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„Cuba's public goes online“

-Expectations and experiences of Cubans about the development of a
new public sphere through the Internet-

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Abstract

Cuba in its political and economic special position is one of the last Latin American countries to implement the Internet. Due to lasting complicated political relations to the United States, the revolution in the late 50s and the accompanying embargo, the island slipped into an exceptional role in the region of Central America. Within the country, political criticism is allowed but sanctioned by the government if it is published in public. Therefore, public discourse does not have a great room in Cuba and free speech needs its own definition from a Western point of view. The following research deals with experiences and expectations of Cubans about the development of Internet and its influence on the extension of the Cuban public. Therefore, the process of the implementation of Internet in Cuba is presented and the definition of public is discussed to allow an overview about the performance of Internet and public together in Cyberspace. Another part will be a critical view on the transmission of wishes and ideas online and the takeover of systemic structures from *reality* to virtuality.

Zusammenfassung

Kuba ist mit seiner herausstechenden politischen und ökonomischen Rolle eines der letzten Latein Amerikanischen Länder, welches das Internet eingeführt hat. Aufgrund der langanhaltenden schwierigen politischen Beziehung zu den Vereinigten Staaten, der Revolution in den späten 50er Jahren und dem von den U.S.A. auferlegten Embargo, glitt die Insel in eine besondere Rolle in Zentralamerika. Innerhalb des Landes ist politische Kritik zwar erlaubt, aber wird häufig sanktioniert, sobald sie öffentlich geäußert wird. Deswegen erhält öffentlicher Diskurs nicht viel Raum in Kuba und freie Meinungsäußerung bedarf einer eigenen Definition gemäß der westlichen Sichtweise. Die folgende Forschung beschäftigt sich mit den Erfahrungen und Erwartungen von Kubaner*innen mit Bezug auf die Entwicklung des Internets und dessen Einfluss auf die Erweiterung der kubanischen Öffentlichkeit. Dafür wird der Prozess der Einführung des Internets in Kuba dargestellt werden und der Begriff der Öffentlichkeit wird diskutiert, um einen Überblick darüber zu erhalten, inwiefern eine Ausübung von Öffentlichkeit im Cyberspace möglich ist. Ein weiterer Teil der Arbeit wird einen kritischen Blick auf die Übertragung von Wünschen und Ideen durch das Internet werfen und hinterfragen inwieweit systemische Strukturen von der *Realität* auf die Virtualität übertragen werden.

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“But sure, the Internet is another perspective, another wish. It’s a movement of thinking, an experiment, a special art. The access has its’ consequences. Good and bad consequences. The problem is not the Internet, the TV, the radio. The problem is humanity. “

Alejandro, Cuban Artist, 2016

1. Introduction

In 2014, Cuba returned to the focus of global interest. The reason here for was the grand meeting of the Cuban president Raúl Castro and former U.S. president Barack Obama. After a period of 88 years, Obama was the first U.S. president to visit the island again to talk about the lowering of sanctions and the renewal of diplomatic relations (Spiegel Online: 2016). The political relation between Cuba and the United States has been stressed since the Cuban revolution during the late 50s so that the official meeting implies an approach one another (Burghardt: 2008). The all- embracing U.S. embargo towards Cuba has influenced the Cuban policy for years and lead political wise to a detestation of everything connected to capitalism and the United States. Through this, an interference of the U.S.- embargo on Cuban policy developed that allowed restrictions that were always reasoned with the actions of the United States. To show local solidarity, public criticism among the local population is not welcome and is sanctioned through economic limitations. It is striking that not political or social criticism itself are seen to be problematic but the loud expression in public. The local media stands under the lead of the Cuban government and public protests against the political system are not welcomed.

In 1996, Cuba established the global Internet on the island. With tiny steps, the connection increased and now seems to serve as a new platform of communication among Cuban society while opening a door to international communication. Still medial and technical development is very slow because the Cuban government fears approaches of U.S. American democratization policy and noticing history, this caution might be reasonable. At the same time though, it suppresses the ambition of mainly young Cuban citizens towards a global opening of the country. Yet not only direct political intensions play a role but also the dominance of Western systems on the global Internet and its indirect influence on wishes, ideas and expectations of the Cuban society.

Therefore, the theoretical part of the thesis will give an overview about the process of the implementation of the Internet in Cuba, defines the concept of public and will combine the factors of medial accessibility with a room for public. The analysis will consider a critical view

towards the Internet and points out to what extent hegemonic tendencies are represented. Then the situation of the Cuban public and civil society will be highlighted and it will be analyzed how the Cuban public and the global Internet could create a new public room.

The research has the goal to show the estimate of five Cuban academics who were born during the time of socialism towards the use of the Internet for a new public discourse and their expectations and fears according new media. It is aspired to picture the process of interference between Cuban Internet development and the possible new public, blockades and the feeling about changes in wishes and ideas within society through the Internet.

2. Internet access in Cuba and Latin America

According to statistics of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), an agency of the UN, specialized on communication in 2015 37,31 percent of the Cuban population is using the Internet, back in 2000 there were only 0,54 percent (International Telecommunications Union 2015). In 2001, there have been 8,0 percent of individuals of the world's population using the Internet while in 2016 47,01 percent had access (ibid.). The ITU also splits the statistic into developed¹ and developing countries. In first world countries around 29,4 percent have been using Internet in 2001 and 81,0 percent in 2016 while in Third World countries in 2001 2,8 percent of individuals had access and in 2016 40,1 percent (ibid.).

This shows clearly that around 100 percent more Internet user are living in first world countries even though this only counts for 14 percent of the world's population (Hoffmann 2005: 31). The gap has been closed more since the mid- 1990s and technical development also swapped over Third World countries but still the word Internet "user" should be seen differently according to the countries circumstances (ibid.: 31). In this sense, a user can be both, a person in New York City with a 24-hour access everywhere and every time but also a person living on the Guatemalan countryside without computer and rare, expensive possibilities to go online (ibid.: 31). This fact does not only count on an international but also on a national level meaning that the use of the global Internet is often tied to the knowledge of the English language and to high prices in certain countries (ibid.: 31).

¹ http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/wesp/wesp_current/2014wesp_country_classification.pdf

2.1 Possible models of access in Cuba and Latin America

There is a big difference in access models in Latin America compared to northern countries (ibid.: 35). This is explained especially by the cultural disparity in the way of social living and communication and the technical developments between the South and the North (ibid.: 35). Since in many countries new media and its technology are often only available due to high cost it is important to create models of public access to reach a broader mass and to include also people from underserved communities (Gómez 2014: 284). Social life in public plays a big role in most of Latin American countries, communication is practiced outside on the streets, while waiting on markets or elsewhere. Additionally, houses are often used by different generations of one family and it is a matter of course that they take care of each other. Therefore, it would lead to social exclusion if people are tied to their houses to get access and the technical and financial burden is usually too high. Therefore, in general the most common models are Internet cafés which have a profit intended background and the *Telecentros* (Hoffmann 2005: 36). *Telecentros* are created to be non- profit and are organized as NGOs, to be part of the local structures and to educate and train the citizens by offering low budgeted services for using computer and Internet (ibid.: 36). They are designed to support public access “for educational, personal, social and economic development” and are providing access especially in Third World countries (Gómez/ Reilly 2002: 57f.; Delgadillo/ Gómez/ Stoll 2002: 8). Internet cafés settle mostly in wealthy areas which are often connected to tourist districts and are therefore rather establishments used by foreigners or citizens of higher economic status than being representative social institutions of Internet access (Hoffmann 2005: 35; Gómez 2014: 284). Following the ITU report, the institutional establishments are more important for the local citizens (ibid.: 35) One example for a successful project called *Cabinas públicas* has been presented by Peru (Hoffmann 2005: 36; Clayton Powell III 2003: 173). It started in 1994 and became a national showcase model with around 2000 cabins which opened the possibility to go online for 70- 80 percent of the Peruvian citizens (Hoffmann 2005: 36). The project lead Peru to the point of being the country with the most Internet user in Latin America by inventing a system that is also integrating citizens from the rural areas of the country (ibid.: 36). By now the social project became a business model with franchise scheme with a strongly inclusive character (ibid.: 36). The goal was to create a project that is adapted to the structures of the society in this area which can be achieved better if people are segregated at home but rather stay in public to be able to communicate to each other directly as well (ibid.: 37). This is also a way to prevent that only high educated or wealthy elites can go online but also to create its

distribution in deprived parts (Clayton Powell III 2003: 172). In Peru, the price to access was mainly decisive, so that the *Cabinas* started to spread all over the country because cost for one hour of use were very low (ibid.: 173).

In general, the organization of Internet access is fulfilled in three steps in Latin America (Hoffmann 2005: 37; Delgadillo/ Gómez/ Stoll 2002: 10).

“The first step is equitable access, meaning broad access to the Internet irrespective of class affiliation, sex, language, or skin color. This necessitates prices affordable also for the lower population strata as well as the passing down of basic know-how (...). The second step, transcending access, is termed meaningful use >> defined as the ability to effectively use ICT resources and combine them with other appropriate forms of communication. Meaningful also includes the possibility of people producing their own content and having access to other useful content in their own language. People make meaningful use of ICTs when they know how to combine Internet resources with community radio, face-to-face meetings, printed materials, and video, among other things (...). The third component is the social appropriation of the new technologies.” (Hoffmann 2005: 37f.; Delgadillo/ Gómez/ Stoll 2002: 10).

Those steps are important for the integration of new media in Latin American states. A negative example is held by a project called *Little Intelligent Communities* (Hoffmann 2005: 38). It is conducted by a NGO that was founded by the former Costa Rican president José María Figueres, with support for the design of the technical equipment by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and sponsorship from big transnational computer companies (ibid.: 38). Problematic was especially the integration of the technology in the country. Containers were filled with high technology and put into rural areas without any involvement of the citizens that were supposed to benefit from the project (ibid.: 38). The outcome was rather less successful since it hasn't been embedded into existing structures and people were not told how to use it which led to the point that the technique remained quite unused (ibid.: 38). The prestige project was used mostly to impress visitors from foreign countries and the international media (ibid.: 38). The development sector celebrated the project as a new step but in the end the official goals were not reached due to a lack of integration (ibid.: 38).

2.2 Cuban history of Internet development

The state government of Cuba is still trying to keep the monopoly on mass media as it is

“codified in Article 53 of the Cuban Constitution of 1976 << The citizens are granted liberty of word and press in accordance with the goals of the socialist society. The material conditions for its exercise are given through the fact that press, radio, television, cinema and other means of mass communication are state or social property and under no circumstances can be the object of private property >>” (Hoffmann 2005: 41).

This is reasoned primarily with fear of the political influence of Western countries. A topic that will receive a stronger focus later in this thesis. In 1990, the United States evolved a development program that focused on the distribution of Internet connectivity in Third World countries, established networks called *CENIAI* and *InfoMed* and has strongly taken part in the Internet policy of Cuba (Venegas 2003: 192). In 1997, a platform was drafted that provided possibilities of funding for the development of connectivity and trainings for human resources to support

“community programs and the strengthening of development sectors like education, prior to wiring each individual home” (Venegas 2003: 192).

The first email networks that connected “medical, scientific and cultural institutions” were implemented in 1992 and the networks *CENIAI*, *TINORED*, *CIGBnet*, and *InfoMed* were the first “dial- up international Internet connections” (ibid.: 193). By enacting the Decree 209, the *Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers* set the roles of the ministries in the process of establishing connection and set the laws for governing (ibid.: 194). In 1996, the Cuban government decided as the last country in Latin America to establish an Internet connection and in 1997, Cuba went online with *CENIAI* (Hoffmann 2005: 41f.; Venegas 2003: 194). In 1998, Cuba had a single 64- Kbps satellite connection that was provided by *Sprint* from Florida and ran under an exception of the embargo of the United States because the U.S. government saw the possibility of overturning the Castro establishment this way (Open Net Initiative 2007: 1). Even though the connection was provided directly from the States, the Cuban government forbid U.S. investments in the Cuban telecommunications sector and the purchase of Cuban IP addresses (ibid.: 1). Additionally, in the middle of the 1990s the

“state telecom monopoly [was transformed] into a joint venture with capital from abroad because this was the only way of securing the necessary investment for the extension and modernization of the obsolete telephone system and data network” (Hoffmann 2005: 42).

Also, the Decree Law 209 was adopted with the title *Access from the Republic of Cuba to the Global Computer Network* and said that the

“Internet cannot be used in violation of Cuban society's moral principles or the country's laws and that email messages must not jeopardize national security” (Voeux 2006: 3).

According to this, citizens must have an accreditation for which they need a valid reason and their signature on a contract (ibid.: 3). Also, they must be registered at

“ETECSA, the country's sole telecommunications operator, and by a local commission linked to the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution that evaluates each applicant's merits” (ibid.: 3).

ETECSA is split into parts between the Italian company *Telecom Italia* who owns 29.3 percent and the Cuban state who owns the rest (ibid.: 5). The Law points out that access is only possible with a view to national interests and priorities (ibid.: 3). This category of authorized ones is usually

“political leaders, senior officials, intellectuals, academics, doctors, government researchers and journalists, the senior staff of export- oriented cultural companies or computer technology companies, and the Catholic hierarchy” (ibid.: 3).

In 1998, there were around 200 people that belonged to the scientific or state elite or to the government and around 5000 persons that could use an email address to interact in the local Intranet (Open Net Initiative 2007: 1).

In 2000, a new Ministry for Information and Communication was formed and fused with essential institutions of the IT field to expand control and regulation over communication and information technology, the networks responsible for telecommunications and computer, the broadcast of radio and TV and the electronic industry in general (Hoffmann 2005: 42; Voeux 2006: 3). During the first part of the 2000s, Internet access from home was forbidden and the

public access centers were mostly used by foreign tourists or elites, the *Cubernet* was established and served as the national Intranet, which included a national email network, a national encyclopedia, material and journals serving educational needs and websites that supported the local system (Freedom House 2015: 4). The Internet at working spaces was strictly monitored and every institution had to name a person who was taken care of security reasons (ibid.: 42). Additionally, at those work spaces certain websites were blocked and users had to sign that they only use the Internet according to socialist goals and purposes (ibid.: 43). The responsible ones could oversee all Internet activities and data traces of their colleagues while they used the Internet and because of this fact and the certainty about punishment were common knowledge, a certain obedience was ensured (ibid.: 43). Even though by the year 2000, the number of people with direct access from Computers increased to 6 000 and around 80 000 had email addresses, of which half was linked to the global Internet (Open Net Initiative 2007: 1). In 2002, the ministry of domestic commerce decided that private sellers were not allowed to purchase computers, printers and other hardware after earlier the disposal of modems was already forbidden (ibid.: 2). Also, Cuban citizens needed a state permission to buy a computer (Voeux 2006: 4). The state owned almost all Computers and with 3.3 per 100 inhabitants the ownership level was one of the smallest worldwide in 2005 according to the International Telecommunication Union (ibid.: 4). Even though the black market and foreign contacts represented alternative channels through which the Cuban population could purchase, people were still not able to connect to the Internet from their houses (ibid.: 4). In 2008, the government allowed to buy personal computers but established the prices to be so high that most parts of the population were not able to afford one (Aamoth 2008; Freedom House 2016: 5). According to the National Office of Statistics around one million of 11.3 million inhabitants owned a Computer and only half of them could connect to be online (ibid.: 5). Furthermore, phones with a “Global Positioning System (GPS) technology or satellite connections” were not allowed and “modems, wireless faxes, and satellite dishes” needed a special permit to enter the island (ibid.: 5). Using Internet cafes people had to make the decision between the national and the international connection since there was a difference in the prices from 1.20 Euros up to 4 Euros per hour (Voeux 2006: 4). The national one included an email service while the international opened the global Internet (ibid.: 4). Since four Euros are around a third of a Cuban monthly wage mostly tourists could use the global Internet in cafes or luxury hotels (ibid.: 4). During this time, the first blogs from Cuban citizens and emigrants were established but only few could read them because they were usually blocked within short time so that they could not attain a strong public attention (Hoffmann 2005: 43). Neither the ones who could read it nor

independent journalists could have spread criticism since this was sanctioned strongly by the Cuban state (ibid.: 43). This way during the beginning of the 2000s Cuba took steps towards modernization of technological and political factors but still did not completely allow to be extensively expressive through new media (ibid.: 43). In 2002, there still have been thirty- one people being sanctioned for what they called inappropriate use of Internet connection or the abuse of other peoples' email addresses and in 2007, the Open Net Initiative still reported that twenty- four independent journalists were serving prison sentences (Open Net Initiative 2007: 3). During that time, the penalties for Internet violation included twenty years in prison for the writing of counter- revolutionary articles and five years for an illegal connection (ibid.: 3). Even though, there was no direct blocking, tests of *Reporters without Borders* described that there were email and word processing programs that according to certain words close automatically for the reason of state security (ibid.: 3). Since the requirement for going online is to provide the ID and personal data it was a risk to criticize the Cuban government or their actions within the virtual public sphere (ibid.: 3). According to Hoffmann at this point the public sphere did not change a lot through the development of Internet on the island because the filtering system for foreign online newspapers and magazines was held up quite strongly (Hoffmann 2005: 43; Freedom House 2016: 5). In 2013, the *ALBA- I* cable was transferred between Venezuela and Cuba and ran undersea in a length of 1 600 km (Freedom House 2015: 4). This way Broadband was available for state officials and state institutions but not for civil use (ibid.: 4). In June 2013, Cubans were already able to access Broadband Internet in “118 government- run “navigation- halls” “and in January 2015 there were plans to open “136 more internet access centers around the country” (ibid.: 4). Instead in the mid of the year there already were 261 navigation halls, split into 166 *ETECSA* locales and 95 youth centers (ibid.: 4). According to *ETECSA* in 2016 there were over 1000 public access points in total (Freedom House 2016: 3f.). The number of hot- spots grew from 35 to 65 in 2015 so that there were up to 200 000 users who connected at Wi- Fi zones daily (Freedom House 2016: 4). In February 2015, the Cuban government reduced the prices for the global Internet per hour over the half from US\$ 4.50 to US\$ 2.00, for the lower fee of US\$ 0.60 people could access domestic websites (Freedom House 2015: 4). In comparison, the price decreased strongly but still conducts around “10 percent of the average monthly income” (Freedom House 2016: 5). To go online the user must pay directly in the navigation halls or can buy a *Nauta* card that contains a password to enter the Internet on different locations all over Cuba and is valid for 30 days from the first time of use (ibid.: 4). Another option is to open a permanent account that contains user name, password and email address but this service is not affordable for biggest parts of society and the monitoring is very

strong (ibid.: 5). Also, in the field of telecommunications and phones there have been changes within the last years (ibid.: 6). According to *ETECSA* there were 3.3 million Cubans owning mobile phones which are around 30 percent of the country's population (ibid.: 6). In 2012, the government cut the costs for receiving calls, lowered the costs for text messages from US\$ 0.16 to US\$ 0.09 and cut the price of daytime cellphone calls from US\$ 0.60 to US\$ 0.35 per minute (ibid.: 6). To avoid state limitations, Cubans started to build up underground networks by putting up illegal antennas and exchanging, selling and buying USB sticks with different content and authorized user began to share their accounts partly for money (ibid.: 4). Also, foreign students can gain a higher Internet access than most Cuban citizens and it happens that those accounts are shared between foreigners living in Cuba and Cubans themselves. There exists also the weekly package which is called *El paquete semanal* which contains series, movies, games, illegal newspapers and pornography and is delivered to the homes by certain people for the consumer to download content that they cannot get another way. Also, years ago, the so-called *Street Net (SNET)* was invented and used "Ethernet cables and makeshift Wi-Fi antennas" to connect (ibid.: 5). Even though these procedures are well known by everybody the government acts like it has no knowledge about it so that the illegal behavior becomes an established habit under observation. One reason here for might be the hope that protests about the low access can be held down if information is partly given. Another important point is that Internet access is still too expensive for most Cubans so that in 2014 a system was created that opened an option for the emigrant relatives and friends to pay the phone bills for the islands inhabitants (ibid.: 6). This way the Cuban diaspora that includes around three million Cubans covers parts of the costs for the cellphones used in Cuba (ibid.: 6). An option to send money was created through the Cuban website www.cubaweb.cu which enabled people to send cash from the U.S. to Cuban individuals and to charge it by credit card (Venegas 2003: 183). The transaction then is carried out by a bank located in Canada and through the participation of a third party it could be supported to fracture the limitations through the embargo (ibid.: 183). The Miami-based Havana Consulting Group published their research results in 2014 which said that "54 percent of mobile payments to *ETECSA*" arrive from the Cuban diaspora (Freedom House 2016: 6). Also, the more expensive technical equipment like Smartphones, Laptops and Tablets is most of the time arriving from relatives that live abroad because the prices in Cuba itself are so high that cellphones bought by Cubans themselves are usually only having the option to send and receive messages, maybe with a picture included (ibid.: 6). The Internet and technological renewals are offering new ways for the split-up families and friends to keep in touch. The changes within the last years have been careful and with a strong focus to stay

halfway independent of U.S. influence. This arose for example in June 2015 when *Google* offered to expand Internet access all over the island (ibid.: 8). The statement of the first secretary Ramón Machado Ventura responding to this was

“We must have Internet, but our way, knowing that the intention of imperialism is to use the Internet in another way, to destroy the revolution” (ibid.: 8).

This clear statement went hand in hand with the focus on the Chinese telecom operator *Huawei* when *ETECSA* planned to “provide fiber- optic home internet service in two Havana neighborhoods” as a pilot project (ibid.: 7). This project serves as first step towards a national strategy of broadband connectivity with the objective to connect 50 percent of the households and 60 percent of mobile Internet connections by 2020 (ibid.: 7). Even though there are some refusals the USA made its way into the Cuban market through Information and Communication technology (ibid.: 7f.). Most of the market is under the dominance of companies that belong to the government, for example the two-state owned Internet service providers (ISPs) called *The Center for Automatic Interchange of Information (CENIAI)*, *ETECSA* and *Cubacel*, a subsidiary of *ETECSA*, which is the only provider for mobile phone services (ibid.: 7). In the context of convergence between Cuba and the United States, *ETECSA* agreed on the deal with the company *IDT Corp* to allow international calls between the U.S. and Cuba (ibid.: 8). Also in September 2015, the U.S. based wireless company *Verizon* achieved to offer roaming on the island and was followed by others like *Sprint* and companies whose services are related to the provisioning of services like “MasterCard, Airbnb, or Netflix” later (ibid.: 8). Lots of Reports call the low technical approve an instrument for blocking and filtering (*Freedom House*, *Reporters without Borders*) while the Cuban government calls it protection from imperialism and western influence. Both arguments make sense if one considers the ideological point of view of which they emerged. Taking Cuban and U.S. American history into account the Cuban system closed for the reason of protection from U.S. exploitation so that this way it becomes quite plausible that mostly everything that comes from outside is seen and put into a frame of danger for society. The embargo of the U.S. government is still an omnipresent topic and regular signs on the streets and all over the country remind citizens of it daily. This way a certain fear about western products is created and stabilized by experience of history and the permanent memorization about it. Therefore, the protests within Cuban society about a lack in technological development are somehow lanced from understanding. Besides a less advanced technology there exists also direct blocking of certain homepages (ibid.: 9). Back in 2007, the government still blocked sites like *Yahoo*, *MSN* and *Hotmail* (ibid.: 9). This changed within the

following years so that by now those pages are largely accessible except of in some government institutions (ibid.: 9f.). By now the blocking embraces some critical blogs like *Diario de Cuba*, *14ymedio*, *Cubamet*, *Cubaencuentro* and *Penúltimos Días* and partly the use of certain “Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP) services such as *Skype*”, *Whatsappcalls* and *Facetime* (ibid.: 10). Apps like *IMO* serve as a functioning alternative to chat and to talk with the relatives abroad (ibid.: 10). Also, especially in government institutions there exists blocking against spam and chain letters with anti- revolutionary content (ibid.: 10).

3. Internet as a place for virtual public

3.1 The Public goes online

The phrase *virtual public* in this context is a creation of an extended public online. Therefore, it is important to discuss the meaning of public sphere from different points of view and theoretical approaches.

In 1990 Tocqueville took the definition of public to point out that

“the dedication of the American people to public affairs (is) to be at the heart of the healthy and lively American democracy, and added that participation in public affairs contributed significantly to an individual's sense of existence and self- respect”

while in 1927 Dewey

“insisted that inquiry and communication are the basis for a democratic society, and highlighted the merits of group deliberation over the decisions of a single authority (...) The term 'public' connotes ideas of citizenship, commonality, and things not private, but accessible and observable by all” (Papacharissi 2002: 10f.).

Furthermore, there should be seen a difference between public sphere and public space insofar that the public sphere could be supported by the Internet through the discourse of different ideas which enhances democracy and according to the public space the Internet can be seen as a new room of political discussion and a certain freedom which strengthen discussion (ibid.: 11). Habermas saw

“the public sphere as a domain of our social life in which public opinion could be formed out of rational public debate”, which is created through “informed and logical discussion” and allows a “private person” to have a discourse about “common interest” (Papacharissi 2002: 11; Fraser 1992: 112; Kellner 2014).

This leads to agreement and decision making (Papacharissi 2002: 11). Also, he said that the public sphere

“presents a realm of our social life, in which something approaching public opinion can be formed” (Papacharissi 2008: 3).

The public sphere is supposed to give a frame to political discourse while allowing the natural development of debates (Hohendahl 1992: 102). In 1992, critics like Fraser conclude that Habermas theory is only worth for men that were in an exclusive position and excludes woman and minority groups because they were not allowed to speak in public (Fraser 1992: 114). Therefore, she argues that there exist public spheres which are less privileged and powerful and which are existing next to each other (Fraser 1992: 116). The powerful sphere usually stays dominant so that the governments pay less attention to the underprivileged ones (Fraser 1992: 117). McCarthy adds, that the pluralism in society is the main problem about a functioning of public and agrees with Fraser that the dominance of the patriarch suppresses an unaffected operation (Hohendahl 1992: 103). Schudson (1997) continues that an ideal public and its discourses do not exist and that this neither has a big importance for democracy since a real public is rare (Papacharissi 2002: 11). In 1995, Carey argues that due to capitalism there has been created so much privatization that

“mass commercial culture has replaced the public sphere” and “calls for the recovery of public life, as a means of preserving independent cultural and social life and resisting the confines of corporate governance and politics” (ibid.:12).

The support of public sphere through the Internet can be viewed from different sides (ibid.: 12f.). One side argues that the Internet is an important way to create a political participation while on the other hand it does not necessarily lead to new discourses or activities even though it allocates “avenues for political expression” and supports several ways to be politically active and to put an influence on politics (ibid.: 13). In 1996, Marcel Bullinga created a software program called *Decision Maker* which allowed the first online debate within the Netherlands' and lasted for a month while involving civil actors, institutional ambassadors and people with

strong political engagement (Papacharissi 2002: 13; Lehmann- Haupt 1997). The research showed that only few people dominated the discourse and that the involvement increased when those actors participated that belonged directly to political organizations or were strongly involved in a certain political scene (Papacharissi 2002: 13). This way the experiment showed that political discussions can be transferred on an online level but that again elites dominated the debate and that it did not show that political change can be influenced but rather that those who have been politically involved before are again those that are politically involved online (ibid.: 13). The Internet serves as a new space but continues the lack of the established political system (ibid.: 13). Even though, within the last years the Internet became a medium serving as a tool in elections to increase support, motivate followers and to mobilize without geographic borders (ibid.: 13). Additionally, voters can respond to activities directly and give a feedback to what they see in this specific moment (ibid.: 13). This way there exist new channels of communication which politically serve as a medium to be “fast, easy, cheap and convient” but not necessarily “fair, representative, and egalitarian” as a new public sphere (ibid.: 13f.). That means that since the Internet is only available for a small part of the world’s population, it opens a new room in which bohemian structures exist and reproduces those (ibid.: 14). To add, researches about political Usenet and AOL groups found out that conservatives are the minority of Internet users but still dominate the discourse (Fuchs 2006: 17f.; Papacharissi 2002: 14). A political Usenet is a short form for *Unix User Network* and is a global network of different servers that helps people to interact asynchronously through group communication and to share news apart from mass media (Saxena/ Saxena 2011: 1f.). The researcher concluded that the Internet rather serves as a place where opinions are stabilized than to create a reformatory new outcome and innovation at this certain moment (Papacharissi 2002: 14f.). They added, that this could change if institutional support of a digital democracy would increase and presume a stronger process of learning (Fuchs 2006: 24). On the other hand, there are also positive examples like the *Santa Monica's Public Electronic Network* functioning as an

“electronic town square, promoted online conversation between residents, and helped several homeless people find jobs and shelter” (Papacharissi 2002: 15; Schmitz/ Rogers/ Phillips/ Paschal 1995: 30ff.).

The project was created to enable every citizen of Santa Monica, California to have access to electronic communication for free with the result of empowering homeless and deprived people (Schmitz/ Rogers/ Phillips/ Paschal 1995: 26f.). This way political participation can be increased but it won’t necessarily lead to stronger political involvement (Papacharissi 2002: 15,

20). An important advantage that comes up through the worldwide connection is the ability to build networks and connect people from all over the world, with different backgrounds in new political forums where they can discuss or agree, can find new ways of thinking or people of inspiration (ibid.: 15f.). All this can be held in anonymity so that discussions can be free and open (ibid.: 16). Also, valuation factors like race and gender are prevented, so that opinions can be expressed without judgement (Wojcieszak/ Mutz 2009). On the other side, it should be considered that political online discussions do not necessarily stabilize democratic thinking (Papacharissi 2002: 16). The political discourse can also lead to opposite directions and often arguments are written faster under a different name than directly said (ibid.: 16). If people don't interact in direct communication, it is simpler to react insulting or to use anonymity to express things that usually wouldn't be said in public. Additionally, special political forums can split people from each other and prohibit that they come together, the same can happen about online news insofar that people only tend to read the online magazines and newspapers that they know and which represent their political view anyways so that there are no new discourses but rather a mutual approval (ibid.: 16). One critical point about communication within forums lays in the fact that conversations are often

“fragmented” since “when individuals address random topics, in a random order, without a commonly shared understanding of the social importance of a particular issue, then conversation becomes more fragmented and its impact is mitigated” (ibid.: 17).

This means that in a lot of cases there is a common starting point missing that creates a collective understanding of the practice. Without the possibility of talking face- to- face, identity should be defined differently and dissent is boosted in a way but on the other hand communication can be less superficial since formalities are excluded (ibid.: 17). Poster concluded that this way democracy can be enhanced due to the argumentation of Lyotard who argued that

“social movement and democracy are strengthened by dissent and anarchy in communication” (ibid.: 17).

The Internet should be considered as a new place for Internet activism since reality is produced online as well and processes which run online are becoming just as important as those offline which brings hackers and Internet activists to the position that they are able to change and create

new ways of protest (ibid.: 18). Through this formation of restructuring political processes there can be a break and change in established traditions (ibid.: 18). It can be concluded that for now in a democratic system the Internet serves as a public space but not yet as a public sphere (ibid.: 23). However, it is still a relevant question if this virtual public space changes something if there exist another form of public in a country for the reason of a different political and economic system. The experience has shown that political minorities were able to use the Internet as a well working tool of support for the organization and communication of their interests (ibid.: 24). The discussion about the existence of a public in the Internet is relevant because it is the requirement for the Internet being a possibility to create a new public in Cuba. It showed that there are different points of view about the effectiveness of the virtual space as a political tool. There are advantages and disadvantages highlighted but in the end, the discourse shows that Internet leads to a creation of new interaction between people on a new level. The criticized pluralism can be avoided in the Internet due to anonymity. It is important that education in this certain area is raised and an equal possibility for access is enabled. A new room for public is created but continues the struggles of the “real- life- public”. Projects like *Santa Monica’s Electronic Network* can help to create equality in access and therefore show that social interaction and support of the underprivileged are the only way to raise equity in an online political discourse. If this is provided that the Internet can serve as a tool that reduces prejudice in discussions and creates networks without geographic borders.

3.2 Cyberspace

Cyberspace can be split into private and public so that there can occur communication between the individual and the collective and tensions between civil liberties and state power can be set along each other (Papacharissi 2002: 21; Hurwitz 2003: 103). According to Fernback (1997)

“true identity and democracy” are not found so much in virtual communities but more in “actual structures of social relations” (ibid.: 21).

and in the same year Jones defined

“cyberspace is promoted as a ‘new public space’ made by people and ‘conjoining traditional mythic narratives of progress with strong modern impulses toward self-fulfillment and personal development” (ibid: 10f.).

Taking this into account the creation of a broad public space is prohibited by individual's social relations because the structure of social relations also defines the structure of a broad mass (ibid.: 21). Using technology and the Internet it becomes possible to construct new "spaces for private and public expression" and to transfer physical communication with its certain values into a virtual atmosphere (ibid.: 21). The difference within cyberspace arises strongly from the way people present and show themselves since identity can be defined in a new way without physical boundaries (ibid.: 21). With the Internet, the presentation of private topics in public catches a new meaning (Papacharissi 2008: 3). Also, important for defining public space is the individual's knowledge about the peoples' solidarization because a political change or political group is also created by a certain participation (ibid.: 21). This way the people know who is with them and who is not (ibid.: 22). This point is problematic about the cyberspace because the often-existing anonymity creates a room in which everybody can solidarize and de-solidarize within seconds and nobody has a clear knowledge about who the other person is and who else is listening, agreeing or disagreeing, meaning also that there exists hardly any clear option of measurement (ibid.: 22). One big point about the new creation of cyberspace has a huge relevance though. It is that people from all over the world with different cultural backgrounds can communicate with each other in real time (ibid.: 23). It includes the option to exchange opinions and political views as well as it gives new inspiration and ways of solutions for the ones that are not satisfied.

3.2.1 Capitalism in Cyberspace

Also, this exchange of knowledge, experience and cultural differences brings

"hope, speculation, and dreams of what could be" (Papacharissi 2002: 23).

In 1992, Habermas already discussed the topic of political public sphere in the context of

"the manipulative deployment of media power to procure mass loyalty, consumer demand and compliance with systemic imperative on the other" (Habermas 1992: 452).

Meaning that capitalism influences and changes the face of media. This idea of *another world* can also be created if people talk to foreigners, tourists, read news or books about other countries but in the case of the Internet the *other world* is created in arranged pictures and

commercially so that ideas arise that are manipulated and formed to look beautiful. It inspires not only through pictured beauty but also creates political hopes for a better life that could appear if behavior changes towards Democracy and Capitalism. Both systems are commercialized perfectly through well produced advertisement and smartly placed information so that exploitation shines in a bright light of a wealthy future. This vision can influence the attitude and behavior of a countries citizens (Papacharissi 2002: 23). Therefore, the Internet should be considered a capitalist influenced instrument that is socially constructed the same way as the *real- life* public sphere and therefore works alike radio and television (Papacharissi 2002.: 18). Just as radio and television used to be revolutionary media serving as new tools of public involvement the Internet is hyped on the same level, but it must be considered that all three of them fall into the matter of commercial production so that there are enough people whose goal is the accumulation of money through the media without any political interest behind it (ibid.: 18f.). This includes the strong involvement of commercial, advertising and banners on different channels and gives a touch of a new mass enterprise created to easy profit making (ibid.: 18). Also, the exchange of currency gets a new meaning in the context of Internet since it is abstracted so strongly that it almost seems to be a fictive payment from person to person that is spend faster than real items so that the market works with higher speed than without the Internet (ibid.: 18).

Already Bill Gates emphasized the meaning of Internet for perfect capitalist markets by saying

“[I]f every buyer knew every seller’s price and every seller knew what every buyer was willing to pay, then everyone in the ‘market’ would be able to make fully informed decisions and society’s resources would be distributed evenly. To date we haven’t achieved Smith’s ideal because would-be buyers and would-be sellers hardly ever have complete information [...] The Internet will extend the electronic marketplace and become the ultimate go-between, the universal middleman [...] It will be a shopper’s heaven” (Schröter 2012: 305).

This so- called heaven includes also the possibility of suggesting products to people so that their consumption can be more efficient (ibid.: 306). McChesney additionally argues that Capitalism in general has a big impact in this matter, not only for the way the Internet and its market is designed but also for the way technology is produced for it (Papacharissi 2002: 20). This way the Internet might only be a continuity of economic and political processes because it is quite hard to change systems that have existed for centuries just within this short time (ibid.: 20).

Adam Smith already said, “the invisible hand of information is not as mighty as several techno-enthusiasts contend it is” (ibid.: 20). It rather can be useful as a tool of support (ibid.: 20). Right now, the cyberspace is still a new zone having a low level of implementation of laws and is in its phase of installation as a new room for the people to move and to interact (Morozov 2012: 219). For the institutional side, especially the Western one, that executes the strongest power on the Internet, which is regularly seen as a lack in security (ibid.: 219).

According to Morozov, this fact directs the Western governments to use censorship schemes with the model of the Chinese system (ibid.: 219). Currently the focus lays strongly on passing laws that are hitting hard on file sharers by tracking the ISPs of users but it can be suspected that the control will omit on activist groups as well (ibid.: 219). Therefore, the military and institutions are pushing hard to gain more Internet control (ibid.: 219). Already the Obama administration has supported the FBI to get more access to data like email addresses, browsing history or phone records so that the private sphere of involved and suspected ones stands under a strong flag (ibid.: 219). From governments side, these actions are held to suppress terrorism and cyberattacks and makes them build up a space of control under the reason of security. As a hegemonic state, the U.S. sets the measures in this field so that once measures of control are raised they will go up in other countries also (ibid.: 219). This fact has a strong meaning for the U.S. – Cuba relation since particularly the U.S. blames Cuba for being a repressive regime that withholds the Internet from its citizens while at the same time collecting suspects data from all over the world. Democratic states start to use the same strategies as their authoritarian colleagues but blame them in public for their behavior and their disrespect to human rights. The impeachment of the other states is done often in an official way through institutions like Freedom House which is an U.S.- American organization that analyzes

“the challenges to freedom, advocate[s] for greater political rights and civil liberties, and support[s] frontline activists to defend human rights and promote democratic change” (Freedom House 2017; Morozov 2012: 230).

This way the countries partly commit the same outrages against human rights but attention is focused on third world countries. But not only the state institutions try to gain more control (Morozov 2012: 222). Also, private individuals like parents want to protect their children by tracking them, artists want to defend their work and secure copyrights by taking care of the erasure of unauthorized exchange and banks try to prevent fraud by establishing stricter identity control (ibid.:222). This all leads to a strict reduction of privacy which is becoming more and

more accepted by the citizens of all states (ibid.: 224). People give their data voluntarily to get discounts on products, protection or other things they feel can lighten their life's (ibid.: 224). Morozov concludes that this might be functioning half way for people living in democratic states where legal institutions often are working well, but it can be perilous for the ones from authoritarian states if they are sharing their data freely (ibid.: 224). It can have disastrous consequences if they share certain information in social media where the government can gain complete access to everything (ibid.: 224). The social media are produced to function for first world citizens who need for example tracking to find the next nice restaurant but the tracking function in authoritarian states might lead state security directly to critical bloggers which will most probably be punished for their activism (ibid.: 224). Right now, the efforts to upgrade security in first world countries legitimates the actions of countries with a more repressive government to do the same (ibid.: 224). In the end, the U.S. government always considers that its own trade habits are more important than taking care of the security of other countries inhabitants (ibid.: 224). Also, Morozov sees a strong impact of the negative potential in social media since their political role is difficult and censorship is too unstable (ibid.: 217). This is traced back to the huge amount of content that is uploaded to the Internet worldwide every day (ibid.: 215). For the administration of social media, it is almost impossible to keep an overview over everything so that many complaints arose about a case in which *Google* removed Videos that showed police human rights abuse (ibid.: 215). In this case, it was hard for the staff to differ between a pure scene of brutality and the exhibit of brutality to indicate the violation of human values (ibid.: 215). According to this matter at least *YouTube* is way more open about its removal policy than *Facebook* so that activists are having the possibility to orientate (ibid.: 215). Another way to handle the topic is to give users the option to report inappropriate content so that the responsibility and work is somehow outsourced (ibid.: 215). One could suppose that the dependency of political activism on the goodwill and the policy of Internet companies increases in the moment that they use the Internet as a working, organization and public tool (ibid.: 215). Therefore, the big social media companies act like intermediaries between different sides and the only chance for the people to act independently online is to set up their own homepage (ibid.: 215). Certainly, this will not have the same reach as established social media sites so that most activists and activist groups chose to stick to the save option of gathering attention (ibid.: 216). The platforms often work under a stable uncertainty that might lead to the erasure of some content and the disposition of other so that one might become an Internet hit, seen by millions of users and the other will be deleted right away without anybody acknowledging (ibid.: 216). Problematic for political activists is the fact that those two cases

can appear just for the reason of accident, that they don't have a stable policy they can trust on and therefore a lot of activists don't take the try anymore to build up a critical site because they must suspect always that it might be deleted again (ibid.: 216). This way the Internet and social platforms lose their potential as a gathering space for critical political groups. Morozov also adds, that some leading Internet companies are not even trying to communicate their will to support human values (ibid.: 217). This can be seen in the habit of for example *Facebook* to avoid the membership in unions that stand for the acceptance of certain values in the context of Internet policy (ibid.: 217). They excused themselves due to high membership fee in the beginning of their career that they couldn't take part in the *Global Network Initiative* and haven't attended until now (ibid.: 217). The *Global Network Initiative* describes themselves as

“a multi- stakeholder group of companies, civil society organizations (including human rights and press freedom groups), investors and academics” to create a collaborative approach “to protect and advance freedom of expression and privacy in the ICT sector” (Global Network Initiative 2012).

Even though Morozov sees the membership of Internet companies to this kind of networks as important he also mentions that it does not necessarily mean a lot since for example *Microsoft* is a member as well but does often break the engagement (Morozov 2012: 217). The value networks therefore are important but also serve as a promise tool for the state institutions and the public to proof their legitimacy as “global citizens” (ibid.: 217). Anyways, it is relevant that networks like this exist and have members that belong to the global players. This way values like Internet freedom, censorship, data collecting and others become public topics and big companies rejecting to be members directly put a clear statement against it. Problematic is rather the fact that “policymakers and industry” are tight too close to each other (ibid.: 217). Those tights are strengthened this way that some U.S. politicians find their way from Washington to Silicon Valley and work in the management of big Internet companies like *Twitter* and *Google* (ibid.: 217).

There are two types of freedom within cyberspace (ibid.: 230).

One is what Isahia Berlin calls the “negative liberty” what means that the Internet gives “freedom from something: government online surveillance, censorship, DDoS attacks” while the other type gives “freedom to do something: mobilize, organize, protest” and in so how can be called the “positive liberty” (ibid.: 230).

The negative liberty leans on the freedom of expression according to Article 19 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights

(“Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers”)

and relegates to the circumstances of nowadays Internet (ibid.: 230).

Concluding Cyberspace creates a new public with new ways of freedom but it's political evolvement fails due to the reasons of private and institutional concerns.

3.2.2 The Cyberspace as an international political tool

The cyberspace gained strong interest in the sense of international democratization policy (ibid.: 232). This way of foreign influence policy is connected to the idea of “positive liberty” insofar that Western countries, especially the U.S.A. imagined that technological development in third world countries could break non- democratic and non- capitalist structures due to the concept of democratic freedom shown in the Internet and presentation of democratic systems will automatically bring the third- world- countries citizens to overturn their old government. The ambition of the U.S. to use Internet as a political tool of democratization policy came out strongly in one of Hillary Clintons speeches where she said that

“The Internet can help humanity push back against those who promote violence and crime and extremism. In Iran and Moldova and other countries, online organizing has been a critical tool for advancing democracy and enabling citizens to protest suspicious election results” and that the U.S. stands for “a single Internet where all of humanity has equal access to knowledge and ideas” (ibid.: 232).

All what she says implies that Internet is created to support free speech and expression and concludes that Internet freedom is supporting the idea of a worldwide democratization and that non- democratic systems will change if Internet freedom is spread enough (ibid.: 232). Indeed, Morozov concludes that this assumption is not tied to the real political interests of the United States but the motivation rather arises from

“long – running concerns over terrorism, energy supply, and the politics of military bases”

and that the promotion of democracy sounds better than the real reasons that stand for the international activity concerning the spreading of the Internet (ibid.: 232f.). The doubtfulness of the Western governments is strengthened by the fact that next to the promotion of free Internet and its support of freedom, guns are sold to repressive governments with which they might kill the very same blogger that try to break old structures (ibid.: 233). Also, governments like those in China, Iran or Cuba, that practice high censorship on their Internet are not only doing this for the reason of bearing down actions against their political system but as well because they expect the U.S. government to take the Internet as a political tool to push their own interests (Venegas 2003: 181f.; Morozov 2012: 233). The Cuban government is concerned about a flooding in of pornography and the Internets’ negative effects on children and therefore it becomes problematic to distinguish between censorship and actions of national security (Venegas 2003: 182). A danger for the political system is also seen in “counterrevolutionary emails” that are spread in the country by the exile community (ibid.: 182). This in turn makes it even harder to adopt the Internet in countries that close their system towards the international community because they fear the political influence from outside (Morozov 2012: 233). In 1983, Radio Marti was established by the Radio Broadcasting to Cuba Act and was followed by TV Marti in 1990 which was implemented by the Public Law 101- 246 (Venegas 2003: 180). The relaunched stations described themselves to provide alternative news to those available in Cuba and accompanying an alternative world view (ibid.: 180). Funded by the U.S. government a main outcome of the stations was influenced by the distribution of policy against the Castro government (ibid.: 180). In 1992, the U.S. American government passed the Cuban Democracy Act which implied stronger effort according the improvement of the Cuban telecommunications sector and the strengthen of the embargo to finally create a change (ibid.: 180). This effort was continued in 1996, when the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act was adopted to modify the option to invest in the “domestic communications infrastructure” of Cuba (ibid.: 180). All the big Internet and social media companies like *Facebook*, *Google*, *Twitter*, *Apple* and *Microsoft* are located and born in the U.S.A. and are closely working with the local government which can be concluded for example because in the past, the U.S. State Department organized foreign trips directors from the *Silicon Valley* to countries like “India, Iraq, Mexico, Syria, and Russia” (Morozov 2012: 235). This way the global Internet falls stronger under the stamp of U.S. power and many governments start to be worried about their citizens saving all

their information and secrets on foreign servers (ibid.: 235). The importance of information in nowadays societies plays a big role and the monitoring of the cyberspace and the access to different gates supports the advance in hegemonic structure (ibid.: 235). The closeness of this topic is shown clearly when organizations like *WikiLeaks* or so- called Whistleblower like Edward Snowden start publishing the inner secrets of U.S. operations and the aggressive reaction of U.S. state institutions to keep it down (ibid.: 237). According to Morozov, there is hardly any technology company without a connection to the *CIA* or another U.S. security institution (ibid.: 237). This for example shows through the funding of *Google Earth* that was undertaken by *In- Q- Tel*,

“the CIA’s for- profit investment arm”, the same company that invested ““in a company that monitors buzz on Twitter, supposedly to give the intelligence community “early- warning detection on how issues are playing internationally” “ (ibid.: 237).

In 2010, there was also a common funding of *Google* and *In- Q- Tel* for the same social media monitoring company which showed again that the organizations are working together (ibid.: 237). This created circle provokes that authoritarian governments are acting even stricter when it comes to technology and Internet companies because they know about the tight relation between Western governments and the industry and about the influence each one is having on the other (ibid.: 237). To avoid foreign influence the Turkish government designed the plan to establish a government- run email account and their own search engine in 2009 (ibid.: 237). They build a role model for Russia and Iran who directly censored *Gmail* (ibid.: 237). Those actions are mainly established to keep the U.S. American companies out of the key parts of their information systems since it can be put down to a market dominance in Internet firms and technology (ibid.: 238). Problematic about this is that the national intervention tends to be even stricter than the Western ones and thereby the countries push each other to new limits (ibid.: 238). Additionally, Morozov wonders about the unequal advices the U.S. government leaders give to their own citizens and those not belonging to Western societies insofar that Hillary Clinton as well as Barack Obama held speeches in cities like Shanghai in 2009 where they celebrated the freedom of Internet while only six months later Obama announced that information is becoming a distraction and is rather a form of entertainment than “a tool of empowerment” in an U.S. university (ibid.: 242ff.). In this, Morozov sees a form of orientalism since the danger and the problems that can occur for their own children and nations public, are the key to freedom for others (ibid.: 243).

In the Internet, many people only see a “mirror image of themselves: progressive, philanthropic, cosmopolitan. They don’t see the neo- Nazis, pedophiles, or genocidal maniacs who have networked, grown, and prospered on the Internet” so that many people also really believe in new media as a tool for freedom (ibid.: 254).

3.2.3 Hegemonic production of information in new media

Besides Internet being a political tool, it also reproduces hegemonic information policy. The hegemonic production of information is on one side connected to the dominance of Western Internet companies and therefore explained above and to hierarchical structures that are reproduced within this field and since the big media companies expanded their publications to the online sector they can reach an international audience even more easy than before (Hoffmann 2005: 39). The websites that are highly frequented are often the ones being popular in the print field although the Internet as well supports the filter of established media and opens through for example citizen journalism and blogs new options of information (ibid.: 39). On a global level there is a big difference between the Internet and other media technology like radio or TV concerning the wish of accessibility (ibid.: 43). With the invention of TV and radio a lot of countries aspired development and supported the technological steps due to modernization (ibid.: 43). This changed with the processing of the Internet so that some countries turned their focus from supporting accessibility to preventing the reachability of certain content (ibid.: 44). The reason therefore is found mainly in the dominance of Western countries in the field of new media and consequentially the hegemony on data and information flow (ibid.: 44). This can be pictured clearly through the geographic belonging of the Internet Corporation on Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN) to the USA (ibid.: 44). In 1998, ICANN was formed as a

“not- for- profit partnership from all over the world dedicated to keeping the Internet secure, stable and interoperable. It promotes competition and develops policy on the Internet’s unique identifiers” and in general plays an administrative role in the co-ordination of IP- addresses across the world (Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers 2016).

Problematic about ICANN is the set up under U.S. corporate law and the close collaboration with the U.S. government (Hoffmann 2005: 44). This way the organization of the whole

communication organ is directed mainly by a western discourse. It is argued that the location has the strongest potential to keep up protection

“of pluralism and the free flow of information against state interference and censorship”

but this point of view is led by a Western perspective since as explained above other countries feel that capitalist perspectives are spread through global connectivity and can influence other societies (ibid.: 44).

4. Internet in Cuba as a new level of a critical public?

4.1 Development of public and civil society

During the last years and since there has been a stronger establishment of the global Internet in Cuba a new community of blogosphere is growing (Henken 2010: 122). Especially one Cuban blogger called Yoani Sánchez has made herself a name in that scene as a cyber- activist by creating and writing a blog named *Generación Y* (Sánchez; Henken 2010.: 122). Regularly she speaks up for the new opportunities that are born through the invention and development of information and communication technologies (short *ICT*), social media like blogs, *Facebook*, *Twitter*, *YouTube* and the use of smartphones with the ability to voice record and video (ibid.: 122). According to Sánchez the new technologies can

"level the playing field between authoritarian and marginalized citizens" and "create more public space where people can exercise the full rights and responsibilities of true citizens" (ibid.: 122f.).

Critics on the other hand argue that the same way the Internet can be used by the people it can be used by the state as well to strengthen power and gain control (Henken 2010: 123; Kalathil 2010: 49). Also, governments have the possibility to manipulate and influence by using the Web for their own purposes (ibid.: 123; ibid.: 49f.). A study from 2009 about the Arabian blogosphere and the direct connection between Internet and the Western way of democracy found against all expectations only very little connection between the two links (Etling at al. 2009; Henken 2010: 123). Also, other studies made in similar directions (Best and Wade 2005;

Kelly and Etling 2008) show that the Internet is a good space to discuss and gather new impressions and ideas but does not "choose sides" (Henken 2010: 123). It rather delivers an

"infrastructure for expressing minority points of view, breaking gatekeeper monopolies on public voice, lowering barriers to political mobilization (even if symbolic), and building capacity for bottom-up contributions to the public agenda" (Etling et al. 2009; Henken 2010: 123).

Therefore, the Internet does not stand for any political direction or power in a state and can be used in different ways to support any kind of interests (Henken 2010: 123). Anyways many "citizen journalists and blogger activists" see social media and the Web as a new tool to inform and to plant revolutionary roots to reform unloved systems and governments (ibid.: 123). Especially Sánchez and other Cuban bloggers want to use the cyberspace as a new critical public arena where free and independent debate is possible which should follow the aspects of respect and plurality (ibid.: 125). Important for them is also to establish the possibility to go into a critical discourse with each other where everybody is respected for his own opinion, without the degradation of those who think differently or the use of "verbal violence" (ibid.: 125). To discuss the question of a new critical public space it must be viewed the Cuban public and the Cuban civil society. Civil Society can be defined as

"a complex network of individuals and groups through which people participate in community and polity" and "includes not only civic associations and institutions, but also informal networks that are linked horizontally and, at times vertically to political elites and the state, particularly in an effort to secure the public's interest" (Crahan et al. 2005: 3).

Vertical voice is the "expression of protests against superiors" and Horizontal voice stands for the "communication among peers" and is "a necessary precondition for the mobilization of vertical voice" (Hirschman 1986: 82; Hoffmann 2011: 13).

The responsibility of civil society is to communicate needs and to request liability from the state, to modify policies that are important for the public and to build an alternative discourse next to the one of the state (Crahan et al. 2005 :2). The Cuban revolution in 1959 brought intensive changes to old structures of the political system so that existing organizations were completely banned, exchanged by new ones or newly created so that the whole political public sphere was loyal to the lately invented socialist system (Hoffmann 2011: 7). In the 1970s the

institutional expiration formed the relation between state and society in "Marxist- Leninist fashion" what means that in 1976 the Constitution defined the Communist party as the

"highest leading force of society and of the state, which organizes and guides the common effort and declared as a mission of the "social and mass organizations the edification, consolidation and defense of the socialist society" (República de Cuba Paragraph 5; Hoffmann 2011: 7).

Additionally "freedom of speech and of press were limited by constitutional prescription, "in keeping with the objectives (...) of the socialist society" (República de Cuba 1992) and Article 52 of the constitution saved the states "monopoly on mass media" by saying that "Material conditions for the exercise of that right are provided by the fact that the press, radio, television, cinema, and other mass media are state or social property and can never be private property" (República de Cuba 1992 Paragraph 52, 1; Hoffmann 2011: 7).

The state collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 brought Cuba to the necessity of a new orientation in international politics concerning ideology, social life and economy (Hoffmann 2011: 8). The international field had brought the civil society from academic discussions to the level of a necessary good for states under democracy (ibid.: 8). Also, was argued that civil society had the ability to reform or break state- socialism due to the break of Eastern Europe during the early 90s so that the U.S. saw this as its second chance next to the embargo to bring a change to Cuba's government (ibid.: 8). Then, the "official intellectual institutions" of the island started a new discourse about civil society and, hand in hand with this, autonomy of political society came which provoked to rethink old structures since civil society can hardly exist if it depends on state and government institutions too strongly (Fernández 1993: 99; Hoffmann 2011: 8f.). In 1994, Rafael Hernández working for the *Havana Center for American Studies (CEA)* published an article arguing that the Marxist- ideology with its "tradition in the writings of Hegel, Marx and Gramsci" leads to the point that Cuba must adapt its system to current problems (Hernández 1994: 30; Hoffmann 2011: 9). By saying this, Hernández revealed to the theory

"that both civil society and socialist state are organic segments of the socialist system, which are interconnected and mutually reinforcing" (Hernández 1994: 31; Hoffmann 2011: 9).

Furthermore, he argued that civil society in Cuba should earn a stronger empowerment since the governmental influence on society and institutions had disturbed its development (Hernández 1994: 30; Hoffmann 2011: 9). The discussion was also led by a strong economic background since the breakdown of Cuba's financial support and the increasing black market and establishment of informal work within society had supported the growth of a social network that fell out of governmental structures (ibid.: 30; 9). Other scientist's voices of the CEA went even clearer by supporting the

"necessity for more plural expression" and civil society as an upcoming "project" so that the new born idea became the goal of intellectual discourses on the island (Hoffmann 2011: 9).

Also rooted in the economic crisis was the missing ability of the state to continue the finance of "established institutions in cultural, social and academic fields" which brought up the invention to label old institutions as "non- governmental organizations" (NGO) to take part in the funding of international development actors in the private and the public sector (Hoffmann 2011: 10). Therefore, on one side traditional state and mass institutions started to be called NGOs even though there was still a strong connection to the government shown through their lead or placement of their work space (ibid.: 10). On the other side, also institutions without state involvement developed but if they were not connected to the state anyhow, they were not recognized officially (ibid.: 11). That means that they were officially allocated to state institutions and in most cases stood under the control of people that could proof their political loyalty (ibid.: 11). Additionally, other organizations were created but the less state boundaries they had the less official they became so that they were usually only noted if they stood up against the present system by uncustomary actions (ibid.: 11). In 1996, the government decided to no longer follow the pluralistic way so that Raúl Castro pronounced that the theory of civil society is part of an ideological concept which came as a "Trojan horse" led by the "enemies" to weaken the country (ibid.: 12). Afterwards the "CEA's director was dismissed (and) all senior researcher were transferred to other institutions" (ibid.: 12). Protesting voices did not reach a public audience and scientific articles contextualizing civil society were not published any longer (ibid.: 12). This way the public sphere only got the information the government wanted them to have so that critical voices could not establish into a broader mass (ibid.: 12). The Cuban civil society nowadays cannot be put in a regular scheme of measurement because in Cuba the bridge between non- governmental and state sector is vivid (Crahan et al 2005: 3). Society organizations are still included in governmental mass- organizations which does not

mean that there is no public discourse possible within these structures (ibid.: 2). The inclusion in this kind of organizations often follows local participation or work place and is created to support a public exchange next to the governmental one (ibid.: 2). Also, there are networks in the state sector that are created to consult state policies and include the interests of the public space concerning policy programs (ibid.: 2). An important point is also that a lot of persons that create an alternative discourse within society are paid by the Cuban government and others that work in critical policy networks within bureaucracy or the state sector often end up in areas of research or university which work hand in hand with the ideology sector but have more space for innovation (ibid.: 2). This leads to the conclusion that critical development² is allowed and financially supported, at least if it stays within systemic structures. To add, one can find a big number of "geographic, economic, familial, and ethnically based networks" that serve the ability to support public interests (ibid.: 2). Important to add in this context is that the phrase of public interest can be problematic as a general definition in a socialist country like Cuba which sees the maintenance of the revolution as the true public interest since everybody who does have different goals was influenced by capitalism and fell into wrong hands. Even though it needs to be added that one can find strong communities that base on civil and religious schemes, since faith plays an important role in the Cuban societies (ibid.: 2). According to surveys around "75- 85% of all Cubans believe in divine and religion" which shows the strong influence these religious institutions have (ibid.: 2). Next to the catholic church, the *Santería* tradition plays an important role in the spiritual world. Rooted in the Afro- Cuban culture the *Santería* gets mixed with catholic practices. Especially the organization in religious networks is worth mentioning for having a strong influence since the constitution described Cuba as materialistic atheistic until the early 1990s (ibid.: 5). This included that it was the only institution that kept a widely autonomous infrastructure and supported an international media exchange (Hoffmann 2011: 8).

It becomes clear that if one sees the split between state and civil society as a necessary fact of definition it is hard to argue for its existence on the island but if the independent space of networks within the state organizations is considered it can be looked at the autonomous spaces in a more complex way (Crahan et al. 2005: 2f.). Observing the critical groups precisely means to find a large scale of different intentions, orientations and organizations with governmental background and even opposition within the bureaucracy sector that speaks up against the Castro government but not necessarily against socialism (Crahan et al. 2005: 5).

² Here the phrase *Critical development* leans on the right to freedom of speech and the local process which allows the Cuban citizens an honest judgement about social and political processes and its disclosure in public without the fear of sanctioning.

"Cuban civil society, then, can be said to incorporate opponents of the present government, dissident groups that range along a reformist spectrum, together with critical and heterodox individuals within the state who participate in civil society networks" (ibid.: 5).

Therefore, those networks live, even though mostly working within governmental structures, a sort of autonomy through which they can serve as a playing field for discourse and new ideas (ibid.: 5). Following this conceptual idea there is a form of public space existing in Cuba that is, against expectations, lately rather growing than being held down by the government (ibid.: 5).

4.2 Cuban local participatory structures

Questionable in this context is the fact if Cuban socialism is even able to be pluralistic and "participatory" as a form of system (ibid.: 6). Widely spread is the view of the Cuban government and system being an authoritarian dictatorship, ignoring to analyze the local structures of participatory politics (Greenwood/ Lambie 1999). The local government is organized by *Organisaciones de Poder Popular- OPP (Organizations of People's Power)* while the complete national lead is hold by the *Cuban Communist Party (PCC)* (ibid.: 58). The *Poder Popular* was created as a tool to

"balance the centralized planning system with the revolution's social and participative ethics and is parted in representatives from the local level and an administration" (ibid.: 63).

The *PCC* owns the highest lead and has a controlling function, meaning that they are always able to take the ultimate decision to support the socialist line of the countries politics (ibid.: 58). During the 1970s the *Party Congress* was chosen to be the supreme organ of the *PCC* and votes for the *Central Committee* of 225 members which stands under the lead of nine secretaries and a Politburo that includes 24 members (ibid.: 58). Those bodies oversee main decisions of the *PCC* (ibid.: 58). Additionally,

"under the Central Committee are 14 provincial secretariats and 169 municipal committees reflecting governmental structure at the sub- central level"

and are responsible for local decisions (ibid.: 58). The government is formed by the *Council of Ministers* which stands under the lead of the *Executive Committee* and represents one out of for main centers of power in the Cuban system (ibid.: 58). The others are the *Politburo*, the *Secretariat of the PCC* and the *Council of State* (ibid.: 59). Also, there is a *National Assembly* which is the main organ of *Poder Popular* and representative of the superordinate position of the people that work which is split again in assemblies that are directly elected on a “municipal, provincial and national level” (ibid.: 59). Therefore, different election areas are existing that magnify from provincial to municipal to *circumscripciones* in which elections take place every two and a half years and are usually organized by the heads of local parties (ibid.: 63). To nominate the four to seven candidates, neighborhood meetings are held (ibid.: 63f.). The secret election requires a winner with an absolute majority, who afterwards is unpaid and must follow his former job (ibid.: 64). The attendance during the elections is usually high (ibid.: 64). Problematic in this case is the space of interpretation about what sticks to the ideological structure of the revolution and socialism and what does not (Crahan et al. 2005: 7). To discuss a given public space it is important to mention that people have to be able to trust in the law and that the law should treat everybody equally so that the people know what is allowed and what is forbidden if the system means to give a liberty in speech. Looking at the history of public space and civil society in Cuba it is possible to identify different cases of sanctioning for those who stepped further in the direction of opening new spaces than the government allowed them to, so that they had to reckon the loss of their work place or limitations in travelling (Hoffmann 2011: 10, 11, 16, 19, 21, 22). Another critical point can be seen in the restriction of civil society by the political sphere following the argument of prevention of influence by the United States and globalization which could bring capitalist ideas and behavior containing the fear of the island falling back into a prerevolutionary situation (Crahan et al. 2005: 6). Even though Cuba has an increasing civil society which starts to extend international networks, especially in the religious sector, the influence is still too small to speak of an open exchange between state and civil public (ibid.: 6f.).

Also, still problematic in this context is the question about the space the government gives to oppositional groups and how the government defines criticism and dissidence (Crahan et al. 2005: 3).

"Within the revolution, everything. Against the revolution, nothing." belongs to the key-statements of the "words to the intellectuals" by Fidel Castro in 1961 which earned a

"law- like status" and gives free space to the government to interpreter what is "within" or "against" the revolution (Hoffmann 2011: 8).

Also, the often used and written phrase "The street is Fidel's!" shows already the intention of calming down critical voices and protest in public but contrasts the wide tolerance about criticism in private circles (ibid.: 8).

4.3 Internet as a new opportunity of a critical³ public?

A possibility for a new form of critical public space could be introduced through the invention of the global Internet. In 2011 Bert Hoffmann filters out three different ways of how people can use the Internet and new media as a tool to

"raise voices and claim public space and citizenship rights" (Hoffmann 2011: 15).

Within the explanation of this analysis it is important to consider that there have been immense changes in Cuba the last years especially since in 2014 there has been a renewal of relations to the United States so that the following will give mostly an overview about the roots of a new process and draws not the exact picture of a current state. Hoffmann analyzes

"the web's function as a provider of (1) an audience for cultural activities that bypasses the filter of the established cultural production modes, and distribution outlets, and (2) an audience and transparency for what otherwise would have remained behind closed doors" (ibid.: 15).

Therefore, the technological development in "digital audio and video recording" was essential since technique became affordable (ibid.: 16). Today and in the past, artists were strongly depending on the state's support insofar that their public success was bound to the good will of the state government to be published in the local media or to be supported financially (ibid.: 16). This way especially artists with a stronger need for technical equipment like those from the film branch were and still are tied strongly to the Cuban state since they cannot compete with the technical possibilities of artists from first- world countries. Concluding critical art with a content speaking against the system was not released so that artists had either the possibility

³ Critical leans here on the right to freedom of speech which allows the Cuban citizens an honest judgement about social and political processes and its disclosure in public without the fear of sanctioning.

to stay unknown or leave the country (ibid.: 16). Using the new technical inventions artists suddenly could surround the state in a certain degree insofar as they were able to use their own computers and cameras and could use copied CDs or USB Sticks to spread their work nationally or publish in online channels like youtube.com, myspace.com or soundcloud.com to also reach the global area (ibid.: 17). Still problematic about this is that artists also must earn an income for living and using the Internet they might reach the international sphere but this does not necessarily promise success on a global level meaning that they eventually still depend on national contests and therefore also on the goodwill of the government which might fade if they have used new media to criticize. As a tool to spread certain news and media *el paquete semanal*, which has been explained earlier, was established during the last years. Also, as mentioned before criticism in Cuba is possible but not in form of public protests because the government fears political destabilizing effects (ibid.: 8, 12, 17). If this occurs anyways the state will try to prevent its spreading (ibid.: 8, 12, 17). Using hand cameras and smartphones this changed insofar that everybody could film almost everything and everywhere and publish it online so that it could be spread easily (ibid.: 17). This way in the 2000s it happened repetitively that secret protests were published by privates (ibid.: 17). This way the new media supports the possibility for Cubans to surround institutional calming down and offers opportunities to create transparency about public discourses on a national or international level (ibid.: 17). Another new communication medium is Email (ibid.: 17f.). In 2011 this was especially a tool for "urban professionals" and a way for the population to keep in touch with exile Cubans which mostly went to live in the United States and others of their global network (ibid.: 18). Through this, Hoffmann concludes was the "horizontal communication" within the national public and the exchange with those in foreign countries highly increased (ibid.: 18). A leading example here-fore is the case of the "*polémica intelectual (debate of the intellectuals)*" in 2007 which started with an email conversation between intellectuals, meaning writer, students, artists and members of state institutions with the content of a resigned cultural policy being shown on TV bringing up divided opinions (ibid.: 18). At some point the conversation included persons from all over the country and changed the topic to individual participation and its legitimation according public discourse (ibid.: 18). To bring the debate on an institutional level again the *UNEAC*, a state union for artists, placed a small number of the group in its head office without others having the possibility to attend (ibid.: 18). Afterwards the *UNEAC* organized discourse events about cultural policy in the 1970s which did not find further regard in the broader mass (ibid.: 18). This process of exclusive state policy finally brought up the nowadays well-known *independent blogger movement*, which was led by philologist Yoani

Sánchez' first blog *Generation Y* (ibid.: 18). This way the medium email became famous as being a tool for "great non- institutional press" and stayed part of the Cuban communication society so that

"horizontal voice and vertical voice work in tandem, creating a public space of civic critique and debate beyond the narrow constraints of the state monopoly over mass media" (ibid.: 19).

As mentioned above new tools born in this process were blogs which give the possibility to create citizen journalism (ibid.: 20).

Blogs are "websites run by individuals with diary- like entries of information and personal comment" (ibid.: 20).

Again, an open low-cost room for public that can surround institutional forces to a certain point- at least so far, that international attention is reachable (ibid.: 20). The medium became popular in Cuba after Yoani Sánchez set up her blog *by the way of a foreign server* and by writing her articles offline to upload these through public access like hotels or Hotspots (ibid.: 20). Fastly her blog gained international fame so that just one year later she won the "Ortega y Gasset prize in the category of digital journalism" and was followed by many other bloggers (ibid.: 21). This and the fact that the national government fought so strongly against her made her well- known and strongly discussed in Cuba itself as well (ibid.:21). Within society, the rumor spreads that Sánchez is being paid by the CIA and Western capitalist countries through the prizes she won to destabilize the system from the inside. In her and other independent bloggers, the government saw "revolution's enemies" but at the same time it also started using the new medium to broadcast ideological content for the *Operation Truth* (ibid.: 21). Therefore, Cuba's Informatics University was called to identify all "anti- Cuban" content, to make it unattainable and to create a state-owned blog called *Reflections by Compañero Fidel* (ibid.: 21; <http://en.granma.cu/reflections-of-fidel>). This was part of the online redaction of the national newspaper Granma (www.granma.cu). Even though writing blogs became a social tool so that one can find groups or individual bloggers in every ideological region with different intentions in their creation (ibid.: 22). Famous ones of the critical field are *havanatimes.org*, *periodismodebarrio.org*, *oncubamagazine.com*, *cubademocraciayvida.org* and *14ymedio.com*. The censorship of these blogs that was practiced in the early 2000s is brought down to a lower level by now, meaning that contrary to information of the *Freedom house Index* (Freedom house

2015) these critical blogs are reachable by using the civil connection to the global Internet. Concluding, the use of blogs and emails is a new possibility of collective action and identity which enables groups and individuals to speak up without institutional allowance or financing, to organize themselves and get in contact with others that think similarly (Hoffmann 2011.: 23). Through the virtual world they can provoke different discourses in the *real* world that can lead to transformations of society and the state (ibid.: 23). Especially because in Cuba public criticism is not welcome, before the invention of new media there was no open space next to the institutional ones that allowed an exchange of different or same views within society. The example of Sánchez and others shows that sanctioning is still taking place but since international audience can be included the pressure on the local government has increased highly. Also, the use of videos and photographs makes unjust treatment more difficult since the proof can directly be given so that the government must fear public protests on the streets. Already the fact that people with different points of view start using emails, social media and blogs for themselves shows the possibility of creating a new discourse. Virtual exchange and agreement on different opinions also produces collective identity, not only within Cuba, but also internationally (ibid.: 23).

5. Methodical approach

In this part, the research question about *The meaning of a new virtual public in Cuba* is going to be answered through the analysis of the qualitative research material in form of expert interviews. Here interviews give the strongest results about expectations, hopes and fulfilled reality of the participants. Quantitative research puts its focus on objectivity and would not have worked out for this certain subject because the focus of the thesis is put on the assessment of the Cuban society. Especially the subjectivity of the interview partner had to be in the center of research to compare the different opinions of the participants with each other. The five problem centered interviews (cf. Witzel 1982) that were held with experts and the observation within the time spent in Cuba gave a detailed overview about the subject of Internet development and public discourse in Cuba. This way a development of new ideas was possible through the process of the thesis. The experts in this research have all had strong access to the Internet for a certain time, at least in university, so that they can assess the meaning of Internet development in Cuba.

While in the last chapters the theoretical frame has been explained now there is going to be a description of the methodical approach. First, there will be an explanation of the content analysis that serves as method to analyze the given material and quotes from the interviews. Afterwards some steps of the content analysis will be fulfilled and the material will be put into a framework with the explanation of its history of development and the formal characteristics are explained. Then there will follow a description of the system of categories and the implementation of the analysis will be proceeded.

It is meant to fulfill the research without personal preference or judgment as far as possible since political processes are influenced by interests from different sides.

5.1 Problem- centered Interviews

The problem- centered interview goes back on Witzel (1982) (Witzel 2000). It has been chosen in this research since it takes certain aspects of a special subject to concretize them and allows a very open process of talk. It opens a way of conversation in which the interview partner can talk about individual acting and subjective cognition so that through this a social reality can be shown (Witzel 2000). Here the knowledge- profit is gathered mostly from the inductive- deductive exchange ratio which can just be reached if the interviewer can scoop from previous knowledge already (ibid.). The previous knowledge is important for the process of the dialog and further questioning (ibid.). This way it is also easier to earn trust and receive information from the interview partner which then leads to stronger self- reflexion and a higher ability to remember (ibid.). Within the conversation the interview partner will come up with new facts related to the topic and will disagree with things that have been said earlier so that the interviewer can come to new conclusions through the disagreement (ibid.). The point of individualization receives a new meaning in this context (ibid.). In those there is a talking guideline that consists of questions and stimulations to narrate so that certain aspects can be put into a biographical manner (Flick 2004: 134f.). In the beginning, the first questions are asked very open so that the interview partner is able to talk about the subject in a very free manner and to relax, which then creates a flow of talking (Witzel 2000).

Important for the problem- centered interviews is a short questionnaire about the basic facts of the interview partner like name, age, job so that there is a slight knowledge about the person so that afterwards it is possible to get back on this information if necessary (ibid.). For the

interview itself there is need for a guiding questionnaire, a sound recording device and a script written afterwards (ibid.). The script serves as an individual review for the interviewer so that he or she can remember his impressions about gestures and special moments also for the analysis.

5.1.1 Concept of the guiding questionnaire

When doing the guiding questionnaire, the subject of the thesis and the research question were already clear. The previous assumptions according the research topic helped to create fields of interest like the production of ideas through Western countries, Internet use in general, freedom of the Internet and new possibilities given through the Internet. The first question was held really general and not as important as others in order to start the conversation with the interview partner about general information policy in Cuba. After the first interview, the questionnaire was changed insofar that the question “Could you give me definition of freedom?” was changed to “Could you give me a definition of freedom of opinion?”. This was necessary because the research question was changed after the first interview. Earlier, the research question was “Is Internet in Cuba a tool to liberty?” and afterwards it was “Is Internet a tool to critical public discourse?”. This orientation change had different reasons. Mainly it can be explained through the fact that the research was created before the actual stay and direct research in Cuba. Even though the question for the definition of freedom already put the focus on creating a local definition aside from the researchers Western influenced opinion, it became clear that the topic of freedom firstly is too wide and secondly makes a proof about causality to the Internet very hard. Also, in many talks to Cubans before the first official interview it became clear that Cuba has a lot of participatory structures that support a feeling of freedom and that the problems are found rather economically or in the possibility to be critical in public.

The guideline questionnaire included following fields of interest:

- Questions according the influence of the United States through the Internet
- Questions according the use of the Internet
- Questions according wishes that are produced through the Internet
- Questions according freedom of speech in Cuba

- Questions about the possibilities and negative outcomes of the Internet for the Cuban society

5.2 Subject of research

As mentioned above the research questions were changed during the process of research. In the beginning the focus was put stronger on a possible liberty that could develop through higher Internet access. Liberty in this context was supposed to be defined by the interview partner themselves to do research without a Western way of defining the important subjects so that alternative concepts of thinking can be included. It is important to include the concepts of the interviewed persons because they stand closer to the context and are therefore more legitimate. During the analysis and categorization, it showed that after closing the research subject from a focus of general freedom to freedom of speech that it had to be opened again towards expectations and fears and the influence of the new availability of information on the Cuban citizens. For the interview partner this influence of a higher level of faster information had a big impact on a lot of things they said and was always combined with an insecurity about what is real and what is not. This way they also had problems in their judgement about positivity or negativity in local processes according new media. This insecurity often showed through relativization, meaning that in one sentence for example they said that the Internet was just producing illusions while in the next they emphasized the support of free speech. Because of relativization and the contradictions, the different perspectives have been pictured clearly.

5.3 Interviews

The interview partners were chosen according to certain criteria. All five of them were Cuban citizens with a life- long residence in Cuba, all lived and had studied in Havana, all of them were academics in the age from 25 to 40 and due to their studies, they all had access to the global Internet for a longer time than most of the people who had not studied. This way, in Cuba they can be seen as experts in the use of Internet. The five interview partner were found through a contact at the University of Havana.

The interviews were all held either in my flat or the ones of the interview partners. The average lengths of the interviews were around 30 minutes. The one with the youngest interview partner was very short and only lasted for ten minutes while the one with the woman working at the university and researching in this certain field lasted for around two hours. All participants agreed with the recording of the interview and the interviews were held within one month in August 2016. After every interview, there has been written a post scriptum about gestures, facial expression and specifics which were used for the analysis.

5.3.1 Method of analysis

In social research, there are a lot of different methods. The method of problem- centered interviews and the content analysis work together well and offer the way of analysis that is needed for the research that was planned for this thesis.

5.4 Content Analysis

The analysis of the problem- centered interviews will be realized through the content analysis according to Mayring since it is the goal of the content analysis to interpret the content of the material in its social context and field of meaning and to focus on the perspective of the actor (Mayring 2002: 114; Bortz/ Döring 2006: 329; Ramsenthaler 2013: 23). Within the analysis it was important to work according to these goals and therefore the point of view of the interview partners is put in the foreground. Due to the conversations with them it was possible to discuss if a space for critical public discourse is created through the Internet and to talk about expectations, fears and wishes that are created as an additional outcome of the invention of new media.

To do so, it was important to

- *Create a classification* of a communication model to gather information about the text production. This information can be the development story of the given material, the social background of the interview partner and the effect of the text
- Work *rule- governed* through the creation of a category system
- Put the *category system* in the center

- Proof *specific criteria* like *confirmability*, *triangulation* and *reliability* (Ramsenthaler 2013: 23ff.).

The categories of the research have been created inductive (ibid.: 29). This means that they are carved out through the “bottom- up- process” and that the first the level of abstraction must be fixed and the codes are created from the context of the written interviews (ibid.: 29). The summarizing content in this analysis focuses on the reduction of the given material while keeping the important content (ibid.: 30). Criteria of selection were made before, then the text was read and certain quotes were selected, put into categories, subsumed and paraphrased (ibid.: 30). In the end, the system of categories was being analyzed, so that it was possible to answer the research question (ibid.: 30).

For this thesis, there has been used the summarizing content analysis which makes it necessary to split the quotes into categories after the text has been cut down. Additionally, since the interviews were held in Spanish and the written language of the thesis is English, all quotes have been categorized in Spanish but have been translated to English. When words were repeated within the Spanish text, in the translation the same words were used repetitive as well so that the special meaning of repetition in some cases can be reconstructed. The creation of categories is inductive, meaning that the categories are formulated directly from the interviews and not from the theories (ibid.: 29). The creation of categories was possible by working through the material a lot of times under repeated reading. Then the quotes were put into categories and were abstracted so that results could be presented and contextualized (ibid.: 29).

Main category	Sub- categories	
Virtual Public	Present	Perspective
Blockade	U.S.A.	Cuba
Outcome	Internationality	Idea Transfer

The category *Virtual Public* defines the opinion of the interview partners about the room for public in Cuba. It is split into *Present* and *Perspective*. The *Present* shows their view on the current situation while the *Perspective* focuses on the expansion of public room through the Internet and accompanying a development of freedom of speech and information policy.

Blockade focuses on the two forces that work against the development of the Internet in Cuba. The sub- categories split into *Cuba* and the *U.S.A.*. Each stand for the corresponding governments and the interest they have about the development of Internet on the island. There is an interference between the blockade of the Cuban government and the political interests of the United States. The United States have a historically caused interest in democratization policy towards socialist countries and especially Cuba, so that the Internet being dominated by Western companies that cooperate with the U.S.- government appears as political danger for the destabilization of the local system. As described earlier the United States see the Internet as a tool of democratization and explained openly their goal to democratize Cuba online. Since this does not picture the keen interest of the Cuban government it is strictly trying to suppress the development of the Internet. This oppression cannot be kept up though because the local citizens aspire to go online and since the early 2000s the government decided to open stronger towards the West. This decision was made official during the meeting between Raúl Castro and Barack Obama in Havana. Therefore, by handing out information material the Cuban government instead tries to educate the citizens about a careful handling of Computers and the Internet so that people are careful about the use and publishing their data, about possible manipulation and the influence it might have on their social life. It showed that many Cubans are well educated about possible disadvantages that can occur due to the use of Internet.

The category *Outcome* deals with pictures that are created through the Internet and systems that are transferred. This way, illusions are build and new wishes are created. Virtuality offers space to create appearances that do not necessarily exist. For example, consumption can look shiny and desirable because it is put into a concept of freedom and individuality. Also, this space can promise a feeling of inclusion into a global system. This way the sub- category *Internationality* leads towards the wish of the Internet serving as a global platform that allows international participation without the need of travelling. All the interview partners pointed out that inclusion into the world's society plays a significant role since they have been excluded for many years. Online, they feel that they can take part in the global society. The other dimension implicates the transfer of ideas and focuses on illusions that are transferred by the Internet to Cuba. The interview partner felt like the "American dream" is produced and that especially the younger generation starts to aspire consume and the idea of freedom that appears with it. As explained above the Internet is dominated by Western companies and systems so that illusions are created that seem desirable and might lead to political consequences because people might aspire political changes and therefore start to take actions.

5.4.1 Evaluation process

The evaluation focused on the following research questions:

- Is Internet in Cuba a tool to support a new virtual (critical) public?
- What are the expectations and fears of Cuban citizens according the new virtuality?
- What are the blockades of a neutral virtual public room?
- Which role plays U.S.- policy in this context?

These research questions are based on unofficial interviews, talks and observation that were held before the research for the thesis.

The names of the five interview partner are changed in this thesis because this way they were able to talk more open and critical about local structures within Cuba. The five interview partner are described in the following:

Name	Age	Profession	Residence	Internet access
Alejandro	35	Artist	Havana	Hot- Spot
Clara	22	Student	Havana	University
Daniela	31	Professor	Havana	Home& University
Miguel	34	Lets Casa Particular	Havana	Hot- Spot
Mario	33	Medic	Havana	Home& Hospital

The table shows that in August 2016 all participants had access to the Internet. Two of them only had access in form of public Hot- Spots and reported that they can just pay for two or three hours of access every week. While Alejandro had had a time of stronger access in university, Miguel could use the account of a foreign friend who lived in Havana for around one and a half years. This way he could use the Internet from home during this time. Clara can use the Internet

each day for 45 minutes in University and Daniela and Mario have received the legal right of access at home due to their profession as medic and professor.

5.4.2 Realization of the method

The following will consist of the content analysis according to Mayring but will not include every step or steps might be changed by the writer.

5.4.3 Presentation of results

Here the results are going to be presented and in the beginning the different categories are going to be explained. The quotes will be added to underline each point. The results are split into three different categories. Those are “Transfer of Western ideas and creation of new wishes and illusions through the Internet”, “Opening of a new critical public through the Internet” and “Blockades to the global virtual involvement”. Those categories again are split into sub-categories to build a scheme of causality. During the research, it appeared that a pattern exists that influences itself in cause and reaction and will be explained during the analysis. Through the opening of the virtual public develops the option for a new critical discourse but this is not completely possible because on one hand also Western ideas flow in the view and on the other hand there is a blockade that suppresses a steady development that could support the freedom of speech of the people. Due to this reason in the analysis exist three big categories. One focuses on the development of a virtual critical public in Cuba while the other two show what influences this process.

6. Results

6.1 Virtual Public

6.1.1 Present

A strong disagreement in answers was determined on the question about freedom of speech with Cubans. On the question if there exists freedom in speech in Cuba the people reacted completely contrary. Some were completely sure that there exists freedom of speech while others were certain that there is not. It seemed like the opinions differed depending on the benefits people got from the system. For example, people working for the state with a strong involvement in local processes and important social contacts supported stronger that freedom of speech exists than those that felt that the socialist system detains chances from them. This feeling of detained chances was often connected to economic reasons, missing freedom in movement, a lack in global information and participation and self- fulfillment in an area that is not subsidized by the Cuban state. Those who felt a benefit from the Cuban system also reacted more careful about the opening of the Cuban economy and the establishment of the Internet while those who felt penalized were eager for changes and felt that those come too slowly. Also, the view on manipulation showed to be different. All interview partners, either official or unofficial were certain that control and manipulation in the context of new media and information production exists but those who felt benefited by the Cuban state put their focus stronger on criticism on the U.S.- policy, capitalism, consume and Western exploitation while the others saw the responsibility more in the Cuban system and the government leader's motivation to keep their power. Still those who have different views are unsteady about their opinion. A stable uncertainty speaks from the people and shows that there is a strong lack in trust towards the Cuban and foreign systems. This again stands contrary to the strong dependency the people feel with each other which leads to trust among the people since they feel that social contacts and the help among each other is the only way to keep up on the island. Therefore, the interviews point to the tendency of Cubans putting a grand worth in direct and personal communication. The mistrust against the own system can be seen due to the tradition of propaganda policy which leads to mistrust in information and the feeling that the information they spread themselves are controlled and watched. It is important to point out that many locals feel imprisoned according to the topic of information policy. Through the connection to the

global Internet they feel integrated to receive and share information. Even though the stable fear of manipulation and control stays, it can be pointed out that the feeling of integration into world happenings is stronger. The feeling increases especially through the rise of information and the speed in which it can be received now. Particularly Mario seemed to be very upset about the current system of information and public discourse. Even though he is one of those interview partners who has a stable connection at home. In Cuba, the situation about the medics is a special one. Since the revolution the government put a special focus on the education of medics so that nowadays Cuba is the leading country in this certain field in Central America. As an economical exchange, they send medics to other Central American countries and have a stable health tourism. Even though the Cuban medics are in a strong demand they still only earn around 40 Euros a month. They are benefited with an own apartment and the Internet. The one-room- apartment of Mario was very small for a three-person family and a dog and according to him the Internet is so slow that it sometimes takes around half an hour to open one homepage. Mario is the only person working in his family and felt that he had to work more than people with other jobs, that he had to study harder for a higher education and that he still earns the same amount of money like others in Cuba or even less compared to those who work in the field of tourism. He was very frustrated about the whole Cuban system and had the goal to leave Cuba to go for a so- called mission in another Central American State to earn more money. He pointed out often that he felt controlled and manipulated.

*“From the 90s the ministries have been **controlled**. Of course, the Cubans had relations during the war. I went to the military and passed a lot of years without Internet and now there is the Internet war which really changes the social networks and other ways of communication also, not only the Internet **but for a new period to publish information and therefore began a phase with more information** and on the other hand there was already the national TV to put this and other things they were able to and others put it on Facebook, homepages and **I felt international, controlled but also integrated. The subject of information here is controlled. Very, very controlled. Very manipulative depending on the point of view but I have my own view.**”*

*“**They manipulate information like they manipulate the rest. In the end, they feel the same way for the Internet also. The computer experts are the best to actualize this a little better and of course there is a difference to the rest. Quiet a high personal level,***

like institutional. On the other side, I feel they get an excellent salary in communication and information. That's practical, right? Or without big parts of knowledge. Of course, knowledge about development but that is somehow different. I can also take looks in things that are not public and of course in information and that way I learn a little."
(Mario, page 1)

The feeling about manipulation and control leads to a resignation about public critics along the Cuban society. This way most people have learned to only be critical at home or to stop public critics in general.

"No, no I don't believe this. Because this happens in the discourse of university. In the end, I don't say things that annoy me in the way they work because it won't change anything and I don't want to waste my energy. And since it does not work for most things and this includes Cuban development I talk a lot about things but not about how they could be changed. It annoys me this manner of how it is presented. Therefore no."
(Clara, page 2)

The current situation keeps a lot of people uncritical in public because they feel there won't be changes in the system even if they would communicate their dissatisfaction. They rather could fall into the situation to experience economic disadvantages since strong critics that are communicated in public are often sanctioned through economic discrimination by the government. People are not being penalized if they keep their critics to themselves or as Cubans say *in the house*. Public critics about the system are not welcome. The same counts for the Cuban information policy. There is access to a variety of information except of this that could carry disadvantages to the Cuban system. Since these facts are common knowledge a lot of people stopped to protest in public and feel that protests do not help for a change. Since in the interviews above Daniela and Miguel put the Internet in the context of participation it becomes clear that they feel an option to take part through the Internet. The virtual public is seen as room to participate while in the 'real' public people feel that they cannot change anything through their engagement. This shows that the Internet produces the feeling that global participation is enabled online while local participation has no impact to support changes. Additionally, to the local mistrust in Communication policy information flows very slowly. Before the Internet was

invented in Cuba people were only able to receive information from the local media channels or from books. Now the Internet access is given and offers lots of information but the access is very slow and there is too much information that people want to gather so that the amount of time that can be afforded feels too short. Especially since many Cubans are highly educated they want to learn more and take part in discourses. The topic of discourse also goes back on the hegemonic production of information. It is hard for Cubans to create information in the Internet themselves because the access is too slow and the time for them to go online is too short. This way they fall into a certain passivity because they can just consume the information others produced. Mario points out that a lot of information in the Internet is in English language which leads to an exclusion of those who don't understand English. If their access would be stronger they could also produce information in Spanish with a non- western point of view to establish an equal global discourse about different topics. As the theory has already underlined there is a strong Western influence in the Internet nowadays. According to the research question if a new critical public can be strengthened through the Internet the point of information hegemony is problematic. As described in the theory above the strengthening of the public would open another forum for political deliberation and support the establishment of informed and logical discussion that leads to self- fulfillment and personal development. If Cubans are not able to participate in the process to also publish information they depend on the information that is produced by others. The virtual public discourse that is opened that way is based partly on the discourse of others and the information is given by others.

*“You need to search for **information** but it doesn't work. **The communication needs its time.** The books are too versatile. **You need another hour there. To participate** with the students or to search the books that are lend. Also, **the Internet needs a lot of time.** As soon that I have finished one there appear fourteen others and more. That's no form of information. **Information actualizes much faster.** Yes, you need books. But you can also turn on the computer and search for all the information that you need. **There are a lot of information that are actualized very well.** There are big parts from North America, there are big parts in English. That's good for us but **the problem is the vocabulary.**”*
(Mario, page 3)

“You have different possibilities. Here, there are people that have the Internet permanently but well the life that they know is that of the foreigners. There are some

foreigners that live in Cuba that have Internet permanently. For another price but the public cannot have that. For us it's 25 hours. Not more. If you need more you have to pay. Also, the medics cannot have. Or can but also cannot pay. We only have 25 hours. That's not a lot information. Or you have to wait for another month. Every day one hour more or less in a month of 30 days. That's not much. Hopes? Not many. It's always the same the topic of hopes. No. The hope of the medics is the mission. It's the only form to solve something in a legal way.” (Miguel, page 3)

6.1.2 Perspectives

Since the impressions of the present show a deficient picture of a possible public discourse and information policy in this sub- category there will be discussed if the Internet could be a helpful room for this.

The interview partners see the Internet as a space that can give liberty and other kinds of freedom as well. Especially the liberty of expression and communication is distinguished. Even though all of them support more liberty in the new media sector they are also skeptical and emphasize that it depends on the people who are using it and the actions for which it is used. Miguel also adds that geographic borders can be bridged. This is important because after the revolution many Cubans moved to the U.S.A. and were hardly able to keep contact to their families. The Internet allows an easier and faster communication. Therefore, the expenses for the Internet of Cuban citizens are often covered by family members from abroad.

“[...] the Internet can give a space of liberty and can give other spaces. Depending on how it is used and how it is wanted. But yes, in general it opens another space that can help to give another aspect of liberty, for example in the topic of communication. It is not possible to be close to each other all the time if you want to be and the Internet makes it easier somehow. Still my point of view is that the direct communication is more important but the Internet helps as a big medium but it does not replace the direct communication.” (Miguel, page 7)

Clara, who explained that she does not express her critics in public because she feels no change through this, concludes as an answer to the question *what the Internet can support* that it might open new possibilities of expression. According to the theory public sphere can be created through informed and logical discussion (page 15) so that this way a public sphere could be shaped through information and exchange of opinions.

“I think yes. Those who watch it know that Cuba opens new pages of expression. Opinions that normally have been hold down now are now expressed combined with ideas of opening. I think yes.” (Clara, page 3)

Also added is the possibility to be critical. Even though Alejandro points out that the Internet is not real he feels it to be easier to give your own point of view and your opinion this way. Still he is as well critical about the medium Internet because he feels that it is manipulated just like any other media. In Cuba, generally there exists a strong mistrust against media and information but at the same time the Internet seems to be a portal to the global world that promises a new room of expression.

“The Internet is a space of new opinions. You can use your point of view and your opinion is your access. Like with everything and all possibilities it’s a point of imagination which is not completely real. The Internet and all the other media are a manipulation. But you can be critical easier.” (Alejandro, page 4)

The Internet is considered to be an “alternative place” that cannot be controlled as well as other channels of media because the Cuban government cannot control the upload of content of other users except of those from Cuba. This way the government can just prevent the local citizens from putting information online, which leads to the production of hegemonic information production, they can filter content, they can watch the Internet use of those living in Cuba, they can prohibit technical improvements and they can keep the use expensive. In Cuba, daily control is normal but often not seen as something bad but rather necessary because of the political relation to the United States and the embargo. Also, socialism is based on economic control so that control and governmental influence is part of the local political structures. The interviews

showed that only one (Miguel) of five persons was really upset and emotional about the feeling of manipulation and control while three others of them (Mario, Clara, Alejandro) seemed rather resigned and one (Daniela) seemed to not be bothered as strongly.

“Everything is controlled. Normally everything is controlled, there is somebody who controls, another one that confirms this behavior and therefore begins to read stuff of the people. It seems to me that this is what they do. There are other places. Alternative places. It seems to me like a chance that can be used therefore. For me I would like it if we had liberty in communication for a real liberty that can be lived.” (Clara, page 4)

The word possibility was noticeable frequently used in connection to the words Internet, connection or liberty. For all the interview partners the Internet is a possibility to an alternative place of communication and it's a possibility for everybody even if there are still differences through the affordability, meaning that those with more money are able to have more access. Also, they often modified what they said by highlighting that the Internet is just an illusion. The wish towards an opening and at the same time the fear about manipulation and control from in- and outside is showing throughout all interviews.

“I don't have much hope. Step by step there is a possibility to connect to have the possibility of connection, slowly. The connection is slow, very slow but the connection is a real possibility, that makes a lot of things easier.” (Alejandro, page 3)

“I don't think it is free, free. The word free stands for another thing. And, I don't know, the possibility of movement and a portal that's a dream, but I think with the possibility we have I think it's more, for everybody. For me as well. Liberty is not here, not in Germany, in no place of the world. The Internet is a quarter with options for opinions. You don't need to use your point of view but at the same time your access is your opinion. You can find everything that you can imagine, what is not real completely. The Internet and all the other media are a manipulation. But you can start to be more critical.” (Alejandro, page 3)

To Alejandro the Internet seems like a virtual market place that does not exist in “reality”. He sees it somehow as an illusion but at the same time as one that opens new spaces to be critical. For him, freedom stands for movement and the Internet is a portal for movement in ideas and opinions. Problematic about this portal is the manipulation because social reality is not so clear and physical, so that pictures can be created that do not exist and lead to wrong assessments.

6.2 Blockade

6.2.1 Cuba

The Cuban government blockades the development of the Internet not directly and official but through certain ways. One way to do so is to keep the connection very expensive. As described above, the price for the connection is a great part of a monthly salary so that only people who work in the field of tourism or have supportive family members abroad can afford to be online more frequently. The same occurs with the technical equipment like tablets, laptops or smartphones that are used to get a connection. Portability is important in this case because for most Cubans it is not possible to go online at home so that they mostly use public Hot- Spots.

“In “reality”, the level of access to information and intellectuals could keep up with the rest of the world. Virtually, it is quite impossible. I don’t know which percentage of the population can go online but the level of the ones that can connect to the Internet is still very low. The connection is very expensive and the technique like a tablet or a computer which you need to connect. All the things are expensive and therefore only few have the money to pay and connect to the Internet. It is still very low.” (Mario, page 2)

“The Liberty is another factor that conditionates and that affects most of the economy and what you have to pay for the Internet today is pretty expensive. You pay half a monthly salary for some hours of Internet. Two normal work days for one hour of Internet. That is expensive, right?” (Daniela, page 8)

Another factor next to the high price is the time. The price and the time are connected to each other because the price influences the time that the people can spend online and the amount of information that can be received and shared. All interview partners mention the factor of time and accentuate that the available time is insufficient for the amount of information that is needed. The information usually is needed for the practice of their profession.

“The Liberty of the people? I think in a certain form yes. In a certain form, it will work always. They sell information each day and they cannot be read by the majority and as I said it needs three or four hours each day to read all the profound information.”
(Daniela, page 14)

The time is not only bound to the affordability but also to technical efficiency. This means that the public Hot- Spots only allow a very slow connection. The slow connection prohibits the use of videos, for example on YouTube. Also, it reduces the information that can be gathered during the shortly measured time because the homepages load slowly and make it harder to search for information.

“Yes, in general. There are Websites that are controlled. Political websites, pornographic Websites, that’s mostly it. Therefore, I can access the rest. I think I can, I think I can open Twitter and other Websites I don’t receive. Well. You cannot receive Twitter. It will not open. Aah not Twitter, YouTube. A photo or video maybe is already a big step but (...) you can have it but I never had (...). I don’t understand this. It is normally very slow. In one place, it is very fast and in another it is completely different. In Spring, I don’t know (...) one minute, two minutes. You must live like this (...).”
(Mario, page 3)

“For another Price but not for the public. For us it’s 25 hours. Not more. If you would need more nobody could get it and pay for it. Or maybe the medics could get it but they also could not pay for it. That’s not a lot of information. Or you need to wait for another month. Round about one hour more or less for 30 days each month. That’s not a lot.

Hopes...? Not so many. No. The hope of the medics is the mission. It is the only possibility to solve the problems legally.” (Mario, page 4)

Even the two interview partner with a stable access at home don't feel that they are having a permanent connection. Daniela and Mario both feel that their access is limited. Both of them broke their sentence beginning with explaining their form of access in order to stop and to distinguish that they have the right to use the Internet or certain parts of the Internet. From their side, also the access is seen limited even though they have a permanent connection at home and at work.

*“I am a professor in the university and I have access to (...). No, **I have the right** for email in my house, for telephone as well and for the condition of the telephone. I have Internet in my house from the moment I work as an author in my house. The moment that I have Email in my house is the moment of my work. I have Internet for work without contradiction but with some censorship but everybody has that and that's fine. The international Email program as a thing gives a sense to all education that has been produced, just like everything in the life that is about research, right?” (Daniela, page 4)*

In this connection Mario is very upset about the current situation and highlights that he in fact has the right to use the Internet but he does not feel like it. First, he mentions that he has the possibility but then says directly afterwards that he has not. The Computer he got from the state to go online is very old and slow and it takes sometimes around half an hour to open one homepage. This way the 25 hours of access are passing by fast without him being able to gather as much information as he would like to.

*“Let's see. Theoretically **I have the right** to use the Internet. But practically I don't have. For example, I have slow access to (home)pages and connection to emails and bills. But no access to Internet phone talks. That is all for nothing. **I have the possibility**. No. No. I have the believe. No. **I have the right** for all the capacity. **I don't really have the possibility** because they tell me real? Go to the fixed Internet places! We have those*

places at the hospital. But they are really rare in comparison to the number of medics.”
(Mario, page 2)

To go around the governments blockade people invented the *paquete semanal*. The existence is an open secret and everything that cannot be received through the regular connection can be received this way. Important about this is that the government knows about its existence but does not invent against it. This way the Cuban citizens can receive more information than it seems at first. Officially the *paquete* is illegal so that they must use it secretly. The fact that the government does not take direct actions against it is notable and allows the conclusion that little pieces of the aspired freedom are given to prevent stronger protest. According to Daniela the government behaves this way because they want to counteract hegemonic drifts in Cuba that arrive from the United States.

*“I feel that not everybody in the world has the same access and when you have access all the time you need WiFi, that’s a part that the government knows and since this doesn’t exist there is the famous paquete. The government knows about it. They should make a campaign against it but they don’t. They weren’t very restrictive against it (...) The government did not plan the communication with all the people from the culture (....) **They just planed it against all hegemonic drifts.** The paquete is also called *muchila* (backpack). A package or a backpack hm? Where every week again some intellectual Cubans receive a selection of movies, documentaries, good article, every article, blogs etc. **That’s a communication against hegemonic drifts.** Not officially official. It’s a different way of communication because the paquete should be there for everybody. In the middle of everybody.”* (Daniela, page 6)

The interview partner explained that most of the content in the paquete has to be led back to U.S.- American origin so that it can be figured that the hegemonic drift is seen as a danger coming from the north. They feel that the permanent protest against hegemonic structures limits the people in the vision they have for themselves and for Cuba. The protest is all- embracing and concerns all parts of the Cuban society. This again changes the peoples’ behavior and puts their focus on the fight against hegemonic structures instead of fulfilling their own individual

needs. In Cuba, the focus is put stronger on the collective needs which are verbalized through the government under the lead of the Castro brothers.

*“And the people see a different reality. Here I feel are a lot of people with a vision that is very **limited**. For me the people here are very **limited** because it’s always Cuba against the rest of the world but they don’t know other things that they could feel or do. But there are also a lot of people that really believe in Cuba against the rest of the world and often it’s a matter of too less knowledge and in this sense, there are two sides. Often it’s a lack in knowledge and action.” (Clara, page 3)*

6.2.2 U.S.A.

The United States are reasoning the Cuban blockade insofar that the opening of a new public through the Internet is having the side effect of another outcome. This outcome consists of new political and economic wishes and ideas and will be explained in the next category.

It becomes clear that the blockade of the Cuban government towards the technical improvement of the Internet is always reasoned with the Western influence that can be executed online. The category *Outcome* shows the reasonable justification of this. Also, the United States pointed out the wish of democratization through the Internet regularly. This way the Cuban government can be restrictive on a well- founded level. Using propaganda and ideology that are spread by media they are producing an understanding for the limitations. Still a lot of people in Cuba start pushing towards a less restrictive communication policy under the acceptance of the United States gaining more influence. Right now, there is a tug of war between those who support socialism and those who push for an opening that shows already in an individuals’ perspective. All the interview partners were talking about a change in values that occurs through the access and it depends on the persons point of view if this is appreciated or not.

“And therefore, the Internet might be good in a negative sense even though I think it cannot give a general opportunity but ok, in the case of Cuba the people use the Internet partly for their communication and that’s good for the person but also we know how many are interested in bombing Cuba with a certain type of information according to consumption and production. And in the society the people don’t have a feeling for those

*negative things. Like the influence it might have on social interests or interests of the community or the country. Well, in the end it's negative. But everything always depends on the people, which values are important for the people, in which values the people put the importance and therefore it might be negative or it might not. We know that they have done lots of things with the Internet, lots of wars in the last time that happened to be commercialized. **They started a mediatic war, a war of public opinion and against the people that live in this place.**" (Miguel, page 7)*

Two of the interview partner are mentioning a *mediatic war* or *war of communication*. These phrases are produced through the Cuban media and imply that using the Internet is dangerous because the United States are using it as a weapon against Cuba. This way many Cubans get scared about its' use and don't know how to interact. This feeling showed during all interviews in the undecidedness in opinion towards a positive or negative outcome from the Internet. Obviously, it is a double- edged sword that represents different interest in political power. Western state governments, especially that of the U.S. influence the Internet. They do so through the interaction with Internet companies like Facebook, Google and others. The common work of state governments and companies allows to produce politics through new media. Meanwhile the Cuban government wants to keep the local socialist system stable and therefore is afraid of the outcome of illusions, wishes and ideas that could lead to a political movement within their society.

*"But **the media** says that the United States has a big influence in this field combined with this **kind of war that exists today and they include the United States and they call it the informatic war or war of media or war of communication media. That's not a normal war. Since they want to start a war with a media bombing and communication they do it.** Personally, I cannot confirm this but that's what **they say in the media** (...). On the other side, it's logical since the United States have a strong economic and military potential (....). It's a point of their interest. They always have a big influence on the worlds' economies and most of Germanys population. I can imagine that they don't like to depend on new spaces of communication and their picture of them. But with respect to Cuba everything they say, they limit and every kind of action that Cuba takes according to development is diverted to the U.S. blockade. I don't have a real proof though. I don't have anything. I won't do anything. But well, everything the Cuban*

government does is always done with reference to the U.S. Also, the sale of products. There is a lot of press that cannot sell in Cuba. Therefore, in the end there is an influence of the United States. And with the topic of Cuba it's different like always. I imagine there is an influence but there is less on the country than they tell the people.” (Mario, page 4)

The word *bombing* is used in many phrases that are put in the context of U.S. influence. There is a stable fear of a sudden influence in culture, politics, economies and the social life through the war in media. They feel this not only through the Internet but also through movies in the cinema. Alejandro mentioned that already the first U.S. movies shown in the cinema already put new thoughts in the peoples' heads and that the Internet just doing the same in a stronger way now.

“In Cuba, it's luck that there is no Internet for this point of living because still the people are bombed culturally, social, politically and how they could live, how they should live. In Cuba, still you don't have access to the global Internet. That's something that a lot of people who arrive here appreciate. That point of view is good.” (Miguel, page 7)

The interview partner reason the *cultural bombing* with the geography of Cuba. The United States want to put Cuba under their charge and in their dependency for them to have another access to the Gulf of Mexico. The creation of dependence is given also through the impose of one system over another and if the Internet creates a shiny picture of everything that is missed in Cuba, the people might step back from traditional ideologies and turn to what represents freedom for them. This way the United States see an option for creating a political movement towards an opening.

“It's for the geography of Cuba. Cuba was always what they call the key to the Gulf of Mexico. With the blockade and the restrictions, it's a story of a lot of years, right? (.....). It's a revolution of everybody, right? Even if they say very little about this in the New York Times, in Miami Herald, in none of those newspapers they say almost nothing about what has happened here. It's a mediatic mistake of years.” (Daniela, page 14)

“Sometimes I feel that it opens. There is an opening. But I think it’s new ground with new opinions, new images, the heat of other opinions. I don’t know. The taste passes, right? That’s the problem. You don’t get new opinions of a new standard. The level is just washed. We don’t have that today. Also, because the Internet is cursed somehow. I cannot imagine that the first article on Google is the perfect article and then the page has two other types of articles. What can the people know directly?” (Daniela 14)

This way the actual outcome of the development is mainly another one than the creation of a new sphere for the public but rather the establishment of new wishes for pictures from First World countries.

6.3 Outcome

6.3.1 Internationality

The Internet is seen as a part of a global society. Values in a positive and negative manner are delivered this way. Since most Cubans are not taking part in the contextualization of Internet matters yet “today’s society” excludes Cuban values. It shows that being able to enter the Internet is connected to being part of the world as a global citizen. The internationalization and freedom of movement are strongly aspired in Cuba and since most of the citizens are not able to travel due to financial reasons the Internet seems to give a certain kind of freedom. The definition of the values is made by others. Information and leading culture are therefore produced by others as well. It is felt that Cuban citizens do not take part in a global discourse, the definition of values and an international communication. Additionally, the Internet is seen as a picture of the global system. Everything that the Internet represents, all ideas of global freedom, consumption and capitalism are seen as a copy of the world today. To the interview partners there is always a strong fluctuation between positive and negative factors that come out of the Internet and during the interviews the factors became blurred at times because there is hardly a clear definition of what is positive and what is negative. They usually see two sides.

One is the feeling of international inclusion and an expansion of freedom of speech and the other is possible manipulation and the fear about a change in direct communication.

“Internet is part of being human (...). It reflects today’s society. Not only for the most important human values but also for the demons. There are also demons. Some.”
(Miguel, page 3)

6.3.2 Idea Transfer

The interview partners feel that the Internet opens new perspectives for them. This includes also other media aside the Internet. Most Cubans are not able to leave the island due to financial reasons. Earlier there were strong restrictions about travelling but according to different unofficial interviews there was a change around 2000. From that point restrictions in different matters were decreased. This concerns travelling as well as the distribution of the Internet. Even though travelling is still not affordable for most Cubans. The flights to leave Cuba are just as expensive as the ones to fly to Cuba and with a monthly income of around 40 Euros it is only possible for most Cubans to travel if they have family living abroad who supports them financially. This way most citizens are tied to the island and apart from new media they can only gather foreign information through tourists, books or traditional media. Problematic about the traditional media is the propaganda by the Cuban government. All newspapers, TV and radio stand under the direction of the government. This means that interests of the Cuban government are always supported by the local traditional media and that critical points of view about local structures are hardly found in public. Also, Western habits, especially those of U.S. Americans and systems like capitalism are hardly judged. The Internet is hard to control and through this people are lately able to decide themselves which information they want to gather. They feel this way they are more responsible for their lives and their expression.

The relationship of many Cuban citizens towards the U.S.- American culture combines a feeling of freedom and danger. The danger is seen especially in exploitation and the transfer of capitalism. The fear about exploitation is strongly connected to the pre- revolutionary time in Cuba. Even though the younger generation, that has not experienced the exploitation of the island by foreign countries pursues for an opening towards the West because it promises the fulfillment of the “American dream”.

“It happens less for liberty in communication but more for liberty in living because also you lose your taste in leading culture. The dominant system is much more functional, has the coordination of those who like to work for their pleasure, to have ten houses, ten cars and just work ten percent of the day. It’s the liberty in communication but primary the liberty in living. Or you lose your socialization in your fertility for the time and the price of technology and you believe in the bill and money more and more. And they sell you a wrong picture and therefore arises a dissonance between your real life and that affects you, affects your being, affects your social processes, affects your contact to your family. Therefore, more freedom in communication protects the case of more liberty. Influences your life. For me the liberty in communication is liberty in living but I don’t know if this is the final goal.” (Clara, page 3)

The consumption and economical part plays a big role in this context because the state- directed economy in Cuba is built on a permanent feeling of shortage. There is some food like vegetables or staple food that is cheap or can be received with meal vouchers and leisure time activity like cinema is subsidized so that Cubans only pay a few Cents to enter. This way the government decides how Cubans should eat or how to organize their free- time- activity. Capitalist consumption seems like another way of living and opens spaces that are imagined to be freer than the ones that are existing in Cuba. It seems to the local people like a new suggestion that they had wished for and that cuts their old boundaries. This consumption they are talking about includes not only a material consumption of things but also the consumption of information and new ideas. Therefore, the consequences are depending on the people and on what they make out of it. They can have negative consequences in a way of exploitation but also positive one’s due to new spaces of communication. The Internet opens different opportunities which might include consequences for the local system. Alejandro feels that the direct outcome can be influenced and that suggestions are made about different ideas that can be followed.

“Yes. No. It’s real. This creates new wishes and new perspectives of the people but it’s not only because of the Internet. The first movie here was a different story. Do you understand? And had the suggestion of this type of consume (...). And had this type of suggestion. It’s in the movie, it’s in el paquete. El paquete here in Cuba is an option of

an American program, foreign (...). But sure, the Internet is another perspective, another wish. It's a movement of thinking, an experiment, a special art. The access has its' consequences. Good and bad consequences. The problem is not the Internet, the TV, the radio. The problem is humanity." (Alejandro, page 4)

Daniela concludes that Cubans are not able to control their current situation while before Alejandro mentioned that the consequences of media are controlled by the humans. Cubans feel a lack in responsibility and control about their own situation while the Internet promises to give exactly this individual freedom.

"The Internet produces images, the Internet produces dreams, wishes, stuff that you can read. What happens in one country, what happens in another. Different things that are possible and impossible but ok. The Internet in Cuba delivers the American way of Life, the European way of life, including the things that are impossible to realize in Cuba, nothing what Cubans can control. And therefore, the Cubans read more about the people (...) the Cubans have a lot of time and they still search for alternative information, without el paquete or the question why it takes so long to gather all those information, since such a long time (...)". (Daniela, page 18)

Also, Daniela sees the Internet as a tool for a new perspective. Alejandro and she both see a production of new wishes for the people through the Internet that can be either fulfilled or not. The fulfillment of the impossible can be aspired by the people so that they push political circumstances forward to a change. She connects the Internet to the American and European Way of life as something that is aspired by the people. This dream of endless possibilities is tied strongly to the basics of capitalism since it belongs to the story to rise from rags to riches. It stands as a counterpart to the socialist economic system of Cuba which is cranked by shortages and restrictions. Daniela mentions twice the impossibility of things and the lack in control of Cuban citizens. This means that she does not feel that she can participate in decisions of society and politics. This task only belongs to the government and releases the citizens from their responsibility of participation. Even though the Cuban political sector is lanced of democratic structures, the system itself stays socialist and delivers state and decision hierarchies.

“The Liberty of the people? I think in a certain form yes. In a certain form, it will work always. They sell information each day and they cannot be read by the majority and as I said it needs three or four hours each day to read all the profound information. And as I said for the majority there is this kind of filter, right? Therefore, to a certain point yes, yes sure can it give new opportunities. It’s always a matter of how you use it. For me the problem about this is which liberty is rising in which collaboration of knowledge.” (Daniela, page 14)

The Internet serves therefore as a uncontrollable tool where the Cuban citizens can get information and participate in communication apart from national borders and tourism. Time and speed play a big role as well since Cubans feel they could gather information and therefore knowledge faster than they can now if they had a greater access. The actual only way to receive a more complete package to foreign (and especially American) information and newspapers, critical blogs and access to video, movies and series is given through the weekly ‘paquete’. Also, this package is limited though since it is selected by others. They feel the freedom to unlimited information is missing while the rest of the world has it and can communicate. Important in this context is also that the educational level of Cuban citizens which has a first world status with a high level of University graduates. They know that it could be possible if circumstances were differently and they know that it works in other countries and do not agree with information politics through media in their own country. To add is also that media of every type in Cuba gives a limited overview and keeps always the dogmatic connection of pro-revolutionary and socialist politics.

“The people can get every type of information and their conclusion and their ideas and I think all Cubans want to participate in this because in the end the reason therefore is that we are a village with many people and they want to study and a lot of people have titles from university and others have pre university and others have a Bachelor and I think the biggest problem is the demon, the demon of the government, because for all the people, all the teenagers, the children, they begin to gather the values of America, the American dream. That idea is bombed in the Internet, the TV and everywhere. The whole world wants to live the American dream. Which is no dream.” (Miguel, page 2)

Miguel also underlines the fact that the Internet opens a virtual door to the whole world and therewith the option to take part. During official and unofficial interviews, the different persons often highlighted the fact of participation in a broader mass and the feeling of exclusion from world happenings. The Internet offers the idea that due to communication and information decisions can be influenced on a global level. Even if people are not able to travel the virtual interaction makes them feel like in a global village where their cyber neighbors are living all over the world. It is distinguished as well in different interviews that the Internet and therefore an opening is connected to what they call 'The American dream'. Miguel concludes that the Cuban government sees its 'demon' here because it is afraid that especially the younger generation wants to follow this and therefore breaks with the local structures and the pro-revolutionary and socialist ideology. Since the later generation- speaking of the ones to the age of 40- have not experienced the pre- revolutionary situation anymore, the fight belongs stronger to their parents and the identification level is lowered. Even though the Cuban government keeps a permanent information level high and tries to support this through ideological posters on the street and in their media, younger people feel a certain kind of freedom in the idea of opening the system again. Since American media glamorizes consume and sets it in the context of freedom- free decisions, free speech, individualism, self- fulfillment- there is a strong contradiction between the dream of Americanization and Cuban ideological reproduction, history knowledge of their own country and the exploitation by the United States because the American dream promises exactly what people miss in Cuba. This contradiction between knowledge and wish can be heard in most of the talks with Cubans about the political situation in their country. America implies a certain kind of freedom but brings also demons and capitalist values that are seen skeptically.

Freedom in this context is a strong topic because the sensed freedom is explained completely different through the country. Talking to Cubans about how they see freedom of speech on the island the answers could not be more contrary. People were either saying that there is no freedom or that there is a lot of freedom. There was hardly any opinion in between. Concluding it depends on the personal freedom the people feel in their country. Personal freedom in Cuba is reached especially for persons who profit from the socialist system financially and personal insofar that they agree with the way of living and don't feel a reason to criticize. Personal freedom or freedom of speech is not felt by those who want a political change or don't profit from the system in any way. Depending on this Western societies are often seen with a higher or lower skeptical view. The Cuban government supports this skepticism by giving out information material. This leads to many Cubans being highly educated about processes that

other countries have already experienced and a strong knowledge about disadvantages that can occur from those and to a fear about development and to disillusion about the future and through this some accept the current situation with the personal promise that nothing will change to the better.

6.4 Discussion of results

As described above, in the beginning of the research the focus was put on the question in how far the Internet might help to create a new room for a public discourse. Cuba seemed perfect for this, since the Internet is invented slowly and the system is very strict about state critics in public. The goal was to take interviews to figure out what Cuban citizens expect and experienced during the procedure of implementation of the Internet.

During the process of research, it became clear that there is a mutual influence between different factors and that the focus on the development of a new public room due to the Internet cannot be taken without the critical observation of political structures and their continuance online. This recognition of political interference influenced the questions and answers and expanded the main focus from the development of a broader and more critical public to the factors which blockade the development of new media and the reasons here for which are seen in the experience of the people according the influence of the Internet and their expectations and fears. All interview partners were very informed about risks of a developed communication sector. Those risks were seen in a change of society and culture, health problems and the entry of capitalism. The slow media development combined with a strong educated society creates a conscious handling with the Internet. The missing awareness about Internet risks is a strong lack of Western societies. Lots of discourses that are led in Cuba in the moment of implementation are just led as well in countries that implemented Internet many years ago. It seems like the steps are taken in different rows. Many Western societies develop their networks so fast that possible implementations that seem positive are made directly and the discourse about the consequences is taken in the moment the consequences are occurring. Cuba on the contrary is so traumatized about every development that comes from Western societies that the government is overprotective and instructs the citizens about so many risks that are possible that fear is created. Within the interviews this was strongly visible through the indecision of the people according the development of the Internet. On one side, they were curious to discover the Internet stronger, to be able to scoop from a big pool of available information, to interact

with citizens from all over the world and to expand their own critical public room and to take part in the global one. On the other side, they fear manipulation from the local government and especially from the United States. This way the interview partners never felt secure about their perception. This was radically shown by the fact that they often started a sentence, saying something positive about the outcome of Internet but then finishing it with a relativization of the exact same topic. Also according the question about freedom in speech this indeciveness could be watched along society. One part was sure that it exists while the other half was completely certain that it doesn't. In most cases it must be presumed that it depended on how privileged the people were able to realize their own ideas of living within Cuba.

People were very hopeful about the Internet being a new room of public. The interview partners felt that the Internet might open new possibilities in freedom of speech and could create spaces of public exchange. This was mostly put in context with information policy so that it can be concluded that people feel a stronger possibility to be critical if they receive more information. Therefore, public room is not only depending on discourse and direct exchange of opinions but as well on the pool of information that is offered. The reachability of information was one of the main advantages people felt while always pointing out that the speed of current access is too slow. This certain hectic is visible also in the United States. People seem greedy about information and get angry if they are slowed down. In Cuba, they are often understanding about the affected access due to political reasons but at the same time they are also impatient for more and faster contact to the global sphere. Since Cubans are rarely able to travel, Internet seems like an alternative way to discover the world and to take part in discourses. This includes also the production of information and not only the consumption of the products of others. The current public exchange that happens online mainly is led by Western societies because the access of most third world countries is so limited that it seems difficult to also produce content.

The reason for the limited access was seen either in the blockade of the Cuban government or the political conflict with the United States. Here the same situation occurred like with the estimate of freedom of speech. The closer people felt to the Cuban government, the stronger they blamed the United States and the embargo for the current situation and the other way around. This showed that the countries politics in combination blockade the development of Internet in Cuba. The United States pressure and announce officially their will to use the Internet as a political tool while the Cuban government tries to suppress the development and the feared political influence. The history of the time before the revolution is always an excuse for the Cuban government to limit the citizens' rights in different areas and creates an

understanding for this. This combined with a fear of an economic sanctioning leads to reduced public protests. Also, people feel decreased responsibility for their individual situation. The Cuban government blames the United States to be responsible for a limit through the embargo and due to financial subsidy of certain goods and free- time- activities the local citizens feel that the government decides for them and push away responsibility, which then also has influence on the expansion of a critical public.

Another point was the creation of an American dream through the Internet. Most of the interview partners mentioned that illusions are spread online that influence the people's wishes and expectations. A lot of it was put into the context of capitalism and it was concluded that pictures are created that can lead the political behavior and might result in actions against the local system. Those pictures influence the feeling of the Cuban citizens and give the impression that certain aspects in living must be fulfilled to be a global citizen who can participate in the world's discourse.

7. Conclusion

To start with the main question of the research if the Internet can create a new critical virtual public it must be determined that the possibility exists and room is given which people are able to use for political discourse, to receive information and to create an international exchange about ideas of living. Especially the pool of information and freeware like *Wikipedia* allows a completely new way of education. The problems must be led back to the varying political and economic interests that are deeply anchored in the virtual structures. Therefore, the main actors are Western countries like the United States. A hegemonic situation that exists in a so called "real" world, also exist in the virtual one. Power structures are reproduced and global players are using their influence online to enforce their international political interests. The Internet is not the neutral space that it should be to create a critical room that people can use without fear of manipulation. The Cuban citizens are used to manipulation through the propaganda of their own system and from the United States and this has trained them to be careful. To a certain point, Cubans seem resigned about changes and development. They have expectations about the development of Internet but at the same time are full of fear and mistrust, which creates stagnation. Many feel that the freedom they would like to fight for is just a tool of the United States to return them into a situation of capitalist exploitation. The different approaches also result from the existence of a generational conflict about the opening of the country. The older

people still remember the energetic time of revolution and the involved goals while the younger ones aspire to be part of a global world, in which they can travel and live according to their individual needs.

The Internet will and already has changed the Cuban public and has created different wishes and ideas. The Cuban citizens are heading for a change and the country will continue to open even though the current political changes in the United States might influence its speed in development again.

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Questionnaire

1. How do Cubans receive their information in general?
2. How would you describe the Cuban way of communication?
3. How do you have access to the Internet?
4. For which things do you use the Internet?
5. Do you feel a free access to the global Internet?
6. Do you feel an influence of the United States in the Internet?
7. Could you give me a definition of freedom in speech?
8. Do you feel this Liberty in Cuba as well?
9. Do you think the Internet could give this freedom?
10. How could the Internet change society in a negative way?
11. Do you think the Internet produces new political and economic wishes?

1. ¿Como crees recibieron los cubanos sus informaciones en general?
2. ¿Como puedes describir el camino cubano de comunicación?
3. ¿Como tienes acceso a la internet?
4. ¿Para que cosas estas utilizando la internet?
5. ¿Sientes un acceso libre a el internet global?
6. ¿Sientes una influencia de los Estados Unidos en el internet?
7. ¿Puedes dame una definió de libertad de opinión?
8. ¿Sientes eso libertad en Cuba también?
9. ¿Puede la internet da oportunidades de libertad nuevos para eso crees?
10. ¿Como podría la internet cambiar la sociedad en el sentido negativo?
11. ¿Crees la internet podría producir deseos políticos y económicos nuevos?