## Is prohibiting hate speech feasible - or desirable?

## Technical and political considerations

OSCE/FOM seminar, June 30 2004 Karin Spaink

#### **OSCE Paris conference:**

A number of countries / NGOs appealed to regulate the internet in order to stop hate speech.

However, and contrary to popular belief, there is no such thing as 'the internet'.

#### The internet is:

- a vast series of interconnected networks
- that consist of various services (or 'protocols')
- which run on computers in many countries
- which are each governed by their own national law.

#### **Access** to the internet is cheap and easy:

- a computer and a modem
- or a job
- or an internet café

will allow you to publish your words world-wide.

#### Some of these internet services:

- web sites
- web fora
- web cast (streaming audio / video)
- e-mail
- chat (MSN, ICQ, IRC)
- usenet
- peer to peer (KaZaa)
- ftp (uploading and downloading)
- et cetera

# Regulating all these services is not an easy task:

• each service has a different legal standing within the national law of the countries involved

- each country has its own legal framework for hate speech
- each law designed to regulate a specific service has proven fallible

(Morris Lipson of Article 19 will elaborate on the legal ramifications of applying national law to a global network).

By design, the internet perceives censorship as damage and routes around it - by means fair or foul, but mostly: by technical innovations.

 moving disputed content to the 'locus of least resistance'

• copyright disputes: from (centralised) Napster to (peer to peer) KaZaa

• spam has teamed up with virusses, is sent from hacked machines

### **Regulating web sites?**

- web sites are enduring (as compared to e-mail)
- their content is on public display

So perhaps the ISP should be regarded as their 'publisher'. However, the analogy fails:

- amount of web sites makes monitoring impossible
- frequent changes to content of web sites
- ISPs are not legally responsible (common carrier)
- global nature of the net: disputed pages move elsewhere
- filtering is problematic: blocks too much *and* too little

## **Regulating e-mail?**

Draconian measure:

monitoring poses severe privacy objections

**Effective?** 

•'Spam' has shown that people will find means to distribute banned material. Anti-spam laws have not decreased the amount of spam pumped around; it has made it more difficult to trace those who are responsible.

•(First global extreme-right spam run began on June 10, 2004.)

## **Regulating chats?**

- whose responsibility?
  - chat channels are often unmonitored / private
  - people joining to disrupt
- intrusion
  - similar to eavesdropping into a café conversation

## **Regulating peer to peer?**

- RIAA (and related organisations) try, but not very successfully
- yet: copyright violation is regarded as more serious (economic crime) and easier to prove

## **Filtering:**

- by government:
  - negates choice
  - can usually be easily circumvented
  - overblocking and underblocking
- by consumers:
  - voluntarily approach
  - same problem of over- and underblocking

# Legal obstacles to making ISPs responsible:

basically, ISPs are common carriers, not publishers
putting self-regulation at the hands of the ISP curtails basic rights of internet users:

- ISP is no judge
- no right to redress
- no transparency (what is taken down why, on what grounds and how often)

#### **Proportions of hate web sites:**

• In 2000, Hatewatch.org identified 400-450 'hard core' hate sites and 1500-1750 sites that were deemed 'problematic'

• While the number of web pages has more than doubled since, that amount has not changed. From a 2004 report by Media Awareness, Canada: The Southern Poverty Law Centre reports:

the number of hate sites on the web has levelled off at around 400
there is no evidence of an increase in the number of people who belong to hate groups.

<http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/issues/online\_hate/hate\_and\_free\_speech.cfm>

#### **Proportions, calculated:**

Assume that each 'hard core' and 'problematic' site contains an average of 300 pages.

300 pages x 450 hard core sites300 pages x 1750 problematic sites

135.000 pages 525.000 pages + <u>660.000 pages</u>

Google currently has 4.285.199.774 pages indexed. That is: <u>slightly over 0,015% of all web pages contain hate</u> <u>speech</u> or something similar ('problematic').

### **Further reading:**

- <u>From quill to cursor</u>, OSCE/FOM 2003:
  - Felipe Rodriquez on filtering and blocking
  - Karin Spaink on censorship
- <u>Spreading the word on the internet</u>, OSCE/FOM 2003

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