MEDIA EMPIRES: CORPORATE POWER AND RESISTANCE: AN INTERASIAN PERSPECTIVE NON-ACADEMIC SOURCES

Ergin Bulut and Paula Chakravartty

Middle East & North Africa

"Internet governance: the quest for an open Internet in the Middle East and Northern Africa." Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries (2013).
http://hivos.org/sites/default/files/internetgovernance_web.pdf

Published by the Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries, this 70-page report "strives to analyse the current state of Internet openness in six countries; Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Tunisia and Syria - from hand selected experts in the field. The reports contextualise each country's experience of anchoring and safeguarding Internet openness, including policies and measures which permit Internet users to make their own choices about which lawful Internet services and content they wish to access, create or share online."

"Surveillance & Censorship Project." Near East Observatory (2013).
http://neobservatory.org/activities/projects/surveillance-censorship-2013-project/

This project focuses on the issue of modern technology as a tool for empowerment and surveillance. This paper will explore the contemporary problems posed by surveillance, censorship and authoritarian interference over the Internet. The goal of this paper is to present the issue of surveillance in relationship with democratic movements and freedom of information and expression. We will also explore the role of NGOs in regards to the development of policy, legal issues, and the empowerment of individuals in addressing this issue. In particular, this paper will outline short-term strategies to assist and empower individuals on the ground and propose several practical steps in this regard. By analyzing this topic we hope to inspire discussion, debate and action regarding the future of the Internet, surveillance and censorship. We also hope to provide practical technical knowledge and solutions to activists on the ground.

"Technology, Media & Telecommunications Predictions 2013." Deloitte (2013).
http://deloitte.wsj.com/riskandcompliance/files/2013/07/dttl_TMT_Predictions2013_Final.pdf

This is a very comprehensive report regarding smart phones, PC usage, mobile advertising etc. It's a bit long but at the end of each section, there are summaries entitled "bottomline" which has predictions and suggestions for investors and business actors.

Anita Breuer, Sergio Burns, "Facebook, Twitter & Co.: Enablers of participatory democracy or henchmen of the digital surveillance state?" German Development Institute (August 2013).

http://www.die-gdi.de/en/the-current-column/article/facebook-twitter-co-enablers-of-participatory-democracy-or-henchmen-of-the-digital-surveillance-state/

This is a good journalistic piece and asks good questions regarding the status of Facebook and Twitter in the aftermath of the Arab Spring and the NSA scandal.

Summary:

In this triangle corporations are liable to their shareholders, governments strive to extend state control over the Internet for the sake of national security, and disenchanted citizens demand a bigger say in politics but at the same time wish to see their right to (digital) privacy protected. It will take some time for the dust on this battlefield to settle and binding rules to be established.

"Social Media and ICT during the Arab Spring." FOI (July 2013).
http://www.foi.se/global/our_knowledge/decision_support_system_and_information_fusion/foi-r--3702--se.pdf

The aim of this report is to describe how different actors used Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) during the Arab Spring and to discuss the effects of ICT on the outcomes of the Arab spring. It has as nice background of the countries and how the nation states dealt with protest in their own settings.

"Transforming Education in the Arab World: Breaking Barriers in the Age of Social Learning." Dubai School of Government, Arab Social Media Report, Volume 2, Number 1 (June 2013).
http://www.arabsocialmediareport.com/UserManagement/PDF/ASMR_5_Report_Final.pdf

The findings of the report series covered topics varying from the impact of social media on freedom of expression and media consumption behaviors, to its empowerment of youth and women, and its role in popular civic movements. In this fourth issue of the report, we focus on exploring the societal and cultural transformations taking place in
the Arab region, influenced by the continuing exponential growth of social media. In this edition of the report we provide regional statistics on more social networking platforms, in addition to Facebook and Twitter; including for the first time, analysis on LinkedIn.

Matt J. Duffy, "Media Laws and Regulations of the GCC Countries: Summary, Analysis and Recommendations" Doha Centre for Media Freedom (May 2013).
http://www.dc4mf.org/sites/default/files/gcc_media_law_en_0.pdf

This is a summary of the regulations in Bahrain, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, and Oman and discusses their constitution, penal code and the policy context in each country.

The role of social media in the Arab uprisings – past and present. Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture, Volume 9, Issue 2 (April 2013).
http://www.westminsterpapers.org/24/volume/9/issue/2/

This collection is very valuable. In this "edited book",

1. Marc Owen Jones turns our attention to a country largely ignored by the mainstream media, Bahrain. His 10-month virtual ethnographic study, conducted during the uprising in 2011, examines how the Bahraini regime used social media in a number of different ways to suppress both online and offline dissent. Such methods included naming and shaming, offline intelligence gathering and passive observation.
2. Paolo Gerbaudo (author of Tweets and the Streets, most of which I've scanned)'s piece in this selection argues that while the Egyptian state initially aimd to block the whole Internet, the outcome was the opposite. It actually initiated more social organization and therefore we need to think of social media in relation to what happens offline, as well.

"Arab Media Outlook 2011-2015." Dubai Press Club (2012).
http://stmjo.com/en/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Arab-Media-Outlook-2011-2015.pdf

Prepared by Dubai Press Club and Deloitte, this report looks at the digital trends in the region, advertising expenditures, demographic data, and social media usage. The last section of the report is probably the most relevant one as far as this research is concerned.

"2012 CyberWatch Year in Review: Middle East and North Africa, Southeast Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean." Citizen Lab (December 2012).
https://citizenlab.org/2012/12/2012-year-in-review-cyberwatch/

The Citizen Lab's CyberWatch publications monitor trends and developments on the intersection of information communications technologies (ICTs), global security, and human rights in three regions — Middle East and North Africa, Southeast Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean. Our assessment of events that took place in 2012 has found that freedom of expression continues to be under threat in these parts of the world, although some progress has been made in certain countries. This review discusses trends in cyber attacks, changing legal norms, social media use, technological development, censorship and filtering, and arrests of rights activists. (A good summary of the developments and the patterns and divergences among the countries).

Rebecca Stein, "Inside Israel's Twitter War Room." Middle East Research and Information Project (November 2012).
http://www.merip.org/mero/mero112412?ip_login_no_cache=3eeb636786fcfe2f2ba043cc2024c1f3

This article by Rebecca Stein argues that Israel has been investing in technology, information, and social media a lot earlier than we actually think. It documents the ways in which Israel, since 2008, actually has learnt a lot in terms of how to deploy Facebook, YouTube and other social media outlets and emphasizes the tensions with respect to the seriousness of the army and the informality of social media.

"ICT Indicators in Brief." Arab Republic of Egypt Ministry of Communications and Information Technology (August 2012).
http://www.mcit.gov.eg/Upcont/Documents/Publications_1992012000_Eng%20Flyer-August2012-last.pdf

Emma Hall, “Year After Arab Spring, Digital and Social Media Shape Region's Rebirth.” Advertising Age (June 2012).
http://adage.com/article/global-news/year-arab-spring-digital-social-media-shape-region-s-rebirth/235259/

This article published in Advertising Age has significant information in terms of how marketing people perceive MENA after the boom regarding social media. It is a growing market and has caught the attention of business. As the article says: Matt Simpson, head of digital at Omnicom Media Group, EMEA, said, "Social media has gone ballistic -- we have more social-media specialists in the Middle East and North Africa than we do in the U.K. We have staffed up hugely in the region: From a digital perspective, [the Middle East and North Africa region] is one of our shining stars. There's a lot of local talent."

Cindy Cohn, Trevor Timm, and Jillian C. York, “Human Rights and Technology Sales: How Corporations Can Avoid Assisting Repressive Regimes.” Electronic Frontier Foundation (April 2012).
https://www.eff.org/files/filenode/human-rights-technology-sales.pdf

A good-hearted policy proposal for companies that sell technology. “we outline a basic proposal for companies to audit their current and potential governmental customers in an effort to prevent their technologies and services from being used for human rights abuses. It has two key components: transparency and “know your customer” standards. The same basic proposal could be implemented through voluntary action, governmental or other incentives or regulatory or legal frameworks. Regardless of how it is implemented, however, we believe this framework can help both the public and the companies get a clearer picture of who is using these technologies and how they are being used and then take some basic steps to prevent horrible outcomes like the ones we’ve witnessed.”

Jeffrey Ghannam, “Digital Media in the Arab World: One Year After the Revolutions.” Center for International Media Assistance (March 2012).
http://issuu.com/cima-publications/docs/digital-media-mena-one-year-after-revolutions

A comprehensive report that covers number of people who use social media, the attempts of governments to facilitate and control internet infrastructure. It has a very interesting section where the support of the US regarding social media is discussed since the support is given but then the activists are punished and the US does not bear the consequences.

Taylor Dewey, Juliane Kaden, Miriam Marks, Shun Matsushima and Beijing Zhu, “The Impact of Social Media on Social Unrest in the Arab Spring.” Stanford University Public Policy Program (March 2012).
https://publicpolicy.stanford.edu/publications/impact-social-media-social-unrest-arab-spring

This is a report prepared for Defense Intelligence Agency by people at Stanford. There is some useful data (qualitative and quantitative) regarding MENA in general and also within the context of the protests. Otherwise, the report’s conclusions are common sense in terms of how MENA was already destabilized and social media was a tool for expressing socio-economic issues, organizing, and a terrain where the state didn't wait too long to crack down on dissent.

Ben Wagner, "Exporting Censorship and Surveillance Technology." Humanist Institute for Co-operation with Developing Countries (January 2012).
http://www.hivos.net/Hivos-Knowledge-Programme/Themes/Digital-Natives-with-a-Cause/Publications/Exporting-Censorship-and-Surveillance-Technology

This paper will discuss what we know about the export of Internet technology, before looking at the specific cases of exports of censorship and surveillance technology to Tunisia, Syria, Egypt and Libya. After briefly mentioning additional cases, which have received widespread public attention in 2011, it will then focus on at the specific human rights impact that censorship and surveillance technologies had in Tunisia. Subsequently, the global corporate governance responses will be listed before additional public policy measures are discussed. In conclusion, the paper will look at potential future directions in the trade in censorship and surveillance technologies, before providing key recommendations to the different stakeholders involved.

Philip Howard, Aiden Duffy, Deen Freelon, Muzammil Hussain, Will Mari, and Marwa Mazaid. "Opening Closed Regimes: What Was the Role of Social Media During the Arab Spring?" Project on Information Technology and Political Islam Data Memo (2011).
http://philhoward.org/opening-closed-regimes-what-was-the-role-of-social-media-during-the-arab-spring/

There is nothing earth shattering about this piece but I've included just in case. There is social media analysis of hashtags which might be useful but…

"The Technology Helping Repressive Regimes Spy." NPR (December 2011)
http://www.npr.org/2011/12/14/143639670/the-technology-helping-repressive-regimes-spy

This NPR story covers how technologies sold by Western companies help repressive regimes in especially the Middle East for suppressing social protest. Bloomberg's Wired for Repression includes (all available online and in our folder) all kinds of case studies (such as Iran and Syria) from the region and their collaboration with tech companies.

Toby Mendel, "Political and Media Transitions in Egypt: A Snapshot of Media Policy and Regulatory Environment." Internews (August 2011).
http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/research/Egypt/Internews_Egypt_MediaLawReview_Aug11.pdf

This report provides an initial analysis of the current legal and policy framework governing freedom of expression and the media in Egypt. The primary methodology used in preparing this report was an extensive literature and legal review, including online sources. These sources were supported by a series of unstructured interviews conducted during a mission by the author to Egypt, with support from the local UNESCO office, from April 9-15, 2011. The legal and policy framework governing the media is repressive and allows for extensive government control over almost every media sector.5 We know from other experiences with democratic transition that the window of opportunity for reform, and for media law reform in particular, is limited. At the same time, it is not possible to achieve all reforms at once, so it is important to identify priorities and try to secure them as soon as possible.

Alex Comminos, "Twitter revolutions and cyber crackdowns: User-generated content and social networking in the Arab spring and beyond." Association for Progressive Communications (June 2011).

http://www.apc.org/en/system/files/AlexComninos_MobileInternet.pdf

This article/report documents the tensions with respect to how social media and user generated content both help activists organize but at the same time reveal information for surveillance and government crack downs. There is useful information in terms of ICT access in MENA. As it is argued in the article, the terrain is very much contested between the state and the activists and has material consequences as to how the realm of social media will be framed.

Helmi Noman and Jillian C. York, "West Censoring East: The Use of Western Technologies by Middle East Censors." Open Net Initiative (March 2011).
https://opennet.net/sites/opennet.net/files/ONI_WestCensoringEast.pdf

National governments use a variety of technical means to filter the Internet; in this paper, we analyze the use of American- and Canadian- made software for the purpose of government-level filtering in the Middle East and North Africa. In this report, the authors find that nine countries in the region utilize Western-made tools for the purpose of blocking social and political content, effectively blocking a total of over 20 million Internet users from accessing such websites. The authors analyze as well the increasing opacity of the usage of Western-made tools for filtering at the national level.

"Telecom in the Middle East: the competitive mandate after the downturn." Booz & Company (2010).
http://www.booz.com/global/home/what-we-think/reports-white-papers/article-display/telecom-middle-east-competitive-mandate

This report by Booz & company is at times dull but there is useful information regarding telecom investments in the MENA region (p. 4), social media dominance in MENA (p. 7), and broadband subscription (p. 9).

"From the Middle East to the World: Building a Global Telecom Operator." Booz & Company (2010).
http://mec.biz/term/uploads/B&C-13-04-2010.pdf

This report by Booz & Company evaluates the ways in which Gulf Cooperation Council telecom operators are expanding beyond the region and are quickly globalizing towards 78 markets from Indonesia to South Africa. There are some useful tables and maps that define this expansion. This expansion, expectedly, comes with cultural and institutional changes within these telecom operators.

Arab Knowledge Reports.
http://www.knowledge4all.com/en/26/Pages/About-the-Arab-Knowledge-Reports

This Report has been produced through joint sponsorship and support of the Mohammed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum Foundation (MBRF) and the United Nations Development Programme. While not necessarily tied to media or social media, there is a very striking (yes still) modernist discourse and a lot of useful data regarding socio-economic context.

Arabsocialmediareport.com has quite useful statistics regarding social media use in the region.

Official report and statistics on mobile phone use, internet, telephones, employment in ICT companies.

ISS World Middle East: Intelligence Support Systems for Lawful Interception, Electronic Surveillance and Cyber Intelligence Gathering.
http://www.issworldtraining.com/iss_mea/

This is a set of gathering and conferences that might be worth looking at. They have exhibits, as well as workshops which are attended by nation-states and telecom companies etc.

Miscellaneous (Internet governance in MENA). Access Controlled.
http://www.access-controlled.net/

I have also had access to reports/sections from Access Controlled where country profiles regarding internet governance can be found. The countries under discussion are Tunisia, Syria, Egypt, and Iran.

INDIA

"Telecom Sector in India." India Brand Equity Foundation (November 2016).
http://www.ibef.org/industry/telecommunications.aspx

This is a very comprehensive report that documents the key players, government policy, FDI policy in Telecom, and the share of actors in the telecom market.

Vikas SN, "Indian Government Plans Internet Monitoring System Netra." MediaNama (January 2014).
http://www.medianama.com/2014/01/223-indian-govt-internet-monitoring-system-netra/

India is stepping up in order to monitor the web. The aim is to decrypt Skype, GoogleTalk and WhatsApp through a system called Netra. As it is mentioned in this brief article, "Netra has been developed by Centre for Artificial Intelligence & Robotics (CAIR), a lab under Defence Research & Development Organisation (DRDO) whose research focuses on various defense related areas in

Information and Communication Technology like artificial intelligence, robotics, intelligent systems, communication & information security and others". This is accompanied by the reports the Indian government asked Facebook and Google to open local servers in the country.

Melody Patry, "India: Digital freedom under threat?" Index on Censorship (November 2013).
http://www.indexoncensorship.org/2013/11/india-online-report-freedom-expression-digital-freedom/

This paper is divided into the following chapters: online censorship; the criminalisation of online speech and social media; surveillance, privacy and government's access to individuals' online data; access to digital; and India's role in global internet debates.
The online censorship chapter looks at intermediary liability and the issue of state and corporate censorship mainly via takedown requests and filtering and blocking policies. The criminalization of online speech chapter covers the prosecution of Indian citizens who post content on the net, including on social media. The surveillance chapter looks at the recent revelations on the extraordinary extent of domestic surveillance online, and how it contributes to chilling free speech online. It also looks at privacy and government's access to individuals' online data. The access chapter covers obstacles and opportunities in expanding digital access across the country.
Finally, the chapter on India's role in global internet debates looks at India's positioning in the current debates that will result in potentially significant changes to net governance in the next two years.

James Painter, India's Media Boom: the Good News and the Bad. University of Oxford and Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism (September 2013).
http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/India%E2%80%99s%20Media%20Boom%20the%20good%20news%20and%20the%20bad_0.pdf

Nothing specific about our research but it does look like a good edited volume.

Mahima Kaul, "Is India about to gets its own PRISM?" Index on Censorship (July 2013).
http://www.indexoncensorship.org/2013/07/india-taking-steps-toward-a-surveillance-state/

There are also other reports that articulate concerns regarding India's attempts to use CMS (Central Monitoring System) and operate National Cyber Coordination Centre (NCCC). In this article, it is stated that "the Information Technology Amendment Act, 2008, does allow for surveillance and data gathering. Section 69B of that act gives the government the authority to "monitor and collect traffic data or information through any computer resource for cyber security." So, it seems that India's anxiety is quite substantive and worth exploring

"Telecom Sector in India: A Decadal Profile." Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (2012).
http://trai.gov.in/WriteReadData/Publication/Document/201304121052403536675NCAER--Report08june12.pdf

This is a 120-page dossier of Indian telecom, looking at trends, international comparisons, regional variations, evolution of policy, investment (total and FDI) and the socioeconomic impact of ICT. The appendix is especially useful for charting the legal/policy terrain in terms of the steps and actions taken historically.

Centre for Internet and Society's Reports/Academic Studies.
http://cis-india.org/

Of the ones that I have found, all are very, very interesting. They look at issues of colonial space, knowledge, archive etc. But, for this project, a useful piece "Open Government data study: India". Here is a brief summary of the piece:

Summary:

This report looks at some of the landscape relevant to open government data (OGD) in India, starting from the current environment in government, the state of civil society, the media, the policies that affect it from the Right to Information Act, standards-related policies, e-governance policies and the copyright policy. It also looks at a few case studies from government, civil society organisations (CSOs) and public- private partnerships, and profiles some civic hackers. It then examines some of the varied challenges to the uptake of OGD in India, from infrastructural problems of e-governance to issues such as privacy and power imbalances being worsened by transparency. Finally, it lays out our observations and some recommendations. It concludes by noting that OGD in India must be looked at differently from what it has so far been understood as in countries like the UK and the US, and providing some constructive thoughts on how we should think about OGD in India.

India Telecom Ministry's Strategic Plan (2010).
http://www.dot.gov.in/about-us/strategic-plan

Just like any other strategic plan, this document gives voice to the government and reveals the objectives and vision of the Indian government and how they see the telecom sector from 2011-2015. Focus on transparency, cyber security, forming a competitive market, sustainability and rural development are issues that draw attention. This should be read in line with the Annual Report (2012-2013) of Department of Telecommunications Ministry of Communications & Information Technology, which lays out the regulatory framework, policy objectives, and the infrastructures for preparing India's telecom sector for a globalized economy.
Telecom Equipment Manufacturing Council's (TEMC) Report on Promoting Research and Development, Manufacturing and Standardization of Telecom Equipment.

This report is documenting the status of telecom manufacturing in India and lists the wishes and strategies of TEMC for the future and how they, as a class, are articulating their vision in terms of telecom development in the country.

UNITED STATES

Rachel George, "Inside the Secret Affair Between Silicon Valley and the Pentagon." Mic (August 2013).

http://www.policymic.com/articles/60695/inside-the-secret-affair-between-silicon-valley-and-the-pentagon

A short piece published in Policy Mic, documenting the relationship between Silicon Valley and the Pentagon. A lot of useful information regarding start-ups, politics of funding and venture capitalists. A similar piece has been published in New York Times (22 August 2013) by Somini Sengupta entitled "The Pentagon as Silicon Valley's Incubator."

Michael Hirsch, "How America's Top Tech Companies Created the Surveillance State." The National Journal (July 2013).
https://www.nationaljournal.com/s/628088/how-americas-top-tech-companies-created-surveillance-state

This article describes the relationship as one that actually has a long past rather than being a new scandal.

Quote from article:

The saga of the private sector's involvement in the NSA's scheme for permanent mass surveillance is long, complex, and sometimes contentious. Often, in ways that appeared to apply indirect pressure on industry, the NSA has demanded, and received, approval authority—veto power, basically—over telecom mergers and the lifting of export controls on software. The tech industry, in more than a decade of working-group meetings, has hashed out an understanding with the intelligence community over greater NSA access to their systems, including the nation's major servers (although it is not yet clear to what degree the agency had direct access). "I never saw [the NSA] come and say, 'We'll do this if you do that,' " says Rebecca Gould, the former vice president for public policy at Dell. "But the National Security Agency always reached out to companies, bringing them in. There are working groups going on as we speak."

Alexander Nazaryan, "The N.S.A's Chief Chronicler." The New Yorker (June 2013).
http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/books/2013/06/the-nsas-chief-chronicler.html

This is a very interesting piece which documents the history of NSA as it has been written by journalist James Bamford.

From the article:

Bamford, who served in the Navy and studied law before becoming a journalist, published three more books after "The Puzzle Palace," composing a tetralogy about the N.S.A.: "Body of Secrets: Anatomy of the Ultra-Secret National Security Agency" (2001); "A Pretext for War: 9/11, Iraq, and the Abuse of America's Intelligence Agencies" (2004); and "The Shadow Factory: The Ultra-Secret N.S.A. from 9/11 to the Eavesdropping on America" (2008).

Neil M. Richards, "The Dangers of Surveillance." Harvard Law Review (March 2013).
https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2239412

Neil Richards, from Washington University School of Law, discusses the relationship between surveillance and state from a legal perspective. The distinction between the public and the private is discussed and a strong invitation towards examining private watchers is made. A context for the development of a surveillance state (through discussing legal acts implemented in the USA) is provided.

"Exclusive: National Security Agency Whistleblower William Binney on Growing State Surveillance." Democracy Now! (April 2012).
http://www.democracynow.org/2012/4/20/exclusive_national_security_agency_whistleblower_william

In his first television interview since he resigned from the National Security Agency over its domestic surveillance program, William Binney discusses the NSA's massive power to spy on Americans and why the FBI raided his home after he became a whistleblower. Binney was a key source for investigative journalist James Bamford's recent exposé in Wired Magazine about how the NSA is quietly building the largest spy center in the country in Bluffdale, Utah. The Utah spy center will contain near-bottomless databases to store all forms of communication collected by the agency, including private emails, cellphone calls, Google searches and other personal data.

Junichi Semitsu, "From Facebook to Mug Shot: How the Dearth of Social Networking Privacy Rights Revolutionized Online Government Surveillance." Pace Law Review, Volume 31, Issue 3 (January 2011).
http://digitalcommons.pace.edu/plr/vol31/iss1/7

Formal Abstract:

While Facebook has been justifiably criticized for its weak and shifting privacy rules, this Article demonstrates that even if it adopted the strongest and clearest policies possible, its users would still lack reasonable expectations of privacy under federal law. First, federal courts have failed to properly adapt Fourth Amendment law to the realities of Internet architecture. Since all Facebook content has been knowingly exposed to at least one third party, the Supreme Court's current Fourth Amendment jurisprudence does not clearly stop investigators from being allowed carte blanche to fish through the entire site for incriminating evidence. Second, Congress has failed to meaningfully revise the Electronic Communications Privacy Act (ECPA) for over a quarter century. Even if the ECPA were amended to cover all Facebook content, its lack of a suppression remedy would be one of several things that would keep Facebook a permanent open book. Thus, even when the government lacks reasonable suspicion of criminal activity and the user opts for the strictest privacy controls, Facebook users still cannot expect federal law to stop their —private‖ content and communications from being used against them.

This Article seeks to bring attention to this problem and rectify it. It examines Facebook's architecture, reveals the ways in which government agencies have investigated crimes on social networking sites, and analyzes how courts have interpreted the Fourth Amendment and the ECPA. The Article concludes with an urgent proposal to revise the ECPA and reinterpret Katz before the Facebook generation accepts the Hobson's choice it currently faces: either live life off the grid or accept that using modern communications technologies means the possibility of unwarranted government surveillance.

Jack Balkin, "The Constitution in the National Surveillance State" Faculty Scholarship Series, Paper 225 (2008).
http://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/fss_papers/225

This is a long article written from a legal perspective and it documents the long and complex development and emergence of national surveillance state. A lot of legal references that might be important for an interdisciplinary perspective.

"Final report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities." United States Senate (1976).
https://archive.org/details/finalreportofsel06unit

This is a historical document where we get to see the surveillance issue is not necessarily a new one in the context of the USA. It demonstrates unconstitutional intelligence activities.

CHINA

Xiaoling Zhang and Gareth Shaw, "The Impact of Social Networking Sites on state-citizen relationships in China." China Policy Institute Policy Paper 2012, Number 1 (2012).
http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/policy-papers/policy-paper-2012-01.pdf

This is an interview with Zhang and Shaw who provide a contextualization of social media within this country vis-à-vis the communist party, whose desire to control blogging and social media is big.

GERMANY

Der Spiegel
http://www.spiegel.de/

I found a couple of pieces regarding how Germany wants to have a "German" internet, as well as some descriptive articles as to how mobile network spying works.

NON-REGION SPECIFIC

"ICT Facts and Figures: The World in 2013." International Telecommunication Union (2013).
http://www.itu.int/en/ITU-D/Statistics/Documents/facts/ICTFactsFigures2013-e.pdf

ITU's information regarding mobile-cellular subscriptions, online presence, internet connection, broadband penetration etc.

"Who Has Your Back?" Electronic Frontier Foundation (2013).
https://www.eff.org/who-has-your-back-2013

This is a good report that maps what the attitude of social media and internet giants is as far as the relationship with the state goes. How ready and willing are companies like Google, Apple, Facebook and Amazon to release or give information when governments ask them?

Cooper Smith, "The Planet's 24 Largest Social Media Sites, And Where Their Next Wave Of Growth Will Come From." Business Insider (November 2013).
http://www.businessinsider.com/a-global-social-media-census-2013-10

A summary of the census:

- **Facebook** still has the largest user population at 1.16 billion monthly active users. But it's seldom-discussed that **YouTube** is close behind with 1 billion MAUs.
- China's giant social media network, **Qzone**, is running in third place at 712 million total users. It's twice as large as global social messaging app WhatsApp, and nearly three times as large as Twitter.
- Three of the world's top 10 social properties are messaging platforms: **WhatsApp**, **LINE**, and **WeChat**.
- IPO-bound **Twitter** is smaller than many of its less-known rivals, including Tumblr, WhatsApp, and LINE.
- Eighty-six percent of **Facebook**'s users are outside the United States.
- **Facebook** has 95 million users in China (despite the fact that it's officially blocked), 68 million in India, 42 million in Brazil. Taking these population together, they're twice as large as Facebook's U.S. population of 100 million.
- Nearly 25% of **LinkedIn**'s users are in India. In fact, there are more Indians than Americans on **LinkedIn** and **Google+**.
- Despite being blocked in China, the major social networks still have many millions of Chinese active users who use various stratagems to access these services. **Google+** has 100 million users in China, **Twitter** has 80 million, and **YouTube** has 60 million.
- LinkedIn, the only major social network that is not blocked in China, has over 20 million users in the country.
- Asia-Pacific overall has more active social media users than any region, and Southeast Asian markets are off the charts when it comes to mobile social media usage. Eighty-two percent of Thai smartphone owners access social media daily on their phones.

"Freedom of the Net 2013: A Global Assessment of Internet and Digital Media." Freedom House (October 2013).
http://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/resources/FOTN%202013_Full%20Report_0.pdf

This whole report is great in terms of charting the shifts and trends in terms of the governance of the internet. It has separate sections on individual countries. The nice thing about the report is that it contextualizes the findings in the light of the NSA scandal.

Mark Zuckerberg, "Is Connectivity a Human Right?" Facebook Manifesto (August 2013).
https://www.facebook.com/isconnectivityahumanright

He lays out the whole vision and the mission of the company. Worth looking at the language.

"Trends in Telecommunication Reform 2013: Transnational Aspects of Regulation in a Networked Society." International Telecommunication Union (May 2013).
https://www.itu.int/dms_pub/itu-d/opb/pref/D-PREF-TTR.14-2013-SUM-PDF-E.pdf

From the Introduction:

- Chapter 1 identifies the key trends in the ICT market and the regulatory trends emerging in our networked society.
- Chapter 2 discusses the issues associated with net neutrality; providing an overview of traffic management measures, the factors driving their use and the regulatory approaches countries have taken.
- Chapter 3 assesses spectrum policy in an era of increasing scarcity; discusses the high-level principles that underlie effective policy-making and identifies best practices.
- Chapter 4 reviews the policy issues associated with the cost of international mobile roaming, and examines the technological, business and regulatory initiatives that have been undertaken to bring such costs down.
- Chapter 5 reviews the current state of the interconnection market, and the challenges faced by policy-makers seeking to balance policy goals with the creativity, efficiency, and openness that has allowed Internet to thrive.
- Chapter 6 considers cloud computing from a technical, market and social perspective, and examines the legal implications of cloud services, the role of regulation and how policymakers can create an environment conducive to the take-up of cloud services that address user concerns.
- Chapter 7 considers the definition of cloud services; current privacy and data protection.
- regulation as applied to cloud services; the effectiveness of current regulation and enforcement to preserve privacy; and a regulatory approach that seeks to balance commercial needs with users' reasonable expectation of privacy in a cloud environment.
- Chapter 8 provides the overall conclusions of this Report.

Aurelio Lopez-Tarruella, "Google and the Law: Empirical Approaches to Legal Aspects of Knowledge-Economy Business Models." Information Technology and Law Series (February 2012).
http://www.springer.com/us/book/9789067048453

A valuable edited volume that examines Google in relation to the legal field, which is useful since there are not many accessible studies that attempt to do this. Chapter 4 is one of the outstanding ones in terms of evaluating Google vis-à-vis the European data protection regime and whether Data Protection Directive is applicable to Google:

This chapter has assessed whether Google lives up to its duties under the transparency principle and its duty to respect the rights of the data subject. In order for data processing to be fair the data subject has to be aware that data concerning him are being processed. The controller must provide clear, precise and comprehensive information. Furthermore, the data subject has several rights, such as the right to be informed, to consult the data, to request corrections and to object to processing in certain circumstances. With regard to its behavioural advertising program, Google respects most of the rights of the data subject. Google offers access to part of a profile and offers several user-friendly possibilities to opt out. In this respect Google is a forerunner in comparison with other companies. However, Google could do better in terms of transparency. Questions remain about how much personal data are stored, for how long the data are retained, and how the data are used. In the case of Street View, Google respects the rights of the data subject. People can request Google to blur their houses or their vehicles. Again, Google could do better in terms of transparency. In conclusion, not all aspects of the two services are easy to reconcile with the Directive's requirements. The Directive is under review at the moment, and issues such as jurisdiction, the definition of personal data, the requirements for consent and the application of the balancing provision may need clarification.

"Twitter's new censorship plan rouses global furor." USA Today (January 2012).
http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/tech/news/story/2012-01-27/twitter-blackout-censorship/52818724/1

This article published in USA Today is an important one in terms of pointing to the ways in which Twitter might be willing to co-operate with the nation state in terms of censorship of tweets. It echoes the concerns raised in The Guardian's "Twitter able to censor tweets in individual countries" (1/26/12). Through this new technology, it will be possible "a tweet containing content breaking a law in one country can be taken down there and still be seen elsewhere."

Philip N. Howard , Sheetal D. Agarwal, and Muzammil M. Hussain, "When Do States Disconnect Their Digital Networks? Regime Responses to the Political Uses of Social Media." The Communication Review, Volume 14, Issue 3, 216-232 (September 2011).
http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10714421.2011.597254#.UvURlZzPaAI

Formal Abstract:

When do states disconnect their digital networks, and why? To answer this question, the authors build an event history database of incidents in which a regime went beyond mere censorship of particular websites or users. The authors draw from multiple sources, including major news media, specialized news services, and international experts, to construct an event log database of 566 incidents. This rich, original dataset allows for a nuanced analysis of the conditions for state action, and the authors offer some assessment of the effect of such desperate action. Comparative analysis indicates that both democratic and authoritarian regimes disable social media networks for citing concerns about national security, protecting authority figures, and preserving cultural and religious morals. Whereas democracies disable social media with the goal of protecting children, authoritarian regimes also attempt to eliminate what they perceive as propaganda on social media. The authors cover the period 1995–2011 and build a grounded typology on the basis of regime type, what states actually did to interfere with digital networks, why they did it, and who was affected.