

Lokman TSUI 徐洛文
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Employment

Currently based in Amsterdam working on a book-length project, a personal history of authoritarianism and trauma.

The Citizen Lab, The Munk School of Global Affairs, The University of Toronto
Research Fellow, 2019 - 2025

The Chinese University of Hong Kong, School of Journalism and Communication
Assistant Professor, 2014 - 2021

Twitter, Public Policy
Acting Public Policy Manager for Greater China (maternity cover), 2020

Google, Public Policy and Government Affairs
Head of Free Expression in Asia and the Pacific, 2010 - 2014

City University of Hong Kong, Department of Media and Communication
Assistant Professor, 2010 - 2011

Education

Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania
Ph.D, Communication (2010)
Dissertation: *A Journalism of Hospitality*

University of Leiden
B.A., M.A. China Studies (2001)
Thesis (Cum Laude):
Big Mama is Watching You: Internet Control and Regulation in China

Penn Law School, University of Pennsylvania
Certificate of Study in Law (2008)

University of Oxford
Certificate in Comparative Media Law & Policy (2004)

Awards and Honours

- *Faculty Associate*, Berkman Klein Center for Internet & Society, Harvard University (2015-18)
- *The Gene Burd Urban Journalism Research Prize*, Best Dissertation in Journalism Studies, International Communication Association (2011)
- *Top Student Paper*, 6th Chinese Internet Research Conference, Hong Kong University (2008)

Academic Publications

Books

Joseph Turow and Lokman Tsui (eds) *The Hyperlinked Society: Questioning Connections in the Digital Age*. University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, MI (2008)

Special Journal Issues

Lokman Tsui (ed), The Sociopolitical Internet in China, *China Information* 19:2 (2005)

Journal Articles

Masashi Crete-Nishihata and Lokman Tsui, “The truth of what’s happening” How Tibetan exile media develop and maintain journalistic authority, *Journalism* (2021) <https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849211044899>

Masashi Crete-Nishihata, Josh Oliver, Christopher Parsons, Dawn Walker, Lokman Tsui and Ron Deibert, Distributed Tribes: The information security sub-cultures of journalism, *Digital Journalism* 8:8 (2020): 1068-1091 <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2020.1777882>

Amanda Meng, Carl DiSalvo, Lokman Tsui and Michael Best, The Social Impact of Open Government Data in Hong Kong: Umbrella movement protests and adversarial politics, *The Information Society* 35:4 (2019): 216-228 <https://doi.org/10.1080/01972243.2019.1613464>

Lokman Tsui and Francis Lee, How Journalists Understand the Threats and Opportunities of New Technologies: a study of security mindsets and its implications for press freedom, *Journalism* 22:6 (2019): 1317-1339 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884919849418>

Lokman Tsui, The Importance of Digital Security to Securing Press Freedom, *Journalism*, 20:1 (2019): 80-82 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918809276>

Lokman Tsui and Stuart Hargreaves, Who Decides What is Personal Data? Testing the Access Principle with Telecommunication Companies Internet Providers in Hong Kong, *International Journal of Communication*, 13 (2019): 1684-1698 <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/8232>

Shen Fei and Lokman Tsui, Revisiting the Asian Values Thesis: An Empirical Study of Asian Values, Internet Use, and Support for Freedom of Expression in 11 Societies, *Asian Survey*, 58:3 (2018): 535-556

Oscar Gandy and Lokman Tsui, On Personal Data Protection, Privacy and Surveillance, *Communication & Society* 43 (2018): 1-34

Stuart Hargreaves and Lokman Tsui, IP Addresses as Personal Data Under Hong Kong's Privacy Law An Introduction to the Access My Info HK Project, *Journal of Law, Information & Science* 25:2 (2017)

Lokman Tsui, The Coming Colonization of Hong Kong Cyberspace: government responses to the use of new technologies by the Umbrella Movement, *Chinese Journal of Communication* 8:4 (2015): 1-9

Lokman Tsui, An Inadequate Metaphor: The Great Firewall and Chinese Internet Censorship, *Global Dialogue* 9:1-2 (2007): 60-68

Lokman Tsui, Introduction to special issue "Sociopolitical Internet in China", *China Information* 19:2 (2005): 181-188

Lokman Tsui, The Panopticon as an Anti-thesis of a Space of Freedom: Internet Regulation and Control in China, *China Information* 17:2 (2003): 65-82

Research reports

Eric Lai, Lokman Tsui and Tom Kellogg, National Security Deference or National Security Domination? The "Glory to Hong Kong" Injunction Saga and Hong Kong's Compromised Judiciary (December 2024). *The Center for Asian Law at Georgetown University*. Available at https://www.law.georgetown.edu/law-asia/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2024/12/241204_GTHK-Injunction-Analysis_FINAL.pdf

Alberto Fittarelli and Lokman Tsui, Beautiful Bauhinia: "HKLeaks"— The Use of Covert and Overt Online Harassment Tactics to Repress the 2019 Hong Kong Protests (July 13, 2023). *The Citizen Lab at the University of Toronto*. Available at <https://citizenlab.ca/2023/07/hkleaks-covert-and-overt-online-harassment-tactics-to-repress-the-2019-hong-kong-protests/>

Shen Fei and Lokman Tsui, Public Opinion Toward Internet Freedom in Asia: A Survey of Internet Users from 11 Jurisdictions (May 4, 2016). *Berkman Center Research Publication* No. 2016-8. Available at <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2773802> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2773802>

Masashi Crete-Nishihata, Jeffrey Knockel, Blake Miller, Jason Q. Ng, Lotus Ruan, Lokman Tsui and Rohan Xiong, Remembering Liu Xiaobo: analyzing censorship of the death of Liu Xiaobo on Wechat and Weibo (July 16, 2017). *The Citizen Lab at the University of*

Toronto. Available at <https://citizenlab.ca/2017/07/analyzing-censorship-of-the-death-of-liu-xiaobo-on-wechat-and-weibo/>

Book Chapters

Lokman Tsui and Milan Ismail, Beijing: from reactive to proactive global information control, in Ismail, van der Schaaf and Dekker (eds) *Shifting Power and Human Rights Diplomacy: China*, Strategic Studies initiated by Amnesty International Netherlands (2020): 109 - 118.

Lokman Tsui, Rethinking Journalism Through Technology, in Barbie Zelizer (ed), *The Changing Faces of Journalism*, Routledge: London (2009): 53-56

Lokman Tsui, Hyperlinks in Newspapers and Blogs, in Joseph Turow and Lokman Tsui (eds), *The Hyperlinked Society: Questioning Connections in the Digital Age*, University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, MI (2008): 70-85

Grants

General Research Fund, Research Grant Council of Hong Kong (2018-2020). Grant for research on global internet platforms, jurisdiction and free flow of information

C-Grant, C-Centre, Chinese University of Hong Kong (2016). Seed grant for research on personal data protection in Hong Kong

MacArthur Foundation, Grant (2017-8) for research on journalism and digital security

Courses Taught

The Chinese University of Hong Kong

COMM6620 Global and Comparative Communication (2021)

COMM3131 Freedom of Speech and Society (2019-21)

COMM1120 Development of Mass Communication (2014-21)

COMM5650 Journalism Theory and Analysis (2018-20)

COMM4150 Final Year Project (2015-21)

COMM5110 Internet Policy (2014-2020)

COMM1140 Debating Mass Media (2015-6)

City University of Hong Kong

Communication and Media in Chinese Contexts (2011)

Political Economy of the Internet in Asia (2014)

Leiden University

Politics in Contemporary China (2003)

Talks and Presentations (selected)

Academic conferences and workshops

How does authoritarianism make us feel and why does this matter? Invited speaker at the Oxford Media Policy Summer Institute (2025)

What tools and methods to advance the study of digital authoritarianism and counter strategies? Roundtable discussant at the Decrypting Digital Authoritarianism conference, European University Institute, Italy (2024)

What is the cost of freedom? The case of Glory to Hong Kong. Invited speaker at the Oxford Media Policy Summer Institute (2024)

Punch Down Doxxing: HKLEAKS and the implications of state sponsored doxxing for digital authoritarianism. Paper presented at the The Future of Hong Kong Studies workshop, held at Princeton University (2023)

Journalism without Journalists: How Exile Media Report on Tibet (with Masashi Crete-Nishihata), Paper presented at the International Communication Association Conference, Washington DC, United States (2019)

Policy Research Methods: Improving the Craft in in the International. Panel presentation at the International Communication Association Conference, United States (2017)

Who Decides What is Personal Data? Invited speaker at the United Nations University, Macau (October 2017)

Internet censorship and internet governance. Invited speaker at the Annenberg-Oxford Media Policy Summer Institute (2016)

Requiring Passports for Ideas: Internet Sovereignty, Strategic Communications, and Public Diplomacy. Paper presented at the International Communication Association conference (2016)

Internet policy research and activism: the case of data protection laws. Invited speaker at the 臺港傳播碰撞與想像工作坊, hosted by Taiwan Normal University (2016)

Right to access personal data: the case of Hong Kong. Invited speaker at the Big Data and Data Governance conference hosted by the University of Hong Kong (2016).

A journalism of hospitality. Invited panelist at the Roundtable on Technology and Democracy, hosted by the Communications Colloquium, Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University (2009)

Beyond Objectivity: Global Voices and the Future of Journalism, Berkman Center for Internet & Society, Harvard University (2009)

Chinese Diaspora, the Reconstruction of Identity and the Internet. Paper presented at the Media, Citizenship and Struggle in China workshop, University of Oxford (2004).

The Great Firewall: How it Shapes our Understanding of the Internet in China, Paper presented at the Internet in China seminar, Goldsmiths, University of London (2004).

Civil society, government, and other presentations

Glory to Hong Kong: deteriorating digital rights at China's periphery, invited panelist for RightsCon, held in Taiwan (2025)

When the long arm of authoritarianism reaches through your screen, invited panelist for the Global Voices Summit, held in Nepal (2024)

Authoritarianism and Technology, invited panelist for the Young Leaders Program, held by the Axel Springer Freedom Foundation, Germany (2024)

The Coming of TWLeaks: lessons learned from HKLeaks on building community resilience against doxxing, Paper presented at the China In The World conference, Taiwan (2023)

Countering Surveillance Tech Use, invited panelist at the Human Rights in the Digital Age conference, held by the Global Cooperation and Training Framework, Taiwan (2023)

Signal Private Messenger, Participant in stakeholder consultation session on Privacy and Security, hosted by the Signal Foundation, Germany (2023, 2024)

Civic Media Observatory, invited speaker for internal strategy workshop, hosted by Global Voices, Jordan (2023)

Press Freedom in Hong Kong, invited panelist at the Free Thinkers Festival Amsterdam, The Netherlands (2022)

On the Internet, Digital Security Practices, and the Pro-Democracy Movement in Hong Kong, invited speaker at the Gwangju Biennale (virtual), Korea (2020)

Hong Kong Protests and Internet Freedom, invited speaker at the Internet Freedom Festival (virtual), (2020)

The State of Freedom of Expression, Freedom of the Press, and Academic Freedom in Hong Kong, Our TV, interviewed by Emily Lau, Hong Kong (2020)

Lessons in Digital Security from Hong Kong Newsrooms, invited speaker at the “Enemy of the People? The Dangers of Being a Journalist in 2019” conference, held by the Foreign Correspondence Club, Hong Kong (2019)

How should Hong Kong's privacy laws be reformed? invited panelist for the Hong Kong IGF (2018)

Is China Changing the Internet? invited speaker for The New York Times Breakfast Briefing (2017)

Freedom Online Coalition, Participation at stakeholder consultation session, hosted at the Stockholm Internet Forum, Sweden (2017)

Internet Privacy and Security, invited speaker at the Hong Kong Youth Forum, Hong Kong (2016)

Surveillance from the State: Freedom of Speech and Self-Censorship, invited speaker at the Wikitopia: Surveillance and Privacy in a Post-Snowden Era (2016)

Is The Free and Open Internet Dying?, invited speaker for Raising the Bar, Hong Kong (2015)

Aspen Institute Dialogue on Diplomacy and Technology, invited as a Google representative, Communications and Society Program, The Aspen Institute, United States (2013)

Governance in the Age of the Internet and Free Trade Agreements, invited as a Google representative, INET Bangkok: The Power to Create, Internet Society, Thailand (2013)

Internet and Social Media in Asia: Battleground for Free Expression, invited as a Google representative, Forum Asia, Singapore (2012)

Intermediary Liability and Free Expression, invited as a Google representative, Silicon Valley Human Rights Conference, Access Now, United States (2011)

Understanding New Media Trends, invited as a Google representative, 3rd Media Legal Defence - South East Asia Conference, Malaysia (2011)

Technologies Changing Chinese Society, invited speaker for workshop on The Implications of the New and Emerging Media For Chinese Politics and Society, hosted by the United States Department of State, United States (2009)

Media

Regularly interviewed and quoted by international and local media, including *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *CNN International*, *The Financial Times*, *Bloomberg*, *The Wall Street Journal*. For a comprehensive list, see my website at <https://www.lokman.org>

Service (selected)

Reviewer for academic journals, including *China Information*, *China Aktuell*, *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, *Chinese Journal of Communication*, *Social Media and Society*, *International Journal for Communication*, *Journal for Information Technology and Policy*, *China Perspectives*, *Global Media and Communication*, etc.

Reviewer of various fellowships and grants, including the Mozilla Foundation Fellowships (2019), the Global Voices Advocacy Awards (2015), the Rising Voices Citizen Media Grant (2011), and the Knight Foundation News Challenge (2010).

Chinese University of Hong Kong

- participated in various committees and panels, including the Faculty Board of Social Science, and the Graduate and Undergraduate panel at the School of Journalism

Journalism: Theory, Practice, and Criticism

- Editorial Board Member (2017 - present)

Global Voices

- Board Member (2023 - 2028)

Digital Asia Hub

- Steering Committee Member (2016 - present)

Internet Policy Observatory, The University of Pennsylvania

- Board Member (2016 - 2017)

Languages

Fluent in English, Dutch, Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese

Moderately fluent in German and French

Reading Knowledge of Latin, Classical Greek and Classical Chinese