

Niels ten Oever, PhD

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Objective

Examine the workings of power in transnational communication infrastructures through their material technology, governance, and standardization

Work Experience

[University of Amsterdam](#)

Assistant Professor
April 2023 - Present

- Assistant Professor of AI and European Democracies
- Research focus on infrastructural ideologies in communication networks the European Union, Russia, China
- Teaching in field of governance, history, politics, and philosophy of technology in Europe and beyond
- Supervising BA and MA theses
- Supervising research assistant, PhD student, postdoctoral researcher, and a project manager
- Coordinator [Amsterdam School for Regional, Transnational and European Studies \(ARTES\) cluster digital networks, communications, and technologies](#)
- Co-lead Amsterdam Center for European Studies (ACES) theme group on Tech, Power, and Policy
- Co-PI and Lead researcher of the [critical infrastructure lab](#), specifically on the topic of the role of technology in geopolitics
- Establishing and fundraising the lab together with Fieke Jansen and Peter 'Maxigas' Dunajcsik.
- Chairing bi-weekly international reading group on infrastructure
- Organizing workshop with the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Economic Affairs on the development of an integrated infrastructure policy
- Organizing a range of panels, summer schools, and workshops

[University of Amsterdam critical infrastructure lab](#)

Co-Principal Investigator
January 2022 - Present

[Fundação Getúlio Vargas](#)

Associated Scholar
September 2019 – present
Visiting Professor
December 2022

- Researching the potential impact of the development and implementation of 5G on human rights with a specific focus on Brazil and South Africa
- Contributor to the [cyberBRICS project](#)
- Lecturer in field of Technology and Geopolitics

[Simon Fraser University](#)

Affiliated Faculty
October 2020 – December 2023

- Affiliated faculty with the Digital Democracies Institute
- Contributor to the Cyberwar Topologies project
- Member of the Critical Infrastructures study group under the lead of Dr. Svitlana Matviyenko

[European University Viadrina](#)

Research Fellow
September 2019 – December 2023

- Research fellow with the Centre for Internet and Human Rights with a specific focus on the politics, inscription, and subversion of norms and values in digital information architectures

[Center for Democracy and Technology](#)

Non-Resident Fellow
2021- 2023

- Collaborate with the CTO of CDT on mainstreaming [inclusive language in standards bodies](#)
- Participate in [podcasts](#)

[University of Amsterdam](#)

Postdoctoral Researcher
December 2020 – March 2023

- Researcher with the NWO-funded IN-SIGHT.it project on the topic of citizenship and standard-setting in digital networks – with a particular focus on co-designing for public values in standards-making and governance of 5G networks
- Contributor and coordinator [BigBang](#) quantitative analysis software package for network, statistical, and discourse analysis

[Technische Universität Berlin](#)

Visiting Scholar
September 2022

[Texas A&M University](#)

Postdoctoral Research
Fellow
March 2020 – March 2021

[Polis180](#)

Residency
November –
December 2020

[University of Amsterdam](#)

PhD Candidate
October 2015 –
October 2020

[ARTICLE 19](#)

Head of Digital
January 2014 –
January 2018

- Organizer of several workshops with municipal and national government on communication infrastructure policies
- Visiting researcher with the Collaborative Research Center “Re-Figuration of Spaces” (CRC 1265)
- Collaborative research into datastreams in the city by organizing infrastructure walks, focusing on sensors, antenna’s and other telecommunications and internet infrastructure

- Postdoc with prof. dr. Sandra Braman on the evolution of global telecommunications regimes, with a specific attention to the 3GPP and the development of 5G

- Three week residency with artists, scientists, and practitioners to co-design Data Policy and Cross-sector Collaborations in the EU.
- The resulting white paper serves as input for the German Federal Foreign Office.

- PhD dissertation: ‘[Wired Norms: inscription, resistance, and subversion in the governance of the Internet infrastructure](#)’.
- PhD defense October 28th 2020
- PhD candidate in the DATACTIVE Research Group at the Media Studies and the Political Science departments at the University of Amsterdam.
- Research focuses on the evolution of the notion of public interest in the Internet architecture and its governance using quantitative and qualitative methods

Strategy and management

- Defining and implementing a global digital strategy
- Designing, fundraising, and managing Global Digital Team – consisting of six professionals around the world
- Supporting and liaising with ARTICLE19s eight global offices on digital issues

Internet governance

- Co-chairing Cross Community Working Group on Enhancing ICANNs Accountability Work Stream Two Human Rights Subgroup
- Co-chairing Research Group on [Human Rights Protocol Considerations](#) in the Internet Research Taskforce
- Chairing Cross Community Working Party on [ICANNs Corporate and Social Responsibility to Respect Human Rights](#)
- Member of the General Principles Committee for the [IEEE Global Initiative on Ethics of Autonomous and Intelligent Systems](#)
- Participant in Cross Community Working Group on Enhancing ICANN's Accountability - Work Stream One
- Representing ARTICLE 19 and heading its contributions to NETmundial, Internet Governance Forum, ICANN, IETF and the ITU
- Co-developing [Internet Legislation Atlas](#)
- Representing ARTICLE 19 in the Web We Want advisory board and the ICANN Non-Commercial User Constituency
- Co-authoring ARTICLE 19 [Response to UN Special Rapporteur's Call for Comments on Encryption and Anonymity Online](#)
- Co-authoring two Internet Governance papers on ICANN Accountability and Transparency

Security and surveillance

- Fundraising and designing digital security upgrade and free software migration for Brazil and Mexico office
- Implementing [censorship measurement project](#) with Brazil, Bangladesh, Kenya and Tunisia office
- Fundraising and implementing [World Cup anti-surveillance](#)

[project](#) with Brazil office

[Internet Protection Lab](#)

Coordinator
November 2012 -
October 2013

- Establishing a network organization with eight relevant actors in the 'IT for Human Rights and Development' field
- Managing the implementation of Publeaks - an [anonymous whistleblowing platform](#) for 10+ Dutch media outlets
- Organizing integrated security trainings in digital, physical and psychosocial security in Ethiopia, Bahrain and Russia
- Developing a crowd contribution platform for software supporting the free, open and unfiltered web

[Free Press Unlimited](#)

Programme Coordinator
MENA & ICT
February 2011 -
October 2013

- Managing the development of the [Storymaker app](#) for Android
- Overseeing the implementation of the app and training of 600 journalist and citizen reporters in Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt and Iraq. With spin offs in Zimbabwe and Libya
- Envisaging the app, writing the proposal, raising the necessary funds for a five year project

[Press Now / Free Press Unlimited](#)

Programme Coordinator
Horn of Africa
May 2009 -
February 2012

- Developing, fundraising and implementing strategy and projects for Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia
- Establishing Somalia office in Hargeisa, Somaliland and network of 15 Somali media outlets
- Training professional and citizen journalists in Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea and Afghanistan and Egypt in journalism and digital security
- Migrating Free Press Unlimited from a Windows environment to a Linux environment with improved digital security features

[Mediation Foundation](#)

Director
May 2007 -
April 2009

- Establishing Ethiopia's first community radio station in Jimma
- Designing community radio guides in Amharic, Afaan Oromo and English
- Developing a localized Linux environment for community radio stations in Ethiopia
- Training the journalism staff, board of directors, volunteers and technician of the radio station

Education

2023 - 2025

- University Teaching Qualification (BKO) - University of Amsterdam

2024

- PhD Superb Supervision course - Mennen Consulting

2004 - 2006

- Research MA Philosophy - University of Amsterdam (cum laude)

2002 - 2004

- BA Philosophy - University of Amsterdam, Humboldt University zu Berlin

2001 - 2002

- Diploma in journalism - Hogeschool Windesheim in Zwolle

Teaching

2024 - 2025

- European Technology Policy since 1975: AI, Starlink, and 5G, BA elective course, 6 EC

2024 - 2025

- Multilevel Politics in the European Union, BA compulsory course, 12 EC

2024 - 2025

- Building a Digital Europe, MA elective course, 6 EC

2023 - 2024

- [Diploma en Gobernanze de Internet](#), post graduate course, [Centro de Estudios en Tecnología y Sociedad](#) (CETyS) de la Universidad de San Andrés

2023 - 2024

- European Integration and Democracy, BA compulsory course, 6 EC

2023 - 2024

- Technology Policy in Europe after 1975: Space, Telecommunications, and the Internet, BA elective course, 6 EC

2023 - 2024

- Building a Digital Europe, MA elective course, 6 EC

2023 - 2024

- Democracy in the European Union. MA elective course, University of Amsterdam, 6 EC

- 2022 - 2023 • Philosophy of the Humanities 2: European Studies. BA compulsory course, 6 EC
- 2022 - 2023 • Democracy in the European Union. MA elective course, University of Amsterdam, 6 EC
- 2022 - 2023 • Digital Activism Course, MA elective course, University of Amsterdam, 12 EC
- 2023 • [Diplomatura Gobernanza de Internet](#), Universidad de San Andrés
- 2022 • [Data Futures Lab on Digital Urban Futures](#), 200-level "intensive" Social Sciences course designed and taught at Amsterdam University College
- 2022 • Research Skills Methodology Tutorial, Amsterdam School of Cultural Analysis, University of Amsterdam
- 2020 • Networks and Protocols - European Summer School on Internet Governance - Meissen, Germany
- 2016 • Digital Methods Winter School - University of Amsterdam
- 2016 • European Summer School on Internet Governance - Meissen, Germany
- 2007 - 2013 • Introduction to journalism - Egypt, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Somalia, Morocco, Iraq, Afghanistan
- 2012 - 2013 • Introduction to Digital Security for Human Right Defenders and Journalists - Ethiopia, Netherlands, Somalia
- 2011 - 2013 • Mobile Content Production & Digital security - Egypt, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Somalia, Morocco, Iraq
- 2007 - 2011 • Radio journalism - Ethiopia, Somalia, Afghanistan

PhD Supervision

- Eric Zhang (2024-present)

Software & Hardware

- **BigBang**: Python-based tool for statistical, network, and discourse analysis of internet governance communities
<http://dataactive.github.io/bigbang/>
<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5243261>
- **Refugee Hotspot**: Raspberry Pi based wireless router providing Internet access, aimed at refugee and migrant populations
- **Ononymous**: Gamified interactive digital security tutorial
- **Publeaks**: anonymous whistleblowing site for 10+ Dutch media
<https://publeaks.nl/>
- **Storymaker**: an open source Android app that enables (citizen) journalists to create better stories and share them securely on their mobile telephones

Publications

Peer Reviewed Journal Articles

- Niels ten Oever, Niels, Perarnaud, Clement, Kristoff, John, Moritz Müller, Arturo Filastò, Max Resing, and Chris Kanich. 2024 [Sanctions and Infrastructural Ideologies: Assessing the Material Shaping of EU Digital Sovereignty in Response to the War in Ukraine](#) *Policy & Internet*, 1-19. <https://doi.org/10.1002/poi3.422>.
- Grover, Gurshabad, and Niels ten Oever. 2024. [Guidelines for Human Rights Protocol and Architecture Considerations](#). Request for Comments RFC 9620. *Internet Engineering Task Force*. <https://doi.org/10.17487/RFC9620>.
- Becker, Christoph, Niels ten Oever, and Riccardo Nanni. 2024. [Interrogating the Standardisation of Surveillance in 5G amid US-China Competition](#). *Information, Communication & Society*, 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2024.2302991>.

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- ten Oever, Niels, and Christoph Becker. 2024. [Infrastructure Insecurity: Geopolitics in the Standardization of Telecommunications Networks](https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X231225748). *Media International Australia*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X231225748>.
- Maxigas, and Niels ten Oever. 2023. "Geopolitics in the Infrastructure Ideology of 5G." *Global Media and China*, August, 20594364231193950. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20594364231193950>.
- ten Oever, Niels. 2022. [5G and the Notion of Network Ideology, or: The Limitations of Sociotechnical Imaginaries](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.telpol.2022.102442). *Telecommunications Policy*, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.telpol.2022.102442>.
- ten Oever, Niels., Milan, S. 2022. [The Making of International Communication Standards: Towards a Theory of Power in Standardization](#), *Journal of Standardisation* 1(1), TU Delft
- ten Oever, Niels. 2021 "Norm conflict in the governance of transnational and distributed infrastructures: the case of Internet routing" *Globalizations*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2021.1953221>
- ten Oever, Niels. 2021 "'This is not how we imagined it' - Technological Affordances, Economic Drivers and the Internet Architecture Imaginary" *New Media & Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1461444820929320>
- ten Oever, Niels. 2018. "Productive Contestation, Civil Society, and Global Governance: Human Rights as a Boundary Object in ICANN" *Policy & Internet*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/poi3.172>
- ten Oever, Niels, and Corinne Cath. 2017. "RFC8280 -Research into Human Rights Protocol Considerations." *RFC-Series. RFC Editor*. <https://doi.org/10.17487/RFC8280>
- Milan, Stefania, and Niels ten Oever. 2016. "Coding and Encoding Rights in Internet Infrastructure. Sociotechnical Imaginaries and Grassroots Ordering in Internet Governance." *Internet Policy Review* 6 (1). <https://doi.org/10.14763/2017.1.442>.

Peer Reviewed Conference Papers

- Kristoff, John, Moritz Müller, Arturo Filastò, Max Resing, Chris Kanich, and Niels ten Oever. 2024. "Internet Sanctions on Russian Media: Actions and Effects." In *Free and Open Communications on the Internet 2024*, 1:1-12. <https://www.petsymposium.org/foci/2024/foci-2024-0001.php>.
- ten Oever, Niels. 2023 "Distinguishing Infrastructural Ideologies in the EU, China, Russia and the United States". Honolulu: Society for Social Studies of Science (4S)
- ten Oever, Niels., Becker, C. 2023 "Infrastructure Insecurity: Geopolitics in the Standardization of Telecommunications Networks". Philadelphia: Association of Internet Researchers (AOIR)
- Becker, Christoph., ten Oever, Niels, and Riccardo Nanni. 2022. "The standardisation of lawful interception technologies in the 3GPP: interrogating 5G and surveillance amid US-China

[competition](#)", Washington DC: TPRC2022

- ten Oever, Niels. 2021. "[5G and the Notion of Network Ideology, or: The Limitations of Sociotechnical Imaginaries.](#)" In *Giganet Annual Symposium 2021 Proceedings*. Katowice: Giganet, Internet Governance Forum
- Dunajcsik, Peter "Maxigas," and Niels ten Oever. 2021. "[Geopolitics in the Infrastructural Ideologies of 5G.](#)" *AOIR Selected Papers of Internet Research*, AOIR2021 <https://doi.org/10.5210/spir.v2021i0.12163>.
- ten Oever, Niels. 2021. "[The Quantum State of Infrastructure Reconfiguration in 5G.](#)" In *Selected Papers in Internet Research 2021. Research from the Annual Conference of the Association of Internet Researchers*. AOIR 2021. <https://doi.org/10.5210/spir.v2021i0.12056>.

Editorial

- Grover, G., N. ten Oever, C. Cath, and S. Sahib. 2021. "RFC 8962 Establishing the Protocol Police." <https://www.rfc-editor.org/rfc/rfc8962>.
- ten Oever, Niels. 2020. [Cybernetica, dataficatie en surveillance in de polder](#) in: *Ni Dieu, Ni Maitre. Festschrift for Ruud Kaulingfrek. Waardenwerk, Journal for Humanistic Studies*, SWP. Pages 44-46.
- ten Oever, Niels., and Davide Beraldo. 2018. [Routes to rights: internet architecture and values in times of ossification and commercialization.](#) *XRDS: Crossroads, The ACM Magazine for Students - Pseudonymity and Anonymity* Volume 24 Issue 4, Summer 2018 Pages 28-31. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3220561>
- ten Oever, Niels., and Katheen Moriarty (eds). 2020. [The Tao of the IETF](#). IETF Trust

Book Chapters

- ten Oever, N., Maxigas. (2023) '[Standing out: critical infrastructure walks in Amsterdam](#)'. In: *Eaten by the Internet*. Eds. Corinne Cath. Meat Space Press
- ten Oever, Niels. 2022 . 5G, Community Networks, Standardization, and the Human Rights to Science and Technological Self Determination. In: [Community Networks as Enablers of Human Rights](#), 49-56. Eds. Luca Belli and Senka Hadzic. Official Outcome of the UN IGF Dynamic Coalition on Community Connectivity. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: FGV Direito Rio.
- Hadzic, Senka., Belli, Luca., ten Oever, Niels., Rennó, Raquel., Huerta, Erik., Baca, Carlos., Velasco, Karla., McKnight, and Lee W. 2022. Community Networks as Human Rights Enablers. In: [Community Networks as Enablers of Human Rights](#), 25-48. eds Luca Belli and Senka Hadzic. Official Outcome of the UN IGF Dynamic Coalition on Community Connectivity. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: FGV Direito Rio.
- ten Oever, Niels. 2021. '[The metagovernance of internet governance](#)'. In: eds. B. Haggart, N. Tusikov, and J.A. Scholte, Power and Authority in Internet Governance: Return of the State?. Routededge Global Cooperation Series

- ten Oever, Niels. 2021. 'Covid-19 and the stripping of power from the edges'. In: eds Stefania Milan, Emiliano Treré, Silvia Masiero, [Covid-19 from the Margins](#). Institute for Network Cultures.
- ten Oever, Niels., Beraldo, Davide, and Milan, Stefania. 2020. '[Studying Discourse in Internet Governance through Mailing-List Analysis](#)'. In eds. D. Cogburn, L. DeNardis, N. Levinson and F. Musiani, [Researching Internet Governance](#). MIT press.
- Frank Jørgensen, Rikke, Bloch Veiberg, Cathrine, and ten Oever, Niels 2020. '[Information and communication technologies \(ICT\): Exploring the human rights impact of the ICT sector](#)'. In: eds Nora Götzmann, Handbook on Human Rights Impact Assessment, Elgar Publishing

Book

- Uhlig, Ulrike., Knodel Mallory., Cath, Corinne., ten Oever, Niels. 2020. [How the Internet Really Works: An Illustrated Guide to Protocols, Privacy, Censorship, and Governance](#). No Starch Press

Reports

- ten Oever, Niels, and Greg Wood. 2024. "Retiring the Tao of the IETF." Request for Comments RFC 9592. Internet Engineering Task Force. <https://doi.org/10.17487/RFC9592>.
- Driessen, M, M van de Koppel, D Hollander, S Milan, J de Vos, and N ten Oever. 2024. "Public Values Concerning Digital Technologies." Amsterdam: IN-SIGHT.it and I&O Research. https://in-sight.it/assets/IN-SIGHT_Public_values_report_EN.pdf.
- Driessen, M, M van de Koppel, D Hollander, S Milan, J de Vos, and N ten Oever. 2024. "Publieke waarden rondom digitale technologieën." Amsterdam: IN-SIGHT.it and I&O Research. https://in-sight.it/assets/IN-SIGHT_Publieke_waarden_rapport_NL.pdf.
- Jansen, Fieke, ten Oever, Niels, Maxigas, et al. 2023. [Building a Relational Infrastructure: the launch of the critical infrastructure lab](#) the critical infrastructure lab
- Brand, Paul, Niels ten Oever, Rudolf van der Berg, Jelle Verweij. 2022. [Internetinfrastructuur: standaardisatie, techniek en geopolitiek](#) Telecommunication Authority, Dutch National Government
- ten Oever, Niels, Corinne Cath, Mirja Kühlewind, and Colin Perkins. 2022. "[Report from the IAB Workshop on Analyzing IETF Data \(AID\)](#)" Request for Comments. Internet Engineering Task Force 9307. <https://doi.org/10.17487/RFC9307>.
- ten Oever, Niels. 2021. [Human Rights Are Not A Bug: Upgrading Governance for an Equitable Internet](#). Ford Foundation.
- ten Oever, Niels. 2020 The Internet infrastructure and its governance. In: [Gesellschaftliche Technikgestaltung: Orientierung durch eine Metaperspektive auf Schlüsselemente](#). Karoline Krenn, Jens Tiemann, Fraunhofer Fokus
- Cath, Corinne, Niels ten Oever and Dan O'Maley, 2017. [Media](#)

[Development in the Digital Age: Five Ways to Engage in Internet Governance](#). National Endowment for Democracy - Centre for International Media Assistance

Blogposts, essays, and opinion pieces

- [The Geopolitics Behind Your Phone's Signal: Understanding 5G's Global Power Play in Standardization](#), March 2025
- [Wat levert de 5G veiling eigenlijk op voor de samenleving](#), June 2024
- [Internet Sanctions on Russian Media: Diverging Actions and Mixed Effects](#) March 2024
- [The People's 5G Laboratory: Critical Perspectives on Media Technologies](#) June 2022
- [Walking the infrastructure walk and dancing the frequency dance](#) April 2022
- [Towards the Multistakeholder Imposition of Internet Sanctions](#) March 2022
- [Against 'Content Moderation' And The Concentration Of Power](#) October 2021
- [Private equity firm procures .org from the Internet Society, or: How the public interest got sold-out \(again\)](#) November 2019
- [Off the Beaten Path: Human rights advocacy to change the Internet infrastructure](#) September 2019
- [Please Hum Now: Decision Making at the IETF](#) May 2019
- [Assessing the human rights impacts of Internet registries](#) December 2017
- [Internet protocol community has a new tool to respect human rights](#) November 2017
- [Combating Censorship and Highlighting the Politics of Protocols at IETF99](#) August 2017
- [Status Code 451: An Internet Governance Standard to Expose Censorship](#) April 2017
- [#InternetOfRights: Creating the Universal Declaration of Digital Rights](#) March 2017
- [Freedom of Expression Unfiltered: How blocking and filtering affect free speech](#) December 2016
- [Corporate actors must not facilitate human rights violations through new Chinese rules](#) December 2016
- [Freedom of Expression and the role of the telecommunications and Internet access sector](#) December 2016
- [Making the Internet truly global: The IANA transition](#) September 2016
- [ICANN Board agrees to human rights commitment](#) February 2016

Film

- [Net of Rights](#)

Mentions in the Press

- Mention in Dutch national newspaper Trouw '[Google schrappt de expliciete belofte om kunstmatige intelligentie niet voor wapens](#)

[of militaire doeleinden aan te wenden. 'Daar is veel geld aan te verdienen.'](#) February 2025

- Mention in Dutch national newspaper NRC '[Geblokkeerde Russische propaganda toch beschikbaar in Nederland](#)', October 2024
- Mention in Bellingcat publication '[Using Open Source Internet Routing Tools to Monitor a Sanctioned Russian Bank](#)', March 2024
- Mention in Dutch national newspaper Trouw '[Moet Rusland van het web worden gegooid? Internetknooppunt Nederland brandt zich liever niet aan die vraag](#)', February 2024
- Mention in Dutch magazine De Groene Amsterdammer '[Altijd apolitiek opereren' - Hoe het vrije internet schuurt met sanctiewetgeving](#)', February 2024
- Podcast with CDT '[Tech Talk: Talking Tech with Mallory Knodel and Niels ten Oever On Inclusive Language in Internet Standards](#)'. December 2023
- Interview on Dutch National Public Broadcast Radio 1 'Mag een overheid burgers zomaar afsluiten van het internet?' on [internet shutdowns](#), April 2023
- Mention in article in Washington Post, '[Internet experts suggest ways to selectively block Russian military and propaganda sites](#),' March 2022
- Interview in Computable '[Internetsector te passief bij sancties tegen Rusland](#)', March 2022
- Mention in The Register '[Ukraine invasion: We should consider internet sanctions, says ICANN ex-CEO](#)', March 2022
- Quote in NRC '[Welke knop doet Rusland van het internet verdwijnen?](#)' March 2022
- Extended quotes in Data Center Dynamics '[Ukraine invasion brings Internet governance neutrality question into focus](#)', March 2022
- Mention in article in AP News: '[Experts: How to impose internet sanctions on Russia](#)' - March 2022
- Mention in article in Heise: '[Gezielte Internetsperren tegen Rusland: Die Netz-Community will aktiv werden](#)' March 2022
- Extended quotes in The New Scientist '[What is Web3 and how will it change the way we use the internet?](#)', December 2021
- Extended quotes in Vox' RECODE '[Email is an awful online ID that we use for almost everything](#)', September 2021.
- Extended quotes in article in Wired Magazine: '[What really went down when the internet went down](#)', August 2021
- Interview in De Lichtkogel '[Internet als machtsmiddel](#)', July 2021
- Extended quotes in The Face '[Who owns the internet?](#)', March 2021

- Special Feature in New York Times covering my research and work in IETF '[Master, Slave and the Fight Over Offensive Terms in Computing](#)', April 2021
- Interview Internet Society Netherlands '[Het fundament van het Internet waar niemand omheen kan en weinigen iets vanaf weten](#)', March 2021
- Interview in Elektor Magazine: '[How Infrastructure Shapes Our Society](#)' (English) and '[Hoe infrastructuur onze samenleving vormt](#)', November 2020
- Extended quotes in '[Help, het internet breekt in tweeën](#)' in NRC, September 2020
- Extended quotes in '[La Chine exacerbe la bataille pour le contrôle d'internet](#)', April 7 2020
- Extended quotes in '[Inside China's controversial mission to reinvent the internet](#)' in the Financial Times, March 27 2020

Reviewing

- Article reviewer for Platforms & Society
- Article reviewer for First Monday
- Article reviewer for Telecommunications Policy
- Conference paper reviewer Giganet
- Conference paper reviewer AOIR
- Article reviewer for Policy & Internet
- Article reviewer for Social Movement Studies
- Article reviewer for Internet Histories
- Article reviewer for M/C – A Journal of Media and Culture
- Article reviewer for New Media & Society
- Article reviewer for Ethics and Information Technology
- Book reviewer for MIT Press - Information Policy Series
- Book reviewer for Rowman & Littlefield International Press
- Project reviewer for [NGI Pointer](#)
- Project reviewer for SIDN fonds

Selection of presentations, keynotes, panels and talks

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|-------------------|--|
| February 28, 2025 | • Faculty at Salerno Winter School on Internet Governance , presenting on 'Ideology and Information Control in Russia, China, and the EU' |
| December 9, 2024 | • Speaker at Splintercon Berlin 'Infrastructure ideologies in China, the EU, and Russia: Standards, Sanctions, and Products' |
| July 16, 2024 | • Paper presentation in panel 'Digital Sovereignties' at EASST/4S 'Sanctions and Infrastructural Ideologies: Assessing the Material Shaping of EU Digital Sovereignty in Response to the War in Ukraine' |
| June 20, 2024 | • Key note speaker ' 5G generatie - Techdenkers bij Adyen ' |
| May 13, 2024 | • Key note speaker ' Assessing the Material Shaping of EU Digital Sovereignty in Response to the War in Ukraine ' at EU's Digital Future Seminar at the VUB, Brussels School of Governance |
| February 23, 2024 | • Convener 'Data is Dead' at Spui25 at the University of Amsterdam |
| February 21, 2024 | • Panelist 'Do We Really Care? Public Values and Digital Technology in the Netherlands' at Spui25 at the University of Amsterdam |
| February 8, 2024 | • Convener and moderator event "Knowledge-driven power in a digitized world" at Spui 25 at the University of Amsterdam |
| November 10, 2023 | • Chairing and organizing open panel "Russia's war on Ukraine – |

- environments, imperialism, infrastructures" at 4S Conference, Honolulu, Hawaii
- November 8, 2023 • Co-Chairing and organizing open panel "Overcoming Sociotechnical Imaginaries: infrastructural ideologies and materialities?" at 4S conference, Honolulu, Hawaii. Presenting paper: Distinguishing Infrastructural Ideologies in the EU, China, Russia and the United States
 - October 23, 2023 • Masterclass Net Politics: Infrastructure of the Internet, Internet Society
 - October 20, 2023 • Talk at conference panel "Infrastructural Insecurity: Geopolitics in the Standardization of Telecommunications Networks" at the Association of Internet Researchers (AOIR) 2023 Annual Meeting
 - October 18, 2023 • Invited public lecture "Geopolitics, Environment, and Infrastructures" at the University of Pennsylvania (UPenn)
 - September 14, 2023 • Niels ten Oever - Matige en machtige technologie: the critical infrastructure lab at the [opening of the academic year of the faculty of the humanities of the University of Amsterdam](#)
 - September 12, 2023 • Standards and Infrastructure, organizing and chairing session at Dutch Internet Governance Forum
 - June 5, 2023 • Masterclass Internet Infrastructure, Measurements, Databases, and Sanctions, Investico Platform for Investigative Journalists, Amsterdam, the Netherlands
 - May, 2023 • Workshop on Digital Sovereignty at Center for Advanced Internet Studies, Bochum, Germany
 - February 15, 2023 • Invited expert at the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights [consultation on human rights and technical standard-setting processes for new and emerging digital technologies panel](#), Geneva, Switzerland
 - January 18, 2023 • Aktuelle Entwicklungen in der Medienpraxis: Private Macht und öffentliche Werte in der Onlinekommunikation, University of Innsbruck
 - December 9 2022 • The Production of the Infrastructural Subject Through 5G, 4S 2022, Puebla, Mexico
 - November 18, 2022 • [5G Regulation: Standards, Surveillance, and Ideology](#), FGV-CTS Rio de Janeiro
 - September 21 2022 • Infrastructure Walk, Ernst Reuter Platz, TU Berlin
 - July 24, 2022 • [Wired Norms: Inscription, resistance, and subversion in the governance of the Internet infrastructure](#) - Quadrennial Dutch Hackercamp MCH2022
 - July 6, 2022 • The standardisation of lawful interception technologies in the 3GPP - International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) 2022
 - May 2022 • The People's 5G Laboratory: Critical Engagement With Media Technologies - International Communication Association 2022, Paris
 - May 2022 • Session chair: Influencers: Digital CATerans or PoleCATs? - International Communication Association 2022, Paris
 - April 2022 • Sanctions: Geopolitics in the Internet Infrastructure - OECD
 - April 2022 • Politics in Standards and Networks - Hertie School & Hebrew University
 - March 2022 • Global Media Industries - The State, Capital, and Technology in the Telegraph, the Internet, and 5G - City University of London
 - January 2022 • Digital Politics - States, Corporations, and Transnational Communications Networks - Digital Constitutionalism Research Group - Dublin City University
 - December 2021 • 5G and the notion of network ideology, or: the limitations of sociotechnical imaginaries - Giganet Annual Symposium, Internet Governance Forum
 - December 2021 • Panel participants in panel 'Power and Authority in Internet Governance: Return of the State?' at Internet Governance Forum
 - November 2021 • The metagovernance of Telecommunication: from telegraph to 5G - Digital Politics Workshop at the Manchester Metropolitan University
 - November 2021 • Panel participant in panel 'Digital Autonomy - digi do or digi don't' at annual ECP festival

- October 2021 • Organizer and discussant on panel 'Wiring digital rights: Embedding rights "by infrastructure" in Internet governance' at 4S
- October 2021 • Panel participant 'The power of Internet standards: Who defines how we connect and communicate online?' at the National Cyber Security Council Research Symposium
- September 2021 • The metagovernance of Internet governance - Power and Authority : Geoin Internet Governance: What Role for the State? - 20th Käte Hamburger Dialogue
- September 2021 • The Making of International Communication Standards - 11th International Conference on Standardisation and Innovation in Information Technology
- May 2021 • The quantum state of topological infrastructure reconfigurations: the case of 5G - Digital Democracy Institute at Simon Fraser University
- April 2021 • Norms and governance in digital transnational communication infrastructures - Federmann School of Public Policy and Hertie School of Public Policy
- April 2021 • Two emerging communication governance regimes - University of Amsterdam Institute for Information Law
- March 2021 • [The Master's Infrastructure Will Not Dismantle the Master's Platform](#) - the Hmmm on Alternative Platforms
- March 2021 • Digital technical standards: Strengthening the Multi-stakeholder System - Chatham House and the Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport of the United Kingdom
- January 2021 • The Standardization of 5G and its discontents - Dutch Platform for Internet Standards
- January 2021 • The hidden norms of the Internet and Human Rights - Virtual School for Internet Governance
- December 2020 • The role of norms in the Internet infrastructure: the infrastructural norm of interconnection and human rights - Oxford University and the University of Johannesburg - PCMLP Global Media Policy Seminar Series
- November 2020 • Norm conflict in the governance of complex, transnational, and distributed infrastructures: the case of Internet routing - Giganet, Internet Governance Forum
- September 2020 • Norms and Human Rights in Internet governance - Leiden University, the Hague Campus
- August 2020 • Masterclass Netpolitics - Waag Society & Internet Society
- July 2020 • Surging Demand and the Global Internet Infrastructure - panelist on webinar of the Netgain Partnership
- April 2020 • Protocols, Values, and Power - University of Amsterdam Institute for Information Law
- February 2020 • Protocols, Values, and Power - University of Amsterdam Institute for Information Law
- February 2020 • Wired Values - Platform Internet Standards, Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs
- November 2019 • Human Rights and Protocols - Leiden University, the Hague Campus
- November 2019 • Values in the Internet infrastructure - presentation in session 'Public Values' - Dutch platform society (ECP) annual meeting
- October 2019 • Introduction into Internet Governance - Internet Society Masterclass at De Waag in Amsterdam
- October 2019 • Taking the High Route - Infrastructures and Inequalities: Media industries, digital cultures and politics workshop of the European Communication and Research Association (ECREA) in Helsinki
- October 2019 • Cyberwar, cyberpower, 5G - Kyiv Biennial
- October 2019 • A Route Not Taken - St. Petersburg University
- August 2019 • What Does the Internet Do to You - Trinity College Dublin
- July 2019 • Live in the Layers - Global Partners Digital London
- July 2019 • Discussant at workshop 'Return of the State? Contests for Power and Authority in Internet Governance' - Käte Hamburger Kolleg / Centre for Global Cooperation Research
- June 2019 • Cybernetica, dataficatie en surveillance in de polder - Afscheidssymposium Ruud Kaulingfreks, Universiteit van

- Humanistiek
- June 2019 • The Net That Won: a little history repeating - Research Infrastructure for the Study of Archived Web Materials (RESAW) 2019 - Univeristy of Amsterdam
 - May 2019 • Transmetropolitan Revisted: Why the Present-Future is Boring - GIKII - TILting 2019 at Tilburg University
 - April 2019 • Taking the High Route - an approach to value based routing - RIPE78 Reykjavik, Iceland
 - March 2019 • The (dis)content of Internet infrastructure consolidation, Networks With an Attitude Workshop - Constant, Antwerp
 - October 2018 • The Inscription and Subversion of Values in Transnational Internet Infrastructure Governance - Privacy and Sustainable Computing Lab of the Vienna University of Economics and Business
 - April 2018 • This is not how we imagined it' - Technological Affordances, Economic Drivers and the Internet Architecture Imaginary' Plenary talk at RIPE77
 - April 2018 • The Architecture Imaginary and its Ossification - Workshop on Future Imaginaries at Humboldt Institut fuer Internet und Gesellschaft
 - March 2018 • Internet Infrastructure, Architecture, Governance, and Values in times of Ossification and Commercialization - Internet Governance and Human Rights Conference - School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg
 - March 2018 • Internet Infrastructure, Architecture, Ossification - Alan Turing Institute
 - December 2017 • Quantitative Analysis of Mailinglists - Internet Engineering Taskforce
 - December 2017 • A Net of Rights: Human Rights Impact Assessments for the Future of the Internet - IGF2017
 - October 2017 • Protocols and Freedom of Expression - University of California, Irvine, School of Law.
 - July 2017 • Mensenrechten en internetinfrastructuur: Human Rights Impact Assessments - NLIGF2017
 - March 2019 • Internet Protocols and Human Rights - Technical Plenary at IETF98
 - April 2017 • Human Rights and Internet Infrastructure - SHA2017
 - December 2016 • Internet Architecture & Human Rights: ICANN & IETF - CPDP2016
 - November 2015 • Implementing Core Principles in the Digital Age - IGF2015
 - November 2015 • Human Rights on the Internet - IGF2015
 - November 2015 • Zero-rating and net neutrality policies in developing countries - IGF 2015
 - September 2014 • ICANN, Transparency, Accountability and Human Rights
 - October 2013 • Best practices in Digital Security - 3TU - Delft Technical University
 - March 2012 and May 2013 • Supporting Freedom of Expression Globally - Utrecht University College
 - June 2013 • Citizen journalism secured: Storymaker - Freedom Online Tunis
 - August 2013 • Storymaker: Open source mobile reporting in MENA - approaches, challenges and first findings - OHM2013

Service, Workshop Organizing, and Programme Committees

- February 2025 - present • Theme leader theme group Tech, Policy, and Power of the Amsterdam Center for European Studies (ACES)
- July 2023 - present • Coordinator [Amsterdam School for Regional, Transnational and European Studies \(ARTES\) cluster digital networks, communications, and technologies](#)
- May 2023 - present • Member of the Working Group on Responsible IT of the University of Amsterdam
- February 2022 - present • Member Open Technology Fund Advisory Council
- June 2022 - December • Co-Convenor of the ACES Europe and the New Geopolitics of

2024	Technology Series
November 2024 – June 2025	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme Committee of the European Multidisciplinary Conference on Global Internet Governance Actors, Regulations, Transactions and Strategies 2025 (GIG-ARTS 2025)
December 18, 2024	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-convenor and moderator of book presentation 'Disconnecting Sovereignty: How Data Fragmentation Reshapes the Law' at the University of Amsterdam
March 2023 – August 2024	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-chair of the Research and Analysis Research Group (RASP RG) in the Internet Research Task Force (IRTF)
June 2024	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-chair and organizer of the 1st International Critical Internet Governance Studies workshop at the University of Amsterdam with the critical infrastructure lab and Rede de Pesquisa em Governança da Internet
November 2023 – June 2024	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme Committee of the European Multidisciplinary Conference on Global Internet Governance Actors, Regulations, Transactions and Strategies 2024 (GIG-ARTS 2024)
January 2022 – January 2024	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice-chair of the Global Internet Governance Academic Network (Giganet)
September 2023	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organizer Workshop on international standard-setting for Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Interior Affairs, and Ministry of Economic Affairs and Climate
June 2023	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organizer roundtable discussion on "Protocols, standards, ecosystems" at the University of Amsterdam
November 2023	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Panel Chair 'Overcoming Sociotechnical Imaginaries: infrastructural ideologies and materialities?' at 4S, Honolulu, Hawaii
November 2023	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Panel Chair 'Russia's War on Ukraine - Environments, Imperialism, Infrastructures' at 4S, Honolulu, Hawaii
July 2023	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workshop Chair of the Critical Infrastructure Lab policy retreat (25 participants, 5 days in Perast, Montenegro)
April 2023	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conference Chair of the Critical Infrastructure Lab launch event (175 participants, 2 days, 3 keynotes, parallel panels sessions and workshops in Amsterdam)
August 2022	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-Organizer ACM SIGCOMM joint Workshops on "Technologies, Applications, and Uses of a Responsible Internet" and "Building a Greener Internet" (TAURIN + BGI 2022)
July 2022	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organizer workshop Datastreams in the City – Amsterdam Public Library, Amsterdam Municipality, and University of Amsterdam
April 2022	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-Organizer IN-SIGHT.it Kick-off workshop with NEN, the Dutch National Standards Institute
April 2022	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-Organizer 5G Infrastructure Walk – Amsterdam Arena – Collaboration Public Library Amsterdam (OBA) and the People's 5G Lab
January 2022	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workshop convener and chair Giganet Workshop on Internet Standard Setting Research Methods
December 2021	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workshop convener and chair Internet Architecture Board workshop: 'Show me the numbers: Workshop on analyzing IETF data'
September 2021	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workshop co-organizer Workshop on Internet Standards-Setting Research Methods
December 2020	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme Committee Global Internet Governance Academic Network November 2021 meeting
June 2021	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-organizer '5G User perspective and implementation' session at European Dialogue on Internet Governance
September 2020	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme Committee ACM Information-Centric Economic, Societal and Governance Workshop 2020
January 2020	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme Committee of 2020 Conference on Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency in Barcelona (FAT* 2020)
September 2019	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workshop Co-Organizer of 'Future Paths to a Public Interest Internet Infrastructure' – Harvard Kennedy School, Harvard University
June 2019	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme Committee for Workshop: Engineering Accountable Information Systems at ECIS 2019, Stockholm University
June 2019	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme Chair for session 'Society rebooted: Digital infrastructure and its governmentality' at Dutch Day of Sociology
April 2019	

- Nederlandse Sociologische Vereniging
- Workshop Host and Co-Organizer of '4th global HTTP implementers workshop' - University of Amsterdam

Languages

Dutch	Native language
English	Fluent in speaking and writing
German	Fluent in speaking, proficient in reading and writing
French	Basic skills

IT Skills

Debian/Linux (desktop and server), Bash, Python, R, Java, HTML, HTML CSS, MySQL, Wordpress, Drupal, Penetration Testing, Digital Security, gnuradio, Android development, Networking, Wireless Mesh, LaTeX, LibreOffice, Markdown, Git, Github.

Non-Academic Boards and committees

Geopolitics of Technology Platform Internet Standaarden	Lecture Series Organizer	June 2022 - present
SIDN Fund	Academic representative	February 2021 - present
Digital Rights and Responsibilities Catalonia SOMO	Advisory Board member	November 2019 - April 2024
Ranking Digital Rights On Our Radar	Advisory Board member	August 2019 - January 2024
Internet Society NL	Board member	November 2015 - July 2021
	Board member	July 2016 - October 2020
	Advisor	September 2014 - October 2020
	Board member	November 2015 - December 2017

Prizes, Nominations, Mentions

2023	• Best Technology Paper of the Month and Open Access Article of the week - the Syllabus
2021	• Association of Internet Researchers 2021 Conferences Award for Best Direct Address talk on The Quantum State of Infrastructure Reconfiguration in 5G .
2021	• Honorable mention annual AoIR PhD thesis award
2012	• Internet Society (ISOC) Internet Pioneer Award for Internet Protection Lab

Awarded Research Grants

Total amount of research grants fundraised: 1.800.000 EUR

2025	• University of Amsterdam - Energy transition through the lens of Sustainable Development Goals (EN-LENS) project grant (with Fieke Jansen and Milan Babic) (35,000 EUR)
2024 - 2028	• Dutch Research Council (NWO) Startersgelden (300.000 EUR)
2024 - 2026	• Ford Foundation (250.000 USD) project grant for the Critical Infrastructure Lab
2024 - 2026	• Open Technology Fund (308.000 USD) project grant for researching the 'Politics of (Dis)Connection'
2022 - 2024	• Ford Foundation (350.000 USD) project grant for the Critical Infrastructure Lab
2022 - 2024	• Internet Society Foundation (250.000 USD) project grant for the Critical Infrastructure Lab
2023	• Omidyar Foundation (40.000 USD) project grant for the Critical Infrastructure Lab
2022	• Public Interest Technology Group - (3105 EUR travel grant to

- 2022 attend ITU Plenipotentiary 2022 Meeting)
- 2021 - 2022 • Data Flows in the City - (44.380 EUR project for the Amsterdam Municipality with Jeroen de Vos and Maxigas)
- 2021 • Global Digital Cultures grant (29.224 EUR with Maxigas and Paul Groth)
- 2020 - 2021 • Amsterdam Center for European Studies (13.356 EUR for hiring student assistant for six months)
- 2019 • Open Technology Fund - Research Project on Human Rights Implications of 5G (128.000 USD research project contract)
- 2019 • Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis PhD finishing fellowship (one year 0.5 FTE)
- 2019 • RIPE academic travel grant (flight, hotel, conference attendance)
- 2019 - 2020 • Ford Foundation (50.000 USD research project grant)
- 2019 • Amsterdam Center for European Studies (800 EUR grant covering interview transcription costs)
- 2019 • Ford Foundation (20.000 USD), Harvard Kennedy School (20.000 USD), ARTICLE19 (10.000 USD), Amsterdam School for Globalisation Studies (2500 EUR), MacArthur Foundation (2500 USD) for workshop 'Future Paths for a Public Interest Internet Infrastructure' at the Harvard Kennedy School)

Awarded civil society/ projects and organizational grants

- 2015 - 2018 • United States State Department, Department of Human Rights and Labor (multiyear project funding >1m USD)
- 2016 - 2018 • MacArthur Foundation (multiyear project funding > 1m USD)
- 2016 - 2018 • Ford Foundation (multiyear project funding >100k USD)
- 2011 - 2013 • Human Rights Fund of the Governments of the Netherlands (multiyear project funding >700k EUR)
- 2010 - 2011, 2017 - 2018 • National Endowment for Democracy (multiyear project funding >100k USD)
- 2008 - 2009, 2016 • Stichting Dijkverzwaring (multiyear project funding >50k USD)

Memberships

Dutch Political Science Association (NKWP)
AI, Media, and Democracy Lab
Amsterdam Center for European Studies (ACES)
International Studies Association (ISA)
Society for Social Studies of Science (4S)
International Communications Association (ICA)
The Global Internet Governance Academic Network (Giganet)
EC Research Standardization Network (EURAS)
Non-Commercial Stakeholder Group (NCSG) in ICANN

References

Prof. Dr. Theresa Kuhn, University of Amsterdam, T.KuhnLancee@uva.nl
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