



Building a digital Europe: critical reflections on the digital turn in the European Union

Block 2, 2024-2025

24th August, 2024

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1 Course details

Course information

- Course title: **Building a digital Europe: critical reflections on the digital turn in the European Union**
- Course code: 142421206Y
- Course session: **Block 2, 2024-2025**
- Lecture slot: **Tuesday 11.00-13.00, OMHP F0.01 ***
- Seminar slot: **Wednesday 9.00-11.00, OMHP E2.12A ***
- Course convenors: **Jamal Shahin, Niels ten Oever, Franziska Plümmer**
- [Studiegids link](#)
- [Canvas link](#)

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Read this course manual very carefully. To avoid email overload, it should be noted that **many questions can be more efficiently dealt with in person (or by re-reading this course manual!)**.

* You should always check the [UvA rooster](#) for the latest scheduling for the course.

2 Study material and resources

This course predominantly uses policy documents and academic articles for teaching purposes. Links to all compulsory course readings are provided in canvas in the respective module. This course relies

on you finding your own sources as well: we shall take time each week to assess new sources you have discovered in your journey on this course.

For additional full texts of many books that are relevant to the course (and other courses!) check out the [Springer Link database](#) and [Oxford Academic online](#) from the UvA campus or via VPN.

I try to blend in my love for the genre of science fiction into this course at every opportunity. You can share this passion by reading the following novels, which either can be found online or bought at the [Atheneum Boekhandel](#) or [Waterstones Bookshop](#). Access to popular film streaming services (Netflix, Amazon Prime, ...) may also be useful for some inspirational material.

2.1 Novels and works of fiction

- Kim Stanley Robinson 'The Ministry for the Future.'
- Dave Hutchinson, 'Europe in Autumn.'
- Ted Chiang, 'Exhalation.'

More importantly, you should refer to the following sources on a regular basis, for input into seminars and your assignments.

2.2 News and current affairs

Keep an eye on news sources in the specific EU digital policy space, for example Euractiv's Tech Newsletter and the technology sections of the other sources below. For a comprehensive list of databases available at the university, check [here](#).

- [Euractiv](#)
- [Politico](#) - European edition (partly firewalled)
- [Financial Times](#) - 30 day embargo
- [The Economist](#) - US edition
- [EUobserver](#) - sign in with your uva.nl email address to get access to all content
- [Nexis Uni](#) - nexis uni contains full-text access to press, legal and business sources, mainly from 1990 onwards. Download the [manual](#) to find out how to use this service.

2.3 Legislative portals and other official document repositories

- [EUR-lex](#), the European Union's legislative portal
- [EP legislative train](#)
- [Archive of European integration](#)
- [Tech Policy Atlas](#)

2.4 Commentary on digital politics and policies

- [Kai Zenner - twitter](#)
- [EurActiv Technology Hub - twitter](#)
- [Publyon EU Digital Policy Update](#)
- [European Internet Forum - MEPs talking about digital issues](#)
- [EU Cyber Diplomacy Initiative - EU-funded research group](#)

Please add to these lists, and share with us all during the seminars!

3 Content and educational objectives

3.1 Content

‘The Digital’ has become a central aspect of our societies and economies. This course examines the impact of this phenomenon on the construction of Europe. It will enable students to ask questions about fundamental aspects of EU policymaking and institution building, by looking at digital policies as a lens through which we address the shaping of Europe, both inside and outside its borders. The course critically reflects on this digital turn, through analysis of core digital policies that have emerged over time. This policy analysis will be supported by an exploration of how to deal with this transformation from both a theoretical and methodological perspective. The course reflects on the turn to a ‘geopolitical’ European Commission in the field of digital governance. We shall cut across economic, security and ‘value-based’ issues. The course starts with an historical analysis of the European approach to policymaking in the digital sphere, and continues by looking at prospects for future governance of network, communications, and digital technologies.

3.2 Educational objectives

The course aims to give you the ability to:

- critically discuss the ‘digital turn’ in European Union policymaking
- analyse the economic, social, and geopolitical consequences of this emergent policy field
- select, interpret, and unpack primary sources on European policy in the digital space
- understand and explain the tensions and paradoxes in building European solutions to global problems.

4 Study load and mutual expectations

4.1 Basic knowledge

We expect you to have a basic knowledge of European integration and the institutions of the European Union. If you still feel uncomfortable with the workings of the European Union’s institutions, you can consult the books mentioned in the Cultures of European Governance course manual (a copy will be provided to those who have not followed this course).

4.2 Time

You will need to allocate 50% of your study time to this course. This includes preparation for and participation in the meetings and completing the assignments. The amount of effort may vary from week to week, but we try to ensure that the workload is spread throughout the course.

4.3 Participation

Meeting preparation, attendance and participation are vitally important. Your degree of preparation and participation is noted. Failing to prepare the material requested for class will influence your grade negatively in borderline cases. Contact time will focus on engaging in discussion and development of your own ideas. Given the nature of the course, *participation is required in all the meetings mentioned in the [course schedule](#)*.

5 Method of instruction

This course takes place over an eight week period. Our schedule consists of two sessions per week, or four hours of contact time, although we will strongly encourage you to take up opportunities to

participate in extra events as and when appropriate. The first session each week will be instructor-driven, and the second will be student-driven. You should come to both sessions having prepared the readings. The second session of each week requires you to prepare a short assignment, which contributes to your final grade for the course.

We are all expected to participate actively in the class, both before and during the sessions. We shall make use of a diversity of methods to encourage participation in the classroom.

5.1 Jigsaw exercises

During some of these sessions we will use the ‘jigsaw method’ for a discussion of the literature.

Jigsaw method

1. in preparation for the session, each of you will analyse the text/s allocated to your group
2. in the first part of the exercise, ‘expert groups’ will be formed by people who have all read the same text/s. You will use the expert group to exchange ideas about your text/s, complement each other’s thoughts, and formulate a final joint understanding of your text
3. in the second part of the exercise, different pieces of the puzzle in the literature are put together in ‘jigsaw groups’, which consist of a number of people, each having read different text/s
4. on the basis of this exchange, a discussion will be launched in which critical questions are posed about the EU’s approach to different international forums/policy fields over time. What are the main differences? What do these approaches teach us about the EU’s role in digital policies?

Contrary to our exercises in the Cultures of European Governance course, you are not required to submit full written summaries of the jigsaw exercise to canvas: short summaries that you bring to class will suffice.

5.2 Mapping and poster exercises

In one session, we shall carry out mapping and poster exercises. The intention is to get you to develop your skills in presenting multifaceted topics to an interested audience. Please bring different coloured pens and other material you may wish to use to this session. You will work in groups to develop a policy map of EU policies in the digital realm, and a poster that helps explain the internet (and the policy issues behind it) to a member of your family or a policymaker.

You can choose to submit your individually-revised version of the policy map or the poster as your assignment for the ‘seminar activity’.

5.3 Policy summaries

In another session, you will work in groups to identify the EU’s policy position within specific international forum. This can be [ICANN](#), the [IGF](#), or the [ITU](#).

You can choose to submit your individually-revised version of the policy summary for your chosen forum as your assignment for the ‘seminar activity’.

5.4 Debate

In the final session of the course, we shall build on all the discussions we have had to launch a closing debate, which will have the leading question: is the EU a digital sovereign? You will prepare for the debate, and can submit your revised preparations for the debate as your assignment for the ‘seminar activity’.

6 Course evaluation

Evaluation of academic education starts at the beginning of a course and is a continuous dialogue between students and lecturers. So, for example, at the beginning of a course, you can think about your expectations and your part in reaching that goal that you share with lecturers and students: the best education possible.

Students are requested by email to anonymously evaluate their courses during the final week of teaching. Lecturers are requested to reserve time for this during class. Please complete the course evaluation, as, among others, lecturers and the programme committees use the results to improve the education in your programme! Be critical during your course evaluation, but also be to the point, polite, and constructive. Finally, ask yourself: could I use this feedback?

In the final session of the course, we shall also take a moment to discuss the course, whether you feel you have achieved the educational objectives stated above, and how you found the course in both specific, and overall terms.

7 Assessment

7.1 Forms of assessment

7.1.1 Seminar activity

Throughout the course, during the seminars, we shall carry out different activities. You should pick the result of one of the activities (either a policy map, a series of summaries, a poster, or (written) contributions to the debate), rework your seminar contribution, and then submit this as one of your graded assignments for the course.

! Assessment criteria seminar activity

1. clarity of explanation and presentation (graphical or otherwise)
2. ability to summarise your research activities clearly
3. reflection on the importance of this seminar activity to the course, and your understanding of digital governance

7.1.2 Reading assignment on digital sovereignty

You are required to submit a close reading exercise on a piece of literature that discusses European digital sovereignty. This should critically review one of the core texts on this topic:

- Julia Rone “‘The Sovereign Cloud’ in Europe: Diverging Nation State Preferences and Disputed Institutional Competences in the Context of Limited Technological Capabilities” *Journal of European Public Policy*, 31, no. 8 (August 2, 2024): 2343–69, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2024.2348618>.
- Daniëlle Flonk, Markus Jachtenfuchs, and Anke Obendiek “Controlling Internet Content in the EU: Towards Digital Sovereignty” *Journal of European Public Policy*, 31, no. 8 (August 2, 2024): 2316–42, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2024.2309179>.
- Catherine Hoeffler and Frédéric Mérand “Digital Sovereignty, Economic Ideas, and the Struggle over the Digital Markets Act: A Political-Cultural Approach” *Journal of European Public Policy*, 31, no. 8 (August 2, 2024): 2121–46, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2023.2294144>.
- David Fischer “The Digital Sovereignty Trick: Why the Sovereignty Discourse Fails to Address the Structural Dependencies of Digital Capitalism in the Global South” *Zeitschrift Für Politikwissenschaft*, 32 (February 28, 2022): 383–402, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41358-022-00316-4>.
- Linda Monsees and Daniel Lambach “Digital Sovereignty, Geopolitical Imaginaries, and the Reproduction of European Identity” *European Security*, 31, no. 3 (July 3, 2022): 377–94, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09646460.2022.2100000>.

[//doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2022.2101883](https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2022.2101883).

- Luuk Schmitz and Timo Seidl “As Open as Possible, as Autonomous as Necessary: Understanding the Rise of Open Strategic Autonomy in EU Trade Policy” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 61, no. 3 (May 1, 2023): 834–52, <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13428>.
- Clement Perarnaud and Julien Rossi “The EU and Internet Standards – Beyond the Spin, a Strategic Turn?” *Journal of European Public Policy*, 31, no. 8 (August 2, 2024): 2175–99, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2023.2251036>.

The close reading should contextualise the piece you choose to write about, and should provide a critical response to the authors. **You can choose to work together, in groups of maximum three people.** You should familiarise yourself with the content of *all* of these sources whilst preparing your assignment; they will be useful throughout the course as well!

! Assessment criteria reading assignment

1. capacity to elicit key arguments from the text
2. expression of the context of the article
3. clarity of critical assessment

7.1.3 Research paper

You will write a short individual research paper about a specific research topic related to a central theme in the course. This research paper should be based on literature and primary sources.

In this paper, you will address the turn in the EU’s digital policy, related to one of the cases explored in the course. You are expected to refer to the academic and policy literature covered, but are also required to search for your own sources. Your paper can draw upon your previous experience. For example, you can carry out a historical analysis of a theme, or relate your question to contemporary EU integration literature. Papers that carry out cross-sectoral analysis are also welcome (e.g. sustainability and digital policy, or security and digital policy).

Please add additional sources you find to our [Zotero library](#), in the respective folder (“BUDE”).

You will be required to provide a short (one page) summary of your plans for your paper by the deadline identified in the assignments checklist. You will receive feedback from the lecturer and your peers through canvas. The summary should cover:

1. the main research question
2. the major policies you address
3. the main literature you seek to review.

This summary can be in bullet point form.

! Assessment criteria research paper

- accurate synthesis and comprehensive review of existing secondary literature
- formulation of a feasible research question
- critical engagement with both primary and secondary sources
- the clarity of presentation (style, language, formatting, et cetera)

7.1.4 3,2,1s

After every lecture, you are required to submit a short note which includes: three things you learnt, two things you found interesting, and one question you still have: this will not be graded, but is a required submission, to be delivered the same day as the lecture. We shall use these to stimulate discussion during the following session.

7.2 Exam material

All course material will be posted on Canvas, or links will be provided to material from there.

7.3 Assignment deadlines

Table 1: Assignment deadlines

Assignment	deadline
3,2,1s	Week 2,4,5,6
proposal research paper	Week 4, Friday 22/11 17h
reading assignment	Week 5, Friday 29/11 17h
fill in poll	Week 6, Friday 6/12 18h
one seminar activity	Week 8, Friday 20/12 17h
final research paper	Week 8, Sunday 22/12 18h

7.4 Assessment lengths and weighting

Table 2: Assignment weights

Assignment	weight	length (max)
proposal research paper	P/F	one page
final research paper	50%	2500 words
reading assignment	40%	2000 words
one seminar activity	10%	-
3,2,1s	P/F	bullet points

P/F indicates submission is required (pass/fail), and the work will be read by instructor/s, but not graded.

Please stick to the maximum lengths mentioned (there is a $\pm 10\%$ margin). Submissions that go beyond the limits will be rejected and given a zero grade. The word count mentioned includes your bibliography. For each day of late submission of a deliverable, 0,5 points will be deducted from your final assignment grade. Permission for late submission may be granted if you contact the study adviser before the assignment deadline. Resits submitted after the resit deadline will not be marked, unless an exception is granted by the study adviser.

7.5 General guidelines for submitting written work

To pass the course, you need to submit different pieces of work. The weighted average of all graded elements of the course needs to be above the passing grade (5,5 or higher). This means that the grade for one assignment can be compensated by the grade of another. *All assignments, both graded and "P/F", must be correctly submitted in canvas in order to pass the course.* Please note the following requirements for the research paper and the reading assignment:

- pdf format, A4, fully justified paragraphs, with single line spacing and page numbers identified.
- the following information should be clearly marked on the front page of the submission:
 - student number(s)
 - course title and academic year
 - assignment name
 - date of actual submission (regardless of the deadline)

- word count
- the above requirements to not apply to other deliverables in the course
- do not put your name on the front cover as your work will be graded anonymously
- cover pages are not included in the page counts above, all other text is (including the reference list/bibliography)
- all assignments are submitted via Canvas: **documents submitted through email will be deleted**
- your documents should also be proofread. Work will be downgraded for language, spelling, and grammatical errors
- use correct referencing, according to academic standards. Make consistent use of one reference style (e.g. Chicago)
- please use author-date referencing, and not footnotes
- inconsistent referencing may result in downgrading
- all written work should be produced by the author
- suspicion of fraud or plagiarism will be reported the Board of Examiners and may result in expulsion from the course

Test results lapse after the end of the semester in which the final mark was awarded. If a student does not complete a course that is a compulsory part of their degree programme in one semester, they will have to retake the course at a later opportunity.

8 Results

The results will be posted on Canvas no more than 15 working days after the exam (and at least five working days before the resit).

8.1 Feedback and inspection

Opportunities for feedback and inspection will be provided for all assignments after submission. As all assignments will be graded on Canvas, you will be able to see the grading and comments on the assignments there. You have the right to receive timely feedback on your submissions, which is provided to you as soon as possible, and at least five working days before the resit. Should you require further feedback, please do not hesitate to reach out to the course convenor.

8.2 Resit

Individual assignments can be retaken when the average grade is lower than 5,5. The resit cannot be a revised version of previously-submitted work: it must be a new exercise. Group-authored deliverables cannot be retaken. The deadline for retakes is the first day of block 3. *The department will not offer a new exam to students who miss an exam due to illness or other impediment. Resits are designed to provide for such circumstances. Resits are therefore not intended to always allow students two opportunities to sit an exam.*

9 Fraud and plagiarism rules

The University of Amsterdam Fraud and Plagiarism regulations apply to the assessment of this course. These regulations can be consulted at the [Plagiarism and Fraud](#) page on the student website. Also take a look at the [Academic integrity guide \(pdf\)](#). See also the [guidelines for generative artificial intelligence in education \(pdf\)](#) for more information about tools such as ChatGPT.

10 Social safety

If you experience an unsafe situation or undesirable behaviour in this course or study programme, you can turn to the [UvA Social Safety Support Guide for students](#).

11 Course overview by week

Table 3: Course overview by week

#	Dates of class	Lecture theme	Seminar activities and assignments
1	29-30 Oct	No lecture	No seminar
2	5-6 Nov	EU digital policy and 'how the internet works' I	Intro lectures
3	12 Nov	EU digital policy and 'how the internet works' II	Posters and maps: Explaining the Internet, mapping EU policies
4	19-20 Nov	European policies and international organisations	Policy summaries: EU contributions to international digital governance
5	26 Nov	Security and sovereignty	Increased securitisation
6	3-4 Dec	Standards and sovereignty	Analysis of underlying norm conflicts
7	10 Dec	Europe: a digital sovereign?	Debate: is Europe a global digital sovereign?
8	17-18 Dec	No lecture	No seminar

11.1 Readings per week

11.1.1 No lecture

29-30 Oct: No seminar

- no lectures or seminars this week
- familiarise yourself with the course manual, and start reading and viewing material from Section 2

11.1.2 EU digital policy and 'how the internet works' I

i Make sure to submit your 3,2,1s after the lectures.

5-6 Nov: Intro lectures

This week, we shall have two lecturer-driven moments, designed to bring you up to speed on both the policy and technical aspects needed to follow the rest of the course. We shall:

- introduce the course and course manual
- provide a background to EU digital policy in recent decades
- provide a technical primer to understanding how the internet works (led by Dr Niels ten Oever)

Reference material (advised reading):

- Jamal Shahin "Coping with New Technologies," in State of the European Union, ed. Anand Menon and Simon Usherwood (London: UACES, 2022), <https://ukandeu.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/UKIN-State-of-the-EU-Report-1.pdf>.
- see Section 12

Compulsory reading (otherwise you won't follow the lectures):

- blogs, websites, articles that you find on how internet works, and on the EU's digital aspirations
- Werner Stengg "Digital Policy from 1997 to 2019" (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2024), 62–106, <https://www-elgaronline-com.proxy.uba.uva.nl/monochap/book/9781035338641/book-part-9781035338641-9.xml>.
- Ulrike Uhlig et al., eds. *How the Internet Really Works: An Illustrated Guide to Protocols, Privacy, Censorship, and Governance* (San Francisco: No Starch Press, 2021).

11.1.3 EU digital policy and 'how the internet works' II

Don't forget the change of date and time this week (both sessions this week on 12 November)

i Prepare for our sessions this week by reading the compulsory reading below. Please bring different coloured pens to class, and any other material you might wish to use for drawing policy maps and posters. Remind Jamal to create three groups for the next two weeks.

12 Nov: Posters and maps: Explaining the Internet, mapping EU policies

This week, we shall focus on peer-driven exercises that help us express our knowledge. We shall carry out a mapping and a poster exercise (see Section 5.2).

Compulsory reading:

- [Europe fit for the digital age](#)
- European Commission "Shaping Europe's Digital Future," Communication, COM(2020) 67 (Brussels: European Commission, February 19, 2020), <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52020DC0067&qid=1723336831597>.
- European Commission "European Declaration on Digital Rights and Principles for the Digital Decade," Communication, COM(2022) 28 (Brussels: European Commission, January 26, 2022).
- see [Zotero](#) » BUDE » EU policy documents, and Section 12
- identify your own sources (part of this task is to find your own sources)

The following sources may be useful to help frame your contributions:

- Julia Pohle and Thorsten Thiel "Digital Sovereignty" *Internet Policy Review*, 9, no. 4 (December 17, 2020): 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.14763/2020.4.1532>.
- Francesca Musiani "Infrastructuring Digital Sovereignty: A Research Agenda for an Infrastructure-Based Sociology of Digital Self-Determination Practices" *Information, Communication & Society*, 25, no. 6 (April 26, 2022): 785–800, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2022.2049850>.

11.1.4 European policies and international organisations

i Prepare for the jigsaw exercise. Make sure to submit your 3,2,1s after the lecture. Submit your research paper proposal on Friday 22/11, 17h.

19-20 Nov: Policy summaries: EU contributions to international digital governance

This week, we review the EU's contributions to different international organisations in the digital realm. See Section 5.3. You shall be divided into groups:

- group 1: EU and ITU
- group 2: EU and ICANN
- group 3: EU and IGF / UN

Compulsory reading for the lecture:

- work in progress Shahin (see Canvas)
- Ingo Take “Regulating the Internet Infrastructure: A Comparative Appraisal of the Legitimacy of ICANN, ITU, and the WSIS” *Regulation & Governance*, 6, no. 4 (September 2012): 499–523, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1748-5991.2012.01151.x>.
- Dutch government contribution

Background material:

- group 1: EU and ITU
 - Francis Lyall “Communications Regulation: The Role of the International Telecommunication Union” *Journal of Information Law and Technology*, 3 (October 1997): 1–15, https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/law/elj/jilt/1997_3/lyall/.
 - Jamal Shahin “The European Union’s Performance in the International Telecommunication Union” *Journal of European Integration*, 33, no. 6 (November 2011): 683–98, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2011.606691>.
- group 2: EU and ICANN
 - Emily M Weitzenboeck “Hybrid Net: The Regulatory Framework of ICANN and the DNS” *International Journal of Law and Information Technology*, 22, no. 1 (March 2014): 49–73, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijlit/eat016>.
 - George Christou and Seamus Simpson “Gaining a Stake in Global Internet Governance: The EU, ICANN and Strategic Norm Manipulation” *European Journal of Communication*, 22, no. 2 (June 2007): 147–64, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323107076765>.
- group 3: EU and IGF / UN
 - Claudia Padovani “The World Summit on the Information Society: Setting the Communication Agenda for the 21st Century? An Ongoing Exercise” *Gazette (Leiden, Netherlands)*, 66, no. 3–4 (June 2004): 187–91, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0016549204043604>.
 - tbc

! Please note you are required to search for your own (primary) sources for this exercise. Use the following repositories:

- EU Delegation to the UN in Geneva [document repository](#)
- CEPT COM-ITU [document repository](#)
- CEPT ECC [document repository](#)
- BEREC [document repository](#)
- UN Global Digital Compact [resource list](#)

11.1.5 Security and sovereignty

Don’t forget the change of date and time this week (both sessions this week on 26 November)

i Prepare for the jigsaw exercise. Make sure to submit your 3,2,1s after the lecture. Submit your reading assignment on Friday 29/11, 17h.

26 Nov: Increased securitisation

This week, we delve into the shift to a securitised discourse from the EU institutions in this field.

Compulsory reading for the jigsaw groups:

- Group 1
 - André Barrinha and George Christou “Speaking Sovereignty: The EU in the Cyber Domain” *European security*, 31, no. 3 (2022): 356–76, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2022.2102895>.
- Group 2
 - Anke Sophia Obendiek and Timo Seidl “The (False) Promise of Solutionism: Ideational Business Power and the Construction of Epistemic Authority in Digital Security Gover-

nance” *Journal of European Public Policy*, 30, no. 7 (July 3, 2023): 1305–29, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2023.2172060>.

- Group 3
 - Benjamin Farrand and Helena Carrapico “Digital Sovereignty and Taking Back Control: From Regulatory Capitalism to Regulatory Mercantilism in EU Cybersecurity” *European Security*, 31, no. 3 (July 3, 2022): 435–53, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2022.2102896>.

Supplementary reading (to be covered in the lecture):

- Council of the European Union “Cybersecurity: Council Adopts Conclusions on Exploring the Potential of a Joint Cyber Unit” (Brussels, October 19, 2021), <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2021/10/19/cybersecurity-council-adopts-conclusions-on-exploring-the-potential-of-a-joint-cyber-unit/>.
- Council of Europe “Convention on Cybercrime” (2001), <https://rm.coe.int/1680081561>.
- United States President’s National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee “Cybersecurity Collaboration Report : Strengthening Government and Private Sector Collaboration Through a Cyber Incident Detection, Prevention, Mitigation, and Response Capability” (Washington, D.C.: President’s National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee, May 21, 2009), <https://www.cisa.gov/sites/default/files/publications/NSTAC%20CCTF%20Report.pdf>.

11.1.6 Standards and sovereignty

i Make sure to submit your 3,2,1s after the lecture. Decide which side you wish to take in the debate for next week, and fill in [this poll](#) by 6 December at 6pm.

3-4 Dec: Analysis of underlying norm conflicts

This week, you will work with COM(2022)31 and analyse underlying norm conflicts.

Compulsory reading:

- European Commission “Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council on Harmonised Rules on Fair Access to and Use of Data (Data Act),” COM(2022) 68 Final (Brussels: European Commission, February 23, 2022).
- Fuchs, D. and Eaton, S. (2024) ‘Practice diffusion in China’s two-pronged engagement in global technical standardization’, *China Information*, online first, pp. 1–23.
- Rühlig, T. (2022) ‘Chinese Influence through Technical Standardization Power’, *Journal of Contemporary China*, pp. 1–19.

Supplementary reading:

- Kim, Mi-jin; Lee, Heejin; Kwak, Jooyoung (2020): The changing patterns of China’s international standardization in ICT under techno-nationalism. A reflection through 5G standardization. In *International Journal of Information Management* 54 (6), p. 102145. DOI: 10.1016/j.ijinfomgt.2020.102145.
- Hoffmann, Stacie; Lazanski, Dominique; Taylor, Emily (2020): Standardising the splinternet: how China’s technical standards could fragment the internet. In *Journal of Cyber Policy* 5 (2), pp. 239–264. DOI: 10.1080/23738871.2020.1805482.

11.1.7 Europe: a digital sovereign?

Don’t forget the change of date and time this week (both sessions this week on 10 December)

i Prepare for the debate.

10 Dec: Debate: is Europe a global digital sovereign?

After a discussion about the conceptual elements of the policy discourse, we will examine a number of cases where the EU promotes 'digital sovereignty'. The EU-US Trade and Technology Council, the EU-Japan Digital Partnership, the EU-India Trade and Technology Council, the EU-China Digital Partnership and several other EU bi-/multi-lateral agreements will be examined.

We shall organise a debate. See Section 5.4.

Compulsory reading:

- At least two EU statements and statements from China, US, Japan, India, and other countries on bilateral digital arrangements
 - <https://digital-strategy.ec.europa.eu/en/policies/partnerships>
 - look for information about trade and technology councils, and digital dialogues with third countries
- Anu Bradford "Introduction," in *Digital Empires: The Global Battle to Regulate Technology*, by Anu Bradford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 1–29, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197649268.003.0001>.
- Anu Bradford "The European Rights-Driven Regulatory Model," in *Digital Empires: The Global Battle to Regulate Technology*, by Anu Bradford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 105–45, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197649268.003.0004>.

11.1.8 No lecture

i Submit one seminar activity on Friday 20/12, 17h. Submit final research paper on Sunday 22/12, 18h.

17-18 Dec: No seminar

- no class this week

12 Annex - EU policy documents

Here is a non-exhaustive list of EU policy documents that we shall refer to during the course.

- European Commission "European Society and the Data Technologies: Towards a Community Response," COM(79) 683 Final (Brussels: European Commission, November 1979), http://aei.pitt.edu/1349/1/data_technologies_COM_79_683.pdf.
- **europeancommission1993b?**
- European Commission "Europe's Way to the Information Society - an Action Plan," Communication, COM(94) 347 (Brussels: European Commission, July 19, 1994), <https://aei.pitt.edu/947/>.
- European Commission "The Liberalisation of Telecommunications Infrastructure and Cable Television Networks. Part I: Principle and Timetable," Green Paper, COM(94) 440 (Brussels: European Commission, October 25, 1994), <https://aei.pitt.edu/1093/>. (especially pp 22-24)
- European Commission "Living and Working in the Information Society: People First," Green Paper, COM(96) 389 Final (Brussels: European Commission, July 1996), <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:1996:0389:FIN:EN:PDF>.
- European Commission "Shaping Europe's Digital Future."
- European Commission "European Declaration on Digital Rights and Principles for the Digital Decade."

13 Complete literature list

Here is a complete list of readings for the course. This is also available in the [respective Zotero folder](#). The list there will be updated during the course.

- Barrinha, André, and George Christou. "Speaking Sovereignty: The EU in the Cyber Domain" *European security*, 31, no. 3 (2022): 356–76. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2022.2102895>.
- Bradford, Anu. "Introduction." In *Digital Empires: The Global Battle to Regulate Technology*, by Anu Bradford, 1–29. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197649268.003.0001>.
- . "The European Rights-Driven Regulatory Model." In *Digital Empires: The Global Battle to Regulate Technology*, by Anu Bradford, 105–45. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197649268.003.0004>.
- Christou, George, and Seamus Simpson. "Gaining a Stake in Global Internet Governance: The EU, ICANN and Strategic Norm Manipulation" *European Journal of Communication*, 22, no. 2 (June 2007): 147–64. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323107076765>.
- Council of Europe. Convention on Cybercrime (2001). <https://rm.coe.int/1680081561>.
- Council of the European Union. "Cybersecurity: Council Adopts Conclusions on Exploring the Potential of a Joint Cyber Unit." Brussels, October 19, 2021. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2021/10/19/cybersecurity-council-adopts-conclusions-on-exploring-the-potential-of-a-joint-cyber-unit/>.
- European Commission. "Europe's Way to the Information Society - an Action Plan." Communication. COM(94) 347. Brussels: European Commission, July 19, 1994. <https://aei.pitt.edu/947/>.
- . "European Declaration on Digital Rights and Principles for the Digital Decade." Communication. COM(2022) 28. Brussels: European Commission, January 26, 2022.
- . "European Society and the Data Technologies: Towards a Community Response." COM(79) 683 Final. Brussels: European Commission, November 1979. http://aei.pitt.edu/1349/1/data_techhnologies_COM_79_683.pdf.
- . "Living and Working in the Information Society: People First." Green Paper. COM(96) 389 Final. Brussels: European Commission, July 1996. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:1996:0389:FIN:EN:PDF>.
- . "Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council on Harmonised Rules on Fair Access to and Use of Data (Data Act)." COM(2022) 68 Final. Brussels: European Commission, February 23, 2022.
- . "Shaping Europe's Digital Future." Communication. COM(2020) 67. Brussels: European Commission, February 19, 2020. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52020DC0067&qid=1723336831597>.
- . "The Liberalisation of Telecommunications Infrastructure and Cable Television Networks. Part I: Principle and Timetable." Green Paper. COM(94) 440. Brussels: European Commission, October 25, 1994. <https://aei.pitt.edu/1093/>.
- Farrand, Benjamin, and Helena Carrapico. "Digital Sovereignty and Taking Back Control: From Regulatory Capitalism to Regulatory Mercantilism in EU Cybersecurity" *European Security*, 31, no. 3 (July 3, 2022): 435–53. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2022.2102896>.
- Fischer, David. "The Digital Sovereignty Trick: Why the Sovereignty Discourse Fails to Address the Structural Dependencies of Digital Capitalism in the Global South" *Zeitschrift Für Politikwissenschaft*, 32 (February 28, 2022): 383–402. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41358-022-00316-4>.
- Flonk, Daniëlle, Markus Jachtenfuchs, and Anke Obendiek. "Controlling Internet Content in the EU: Towards Digital Sovereignty" *Journal of European Public Policy*, 31, no. 8 (August 2, 2024): 2316–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2024.2309179>.
- Hoeffler, Catherine, and Frédéric Mérand. "Digital Sovereignty, Economic Ideas, and the Struggle over the Digital Markets Act: A Political-Cultural Approach" *Journal of European Public Policy*, 31, no. 8 (August 2, 2024): 2121–46. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2023.2294144>.
- Lyall, Francis. "Communications Regulation: The Role of the International Telecommunication Union" *Journal of Information Law and Technology*, 3 (October 1997): 1–15. https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/law/elj/jilt/1997_3/lyall/.

- Monsees, Linda, and Daniel Lambach. "Digital Sovereignty, Geopolitical Imaginaries, and the Reproduction of European Identity" *European Security*, 31, no. 3 (July 3, 2022): 377–94. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2022.2101883>.
- Musiani, Francesca. "Infrastructuring Digital Sovereignty: A Research Agenda for an Infrastructure-Based Sociology of Digital Self-Determination Practices" *Information, Communication & Society*, 25, no. 6 (April 26, 2022): 785–800. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2022.2049850>.
- Obendiek, Anke Sophia, and Timo Seidl. "The (False) Promise of Solutionism: Ideational Business Power and the Construction of Epistemic Authority in Digital Security Governance" *Journal of European Public Policy*, 30, no. 7 (July 3, 2023): 1305–29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2023.2172060>.
- Padovani, Claudia. "The World Summit on the Information Society: Setting the Communication Agenda for the 21st Century? An Ongoing Exercise" *Gazette (Leiden, Netherlands)*, 66, no. 3–4 (June 2004): 187–91. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0016549204043604>.
- Perarnaud, Clement, and Julien Rossi. "The EU and Internet Standards – Beyond the Spin, a Strategic Turn?" *Journal of European Public Policy*, 31, no. 8 (August 2, 2024): 2175–99. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2023.2251036>.
- Pohle, Julia, and Thorsten Thiel. "Digital Sovereignty" *Internet Policy Review*, 9, no. 4 (December 17, 2020): 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.14763/2020.4.1532>.
- Rone, Julia. "'The Sovereign Cloud' in Europe: Diverging Nation State Preferences and Disputed Institutional Competences in the Context of Limited Technological Capabilities" *Journal of European Public Policy*, 31, no. 8 (August 2, 2024): 2343–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2024.2348618>.
- Schmitz, Luuk, and Timo Seidl. "As Open as Possible, as Autonomous as Necessary: Understanding the Rise of Open Strategic Autonomy in EU Trade Policy" *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 61, no. 3 (May 1, 2023): 834–52. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13428>.
- Shahin, Jamal. "Coping with New Technologies." In *State of the European Union*, edited by Anand Menon and Simon Usherwood. London: UACES, 2022. <https://ukandeu.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/UKIN-State-of-the-EU-Report-1.pdf>.
- . "The European Union's Performance in the International Telecommunication Union" *Journal of European Integration*, 33, no. 6 (November 2011): 683–98. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2011.606691>.
- Stengg, Werner. "Digital Policy from 1997 to 2019," 62–106. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2024. <https://www-elgaronline-com.proxy.uba.uva.nl/monochap/book/9781035338641/book-part-9781035338641-9.xml>.
- Take, Ingo. "Regulating the Internet Infrastructure: A Comparative Appraisal of the Legitimacy of ICANN, ITU, and the WSIS" *Regulation & Governance*, 6, no. 4 (September 2012): 499–523. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1748-5991.2012.01151.x>.
- Uhlig, Ulrike, Mallory Knodel, Niels ten Oever, and Corinne Cath, eds. *How the Internet Really Works: An Illustrated Guide to Protocols, Privacy, Censorship, and Governance*. San Francisco: No Starch Press, 2021.
- United States President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee. "Cybersecurity Collaboration Report : Strengthening Government and Private Sector Collaboration Through a Cyber Incident Detection, Prevention, Mitigation, and Response Capability." Washington, D.C.: President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee, May 21, 2009. <https://www.cisa.gov/sites/default/files/publications/NSTAC%20CTF%20Report.pdf>.
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