

Course Readings, version 7.09.2023

GRAD-E1306: Contentious Politics in a Digital World

1. General information

Course Format	Onsite
Instructor(s)	Anita Gohdes
Instructor's e-mail	
Assistant (if applicable)	Dayna Sadow
Instructor's Office Hours	Tuesdays, 15-16h To make an appointment, please email Dayna Sadow IMPORTANT: Please indicate if you would like to meet online or in person!

2. 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
- 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.
- Donovan, Joan, Emily Dreyfuss, and Brian Friedberg. Meme wars: The untold story of the online battles upending democracy in america. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2022.

Podcasts related to the topics we are covering:

- The Dickens Olewe Podcast
- Kill Switch (by Access Now)
- Moderated Content (by Evelyn Douek)
- Motherboard CYBER Podcast

3. Session Overview

Session	Session Title
1	Introduction: What's the Internet got to do with it? Liberation Technology?!
2	Non-state actors I: Mass-based mobilization
3	Non-state actors II: Slacktivism
4	Non-state actors III: Hacktivism
5	Non-state actors IV: Radicalization
6	State and non-state actors: The role of the Internet in civil war
7	State actors: Autocrats online
Mid-term Exam Week: 23 — 27.10.2023 no class	
8	Digital Platforms I: Manipulation
9	Digital Platforms II: Hate Speech
10	Digital Platforms III: Content Moderation
11	Digital Platforms IV: Algorithms, Polarization, and Elections
12	Looking into the future: big data, technology, and contentious politics
Final Exam Week: 11 — 15.12.2023 no class	

4. Course Sessions and Readings

All course readings can be accessed on the course Moodle page.

Session 1: Introduction		
Required Readings	 Hillary Rodham Clinton. Remarks on Internet Freedom. January 21, 2010. URL https://2009-2017.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2010/o1/135519.htm Jurgenson, Nathan. "Digital dualism versus augmented reality." The Society Pages 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." Annual Review of Sociology 46 (2020): https://nealcaren.org/publication/caren-contemporary-2020/caren-contemporary-2020.pdf 	
Optional Readings	 Jurgenson, Nathan. The IRL Fetish: The New Inquiry: https://thenewinquiry.com/the-irl-fetish/ Larry Diamond. Liberation technology. Journal of Democracy, 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, Peaceworks, 65, 2010 	

Clay Shirky. The political power of social media: Technology, the public sphere, and political change. Foreign Affairs, 90:28, 2011. URL https://www.cc.gatech.edu/~beki/cs4001/Shirky.pdf

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

Required Readings

- Lohmann. Susanne "The dynamics of informational cascades: the Monday demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989–91." World politics 47.1 1994.: 42-101.
- Larson, Jennifer M, Jonathan Nagler, Jonathan Ronen, and Joshua A Tucker. 2019. "Social Networks and Protest Participation: Evidence from 130 Million Twitter Users." American Journal of Political Science 63(3): 690–705.
- Valenzuela, Sebastián (2013). Unpacking the use of social media for protest behavior:
 The roles of information, opinion expression, and activism. American Behavioral
 Scientist, 57(7), 920-942.

Optional Readings

- Golnaz Esfandiari. The twitter devolution. *Foreign Policy*, June 2010. URL http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/06/07/the_twitter_revolution_that_wasnt
- Steinert-Threlkeld, Z. C., Mocanu, D., Vespignani, A., & Fowler, J. (2015). Online social networks and offline protest. *EPJ Data Science*, 4(1), 1-9.
- Allmann, Kira C. "Mobile Revolution: Toward a History of Technology, Telephony and Political Activism in Egypt." Cyber Orient 8.2 (2014): 46.
- Kuran, Timur. "Now out of never: The element of surprise in the East European revolution of 1989." *World politics* 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. Journal of Communication, 62(2):363–379, 2012.
- Anita Breuer, Todd Landman, and Dorothea Farquhar. "Social media and protest mobilization: Evidence from the Tunisian revolution." Democratization 22.4. 2015.: 764-792.

Session 3: Non-state actors III: Slacktivism

Required Readings

- Evgeny Morozov. "The brave new world of slacktivism." *Foreign policy* 19.05. 2009. URL https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/05/19/the-brave-new-world-of-slacktivism/
- 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." PLOS ONE 10(11). 2015. e0143611. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0143611
- Steinert-Threlkeld, Zachary C. "Spontaneous collective action: Peripheral mobilization during the Arab Spring." American Political Science Review 111.2 (2017): 379-403.

Optional Readings

- Stephanie Vie. "In defense of "slacktivism": The Human Rights Campaign Facebook logo as digital activism." *First Monday* 19.4 2014. URL https://journals.uic.edu/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/4961/3868
- Christensen, H. S. (2011). Political activities on the Internet: Slacktivism or political participation by other means?. First Monday.
 https://journals.uic.edu/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/3336/2767

- Ethan Zuckerman. Cute cats to the rescue? Participatory media and political expression. In Danielle Allen and Jennifer Light, editors, *Youth, New Media and Political Participation*. 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. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 20(2), 221-239.

Session 4: Non-state actors IV: Hacktivism

Required Readings

This week includes 3 short (!) readings, and one podcast

- Friedman, Allan, and P. W. Singer. "Cybersecurity and Cyberwar: what everyone needs to know.", Oxford University Press. 2014. 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
- Burgess, Matt "Hacktivism Is Back and Messier Than Ever" 2022 https://www.wired.co.uk/article/hacktivism-russia-ukraine-ddos

Podcast:

- 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

- Sauter, Molly. ""LOIC Will Tear Us Apart" The Impact of Tool Design and Media Portrayals in the Success of Activist DDOS Attacks." *American Behavioral Scientist* 57.7 (2013): 983-1007.
- Gabriella Coleman. *Hacker, hoaxer, whistleblower, spy: The many faces of Anonymous.* Verso books, 2014.
- Barlow, John Perry. "A Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace." 1996. URL https://www.eff.org/cyberspace-independence
- Molly Sauter. The coming swarm: DDOS actions, hacktivism, and civil disobedience on the Internet. Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2014. Available in the library reserve collection!
- Menn, Joseph. Cult of the Dead Cow: How the Original Hacking Supergroup Might Just Save the World. Public Affairs, 2019. Available in the library reserve collection!

Session 5: Non-state actors II: Radicalization

Required Readings

- 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/vox-pol_publication/What-are-the-Roles-of-the-Internet-in-Terrorism.pdf

-	Allington, Daniel. 2021. "Conspiracy Theories, Radicalisation, and Digital
	Media". Global Network on Terrorism & Technology. URL: https://gnet-
	research.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/GNET-Conspiracy-Theories-
	Radicalisation-Digital-Media.pdf

Optional Readings

- Transformation of European Politics Podcast: Episode 15 Tamar Mitts. Anti-Muslim hostility and jihadi radicalization
 (https://open.spotify.com/episode/2jTcFctdoK76zrfXwgQMi2?si=5xym2stmSZS-ZFvZH1Ow_Q&dl_branch=1
- Tamar Mitts. "From Isolation to Radicalization: Anti-Muslim Hostility and Support for ISIS in the West." *American Political Science Review,* forthcoming. 1-22. URL https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055418000618
- 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". Contexts, 17(1), 60-65.
- Taneja, Kabir "From ShamiWitness to QMap: The Movement of 'One' in Online Radicalisation". 2020. URL: https://gnet-research.org/2020/11/02/from-shamiwitness-to-gmap-the-movement-of-one-in-online-radicalisation/
- Jonathon M. Berger and Jonathon Morgan. "The ISIS Twitter Census: Defining and describing the population of ISIS supporters on Twitter." *The Brookings Project on US Relations with the Islamic World* 3.20. 2015. URL https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/isis_twitter_census_berger_morgan.pdf
- Kenyon, Jonathan, Binder, Jens, and Christopher Baker-Beall "Internet and radicalisation pathways: technological advances, relevance of mental health and role of attackers". 2022 URL:
 - https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/internet-and-radicalisation-pathways-technological-advances-relevance-of-mental-health-and-role-of-attackers

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

Required Readings

This session we'll draw on lessons from Syria, Yemen, and Ukraine.

- Anita R. Gohdes 2020 "Repression technology: Internet accessibility and state violence", *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Kostyuk, Nadiya and Yuri M. Zhukov. "Invisible Digital Front: Can Cyber Attacks Shape Battlefield Events?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 2017.

Podcast:

- Motherboard Cyber Podcast: "The Cyberwar In Yemen" https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/qvgk5x/the-cyberwar-in-yemen

Optional Readings

- Anita R. Gohdes. 'Studying the Internet and Violent Conflict', *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 35(1), 89-106. 2018.
- Benjamin T. Jones and Eleonora Mattiacci. "A manifesto, in 140 characters or fewer: Social media as a tool of rebel diplomacy." British Journal of Political Science. 1-23. 2017
- Marc Lynch, Deen Freelon, and Sean Aday. Blogs and bullets iii: Syria's social mediated war. *United States Institute of Peace, Peaceworks*, 91, 2014
- Jan H. Pierskalla and Florian M. Hollenbach. Technology and collective action: The effect of cell phone coverage on political violence in africa. *American Political Science Review*, 107(2):207–224, May 2013.

- Thomas Zeitzoff. "How social media is changing conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61.9. 2017. 1970-1991.
- Podcast: BBC The Real Story: Cyberwarfare: The Digital Battlefield: https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/po3wcz63
- Podcast: Popular Front 25: The real cyber warfare https://soundcloud.com/popularfrontcast/25-the-real-threat-of-cyber-warfare

Session 7: State-actors: Autocrats online

Required Readings

- Gunitsky, Seva. 2015. Corrupting the cyber-commons: Social media as a tool of autocratic stability. *Perspectives on Politics*, 13:42–54, http://journals.cambridge.org/article-51537592714003120

Focus on The Philippines

- Read up to page 20, and the case study on The Philippines: Nyst, Carly, and Nick Monaco. 2018. "STATE-SPONSORED TROLLING: How Governments Are Deploying Disinformation as Part of Broader Digital Harassment Campaigns." 67. URL: https://tinyurl.com/online-trolls
- Mendoza, Gemma Bagayaua (2019) "Networked propaganda: How the Marcoses are using social media to reclaim Malacañang" https://www.rappler.com/features/newsbreak/investigative/245290-marcos-networked-propaganda-social-media/index.html

Optional Readings

- Mendoza, Gemma Bagayaua (2019) "Networked propaganda: How the Marcoses are rewriting history" https://www.rappler.com/features/newsbreak/investigative/245402-networked-propaganda-marcoses-rewriting-history/index.html
- 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/
- 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, *Working Paper*, 2016
- Rebecca MacKinnon. China's" networked authoritarianism". *Journal of Democracy*, 22(2): 32–46, 2011
- Espen Geelmuyden Rød and Nils B Weidmann. Empowering activists or autocrats? the internet in authoritarian regimes. *Journal of Peace Research*, 52(3):338–351, 2015.
- Katy E. Pearce and Sarah Kendzior. Networked authoritarianism and social media in Azerbaijan. *Journal of Communication*, 62(2):283–298, 2012.

Mid-term Exam Week: 23 - 27.10.2023 - no class

Session 8: Digital Platforms II: Manipulation

Required Readings

- Ababakirov, Azamat, et al. "Meeting the challenges of information disorder in the Global South." (2022). URL: https://protect-za.mimecast.com/s/C12FCwjyBrSmpNoktVSahQ
 Chapter TBD!!!
- Golebiewski, Michael and danah boyd. 2019. "Data Voids- Where Missing Data Can Easily Be Exploited", *Data & Society Report* 2019, https://datasociety.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Data_Voids_Final.pdf
- Altay, Sacha, Manon Berriche, and Alberto Acerbi. "Misinformation on misinformation: Conceptual and methodological challenges." Social Media+ Society 9.1 (2023): 20563051221150412.

Optional Readings

- Guess, Andrew M. and Benjamin A. Lyons. 2020. "Misinformation, Disinformation, and Online Propaganda", chapter 2 in *Social Media and Democracy: The State of the Field, Prospects for Reform*, Cambridge University Press. http://tiny.cc/SocMedDemoc
- Alice Marwick and Rebecca Lewis. "Media Manipulation and Disinformation Online", *Data* & Society Report. 2017.
- Keller, F. B., Schoch, D., Stier, S., & Yang, J. (2020). Political Astroturfing on Twitter: How to coordinate a disinformation Campaign. *Political Communication*, 37(2), 256-280.
- Donovan, Joan, 2019: How memes got weaponized: A short history https://www.technologyreview.com/2019/10/24/132228/political-war-memes-disinformation
- Marwick, Alice, and B. Lewis. "The Online Radicalization We're Not Talking About." *New Yorker* 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. *Network Propaganda: Manipulation, Disinformation, and Radicalization in American Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2018.

Session 9: Digital Platforms III: Hate speech

Required Readings

 Siegel, Alexandra A. 2020. "Online Hate Speech", chapter 4 in Social Media and Democracy: The State of the Field, Prospects for Reform, Cambridge University Press. http://tiny.cc/SocMedDemoc

Focus on Myanmar

- 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
- Scan this report: Business for Social Responsibility (BSR) 2018 "Human Rights Impact Assessment Facebook in Myanmar". https://about.fb.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/bsr-facebook-myanmar-hria_final.pdf
- Sawyeddollah, Maung. 2023. "Facebook should pay for what it did to my people, Rohingya". URL: https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2023/8/25/facebook-should-pay-for-what-it-did-to-my-people-rohingya

Optional Readings

- 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
- Meta: "An Update on the Situation in Myanmar" URL: https://about.fb.com/news/2021/02/an-update-on-myanmar/

 Gagliardone, Iginio, Danit Gal, Thiago Alves, and Gabriela Martinez. Countering online hate speech. UNESCO, 2015. URL: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000233231

Session 10: Digital Platforms IV: Content Moderation

Required Readings

- Roberts, Sarah T. (2017). Content moderation. In Encyclopedia of Big Data. UCLA. URL: https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7371c1hf
- Gültekin, Burcu. 2018. "Three months in hell: What I learned from three months of Content Moderation for Facebook in Berlin". URL: https://sz-maqazin.sueddeutsche.de/internet/three-months-in-hell-84381
- Rauchfleisch, Adrian and Kaiser, Jonas, Deplatforming the Far-right: An Analysis of YouTube and BitChute (June 15, 2021). Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=3867818 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3867818

Optional Readings

- [Movie] "The Cleaners". URL: http://www.thecleaners-film.de/
- Podcast: Regulating the online sphere Tech Against Terrorism <u>https://open.spotify.com/episode/35Vo7ZSoostKjTUNdGzFOV?si=CoO8mZHeQg-</u> <u>mdEKChvKgw&dl_branch=1</u>
- Crawford, K., & Gillespie, T. (2016). What is a flag for? Social media reporting tools and the vocabulary of complaint: New Media & Society, 18(3), 410–428. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444814543163
- Duarte, N., Llanso, 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
- 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." *Journal of Communication*, 62(2):315–329, 2012
- Gillespie, Tarleton. *Custodians of the Internet: Platforms, Content Moderation, and the Hidden Decisions that Shape Social Media.* Yale University Press. 2018 **Please see Prof. Gohdes!**
- "Facebook Algorithms Make It Harder to Catch Extremists" The Atlantic. https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/05/facebook-algorithms-are-making-it-harder/588931/

Session 11: Digital Platforms IV: Algorithms, Polarization, and Elections

Required Readings

This week we will take a deep dive into the 2020 US Election Research Project.

- Guess, A. M. et al. How do social media feed algorithms affect attitudes and behavior in an election campaign?. *Science* **381**,398-404(2023). DOI:10.1126/science.abp9364
- Guess, A. M et al. Reshares on social media amplify political news but do not detectably affect beliefs or opinions. *Science* 381, 404-408(2023).
 DOI:10.1126/science.add8424
- Nyhan, B. et al. Like-minded sources on Facebook are prevalent but not polarizing. *Nature* 620, 137–144 (2023). https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-023-06297-w

	If you want to hear two of the lead authors (Jennifer Pan and Josh Tucker) discuss the findings, tune into the second half of this podcast: https://moderated-content.simplecast.com/episodes/mc-weekly-update-7-31-its-complicated
Optional Readings	- Background on the 2020 Election Research Project: https://medium.com/@2020 election research project/us-2020-facebook- instagram-election-study-frequently-asked-questions-faq-266d3ocbe95b

Session 12: Looking into the future: Big data, technology and contentious politics	
Required Readings	 Brayne, Sarah. "Big data surveillance: The case of policing." American sociological review 82.5 (2017): 977-1008. Noble, Safiya Umoja. The Enduring Anti-Black Racism of Google Search". OneZero. URL: https://onezero.medium.com/the-enduring-anti-black-racism-of-google-search-do24924bff77 Podcast: Good Code: "Timnit Gebru on the limits of Artificial Intelligence" URL: https://www.dli.tech.cornell.edu/goodcode/episode/ao23e7ae/timnit-gebru-on-the-limits-of-artificial-intelligence
Optional Readings	 Benjamin, Ruha (2019). Race after Technology: Abolitionist Tools for the New Jim Code. Cambridge: Polity. Available in the Hertie library! Noble, Safiya Umoja (2018). Algorithms of oppression: How search engines reinforce racism. New York: NYU Press. Available in the Hertie library! "Masks, cash and apps: How Hong Kong's protesters find ways to outwit the surveillance state" <a <a="" against="" and="" deepfakes="" href="https://blog.witness.org/2019/06/deepfakes-synthetic-media-updated-survey-solutions-malicious-usages/" malicious="" media:="" of="" solutions="" survey="" synthetic="" updated="" 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: 11 - 15.12.2023 no class