

Internet Censorship, Control and Governance

Term:

Fall 2019

Course conveners:

Prof. Leo Van Audenhove

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Office hours: Friday, 13:00-15:00

Course description:

In 1996 John Barlow wrote his famous Declaration of Independence of Cyberspace. The Internet would not be governed by governments or the industry, it would be governed by the Internet community itself. That ideal seems far off now. Critical internet resources are managed by ICANN, but its legitimacy is still challenged. Governments regulate and control the Internet in different fields. More authoritarian countries actively censor the Internet. This course introduces students to Internet Governance. It gives an overview of (select) international institutions governing the Internet and focuses on current international debates on Internet Governance. It discusses central themes, such as censorship and freedom of expression, surveillance and privacy, disinformation, election integrity and hate speech, copyright and creativity, cyber-diplomacy and cyber-security.

After taking this course students should

- Understand internet governance and its main multifaceted aspects
- Understand current policy debates in this field
- Have an overview of the institutions involved in Internet governance

Course time:

Wednesday, 15:00-17:00

Course location:

E.0.06 (please always check online in advance – might change)

Course schedule:

1. Introduction // History of the Internet: technical and governance principles (25.09)

Compulsory:

- Kurbalija, J. (2016) *An Introduction to Internet Governance*. Geneva: DiploFoundation. Introduction (pp. 5-32)
- Ziewitz, M. and Brown, I. (2013) A Pre-History of Internet Governance. In Brown, I. (Ed.). *Research Handbook on Governance of the Internet*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. (pp. 3-26)

Recommended:

- Abbate, J. (1999) *Inventing the Internet*. Cambridge, MA: MIT press.
- Barlow, J.P. (1996) *Declaration of Independence of Cyberspace*. Available at: <https://www.eff.org/nl/cyberspace-independence>
- Frau-Meigs, D., Nicey, J., Palmer, M., Pohle, J. and Tupper, P. (Eds., 2012) *From NWICO to WSIS: 30 Years of Communication Geopolitics. Actors and Flows, Structures and Divides*. Bristol: Intellect.
- Graham, G. (2001) *The Internet :// A Philosophical Inquiry*. London: Routledge.
- Lessig, L. (2006) *Code. Version 2.0*. New York: Basic Books.
- UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Digital Cooperation (2019). *The Age of Digital Interdependence*. Geneva: United Nations. Available at: <https://www.un.org/en/pdfs/DigitalCooperation-report-for%20web.pdf>

2. Theorizing Internet governance (02.10)

Compulsory:

- DeNardis, L. (2014) *The Global War for Internet Governance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Chapter 1. The Internet Governance Oxymoron. (pp. 1-25)
- Brousseau, E., Marzouki, M. and Méadel, C. (2012) Governance, Networks and Digital Technologies: Societal, Political and Organizational Innovations. In Brousseau, E., M. Marzouki and C. Méadel (Eds.) *Governance, Regulations and Powers on the Internet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (pp. 1-36)

Recommended:

- Brown, I. and Marsden, C. (2013) *Regulating Code: Good Governance and Better Regulation in the Information Age*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Mueller, M. (2010) *Networks and States. The Global Politics of Internet Governance*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Musiani, F. (2012) Caring About the Plumbing: On the Importance of Architectures in Social Studies of (Peer-to-Peer) Technology. *Journal of Peer Production* 2012(1). Available at: <https://hal-mines-paristech.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-00771863/document>

3. Intergovernmental // multistakeholder institutions: ITU and IGF (09.10)

Compulsory:

- Kurbalija, J. (2016) *An Introduction to Internet Governance*. Geneva: DiploFoundation. Internet Governance Actors. (pp. 225-244)
- Shahin, J. (2010) The Role of the International Telecommunication Union. *Wereldbeeld: Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor de Verenigde Naties* 34(154) 11-16.
- Internet Governance Forum (2015). Background Paper. Available at: https://www.intgovforum.org/cms/2015/IGF_24.06.2015.pdf
- Macron, F. (2018) *IGF 2018 Speech*. Speech delivered on 14 November 2018 at Internet Governance Forum 2018. Available at: <https://www.intgovforum.org/multilingual/content/igf-2018-speech-by-french-president-emmanuel-macron>

Recommended:

- Epstein, D. (2013) The Making of Institutions of Information Governance: The Case of the Internet Governance Forum. *Journal of Information Technology* 28(2) 137–49.
- Hubbard, A. and Bygrave, L. (2009) Internet Governance Goes Global. In Bygrave, L. and J. Bing (Eds.) *Internet Governance: Infrastructure and Institutions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (pp. 213-235)
- Maclean, D. (2008) Sovereign Right and the Dynamics of Power in the ITU: Lessons in the Quest for Inclusive Global Governance. In Drake, W. and E. Wilson III (Eds.). *Governing Global Electronic Networks: International Perspectives on Policy and Power*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. (pp. 83-126)
- Kleinwächter, W. (2008) Multistakeholderism, Civil Society, and Global Diplomacy: The Case of the World Summit on the Information Society. In Drake, W. and E. Wilson III (Eds.) *Governing Global Electronic Networks: International Perspectives on Policy and Power*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. (pp. 535-582)

4. Multistakeholder // technical institutions: ICANN and other technical bodies (16.10)

Compulsory:

- ICANN (2013) *What Does ICANN Do?* Available at: <https://youtu.be/IJY5xJKPhjA>
- LACNIC and ICANN (2014) *What You Need to Know About IANA*. Available at: <https://youtu.be/Lk5j25nmZKY>

Recommended:

- Cerf, V. (2018) *Romanes Lecture: The Pacification of Cyberspace*. Speech delivered on 6 November 2018 at University of Oxford. Available at: <http://www.ox.ac.uk/news-and-events/The-University-Year/romanes-lecture/pacification-of-cyberspace>
- DeNardis, L. (2009) *Protocol Politics. The Globalization of Internet Governance*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Mueller, M. and Woo, J. (2008) Spectators or Players? Participation in ICANN by the “Rest of the World”. In Drake, W. and E. Wilson III (Eds.). *Governing Global*

Electronic Networks: International Perspectives on Policy and Power. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. (pp. 507-533)

- Weber, R. (2013) The Legitimacy and Accountability of the Internet's Governing Institutions. In Brown, I. (Ed.) *Research Handbook on Governance of the Internet*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. (pp. 99-120)

5. European perspectives on Internet governance (23.10)

Compulsory:

- Shahin, J. (2006) A European History of the Internet. *Science and Public Policy* 33(9) 681-693.
- European Commission (1998) COM(1998)111 final. *Communication from the Commission to the Council. International Policy Issues Related to Internet Governance*.
- European Commission (1998) COM(1998) 476 final. *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament. Internet Governance. Management of Internet Names and Addresses. Analysis and Assessment from the European Commission of the US Department of Commerce White Paper*.
- European Commission (2009) COM(2009) 0277 final. *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council. Internet Governance: The Next Steps*.
- European Commission (2014) COM(2014) 072 final. *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. Internet Policy and Governance: Europe's Role in Shaping the Future of Internet Governance*.

Recommended:

- Christou, G. and Simpson, S. (2011) The European Union, Multilateralism and the Global Governance of the Internet. *Journal of European Public Policy* 18(2) 241-257. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2011.544505>
- Dewandre, N. and Gulyas, O. (2018). Sensitive Economic Personae and Functional Human Beings: A Critical Metaphor Analysis of EU Policy Documents between 1985 and 2014. *Journal of Language and Politics* 17(6) 831-857. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.17068.dew>
- Miao, W. and Ang, P.H. (2016) Internet Governance: From the Global to the Local. *Communication and the Public* 1(3) 377-84. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/2057047316667737>

6. New institutional developments (30.10)

Compulsory:

- Global Commission on Internet Governance (2016). *One Internet*. Centre for International Governance Innovation and Chatham House. Available at: https://www.cigionline.org/sites/default/files/gcig_final_report_-_with_cover.pdf Preface and The Essentials. (pp. i-ix)
- UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Digital Cooperation (2019). *The Age of Digital Interdependence*. Geneva: United Nations. Available at: <https://www.un.org/en/pdfs/DigitalCooperation-report-for%20web.pdf> Chapter 4: Mechanisms for Global Digital Cooperation. (pp.22-28)

- Musiani, F. and Pohle, J. (2014) NETmundial: Only a Landmark Event if ‘Digital Cold War’ Rhetoric Abandoned. *Internet Policy Review* 3(1). Available at: <https://policyreview.info/articles/analysis/netmundial-only-landmark-event-if-digital-cold-war-rhetoric-abandoned>
- Wilson III, E. (2008) Conclusion: Governance of Global Electronic Networks: The Contrasting Views of Dominant and Nondominant Actors. In Drake, W. and E. Wilson III (Eds.) *Governing Global Electronic Networks: International Perspectives on Policy and Power*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. (pp. 583-615)

Recommended:

- Castells, M. (2012) *Networks of Outrage and Hope. Social Movements in the Internet Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Pohle, J. and Van Audenhove, L. (Eds., 2017) Post-Snowden Internet Policy. Special Issue of *Media and Communication* 5(1). Available at: <https://www.cogitatiopress.com/mediaandcommunication/issue/view/59>
- West, S. (2018) Searching for the Public in Internet Governance: Examining Infrastructures of Participation at NETmundial. *Policy & Internet* 10 (1) 22–42. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1002/poi3.143>

7. Censorship and freedom of expression (06.11)

Compulsory:

- Freedom on the Net (2018) *The Rise of Digital Authoritarianism*. Available at: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-net/freedom-net-2018>
- Pielemeier, J. (2018, July 9) Reports on the Death of Internet Freedom are Greatly Exaggerated. *Council on Foreign Relations*. Available at: <https://www.cfr.org/blog/reports-death-internet-freedom-are-greatly-exaggerated>

Recommended:

- *Black Mirror*, British Science Fiction Television Series (2011—).
- Deibert, R. (2014) *Black Code: Inside the Battle for Cyberspace*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.
- King, G., Pan, J. & Roberts, M.E. (2013). How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression. *American Political Science Review*, May, 1-18.
- Padovani, C., Musiani, F. and Pavan, E. (2010) Investigating Evolving Discourses on Human Rights in the Digital Age. *The International Communication Gazette* 72(4-5) 359-373. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048510362618>
- Swiss Institute of Comparative Law (2015) *Comparative Study of Blocking, Filtering and Take-Down of Illegal Internet Content*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Zittrain, J. (2008) *The Future of the Internet—And How to Stop It*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

8. Disinformation and election integrity (13.11)

Compulsory:

- Marsden, C. and Meyer, T. (2019) *Regulating Disinformation with Artificial Intelligence (AI). The Effects of Disinformation Initiatives on Freedom of Expression and Media Pluralism*. Brussels: European Parliament. Available at: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2019/624279/EPRS_STU\(20](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2019/624279/EPRS_STU(20)

[19\)624279_EN.pdf](#) Chapter 3. Mapping and Evaluating the Existing Solutions. (pp. 21-49)

- UK Information Commissioner's Office (2018) *Investigation into the Use of Data Analytics in Political Campaigns. A Report to Parliament*. Available at: <https://ico.org.uk/media/action-weve-taken/2260271/investigation-into-the-use-of-data-analytics-in-political-campaigns-final-20181105.pdf> Executive Summary, Summary of Regulatory Action, Next Steps (pp. 7-13, 62-63, 64)

Recommended:

- *The Great Hack*, Netflix (2019).
- European Commission Independent High-Level Group on Fake News and Online Disinformation (2018). *Final Report*. Available at: <https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/en/news/final-report-high-level-expert-group-fake-news-and-online-disinformation>
- Morozov, E. (2011). *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom*. New York: Public Affairs.

9. NO CLASS — VUB Sint-Verhaegen Day (20.11)

10. Surveillance and privacy (27.11)

Compulsory:

- Heyman, R., De Wolf, R. and Pierson, J. (2014) Evaluating Social Media Privacy Settings for Personal and Advertising Purposes. *Info* 16(4) 18-32. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1108/info-01-2014-0004>
- Lyon, D. (2018) *The Culture of Surveillance: Watching as a Way of Life*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Introduction. (pp. 1-26)

Recommended:

- *Digital Dissidents*, Documentary (2015).
- Floridi, L. (2011) The Informational Nature of Personal Identity. *Minds and Machines* 21(4) 549-566.
- Fuchs, C. (2012) The Political Economy of Privacy on Facebook. *Television & new Media* 2012(13) 139-159. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1527476411415699>
- Kuehn, A. (2013) Cookies versus Clams: Clashing Tracking Technologies and Online Privacy. *Info* 15(6) 19-31. Available at: <https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/info-04-2013-0013/full/html>

11. Creativity and copyright (04.12)

Compulsory:

- Meyer, T. (2017). *The Politics of Online Copyright Enforcement in the EU. Access and Control*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 2. The Internet versus Copyright? (pp. 39-123)
- European Parliament Research Service (2019). *Legislation in Progress Briefing: Copyright in the Digital Single Market*. Available at: [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/593564/EPRS_BRI\(2016\)593564_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/593564/EPRS_BRI(2016)593564_EN.pdf)

Recommended:

- Doctorow, C. (2014). *Information Doesn't Want to Be Free*. San Francisco: McSweeney's.
- Farrand, B. (2014). *Networks of Power in Digital Copyright Law and Policy: Political Salience, Expertise and the Legislative Process*. Oxon and New York: Routledge.
- Keen, A. (2008). *The Cult of the Amateur: How Today's Internet is Killing Our Culture*. New York: Doubleday.

12. Cyber-diplomacy and cyber-security (11.12)

Compulsory:

- Barrinha, A. and Renard, T. (2017) Cyber-Diplomacy: The Making of an International Society in the Digital Age. *Global Affairs* 3(4-5) 353-364. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/4IXCncr9Na2ppDCdl4pu/full>
- Carrapico, H. and Barrinha, A. (2017) The EU as a Coherent (Cyber)Security Actor? *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55(6) 1254-1272. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12575>

Recommended:

- Christou, G. (2016) *Cybersecurity in the European union. Resilience and Adaptability in Governance Policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

13. Conclusion (18.12)

No readings

Course assessment:

The final grade will be based on a combination of an individual oral exam (75%), and a group presentation and paper in class (25%). For the oral exams, students need to process both slides and literature. Students will get two initial exam questions and a preparation time of 15 minutes before the exam starts. The group assignment related to government practices of controlling and regulating the internet will be communicated at the beginning of the course.