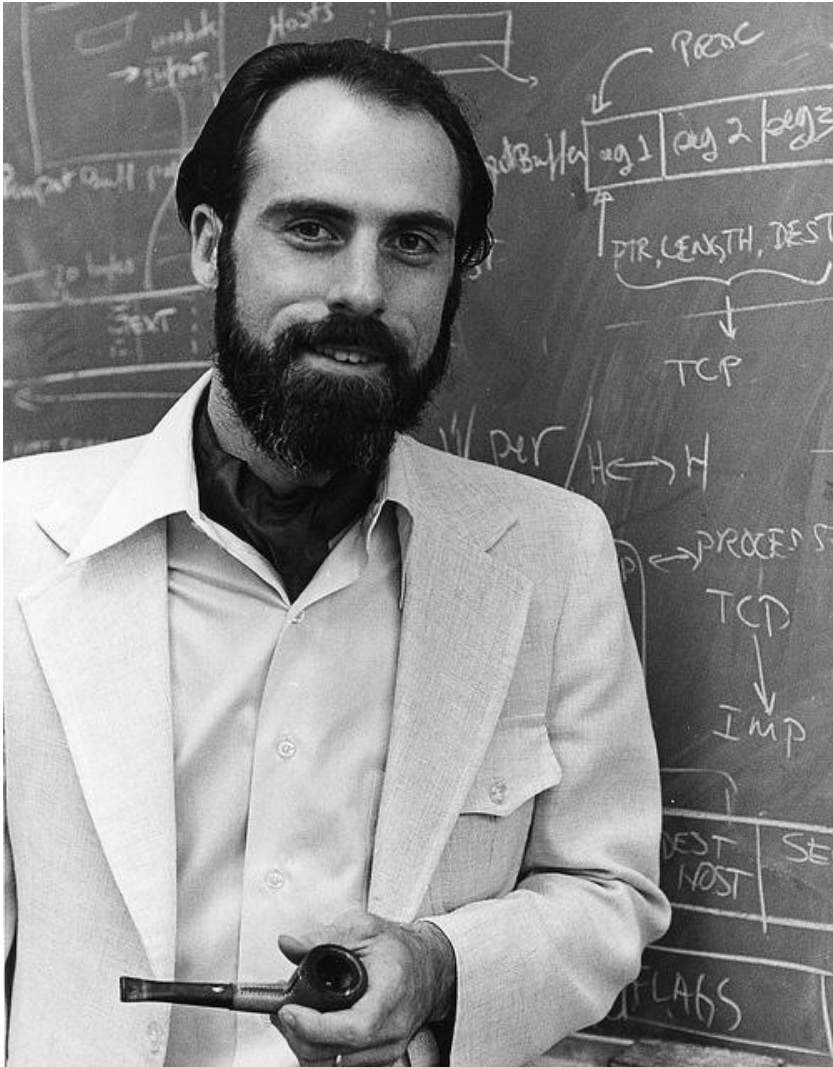
Froomkin, M, "Habermas@Discourse. Net: Toward a Critical Theory of Cyberspace."

# Network Working Group





# Includes Vint Cerf



Lacking authority, they thoroughly and publicly documenting their work and began titling their proposals “Request for Comments”, inviting open responses.

As the governance structure formalized, it maintained these practices.



Froomkin, M, “Habermas@Discourse. Net: Toward a Critical Theory of Cyberspace.”

DARPA turns control over to Internet Activities Board (IAB), which was public but exclusive.

In 1986, It delegates architectural and protocol issues to Internet Engineer Task Force (IETF), which remains open to volunteer participants.

IAB maintained oversight and dictated terms of reference.



Froomkin, M, "Habermas@Discourse. Net: Toward a Critical Theory of Cyberspace."

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In 1992, Internet Society (ISOC) forms with Vint Cerf as president, and IAB voluntarily becomes subsidiary.

There's a *legitimation crisis* over IAB's rejection of an IETF-recommended standard.

Cerf calls for a working group on standards procedures.



Froomkin, M, "Habermas@Discourse. Net: Toward a Critical Theory of Cyberspace."

Decided that IAB members would be selected by ISOC by those nominees of randomly chosen committee of IETF volunteers.

IETF maintains its RFC system, its openness to volunteer participation, its mailing lists.

Changes are made incrementally.



Froomkin, M, "Habermas@Discourse. Net: Toward a Critical Theory of Cyberspace."

The Internet  
*begins* with  
open collaboration  
and  
peer production

# Why peers? Why open?

- Protocol standards require all stakeholders to agree, so meet as peers
- Network is designed to be joined by others, so keep it open
- Openness to objection from anybody makes the consensus *legitimate*



But even before  
the Internet,  
there were  
*computers*

“...for the computer industry in the 1960s, portable source code was largely a moot point. Software and hardware were two sides of single, extremely expensive coin.... Each new machine needed to be different, faster, and, at first, bigger, and then smaller, than the last. The urge to differentiate machines from each other was not driven by academic experiment or aesthetic purity, but by a demand for marketability, competitive advantage, and the transformation of machines and software into products. ”



Chris Kelty, *Two Bits: The Cultural Significance of Free Software*

“Set against this backdrop, the invention, success, and proliferation of the UNIX operating system seems **quite monstrous, an aberration** of both academic and commercial practice that should have failed in both realms, instead of becoming the most widely used portable operating system in history and the very paradigm of an "operating system" in general.”



Chris Kelty, *Two Bits: The Cultural Significance of Free Software*

1969 - Ken Thompson and Dennis Ritchie write UNIX at Bell Telephone Labs

“They were specialists in operating systems, languages, and machine architecture in a research group that had no funding or mandate to pursue these areas.”



Chris Kelty, *Two Bits: The Cultural Significance of Free Software*

# Ken Thompson and Dennis Ritchie



“In the space of about two years, a complete operating system, a programming language called C, and a host of tools that are still in extremely wide use today. “



Chris Kelty, *Two Bits: The Cultural Significance of Free Software*

- UNIX was proprietary—wholly owned by Bell Labs
- AT&T was a government phone monopoly forbidden to enter the software market.
- AT&T allowed academics and corporations to install and modify UNIX for very low licensing fees.
- The condition: researchers could do what they liked with the software so long as they kept it secret.
- So UNIX was developed ... by users around the world ...



Chris Kelty, *Two Bits: The Cultural Significance of Free Software*

- UNIX distributions *included source code*
- Bug fixes collected on magnetic tape
- Legal ambiguity/bafflement
- “Sharing produced its own form of moral and technical order.”



Chris Kelty, *Two Bits: The Cultural Significance of Free Software*



The Lions commentary on UNIX  
becomes the first widely used textbook  
on operating systems.

It was illegal to distribute.



Chris Kelty, *Two Bits: The  
Cultural Significance of Free  
Software*

The Lions commentary on UNIX becomes the first widely used textbook on operating systems.

"It is important to understand the significance of John's work at that time: for students studying computer science in the 1970s, complex issues ... extremely difficult to teach—there simply wasn't anything available with enough accessibility for students to use as a case study." - Benny Goodheart



Chris Kelty, *Two Bits: The Cultural Significance of Free Software*

Peter Reintjes writes, "We soon came into possession of what looked like a fifth generation photocopy and someone who shall remain nameless spent all night in the copier room spawning a sixth, an act expressly forbidden by a carefully worded disclaimer on the first page. Four remarkable things were happening at the same time. One, we had discovered the first piece of software that would inspire rather than annoy us; two, we had acquired what amounted to a literary criticism of that computer software; **three, we were making the single most significant advancement of our education in computer science by actually reading an entire operating system;** and four, we were breaking the law."



Chris Kelty, *Two Bits: The Cultural Significance of Free Software*

In 1975, Thompson works on a UNIX fork at Berkeley to include the ARPANet TCP/IP Protocol.

BSD (Berkeley Software Distribution) is born.

It's another legal nightmare.

But now, all the UNIX computers can access the Internet.



Chris Kelty, *Two Bits: The Cultural Significance of Free Software*

Modern software  
*begins* with  
peer production

# Why did they share it?

- A fluke: AT&T invented technology they could not productize directly
- Desire for education/innovation trumped legality

Open collaboration  
was necessary  
but legally tenuous

# Richard Stallman, a.k.a. RMS



Programmer, software  
freedom activist, MacArthur  
Genius Fellow

Founder of GNU Project, Free  
Software Foundation (FSF)

Developer of GNU Compiler  
Collection, Emacs

Author of GNU Public License  
(GPL)





In 1980, Stallman and some other [hackers](#) at the AI Lab were refused access to the source code for the software of a newly installed [laser printer](#), the [Xerox 9700](#). Stallman had modified the software for the Lab's previous laser printer (the XGP, Xerographic Printer), so it electronically messaged a user when the person's job was printed, and would message all logged-in users waiting for print jobs if the printer was jammed. Not being able to add these features to the new printer was a major inconvenience, as the printer was on a different floor from most of the users. This experience convinced Stallman of people's need to be free to modify the software they use. - Wikipedia

# GNU's Not UNIX

- By 1983, Stallman is mad as hell and can't take it any more
- He writes GNU, a new operating system based on UNIX
- He starts the Free Software Foundation to hire developers to work on it
- He declares the *moral case* for Free Software, inscribing it into the GNU Public License

# Four Freedoms

0. The freedom to run the program, for any purpose

1. The freedom to study how the program works, and change it so it does your computing as you wish.

Access to the source code is a precondition for this.

# Four Freedoms

2. The freedom to redistribute copies so you can help your neighbor.

3. The freedom to distribute copies of your modified versions to others. By doing this you can give the whole community a chance to benefit from your changes. Access to the source code is a precondition for this.

RMS, “What is free software?”

RMS believes  
these freedoms are  
*moral principles*  
that transcend law  
or economic  
pragmatism

The GPL is  
*copyleft*  
mandating the  
release of source  
code

The GPL is  
*copyleft*  
virally transmitting  
to derivative works

# Why free software?

- Personal technology is an extension of oneself
- Using proprietary software cedes freedom to the software owner
- Free software provides you those you share with self-knowledge and opportunity for growth
- Freedom is an intrinsic moral virtue



# Linus Torvalds



Software Engineer

Wrote the Linux kernel, Git

Benevolent Dictator of the  
Linux project

Linus develops the  
kernel in 1991  
Says he did it all for  
*fun*

An enthusiastic  
community grows  
around the new  
operating system

It is so fast and  
robust, it rises in  
popularity,  
especially for web  
servers

# Why Linux?

- A free software project benefits from the *intrinsic motivation* of a talented engineer
- A series of historical contingencies has resulted in a competitive, networked software platform

It is so fast and  
robust, it rises in  
popularity,  
especially for web  
servers

The Internet  
goes mainstream

New free projects,  
like Apache,  
are critical



ESR writes  
“The Cathedral and  
the Bazaar”  
emphasizing  
decentralized  
community



There's  
*a dot-com boom*

By 1998,  
commercial  
software industry  
has taken note of  
free software

Big players,  
like Microsoft,  
are not happy

# Tim O'Reilly



Founder and CEO, O'Reilly Media

Prolific writer and conference organizer

Incidentally, on UCB I School Board of Advisors

In the 1990's, O'  
Reilly publishes  
high-quality  
manuals for free  
software projects

UNIX Text Processing

2nd Edition  
Revised & Updated



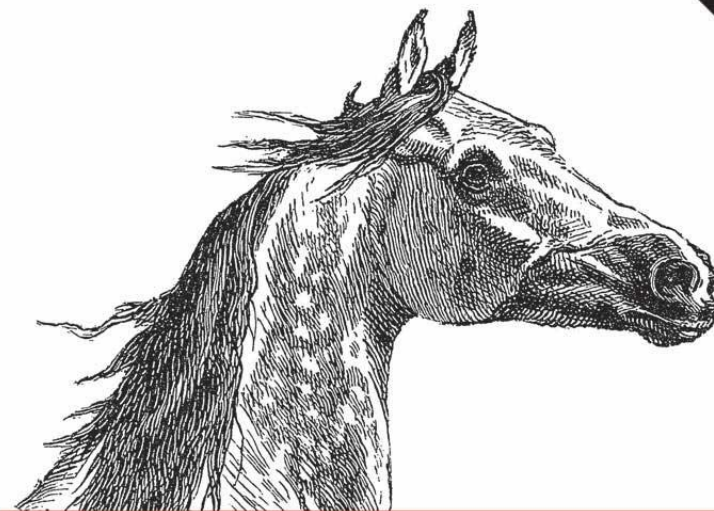
*Learning*

GNU Emacs

O'REILLY®

*Debra Cameron, Bill Rosenblatt & Eric Raymond*

6th Edition



# LINUX

## IN A NUTSHELL

*A Desktop Quick Reference*

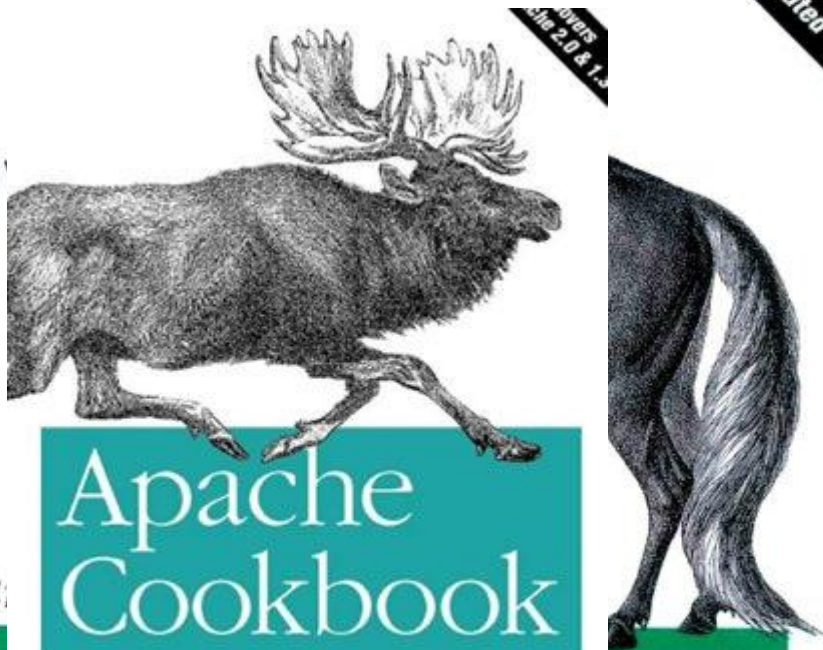
O'REILLY®

*Ellen Siever, Stephen Figgins,  
Robert Love & Arnold Robbins*



UNIX Text Processing

2nd Edition  
Revised & Updated



# Apache Cookbook

O'REILLY

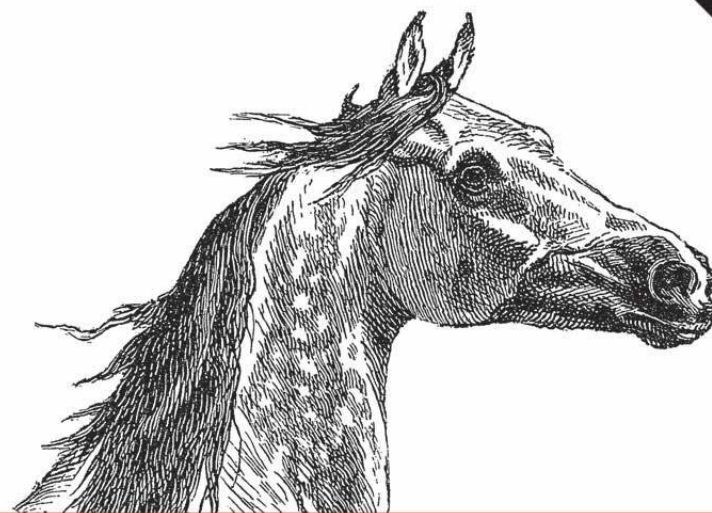
Ken Coar & Rich Bowen

Learn

O'REILLY®

Debra Cameron, Bill Rosenblatt & Eric Raymond

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# LINUX IN A NUTSHELL

*A Desktop Quick Reference*

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Robert Love & Arnold Robbins



UNIX Text Processing

2nd Edition  
Revised & Updated



covers  
Site 2.0 & 1.3

# Apache Cookbook

O'REILLY

Ken Coar & Rich Bowen

Learn

O'REILLY®

Debra Cameron, Bill Rosenblatt & Eric Raymond

6th Edition



Programming Style Guidelines

2nd Edition

# Practical C++ Programming



O'REILLY

Steve Chabot

O'REILLY®

Ellen Siever, Stephen Figgins,  
Robert Love & Arnold Robbins

“Free Software”  
rhetoric alienates  
corporate  
customers

O'Reilly hosts  
conference to  
rename the  
movement.  
Stallman is not  
invited.

“open source”

# Raymond starts the Open Source Initiative (OSI)

OSI  
claims pragmatic  
benefits of  
*open source*  
*process*



**open source**  
initiative

“Open source is a development method for software that harnesses the power of distributed peer review and transparency of process. The promise of open source is better quality, higher reliability, more flexibility, lower cost, and an end to predatory vendor lock-in.”

# Why “open source”?

- Moralizing “free software” rhetoric alienates corporations, is bad marketing
- OSI maintains that the open development process is responsible for success of e.g. Linux
- Peer review exposes bugs
- Transparency of process encourages intrinsic motivations of developers



Meanwhile,  
Netscape and  
Microsoft are  
battling for  
the web browser  
market

Proprietary  
browsers  
threatening  
to fragment  
the HTML standard

Microsoft hit by anti-  
trust case  
for bundling IE with  
Windows

Netscape releases  
Mozilla browser  
source code  
in last ditch effort

# Why Mozilla?

- Monopoly power in proprietary segment of web technology (browsers) was overwhelming and threatening standards
- Releasing source code of failing product equalized the playing field
- Though marginal for some time, Mozilla reemerges in 2003 with the Firefox browser, gaining market share

*The dot com boom  
goes bust*

...enter the 2000's

The themes of the  
90's replay  
themselves

Illegal peer-to-peer  
file sharing  
becomes a big deal



Piracy:  
a return of Stallman's  
moral order?

Creates a need  
for legal innovation

# Lawrence “Larry” Lessig



Lawyer

Founds Creative Commons in  
2001 -- copyleft for content

Popularizes “Free Culture”  
movement

Later,  
Creative Commons  
argues its licenses  
provide *non-  
infringing use* for  
Grokster

# Smartphones

- Open Handset Alliance
- “Android is intentionally and explicitly an open-source -- as opposed to a free software -- effort; a group of organizations with shared needs has pooled resources to collaborate on a single implementation of a shared product.”
- “Jailbreaking” phones

# Cloud

- O'Reilly warns Stallman that cloud-based applications make source openness irrelevant
- “Architectures of Participation” as more broad term
- Affero GPL?

***“Open  
Government”***

# Barack Obama



President of the United  
States of America



# Barack Obama



“My Administration is committed to creating an unprecedented level of openness in Government. We will work together to ensure the public trust and establish a system of transparency, public participation, and collaboration. Openness will strengthen our democracy and promote efficiency and effectiveness in government.”

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/open>

# **It's a damn good meme**

- Too good a meme?
- Discuss.