nature protocols

Perspective

https://doi.org/10.1038/s41596-023-00873-0

Advocating for neurodata privacy and neurotechnology regulation

Received: 27 March 2023

Accepted: 27 July 2023

Published online: 11 September 2023

Check for updates



The ability to record and alter brain activity by using implantable and nonimplantable neural devices, while poised to have significant scientific and clinical benefits, also raises complex ethical concerns. In this Perspective, we raise awareness of the ability of artificial intelligence algorithms and data-aggregation tools to decode and analyze data containing highly sensitive information, jeopardizing personal neuroprivacy. Voids in existing regulatory frameworks, in fact, allow unrestricted decoding and commerce of neurodata. We advocate for the implementation of proposed ethical and human rights guidelines, alongside technical options such as data encryption, differential privacy and federated learning to ensure the protection of neurodata privacy. We further encourage regulatory bodies to consider taking a position of responsibility by categorizing all brain-derived data as sensitive health data and apply existing medical regulations to all data gathered via pre-registered neural devices. Lastly, we propose that a technocratic oath may instill a deontology for neurotechnology practitioners akin to what the Hippocratic oath represents in medicine. A conscientious societal position that thoroughly rejects the misuse of neurodata would provide the moral compass for the future development of the neurotechnology field.

A Protocol published in this issue¹ describes a neurosurgical procedure to perform high-density neuronal recordings from patients. The procedure details how to use a modified electrical probe² to record neuronal activity during tumor resections and deep brain stimulation (DBS) electrode placements in patients with Parkinson's disease. With this probe, the authors achieve the largest number of simultaneous recordings from neurons in humans to date. This technical and clinical feat will probably help shape future diagnostic and therapeutic approaches in the field of neurotechnology. Publication of this Protocol, its key reference article³ and other recent literature⁴-8 has provided timely opportunities to reflect on the evolution of neurotechnologies and their use in humans, in medical and nonmedical environments, with particular emphasis on their potential ethical and societal implications.

A path for neurotechnologies from the laboratory and the clinic to the consumer market

Neurotechnology can be defined as the ensemble of tools, methods and their associated devices for recording or modifying neural signals.

These instruments operate by using electrical, optical, magnetic, acoustical or molecular signals and allow, in some cases, the alteration of the activity of the nervous system⁹. We can define two main classes of devices: those that need to be implanted and thus require neurosurgery and those that use external devices mounted on modified hats, helmets, headbands, glasses or bracelets and are thus classed as nonimplantable. Some of these devices, known as brain-computer interfaces, directly connect the central nervous system with a computer or an external machine^{10,11}. Neurotechnology development was accelerated by the launch of the US BRAIN (Brain Research through Advancing Innovative Technologies) Initiative in 2013^{12,13}, a large-scale project to develop neurotechnologies for laboratory animals and human patients¹⁴. Similar initiatives have since followed in China, Japan, Australia, Canada, South Korea and Europe^{15,16}, in addition to multibillion-dollar investments made by private companies, and are cumulatively fueling the quick growth of the field¹⁷.

Driving the interest and the investments in neurotechnology are its perceived scientific, medical and economic benefits. From a research

Neurotechnology Center, Columbia University, New York, NY, USA. Me-mail: rmy5@columbia.edu

perspective, neurotechnology tools and devices help neuroscientists explore the function of neural circuits and may help decipher how the activity of neuronal populations influences measurable aspects of daily life such as behavior, cognition and perception. Yet, neuronal activity also determines mental states¹⁸, understood as the complex sum of experiences, memories and emotions that are harder to measure or quantify. Indeed, data obtained from optical neurotechnologies in mice have shown that ensembles of neurons acting in synchrony encode visual perceptions¹⁹. Manipulating these ensembles with holographic optogenetics—i.e., an experiment in which 3D neural activity patterns are activated in an animal brain by using a multiphoton holographic microscope—can generate false perceptions, similar to hallucinations, that the animal appears incapable of distinguishing from real visual cues^{20,21}. These results, together with experiments in which the formation of artificial memories has been experimentally induced in mice²², prove that, at least in a laboratory environment, the neural code that relates neuronal ensembles to behavior can be effectively decoded and manipulated by using neurotechnological devices.

From a medical perspective, research using neurotechnology¹ focuses on generating insights into the pathophysiology of brain diseases, including mental²³ and neurological²⁴ syndromes. These methods are expected to enable diagnoses with improved precision and cellular specificity, as well as to help develop new types of precision neurotherapies, in which neural circuits could be selectively targeted and modulated or reprogrammed. Indeed, several forms of implantable neurotechnology, such as DBS²⁵, and nonimplantable methods such as transcranial magnetic stimulation²⁶ are currently approved for use in Parkinson's disease, severe depression and substance-abuse disorders, among others. The main advantage purposed by the field is that these devices can bypass any defects or injuries in limbs and organs that transfer to the brain sets of complex sensory information, making it feasible, for example, to restore the perception of vision, hearing, tactile feedback or locomotion, but also to improve memory for neurodegenerative conditions or reduce the effect of traumatic experiences, thereby improving mental health.

In addition, from an economic perspective, and similarly to the explosive growth of biotechnologies²⁷ generated for the Human Genome Project, the neurotech industry²⁸ is gearing up for new economic opportunities, driven by the development of nonimplantable devices that can be directly sold to consumers for applications such as gaming, wellness, meditation or digital aids.

Recent advances in brain decoding with artificial intelligence

Neurotechnology enables, arguably for the first time, access to the activity of brain tissue, fulfilling the ancient desire to explore the neural correlates of the conscious and subconscious experience and define what, fundamentally, makes us human. Research using neurotechnologies often attempts, directly or indirectly, to question how reality is perceived and how perceptions vary, either as a result of a diseased state or as an individual response to a set of conditions. The answers to such questions also have the potential to reveal vast layers of sensitive information that we currently are not able to anticipate, because neurodata (i.e., the recording of the activity of the nervous system) can be generated subconsciously and often involuntarily. At the same time, while the potential benefits of neurotechnology are unquestionably many, we should also consider the ethical and societal consequences associated with its deployment in the clinic and its wider availability to the public. This is particularly salient because of the recent advances in decoding of brain activity in humans. For example, using implantable neurotechnology in paralyzed patients, speech can be effectively synthesized²⁹, and even attempted handwriting movements can be decoded³⁰. Although the implantation of neural probes is a medical procedure governed by existing medical regulations and health data guidelines, ethical issues need to be urgently discussed because the decoding of brain activity by using noninvasive neurotechnologies is increasingly possible. For example, data obtained from functional MRI (fMRI) can be used to decode viewed images³¹ and emotions^{32,33} and correctly anticipate the interpretation of ambiguous narratives by a subject³⁴. Moreover, the recent use of deep neural networks and latent diffusion models to analyze data acquired noninvasively has demonstrated that it is possible to decode the hearing of speech by using noninvasive electroencephalography or magnetoencephalography recordings⁶ and decode semantic representation of images in the brain^{5,7}, as well as decode perceived speech, imagined speech and even silent reading⁴ by using fMRI data. Finally, the use of nonimplantable transcranial alternating current stimulation⁸ has enhanced working and long-term memory in adult volunteers, opening the possibility of neuroenhancement for nonmedical applications³⁵.

The accompanying ethical burden of neurotechnology

Like all technologies, neurotechnology is neutral and can be used for the benefit or detriment of the individual. Although fMRI, electroencephalography, magnetoencephalography and transcranial alternating current stimulation devices are normally restricted to clinical or research centers, the development of consumer devices in the neurotech space with continuous improvements in spatial and temporal resolution, together with the ease of use of artificial intelligence algorithms, raises ethical and societal concerns^{36–38} because the ability to decode imagined images or speech jeopardizes mental privacy. A further concern worthy of note is mental integrity, because brain stimulation has the potential to alter personalities and behavior, as already reported in patients with Parkinson's disease using DBS^{39,40}. A closely related issue concerns the effects of neurostimulation on human agency^{41,42}, defined as the capability to make free decisions and to be accountable for them. If neurotechnology is used to modify brain circuits involved in decision making, it is feasible that it could also diminish our agency and free will. These are issues that, from a legal and societal standpoint, have no precedent in history. The use of neurotechnology for mental and cognitive augmentation is also significantly complex because enhancing memory⁸, enhancing attention spans³⁵ or potentially providing fast access to external databases and algorithms raises ethical issues, which include consent and the need to define who has, or will have, access to these technologies and their respective data⁴³. It is also important to note that the algorithms used in neurotechnological devices run the risk of being biased against particular groups of people and could lead to discrimination, for example, in the workplace^{43,44}. These issues potentially undermine the safe use of neurotechnological devices because, as already demonstrated in mice experiments²⁰, the brain of the animal interprets information encoded by an external device as its own subjective experience-i.e., the brain lacks the tools to separate, ignore or delete signals provided by external devices—and we currently do not understand the full and long-term impact that these stimuli may have.

Ethical guidelines and neurorights

In response to the growing neurotechnology field, guidelines could serve as a roadmap and as sets of guardrails for future development and deployment of neurotechnologies, while enabling their growth and dissemination (Fig. 1). International organizations, including groups of concerned academics, scientists, engineers and technologists, professional societies and national governmental bodies, including the Morningside and Brocher groups, the BRAIN Initiative Neuroethics Working Group, the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Spain, the United Kingdom and the Council of Europe, among many others, have proposed sets of ethical guidelines for neurotechnologies ^{28,36-38,43,45-65}, including recent reports from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization ⁶⁶ and the U.K. Information Commissioner's Office report⁴⁴, which widely converge on common points to ensure that safety and security standards are met (Fig. 2). However, it

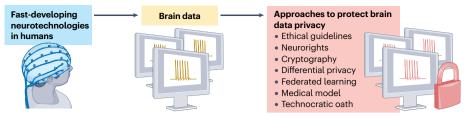


Fig. 1| **Potential approaches to protect brain data privacy.** Complementary and synergistic approaches, such as ethical guidelines, human rights, technical solutions (including cryptography, differential privacy or federated learning)

and medical regulations, could be deployed to ensure that decoding of neurodata happens only under strict privacy guidelines.

is useful to point out that ethical guidelines and recommendations are not legally binding; rather, they are examples of 'soft law' and are intended as complementary instruments to legislative frameworks. As such, they imply individual self-regulation and support by commercial stakeholders. To further support the voluntary uptake of these practices, a new category of human rights, termed 'neurorights', has been proposed to enhance the existing corpus of human rights, as the principal standards to maintain via international 'hard' law^{38,43,61,67,68} (Fig. 1). Although some researchers question whether defining a new category of neurorights is adequate or even necessary^{69–73}, a recent report concluded that existing international human rights treaties lack the legal precision and even terminology to legally approach the technology or the ability to modify brain function and thus do not adequately cover neurorights⁷⁴.

As a positive outcome of these ongoing discussions, proposals for ethical guidelines and extensions of human rights have stimulated the development of national policies and legislation. A pioneer example is that of Chile, where both chambers of the Congress of the Republic unanimously approved in 2021 a constitutional amendment that protects 'brain activity and the information that comes from it' as a basic right of all citizens⁷⁵. Chile's Senate also unanimously approved a neuroprotection bill that provides specific protection for mental privacy, individual identity and individual agency and guarantees fair access to neuroenhacement technologies⁷⁶. Neurorights efforts in other countries include Spain's Charter of Digital Rights, which protects citizens from potential abuses of artificial intelligence and which also incorporates neuroprotection 77,78; the Organization of American States Declaration on Neuroprotection and Human Rights⁷⁹; and other declarations that discuss neurotechnology, such as the Council of Europe Strategic Action on Biomedicine⁸⁰, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Bioethics Committee declaration⁸¹ and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Recommendation for Responsible Innovation Neurotechnology⁸². Finally, the Secretary General of the United Nations has singled out neurotechnology as an open human rights challenge⁸³, and the Human Rights Council of the United Nations has unanimously approved to undertake a study to explore the human rights aspects of neurotechnology84.

Technical solutions to neurodata privacy

Perhaps the most urgent issue that needs immediate action is the protection of the privacy of neurodata, given the recent successful decoding of mental imagery, emotions, story interpretation and speech with nonimplantable devices^{4–8}. The ability to decode words and images could lead to the decoding of mental activity, because the ability to think, reason and perceive mental states as feelings or emotions is often accompanied by images or language. Privacy issues for neurodata may therefore have much deeper consequences than those of most digital technologies⁶². As a complementary set of solutions to the development of ethical guidelines and neurorights, technical approaches could also minimize risks to breaches in neurodata privacy (Fig. 1). Data privacy is not a new problem, and the complex challenges

of ensuring data privacy, data security and data sharing have stimulated new approaches for data protection within the banking, national security, health and clinical research fields. Indeed, data encryption is already used to protect data privacy. Cryptographic algorithms, like state-of-the-art homomorphic encryption, convert data into cipher text that can be analyzed as if it were still in its original form⁸⁵. Thus, the use of encryption would ensure neurodata protection, while still allowing for its analysis, and a user consent request would need to be approved for any decoding to take place.

A different set of concerns worthy of note, and accompanying technical solutions, arises from the aggregation of neurodata, necessary for data mining and algorithms. Every time that data are shared or processed, the possibility of the data being aggregated with other personal information increases, thereby increasing the risk of the data becoming identifiable. To minimize this risk, differential privacy—i.e., a system for sharing information about a dataset by describing its group patterns while withholding information about individuals-could be valuable, because it allows the statistical querying of data while avoiding the disclosure of the identities associated with specific datasets 44,86,87. One form of differential privacy is federated learning, which allows centralized algorithms to be trained off decentralized raw data. Thus, in federated learning, the raw data stay local to the device or secure database and are not shared with the learning algorithm; rather, the local device only sends query outcomes in the form of metadata to the centralized algorithm⁸⁸. By never being shared with the centralized algorithm in the first place, federated learning environments would help maintain neurodata privacy and reduce risks of data identification⁸⁹.

Regulation of sensitive health data

One could argue that the problem with brain data is not new. Ensuring the privacy of neurodata mirrors similar concerns that the medical profession has successfully dealt with when ensuring the confidentiality and protection of patient information. Indeed, highly sensitive data are stored through electronic health records and research databases. Sharing of these data is beneficial for patients' clinical care and can also inform research that will do substantial public good. However, sharing data that include personal information and biological proclivities still poses a significant privacy threat. With data privacy becoming an increasing public concern, policies such as the Health Information Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA)⁹⁰, the European Union's General Data Privacy Regulation 91,92 and the California Consumer Privacy Act 93 provide a regulatory framework for public and private enterprises, supported by data-sharing projects that promote patient privacy, such as the Observational Health Data Sciences and Informatics94. In fact, in most countries across the world, regulations are in place to provide similar levels of protection to patients' health records.

Existing procedures for managing health data are categorized in classification and aggregation. Data sensitivity classification is normally binary, because legal language used for legislative purposes needs to be clear and not open to interpretation, so personal data are either 'sensitive' or 'not sensitive', 'identifiable' or 'not identifiable'.

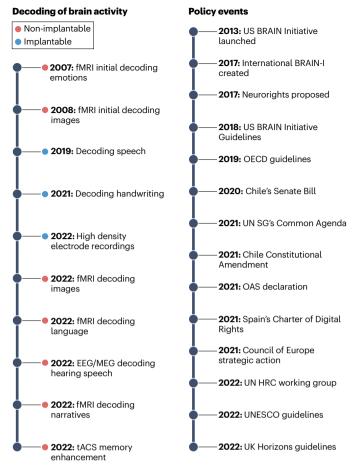


Fig. 2| **Developments in brain data decoding and neurotechnology regulation.**Partial list (left) of recent milestones in the decoding of brain activity in humans with implantable or nonimplantable neurotechnology. Significant guidelines and policy events (right) related to neurotechnology. BRAIN, Brain Research through Advancing Innovative Technologies; EEG, electroencephalography; HRC, Human Rights Council; MEG, magnetoencephalography; OAS, Organization of American States; OECD, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; SG, Secretary General; UN, United Nations; UNESCO, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Processing of sensitive data is consequently significantly stricter than that of nonsensitive data. However, there is little additional gradation between these two types of personal data⁹¹. Health data aggregation refers to the integration of multiple data sets to glean further insight into a specific group or subject. Aggregation is typically performed on data that are not sensitive or not identifiable; however, precisely because aggregation merges information from multiple datasets, successive rounds of aggregation may render that data sensitive or identifiable, depending on the information merged 95. The data brokerage industry merges both public and purchased data to provide information insights such as individualized user profiles to stakeholders in industries such as marketing, law enforcement, health, insurance and education⁹⁶. Although medical data must be de-identified before being sold according to HIPAA in the United States, data brokers add their own identifying numbers to collect records. This allows data brokers to connect additional data to a single piece of medical information, which ultimately renders de-identified information more identifiable 97. This is a concerning prospect for neurodata because they can be acquired both within and outside of medical contexts, making it potentially easier to cross-correlate. Indeed, two different studies demonstrated that an algorithm was able to identify an American citizen with 99.98% accuracy

on the basis of 15 attributes such as their gender or their incomplete zip codes⁹⁸, or with only their date of birth, zip code and gender⁹⁹.

A medical model for neurotechnology and neurodata

For neurotechnological devices used in clinical settings, existing approaches and regulatory frameworks for storing and handling sensitive health records already have procedures in place. In contrast, the collection or sale of neurodata in nonmedical contexts via direct-to-consumer neurotechnologies is not subject to HIPAA or, to our knowledge, specifically regulated by any other data privacy laws in the United States. Indeed, an ongoing survey of consumer user agreements of 18 neurotechnology companies finds that every company takes ownership of all collected neurodata, and 16 out of 18 hold the right to transfer the data to third parties, with freedom to decode, sell or even destroy them (Genser and Yuste, manuscript in preparation).

Devising specific regulations for the collection, storage and sharing of neurodata will probably take time and require a balancing act similar to that faced for health data management to maximize data sharing while minimizing breaches of privacy. As a practical solution to the regulatory void model, it has been proposed that neurotechnologies could follow the medical model and adopt the same regulations and procedures that are already in place for sensitive health data³⁶. The advantages of this proposal are that the existing health regulatory framework that examines and approves the use of any medical device or pharmaceutical agent is already ubiquitously implemented, robust and extensive. Thus, instead of developing a new regulatory framework, one could redefine neurotechnology devices as medical devices, making them subject to approval and recommendation by the Food and Drug Administration, the Medicines and Healthcare Regulations Authority. the European Medicines Agency or similar public health organizations, as applicable to different countries. Importantly, a medical model would apply not just to implantable devices, but to all neurotechnology devices, including wearables and noninvasive modalities. Therefore, all devices capable of recording or altering neural activity, either directly or indirectly, and either from the central or peripheral nervous system, should be considered on a par for regulatory purposes. Although the consumer market for neurotechnology is still in its infancy, devices such as glasses, headsets, helmets, caps, bracelets and, even recently, ear pods¹⁰⁰ that incorporate neural recording technology are being developed and sold. As neurotechnologies become increasingly popular in consumer markets, this challenge becomes more urgent. Although the regulated sharing of neurodata could help improve patient management (e.g., by improving diagnosis and early therapeutic options as appears likely the case for patients suffering from Alzheimer's disease), this information could also be misused by companies for increased profits or by malicious actors.

Use of a medical model for neurodata could immediately limit its misuse; on the other hand, it could also constrain innovation, as layers of regulation on the fledging neurotechnology industry might lengthen developmental time frames. By definition, all regulation is constraining; yet, the existing medical regulations applied to the biomedical industry, while arguably not perfect, have not hampered innovation in the field. Indeed, biomedical companies are among the largest in the world and have navigated the regulatory landscape effectively while maintaining vibrant research and innovation portfolios. In addition, by guaranteeing high standards for neurodata safety, neurotechnology companies that operate under a medical model could benefit from being perceived as responsible and safe by consumers.

Adoption of a medical model for neurotechnology is being considered in different countries as a practical solution. In Chile, a neuroprotection bill (13828-19) passed by the Senate defines all neurotechnology as medical devices and applies to them the existing Chilean medical code, with regulatory approval by the national Public Health Agency⁷⁶. This bill details a set of penalties and fines, in accordance with Chilean medical legislation, for companies, stakeholders, users or developers

that do not follow the medical regulatory procedures, while simultaneously providing ample provisions to foster the development and application of neurotechnology for medical and research purposes. Similar to the Chilean Senate bill, the UK Regulatory Horizons Council¹⁰¹ also recommends categorizing all neurotechnology, whether implantable or not, as medical devices. Finally, a recent regulation by the European Union also defines as medical all nonimplantable brain-stimulation devices, albeit without mention of noninvasive recording¹⁰².

A technocratic oath for neurotechnology

In medicine, besides the regulations that cascade top down from policy-makers and legislators, there is also a bottom-up deontology adopted by medical practitioners. A paradigm of this is the Hippocratic Oath, attributed to Hippocrates (460–circa 370 BC), which although not legally binding, is morally binding. Its cores values ('do no harm') were incorporated into the principles of beneficence, justice and dignity of the Belmont Report that provides ethical guidelines for research with human subjects ¹⁰³. The Belmont Report itself has informed legislation in the United States and around the world that guides medical practice and the biomedical industry while protecting patients.

Similar to the Hippocratic Oath, and taking the medical model one step further, one could implement a 'Technocratic' Oath, as a personal, simple and easy-to-remember pledge that scientists, engineers and entrepreneurs developing and using neurotechnology in humans take upon their conscience to 'not cause harm' ¹⁰⁴. Once taken, this pledge is never forgotten and could also incorporate principles such as beneficence, dignity and justice. Example pilot programs of a voluntary technocratic oath have been explored at the Universidad Católica de Chile, and companies like IBM in the United States and Sherpa.ia in Spain ¹⁰⁴.

Moving conscientiously forward

There is no questioning that neurotechnology can benefit science, medicine and society. Yet, because of its power to record and alter brain activity, these same methods expose human mental privacy and integrity to unforeseeable risks. The issue is complex and nuanced The regulation of medical devices and the protection of sensitive data are different issues that may benefit from multipronged approaches in different countries and at the international level. Nevertheless, within this complexity, we advocate erring on the side of caution and consider medical-standard approaches in the first instance to ensure the protection of neurodata and the ethical growth of this critical technology, while the wider community discusses in more detail the development of specific ethical guidelines and human rights approaches, as well as technical solutions that would minimize the risks to breeches of neural privacy.

References

- Coughlin, B. et al. Modified Neuropixels probes for recording human neurophysiology in the operating room. Nat. Protoc. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41596-023-00871-2 (2023).
- Steinmetz, N. A. et al. Neuropixels 2.0: a miniaturized high-density probe for stable, long-term brain recordings. Science 372, eabf4588 (2021).
- Paulk, A. C. et al. Large-scale neural recordings with single neuron resolution using Neuropixels probes in human cortex. Nat. Neurosci. 25, 252–263 (2022).
- Tang, J., LeBel, A., Jain, S. J. & Huth, A. G. Semantic reconstruction of continuous language from non-invasive brain recordings. Nat. Neurosci. 26, 858–866 (2023).
- Takagi, Y. & Nishimoto, S. High-resolution image reconstruction with latent diffusion models from human brain activity. Preprint at https://www.biorxiv.org/content/10.1101/2022.11.18.517004v2 (2022).
- Défossez, A., Caucheteux, C., Rapin, J. & Kabeli, O. Decoding speech from non-invasive brain recordings. Preprint at https:// arxiv.org/abs/2208.12266 (2022).

- Chen, Z., Qing, J., Xiang, T., Yue, W. & Zhou, J. L. Seeing beyond the brain: conditional diffusion model with sparse masked modeling for vision decoding. Preprint at https://arxiv.org/ abs/2211.06956 (2022).
- 8. Grover, S., Wen, W., Viswanathan, V., Gill, C. & Reinhart, R. Long-lasting, dissociable improvements in working memory and long-term memory in older adults with repetitive neuromodulation. *Nat. Neurosci.* **25**, 1237–1246 (2022).
- 9. Alivisatos, A. P. et al. Nanotools for neuroscience and brain activity mapping. *ACS Nano* **7**, 1850–1866 (2013).
- Nicolelis, M. A. & Lebedev, M. A. Principles of neural ensemble physiology underlying the operation of brain-machine interfaces. *Nat. Rev. Neurosci.* 10, 530–540 (2009).
- 11. Hochberg, L. R. et al. Neuronal ensemble control of prosthetic devices by a human with tetraplegia. *Nature* **442**, 164–171 (2006).
- Alivisatos, A. P. et al. Neuroscience. The brain activity map. Science 339, 1284–1285 (2013).
- Insel, T. R., Landis, S. C. & Collins, F. S. The NIH BRAIN Initiative. Science 340, 687–688 (2013).
- 14. Jorgenson, L. A. et al. The BRAIN Initiative: developing technology to catalyse neuroscience discovery. *Philos. Trans. R. Soc. Lond. B Biol. Sci.* **370**, 20140164 (2015).
- Yuste, R. & Bargmann, C. Toward a global BRAIN initiative. Cell 168, 956–959 (2017).
- Adams, A. et al. International brain initiative: an innovative framework for coordinated global brain research efforts. *Neuron* 105, 212–216 (2020).
- The Neurorights Foundation: Market Analysis: Neurotechnology. Available at https://neurorightsfoundation.org/publications (2023).
- 18. Yuste, R. From the neuron doctrine to neural networks. *Nat. Rev. Neurosci.* **16**, 487–497 (2015).
- Miller, J. E., Ayzenshtat, I., Carrillo-Reid, L. & Yuste, R. Visual stimuli recruit intrinsically generated cortical ensembles. *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. USA.* 111, E4053–E4061 (2014).
- Carrillo-Reid, L., Han, S., Yang, W., Akrough, A. & Yuste, R. Controlling visually guided behavior by holographic recalling of cortical ensembles. Cell 178, 447–457.e5 (2019).
- 21. Marshel, J. H. et al. Cortical layer-specific critical dynamics triggering perception. *Science* **365**, eaaw5202 (2019).
- 22. Ramirez, S. et al. Creating a false memory in the hippocampus. *Science* **341**, 387–391 (2013).
- Hamm, J. P., Peterka, D. S., Gogos, J. A. & Yuste, R. Altered cortical ensembles in mouse models of schizophrenia. *Neuron* 94, 153–167.e8 (2017).
- Wenzel, M., Hamm, J. P., Peterka, D. S. & Yuste, R. Acute focal seizures start as local synchronizations of neuronal ensembles. *J. Neurosci.* 39, 8562–8575 (2019).
- Benabid, A. L. Deep brain stimulation for Parkinson's disease. Curr. Opin. Neurobiol. 13, 696–706 (2003).
- Burke, M. J., Fried, P. J. & Pascual-Leone, A. Transcranial magnetic stimulation: neurophysiological and clinical applications. *Handb. Clin. Neurol.* 163, 73–92 (2019).
- 27. Tripp, S. & Grueber, M. Economic Impact of the Human Genome Project. Battelle Laboratory. Available at https://www.battelle.org/docs/default-source/misc/battelle-2011-misc-economic-impact-human-genome-project.pdf (Battelle Memorial Institute, 2011).
- Wexler, A. & Reiner, P. B. Oversight of direct-to-consumer neurotechnologies. Science 363, 234–235 (2019).
- Anumanchipalli, G. K., Chartier, J. & Chang, E. F. Speech synthesis from neural decoding of spoken sentences. *Nature* 568, 493–498 (2019).
- Willett, F. R., Avansino, D. T., Hochberg, L. R., Henderson, J. M. & Shenoy, K. V. High-performance brain-to-text communication via handwriting. *Nature* 593, 249–254 (2021).

- Kay, K. N., Naselaris, T., Prenger, R. J. & Gallant, J. L. Identifying natural images from human brain activity. *Nature* 452, 352–355 (2008).
- Ghashghaei, H. T., Hilgetag, C. C. & Barbas, H. Sequence of information processing for emotions based on the anatomic dialogue between prefrontal cortex and amygdala. *Neuroimage* 34, 905–923 (2007).
- Kragel, P., Knodt, A., Hariri, A. & LaBar, K. Decoding spontaneous emotional states in the human brain. *PLoS Biol.* 14, e2000106 (2016).
- Chang, C., Nastase, S. & Hasson, U. Information flow across the cortical timescale hierarchy during narrative construction. *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. USA.* 119, e2209307119 (2022).
- Momi, D. et al. Cognitive enhancement via network-targeted cortico-cortical associative brain stimulation. Cereb. Cortex 30, 1516–1527 (2020).
- 36. Goering, S. & Yuste, R. On the necessity of ethical guidelines for novel neurotechnologies. *Cell* **167**, 882–885 (2016).
- Klein, E., Brown, T., Sample, M., Truitt, A. R. & Goering, S. Engineering the brain: ethical issues and the introduction of neural devices. *Hastings Cent. Rep.* 45, 26–35 (2015).
- Yuste, R. et al. Four ethical priorities for neurotechnologies and Al. Nature 551, 159–163 (2017).
- Lewis, C. J. et al. Subjectively perceived personality and mood changes associated with subthalamic stimulation in patients with Parkinson's disease. *Psychol. Med.* 45, 73–85 (2015).
- 40. Pham, U. et al. Personality changes after deep brain stimulation in Parkinson's disease. *Parkinsons Dis.* **2015**, 49057 (2015).
- 41. Goering, S., Klein, E., Dougherty, D. D. & Widge, A. S. Staying in the loop: relational agency and identity in next-generation DBS for psychiatry. *AJOB Neurosci.* **8**, 59–70 (2017).
- 42. Farah, M. J. & Heberlein, A. S. Personhood and neuroscience: naturalizing or nihilating? *Am. J. Bioeth.* **7**, 37–48 (2007).
- Goering, S. et al. Recommendations for responsible development and application of neurotechnologies. *Neuroethics* 14, 365–386 (2021).
- 44. Information Commissioner's Office. ICO Tech Futures: Neurotechnology. Available at https://ico.org.uk/about-the-ico/research-and-reports/ico-tech-futures-neurotechnology/ (2023).
- Eaton, M. L. & Illes, J. Commercializing cognitive neurotechnology—the ethical terrain. *Nat. Biotechnol.* 25, 393–397 (2007).
- Kellmeyer, P. Ethical issues in the application of machine learning to brain disorders. In *Machine Learning* (eds. Mechelli, A. & Vieira, S.) 329–342 (Academic Press, 2020).
- 47. Kreitmair, K. V. Dimensions of ethical direct-to-consumer neurotechnologies. *AJOB Neurosci.* **10**, 152–166 (2019).
- Steinert, S. & Friedrich, O. Wired emotions: ethical issues of affective brain-computer interfaces. Sci. Eng. Ethics 26, 351–367 (2020).
- Antal, A. et al. Low intensity transcranial electric stimulation: safety, ethical, legal regulatory and application guidelines. Clin. Neurophysiol. 128, 1774–1809 (2017).
- Wexler, A. The practices of do-it-yourself brain stimulation: implications for ethical considerations and regulatory proposals. J. Med. Ethics 42, 211–215 (2016).
- Klein, E. et al. Brain-computer interface-based control of closed-loop brain stimulation: attitudes and ethical considerations.
 Brain Comput. Interfaces (Abingdon) 3, 140–148 (2016).
- 52. Riggall, K. et al. Researchers' perspectives on scientific and ethical issues with transcranial direct current stimulation: an international survey. Sci. Rep. 5, 10618 (2015).
- 53. Hildt, E. What will this do to me and my brain? Ethical issues in brain-to-brain interfacing. *Front. Syst. Neurosci.* **9**, 17 (2015).

- 54. Parens, E. Enhancing Human Traits: Ethical and Social Implications (Georgetown University Press, 2000).
- 55. Juengst, E. What does "enhancement" mean? In (ed., Parens, E.) Enhancing Human Traits: Ethical and Social Implications (Georgetown University Press, 1998).
- 56. Wexler, A. Who uses direct-to-consumer brain stimulation products, and why? A study of home users of tDCS devices. *J. Cogn. Enhanc.* **2**, 114–134 (2018).
- Wexler, A. A pragmatic analysis of the regulation of consumer transcranial direct current stimulation (TDCS) devices in the United States. J. Law Biosci. 2, 669–696 (2016).
- 58. OECD-Council. OECD Recommendation on Responsible Innovation in Neurotechnology. (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2019).
- Ienca, M., Haselager, P. & Emanuel, E. J. Brain leaks and consumer neurotechnology. *Nat. Biotechnol.* 36, 805–810 (2018).
- 60. Ienca, M., Jotterand, F. & Elger, B. S. From healthcare to warfare and reverse: how should we regulate dual-use neurotechnology? *Neuron* **97**, 269–274 (2018).
- Ienca, M. & Andorno, R. Towards new human rights in the age of neuroscience and neurotechnology. *Life Sci. Soc. Policy* 13, 5 (2017).
- 62. Ienca, M. et al. Towards a governance framework for brain data. Neuroethics 15, 20 (2022).
- 63. Wexler, A. Separating neuroethics from neurohype. *Nat. Biotechnol.* **37**, 988–990 (2019).
- 64. Greely, H. T. et al. Neuroethics guiding principles for the NIH BRAIN initiative. *J. Neurosci.* **38**, 10586–10588 (2018).
- 65. IEEE. IEEE Neuroethics Framework. Available at https://brain.ieee. org/publications/ieee-neuroethics-framework/ (2021).
- International Bioethics Committee of UNESCO. Ethical Issues of Neurotechnology. Available at https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ ark:/48223/pf0000383559 (2022).
- 67. Farahany, N. A. The Battle for Your Brain: Defending the Right to Think Freely in the Age of Neurotechnology (St. Martin's Press, 2022)
- 68. Yuste, R., Genser, J. & Herrmann, S. It's time for Neuro-Rights. Horizons 18, 154–164 (2021).
- Borbón, D. & Borbón, L. A critical perspective on NeuroRights: comments regarding ethics and law. Front. Hum. Neurosci. 15, 703121 (2021).
- 70. Bublitz, C. Novel neurorights: from nonsense to substance. *Neuroethics* **15**, 7 (2022).
- 71. Susser, D. & Cabrera, L. Brain data in context: are new rights the way to mental and brain privacy? *AJOB Neurosci.* **5**, 1–12 (2023).
- 72. Fins, J. J. The unintended consequences of Chile's neurorights constitutional reform: moving beyond negative rights to capabilities. *Neuroethics* **15**, 26 (2022).
- Rainey, S. Neurorights as Hohfeldian privileges. Neuroethics 16, 9 (2023).
- Herrmann, S., Yuste, R. & Genser, J. Neurorights Foundation: Gap Analysis. Available at https://static1.squarespace. com/static/60e5c0c4c4f37276f4d458cf/t/62751 30256dd5e2e11d4bd1b/1651839747023/Neurorights+Foundation +PUBLIC+Analysis+5.6.22.pdf (2022).
- 75. Library of the National Congress of Chile. Law 21383: Amends the Fundamental Charter, to Establish Scientific and Technological Development at the Service of People. Available at https://www.bcn.cl/leychile/navegar?idNorma=1166983&tipoVersion=0 (2021).
- Republica de Chile Senado. C.N. BIll. Available at https://www.senado.cl/appsenado/templates/tramitacion/index.php?boletin_ini=13828-19 (2020).

- Government of Spain. Carta Derechos Digitales. Available at https://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/presidente/actividades/ Documents/2021/140721-Carta_Derechos_Digitales_RedEs.pdf (2021).
- 78. Yuste, R., Quadra-Salcedo, T. & Fernandez, M. G. Neurorights and new charts of digital rights: a dialogue. *Indiana J. Global Leg. Studies* **30**, 1 (2023).
- Organization of American States. Declaration of the Interamerican Juridical Committee on Neuroscience, Neurotechnologies and Human Rights: New Legal Challenges for the Americas. CJI/DEC. 01 (XCIX-O/21) (2021).
- Committee of the Council of Europe. Committee on Bioethics of the Council of Europe, Strategic Action Plan on Human Rights and Technologies in Biomedicine (2020–2025). Adopted by the Committee on Bioethics (DH-BIO) at its 16th meeting (19–21 November 2019) (2019).
- 81. UNESCO. Report of the International Bioethics Committee of UNESCO, Ethical Issues of Neurotechnology, SHS/BIO/IBC28/2021/3Rev (2021).
- 82. OECD. Recommendation on Responsible Innovation in Neurotechnology, Adopted by the OECD Council on 11 December 2019 (2019).
- United Nations. United Nations, Our Common Agenda— Report of the Secretary-General, New York 2021, par. 35 (2021).
- 84. Human Rights Council. Assessing the Human Rights Impact of Neurotechnology: Towards the Recognition of 'Neurorights'. Available at https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/hrbodies/hrcouncil/advisorycommittee/session28/2022-08-09/AC28-Human-rights-impact-of-neurotechnology.docx (2022).
- Lauter, K., Naehrig, M. & Vaikuntanathan, V. Can homomorphic encryption be practical? Available at https://eprint.iacr. org/2011/405.pdf (2011).
- Dwork, C. Differential Privacy and the US Census. Available at https://dl.acm.org/doi/pdf/10.1145/3294052.3322188? download=true (2019).
- Abadi, M. et al. Deep Learning with Differential Privacy. Available at https://dl.acm.org/doi/pdf/10.1145/2976749.2978318? download=true (2016).
- 88. McMahan, B. & Ramage, D. Federated Learning: Collaborative Machine Learning without Centralized Training Data. Available at https://ai.googleblog.com/2017/04/federated-learning-collaborative.html (2017).
- Choudhury, O. et al. Differential privacy-enabled federated learning for sensitive health data. Preprint at https://arxiv.org/ abs/1910.02578 (2020).
- US Congress. Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996. Public Law 104, 191 (1996).
- 91. Voigt, P. & Von dem Bussche, A. The EU general data protection regulation (GDPR). In *A Practical Guide* (Springer, 2017).
- 92. Rainey, S. et al. Is the European data protection regulation sufficient to deal with emerging data concerns relating to neurotechnology? *J. Law Biosci.* **7**, IsaaO51 (2020).
- 93. State of California. California Legislative Information. Title 1.81.5. California Consumer Privacy Act of 2018. Available at https://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/codes_displayText.xhtml?division=3.&part=4.&lawCode=CIV&title=1.81.5 (1988).
- Observational Health Data Sciences and Informatics (OHDSI).
 Available at https://www.ohdsi.org/ (2023).
- McMahan, H. B., Moore, E., Ramage, D. & Hampson, S. Communication-efficient learning of deep networks from decentralized data. Preprint at https://arxiv.org/abs/1602.05629 (2016).

- Rieke, A., Yu, H., Robinson, D. & van Hoboken, J. Data Brokers in an Open Society (Open Society Foundation, London, UK, 2016).
- 97. Tanner, A. How data brokers make money off your medical records. Sci. Am. **314**, 26–27 (2016).
- 98. Rocher, L., Hendrickx, J. M. & de Montjoye, Y.-A. Estimating the success of re-identifications in incomplete datasets using generative models. *Nat. Commun.* **10**, 3069 (2019).
- 99. Sweeney, L. Simple demographics often identify people uniquely. *Health (San Francisco)* **671**, 1–34 (2000).
- 100. Azemi, E. et al. Biosignal sensing device using dynamic selection of electrodes. US Patent 20230225659 A1 Available at https:// ppubs.uspto.gov/pubwebapp/ (2023).
- 101. Government of the United Kingdom. Regulatory Horizons Council (RHC) Publishes Independent Recommendations on the Future Regulation of Neurotechnology and AI as a Medical Device. Available at https://www.gov.uk/government/news/ regulatory-horizons-council-rhc-publishes-independentrecommendations-on-the-future-regulation-of-neurotechnologyand-ai-as-a-medical-device (2022).
- 102. European Union. Commission Implementing Regulation (EU) 2022/2346 of 1 December 2022 Laying Down Common Specifications for the Groups of Products without an Intended Medical Purpose Listed in Annex XVI to Regulation (EU) 2017/745 of the European Parliament and of the Council on Medical Devices. Available at https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg_impl/2022/2346/oj (2023).
- 103. US Department of Health and Human Services. *The Belmont Report*. Available at https://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/regulations-and-policy/belmont-report/read-the-belmont-report/index.html (1979).
- 104. Alamos, M. F. et al. A technochratic oath. In *Protecting the Mind: Challenges in Law, Neuroprotection, and Neurorights* (eds. Varela, L. & Lopez, P.) (Springer, 2022).

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by Columbia University's Precision Medicine & Society Program and the Sloan Foundation. The author thanks G. Hripcsak, J. Genser, J. Davies and S. Neustadter for discussions and E. Einhorn for assistance.

Competing interests

The author discloses his role as chairman of the Neurorights Foundation, whose goal is to promote research, advocacy and outreach on neurorights.

Additional information

Correspondence should be addressed to Rafael Yuste.

Peer review information *Nature Protocols* thanks Marcello Ienca, Anna Wexler and the other, anonymous, reviewer(s) for their contribution to the peer review of this work.

Reprints and permissions information is available at www.nature.com/reprints.

Publisher's note Springer Nature remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Springer Nature or its licensor (e.g. a society or other partner) holds exclusive rights to this article under a publishing agreement with the author(s) or other rightsholder(s); author self-archiving of the accepted manuscript version of this article is solely governed by the terms of such publishing agreement and applicable law.

© Springer Nature Limited 2023