

The Internet and Global Affairs

Reading List – Long Version

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Blurb

This is the long version of a reading list prepared by Taylor Owen and Robert Gorwa for a graduate seminar cross-listed between the Public Policy and Journalism programs at UBC. Because this course presupposed that students did not have any background in International Relations, and because a significant proportion of the students were from journalism, we focused on making the list as accessible and thought provoking as possible, at the expense of it being totally comprehensive or highly academic.

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Week 1 - *The Origins and Ideology of the Internet (1980-2006)*

The Internet was born out of a confluence of government research, military funding, entrepreneurialism, and brazen ideological optimism. From its origin, Silicon Valley has been at its core a contradiction between the interests and resources of the state, and the disruptive libertarian pretenses of the startup economy. In this class we will discuss the history of the Internet from the hackers who imagined personal computing to the rise of some of the world's largest and most powerful technology companies.

Core Readings:

1. Kahn, Postel, Cerf et al., 2009. A Brief History of the Internet. *ACM SIGCOMM Computer Communication Review* [39](#).
2. Barlow, 1996. A Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace. [[Link](#)]
3. Levy, 2010. Hackers. Chap. 2: The Hacker Ethic. [[Link](#)]
4. Lessig, 2009. *Code*. Chap 1: Code is Law. [[Link](#)]
5. Packer, 2011. No Death, No Taxes, *The New Yorker* [[Link](#)]

Additional Readings:

1. Goldsmith & Wu, 2006. *Who Controls the Internet?* OUP, Chapter 1.
2. Barbrook & Cameron, 1995. "The Californian Ideology" [[Link](#)]
3. Zittrain, 2005. "The Generative Internet." *Harvard Law Review* [119](#).
4. Boyd & Ellison, 2007. Social Network Sites: Definition, History, and Scholarship. *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication* 13. [[UBC E-Link](#)]

Week 2 - *From the Social Web to the Rise of Platforms (2006-2017)*

Social media has taken the power of publishing and broadcasting away from established institutions and provided individuals with the ability to speak to and report on the world around them. Instead of publishers deciding what is relevant and important, social platforms, and the algorithms that govern them, are increasingly the primary intermediaries between citizens and information about the world. In this class we will discuss the implications of this shift in power.

Core Readings:

1. *Disruptive Power*, Introduction
2. Shirky, 2011. "The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change." *Foreign Affairs*.
3. Zuckerman, 2013. Cute Cats to the Rescue? Participatory Media and Political Expression. [[Link](#)]
4. Vaidhyanathan, 2012. *The Googlization of Everything*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapter 3, "The Googlization of Us."
5. Hermann, 2017. "How Hate Groups Forced Online Platforms to Reveal Their True Nature." [The New York Times](#).

Additional Readings:

6. Gillespie, 2017. "The Platform Metaphor, Revisited." [Culture Digitally](#).

7. Tufekci, 2014. "Is the Internet good or bad? Yes." [Medium](#).
8. Castells, 2007. "Communication, Power and Counterpower in the Network Society," [IJOC](#).
9. Howard & Hussain, 2011. "Digital Media and the Arab Spring." [Journal of Democracy](#) 22.
10. O'Reilly, 2009. Chapter 2: Government As a Platform, in [Open Government](#).
11. Tufekci & Wilson, 2012. Social media and the decision to participate in political protest: Observations from Tahrir Square. [Journal of Communication](#), 62(2), 363–379.
12. Schmidt & Cohen, 2010. "The Digital Disruption: Connectivity and the Diffusion of Power." [Foreign Affairs](#).
13. Napoli & Caplan, 2017. "Why media companies insist they're not media companies, why they're wrong, and why it matters." [First Monday](#) 22 (5).
14. Hogan, 2017. "How Facebook Divides Us." [The Times Literary Supplement](#).

Week 3 – What Happened to All the Optimism? Online Manipulation & Misinformation

Only a few years ago, digital technologies were being portrayed as not only revolutionary, but perhaps even inherently democratizing. Recently, however, the wave of optimism seems to have died out, and is increasingly being replaced by concerns that various digital technologies are being increasingly used as a form of social control. By manipulating voters, interfering in elections, and serving up misinformation during important political events, only six years after "the revolution was tweeted" (Lotan et al., 2011), scholars are now seriously asking if "social media is killing democracy" (Howard, 2017). What happened? Are these concerns legitimate, and where did they come from? In this class, we will discuss the latest research on media manipulation, 'fake news,' bots, and computational propaganda.

Core Readings:

1. Marwich & Lewis, 2017. Media Manipulation and Disinformation Online. [Data & Society Report](#).
2. Woolley, 2016. "Automating power: Social bot interference in global politics." [First Monday](#).
3. Benkler et al., 2017. "Breitbart-led right-wing media ecosystem altered broader media agenda." [Columbia Journalism Review](#).
4. Tworek, 2017. "Cambridge Analytica, Trump, and the new old fear of manipulating the masses." [Niman Lab](#).
5. Rid, 2017. Disinformation and Russian Active Measures, [Senate Committee on Intelligence Testimony](#).

Additional Readings:

1. Woolley & Howard, 2017. Computational Propaganda Worldwide: Executive Summary. [Oxford Project on Computational Propaganda](#).
2. Unver, 2017. "Can Fake News Lead to War? What the Gulf Crisis Tells Us." [War on the Rocks](#).
3. Jack, 2017. The Lexicon of Lies: Terms for Problematic Information. [Data & Society Report](#).
4. Jack, 2017. "What's Propaganda Got To Do With It?" [Medium](#).
5. Shao et al., 2017. The Spread of Fake News by Social Bots. [arXiv Preprint](#).
6. Woolley et al., 2016. Botifesto: How to Think About Bots. [Motherboard](#).
7. Morozov, 2017. "Moral panic over fake news hides the real enemy – the digital giants." [The Guardian](#).

8. Hermann, 2016. "Inside Facebook's (Totally Insane, Unintentionally Gigantic, Hyperpartisan) Political-Media Machine." [The New York Times](#).
9. Ferrara, 2017. Disinformation and Social Bot Operations in the Run Up to the 2017 French Presidential Election. [arXiv Preprint](#).

Week 4 - *Did the Internet Kill Journalism?*

The practice and institutions of journalism are in the midst of a radical transformation. At the core of this is a shift from a hierarchical industrial mode of production to a networked post-industrial model. We will discuss how and why this shift is occurring and what its implications are for a political system that is meant to be held accountable by a free press. While one generation of institutions is struggling to adapt to this new ecosystem, a new generation of digitally native companies is emerging in their place (Vice, BuzzFeed, Mic, Vox). We will explore how these companies differ, and experiment with a form of explanatory journalism that one in particular, Vox, is pioneering.

Core Readings:

1. *Disruptive Power* Chapter 5, 'Being There'
2. Gilmore, 2004. *We The Media*. [O'Reilly Press](#).
3. Sullivan, 2008. Why I Blog. [The Atlantic](#).
4. Derakhshan, 2015. The Web We Have to Save. [Medium](#).
5. Bell, 2017. Technology company? Publisher? The lines can no longer be blurred. [The Guardian](#).

Additional Readings:

1. Jay Rosen and Clay Shirky discuss the 'disruption of journalism by the Net', 2009. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dn9TAcBsL9E>
2. Bell & Owen, 2017. The Platform Press: How Silicon Valley reengineered journalism. [Tow Center Report](#).
3. Owen, 2016. Can Journalism Be Virtual? [Columbia Journalism Review](#).
4. [The New York Times Innovation Report](#), as leaked by BuzzFeed

Week 5 - *The Surveillance State*

Just as the Internet has empowered individual and networks, it has also proven remarkably susceptible to the re-establishment of state control. In this class we will explore how states are both threatened by digital technologies, and how both democracies and autocracies are using control over these networks to watch, influence and exert control over their citizens.

Core Readings:

1. *Disruptive Power* Chapter 2, 'Disruptive Power'
2. "The NSA Files Decoded: Edward Snowden." [The Guardian](#).
3. Greenwald, 2016. The Surveillance State, in *Journalism After Snowden*, Bell and Owen eds.
4. Forcese & Roach, 2015. "Bill C-51: the Good, the Bad . . . and the Truly Ugly." [The Walrus](#).
5. Marczak & Railton, 2015. "The Million Dollar Dissident." [Citizen Lab](#).

6. Deibert & Rohozinski, 2010. "Beyond Denial: Introducing Next-Generation Information Access Controls." In [Access Controlled](#).

Additional Readings:

7. MacAskill, 2016. "'Extreme surveillance' becomes UK law with barely a whimper." [The Guardian](#).
8. Penney, 2012. Communications Disruption & Censorship under International Law: History Lessons. [USENIX 2013](#).
9. King, Pan, & Roberts, 2013. How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression. [American Political Science Review](#).
10. Mackinnon, 2011. China's Networked Authoritarianism. [Journal of Democracy](#).
11. Calingaert, 2010. "Authoritarianism vs. the Internet." [Policy Review](#). [[UBC E-link](#)]
12. "What You Need to Know About the NSA's Surveillance Programs." [ProPublica](#).

Week 6 - Digital Diplomacy

This class will explore the emerging practice of digital diplomacy. We will outline how we valued the efficacy and power of diplomacy before Twitter and Facebook by tracing the notion of diplomatic power. We shall then discuss how digital diplomacy initiatives can be viewed as two distinct categories: those that simply expand the practice of public diplomacy into a new medium, and those that seek to fundamentally engage in the digital space, using the new tools and capabilities that it offers.

Core Readings:

1. *Disruptive Power* Chapter 7, 'Diplomacy Unbound'
2. Lichenstein, 2010. "Digital Diplomacy." [New York Times Magazine](#).
3. Ross, 2011. Digital Diplomacy and US Foreign Policy. *Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 6, 451–456.
4. Cull, 2013. "The Long Road to Public Diplomacy 2.0: The Internet in US Public Diplomacy," *International Studies Review* 15(1), 123-139.
5. Digital Power and Its Discontents: Clay Shirky debates Evgeny Morozov, 2010. [Edge Magazine](#).
6. Comor & Bean, 2012. America's "Engagement" Delusion: Critiquing a Public Diplomacy Consensus. *International Communication Gazette*, 74(3), 203–220.

Additional Readings:

7. Powers & Jablonski, 2015. *The real cyber war: The political economy of Internet freedom*. Chapter 1.
8. Owen, 2015. The promise and Peril of Digital Diplomacy, [Globe and Mail](#).
9. Rasiej & Sifry, 2009. P2P2G: The rise of e-diplomacy. [Politico](#).
10. Nye, 2008. Public Diplomacy and Soft Power. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616, 94–109.
11. Alec Ross, Eric Schmidt, and Jared Cohen talk about "21st Century Statecraft": https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4C6_uRGSqtM

Week 7 - Digital Humanitarianism and Development

This class will explore the impact of digital technologies on the institutions and practices of humanitarianism and development. The world of aid, humanitarianism and development have long been dominated by state-based agencies and large international organizations. For nearly a century, organizations like the World Food Program, The Red Cross, USAID and Oxfam have attempted to lead a transfer of expertise and resources from the developed world to the developing world. But new models are emerging. Using examples of disruptive humanitarian actors and recent academic work assessing their impact, we will explore how aid and humanitarianism are being transformed from the ground up.

Core Readings:

1. *Disruptive Power* Chapter 6, 'Saving the Saviors'
2. Meier, 2015. *Digital Humanitarians*: Introduction. Taylor & Francis. [[Link](#)]
3. Graham et al., 2017. "The Link Between Internet Access and Economic Growth Is Not as Strong as You Think". [CFR Netpolitics](#).
4. Morozov, 2015. "Facebook isn't a charity. The poor will pay by surrendering their data." [The Guardian](#).
5. LaFrance, 2016. Facebook and the New Colonialism. [The Atlantic](#).

Additional Readings:

6. Norris, 2001. *Digital divide: Civic engagement, information poverty, and the Internet worldwide*. Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1. [[Link](#)]
7. Global Voices, 2017. Free Basics in Real Life. [[Summary](#)] [[Report](#)]
8. Rogers, 2017. "Rural America Is Building Its Own Internet Because No One Else Will." [Motherboard](#).
9. Donner, 2015. *After Access: Inclusion, Development, and a More Mobile Internet*, MIT Press, Chapter 1.
10. Napoli & Obar, 2015. The Emerging Mobile Internet Underclass: A Critique of Mobile Internet Access. *The Information Society* 30:5, 323-334.
11. Meier & Learning, 2009. Applied Technology to Crisis Mapping and Early Warning in Humanitarian Settings. [Harvard Humanitarian Institute](#).

Week 8 - Artificial Intelligence, Machine Learning, and Algorithms

The largest technology companies in the world including Google, Facebook, Microsoft and Apple are betting their futures on a confluence on new technological advances in artificial intelligence and machine learning. This class will explore the nature and social impact of this shift, and what it means for the course themes of power, control and empowerment.

Core Readings:

1. *Disruptive Power* Chapter 8, 'The Violence of Algorithms'
2. Calo, 2017. Artificial Intelligence Policy: A Roadmap. [SSRN](#).
3. Crawford & Calo, 2016. There is a blind spot in AI research." [Nature](#).
4. Floridi, 2017. Should We Be Afraid of AI? [Aeon](#).

5. Annany, 2011. "The Curious Connection Between Apps for Gay Men and Sex Offenders." [*The Atlantic*](#).
6. Alang, 2017. Turns Out Algorithms are Racist. [*The New Republic*](#).
7. Annany & Owen, 2017. "Ethics and governance are getting lost in the AI frenzy." [*The Globe & Mail*](#).

Additional Readings:

8. Pasquale, 2016. "Digital Star Chamber." [*Aeon*](#).
9. Emspak, 2016. How a Machine Learns Prejudice. [*Scientific American*](#).
10. boyd, 2016. "Be Careful What You Code For." [*Medium*](#).
11. Brynjolfsson & McAfee, 2016. 'Human Work in the Robotic Future: Policy for the Age of Automation,' [*Foreign Affairs*](#).
12. Drouman & Mounk, 2016. "When the Robots Rise." [*The National Interest*](#).
13. Surowiecki, 2017. "Chill: Robots Won't Take All Our Jobs." [*Wired*](#).
14. Kofman, 2016. "Study: Facial Recognition Systems Threaten the Privacy of Millions." [*The Intercept*](#).
15. Angwin et al., 2016. "Machine Bias." [*ProPublica*](#).

Week 9 - Digital Activism

Cyber activists have taken on a role of social and cultural provocateurs: they are dissenting actors in a culture that is increasingly hostile to protest. What's more, they deploy digital technology to observe, organize, and act in networked ways that boggle governments and corporations. This class will explore the history of hacktivism as a form of civil disobedience, though one that looks markedly different, and is potentially more powerful, than the placards and megaphones of old. We will also explore how the state has responded to the perceived threat of online civil disobedience, and this new age of networked activism.

Core Readings:

1. *Disruptive Power* Chapter 3, 'Spaces of Dissent'
2. Heller, 2017. "Is There Any Point to Protesting?" [*The New Yorker*](#).
3. Gladwell, 2010. "Small Change: Why the revolution will not be tweeted." [*The New Yorker*](#).
4. York, 2010. "The False Poles of Digital and Traditional Activism." [Blog Post](#).
5. Tufekci, 2014. What Happens to #Ferguson affects Ferguson. [*Medium*](#).

Additional Readings:

6. Margetts et al., 2016. *Political Turbulence: How Social Media Shape Collective Action*. Princeton UP: Chapter 1.
7. Morozov, 2009. "Iran: Downside to the "Twitter Revolution." [*Dissent*](#).
8. Tufekci, 2017. *Twitter and Teargas*. Yale University Press. [\[Link\]](#)
9. Ochigame & Holston, 2017. "Filtering Dissent." [*New Left Review*](#) 99.

Week 10 - *The Future of the Internet*

What are the implications of an Internet that is increasingly influenced by a handful of large technology companies? An Internet which is used by governments to spread propaganda, tamper with elections, and mislead voters? An Internet which experiences critical security issues, especially as millions more devices come online every year? In the final class, we will step back and reflect on the future of the Internet and its impact on global affairs, domestic politics, and society.

Core Readings:

1. *Disruptive Power* Chapter 9, 'The Crisis of the State'
2. Naughton, 2016. "Has the Internet Become a Failed State?" [The Guardian](#).
3. Lanchester, 2017. You Are the Product. [London Review of Books](#).
4. Onwurah, 2017. "2017 is the year we realise we've been doing the Internet wrong." [The New Statesman](#).
5. Schneier, 2017. "Click Here to Kill Everyone." [New York Magazine](#).
6. Taplin, 2017. "Is It Time to Break Up Google?" [New York Times](#).
7. Sullivan, 2017. "I used to be a human being." [New York Magazine](#).

Additional Readings:

8. Mueller, 2017. *Will the Internet Fragment? Introduction and Chapter 1*. Cambridge: Polity.
9. Barabas, Narula, & Zuckerman, 2017. "Back to the Future: The Decentralized Web." [\[Link\]](#)
10. Naughton, 2017. "Tim Wu: 'The internet is like the classic story of the party that went sour.'" [The Guardian](#).
11. Zittrain, 2008. "Protecting the Internet Without Wrecking It." [Boston Review](#).
12. Morozov, 2016. "The State Has Lost Control: Tech Firms Now Run Western Politics." [The Guardian](#).
13. Kolbert, 2017. "Who Owns the Internet?" [The New Yorker](#).
14. Keohane & Nye, 1998. Power and Interdependence in the Information Age. [Foreign Affairs](#).

Appendix: Some Extra Readings

Books

- ❖ Naughton, 1999. *A brief history of the future: The origins of the internet*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- ❖ Chadwick, 2013. *The hybrid media system : politics and power*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- ❖ Morozov, 2011. *The net delusion: the dark side of internet freedom*. New York: Public Affairs.
- ❖ Beyer, 2014. *Expect Us : Online Communities and Political Mobilization*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- ❖ Denardis, 2014. *The Global War for Internet Governance*. New Haven: Yale.

Cyber Norms & Conflict

- ❖ Rid, 2013. Cyberwar and Peace: Hacking Can Reduce Real World Violence. [Foreign Affairs](#).
- ❖ Healey, 2017. What It'll Take to Forge Peace in Cyberspace. [CS Monitor](#).
- ❖ Gartzke, 2013. "Fear and War in Cyberspace," [Lawfare](#).
- ❖ Arquilla & Ronfeldt, 1993. Cyberwar is coming! *Comparative Strategy*, 12(2), 141–165.
- ❖ Deibert, 2003. Black Code: Censorship, Surveillance, and the Militarisation of Cyberspace. *Millennium* 32(3), 501–530.
- ❖ Gartzke & Lindsay, 2015. Weaving Tangled Webs: Offense, Defense, and Deception in Cyberspace. *Security Studies*, 24(2), 316–348.
- ❖ Reardon & Choucri, 2012. The role of cyberspace in international relations: A view of the literature. ISA 2012.
- ❖ Tworek, 2017. "Microsoft is Right: We Need a Digital Geneva Convention." [Wired](#).
- ❖ Morozov, 2017. "Why do we need 'accidental heroes' to deal with global cyber-attacks?" [The Guardian](#).
- ❖ Buchanan, 2017. *The cybersecurity dilemma : hacking, trust and fear between nations*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Currency, Blockchain, and Decentralized Systems

- ❖ Nakamoto. Bitcoin: A Peer-to-Peer Electronic Cash System. <https://bitcoin.org/bitcoin.pdf>
- ❖ Lehdonvirta, 2016. The blockchain paradox: Why distributed ledger technologies may do little to transform the economy. [Policy & Internet Blog](#).
- ❖ Levy, 1993. "E-Money: That's What I Want." [Wired](#).
- ❖ Atzori, 2015. Blockchain Technology and Decentralized Governance: Is the State Still Necessary? [SSRN](#).
- ❖ Malmo, 2017. "Bitcoin and Sustainability: A Single Bitcoin Transaction Takes Thousands of Times More Energy Than a Credit Card Swipe". [Motherboard](#).
- ❖ Dorit & Shamir, 2012. Quantitative Analysis of the Full Bitcoin Transaction Graph. <http://eprint.iacr.org/2012/584.pdf>

Encryption

- ❖ Buchanan, 2016. Cryptography and Sovereignty. *Survival*, 58(5), 95–122.
- ❖ Abelson, et al., 2015. *Keys Under Doormats: Mandating insecurity by requiring government access to all data and communications*. [MIT Computer Science and Artificial Intelligence Laboratory](#).
- ❖ Levy, 2002. *Crypto : secrecy and privacy in the new code war*. London: Penguin.
- ❖ Wilson et al., 2015. “Doomed to Repeat History? Lessons from the Crypto Wars of the 1990s.” [New America](#).
- ❖ Moore, & Rid, 2016. Cryptopolitik and the Darknet. *Survival*, 58(1), 7–38.