

GRAD-E1306: Contentious Politics in a Digital World

Concentration: Policy Analysis & Security & Sustainability

Prof. Dr. Anita Gohdes

1. General information

[...]

2. Course Contents and Learning Objectives

[...]

3. General Readings

The reading for every session can be overwhelming when read in one sitting. I encourage you to space out the readings over multiple days

- Do take a look at the additional literature, especially if you're thinking about writing your policy brief/essay in this area

There are **no** general required readings. However, if you are interested in getting acquainted with the topic, these books are a useful place to start:

- Nyabola, Nanjala. *Digital Democracy, Analogue Politics: How the Internet Era is Transforming Politics in Kenya*. Zed Books, 2018
- Gillespie, Tarleton. *Custodians of the Internet: Platforms, Content Moderation, and the Hidden Decisions that Shape Social Media*. Yale University Press. 2018
- MacKinnon, Rebecca. *Consent of the Networked. The Worldwide Struggle for Internet Freedom*. New York: Basic Books. 2012.
- Persily, Nathaniel, and Joshua A. Tucker, eds. *Social Media and Democracy: The State of the Field, Prospects for Reform*. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

4. Session Overview

Session	Session Date	Session Title
1	08.09.2020	Introduction <ul style="list-style-type: none">- What's the Internet got to do with it?- Liberation technology?!
2	15.09.2020	Non-state actors I: Mass-based mobilization
3	22.09.2020	Non-state actors II: Slacktivism
4	29.09.2020	Non-state actors III: Hacktivism
5	06.10.2020	Non-state actors IV: Radicalization
6	13.10.2020	State and non-state actors: The role of the Internet in civil war
Mid-term Exam Week: 19.10 - 23.10.2020 – no class		
7	27.10.2020	State actors I: Cyberattacks
8	03.11.2020	State actors II: Autocrats online
9	10.11.2020	Digital Platforms I: Media manipulation
10	17.11.2020	Digital Platforms II: Hate speech
11	24.11.2020	Digital Platforms III: Content Moderation
12	01.12.2020	Looking into the future: Big data, technology and contentious politics
Final Exam Week: 14.12 - 18.12.2020 – no class		

5. Course Sessions and Readings

[...]

Session 1: Introduction	
Learning Objective	<p>Why should we care about the Internet? What did researchers think about the effects of the Internet 5-10 years ago? Why should we care about a free and accessible Internet?</p> <p>The session will be divided into two parts:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Introduction? What's the Internet got to do with it? - Liberation technology?!
Required Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hillary Rodham Clinton. Remarks on Internet Freedom. January 21, 2010. URL https://2009-2017.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2010/01/135519.htm - Jurgenson, Nathan. "Digital dualism versus augmented reality." <i>The Society Pages</i> 24 (2011): https://thesocietypages.org/cyborgology/2011/02/24/digital-dualism-versus-augmented-reality/ - Caren, Neal, Kenneth T. Andrews, and Todd Lu. "Contemporary Social Movements in a Hybrid Media Environment." <i>Annual Review of Sociology</i> 46 (2020): https://nealcaren.org/publication/caren-contemporary-2020/caren-contemporary-2020.pdf
Optional Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Larry Diamond. Liberation technology. <i>Journal of Democracy</i>, 21(3):69–83, 2010. URL http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles-files/gratis/Diamond-21-3.pdf - Sean Aday, Henry Farrell, and Marc Lynch. Blogs and bullets: New media in contentious politics. United States Institute of Peace, <i>Peaceworks</i>, 65, 2010 - Clay Shirky. The political power of social media: Technology, the public sphere, and political change. <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, 90:28, 2011. URL https://www.cc.gatech.edu/~beki/cs4001/Shirky.pdf - Blake Hounshell. The revolution will be tweeted. <i>Foreign Policy</i>, 20 June, 2011. URL http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/06/20/the_revolution_will_be_tweeted

Session 2: Non-state actors I: Mass-based mobilization

Learning Objective	How has the Internet changed mobilization processes? What theories explain these changes? How can we measure the effects of online activity on mobilization? How can we reconcile the empirical findings of different studies? What does mass-based mobilization look like in the 21 st century?
Required Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lohmann. S. "The dynamics of informational cascades: the Monday demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989–91." <i>World politics</i> 47.1 1994.: 42-101. - Steinert-Threlkeld, Z. C., Mocanu, D., Vespignani, A., & Fowler, J. (2015). Online social networks and offline protest. <i>EPJ Data Science</i>, 4(1), 1-9. - Valenzuela, S. (2013). Unpacking the use of social media for protest behavior: The roles of information, opinion expression, and activism. <i>American Behavioral Scientist</i>, 57(7), 920-942.
Optional Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Golnaz Esfandiari. The twitter devolution. <i>Foreign Policy</i>, June 2010. URL http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/06/07/the_twitter_revolution_that_wasnt - Weidmann, Nils B., & Rød, Espen G. (2019). <i>The Internet and political protest in autocracies</i>. Oxford University Press. - Allmann, Kira C. "Mobile Revolution: Toward a History of Technology, Telephony and Political Activism in Egypt." <i>Cyber Orient</i> 8.2 (2014): 46. - Kuran, Timur. "Now out of never: The element of surprise in the East European revolution of 1989." <i>World politics</i> 44.1 (1991): 7-48. - Pearce, Katy. 2018. "Livestreaming Armenia's "velvet revolution" URL: https://eurasianet.org/perspectives-livestreaming-armenias-velvet-revolution - Zeynep Tufekci and Christopher Wilson. Social media and the decision to participate in political protest: Observations from tahrir square. <i>Journal of Communication</i>, 62(2):363–379, 2012 - Anita Breuer, Todd Landman, and Dorothea Farquhar. "Social media and protest mobilization: Evidence from the Tunisian revolution." <i>Democratization</i> 22.4. 2015.: 764-792.

Session 3: Non-state actors II: Slacktivism

Learning Objective	<p>What is “slacktivism”? Where do we see slacktivism happening? Does slacktivism work, and if so, under what conditions?</p> <p><i>We’ll explore the dynamics of various “hashtag” campaigns.</i></p>
Required Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Evgeny Morozov. "The brave new world of slacktivism." <i>Foreign policy</i> 19.05. 2009. URL https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/05/19/the-brave-new-world-of-slacktivism/ - Christensen, H. S. (2011). Political activities on the Internet: Slacktivism or political participation by other means?. <i>First Monday</i>. https://journals.uic.edu/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/3336/2767 - Barberá, Pablo, Ning Wang, Richard Bonneau, John T. Jost, Jonathan Nagler, Joshua Tucker, and Sandra González-Bailón. "The Critical Periphery in the Growth of Social Protests." <i>PLOS ONE</i> 10(11). 2015. e0143611. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0143611
Optional Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stephanie Vie. "In defense of “slacktivism”: The Human Rights Campaign Facebook logo as digital activism." <i>First Monday</i> 19.4 2014. URL https://journals.uic.edu/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/4961/3868 - Ethan Zuckerman. Cute cats to the rescue? participatory media and political expression. In Danielle Allen and Jennifer Light, editors, <i>Youth, New Media and Political Participation</i>. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014. http://ethanzuckerman.com/papers/cutecats2013.pdf - Vaccari, C., Valeriani, A., Barberá, P., Bonneau, R., Jost, J. T., Nagler, J., & Tucker, J. A. (2015). Political expression and action on social media: Exploring the relationship between lower-and higher-threshold political activities among Twitter users in Italy. <i>Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication</i>, 20(2), 221-239.

Session 4: Non-state actors IV: Hacktivism

Learning Objective	<p>What are hacktivists? What can we learn from the rise of “Anonymous”? What are the political consequences of online groups taking “justice” into their own hands?</p>
Required Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Friedman, Allan, and P. W. Singer. "Cybersecurity and Cyberwar: what everyone needs to know.", Oxford University Press. 2014. pages 77-84. - Lorenz, Taylor, Kellen Browning and Sheera Frenkel. 2020: "TikTok Teens and K-Pop Stans Say They Sank Trump Rally": https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/21/style/tiktok-trump-rally-tulsa.html <p>Podcast:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Techdirt Podcast Episode 18: The Many Faces Of Anonymous, With Gabriella Coleman: https://www.techdirt.com/articles/20150331/12075930501/techdirt-

	podcast-episode-18-many-faces-anonymous-with-gabriella-coleman.shtml
Optional Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Barlow, John Perry. "A Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace." 1996. URL https://www.eff.org/cyberspace-independence - Sauter, Molly. "'LOIC Will Tear Us Apart' The Impact of Tool Design and Media Portrayals in the Success of Activist DDOS Attacks." <i>American Behavioral Scientist</i> 57.7 (2013): 983-1007. - Gabriella Coleman. <i>Hacker, hoaxer, whistleblower, spy: The many faces of Anonymous</i>. Verso books, 2014. - Molly Sauter. <i>The coming swarm: DDOS actions, hacktivism, and civil disobedience on the Internet</i>. Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2014. - Menn, Joseph. <i>Cult of the Dead Cow: How the Original Hacking Supergroup Might Just Save the World</i>. PublicAffairs, 2019.

Session 5: Non-state actors II: Radicalization

Learning Objective	Does online radicalization work, and if so, how? How can we measure it?
Required Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The New Radicalization of the Internet - The New York Times. 24 November 2018. URL: https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/24/opinion/sunday/facebook-twitter-terrorism-extremism.html - Gill, P., Corner, E., Thornton, A., & Conway, M. (2015). What are the roles of the Internet in terrorism? Measuring online behaviours of convicted UK terrorists. https://www.voxpol.eu/download/voxpol_publication/What-are-the-Roles-of-the-Internet-in-Terrorism.pdf - Tamar Mitts. "From Isolation to Radicalization: Anti-Muslim Hostility and Support for ISIS in the West." <i>American Political Science Review</i>, forthcoming. 1-22. URL https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055418000618
Optional Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conway, Maura (2017). Determining the role of the internet in violent extremism and terrorism: Six suggestions for progressing research. <i>Studies in Conflict & Terrorism</i>, 40(1), 77-98. - Fielitz, M., & Marcks, H. (2019). Digital Fascism: Challenges for the Open Society in Times of Social Media. UC Berkeley: Center for Right-Wing Studies. - Daniels, Jessie (2018). The algorithmic rise of the "alt-right". <i>Contexts</i>, 17(1), 60-65. - Jonathon M. Berger and Jonathon Morgan. "The ISIS Twitter Census: Defining and describing the population of ISIS supporters on Twitter." <i>The Brookings Project on US Relations with the Islamic World</i> 3.20. 2015. URL https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/isis_twitter_census_berger_morgan.pdf - Berger, J. M. (2015). The metronome of apocalyptic time: Social media as carrier wave for millenarian contagion. <i>Perspectives on Terrorism</i>, 9(4), 61-71.

Session 6: State and non-state actors: The role of the Internet in civil war

Learning Objective	Has the Internet changed the propensity for violent conflict? Has it changed dynamics of conflict? How do states use the fact that they are in control of most of the Internet infrastructure to their military advantage? How do conflict actors communicate with the outside world during wartime?
Required Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Anita R. Gohdes 2020 "Repression technology: Internet accessibility and state violence", <i>American Journal of Political Science</i>. - Benjamin T. Jones and Eleonora Mattiacci. "A manifesto, in 140 characters or fewer: Social media as a tool of rebel diplomacy." <i>British Journal of Political Science</i>. 1-23. 2017 <p>Podcast:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Motherboard Cyber Podcast: "The Cyberwar In Yemen" https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/qvqk5x/the-cyberwar-in-yemen
Optional Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Anita R. Gohdes. 'Studying the Internet and Violent Conflict', <i>Conflict Management and Peace Science</i>, 35(1), 89-106. 2018. - Marc Lynch, Deen Freelon, and Sean Aday. Blogs and bullets iii: Syria's social mediated war. <i>United States Institute of Peace, Peaceworks</i>, 91, 2014 - Jan H. Pierskalla and Florian M. Hollenbach. Technology and collective action: The effect of cell phone coverage on political violence in africa. <i>American Political Science Review</i>, 107(2):207–224, May 2013. - Thomas Zeitzoff. "How social media is changing conflict." <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> 61.9. 2017. 1970-1991.

Mid-term Exam Week: 19 – 23.10.2020 – no class

Session 7: State-actors I: Cyberattacks

Learning Objective	What is a cyberattack? What types of cyberattacks exist? What is cyber warfare? How can we measure cyber warfare?
Required Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Schneier, Bruce. <i>Secrets and lies: digital security in a networked world</i>. John Wiley & Sons, 2011, pages 14-22 - Kostyuk, Nadiya and Yuri M. Zhukov. "Invisible Digital Front: Can Cyber Attacks Shape Battlefield Events?" <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i>. 2017. - Singer, Peter and August Cole: "The Reality of Cyberwar", <i>Politico</i>, 2015. URL https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/07/the-reality-of-cyberwar-119915
Optional Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Podcast: Popular Front 25: The real cyber warfare https://soundcloud.com/popularfrontcast/25-the-real-threat-of-cyber-warfare

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Podcast: BBC The Real Story: Cyberwarfare: The Digital Battlefield: https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p03wcz63 - Podcast: F-Secure Podcast Episode 20 Defining Cyber Warfare, with Mikko Hypponen: https://blog.f-secure.com/podcast-cyber-warfare-mikko/ - Erik Gartzke. "The Myth of Cyberwar Bringing War in Cyberspace Back Down to Earth", <i>International Security</i>. Vol. 38, No. 2. 2013. 41–73. - Sanger, David E. <i>The Perfect Weapon: War, Sabotage, and Fear in the Cyber Age</i>. Broadway Books, 2019. - [Movie]: Zero Days (a movie about Stuxnet): http://www.zerodaysfilm.com/
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Session 8: State-actors II: Autocrats online

Learning Objective	How do autocratic states make use of the Internet? How do they manage to use it to their own advantage? What is 'networked authoritarianism'? What are the global trends on Internet control?
Required Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gunitsky, Seva. 2015. Corrupting the cyber-commons: Social media as a tool of autocratic stability. <i>Perspectives on Politics</i>, 13:42–54, http://journals.cambridge.org/article_S1537592714003120 <p><i>Focus on the Philippines</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Part 1: Mendoza, Gemma Bagayaua (2019) "Networked propaganda: How the Marcoses are using social media to reclaim Malacañang" https://rappler.com/newsbreak/investigative/marcos-networked-propaganda-social-media - Part 2: Mendoza, Gemma Bagayaua (2019) "Networked propaganda: How the Marcoses are rewriting history" https://rappler.com/newsbreak/investigative/networked-propaganda-how-the-marcoses-are-rewriting-history
Optional Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Podcast: Himal Southasian Podcast Channel: Interview with Anita Gurumurthy on data and surveillance capitalism https://www.himalmag.com/himal-interviews-between-big-data-and-big-brother-2020/ - Rebecca MacKinnon. China's "networked authoritarianism". <i>Journal of Democracy</i>, 22(2): 32–46, 2011 - Freedom of the Net Report 2018, Freedom House. URL https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FOTN_2018_Final%20Booklet_11_1_2018.pdf - Jaclyn A. Kerr. "Rewiring Authoritarianism: The Evolution of Internet Policy in Putin's Russia, <i>Working Paper</i>, 2016 - Espen Geelmuyden Rød and Nils B Weidmann. Empowering activists or autocrats? the internet in authoritarian regimes. <i>Journal of Peace Research</i>, 52(3):338–351, 2015 - Katy E. Pearce and Sarah Kendzior. Networked authoritarianism and social media in Azerbaijan. <i>Journal of Communication</i>, 62(2):283–298, 2012.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ronald Deibert, John Palfrey, Rafal Rohozinski, Jonathan Zittrain, and Miklos Haraszti. <i>Access controlled: The shaping of power, rights, and rule in cyberspace</i>. The MIT Press, 2010, chapters 1 and 2
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Session 9: Digital Platforms I: Media Manipulation

Learning Objective	<p>What does media manipulation look like in the digital age? What is the difference between misinformation, disinformation, and propaganda? How does the modern Internet architecture facilitate manipulation and the spread of disinformation? What are data voids, and what have memes got to do with all of this?</p>
Required Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Guess, Andrew M. and Benjamin A. Lyons. 2020. "Misinformation, Disinformation, and Online Propaganda", chapter 2 in <i>Social Media and Democracy: The State of the Field, Prospects for Reform</i>, Cambridge University Press. http://tiny.cc/SocMedDemoc - Golebiewski, Michael and danah boyd. 2019. "Data Voids- Where Missing Data Can Easily Be Exploited", <i>Data & Society Report</i> 2019, https://datasociety.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Data_Voids_Final.pdf - Donovan, Joan, 2019: How memes got weaponized: A short history https://www.technologyreview.com/2019/10/24/132228/political-war-memes-disinformation
Optional Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lazer, D. M., Baum, M. A., Benkler, Y., Berinsky, A. J., Greenhill, K. M., Menczer, F., [...] & Schudson, M. (2018). The science of fake news. <i>Science</i>, 359(6380), 1094-1096. - Alice Marwick and Rebecca Lewis. "Media Manipulation and Disinformation Online", <i>Data & Society Report</i>. 2017. URL https://datasociety.net/pubs/oh/DataAndSociety_MediaManipulationAndDisinformationOnline.pdf - Keller, F. B., Schoch, D., Stier, S., & Yang, J. (2020). Political Astroturfing on Twitter: How to coordinate a disinformation Campaign. <i>Political Communication</i>, 37(2), 256-280. - Marwick, Alice, and B. Lewis. "The Online Radicalization We're Not Talking About." <i>New Yorker</i> 18 May 2017. URL: http://nymag.com/intelligencer/2017/05/the-online-radicalization-were-not-talking-about.html - Benkler, Yochai, Robert Faris, and Hal Roberts. <i>Network Propaganda: Manipulation, Disinformation, and Radicalization in American Politics</i>. Oxford University Press, 2018.

Session 10: Digital Platforms: Hate speech

Learning Objective	How has hate speech changed online, and how can we understand its prevalence? (How) Did hate speech on social media affect dynamics of ethnic cleansing in Myanmar? Why is most of the criticism directed at Facebook?
Required Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Siegel, Alexandra A. 2020. "Online Hate Speech", chapter 4 in <i>Social Media and Democracy: The State of the Field, Prospects for Reform</i>, Cambridge University Press. http://tiny.cc/SocMedDemoc - Frenkel, Sheera (2016) "This Is What Happens When Millions Of People Suddenly Get The Internet" https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/sheerafrenkel/fake-news-spreads-trump-around-the-world - Business for Social Responsibility (BSR) 2018 "Human Rights Impact Assessment – Facebook in Myanmar". https://fbnewsroomus.files.wordpress.com/2018/11/bsr-facebook-myanmar-hria_final.pdf
Optional Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Podcast: Himal Interviews: Radhika Coomaraswamy on the UN report on Rohingya crisis, Sep 19, 2018: https://www.himalmag.com/himal-interviews-radhika-coomaraswamy-on-un-report-on-myanmar/ - Podcast: The Ezra Klein Show, with Mark Zuckerberg. April 2 2018. URL: https://www.stitcher.com/podcast/vox/the-ezra-klein-show/e/53938465 - Gagliardone, Iginio, Danit Gal, Thiago Alves, and Gabriela Martinez. <i>Countering online hate speech</i>. UNESCO, 2015. URL: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000233231

Session 11: Digital Platforms III: Content Moderation

Learning Objective	Why has social media content moderation become such a contentious issue? How does content moderation work, and who gets to decide what is moderated? What do the community guidelines of various social media platforms tell us about their approach towards moderating content?
Required Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Roberts, Sarah T. (2017). Content moderation. In <i>Encyclopedia of Big Data</i>. UCLA. URL: https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7371c1hf - Crawford, K., & Gillespie, T. (2016). What is a flag for? Social media reporting tools and the vocabulary of complaint: <i>New Media & Society</i>, 18(3), 410–428. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444814543163 - Duarte, N., Llanos, E., & Loup, A. C. (2018, January). Mixed Messages? The Limits of Automated Social Media Content Analysis. Conference Paper on Conference on Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency https://cdt.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/FAT-conference-draft-2018.pdf
Optional Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [Movie] "The Cleaners". URL: http://www.thecleaners-film.de/ - Roberts, Sarah T. "Social Media's Silent Filter" - <i>The Atlantic</i>. URL: https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2017/03/commercial-content-moderation/518796/

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Myers West, S. (2018). Censored, suspended, shadowbanned: User interpretations of content moderation on social media platforms. <i>New Media & Society</i>, 20(11), 4366-4383. - William L Youmans and Jillian C York. "Social media and the activist toolkit: User agreements, corporate interests, and the information infrastructure of modern social movements." <i>Journal of Communication</i>, 62(2):315–329, 2012 - Gillespie, Tarleton. <i>Custodians of the Internet: Platforms, Content Moderation, and the Hidden Decisions that Shape Social Media</i>. Yale University Press. 2018 - "Facebook Algorithms Make It Harder to Catch Extremists" <i>The Atlantic</i>. https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/05/facebook-algorithms-are-making-it-harder/588931/
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Session 12: Looking into the future: Big data, technology and contentious politics	
Learning Objective	Looking into the future: Big data, technology, and contentious politics.
Required Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brayne, Sarah. "Big data surveillance: The case of policing." <i>American sociological review</i> 82.5 (2017): 977-1008. - TBD - "Masks, cash and apps: How Hong Kong's protesters find ways to outwit the surveillance state" https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/masks-cash-and-apps-how-hong-kongs-protesters-find-ways-to-outwit-the-surveillance-state/2019/06/15/8229169c-8eao-11e9-b6f4-033356502dce_story.html
Optional Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Benjamin, Ruha (2019). <i>Race After Technology: Abolitionist Tools for the New Jim Code</i>. Cambridge: Polity. - Noble, Safiya Umoja (2018). <i>Algorithms of oppression: How search engines reinforce racism</i>. New York: NYU Press - Gregory, Sam: "Deepfakes and Synthetic Media: Updated Survey of Solutions against Malicious Usages": https://blog.witness.org/2019/06/deepfakes-synthetic-media-updated-survey-solutions-malicious-usages/ - "Deepfakes will challenge public trust in what's real. Here's how to defuse them": https://defusingdis.info/2019/02/19/deepfakes-will-challenge-public-trust-in-whats-real-online-heres-how-to-defuse-them/

Final Exam Week: 14 - 18.12.2020 – no class