Universität Bremen
FB 8 | Institut für Politikwissenschaft
BA Politikwissenschaft

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Digital Office Hours: Thursdays, 15:00-16:00 (Jitsi)[1]

Global Internet Governance

Thursday, April 4th, 16:00-18:00 (Room GW2 B2890)
Saturday, April 6th, 9:00-17:00 (Room GW2 B2890)
Saturday, June 15th, 9:00-17:00 (Room GW2 B2890)
Sunday, June 16th, 9:00-17:00 (Room GW2 B2890)

Content

The Internet has become an essential driving force for political, cultural and economic change, and a crucial space for human rights protection and violation. Simultaneously, the Internet, far from being a mere "cloud", is relentlessly socially and physically re-constructed by powerful states and transnational corporations. These actors struggle over economic gain and influence – from ways to monetize user behavior to the location of undersea cables. Political contestations in the field of Internet governance are driven by ideas as much as by perceived interests and they take place inside and outside of formalized global institutions.

This course introduces students to the politics of global Internet governance on several levels – from physical data infrastructure to platform content policies. In the beginning of the course (April) we will explore how the Internet became the way it is and why its governance has become such a major concern within public attention. We will examine and understand how multistakeholder governance works as the core principle of global Internet governance. In April, we will also study the Internet as an amalgam of different technologies and physical infrastructures, highlighting its materiality and the inequalities that are connected to this feature.

The second part of the course (meeting on June 15th) allows us to investigate the actors and institutions in global Internet governance. During this meeting we deal with the roles of states, "the technical community", private companies and civil society in Internet Governance. As we discuss these actors, we also have a look at the global fora and institutions they are most associated with, including the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), Internet Engineering Task Force (IETF), the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), and the Internet Governance Forum (IGF).

In the third part of the course (meeting on June 16th), having understood the playing field and the players somewhat better, we will engage with the question of digital rights. Various human rights issues arise in the field of global Internet governance. First, we talk about how various actors aim to entrench digital rights protection into law, policy and corporate practice, especially using digital bills of rights and comparable documents. Thereafter, we focus on a number of specific and very timely human rights issues in the field of global Internet governance (of students' choosing), applying what has been learned. These issues may include ICANN's "WHOIS" function and privacy concerns; Google's foray into censorship as a way to enter the Chinese market, social media platforms' struggle to balance freedom of speech and protection against harassment, or the EU's recent Copyright Directive ("upload filter").

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[1] Jitsi is a free, open software-based communications tool that does not require a download. There will be an online sign-up sheet. The links to the Jitsi office hours session and to the sign-up sheet will be sent around. Please contact me via email in case of any questions concerning the procedure. How this works will also be explained during the first meeting of the course on April 4th.

Goals

- Gain knowledge about the development and physical infrastructure of the Internet
- Get to know the concept of multistakeholder governance, four different stakeholder groups within Internet governance and the global institutions that serve as fora for debate and political contestations
- Understand debates around human rights such as privacy, right to access of Information, freedom of expression and right to security – within global Internet governance
- Think critically about the effectiveness of global Internet governance for the realization of social goods and the protection of human rights online

Assessment

There are two options to pass the course successfully, either with 3 or 6 CP.

For 3 CP (MPL) students are required to give a presentation of 15 minutes on an assigned topic (on June 15th) and hand in a written summary of the presentation by September 30th (1,500-2,000 words). Students are encouraged to hand in the summary earlier than that date. A handout of one or two pages should be prepared and brought to class for the entire seminar group. Using slides (e.g. MS PowerPoint, Google Slides) is an option, but not a requirement for an excellent grade. Students are encouraged to discuss their presentation ahead of time, during office hours.

For 6 CP (GPL) students are required to write a research paper of about 5,000-6,000 words to be handed in by Friday, September 30th. Students are encouraged to discuss their paper ahead of time, during office hours.

Both the summary of the presentation and the research paper require correct citations and should be spell-checked. For this you should consult the Study Guide[2]. Please also consult the Study Guide for more information on formatting requirements and general guidelines for writing a research paper.

The summary of the presentation and the research paper should be handed in via email (dredeker@bigsss-bremen.de) attaching a "Copyright Declaration"[3]. Please also consult the information sheet concerning the use of anti-plagiarism software[4].

Meeting 1: Introduction to the Course

Thursday, April 4th, 2019, 16:00-18:00, Room GW2 B2890, University of Bremen.

The first meeting of the semester serves to discuss the content that will be covered by this course, students' expectations, the approaches to learning and the ways in which students' progress is assessed. In addition, this meeting provides a first glance at the importance and complexity of global Internet governance.

Required Reading: none.

Meeting 2: Foundations of Global Internet Governance

Saturday, April 6th, 2019, 9:00-17:00, Room GW2 B2890, University of Bremen. This meeting is sub-divided into four thematic sessions. There will be a lunch break.

Session 1: Why Internet governance matters

We will discuss the short history of the Internet from its early stages to its commercial rise in the 1990s and on to the platform economy that characterizes the last ten years of its development. We define the boundaries of the "Internet", discuss the notions of "Cyberspace" and various more current phenomena such as crypto-networks (blockchain) and the Internet of Things. We will see that its transnational structure

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[2] https://www.politik.uni-bremen.de/ccm/cms-service/stream/asset/StudyGuide%202016%20(Update%2025-03-2017).pdf?asset_id=1386014
[3] https://seafile.zfn.uni-bremen.de/d/3c720f39c386418f8fc9/files/?p=/Copyright%20declaration.pdf
[4] https://seafile.zfn.uni-bremen.de/d/3c720f39c386418f8fc9/files/?p=/PlagScan_Information%20for%20students.pdf

is a dominant characteristic of the Internet that informs its governance. This session will help set the background for why we should care about the governance of the Internet asking: What can and what should be governed and by whom?

Session 2: The multistakeholder approach to Internet governance

Multistakeholder governance is the dominant mode of governance in Internet governance, from the global Internet Governance Forum to ICANN (Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers). It represents a deviation from the standard mode of global governance found in state-led governance approaches (e.g. in matters of international security). Multistakeholder governance can empower actors often marginalized in international affairs such as local NGOs and technical experts. We will explore both the ambition and reality of multistakeholder governance in global Internet governance.

Lunch Break (12:00-13:00)

Session 3: *Reflecting the materiality of the Internet*

One way to helps us better understand the connection between the Internet and socio-economic inequalities is to explore its materiality. This session aims to make students aware of the social, economic and environmental impacts of our digital infrastructure.

This session will start with group work that helps students explore a variety of topics related to the materiality of the Internet, including the connection of digitization to climate change and the unequal distribution of Internet infrastructure and access.

Guest Speaker: Zane G. T. Cooper, University of Pennsylvania (via Skype)

Mr. Cooper will give a talk about the political implications of the Internet with a focus on social justice and environmental impacts. This talk is followed by a question-and-answer (Q&A) session.

Session 4: *The challenges within the scope of global Internet governance*

This session allows us to take stock of and categorize the challenges within Internet governance, some of which relate to inequities and rights, others to the stability and security of the network. Students will be presented with short readings regarding a number of issues, which they will present to each other in the second part of this session. Issue areas include but are not limited to: Freedom of Expression, Privacy, Cyber Warfare, Stability of the Network, Fragmentation of the Internet, Security of the Internet of Things, Network Neutrality

We will close with an evaluation of the meeting and discuss to upcoming meetings.

Required Reading[*]:

- Hofmann, J. (2016). Multi-stakeholderism in Internet governance: putting a fiction into practice. *Journal of Cyber Policy, 1*(1), 29-49. (**20 pages**)
- Mueller, M. L. (2010). *Networks and states: The global politics of Internet governance*. MIT press, chapter 1. (**15 pages**)

Additional Reading:

- Alshahrani, H. A. (2016). A brief history of the Internet in Saudi Arabia. *TechTrends, 60*(1), 19-20.
- Doria, A. (2013). Use [and Abuse] of Multistakeholderism in the Internet. In: *The Evolution of Global Internet Governance: Principles and Policies in the Making*, eds. R. Radu, J.-M. Chenou, and R. H. Weber. New York, NY: Springer, 115–40.
- Gasser, U., R. Budish, and S. M. West (2015). *Multistakeholder as Governance Groups: Observations from Case Studies*. Cambridge, MA: Berkman Center for Internet and Society. https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/16140635/Berkman_2015-1-revision.pdf

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[*] Texts for required reading are available through the university library

- Hogan, M., & Shepherd, T. (2015). Information ownership and materiality in an age of big data surveillance. *Journal of Information Policy, 5*, 6-31.
- Kwet, M. (2018). Digital Colonialism: US Empire and the New Imperialism in the Global South.
- Lessig, L. (2006). *Code Version 2.0*. New York: Basic Books, Chapter 7
- Maynard, D. C. (2019). An Introduction to the History of the Internet: A Brazilian Perspective. In: *The Internet and Health in Brazil* (pp. 15-26). Springer, Cham.

Meeting 3: Actors and Institutions in Global Internet Governance

Saturday, June 16th, 2019, 9:00-17:00, Room GW2 B2890, University of Bremen. This meeting is sub-divided into three thematic sessions. There will be a lunch break.

Session 1: Who are the actors in global Internet governance?

Reflecting on the readings, we explore who takes part and has an interest in Internet governance. This helps us better understand the scope of the so-called Internet governance "ecosystem", including states, civil society, the technical community, private companies (and more). We explore these groups' interests, capacities and positions taken within Internet governance. If students chose to deliver a presentation as part of their assessment for this course, this is one opportunity to do so.

Session 2: Where does Internet governance take place?

Internet governance, due to its (usual) multistakeholder approach and the many issue areas included under the term, does not take place within just one institution or within a clear hierarchy of institutions (contrary to the role of the United Nations Security Council within the issue area of international security). Important venues for discussions and decisions are: the Internet Governance Forum, ICANN (Internet Corporation of Assigned Names and Numbers), the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), and many others. If students chose to deliver a presentation as part of their assessment for this course, this is one opportunity to do so.

Lunch Break (12:00-13:00, time tbc, depending on the number of student presentations)

Session 3: *Internet Governance Forum – A Simulation Game*

This session aims to provide students with the opportunity to take on the roles of actors within global Internet governance, specifically within the context of the Internet Governance Forum (IGF). First, we will discuss the setting and the rules of the IGF. Students will be subdivided into stakeholder groups and prepare for an IGF workshop. Both during the workshop and during a workshop break, students will act within their roles, expressing specific values and following specific interests. Afterwards, we will evaluate the simulation game and compare it to discussions in the literature.

We will close with an evaluation of the meeting and discuss to upcoming meeting.

Required Reading:

- DeNardis, L. (2014). *The Global War for Internet Governance*. Yale University Press, chapter 3 (**17 pages**)
- Mueller, M. L. (2010). *Networks and states: The global politics of Internet governance*. MIT press, chapter 4. (**26 pages**)
- Nye, J. S. (2014). The regime complex for managing global cyber activities. *CIGI Paper Series No. 1* (May 2014). (**20 pages**)

Additional Reading:

- Edmundson, A., Ensafi, R., Feamster, N., & Rexford, J. (2018, June). Nation-State Hegemony in Internet Routing. In: *Proceedings of the 1st ACM SIGCAS Conference on Computing and Sustainable Societies* (p. 17). ACM.
- Ermoshina, K. and Musiani, F. (2018). Standardizing by Running Code: The Signal Protocol and De Facto Standardization in End-to-End Encrypted Messaging. *GigaNet: Global Internet Governance Academic Network, Annual Symposium 2017.*

- Florini, A, M. & Simmons, P. J. (2000). What the world needs now? In: A. M. Florini (Ed.), *The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society*. Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1-16.
- Hurel, L. M. and Lobato, L. (2018). Unpacking Cybernorms: Private Companies as Norms Entrepreneurs. *GigaNet: Global Internet Governance Academic Network, Annual Symposium 2017.*
- Milan, S. & ten Oever, N. (2017). Coding and encoding rights in internet infrastructure. *Internet Policy Review, 6*(1).
- Mueller, M. L. (2010). *Networks and states: The global politics of Internet governance*. MIT press, chapter 5.
- Nocetti, J. (2015). Contest and conquest: Russia and global internet governance. *International Affairs, 91*(1), 111-130.

Meeting 4: Global Internet Governance and Human Rights

Sunday, June 17th, 2019, 9:00-17:00, Room GW2 B2890, University of Bremen. This meeting is sub-divided into four thematic sessions. There will be a lunch break.

Session 1: *Are human rights fit for the digital age?*

This session explores the relationship between globally accepted human rights norms and the rise of the Internet. We will explore which human rights are most at risk when large amounts of personal data is covertly collected, if technologies such as artificial intelligence should be used for automatic decision-making on things like length of prison sentence, and when governments block access to the Internet. Or does the Internet even aid individuals in the enjoyment of their human rights?

Session 2: *Digital rights and their legalization*

Guest Speaker: Edoardo Celeste, University College Dublin

Mr. Celeste will provide a legal perspective on human right in the digital age, focusing on the attempts to agree on global, regional and national rules to better protect rights. This talk is followed by a question-and-answer (Q&A) session.

Session 3: *Digital Constitutionalism: Towards a Global Internet Bill of Rights?*

In this session, it will talk about a recent development termed "digital constitutionalism" i.e. the development of digital rights charters, declarations and other documents by a number of actors involved in global Internet governance. These documents express shared values about which rights and principles should be realized regarding the Internet. We will explore a number of examples for digital constitutionalism, from regional documents such as the European and African approaches to documents written from a feminist perspective.

Session 4: *How should the Internet look like? Your Internet rights declaration*

The session asks students to envision for themselves which digital rights should be included in a document that should be globally adopted. Which values need to be balanced against each other? What are the more important rights and principles to be included? Given that technology and society will change in the future, what other safeguards are required?

We will close with an evaluation of the meeting and the entire course. We will be able to talk about paper ideas that students might have, in case they opt to write a research paper as part of their assessment for this course.

Required Reading:

- Akgul, M. and Kirlidog, M. (2015). Internet censorship in Turkey. *Internet Policy Review, 4*(2), 1-22. (**22 pages**)
- DeLuca, K. M., Brunner, E. and Sun, Y. (2016). Constructing public space| weibo, WeChat, and the transformative events of environmental activism in China. *International Journal of Communication*, 10. (**18 pages**)
- Padovani, C. and Santaniello, M. (2018). Digital constitutionalism: Fundamental rights and power limitation in the Internet eco-system. *International Communication Gazette* 80(4), 295–301. (**6 pages**)
- Poetranto, I. and Senft, A. (2016). Internet Governance During Crisis: The Changing Landscape of Thailand. *GigaNet: Global Internet Governance Academic Network, Annual Symposium 2016*. (**29 pages**)

Additional Reading:

- Casacuberta, D., Senges, M. and Duart, J.-M. (2007). Privacy and the Need for an Internet Bill of Rights: Are There New Rights in Cyberspace? *GigaNet: Global Internet Governance Academic Network, Annual Symposium 2007*.
- Celeste, E. (2019). Digital constitutionalism: a new systematic theorisation. International Review of Law, Computers & Technology 33(1), 76-99.
- Gillespie, T. (2018). Platforms are not intermediaries. *Georgetown Law Technology Review 2*, 198.
- ICANN (2017). Revised ICANN Procedure for Handling WHOIS Conflicts with Privacy Law.
- Karp, D. J. (2014). *Responsibility for human rights: transnational corporations in imperfect states*. Cambridge University Press, Chapter 2.
- Redeker, D., Gill, L. and Gasser, U. (2018). Towards digital constitutionalism? Mapping attempts to craft an Internet Bill of Rights. *International Communication Gazette* 80(4), 302–319.
- Zalnieriute, M. and Schneider, T. (2014). ICANN's Procedures and Policies in the Light of Human Rights, Fundamental Freedoms and Democratic Values, chapter 3.