

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science
POL438H1F 2022 - Topics in Comparative Politics I:
Democracy in the Age of Digital Authoritarianism

Course Schedule: Tuesdays and Thursdays, Noon to 2 PM, online.

Course Instructor: Irene P. Poetranto

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Office Hours: Thursdays, 3-4 PM (online) or by appointment.

Course Description

The American think tank Freedom House reported the fifteenth consecutive year of global democratic backsliding in 2021. This democratic recession is occurring simultaneously as new and highly sophisticated technologies for surveillance, censorship, and information manipulation have proliferated. While the use of these technologies for digital subversion and controls have been known to be part of an autocrat's playbook, democracies have steadily adopted these approaches as well. To better understand these trends, this course examines the key actors and institutions involved in the governance of the Internet and considers their democratic and civic implications. We will study digital authoritarianism and the models of Internet controls espoused by China, Russia, and their allies, the trends among liberal democracies of moving towards more state-directed controls and regulations, and the adoption of illiberal practices in the digital sphere by select countries around the world. Finally, we will explore issues related to gender, terrorism, and artificial intelligence and Big Data.

By the end of the course, students will be able to identify and distinguish the range of actors, institutions, and policies that constitute Internet governance, and understand some of the major challenges to Internet freedom and democracy worldwide. Students will also critically reflect on the theme of and/or debates in the course, develop critical thinking and public speaking skills, and learn how to write to different audiences.

There are no exams in this course. Coursework required includes quizzes, discussion board posts, essays, presentations, and class participation. Assignments and class materials in this course are designed to equip students with theoretical knowledge and applied research skills. As this is a seminar course, our meetings will be driven mainly by student-led discussions and debates. Due to COVID-19, this course will be delivered synchronously online.

Course Format and Requirements

Participation: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• A quiz (about the course)• Class contributions	Quiz is due on May 17 at 11:59 PM.	20%
Assignment 1: A Critical Reflection <ul style="list-style-type: none">• One essay• One presentation	Essay and presentation due at 11:59 PM the day <u>before</u> your chosen session begins.	20%
Assignment 2: Preparing for the Final Assignment <ul style="list-style-type: none">• A research brief quiz• Two discussion board posts• An annotated bibliography	Quiz is due on May 19. Discussion board posts are due on May 24 and May 26. Annotated bibliography is due on May 31.	30%
Assignment 3: Research brief essay	Due on June 16.	30%
Total		100%

All assignments must be submitted through Quercus.

Participation (20%)

Quiz - About POL438 (5%)

Please complete the “About the Course” quiz on Quercus by May 17, 11:59 PM. This quiz has 5 questions and should take approximately 10 minutes to complete. Most of the answers for this quiz can be found in the syllabus or on Quercus.

Class contributions (15%)

It is expected that students will attend each class session and come fully prepared to discuss the required readings. Your participation in each session will count towards your contribution grade. Your attendance will be taken into consideration for the calculation of the contribution grade. You are expected to attend all class sessions on time. If you are unable to attend class, you need to notify the instructor ahead of time.

For in-class discussions, you can stimulate or contribute to the discussion by noting “points of enthusiasm” (e.g., What is the one thing you have learned from the readings?) and “points of concern” (e.g., What is the one question you still have?).¹ You can obtain points for class participation by participating in in-class discussions and/or taking on any of the ten following

¹ Credit for this idea goes to Dr. Timothy Ryan
(<https://twitter.com/TJRyan02/status/1493627137756127232>)

roles.² Each activity is worth 1 (one) point and in performing a role, you will be graded on the quality of your contribution. The maximum number of points for participation is 15 points.

1. Note takers: Two note takers for every session who will post their notes on Quercus.
2. Timekeeper: One person in each session who will help us stay well paced and end on time.
3. "Previously" narrator: One person summarises what we did last class at the start of class.
4. "News of the world" narrator: Either post on Quercus or share in class current events or news that relate to that session's readings.
5. "I move, you move" instructor: Guide the class through short [movement breaks](#) (3-4 minutes). For example, [stretching](#) or [mindfulness](#).
6. "Goalkeeper": You set your own goals at the beginning of the course based on a rubric that you co-create with the instructor. On the last day of the course, you will submit a 500-750 word memo on how successful you were with a suggested grade.
7. Annotator: Submit one PDF of one required reading that is [annotated](#) for other readers. The PDF must be posted on the Quercus Discussion Board before that session begins.
8. "A letter to future students": On the last day of the course, you will submit a 500-750 word letter to next year's students with tips and tricks for navigating the course and my teaching/grading style, as well as what they wish they knew at the start.
9. Any form of course-related mutual aid with your peers, such as listening to others read their assignment out loud, showing other students how to navigate the library or writing centres, etc. You will email the instructor when tasks are completed to keep track of the points.
10. Unanticipated Awesome Person(s): Do something that helps your peers succeed in the course that this list did not anticipate. Please contact the course instructor if a classmate has helped you in the course or was your unanticipated awesome person(s).

Assignments (80%)

Assignment 1: A Critical Reflection (20%)

Critical reflection essay and presentation

The purpose of this assignment is to help you to thoughtfully engage with the core arguments advanced in the readings, critically reflect on the theme of and/or debates in the course, and develop your critical thinking and public speaking skills. Choose your preferred session as soon as possible, as there is a **maximum of three** students' presentations per session.

Essay: Each student will prepare one reflective essay (1,000-1,200 words, not including cover page and bibliography) to accompany an in-class presentation. The essay covers one session

² Credit for this idea goes to Dr. Max Liboiron
(<https://twitter.com/MaxLiboiron/status/1470771504145215499>)

worth of required readings. You may write on any session, except for the first and last sessions. The essay is not a summary of the required readings. Instead, it is to reflect on the broader implications as related to the course (i.e., why does this topic or issue matter), and critically evaluate the required readings' strengths and limitations using external sources. (You may use "I" while writing.) The essay that you turn in in any given session must be on that session's readings. Essays from previous session's readings will **not** be accepted. Your essay will be evaluated based on the organisation and development of ideas, and proper use of high quality external sources (e.g., books and journal articles) and Chicago Style author-date citation throughout the paper.

Presentation: You should assume that your classmates have read the required readings in advance of our meeting. Therefore, your 7-10 minutes presentation (each, if there are multiple students) should not simply summarise the required readings. Instead, drawing from your critical reflection essay, your presentation is to encourage the class to reflect on the issues at stake and end with providing 3-5 provocative, insightful, discussion-generating questions. Following your presentation, you will facilitate class discussion based on these questions. After your presentation has concluded, the instructor and your peers may offer specific, constructive feedback to help improve your public speaking and presentation skills. Your presentation will be graded based upon its clarity and creativity, how well it speaks to your critical reflection essay, and the manner in which you stimulate and orchestrate class discussion and debate.

Your essay and presentation must be submitted through Quercus at 11:59 PM the day before your chosen session begins. Essays should be typed using 12-point Times New Roman, double spaced with 1" (2.5 cm) margins, and submitted in PDF or Word format. Chicago Style references should be used consistently throughout the paper, including in the bibliography. The presentation can be in PowerPoint or other formats. Your presentation must at minimum contain the presentation title, agenda or outline, and a list of discussion questions. The essay and presentation will be graded as a coherent whole.

Assignment 2: Preparing for the Final Assignment (30%)

Quiz: About the Research Brief (5%)

You must answer a quiz to test your understanding of the research brief assignment. You will answer this one-question quiz on Quercus: "In your own words, describe what the Final Assignment (Research Brief) in the course is asking you to do?" The answer to this question is in the syllabus, but you must paraphrase it in your own words. In your answer, mention the assignment's purpose, the amount of words and spacing the assignment requires, the citation style, and the font size and type used in the course. Your answer will be a maximum of 250 words. **To be considered on-time, this quiz must be completed on Quercus by Noon on May 19 (Session 4).**

Two Discussion Board Posts (10%)

You must post your chosen research brief (final assignment) topic on the discussion board (500 words max.) and one response (250 words max.) to another student's post. The discussion board is called "Post Your Chosen Topic and Peer Reviews for the Research Brief Here." You may choose a topic from the range of topics/issues outlined in the syllabus. **Choose your topic carefully**, as you will be writing on the same topic for the final assignment. Your post in essay format (not bullet points) includes: (a) title, (b) a statement on the topic or issue that will be addressed in the research brief, (c) why this topic is significant, (d) which session in the course this topic is relevant to, and (e) an overview of the key viewpoints or debates surrounding the topic that will be explored in the research brief. (Avoid using "I" while writing.) Your peer review in essay format (not bullet points) is to do the following: (a) provide your thoughts or recommendations on another student's topic, supported by high quality references and/or links to materials that reinforce your thoughts on the subject, and (b) engage with your classmates by asking open-ended questions. In other words, say more than just agreeing or disagreeing with the topic. You must ask a minimum of one open-ended question. **To be considered on-time, your post must be up on Quercus by Noon on May 24 (Session 5) and your peer review must be completed by Noon on May 26 (Session 6).**

Research Brief Annotated Bibliography (15%)

The purpose of this assignment is to hone your academic research and writing skills and help you write the final assignment. You are required to submit an annotated bibliography of your chosen topic. The annotated bibliography should be 7-10 double spaced pages and include a minimum of 5 academic sources (e.g., books or journal articles) and a 3-4 sentence explanation each of why the source is high quality and relevant to the topic. Read more about annotated bibliographies here: <https://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/types-of-writing/annotated-bibliography/>

The annotated bibliography will be evaluated against your discussion board post on your chosen topic (i.e., does it provide sufficient high quality evidence/materials to address the chosen topic?), and the use of high quality external sources (e.g., books and journal articles) that are not cited in the syllabus and Chicago Style citation. **To be considered on-time, this assignment must be submitted through Quercus by Noon on May 31 (Session 7).** This assignment should be typed using 12-point Times New Roman, double spaced with 1" (2.5 cm) margins, and in PDF or Word format. Chicago Style references should be used consistently throughout the paper.

Assignment 3: Final Essay (30%)

Research brief

The purpose of the research brief is to inform the reader of several different viewpoints and areas for future research that relate to the chosen topic, and the purpose of this assignment is to give you more experience with writing to different audiences. Building on previous assignments, you will write an essay that is as comprehensive and as unbiased as possible so that whomever is reading the essay feels better informed about the topic. Your essay is to

inform the reader of several different viewpoints/issues, as well as unresolved questions and areas for future research that relate to your chosen topic. That is, you are to imagine yourself as a “tour guide” for your chosen topic. (Avoid using “I” for this reason while writing.)

The research brief should be 3,000-4,000 words, excluding cover page and bibliography. In addition to new sources, you may use the same sources you cited in the annotated bibliography, as well as readings listed in the syllabus. The essay will be evaluated based on the grading rubric provided, including the organisation and development of ideas, and the use of high quality external sources (e.g., books and journal articles) and Chicago Style author-date citation. **Your research brief must be submitted through Quercus by Noon on June 16 (Session 12).** Essays should be typed using 12-point Times New Roman, double spaced with 1” (2.5 cm) margins, and in PDF or Word format. Chicago Style references should be used consistently throughout the paper, including in the bibliography.

Course Policies

Quercus: It is **the students’ responsibility** to check the course page regularly for any announcements or information regarding the course.

Pre-requisites: Most of the Department of Political Science’s 400-series courses have specific course prerequisites and require extensive reading, research, and writing as well as seminar discussion. It is **the students’ responsibility** to meet all the course prerequisites before enrolling in courses. Questions about course prerequisites should be directed to the Department.

Meeting time: We will meet online via Zoom on Tuesdays and Thursdays, Noon to 2 PM. The class will begin 10 minutes after the hour (12:10 PM). We will have a 10-minute break in the middle of class. As this is a seminar course, our meetings will be driven mainly by **student-led** discussions and debates. The Zoom sessions will be captioned, but not recorded, to encourage robust discussion.

Classroom etiquette: We will develop the ‘ground rules’ for classroom participation during our first session. Please also read and understand the Quercus section on “Classroom Etiquette.”

Email and communication: Please use the Quercus Discussion Board to ask questions about the course and assignments. For questions or concerns that are personal and confidential in nature, please contact me via email. I will aim to respond to emails within 24 hours on weekdays and within 48 hours on weekends. Please remember to include the course code in the email subject line. Please be respectful in interacting with others in the course and treat all communication with the instructor as a professional form of communication with proper grammar, sentences, and formal greetings and sign-offs.

Office hours: Office hours will be held online for all students via Zoom. One-on-one appointments should be scheduled ahead of time by emailing the instructor. Please make sure

you have read the assignments' instructions and the Quercus Discussion Board before attending office hours.

Course materials: All assigned course readings are accessible on the Web or through the University of Toronto Libraries website. A recommended reading list is included in the syllabus to help you prepare for your presentations and assignments or help satisfy an interest in a particular topic.

Assignment submission: You must submit assignments electronically through Quercus. Please keep back-ups of assignments until grades are released. You are strongly urged to reserve an early appointment with your college's Writing Centre to ensure your essays meet writing expectations in an upper-level undergraduate course in Political Science at the University of Toronto.

Grading: Grades for assignments are typically released around 7 (seven) days after they are due. In this course, grades are not arbitrarily raised or rounded up at the end of term. You earn your grades throughout the term through class participation and assignments. A grading rubric is provided for each assignment and posted on Quercus. It is **the students' responsibility** to understand what grades mean in the Faculty of Arts & Sciences (<https://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/general/grading-policy/>) and to read all information posted on Quercus.

Grade appeals: Please note that grades may either go down or up during the appeal process. If you wish to appeal your grade, there is a **72-hour reflection period** after grades are released. Appeal requests made before the waiting period ends will NOT receive a response and must be resent. Appeal requests must be made within 48-hours after the reflection period ends. To make an appeal, please include a short paragraph identifying how and why as per the rubric the grade you received does not accurately evaluate the work you submitted. The instructor's grade following an appeal is final.

Academic integrity: Cheating and plagiarism are serious academic offences and will be dealt with accordingly. Students are expected to know what constitutes academic integrity (<https://www.academicintegrity.utoronto.ca/>). Read more on how to avoid plagiarism here: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>

Extensions: Please note that assignments in other courses or late registration in the course are NOT grounds for an extension. You are to plan your calendar for the semester accordingly. Extensions to submit an assignment will not be granted unless it is a case of unavoidable and unforeseeable extenuating circumstances. Supporting documentation is required before any extension is granted. All requests for extensions or deferrals, along with the appropriate documentation, must be submitted before the assignment deadline and in writing.

Two days 'life happens' extension: You are allowed to request an extension for 2 (two) days without explanation or documentation on the proposal and research brief assignments. To use

the 'life happens' extension, you must request the extension before an assignment is due and a 2-day extension will be automatically applied without any questions. **No late extension can be given on the critical reflection essay or presentation. Late penalties will accrue after the two days have passed.**

Late penalty: Assignments handed in late without appropriate medical or other official documentation will be penalised 5% per day including weekends.

Accommodations: Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. If you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or Accessibility Services. If you have an accommodation letter due to a disability, please provide a copy. Questions regarding accommodation or accessibility concerns can be directed to Accessibility Services. Please email disability.services@utoronto.ca or visit <https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/department/accessibility-services/>.

Resources

Writing Centres

The Writing Centres at the University of Toronto offer services and resources to help students develop and improve their writing skills. Students can get individual consultations with trained writing instructors to help clarify ideas or attend group workshops to help overcome common writing problems. Please consult their website for more information:

<https://writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/learning/>

The University of Toronto's English Language Learning (ELL) program supports all U of T undergraduates in the Faculty of Arts & Science (multilingual and native speakers) seeking to improve their English language skills. Please visit their website for more information:

<https://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/current/academic-advising-and-support/english-language-learning>

The University's Academic Success Centre also offers other services and workshops. More information is available on their website:

<https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/department/academic-success/>

Writing tips

- Review the grading rubric provided on Quercus and take note of the important components that you should address, such as citation style and voice.
- Keep in mind the assignment's purpose (as per the syllabus) while you write, and relate your thinking and analysis to the course's broader theme.
- Make an appointment with the Writing Centres to help improve the quality of your work.
- Ask questions regarding the assignment in class or during office hours or on Quercus.
- Use an outline and start writing early, even before you are "ready" to write, so that you can think through your thoughts or ideas.

- Plan to leave enough time to review, revise, or redraft your essay (i.e., to put the essay aside for a few days, allowing the mind to process it, so that you can see it more objectively when you return to it).
- Review your essay by paying special attention to transitions (i.e., the sequences of ideas within sentences, from sentence to sentence, and from paragraph to paragraph), diction (exactness and aptness of words), and economy (the fewest words without loss of clear expression and full thought).
- Make sure that you proofread the final copy from start to finish and read the assignment out loud before submitting.
- Your title page must contain the following: The essay's title, assignment due date, author's name and student number, and course number, title, and instructor's name.

Libraries

Need assistance with accessing the readings? Have questions about finding relevant resources for a topic? Please use the "Chat with a Librarian" function on the UofT Libraries website: <https://onesearch.library.utoronto.ca/ask-librarian>. Find more library resources here: <https://guides.library.utoronto.ca/libraryresources>

Health and Wellness

Visit UofT Student Life Health and Wellness website to find out more about mental health resources and services (e.g., workshops and counselling), as well as information about emergency support: <https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/department/health-wellness/>

In distress or need emotional support? Please contact UofT My Student Support Program (My SSP) at 1-844-451-9700.

If outside of North America, please call 001-416-380-6578 for mental health and counselling services in 146 languages for all UofT students.

The Good2Talk Student Helpline is also available at 1-866-925-5454 for professional counselling, information and referrals helpline for mental health, addictions and students well-being.

For further information, please visit:

<https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/task/support-when-you-feel-distressed/>.

Course Evaluations

Mid-way through the term, students will be asked to provide feedback about their learning experience in the course using an online evaluation form. Students will also be asked to provide feedback at the end of term. Please do not wait until the end of the term if you have questions or concerns about the course or course materials.

Feedback given in a course evaluation is **anonymous**, **but** is read by the instructor and others at UofT, including department chairs, faculty deans, the provost, and the president.

Course evaluations are not like Yelp reviews because they are used for a variety of **important purposes**, including as part of an academic job application (e.g., for the course instructor to apply for academic jobs), to assess instructors for promotion, and to make improvements to individual courses. Course evaluations provide you with opportunities to provide meaningful feedback on your learning experience within the context of a course.

To help instructors improve the course and students' learning experience, please provide specific and constructive suggestions regarding the course and teaching or instructional behaviours (e.g., classes and office hours). **Comments that are not related to the course or the learning experience would diminish the value of your feedback and be a waste of your and the readers' precious time.** For example, it is not helpful to include personal insults or comments about an instructor's appearance in the course evaluation.

Thank you in advance for your thoughtfulness in completing the course evaluation.

Course Schedule

Please note that the course schedule is subject to change.

Required readings listed in the syllabus must be completed by the session for which they are assigned. Recommended readings are for further investigation about a topic or to help you prepare to write your research brief.

Session 1 (May 10): Introduction to the Course

In class, we will introduce ourselves to one another, review the syllabus, and develop the 'ground rules' (i.e., a set of expected behaviours for classroom conduct) for participation. You will also choose the session that you will write a critical reflection essay and present on (maximum three presenters per session.)

Required watching:

- ★ The Agenda with Steve Paikin. *The End of the World Wide Web* (30:07).
https://youtu.be/8_aBpSHgLqI

Recommended readings:

- Barlow, John Perry. 1996. "A Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace." Electronic Frontier Foundation. January 20, 2016.
<https://www.eff.org/cyberspace-independence>.
- Gipson, Christian. 2021. "Internet Infrastructure: Where Does the Internet Live?" ArcGIS StoryMaps. April 14, 2021.
<https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/d9df71c3d9244f6dab44172ce5b9c9e6>.
- "Global Internet Map 2021." n.d. Accessed April 6, 2022.
<https://global-internet-map-2021.telegeography.com/>.

Session 2 (May 12): Internet Governance and Controls

Required readings:

- ★ Glen, Carol M. 2014. "Internet Governance: Territorializing Cyberspace?" *Politics & Policy* 42 (5): 635–57.
- ★ Deibert, Ronald. 2015. "Authoritarianism Goes Global: Cyberspace Under Siege." *Journal of Democracy* 26 (3): 64–78.
- ★ Read pages 1-11 of the full policy brief: Polyakova, Alina, and Chris Meserole. 2019. "Exporting Digital Authoritarianism." *Brookings* (blog). August 26, 2019.
<https://www.brookings.edu/research/exporting-digital-authoritarianism/>.

Recommended readings:

- Kendall-Taylor, Andrea, Erica Frantz, and Joseph Wright. 2020. "The Digital Dictators: How Technology Strengthens Autocracy." *Foreign Affairs* 99 (2): 103–15.
- George, Cherian. 2007. "Consolidating Authoritarian Rule: Calibrated Coercion in Singapore." *The Pacific Review* 20 (2): 127–45.
- Dalmasso, Emanuela, Adele Del Sordi, Marlies Glasius, Nicole Hirt, Marcus Michaelsen, Abdulkader S. Mohammad, and Dana Moss. 2018. "Intervention: Extraterritorial Authoritarian Power." *Political Geography* 64 (Complete): 95–104.
- Howells, Laura, and Laura A. Henry. 2021. "Varieties of Digital Authoritarianism: Analyzing Russia's Approach to Internet Governance." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 54 (4): 1–27.

Session 3 (May 17): Internet Freedom on the Global Stage

Assignment due: Quiz - About POL438 (Midnight).

Required readings:

- ★ Review Map in Section 4 (Understanding the Clusters Through Data): Morgus, Robert, Jocelyn Woolbright, and Justin Sherman. n.d. “The Digital Deciders.” New America. <http://newamerica.org/cybersecurity-initiative/reports/digital-decidere/>.
- ★ Maurer, Tim, and Robert Morgus. 2014. “Tipping the Scale: An Analysis of Global Swing States in the Internet Governance Debate.” Global Commission on Internet Governance Paper Series. Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI). <https://www.cigionline.org/publications/tipping-scale-analysis-global-swing-states-internet-governance-debate-0/>
- ★ Walker, Christopher, Shanthi Kalathil, and Jessica Ludwig. 2020. “The Cutting Edge of Sharp Power.” *Journal of Democracy* 31 (1): 124–37.
- ★ Carr, Madeline. 2015. “Power Plays in Global Internet Governance.” *Millennium* 43 (2): 640–59.

Recommended readings:

- Basu, Arindrajit, Irene Poetranto, and Justin Lau. 2021. “The UN Struggles to Make Progress on Securing Cyberspace.” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2021/05/19/un-struggles-to-make-progress-on-securing-cyberspace-pub-84491>
- Hurwitz, Roger. 2014. “The Play of States: Norms and Security in Cyberspace.” *American Foreign Policy Interests* 36 (5): 322–31.
- Deibert, Ronald J. 2015. “The Geopolitics of Cyberspace After Snowden.” *Current History* 114 (768): 9–15.
- Eldem, Tuba. 2020. “The Governance of Turkey’s Cyberspace: Between Cyber Security and Information Security.” *International Journal of Public Administration* 43 (5): 452–65.

Session 4 (May 19): States and the Private Sector

Assignment due: Quiz - About the Research Brief (Noon).

Heads-up! Next week you will have the opportunity to provide feedback on the course.

Required readings:

- ★ Review the key findings of the 2020 Ranking Digital Rights Index: <https://rankingdigitalrights.org/index2020/>
- ★ DeNardis, Laura. 2012. “Hidden Levers of Internet Control.” *Information, Communication & Society* 15 (5): 720–38.

- ★ Woodhams, Samuel. 2020. "China, Africa, and the Private Surveillance Industry." *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* 21: 158–65.
- ★ Zalnieriute, Monika, and Stefania Milan. 2019. "Internet Architecture and Human Rights: Beyond the Human Rights Gap." *Policy & Internet* 11 (1): 6–15.

Recommended readings:

- Joseph, George. 2019. "Inside the Video Surveillance Program IBM Built for Philippine Strongman Rodrigo Duterte." *The Intercept*. March 20, 2019.
<https://theintercept.com/2019/03/20/rodrigo-duterte-ibm-surveillance/>
- Sivetc, Liudmila. 2021. "Controlling Free Expression 'by Infrastructure' in the Russian Internet: The Consequences of RuNet Sovereignization." *First Monday*, April.
- Salamatian, Loqman, Frédérick Douzet, Kavé Salamatian, and Kévin Limonier. 2021. "The Geopolitics behind the Routes Data Travel: A Case Study of Iran." *Journal of Cybersecurity* 7 (1).
- Deibert, Ronald J., and Masashi Crete-Nishihata. 2012. "Global Governance and the Spread of Cyberspace Controls." *Global Governance* 18 (3): 339–61.

Session 5 (May 24): States and Civil Society

Assignment due: Discussion Board Post - Research Brief Topic (Noon).

Your Feedback: We will spend the first 10-15 minutes of this session reflecting on your learning experience in the course to date using this form: <https://forms.office.com/r/mgYvDmZQNq>

Required readings:

- ★ Martinez-Torres, Maria Elena. 2001. "Civil Society, the Internet, and the Zapatistas." *Peace Review* 13 (3): 347–55.
- ★ Milan, Stefania, and Arne Hintz. 2013. "Networked Collective Action and the Institutionalized Policy Debate: Bringing Cyberactivism to the Policy Arena?" *Policy & Internet* 5 (1): 7–26.
- ★ Uniacke, Robert. 2020. "Authoritarianism in the Information Age: State Branding, Depoliticizing and 'de-Civilizing' of Online Civil Society in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 0 (0): 1–21.

Recommended readings:

- Cebul, Matthew, and Jonathan Pinckney. 2021. "Digital Authoritarianism and Nonviolent Action: Challenging the Digital Counterrevolution." United States Institute of Peace.

<https://www.usip.org/publications/2021/07/digital-authoritarianism-and-nonviolent-action-challenging-digital>

- Tufekci, Zeynep. 2014. "Social Movements and Governments in the Digital Age: Evaluating a Complex Landscape." *Journal of International Affairs* 68 (1): 1–18.
- Yangyue, Liu. 2014. "Transgressiveness, Civil Society and Internet Control in Southeast Asia." *The Pacific Review* 27 (3): 383–407.
- Rane, Halim, and Sumra Salem. 2012. "Social Media, Social Movements and the Diffusion of Ideas in the Arab Uprisings." *The Journal of International Communication* 18 (1): 97–111.

Session 6 (May 26): China and Russia

Assignment due: Discussion Board Post - Peer Review (Noon).

Required readings:

- ★ Adegoke, Yinka. 2021. "The Real Reason China Is Pushing 'Digital Sovereignty' in Africa." *Rest of World*, December 1, 2021.
<https://restofworld.org/2021/the-real-reason-china-is-pushing-digital-sovereignty-in-africa/>
- ★ MacKinnon, Rebecca. 2011. "Liberation Technology: China's 'Networked Authoritarianism.'" *Journal of Democracy* 22 (2): 32–46.
- ★ Ermoshina, Ksenia, Benjamin Loveluck, and Francesca Musiani. 2021. "A Market of Black Boxes: The Political Economy of Internet Surveillance and Censorship in Russia." *Journal of Information Technology & Politics* April 2021 (0): 1–16.
- ★ Kerr, Jaclyn A. 2018. "Information, Security, and Authoritarian Stability: Internet Policy Diffusion and Coordination in the Former Soviet Region." *International Journal of Communication* 12: 3814-3834.

Recommended readings:

- Greitens, Sheena Chestnut. 2013. "Authoritarianism Online: What Can We Learn from Internet Data in Nondemocracies?" *PS: Political Science & Politics* 46 (2): 262–70.
- Kalathil, Shanthi, and Taylor C. Boas. 2001. "The Internet and State Control in Authoritarian Regimes." *First Monday*, July.
- Douzet, Frédérick, Kévin Limonier, Selma Mihoubi, and Elodie René. 2021. "Mapping the Spread of Russian and Chinese Contents on the French-Speaking African Web." *Journal of Cyber Policy* 6 (1): 50–67.
- Nocetti, Julien. 2015. "Contest and Conquest: Russia and Global Internet Governance." *International Affairs* 91 (1): 111–30.

Session 7 (May 31): Asia-Pacific

Assignment due: Annotated Bibliography for the Research Brief (Noon).

Required readings:

- ★ George, Cherian. 2003. "The Internet and the Narrow Tailoring Dilemma for 'Asian' Democracies." *The Communication Review* 6 (3): 247–68.
- ★ Penfold, Carolyn. 2003. "Global Technology Meets Local Environment: State Attempts to Control Internet Content." In *Asia.Com*. Routledge.
- ★ Jack, Margaret C., Sopheak Chann, Steven J. Jackson, and Nicola Dell. 2021. "Networked Authoritarianism at the Edge: The Digital and Political Transitions of Cambodian Village Officials." *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 5 (CSCW1): 50:1-50:25.

Recommended readings:

- Warf, Barney. 2011. "Geographies of Global Internet Censorship." *GeoJournal* 76 (1): 1–23.
- Lim, Merlyna. 2018. "Disciplining Dissent: Freedom, Control, and Digital Activism in Southeast Asia." In *Routledge Handbook of Urbanization in Southeast Asia*, edited by Rita Padawangi, 1st Edition, 540. London, UK: Routledge.
- Singh, Kushagra, Gurshabad Grover, and Varun Bansal. 2020. "How India Censors the Web." In *12th ACM Conference on Web Science*, 21–28. WebSci '20. New York, NY, USA: Association for Computing Machinery.
- Kant, Romitesh, Jason Titifanue, Jope Tarai, and Glenn Finau. n.d. "Internet under Threat?: The Politics of Online Censorship in the Pacific Islands." *Pacific Journalism Review* 24 (2): 64–83.

Session 8 (June 2): Africa

Required readings:

- ★ Suliman, Mohamed. 2021. "Why Russia Is Using Facebook to Launch Disinformation Campaigns in Sudan." *Rest of World*, November 24, 2021.
<https://restofworld.org/2021/russia-sudan-facebook-disinformation/>
- ★ Turianskyi, Yarik. 2018. "Balancing Cyber Security and Internet Freedom in Africa." Africa Portal. South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). January 31, 2018.
<https://saiia.org.za/research/balancing-cyber-security-and-internet-freedom-in-africa/>

- ★ Gravett, Willem. 2020. "Digital Neo-Colonialism: The Chinese Model of Internet Sovereignty in Africa." *African Human Rights Law Journal* 20 (1): 125–46.
- ★ Rydzak, Jan, Moses Karanja, and Nicholas Opiyo. 2020. "Network Shutdowns and Collective Action in African Countries." *International Journal of Communication* 14: 4264–4287.

Recommended readings:

- Poetranto, Irene, Justin Lau, and Josh Gold. 2021. "Look South: Challenges and Opportunities for the 'Rules of the Road' for Cyberspace in ASEAN and the AU." *Journal of Cyber Policy* 6 (3): 318–39.
- Parks, Lisa, and Rahul Mukherjee. 2017. "From Platform Jumping to Self-Censorship: Internet Freedom, Social Media, and Circumvention Practices in Zambia." *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 14 (3): 221–37.
- Rukundo, Solomon. 2018. "'My President Is a Pair of Buttocks': The Limits of Online Freedom of Expression in Uganda." *International Journal of Law and Information Technology* 26 (3): 252–71.
- Mutsvairo, Bruce, and Helge Rønning. 2020. "The Janus Face of Social Media and Democracy? Reflections on Africa." *Media, Culture & Society* 42 (3): 317–28.

Session 9 (June 7): Gender

Required readings:

- ★ Read Introduction and Chapter 3 (Maria Ressa): UNESCO, and ICFJ. 2021. "The Chilling: Global Trends in Online Violence against Women Journalists." The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the International Center for Journalists (ICFJ). <https://en.unesco.org/publications/thechilling>
- ★ Zalnieriute, Monika. 2017. "The Anatomy of Neoliberal Internet Governance: A Queer Critical Political Economy Perspective." In *Queering International Law*, 53–73. London, UK: Routledge.
- ★ Eckert, Stine, and Jade Metzger-Riftkin. 2020. "Doxxing, Privacy and Gendered Harassment. The Shock and Normalization of Veillance Cultures." *M&K Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft* 68 (3): 273–87.

Recommended readings:

- DeNardis, Laura, and Andrea M. Hackl. 2016. "Internet Control Points as LGBT Rights Mediation." *Information, Communication & Society* 19 (6): 753–70.

- Lokot, Tetyana. 2019. "Affective Resistance Against Online Misogyny and Homophobia on the RuNet." In *Gender Hate Online: Understanding the New Anti-Feminism*, edited by Debbie Ging and Eugenia Siapera, 213–32. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Nuñez Puente, Sonia. 2011. "Feminist Cyberactivism: Violence against Women, Internet Politics, and Spanish Feminist Praxis Online." *Continuum* 25 (3): 333–46.
- Pavan, Elena. 2017. "Internet Intermediaries and Online Gender-Based Violence." In *Gender, Technology and Violence*. Routledge.

Session 10 (June 9): Terrorism

Required readings:

- ★ Brown, Ian, and Douwe Korff. 2009. "Terrorism and the Proportionality of Internet Surveillance." *European Journal of Criminology* 6 (2): 119–34.
- ★ Meserve, Stephen A, and Daniel Pemstein. 2020. "Terrorism and Internet Censorship." *Journal of Peace Research* 57 (6): 752–63.
- ★ Huszti-Orban, Krisztina. 2018. "Internet Intermediaries and Counter-Terrorism: Between Self-Regulation and Outsourcing Law Enforcement1." In *2018 10th International Conference on Cyber Conflict (CyCon)*, 227–44.

Recommended readings:

- Walker, Clive, and Maura Conway. 2015. "Online Terrorism and Online Laws." *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 8 (2): 156–75.
- Tsfati, Yariv, and Gabriel Weimann. 2002. "Www.Terrorism.Com: Terror on the Internet." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 25 (5): 317–32.
- Janbek, Dana, and Valerie Williams. 2014. "The Role of the Internet Post-9/11 in Terrorism and Counterterrorism." *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 20 (2): 297–308.
- Workneh, Téwodros W. 2019. "Counter-Terrorism in Ethiopia: Manufacturing Insecurity, Monopolizing Speech." *Internet Policy Review* 8 (1): 1–22.

Session 11 (June 14): Artificial intelligence and 'Big Data'

Heads up! Next week is the last week of class. Please fill out the course evaluation to help improve the learning experience in the course.

Required readings:

- ★ Taylor, Linnet. 2016. "Data Subjects or Data Citizens? Addressing the Global Regulatory Challenge of Big Data." In *Information, Freedom and Property*. Routledge.

- ★ Donahoe, Eileen, and Megan MacDuffee Metzger. 2019. "Artificial Intelligence and Human Rights." *Journal of Democracy* 30 (2): 115–26.
- ★ Feldstein, Steven. 2019. "The Road to Digital Unfreedom: How Artificial Intelligence Is Reshaping Repression." *Journal of Democracy* 30 (1): 40–52.

Recommended readings:

- Helbing, Dirk, Bruno S. Frey, Gerd Gigerenzer, Ernst Hafen, Michael Hagner, Yvonne Hofstetter, Jeroen van den Hoven, Roberto V. Zicari, and Andrej Zwitter. 2019. "Will Democracy Survive Big Data and Artificial Intelligence?" In *Towards Digital Enlightenment: Essays on the Dark and Light Sides of the Digital Revolution*, edited by Dirk Helbing, 73–98. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Zeng, Jinghan. 2016. "China's Date with Big Data: Will It Strengthen or Threaten Authoritarian Rule?" *International Affairs* 92 (6): 1443–62.
- Mansell, Robin. 2016. "Power, Hierarchy and the Internet: Why the Internet Empowers and Disempowers." *Global Studies Journal* 9 (2): 19–25.
- Benkler, Yochai. 2016. "Degrees of Freedom, Dimensions of Power." *Daedalus* 145 (1): 18–32.

Session 12 (June 16): Looking ahead

Assignment due: Research Brief (final) (Noon).

Required reading:

- ★ Dragu, Tiberiu, and Yonatan Lupu. 2021. "Digital Authoritarianism and the Future of Human Rights." *International Organization FirstView* (February): 1–27.