Bibliography

- Abadpour, Arash and Collin Anderson. 2013. Fights, Adapts, Accepts: Archetypes of Iranian Internet Use. Iran Media Program, Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania.
- Access Now, Amnesty International, Article 19, and Group Miaan. 2021. "Iran: Internet shutdowns curb protests and conceal human rights violations in Sistan and Baluchistan." https://www.article19.org/resources/iran-internet-shutdowns-curb-protests-and-conceal-human-rights-violations-in-sistan-and-baluchistan/.
- Akbari, Azadeh. 2022. "Shutting down the internet is another brutal blow against women by the Iranian regime." *The Guardian*, September 26. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/sep/26/elon-musk-iran-women-mahsa-amini-feminists-morality-police.
- Akbari, Azadeh and Rashid Gabdulhakov. 2019. "Platform surveillance and resistance in Iran and Russia: the case of Telegram." Surveillance and Society 17(1–2):223–231.
- Al-Assad, Bashar. 2011. "Speech by Bashar al-Assad." Speech by Bashar al-Assad at Damascus University, June 20, 2011. https://al-bab.com/albab-orig/albab/arab/docs/syria/bashar_assad_speech_110620.htm.
- Al-Hussien, Obada. 2017. "Internet is back in Raqqa countryside areas." Northern Syria Observer. https://www.nso-sy.com/Details/752/Internet-is-back-in-Raqqa-countryside-areas/en January 15.
- Al-Jazeera. 2012. "Tanks roll on Damascus as violence reigns." July 19. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2012/7/19/tanks-roll-on-damascus-as-violence-reigns.
- Al-Khalidi, Suleiman. 2013. "Assad's forces capture strategic town in southern Syria." Reuters, May 8. https://www.reuters.com/article/amp/idUKBRE94703J20130508.
- Al-Khalidi, Suleiman. 2015. "Seventy insurgents defect to Syrian army in Damascus suburb." *Reuters World News*. 11 March. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-defections-idUSKBN0M722D20150311.
- Al-Khatieb, Mohammed. 2015. "Seeking Internet access, Syrians turn to Turkey's wireless network." *Al-Monitor*, April 14. https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2015/04/aleppo-rebel-control-internet-networks-syria- turkey.html.
- Al-Rawi, Ahmed K. 2014. "Cyber warriors in the middle east: the case of the syrian electronic army." Public Relations Review 40(3):420-428.
- Al-Saqaf, Walid. 2016. "Internet censorship circumvention tools: escaping the control of the syrian regime." *Media and Communication* 4(1):39–50.
- Alrababa'h, Ala' and Lisa Blaydes. 2021. "Authoritarian media and diversionary threats: lessons from 30 years of Syrian state discourse." *Political Science Research and Methods* 9(4):693–708.
- Amnesty International. 2012. "{S}yria: Shutting down of internet and mobile networks alarming development." Amnesty International Press Release November 29. http://www.amnestyusa.org/news/press-releases/syria-shutting-down-of-internet-and-mobile-networks-alarming-development.

- Amnesty International. 2015. "How governments are using spyware to attack free speech—Amnesty International." August 20. https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/ campaigns/2015/08/how-governments-are-using-spyware-to-attack-free-speech/.
- Amnesty International. 2019a. "Iran: more than 100 protesters believed to be killed as top officials give green light to crush protests." November 19. https://www.amnesty.org/en/ latest/press-release/2019/11/iran-more-than-100-protesters-believed-to-be-killed-astop-officials-give-green-light-to-crush-protests/.
- Amnesty International. 2019b. "Iran: thousands arbitrarily detained and at risk of torture in chilling post-protest crackdown." December 16. https://www.amnesty.org/en/ latest/news/2019/12/iran-thousands-arbitrarily-detained-and-at-risk-of-torture-inchilling-post-protest-crackdown/.
- Amnesty International. 2020a. "A web of impunity: the killings Iran's internet shutdown hid." November 16. https://iran-shutdown.amnesty.org/.
- Amnesty International. 2020b. "Iran: at least 23 children killed by security forces in November protests—new evidence." March 4. https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/ news/2020/03/iran-at-least-23-children-killed-by-security-forces-in-novemberprotests-new-evidence/.
- Anderson, Collin. 2013. "Dimming the Internet: detecting throttling as a mechanism of censorship in Iran." Working Paper. http://arxiv.org/abs/1306.4361.
- Anderson, Collin and Karim Sadjadpour. 2018. Iran's Cyber Threat: Espionage, Sabotage, and Revenge. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Andrejevic, Mark and Kelly Gates. 2014. "Editorial. Big Data Surveillance: Introduction." Surveillance & Society 12(2):185-196.
- Anthony, Sebastian. 2015. "GitHub battles 'largest DDoS' in site's history, targeted at anti-censorship tools." Ars Technica, March 30. https://arstechnica.com/informationtechnology/2015/03/github-battles-largest-ddos-in-sites-history-targeted-at-anticensorship-tools/.
- Arreguin-Toft, Ivan. 2001. "How the weak win wars: a theory of asymmetric conflict." International Security 26(1):93-128.
- Arrington, Michael. 2009. "Twitter hacked, defaced by 'Iranian Cyber Army'." TechCrunch, December 17. https://techcrunch.com/2009/12/17/twitter-reportedlyhacked-by-iranian-cyber-army/?guccounter=1.
- Arsenault, Amelia, Sheldon Himelfarb, and Susan Abbott. 2011. "Evaluating media interventions in conflict countries." United States Institute of Peace.
- Article 19. 2013. "Computer crimes in Iran: online repression in practice." Article 19, March 15. Technical report. https://www.article19.org/data/files/medialibrary/37385/ Computer-Crimes-in-Iran-.pdf.
- Article 19. 2017. "Tightening the net Part 3: a new cabinet and new attempts at control." Article 19, September 18. https://www.article19.org/resources/tightening-the-net-anew-cabinet-and-new-attempts-at-control/.
- Article 19. 2018. "Tightening the net: Internet controls during and after Iran's protests." Article 19, March 8. https://www.article19.org/resources/tightening-netinternet-controls-irans-protests/.
- Article 19. 2020a. "Iran: citizens exercise their right to know, to demand a response to illegal Internet shutdowns." Article 19 https://www.article19.org/resources/irancitizens-illegal-internet-shutdowns/.
- Article 19. 2020b. "Iran: tightening the net 2020 after blood and shutdowns." Article 19, September. https://www.article19.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/TTNreport-2020.pdf.

- Aryan, Simurgh, Homa Aryan, and J. Alex Halderman. 2013. "Internet censorship in Iran: A first look." 3rd USENIX Workshop on Free and Open Communications on the Internet (FOCI 13). 2013. https://www.usenix.org/conference/foci13/workshopprogram/presentation/aryan.
- Atassi, Basma. 2012. "Breaking the silence over Hama atrocities." Al Jazeera, February 2. http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2012/02/20122232155715210.html.
- Baczko, Adam, Gilles Dorronsoro, and Arthur Quesnay. 2018. Civil War in Syria: Mobilization and Competing Social Orders. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bagozzi, Benjamin E., Daniel Berliner, and Ryan M. Welch. 2021. "The diversity of repression: measuring state repressive repertoires with events data." Journal of Peace Research 58(5):1126-1136.
- Baiazy, Amjad. 2012. "Syria's cyber operations." Jadaliyya, February 15. https:// www.jadaliyya.com/Details/25272/Syria%60s-Cyber-Operations.
- Bak, Daehee, Surachanee Sriyai, and Stephen A. Meserve. 2018. "The Internet and state repression: a cross-national analysis of the limits of digital constraint." Journal of Human Rights 17(5):1-38.
- Ball, Kirstie and Frank Webster. 2003. The Intensification of Surveillance: Crime, Terrorism and Warfare in the Information Age. London: Pluto Press.
- Ball, Kirstie, Kevin D. Haggerty, and David Lyon. 2012. Handbook of Surveillance Studies. New York: Routledge.
- Barberá, Pablo, Ning Wang, Richard Bonneau, John T. Jost, Jonathan Nagler, Joshua Tucker, and Sandra González-Bailón. 2015. "The critical periphery in the growth of social protests." PLOS ONE 10(11):1-15.
- Basmechi, Farinaz. 2022. "How Gen Z is using social media in Iran's Women, Life, Freedom movement." The Conversation, December 19. https://theconversation.com/ how-gen-z-is-using-social-media-in-irans-women-life-freedom-movement-195783.
- BBC Middle East. 2019. "Iran protests: at least 12 killed at unrest over petrol price rise— BBC News." November 18. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-50459971.
- BBC News. 2011a. "Egypt severs internet connection amid growing unrest." January 28. https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-12306041.
- BBC News. 2011b. "Syria: 'dozens killed' as thousands protest in Hama." June 4. https:// www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13642917.
- BBC News. 2012a. "Syria crisis: profiles of security and defence chiefs killed in Damascus blast." July 20. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-18889030.
- BBC News. 2012b. "Syria: Internet and mobile communication 'cut off'." November 29. https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-20546302.
- BBC News. 2013. "Russia and US agree to hold Syria conference." May 7. https:// www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-22430063.
- BBC News. 2016. "Iran rolls out domestic internet." August 29. https://www.bbc.com/ news/technology-37212456.
- Beiser, Elana. 2013. "Syria, Iraq, Egypt most deadly nations for journalists." Committee to Protect Journalist Special Report, December 30. https://cpj.org/reports/2013/12/syriairaq-egypt-most-deadly-nations-for-journalis/.
- Bell-Martin, Rebecca V. and Jerome F. Marston. 2019. "Confronting selection bias: the normative and empirical risks of data collection in violent contexts." Geopolitics 26(1):159-192.
- Beneduce, R., L. Jourdan, T. Raeymaekers, and K. Vlassenroot. 2006. "Violence with a purpose: exploring the functions and meaning of violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo." Intervention 4(1):32.

- Benkler, Yochai, Robert Faris, and Hal Roberts. 2018. Network Propaganda. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bentham, Jeremy. 1995. "Panopticon". In *The Panopticon Writings*, ed. Miran Bozovic. London: Verso, pp. 29–95.
- Berry, Marie E. and Cullen Hendrix. 2018. "Sins of omission: women's and LGBTI rights reporting under the Trump administration." https://webassets.oxfamamerica.org/media/documentsSins_of_Omission_April_2019.pdf.
- Beyer, Jessica L. and Jennifer Earl. 2018. "Backfire online: studying reactions to the repression of Internet activism". In *The Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements*, ed. Lester R. Kurtz and Lee A. Smithey. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, pp. 102–142.
- Blaydes, Lisa. 2010. Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blaydes, Lisa. 2019. State of Repression: Iraq under Saddam Hussein. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Boas, Taylor C. 2006. "Weaving the authoritarian web: the control of Internet use in nondemocratic regimes". In *How Revolutionary Was the Digital Revolution? National Responses, Market Transitions, and Global Technology*, ed. John Zysman and Abraham Newman. Stanford, CA: Stanford Business Books.
- Bond, Kanisha D. 2018. "Reflexivity and revelation." *Qualitative & Multi-Method Research* 16(1):45–47.
- Borger, Julian and Nick Hopkins. 2013. "West training Syrian rebels in Jordan." *The Guardian*, March 8. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/08/west-training-syrian-rebels-jordan.
- Boswell, Alan. 2011. "How Sudan used the Internet to crush protest movement." McClatchy Newspapers. https://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/world/article24619936.html.
- Brandt, Patrick T., John T. Williams, Benjamin O. Fordham, and Brain Pollins. 2000. "Dynamic modeling for persistent event-count time series." *American Journal of Political Science* 44(4):823–843.
- Brewster, Thomas. 2019. "Moroccan activist says NSO's elite spy tools hacked his iPhone." *Forbes*, October 9. https://www.forbes.com/sites/thomasbrewster/2019/10/09/moroccan-activist-says-nsos-elite-spy-tools-hacked-his-iphone/.
- Brigden, Noelle K. and Anita R. Gohdes. 2020. "The politics of data access in studying violence across methodological boundaries: what we can learn from each other?" *International Studies Review* 22(2):250–267.
- Brownlee, Billie Jeanne. 2018. "Mediating the Syrian revolt: how new media technologies change the development of social movements and conflicts". In *The Syrian Uprising: Domestic Factors and Early Trajectory*, ed. Raymond Hinnebusch and Omar Imady. London: Routledge, pp. 188–206.
- Brownstone, Andy. 2011. "Meet the Libyan rebels on the front line." *BBC*, May 24. http://www.bbc.co.uk/newsbeat/13505340.
- Buhaug, Halvard and Scott Gates. 2002. "The geography of civil war." Journal of Peace Research 39(4):417-433.
- Burgess, Matt. 2022. "Russia is taking over Ukraine's Internet." WIRED, June 15. https://www.wired.com/story/ukraine-russia-internet-takeover/.
- Cairns, Christopher and Elizabeth Plantan. 2016. "Why autocrats sometimes relax online censorship of sensitive issues: a case study of microblog discussion of air pollution in China." In Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, IL, April. Vol. 8.

- Carey, Sabine C. 2010. "The use of repression as a response to domestic dissent." Political Studies 58(1):167-186.
- Carey, Sabine C. and Anita R. Gohdes. 2021. "Understanding journalist killings." Journal of Politics 83(4):1216-1228.
- Carey, Sabine C. and Neil J. Mitchell. 2017. "Progovernment militias." Annual Review of Political Science 20(1):127-147.
- Center for Human Rights in Iran. 2018. "Hackers with ties to security agencies launch phishing attacks on well known Iranians and dual nationals." May 4. https://iranhumanrights.org/2018/05/hackers-with-ties-to-security-agencies-launchphishing-attacks-on-well-known-iranians-and-dual-nationals/.
- Center for Human Rights in Iran. 2019a. "Initial reports show thousands arrested in Iran's crackdown on November protests." November 22. https://www.iranhumanrights.org/ 2019/11/initial-reports-show-thousands-arrested-in-irans-crackdown-onnovember-protests/.
- Center for Human Rights in Iran. 2019b. "Iranian government dictated to local media how to cover protests, new documents reveal." November 25. https:// iranhumanrights.org/2019/11/iranian-government-dictated-to-local-media-how-tocover-protests-new-documents-reveal/.
- Chaabane, Abdelberi, Terence Chen, Mathieu Cunche, Emiliano De Cristofaro, Arik Friedman, and Mohamed Ali Kaafar. 2014. "Censorship in the wild: analyzing Internet filtering in Syria." In Proceedings of the 2014 Conference on Internet Measurement Conference. New York: ACM, pp. 285-298.
- Chen, Huirong and Sheena Chestnut Greitens. 2021. "Information capacity and social order: the local politics of information integration in China." Governance 35(2): 497-523.
- Chen, Jidong and Yiqing Xu. 2017. "Why do authoritarian regimes allow citizens to voice opinions publicly?" Journal of Politics 79(3):792-803.
- Chen, Tianqi, Tong He, Michael Benesty, Vadim Khotilovich, and Yuan Tang. 2017. "xgboost: extreme gradient boosting." https://cran.r-project.org/package=xgboost.
- Chenoweth, Erica, Evan Perkoski, and Sooyeon Kang. 2017. "State repression and nonviolent resistance." Journal of Conflict Resolution 61(9):1950-1969.
- Cherribi, Sam. 2017. Fridays of Rage. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Choudry, Aziz. 2019. Activists and the Surveillance State: Learning from Repression. London: Pluto Press.
- Chowdhury, Mridul. 2008. The role of the Internet in Burma's Saffron Revolution." Berkman Center Research Publication no. 2008-8.
- CIPESA. 2014. "State of Internet freedoms in Ethiopia 2014." OpenNet Africa. https:// www.opennetafrica.org/?wpfb_dl=16.
- Committee to Protect Journalists. 2014. Attacks on the Press: Journalism on the World's Front Lines, 2014 Edition. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Committee to Protect Journalists. 2021. "CPJ database of attacks on the press." https:// cpj.org/data/.
- Conrad, Courtenay R., Daniel W. Hill, and Will H. Moore. 2018. "Torture and the limits of democratic institutions." *Journal of Peace Research* 55(1):3–17.
- Coppedge, Michael et al. 2021. "V-Dem Dataset v11.1." Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project.
- Cowie, James. 2012. "Could an Internet blackout happen in your country?" Renesys Blog, November 30. https://bit.ly/3wD61bN.

- Cowie, Jim. 2011a. "Egypt leaves the Internet | Internet intelligence." https://web.archive.org/web/20210901100830/https://blogs.oracle.com/internetintelligence/egypt-leaves-the-internet-v3.
- Cowie, Jim. 2011b. "Syrian Internet shutdown." Renesys Blog, June 3. https://bit.ly/3Y7Zy49.
- Cowie, Jim. 2014. "Syria, Venezuela, Ukraine: Internet under fire." Renesys Blog, February 26. https://bit.ly/3jjWKCj.
- Dafoe, Allan and Jason Lyall. 2015. "From cell phones to conflict? Reflections on the emerging ICT-political conflict research agenda." *Journal of Peace Research* 52(3): 401–413.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1971. Polyarchy; Participation and Opposition. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dainotti, Alberto, Claudio Squarcella, Emile Aben, Kimberly C. Claffy, Marco Chiesa, Michele Russo, and Antonio Pescapé. 2011. "Analysis of country-wide Internet outages caused by censorship". In *ACM Internet Measurement Conference (IMC)*. New York: ACM, pp. 1–18.
- Danitz, Tiffany and Warren P. Strobel. 1999. "The Internet's impact on activism: the case of Burma." Studies in Conflict & Terrorism 22(3):257-269.
- Davenport, Christian. 2007a. "State repression and political order." Annual Review of Political Science 10:1–23.
- Davenport, Christian. 2007b. State Repression and the Domestic Democratic Peace. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davenport, Christian. 2010. Media Bias, Perspective, and State Repression: The Black Panther Party. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dawkins, Sophia. 2020. "The problem of the missing dead." Journal of Peace Research 58(5):1098–1116.
- Deibert, Ronald J. 2003. "Black code: censorship, surveillance, and the militarisation of cyberspace." *Millennium* 32(3):501-530.
- Deibert, Ronald, John Palfrey, Rafal Rohozinski, and Jonathan Zittrain. 2011. Access Contested: Security, Identity, and Resistance in Asian Cyberspace. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Deibert, Ronald, John Palfrey, Rafal Rohozinski, Jonathan Zittrain, and Janice Gross Stein. 2008. Access Denied: The Practice and Policy of Global Internet Filtering. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Deibert, Ronald, John Palfrey, Rafal Rohozinski, Jonathan Zittrain, and Miklos Haraszti. 2010. Access Controlled: The Shaping of Power, Rights, and Rule in Cyberspace. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Deibert, Ronald, Joshua Oliver, and Adam Senft. 2019. "Censors get smart: evidence from Psiphon in Iran." Review of Policy Research 36(3):341–356.
- Deutch, Jeff and Hadi Habal. 2018. "The Syrian archive: a methodological case study of open-source investigation of state crime using video evidence from social media platforms." State Crime Journal 7(1):46–76.
- Dimitrov, Martin K. and Joseph Sassoon. 2014. "State security, information, and repression: a comparison of Communist Bulgaria and Ba'thist Iraq." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 16(2):3–31.
- Driessen, Benedikt, Ralf Hund, Carsten Willems, Christof Paar, and Thorsten Holz. 2012. "Don't trust satellite phones: a security analysis of two satphone standards." In 2012 IEEE Symposium on Security and Privacy, IEEE, pp. 128–142.

- Earl, Jennifer, Andrew Martin, John D. McCarthy, and Sarah A. Soule. 2004. "The use of newspaper data in the study of collective action." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30:65–80.
- Earl, Jennifer and Katrina Kimport. 2011. Digitally Enabled Social Change: Activism in the Internet Age. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Eck, Kristine. 2012. "In data we trust? A comparison of UCDP GED and ACLED conflict events datasets." Cooperation and Conflict 47(1):124-141.
- Eck, Kristine. 2015. "Repression by proxy: how military purges and insurgency impact the delegation of coercion." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(5):924–946.
- Edmond, Chris. 2013. "Information manipulation, coordination, and regime change." Review of Economic Studies 80(4):1422.
- Egloff, Florian J. and James Shires. 2021. "Offensive cyber capabilities and state violence: three logics of integration." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 7(1):ogab028.
- Elmer, Greg. 2012. "Panopticon—discipline—control." In *Handbook of Surveillance Studies*, ed. Kirstie Ball, Kevin D. Haggerty, and David Lyon. New York: Routledge, pp. 21–29.
- Else, Liz. 2012. "The revolution will be tweeted." New Scientist, February 6. http://www.newscientist.com/article/mg21328500.400-the-revolution-will-be-tweeted.html.
- Fein, Helen. 1995. "More murder in the middle: life-integrity violations and democracy in the world, 1987." *Human Rights Quarterly* 17(1):170–191.
- Feldstein, Steven. 2021. The Rise of Digital Repression: How Technology Is Reshaping Power, Politics, and Resistance. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Filterwatch. 2019. "Iran shutdown monitor." Technical report Small Media. https://filter.watch/en/2019/11/19/iran-shutdown-monitor/.
- Finkel, Evgeny. 2015. "The phoenix effect of state repression: Jewish resistance during the holocaust." *American Political Science Review* 109(2):339–353.
- Fisher, Max. 2013. "Web monitor: 'Syria has largely disappeared from the Internet'." Washington Post, May 7. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2013/05/07/web-monitor-syria-has-largely-disappeared-from-the-internet/.
- Flock, Elizabeth. 2011. "Syria internet services shut down as protesters fill streets." Washington Post, June 3. https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/blogpost/post/syria-internet-services-shut-down-as-protesters-fill-streets/2011/06/03/AGtLwxHH_blog. html.
- Frantz, Erica and Andrea Kendall-Taylor. 2014. "A dictator's toolkit: understanding how co-optation affects repression in autocracies." *Journal of Peace Research* 51(3): 332–346.
- Freedom House. 2015. "Syria." Freedom on the Net 2015. https://www.refworld. org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain?page=search&docid=563217a43&skip=0&query= Freedom%20on%20the%20Net%202015%20syria
- Freyburg, Tina and Lisa Garbe. 2018. "Blocking the bottleneck: Internet shutdowns and ownership at election times in Sub-Saharan Africa." *International Journal of Communication* 12:3896–3916.
- Friberg, Michael. 2016. "Forget Apple vs. the FBI: WhatsApp just switched on encryption for a billion people." *Wired*, April 5. https://www.wired.com/2016/04/forget-apple-vs-fbi-whatsapp-just-switched-encryption-billion-people/.
- Friedman, Uri. 2011. "How Syrian activists name their Friday protests." *The Atlantic*, September 16. https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/09/how-syrian-activists-name-their-friday-protests/337848/.

- Fuchs, Christian. 2013. "Societal and ideological impacts of deep packet inspection Internet surveillance." *Information Communication and Society* 16(8):1328–1359.
- Fujii, Lee Ann. 2015. "Five stories of accidental ethnography: turning unplanned moments in the field into data." Qualitative Research 15(4):525-539.
- Gallagher, Sean. 2012. "Updated: paint it black—how Syria methodically erased itself from the 'Net." *Ars Technica*, December 1. http://arstechnica.com/information-technology/2012/12/paint-it-black-how-syria-methodically-erased-itself-from-the-net/.
- Galperin, Eva, Morgan Marquis-Boire, and John Scott-Railton. 2013. "Quantum of surveillance: familiar actors and possible false flags in Syrian malware campaigns." Technical report Citizen Lab and Electronic Frontier Foundation. https://www.eff.org/document/quantum-surveillance-familiar-actors-and-possible-false-flags-syrian-malware-campaigns.
- Gandhi, Jennifer and Ellen Lust-Okar. 2009. "Elections under authoritarianism." Annual Review of Political Science 12(1):403-422.
- Gehlbach, Scott, Zhaotian Luo, Anton Shirikov, and D. Vorobyev. 2022. A Model of Censorship, Propaganda, and Repression. Working Paper.
- Gill, Tony. 2008. "Metadata and the web." In *Introduction to metadata*, ed. Murtha Baca, 2nd Edition. Getty Publications, pp. 20–38.
- Gläßel, Christian and Katrin Paula. 2019. "Sometimes less is more: censorship, news falsification, and disapproval in 1989 East Germany." *American Journal of Political Science* 64(3):682–698.
- Gohdes, Anita R. 2016. "Internet shutdowns during political unrest are becoming normal—and it should worry us." *Political Violence at a Glance*. https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2016/09/16/internet-shutdowns-during-political-unrest-are-becoming-normal-and-it-should-worry-us/.
- Gohdes, Anita R. 2018a. "Reflections on digital technologies, repression, and resistance: epilogue." State Crime Journal 7(1):141–144.
- Gohdes, Anita R. 2018b. "Studying the Internet and violent conflict." Conflict Management and Peace Science 35(1):89–106.
- Gohdes, Anita R. 2018c. "The relationship between state and corporate censorship." Comparative Politics Newsletter 28(2):31-37.
- Goldstein, Joshua. 2007. "The role of digital networked technologies in the Ukrainian Orange Revolution." Berkman Center Research Publication 14.
- Goldstein, Robert Justin. 1978. Political Repression in Modern America from 1870 to the Present. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman.
- Golkar, Saeid. 2011. "Liberation or suppression technologies? The internet, the green movement and the regime in Iran." *Australian Journal of Emerging Technologies and Society* 9(1):50–70.
- González-Bailón, Sandra, Javier Borge-Holthoefer, Alejandro Rivero, and Yamir Moreno. 2011. "The dynamics of protest recruitment through an online network." *Nature* 1:1–7.
- González-Bailón, Sandra, Javier Borge-Holthoefer, and Yamir Moreno. 2013. "Broadcasters and hidden influentials in online protest diffusion." *American Behavioral Scientist* 57(7):943–965.
- Goodin, Dan. 2015. "Massive denial-of-service attack on GitHub tied to Chinese government." *Ars Technica*. https://arstechnica.com/information-technology/2015/03/massive-denial-of-service-attack-on-github-tied-to-chinese-government/.
- Greenberg, Andy. 2011. "Meet Telecomix, the hackers bent on exposing those who censor and surveil the Internet." Forbes, December 26. https://www.forbes.com/sites/

- andygreenberg/2011/12/26/meet-telecomix-the-hackers-bent-on-exposing-those-who-censor-and-surveil-the-internet/.
- Greitens, Sheena Chestnut. 2016. Dictators and Their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Greitens, Sheena Chestnut, Myunghee Lee, and Emir Yazici. 2020. "Counterterrorism and preventive repression." *International Security* 44(3):9–47.
- Gunitsky, Seva. 2015. "Corrupting the cyber-commons: social media as a tool of autocratic stability." *Perspectives on Politics* 13(1):42–54.
- Guriev, Sergei and Daniel Treisman. 2022. Spin Dictators: The Changing Face of Tyranny in the 21st Century. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hall, Stephen G. F. and Thomas Ambrosio. 2017. "Authoritarian learning: a conceptual overview." East European Politics 33(2):143–161.
- Hanna, Asaad. 2015. "How Syrian opposition bypasses Assad's communication blocks." *Al-Monitor*, December 15. www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/12/syria-opposition-means-of-communication-regime.html.
- Harms, Florian. 2004. "Syrien im Wandel: Mit Internet und Handy gegen die Diktatur." Der Spiegel, October 28. https://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/syrien-im-wandel-mit-internet-und-handy-gegen-die-diktatur-a-322990.html.
- Haschke, Peter. 2020. "The political terror scale (PTS) codebook Version 1.40." University Of North Carolina, Asheville.
- Hashem, Mohamed. 2015. "Q&A: in Syria the 'internet has become a weapon' of war." *Al-Jazeera*, June 20. http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2015/06/qa-syria-internet-weapon-war-150619215453906.html.
- Hassanpour, Navid. 2014. "Media disruption and revolutionary unrest: evidence from Mubarak's quasi-experiment." *Political Communication* 31(1):1–24.
- Heger, Lindsay L. 2015. "Votes and violence: pursuing terrorism while navigating politics." *Journal of Peace Research* 52(1):32–45.
- Hegghammer, Thomas. 2021. "How the War on Terror supercharged state power." Foreign Affairs, September/October. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2021-08-24/resistance-futile.
- Hellmeier, Sebastian. 2016. "The dictator's digital toolkit: explaining variation in Internet filtering in authoritarian regimes." *Politics & Policy* 44(6): 1158–1191.
- Hendrix, Cullen S. and Idean Salehyan. 2015. "No news is good news: mark and recapture for event data when reporting probabilities are less than one." *International Interactions* 41(2):392–406.
- Heydemann, Steven and Reinoud Leenders. 2011. "Authoritarian learning and authoritarian resilience: regime responses to the 'Arab Awakening'." *Globalizations* 8(5): 647–653.
- Hill, Daniel W. and Zachary M. Jones. 2014. "An empirical evaluation of explanations for state repression." *American Political Science Review* 108(3):661–687.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond A. 1993. "State and civil society in Syria." Middle East Journal 47(2):243-257.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond A. 2001. Syria: Revolution from Above. London: Routledge.
- Hinnebusch, Raymond A. 2012. "Syria: from 'authoritarian upgrading' to revolution?" *International Affairs* 88(1):95–113.
- Hobbs, William R. and Margaret E. Roberts. 2018. "How sudden censorship can increase access to information." *American Political Science Review* 112(3):621–636.
- Holliday, Joseph. 2013. The Assad Regime: From Counterinsurgency To Civil War. Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of War.

- Hoover Green, Amelia. 2019. The Commander's Dilemma. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Hounshell, Blake. 2011. "The revolution will be tweeted." *Foreign Policy*, June 20. http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/06/20/the_revolution_will_be_tweeted.
- Howard, Philip N., Sheetal D. Agarwal, and Muzammil M. Hussain. 2011. "When do states disconnect their digital networks? Regime responses to the political uses of social media." *Communication Review* 14(3):216–232.
- Hu, Margaret. 2022. "Kazakhstan's internet shutdown is the latest episode in an ominous trend: digital authoritarianism." *The Conversation*, January 24. https://theconversation.com/kazakhstans-internet-shutdown-is-the-latest-episode-in-anominous-trend-digital-authoritarianism-174651.
- Human Rights Watch. 2011. "'We live as in war': crackdown on protesters in the governorate of Homs." https://www.hrw.org/report/2011/11/11/we-live-war/crackdown-protesters-governorate-homs-syria.
- Human Rights Watch. 2014. "They know everything we do': telecom and Internet surveillance in Ethiopia." http://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/book/10.1596/978-0-8213-9531-8.
- International Crisis Group. 2013. "Syria's metastasising conflicts." Middle East Report nr. 143, June 27.
- International Telecommunication Union (ITU). 2022. "Individuals using the Internet (% of population)." https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IT.NET.USER.ZS.
- IODA. 2021. "Internet Outage Detection and Analysis IODA." https://ioda.caida.org/.
- Johndrow, James, Kristian Lum, and Patrick Ball. 2015. "dga: capture-recapture estimation using Bayesian model averaging." *R Package*. https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/dga/index.html.
- Justice for Iran. 2020. "Shoot to kill: preliminary findings of justice for Iran's investigation into the November 2019 protests." Report, February 28. https://justice4iran.org/15229/.
- Kalathil, Shanthi and Taylor C. Boas. 2003. *Open Networks, Closed Regimes: The Impact of the Internet on Authoritarian Rule*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Kalyvas, Stathis. 2006. The Logic of Violence in Civil War. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kalyvas, Stathis and Laia Balcells. 2010. "International system and technologies of rebellion: how the end of the Cold War shaped internal conflict." *American Political Science Review* 104(3):415–429.
- Kargar, Simin. 2018. "Iran's national information network faster speeds but at what cost." Internet Monitor Research Bulletin. https://thenetmonitor.org/bulletins/irans-national-information-network-faster-speeds-but-at-what-cost.
- Kargar, Simin and Adrian Rauchfleisch. 2019. "State-aligned trolling in Iran and the double-edged affordances of Instagram." New Media and Society 21(7):1506–1527.
- Kathuria, Rajat, Mansi Kedia, Gangesh Varma, Kaushambi Bagchi, and Richa Sekhani. 2018. "The anatomy of an internet blackout: measuring the economic impact of Internet shutdowns in India." https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/gdc/gdcovop/2018305075/2018305075.pdf.
- Keating, Joshua. 2013. "Firing mortars? There's an app for that." Slate, September 18. Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Net
 - works in International Politics. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Keremoğlu, Eda and Nils B. Weidmann. 2020. "How dictators control the Internet: A review essay." Comparative Political Studies 53(10-11):1690-1703.
- Kerr, Jaclyn A. 2016. "Rewiring authoritarianism: the evolution of Internet policy in Putin's Russia." Working Paper.
- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. 2013. "How censorship in China allows government criticism but silences collective expression." *American Political Science Review* 107:1–18.
- Kirchgaessner, Stephanie, Paul Lewis, David Pegg, Sam Cutler, Nina Lakhani, and Michael Safi. 2021. "Revealed: leak uncovers global abuse of cyber-surveillance weapon." *The Guardian*, July 18. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jul/18/revealed-leak-uncovers-global-abuse-of-cyber-surveillance-weapon-nso-group-pegasus.
- Kostyuk, Nadiya and Yuri M. Zhukov. 2019. "Invisible digital front: can cyber attacks shape battlefield events?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63(2):317-347.
- Kuran, Timur. 1989. "Sparks and prairie fires: a theory of unanticipated political revolution." *Public Choice* 61(1):41–74.
- Kuran, Timur. 1997. Private Truths, Public Lies: The Social Consequences of Preference Falsification. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Lake, Eli. 2009. "Fed contractor, cell phone maker sold spy system to Iran." Washington Times, April 13. https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2009/apr/13/europe39stelecoms-aid-with-spy-tech/.
- Landler, Mark and Brian Stelter. 2009. "Washington taps into a potent new force in diplomacy." New York Times, June 16. http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/17/world/middleeast/17media.html.
- 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.
- Leenders, Reinoud. 2013. "Social movement theory and the onset of the popular uprising in Syria." Arab Studies Quarterly 35(3):273.
- Leenders, Reinoud. 2015. "Repression is not 'a stupid thing': regime responses to the Syrian uprising and insurgency". In *The Alawis of Syria: War, Faith and Politics in the Levant*, ed. Michael Kerr and Craig Larkin. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 245–273.
- Leverett, Flynt. 2005. Inheriting Syria: Bashar's Trial by Fire. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press.
- Little, Andrew T. 2016. "Communication technology and protest." Journal of Politics 78(1):152-166.
- Liu, Howard and Christopher M. Sullivan. 2021. "And the heat goes on: police repression and the modalities of power." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 65(10):1657–1679.
- Lohmann, Susanne. 1994. "The dynamics of informational cascades: the Monday demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989–91." World Politics 47(1):42–101.
- Lorentzen, Peter L. 2013. "Regularizing rioting: permitting public protest in an authoritarian regime." Quarterly Journal of Political Science 8(2):127-158.
- Lorentzen, Peter L. 2014. "China's strategic censorship." American Journal of Political Science 58(2):402-414.
- Lotan, Gilad, Erhardt Graeff, Mike Ananny, Devin Gaffney, Ian Pearce, and Danah Boyd. 2011. "The Arab Spring: the revolutions were tweeted: information flows during the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions." *International Journal of Communication* 5(0):1375–1405.

- Lowe, David. 2016. "Surveillance and international terrorism intelligence exchange: balancing the interests of national security and individual liberty." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 28(4):653–673.
- Lu, Yingdan and Jennifer Pan. 2021. "Capturing clicks: how the Chinese government uses clickbait to compete for visibility." *Political Communication* 38(1–2):23–54.
- Lum, Kristian, Megan Emily Price, and David Banks. 2013. "Applications of multiple systems estimation in human rights research." *American Statistician* 67(4):191–200.
- Lutscher, Philipp M. 2021. "Hot topics: denial-of-service attacks on news websites in autocracies." *Political Science Research and Methods*, 1–16.
- Lutscher, Philipp M., Nils B. Weidmann, Margaret E. Roberts, Mattijs Jonker, Alistair King, and Alberto Dainotti. 2019. "At home and abroad: the use of denial-of-service attacks during elections in nondemocratic regimes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64(2-3):373-401.
- Lynch, Marc, Deen Freelon, and Sean Aday. 2014. "Blogs and bullets III: Syria's social mediated war." United States Institute of Peace, Peaceworks 91(5).
- Lyon, David. 2001. Surveillance Society: Monitoring Everyday Life. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).
- Lyon, David, ed. 2006. Theorizing surveillance. Routledge.
- MacFarquhar, Neil and Hwaida Saad. 2012. "Rebel groups in Syria make framework for military." New York Times, December 7.
- Macías-Medellín, Martín and Laura H. Atuesta. 2021. "Constraints and military coordination: how ICTs shape the intensity of rebel violence." *International Interactions* 47(4):692–719.
- Mackenzie, Laura. 2021. "Surveillance: how Gulf states keep watch on us." Wired, January 21. https://wired.me/technology/privacy/surveillance-gulf-states/.
- MacKinnon, Rebecca. 2011. "China's 'networked authoritarianism'." *Journal of Democracy* 22(2):32–46.
- MacKinnon, Rebecca. 2012. Consent of the Networked: The Worldwide Struggle for Internet Freedom. New York: Basic Books.
- Madigan, David and Jeremy C. York. 1997. "Bayesian methods for estimation of the size of a closed population." *Biometrika* 84(1):19–31.
- Madory, Doug. 2019. "Historic Internet blackout in Iran." https://blogs.oracle.com/cloudsecurity/post/historic-internet-blackout-in-iran.
- Magaloni, Beatriz. 2006. Voting for Autocracy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Malejacq, Romain and Dipali Mukhopadhyay. 2016. "The 'tribal politics' of field research: a reflection on power and partiality in 21st-century warzones." *Perspectives on Politics* 14(4):1011–1028.
- Marchant, Eleanor and Nicole Stremlau. 2020. "The changing landscape of Internet shutdown in Africa: a Spectrum of shutdowns: reframing Internet shutdowns from Africa." *International Journal of Communication* 14:4327–4342.
- Marczak, Bill, John Scott-Railton, Sarah Mckune, Abdul Razzak, and Ron Deibert. 2018. "HIDE AND SEEK: tracking NSO group's Pegasus spyware to operations in 45 countries." Citizen Lab Research Report September(113). https://citizenlab.ca/2018/09/hide-and-seek-tracking-nso-groups-pegasus-spyware-to-operations-in-45-countries/.
- Marczak, William Russell. 2016. Defending Dissidents from Targeted Digital Surveillance. Berkeley: University of California.

- Marczak, William R., John Scott-Railton, Morgan Marquis-Boire, and Vern Paxson. 2014. "When governments hack opponents: a look at actors and technology." In 23rd USENIX Security Symposium (USENIX Security 14), pp. 511–525. https://www.usenix.org/node/184470.
- Mare, Admire. 2020. "State-ordered Internet shutdowns and digital authoritarianism in Zimbabwe." *International Journal of Communication* 14:4244–4263.
- Mason, T. David and Dale A. Krane. 1989. "The political economy of death squads: toward a theory of the impact of state-sanctioned terror." *International Studies Quarterly* 33(2):175–198.
- Mazur, Kevin. 2021. Revolution in Syria. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Memarian, Omid and Tara Nesvaderani. 2010. "The youth." In *The Iran Primer: Power, Politics, and US Policy*, ed. Robin B. Wright. US Institute of Peace Press. https://iranprimer.usip.org/sites/default/files/PDF%20Youth_Memarian_Opposition.pdf.
- Menn, Joseph and Taylor Lorenz. 2022. "Cloudflare drops KiwiFarms." *Washington Post*, September 3. https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2022/09/03/cloudflare-drops-kiwifarms/.
- Michaelsen, Marcus. 2017. "Far away, so close: transnational activism, digital surveillance and authoritarian control in Iran." Surveillance and Society 15(3-4):465-470.
- Michaelsen, Marcus. 2018. "Exit and voice in a digital age: Iran's exiled activists and the authoritarian state." *Globalizations* 15(2):248–264.
- Milani, Abbas. 2010. "The Green movement." In *The Iran Primer: Power, Politics, and US Policy*, ed. Robin B. Wright. US Institute of Peace Press. http://www.iranprimer.com/sites/default/files/The%20Green%20Movement.pdf.
- Miller, Elhanan. 2012. "Syrian opposition uses home-made rockets and Google technology, video reveals." *The Times of Israel*, August 20.
- Miller, James and Matt Sienkiewicz. 2012. "Straight news from the citizens of Syria: how reporters sort, organize—and verify—a flood of information from a chaotic civil war." Columbia Journalism Review. https://archives.cjr.org/behind_the_news/straight_news_from_the_citizen.php.
- Mitchell, Neil J. 2004. Agents of Atrocity. Leaders, Followers, and the Violation of Human Rights in Civil War. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Moore-Gilbert, Kylie and Zainab Abdul-Nabi. 2021. "Authoritarian downgrading, (self)censorship and new media activism after the Arab Spring." New Media & Society 23(5):875–893.
- Morgenbesser, Lee. 2020. "The menu of autocratic innovation." Democratization 27(6):1053-1072.
- Mortensen, Mette. 2011. "When citizen photojournalism sets the news agenda: Neda Agha Soltan as a Web 2.0 icon of post-election unrest in Iran." Global Media and Communication 7(1):4–16.
- Moss, Dana M. 2018. "The ties that bind: Internet communication technologies, networked authoritarianism, and 'voice' in the Syrian diaspora." *Globalizations* 15(2): 265–282.
- Mountz, Alison. 2007. "Smoke and mirrors: an ethnography of the state". In *Politics and Practice in Economic Geography*, ed. Adam Tickell, Eric Sheppard, Jamie Peck, and Trevor Barnes. New York: Sage, pp. 38–48.
- Müller-Crepon, Carl, Philipp Hunziker, and Lars-Erik Cederman. 2021. "Roads to rule, roads to rebel: relational state capacity and conflict in Africa." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 65(2–3):563–590.

- Munger, Kevin, Richard Bonneau, Jonathan Nagler, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2019. "Elites tweet to get feet off the streets: measuring regime social media strategies during protest." *Political Science Research and Methods* 7(4):815–834.
- Murphy, Heather. 2014. "Ominous text message sent to protesters in Kiev sends chills around the internet." *New York Times*, January 22. http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/01/22/ominous-text-message-sent-to-protesters-in-kiev-sends-chills-around-the-internet/.
- Musiani, Francesca, Derrick L. Cogburn, Laura DeNardis, and Nanette S. Levinson. 2016. The Turn to Infrastructure in Internet Governance. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Neistat, Anna and Ole Solvang. 2011. "'By all means necessary!': individual and command responsibility for crimes against humanity in Syria." *Human Rights Watch*, *December*. http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/syria1211webwcover_0.pdf.
- Neo, Ric. 2020. "A cudgel of repression: analysing state instrumentalisation of the 'fake news' label in Southeast Asia." *Journalism* 23(9): 1919–1938.
- NetBocks. 2019. "Internet being restored in Iran after week-long shutdown." November 23. https://netblocks.org/reports/internet-restored-in-iran-after-protest-shutdown-dAmqddA9.
- Ng, Jason. 2013. Blocked on Weibo: What Gets Suppressed on China's Version of Twitter (And Why). New York: New Press.
- Nothias, Toussaint. 2020. "Access granted: Facebook's free basics in Africa." Media, Culture & Society 42(3):329-348.
- Nyst, Carly and Nick Monaco. 2018. "State-sponsored trolling: how governments are deploying disinformation as part of broader digital harassment campaigns." Report, Institute for the Future (IFTF), July.
- OECD. 2011. "The economic impact of shutting down Internet and mobile phone services in Egypt." OECD Report Egypt, February 4. http://bit.ly/1ehhDmB.
- O'Flaherty, Kate. 2018. "YouTube keeps deleting evidence of Syrian chemical weapon attacks." Wired UK. June 6. https://www.wired.co.uk/article/chemical-weapons-in-syria-youtube-algorithm-delete-video.
- OHCHR. 2011. "1st report of the Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic." Technical report, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights Geneva. https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/720796?ln=en https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G11/170/97/PDF/G1117097.pdf?.
- OHCHR. 2014. "The right to privacy in the digital age." Technical report, Report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, June 30. https://www.ohchr.org/en/calls-for-input/report-right-privacy-digital-age-focus-surveillance.
- OpenNet Initiative. 2005. "Special report: election monitoring in Kyrgyzstan." Technical report, OpenNet Initiative. https://opennet.net/special/kg/.
- OpenNet Initiative. 2006. "Internet filtering in Iran in 2004–2005." OpenNet Initiative. https://cyber.harvard.edu/publications/2005/Internet_Filtering_ in_Iran_in_2004_2005.
- OpenNet Initiative. 2007. "Internet filtering in Iran." OpenNet Initiative. https://opennet.net/studies/iran2007.
- OpenNet Initiative. 2009a. "Internet filtering in Iran." OpenNet Initiative. https://opennet.net/sites/opennet.net/files/ONI_Iran_2009.pdf.
- OpenNet Initiative. 2009b. "Internet filtering in Syria." June 16. https://opennet.net/research/profiles/syria.

- Osborn, Andrew. 2012. "How 'Damascus Volcano' erupted in Assad's stronghold." July 20. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-crisis-damascus-idUSBRE86J17E20120720.
- Dalek, Jakub, Nica Dumlao, Miles Kenyon, Irene Poetranto, Adam Senft, Caroline Wesley, Arturo Filastó, Maria Xynou, and Amie Bishop. 2021. No Access: LGBTIQ Website Censorship in Six Countries. No. 142. Technical Report Citizen Lab Research Report.
- Oweis, Khaled Yacoub. 2008. "Syria expands iron censorship over Internet." *Reuters Internet News*, March 13. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-internet/syria-expands-iron-censorship-over-internet-idUSL138353620080313.
- Padmanabhan, Ramakrishna, Arturo Filastò, Maria Xynou, Ram Sundara Raman, Kennedy Middleton, Mingwei Zhang, Doug Madory, Molly Roberts, and Alberto Dainotti. 2021. A multi-perspective view of Internet censorship in Myanmar. In Proceedings of the ACM SIGCOMM 2021 Workshop on Free and Open Communications on the Internet (FOCI '21). Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, pp. 27–36.
- Pan, Jennifer. 2017. "How market dynamics of domestic and foreign social media firms shape strategies of Internet censorship." *Problems of Post-Communism* 64(3–4): 167–188.
- Pan, Jennifer and Alexandra Siegel. 2020. "How Saudi crackdowns fail to silence online dissent." American Political Science Review 114(1):109–125.
- Parkinson, Sarah Elizabeth. 2013. "Organizing rebellion: rethinking high-risk mobilization and social networks in war." *American Political Science Review* 107(3):418–432.
- Parks, Lisa and Rachel Thompson. 2020. "The slow shutdown: information and Internet regulation in Tanzania from 2010 to 2018 and impacts on online content creators." *International Journal of Communication* 14:4288–4308.
- Pearce, Katy E. 2015. "Democratizing kompromat: the affordances of social media for state-sponsored harassment." *Information, Communication & Society* 18(10): 1158–1174.:1–17.
- Pearlman, Wendy. 2020. "Mobilizing from scratch: large-scale collective action without preexisting organization in the Syrian uprising." Comparative Political Studies 54(10):1786–1817.
- Perlroth, Nicole. 2013a. "Syria, and pro-government hackers, are back on the Internet." New York Times, May 8. http://nyti.ms/L8zhO7.
- Perlroth, Nicole. 2013b. "Syria loses access to the Internet." New York Times Bits Blog, May 7.
- Perthes, Volker. 2006. Syria under Bashar al-Asad: Modernisation and the Limits of Change. London: Routledge.
- Peterson, Scott. 2012. "Syria's iPhone insurgency makes for smarter rebellion." *Christian Science Monitor*, August 1. http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2012/0801/Syria-s-iPhone-insurgency-makes-for-smarter-rebellion.
- Pettersson, Therese. 2020. "UCDP/PRIO armed conflict dataset codebook v 20.1." Uppsala: Uppsala Conflict Data Program.
- Pettersson, Therése and Kristine Eck. 2018. "Organized violence, 1989–2017." Journal of Peace Research 55(4):535–547.
- Pinheiro, Paulo Sérgio. 2015. "The Use of Barrel Bombs and Indiscriminate Bombard-ment in Syria: The Need to Strengthen Compliance with International Humanitarian Law." Paper presented by Chair of the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic (CoI) and hosted by Permanent Mission of Austria to United

- Nations Human Rights, March 12. https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/CoISyria/CoISyriaIndiscriminateBombardment12032015.pdf.
- Poe, Steven C. and C. Neal Tate. 1994. "Repression of human rights to personal integrity in the 1980s: a global analysis." *American Political Science Review* 88(4):853–872.
- Poe, Steven C., C. Neal Tate, and Linda C. Keith. 1999. "Repression of the human right to personal integrity revisited: a global cross-national study covering the years 1976–1993." *International Studies Quarterly* 43(2):291–313.
- Poe, Steven C., Sabine C. Carey, and Tanya C. Vazquez. 2001. "How are these pictures different? A quantitative comparison of the US State Department and Amnesty International human rights reports, 1976–1995." *Human Rights Quarterly* 23:650–677.
- Poetranto, Irene. 2012. "Update on information controls in Ethiopia." Open-Net Africa Update, November 1. https://www.opennetafrica.org/?wpfb_dl=15.
- Porcedda, Maria Grazia. 2013. "Lessons from PRISM and Tempora: the self-contradictory nature of the fight against cyberspace crimes. Deep packet inspection as a case study." Neue Kriminalpolitik 25(4):373–389.
- Poulsen, Kevin. 2013. "In Syria's civil war, Facebook has become a battlefield." Wired, December 23. https://www.wired.com/2013/12/syria-report/.
- Preston, Jennifer. 2011. "Syria restores access to Facebook and YouTube." New York Times, February 9. https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/10/world/middleeast/10syria.html.
- Price, Megan, Anita Gohdes, and Patrick Ball. 2015. "Documents of war: understanding the Syrian conflict." Significance 12(2):14–19.
- Price, Megan, Anita Gohdes, and Patrick Ball. 2016. "Technical memo for Amnesty International report on deaths in detention." *Human Rights Data Analysis Group*, August 17. https://hrdag.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/HRDAG-AI-memo-2.pdf.
- Price, Megan, Anita R. Gohdes, and Patrick Ball. 2014. "Updated statistical analysis of documentation of killings in the Syrian Arab republic." Report commissioned by the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. August 1.
- Price, Megan E. and Anita R. Gohdes. 2020. "The promises and pitfalls of data analysis for accountability and justice." In *Accountability and Transitional Justice in a Postconflict Society*, ed. Radwan Ziadeh. The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc., pp. 109–120.
- Prince, Matthew. 2012. "How Syria turned off the Internet." Cloudflare Blog, November 29. http://blog.cloudflare.com/how-syria-turned-off-the-internet.
- Prince, Matthew. 2013. "How Syria turned off the Internet (again)." Cloudflare Blog, July 5. https://blog.cloudflare.com/how-syria-turned-off-the-internet-again/.
- Privacy International. 2016. "Open season: building Syria's surveillance state." December 12. https://privacyinternational.org/report/1016/open-season-building-syrias-surveillance-state.
- Qin, Bei, David Strömberg, and Yanhui Wu. 2017. "Why does China allow freer social media? Protests versus surveillance and propaganda." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 31(1):117–140.
- Qtiesh, Anas and Rainey Reitman. 2013. "Syrian Internet goes dark, leaving questions and uncertainty." Electronic Frontier Foundation, May 7. https://www.eff.org/deeplinks/2013/05/syrian-internet-goes-dark-leaving-questions-and-uncertainty-0.
- Quan, Lin, John Heidemann, and Yuri Pradkin. 2013. "Trinocular: understanding internet reliability through adaptive probing." Computer Communication Review 43(4):255–266.

- Rahimi, Babak. 2008. "The politics of the Internet in Iran." In Media, Culture and Society in Iran: Living with Globalization and the Islamic State, ed. Mehdi Semati. London: Routledge.
- Raoof, Ramy. 2011. "Egypt: how companies help the government spy on activists." Global Voices, May 7. http://advocacy.globalvoicesonline.org/2011/05/07/egypt-how-companies-help-the-government-spy-on-activists/.
- Rathmell, Andrew. 1996. "Syria's intelligence services: origins and development: origins and development." *Journal of Conflict Studies* 16(2):75–96.
- Rawlinson, Kevin. 2014. "Turkey blocks use of Twitter after prime minister attacks social media site." *The Guardian*, March 21. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/21/turkey-blocks-twitter-prime-minister.
- Regalado, Daniel, Nart Villeneuve, and John Scott-Railton. 2015. Behind the Syrian Conflict's Digital Front Lines. FireEye, February. https://cryptome.org/2015/02/fireeye-syria-hack.pdf.
- Reporters Without Borders. 2007. "Reporters Without Borders annual report 2007— Syria." February 1. https://www.refworld.org/docid/46e692cc23.html.
- Reporters Without Borders. 2013. "Syria using 34 Blue Coat servers to spy on Internet users." May 23. https://rsf.org/en/syria-using-34-blue-coat-servers-spy-internet-users.
- Reuters. 2019. "Special report: Iran's leader ordered crackdown on unrest—'Do whatever it takes to end it'." *Reuters*, December 23. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-protests-specialreport/special-report-irans-leader-ordered-crackdown-on-unrest-do-whatever-it-takes-to-end-it-idUSKBN1YR0QR.
- Roberts, Margaret E. 2018. Censored: Distraction and Diversion inside China's Great Firewall. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Roberts, Margaret E. 2020. "Resilience to online censorship." Annual Review of Political Science 23(1):401-419.
- Robertson, Bronwen and James Marchant, eds. 2015. Revolution Decoded: Iran's Digital Landscape. Small Media. https://web.archive.org/web/20220320101924/https://smallmedia.org.uk/revolutiondecoded/
- Robinson, Darrel and Marcus Tannenberg. 2019. "Self-censorship of regime support in authoritarian states: evidence from list experiments in China." Research & Politics 6(3).
- Rydzak, Jan. 2019. "Of blackouts and bandhs: the strategy and structure of disconnected protest in India." Technical Report ID 3330413 Social Science Research Network, Rochester, NY.
- SalamaTech. 2015. "Facebook prison: testimonies from Syria." Flash Notes, September 23. https://secdev-foundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/FlashNote-6-Facebook Prison-Salamatech-sept-231.pdf.
- Salamatian, Loqman, Frédérick Douzet, Kavé Salamatian, and Kévin Limonier. 2021. "The geopolitics behind the routes data travel: a case study of Iran." *Journal of Cyber-security* 7(1):1–19.
- Sands, Phil. 2008. "Syria tightens control over internet." *The National*, June 26. https://www.thenational.ae/world/mena/syria-tightens-control-over-internet-1.508106.
- Sandvig, Christian. 2013. "The Internet as infrastructure". In *The Oxford Handbook of Internet Studies*, ed. William H. Dutton. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 307–362.
- Sanger, David E., Nicole Perlroth, Ana Swanson, and Ronen Bergman. 2021. "U.S. blacklists Israeli firm NSO group over spyware." *New York Times*, November 3. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/business/nso-group-spyware-blacklist.html.

- Santos, Marcelo, Magdalena Saldaña, and Andrés Rosenberg. 2020. "From access deprivation to skill acquisition: cluster analysis of user behavior in face of a 12-hour legal blockage of WhatsApp in Brazil." *First Monday* 25(12). https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v25i12.10401.
- Schofield, Matthew. 2013. "Memories of Stasi color Germans' view of U.S. surveillance programs." *McClatchy*, washington DC. https://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/nation-world/national/article24750439.html.
- Schrodt, Philip A. 2012. "Precedents, progress, and prospects in political event data." International Interactions 38(4):546-569.
- Sehegal, Ujala. 2011. "Videos of killings emerge after Syria's Internet shutdown." *The Atlantic*, June 4. https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/06/videos-killings-emerge-after-syrian-web-shut-down/351432/.
- Sekar, Chandra C. and Edwards W. Deming. 1949. "On a method of estimating birth and death rates and the extent of registration." *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 44(245):101–115.
- Sevom, Arseh. 2012. "Breaking and bending censorship with Walid Al-Saqaf." February 14. https://www.arsehsevom.org/en/2012/02/breaking-and-bending-censorship-with-walid-al-saqaf/.
- SFLC.in. 2021. "India's shutdown numbers." https://internetshutdowns.in/.
- Shapiro, Jacob N. and Nils B. Weidmann. 2015. "Is the phone mightier than the sword? Cell phones and insurgent violence in Iraq." *International Organization* 69(2): 24.
- Shehabat, Ahmad. 2012. "The social media cyber-war: the unfolding events in the Syrian revolution 2011." *Global Media Journal: Australian Edition* 6(2). http://www.hca.westernsydney.edu.au/gmjau/archive/v6_2012_2/ahmad_shehabat%20_RA.html.
- Sinpeng, Aim. 2020. "Digital media, political authoritarianism, and Internet controls in Southeast Asia." Media, Culture & Society 42(1):25-39.
- Slim, Hugo. 2007. Killing Civilians: Method, Madness, and Morality in War. London: Hurst Publishers Ltd.
- Solomon, Daina Beth. 2018. "Cyber attack on Mexico campaign site triggers election nerves." *Reuters*, June 13. https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-mexico-election-cyber/cyber-attack-on-mexico-campaign-site-triggers-election-nerves-idUKKBN1J93C0.
- Sreberny, Annabelle and Gholam Khiabany. 2012. Blogistan: The Internet and Politics in Iran. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Srivastava, Mehul. 2020. "NSO technology implicated in hacking of 36 Al Jazeera phones." *Financial Times*, December 21. https://www.ft.com/content/466b806b-e7cc-4693-9ccc-6d86ae76f008.
- Stecklow, Steve. 2012. "Special report: Chinese firm helps Iran spy on citizens." *Reuters*, March 22. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-telecoms/special-report-chinese-firm-helps-iran-spy-on-citizens-idUSBRE82L0B820120322.
- Steele, Abbey. 2009. "Seeking safety: avoiding displacement and choosing destinations in civil wars." *Journal of Peace Research* 46(3):419-429.
- Steele, Abbey. 2011. "Electing displacement: political cleansing in Apartadó, Colombia." Journal of Conflict Resolution 55(3):423-445.
- Steinert-Threlkeld, Zachary C. 2017. "Spontaneous collective action: peripheral mobilization during the Arab Spring." *American Political Science Review* 111(2):379-403.
- Steinert-Threlkeld, Zachary C., Delia Mocanu, Alessandro Vespignani, and James Fowler. 2015. "Online social networks and offline protest." *EPJ Data Science* 4(1):19.

- Stevenson, Alexandra. 2018. "Facebook admits it was used to incite violence in Myanmar." New York Times, November 6. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/06/ technology/myanmar-facebook.html.
- Stier, Sebastian. 2015. "Democracy, autocracy and the news: the impact of regime type on media freedom." Democratization 22(7):1273-1295.
- Strzyżyńska, Weronika. 2022. "Iranian authorities plan to use facial recognition to enforce new hijab law." The Guardian, September 5. https://www.theguardian.com/ global-development/2022/sep/05/iran-government-facial-recognition-technologyhijab-law-crackdown.
- Stukal, Denis, Sergey Sanovich, Richard Bonneau, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2019. "Social media bots for autocrats: how pro-government bots fight opposition in Russia." Working Paper.
- Stukal, Denis, Sergey Sanovich, Richard Bonneau, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2022. "Why botter: how pro-government bots fight opposition in Russia." American Political Science Review 116(3):843-857.
- Sullivan, Christopher M. and Christian Davenport. 2018. "Resistance is mobile: dynamics of repression, challenger adaptation, and surveillance in US 'Red Squad' and black nationalist archives." Journal of Peace Research 55(2):175-189.
- Sultan, Nabil. 2013. "Al Jazeera: reflections on the Arab Spring." Journal of Arabian Studies 3(2):249-264.
- Syrian Network for Human Rights. 2013. "Syrian security branches and persons in charge." https://snhr.org/public_html/wp-content/pdf/english/Syrian_security_ branches_and_Persons_in_charge_en.pdf.
- Taye, Berhan. 2019. "The state of Internet shutdowns around the world." Access Now 2019 Report. https://www.accessnow.org/cms/assets/uploads/2019/07/KeepItOn-2018-Report.pdf.
- Taye, Berhan. 2021. "Shattered dreams and lost opportunities: a year in the fight to #KeepItOn." Access Now 2020 Report. https://www.accessnow.org/cms/assets/ uploads/2021/03/KeepItOn-report-on-the-2020-data_Mar-2021_3.pdf.
- Tehran Times. 2018. "Much more bandwidth for Iranian messaging apps: ICT ministry." December 16. https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/430726/Much-more-bandwidthfor-Iranian-messaging-apps-ICT-ministry.
- Telecomix. 2012. "Report of a Syrian spyware." February 21. http://bit.ly/2ydET5T.
- The Carter Center. 2015. "Syria countrywide conflict report no. 5." February 28. https:// www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/peace/conflict_resolution/syria-conflict/ NationwideUpdate-Feb-28-2015.pdf.
- The Economist. 2013. "Syria's civil war—The bloody stalemate persists." May 11. https:// www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2013/05/11/the-bloody-stalematepersists.
- Theocharis, Yannis, Will Lowe, Jan W. van Deth, and Gema García-Albacete. 2015. "Using Twitter to mobilize protest action: online mobilization patterns and action repertoires in the Occupy Wall Street, Indignados, and Aganaktismenoi movements." Information, Communication & Society 18(2):202-220.
- Todman, Will. 2017. "Isolating dissent, punishing the masses: siege warfare as counter-insurgency." https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/ 10023/10931/Todman_2017_SS_9-1_CCBY.pdf?sequence=1.
- Trait, Robert. 2009. "Iran moves to silence opposition with internet crime unit." The Guardian, November 15. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/nov/15/irantarget-mousavi-internet-voice.

- Tsourapas, Gerasimos. 2021. "Global autocracies: strategies of transnational repression, l egitimation, and co-optation in world politics." *International Studies Review* 23(3): 616–644.
- Tufekci, Zeynep. 2014. "The day the Turkish government banned itself from Twitter." *Medium: Technology and Society*, April 2. https://medium.com/technology-and-society/778b806e38e3.
- Valentino, Benjamin A., Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay. 2004. "Draining the sea: mass killing and guerrilla warfare." *International Organization* 58(2):375–407.
- Valeriano, Brandon and Ryan C. Maness. 2014. "The dynamics of cyber conflict between rival antagonists, 2001–11." *Journal of Peace Research* 51(3):347–360.
- Van Beijnum, Ilijitsch. 2011. "How Egypt did (and your government could) shut down the Internet." *Ars Technica*, January 30. https://arstechnica.com/tech-policy/2011/01/how-egypt-or-how-your-government-could-shut-down-the-internet/.
- Van Belle, Douglas A. 1997. "Press freedom and the democratic peace." *Journal of Peace Research* 34(4):405–414.
- van Geuns, Suzanne and Corinne Cath-Speth. 2020. "How hate speech reveals the invisible politics of internet infrastructure." *Brookings*, August 20. https://www.brookings.edu/techstream/how-hate-speech-reveals-the-invisible-politics-of-internet-infrastructure/.
- Vasilogambros, Matt. 2016. "Iran's own Internet." *The Atlantic*, August 29. https://www.theatlantic.com/news/archive/2016/08/irans-own-internet/497894/.
- Wagner, Ben and Claudio Guarnieri. 2014. "German companies are selling unlicensed surveillance technologies to human rights violators—and making millions." *Global Voices Online*, September 5. http://globalvoicesonline.org/2014/09/05/exclusive-german-companies-are-selling-unlicensed-surveillance-technologies-to-human-rights-violators-and-making-millions/.
- Walker, Kent. 2017. "Four steps we're taking today to fight terrorism online." Google in Europe, June 18. https://www.blog.google/around-the-globe/google-europe/four-steps-were-taking-today-fight-online-terror/.
- Wang, Yaqiu. 2016. "The business of censorship: documents show how Weibo filters sensitive news in China." Committee to Protect Journalists Blog, March 3. https://cpj.org/blog/2016/03/the-business-of-censorship-documents-show-how-weib.php.
- Wedeen, Lisa. 1999. Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Wedeen, Lisa. 2019. Authoritarian Apprehensions: Ideology, Judgement, and Mourning in Syria. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Wege, Carl Anthony. 1990. "Assad's legions: the Syrian intelligence services." *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* 4(1):91–100.
- Weidmann, Nils B. 2016. "A closer look at reporting bias in conflict event data." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(1):206–218.
- Weidmann, Nils B. and Espen Geelmuyden Rød. 2019. The Internet and Political Protest in Autocracies. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Weidmann, Nils B., Suso Benitez-Baleato, Philipp Hunziker, Eduard Glatz, and Xenofontas Dimitropoulos. 2016. "Digital discrimination: political bias in Internet service provision across ethnic groups." *Science* 353(6304):1151–1155.
- Whitten-Woodring, Jenifer. 2009. "Watchdog or lapdog? Media freedom, regime type, and government respect for human rights." *International Studies Quarterly* 53(3): 595–625.

- Whitten-Woodring, Jenifer and Douglas A. Van Belle. 2017. "The correlates of media freedom: an introduction of the global media freedom dataset." Political Science Research and Methods 5(1):179-188.
- Wood, Elisabeth J. 2010. "Sexual violence during war: variation and accountability". In Collective Violence and International Criminal Justice, ed. Alette Smeulers. Vol. 8. Antwerp: Intersentia, pp. 297-324.
- Wood, Reed M. and Mark Gibney. 2010. "The Political Terror Scale (PTS): a reintroduction and a comparison to CIRI." Human Rights Quarterly 32(2):367-400.
- World Bank. 2016. World Development Report 2016: Digital Dividends. Washington, DC: World Bank. https://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/epdf/10.1596/978-1-4648-0671-1.
- Wucherpfennig, Julian, Nils B. Weidmann, Luc Girardin, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Andreas Wimmer. 2011. "Politically relevant ethnic groups across space and time: introducing the GeoEPR dataset." Conflict Management and Peace Science 28(5): 423-437.
- Xiao, Qiang. 2019. "The road to digital unfreedom: President Xi's surveillance state." Journal of Democracy 30(1):53-67.
- Xu, Xu. 2021. "To repress or to co-opt? Authoritarian control in the age of digital surveillance." American Journal of Political Science 65(2):309-325.
- Xynou, Maria and Arturo Filastò. 2018. "Iran protests: OONI data confirms censorship events (Part 1)." Technical report, January 5. https://ooni.org/post/2018-iran-protests/.
- York, Jillian C. and Matthew Stender. 2016. "Facebook must stop pretending to be innocently neutral and start acting more like a media company." Quartz, December 5. https://qz.com/848405/can-facebook-ever-really-be-neutral/.
- York, Jillian and Trevor Timm. 2012. "Satphones, Syria, and surveillance." Electronic Frontier Foundation, February 23. https://www.eff.org/deeplinks/2012/02/satphonessyria-and-surveillance.
- York, Kyle. 2016. "Dyn statement on 10/21/2016 DDoS attack." Dyn Blog, October 21. http://dyn.com/blog/dyn-statement-on-10212016-ddos-attack/.
- Youmans, William L. and Jillian C. York. 2012. "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.
- Zeitzoff, Thomas. 2011. "Using social media to measure conflict dynamics: an application to the 2008-2009 Gaza conflict." Journal of Conflict Resolution 55(6):938-969.
- Zuboff, Shoshana. 2019. The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power. New York: PublicAffairs.
- Zuckerman, Ethan. 2010. "Yahoo!, Moniker: why is Mowjcamp.com still offline 6 weeks after hack attack?—Ethan Zuckerman." Technical report, February 2. https:// ethanzuckerman.com/2010/02/01/yahoo-moniker-why-is-mowjcamp-com-stilloffline-6-weeks-after-hack-attack/.
- Zuckerman, Ethan. 2015. "Cute cats to the rescue? Participatory media and political expression." In From Voice to Influence: Understanding Citizenship in a Digital Age, ed. Danielle Allen and Jennifer Light. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Zuckerman, Ethan, Hal Roberts, Ryan McGrady, Jillian York, and John Palfrey. 2010. "Distributed denial of service attacks against independent media and human rights sites." Technical report, The Berkman Center for Internet & Society at Harvard University, December 20. https://cyber.harvard.edu/sites/cyber.law.harvard.edu/files/ 2010_DDoS_Attacks_Human_Rights_and_Media.pdf.