INTERNET MONITOR 2013
Reflections on the Digital World

With contributions from: CHRISTOPHER T. BAVITZ • RYAN BUDISH • SANDRA CORTESI
MASASHI CRETE-NISHIHATA • RON DEIBERT • BRUCE ETLING • ROBERT FARIS • URS GASSER
BRYAN HAN • REBEKAH HEACOCK • JEFF HERMES • MALAVIKA JAYARAM • JOHN KELLY
PRIYA KUMAR • RONALDO LEMOS • COLIN M. MACLAY • VIKTOR MAYER-SCHÖNBERGER
HELMI NOMAN • DAVID R. O’BRIEN • MOLLY SAUTER • BRUCE SCHNEIER • WOLFGANG SCHULZ
ANDY SELLARS • ASHKAN SOLTANI • DALIA TOPELSON
REX TROUMBLEY • ZEYNEP TUFÈKÇI • MARK WU
and JONATHAN ZITTRAIN

The Berkman Center for Internet & Society
at Harvard University
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report could not have come to fruition without the sustained and concerted effort of an extraordinary team. First, we wish to extend our gratitude to our authors, who graciously shared their time and expertise. We thank Bruce Etling for substantial contributions to the text and for useful and constructive recommendations on the report as a whole. We are grateful to John Palfrey for providing the impetus for the Internet Monitor project and for his thoughtful support along the way. We are indebted to Colin Maclay, who has offered untiring support, encouragement, inspiration, and sage advice throughout the development of this project.

Our special thanks to Robert Faris, who steered and shaped this report as Berkman’s Research Director, as well as to Rebekah Heacock, who managed the evolution and production of this publication and provided extensive research, analytic, and editorial support. Thanks also to Adam Lewis and Elizabeth Anne Watkins for providing excellent additional research and editorial support.

We gratefully acknowledge the support of the United States Department of State and the MacArthur Foundation for the Internet Monitor project.

_Urs Gasser and Jonathan Zittrain_
_Co-Principal Investigators_
ABOUT THIS REPORT

This publication is the first annual report of the Internet Monitor project at the Berkman Center for Internet & Society at Harvard University. Instead of offering a traditional project report, and to mirror the collaborative spirit of the initiative, we compile—based on an open invitation to the members of the extended Berkman community—nearly two dozen short essays from friends, colleagues, and collaborators in the United States and abroad.

The result is intended for a general interest audience and invites reflection and discussion of the past year’s notable events and trends in the digitally networked environment. Our goal is not to describe the “state of the Internet” in any definitive way, but rather to highlight and discuss some of the most fascinating developments and debates over the past year worthy of broader public conversation.

Our contributors canvass a broad range of topics and regions—from a critique of India’s Unique Identity project to a review of corporate transparency reporting to a first-person report from the Gezi Park protests. A common thread explores how actors within government, industry, and civil society are wrestling with the changing power dynamics of the digital realm.

2013 has proven to be a particularly interesting year in which to produce the Internet Monitor’s first annual report. For better or worse, Edward Snowden’s leaks in June 2013 regarding mass surveillance programs conducted by the United States National Security Agency and its international partners have dominated nearly all subsequent discussions of the online space. While we did not set out to focus on the implications of digital surveillance, this emerged as a common theme in many of essays contributed to this publication. Whether taken individually or collectively, it is clear that the authors view the public recognition of digital surveillance as a potential game changer.

The Internet Monitor project has grown out of several key Berkman Center efforts, including the Open Net Initiative, which for over a decade has worked to investigate and analyze Internet filtering and surveillance practices around the world. These roots are evident in this report: we approach questions of privacy, security, architecture, and regulation with the goal of taking a broad view of the evolving dynamics of Internet activity and control, measuring what facilitates or hinders online expression and community formation. In describing these dynamics, we focus on the provision of physical infrastructure, the policies and actions of governments and companies, and the contributions and activities of netizens and civil society groups.

The report reflects the diversity of ideas and input the Internet Monitor project seeks to invite. Some of the essays within this report are descriptive; others prescriptive. Some of the essays are confined to factual observations and others offer personal opinion. We believe that they all offer insights and hope they will provoke further reflection, conversation, and debate in both offline and online settings around the globe.

Urs Gasser and Jonathan Zittrain
Co-Principal Investigators
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## Introduction

*Robert Faris and Rebekah Heacock*

- Power in Age of the Feudal Internet  
  *Bruce Schneier*  
  10
- Three Generations of the Networked Public Sphere  
  *John Kelly*  
  14
- Youth Online: Diversifying Social Media Platforms and Practices  
  *Sandra Cortesi*  
  16

## Governments as Actors

*Robert Faris and Urs Gasser*

- Cloud Computing and the Roles of Governments  
  *David R. O’Brien and Urs Gasser*  
  25
- Policing Social Media in China  
  *Robert Faris*  
  28
- After Snowden: Toward a Global Data Privacy Standard?  
  *Wolfgang Schulz*  
  30
- Just in Time Censorship: Targeted Internet Filtering During Iran’s 2013 Elections  
  *Ryan Budish and Priya Kumar*  
  32
- China Moves to the Cloud  
  *Mark Wu*  
  34
- Data Privacy Reform in the European Union  
  *Viktor Mayer-Schönberger*  
  38
- The Information Technology Act and Intermediary Liability in India  
  *Christopher T. Bavitz and Bryan Han*  
  40
- India’s Identity Crisis  
  *Malavika Jayaram*  
  43
- Marco Civil: A Bill Regulating Net Neutrality and Civil Rights Online in Brazil  
  *Ronaldo Lemos*  
  45
Companies as Actors
*Robert Faris and Urs Gasser*

Dilemmas and Dialogue: GNI and the Transborder Internet
*Colin M. Maclay*

Transparency Reporting
*Ryan Budish*

The New Guard
*Dalia Topelson*

The Commercialization of Censorship and Surveillance
*Ron Deibert and Masashi Crete-Nishihata*

Citizens as Actors
*Bruce Etling*

“I was wrong about this Internet thing”: Social Media and the Gezi Park Protests
*Zeynep Tufekci*

The Role of Citizens in Gathering, Publishing, and Consuming Primary Source News Content
*Jeff Hermes and Andy Sellars*

The Defeat of SOPA, PIPA, and ACTA: The Networked Public Sphere Comes of Age
*Bruce Etling*

The Future of Civil Disobedience
*Molly Sauter*

Antagonism Uploaded: Website Defacements During the Arab Spring
*Helmi Noman*

The Privacy Puzzle: Little or No Choice
*Ashkan Soltani*

Flying Past Filters and Firewalls: Pigeons as Circumvention Tools?
*Rex Troumbly*

Looking Ahead
*Robert Faris and Rebekah Heacock*

By the Numbers

Contributors