The Everyday Violence of an Internet Shutdown

Documenting the narratives of people affected
by the internet shutdown in Manipur

Written by
**Osama Manzar,
Jenny Sulfath and
Violina Barman**

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DIGITAL EMPOWERMENT *foundation*
empowering people @ the edge of information

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Disclaimer: In order to protect the privacy and confidentiality of respondents in this sensitive study, some names have been altered while others have been retained with permission

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The Everyday Violence of an Internet Shutdown: Narratives from Manipur

Osama Manzar, Jenny Sulfath and Violina Barman

In 2016, the United Nations Human Rights Commission declared internet access a basic human right. Not surprisingly, India was among the 17 countries that strongly opposed this resolution. The country continues to be the largest violator of internet rights, executing at least 84 shutdowns in 2022. Internet shutdowns are the legal pause to internet services, which immediately impact the citizens in a particular location as almost all the day-to-day activities in the modern world are integrated into a digital world.

While some internet shutdowns are brief, for example, the state of Rajasthan in India has shut down the internet to prevent cheating in exams at a district level, some are longer. India had the longest internet shutdown after the bifurcation of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh due to the abrogation of Article 370. It lasted for 552 days.

India is witnessing yet another prolonged internet shutdown in Manipur, where the internet was turned off on May 3 following a conflict that quickly turned into civil strife, primarily fuelled by hostilities between two communities in the state, Meiteis and Kukis. The reality of the conflict is yet to see the light of day due to a heavy crackdown on independent media, compounded by language and geographical barriers. As of July 4, the Manipur government has reported that 142 people have been killed due to the violence involving the Meitei and Kuki communities. Additionally, thousands have been displaced from their homes. Meiteis, who constitute more than half of the population, hold the largest representation in the state assembly, underscoring the existing power imbalances in the region.
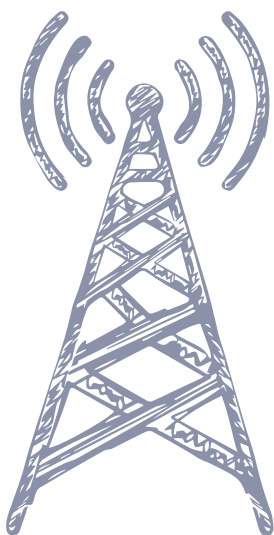
Digital Empowerment Foundation and Council for Social and Digital Development spoke to a few people from the state and a few who are originally from Manipur but currently residing in Delhi to understand their lived experiences during the internet shutdown. The interviews were conducted in two phases between May 15 and August 19, 2023. In the first phase, there was a complete shutdown, and in the second phase, the broadband connections were opened up with special permissions. Out of the respondents, seven were from Imphal, five were from Senapati district, one was from Chandel, four were from Churachandpur district, two were from Kangpokpi district, and two were living in Delhi.

Lack of Transparent Communication and Information Flow

"Life is completely disrupted as we speak. Many people were displaced, and villages were burnt down. The government did not want people to communicate. Hence, there is very little communication. What they [the state] want to communicate is coming out. We are left with messaging as the only means of communication. The flow of communication is completely disrupted," said June Lhouvum, currently living in Delhi and acting as a human network of supporters helping their community back home in accessing emergency information. Members of her family are in Manipur.

"It is not just the internet; we have no way of getting the news. I do not know if I am allowed to say this, but the news on TV is one-sided. Without the internet, no alternative channels exist to get a different perspective. We are struggling to get the truth out," said another respondent from the Kuki community who lives in a village in the hills 40 km away from Imphal.

In another interview on 11th July, T. Haokip, a reporter with a news channel based in Lamka within the hills, highlighted the recurring issue of independent and local media inaccessibility. He works for a smaller community channel, which is not included in the satellite TV rosters. In his opinion, national TV news channels often picked up the line of argument put forward by valley-based news channels such as Elite TV,

Impact TV News, and Image TV News, which exclude the narratives from the hills. He added that this was despite the fact that there are at least four local news channels operating from the hills.

The stark reality of ongoing violence was laid bare when a video of two Kuki women being brutally harassed and paraded naked allegedly by a violent mob of the Meitei community surfaced on the internet. The incident took place on May 4, but the video came out on July 19 - two months after the actual incident. It highlights how internet shutdown is used as a method to conceal significant human rights violations.

It is not just the news on atrocities that get delayed; the affected community in the middle of political turmoil often needs immediate information and updates, as friends and family, people like Lhouvum, had to step up and be the intermediaries of essential communication, especially in the initial months.

"What happened in the next village is a question we get from our village. You have to sit and laboriously summarise this information in text messages. None of this is happy news; this is information about villages being burnt down and people being attacked or displaced. Usually, people learn about these things through WhatsApp. With the internet shutdown, that has stopped," explained Lhouvum.

The burden of transmitting distressing news and being a vital link between their community and the outside world weighs heavily on them.

On the other side, people in Manipur talked about the helplessness of relying on people outside of the state for any updates on the escalating situation when they do not even know whether a message has been delivered. The number of free text messages in a day was restricted, forcing them to carefully choose what should go in a text and how to communicate in the shortest form.

On August 3, when we spoke to Mawi, an assistant professor in a college at Lamka, the internet shutdown had been lifted partially to allow activation of WiFi connections, "but it [getting a permit for wifi connection] takes a lot of Big Brother

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vetting, what with all the undertaking forms and ID cards/ Aadhar verification involved! Any content that can be deemed communally sensitive can land one in trouble."

Mawi was referring to a circular issued by the government on July 25, 2023, allowing partial relaxation on internet shutdown for Broadband services (ILL and FTTH), which was conditional on ID verification and imposition of 10 stringent terms and conditions. Among the listed conditions, WiFi hotspots, social media sites, and the use of VPNs are illegal; the subscriber is required to sign an undertaking accepting responsibility and legal action against them for any content deemed communally sensitive from their static IP. Since Mawi also runs a Common Service Centre (CSC) as a side business, the internet connection she gets will be used by the community as well. Since any post from the IP can invite punitive measures from the government, Mawi has chosen not to get a broadband connection.

The threat of a crackdown on dissenting voices on digital media is regularly asserted by the state forces of Manipur. On March 1, 2021, Paojel Chaoba, a journalist with the fiercely independent The Frontier Manipur (TFM) was the first in the country to be sent a notice under the then newly introduced digital media rules, the Technology (Intermediary Guidelines and Digital Media Ethics Code) Rules, 2021. In the days leading up to May 3, the case of Hanglalmuan Vaiphei reinforced a sentiment of self-censorship among the people. Vaiphei, a 21-year-old undergraduate student from Churachandpur, was arrested on April 30th by the police for sharing his opinions against the chief minister in a Facebook post. On May 4, it was reported that Hanglalmuan succumbed to injuries inflicted by a mob attack while he was on his way from the court to jail.
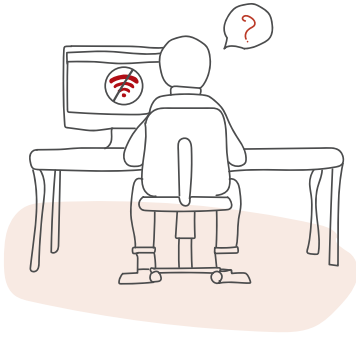
The Emotional and Social Impact

"I am not living there, but I am as much a victim, not knowing what is happening. We have had as many bad nights as them," Kim says, highlighting the emotional effects of an internet shutdown on people living outside Manipur. Despite being physically distant, the uncertainty, fear and helplessness

> **" but it [getting a permit for wifi connection] takes a lot of Big Brother vetting, what with all the undertaking forms and ID cards/ Aadhar verification involved! Any content that can be deemed communally sensitive can land one in trouble. "**

fuelled by the shutdown multiples the impact of the violence.

Josephine, another respondent, reiterates the same emotional toll but from the perspective of someone living in the hills of Manipur. Having grown up in the UK, she moved to Manipur to set up a small village school. With the internet shutdown, Josephine faced similar challenges staying connected and updating her friends and family about what was happening. While text messages and calls domestically were affordable, higher call rates for international calls have effectively cut her off from a support system during the complete shutdown.
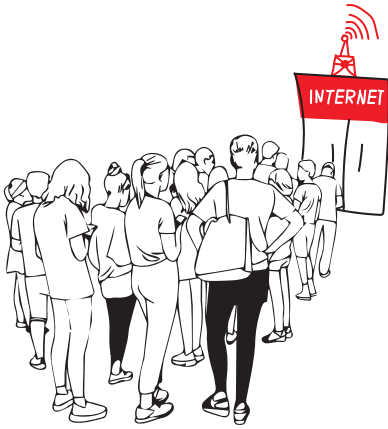
Children have been the most emotionally vulnerable during the violence. M. Molarhing, a social development sector professional based in Chandel, reported that the prolonged shutdown has suddenly made children conscious of their ethnic identities. Further, schools and educational institutes have been converted to relief camps in districts such as Moirang, Tengnoupal and Kangpokpi, halting all formal educational activities for their enrolled students.

The report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the internet shutdown has reiterated how shutdown, by its nature, impacts the enjoyment of social and cultural rights. Entertainment content consumption is something modern society takes for granted; with the complete ban on the internet, people cannot stream anything online. It was also reported that children are often scared and frustrated with little access to any recreational activity. While the economically advantaged section leaves the state and moves to neighbouring states or cities, the disadvantaged remain in the dark, grappling with the consequences of a prolonged shutdown.

Effect on Livelihood and Public Services

In addition to the emotional toll and lack of transparent communication, the internet shutdown also profoundly impacts people's ability to earn a decent livelihood.

Suan moved to Manipur in 2020 and started working on different freelance assignments, which reached her through

emails. When the assignments are completed, she has to send them back. Not only can she not get any new assignments, but she also cannot complete the existing projects because they require constant online coordination. While many have been forced to leave their homes and migrate to cities, people like Hoinu struggle with uncertainty.

Lam, who works for a tech-based start-up in Mumbai from his home, cannot complete any work-related tasks. When the shutdown started, WiFi was accessible in some places, but the broadband connection was blocked within a few days. While Mau has an understanding firm supporting him financially for the time being, that is not the case with his cousin Hoinu, who relies on remote freelance work. Chandra, another respondent from Imphal, also shared similar concerns about her inability to meet deadlines. She has been working in a social innovation programme since the beginning of this year, which allowed her to work from anywhere in India and she chose her hometown Imphal, Manipur. However, she feels that her colleagues from other parts of the country could not immediately relate to the emotional distress she had to go through while struggling to find internet connectivity to share her work in the initial days of complete shutdown. She had to wait in long lines in front of public offices providing internet to send her work, even though she did not require internet throughout the day. This meant that her colleagues reduced her burden to 'just finding a spot to send the file', which in reality meant living in a conflict zone, caring for her ageing parents, working and spending a considerable amount of time scouting for the internet. Additionally, electricity subscriptions for most households in Manipur are billed on a prepaid plan. The internet shutdown forced several households to go without electricity for weeks on end. Several villages also faced electricity outages due to a lack of maintenance personnel who had to hastily evacuate to their native place in the valley.

Elizabeth works as an in-house talent acquisition for an international NGO based in Kenya engaged in developmental work in Manipur. Her work is online; they use an online application tracking system to hire candidates. The initial two months of internet shutdown also had a curfew in effect in addition to an internet shutdown; this meant that she had not been able to conduct her work at all. Even as the internet

shutdown is eased partially, the candidates are often unable to submit their assignments and documents on time due to poor internet connectivity.

John, who is running an NGO for women empowerment in the Senapati district, reiterates the same point on how they have not been able to submit any new proposals for grants. "The National Commission for Women has invited applications for a proposal that fits our work perfectly; the last date to submit this was in May 2023. We were not able to submit any proposals. Additionally, grantees ask for monthly and quarterly reports online, all of which are due; we cannot submit any of these," John said. While grantees and firms might cut them some slack due to the conflict, they are anxious about the piling work they must complete and the lack of funds to sustain themselves due to the missed deadlines. Their NGO teaches literacy to the unlettered and elderly through digital mode using YouTube videos and other online resources. This work is also at a standstill due to the shutdown, as they had no time to take back up their online learning resources.

"Even if one has some savings, there is no way of accessing this money as the ATMs are shut. When some cash is rarely available, there is a long queue to access the ATMs," John adds. They have been surviving on informal credit systems by the familiar shopkeepers. Mawi, an assistant professor at a local college who also runs a micro-ATM through her CSC, talked about how the internet shutdown has caused an acute cash shortage in Churachandpur. Micro-ATMs are licensed centres that can procure cash from the banks and provide it to customers using Aadhar verification. This has been particularly useful in rural India, where banks and ATMs are located far away from rural settlements.

John also mentioned how people who have invested most of their money in the stock market have no way of knowing what happened to their savings. The absence of the internet causes significant precarity in managing the volatile stock market, leaving many of them anxious.

Another sector that took a hit is the platform economy. "The gig economy, or online shopping, food delivery and ride-hailing services was just beginning to take off, but this has

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suddenly taken a hit," observes S. Choudhury, who works as a distributor in the fast-moving consumer goods (FMCG) sector. In his line of work, he was reliant on online cash transfers in procuring goods, but with no mobile internet, he spent significant time in the bank for transactions, which would have been a quick button press away on his phone had there been mobile internet.

The ordeal of running a business in a country that is steadily digitising its bureaucratic paperwork foregrounds that internet shutdown as a normative legal remedy is exclusionary to the sensitive socio-political volatility of its geographies. Molarhing, who works with a Farmer Producer Company (FPC), had to travel 15 hours by road to Guwahati from Chandel district in Manipur to submit his progress reports to the funders and government. He works with farmers producing several perishable and seasonal crops in Manipur who export their produce through the company. Molarhing was also planning a management course for the farmers to upskill them to be successful entrepreneurs, but this could not materialise due to the shutdown. Nonglen, another professional who was mobilising the farmers to form FPCs, lost his job because there was no connectivity to deliver the training modules online. He mentioned that while it was possible to train farmers in Kangpokpi due to their close proximity to each other, he had clients in places like Pherzawl, where land holdings of farmers are scattered over a wide area. Remote learning made possible by the internet was crucial in staying connected with individual farmers for FPC mobilisation activities.

The experience of H. Kipgen, who is the founder of a farm-to-table organic food estate and a spices start-up, also resonates with Molarhring and Nonglen, who had to hire a Chartered Accountant (CA) outside of the state to file his income tax and GST and pay back the bank loans online for which there was no relaxation given from the government. He recollects how he kept receiving payment reminders via SMS, and this was when he was forced to evacuate from Imphal in May to move back to his village. Once back in his village, he was faced with other pressing concerns- the civil hospitals in his district did not have power backup; as an individual from the community with some accumulated wealth, he volunteered to

> **The gig economy, or online shopping, food delivery and ride-hailing services was just beginning to take off, but this has suddenly taken a hit**

acquire diesel generator sets from Guwahati with his personal finances. He had initiated his spices startup recently, and in the months leading up to the conflict, he had made good progress in acquiring orders from clients in several states in India and a few international buyers from Dubai and Vietnam. His startup entails constant coordination over the internet with his clients and among the farmers in the home state. Currently, Kipgen employs 70 individuals across his businesses based wholly out of Manipur. The ongoing internet shutdown is compelling many entrepreneurs to consider shifting base to states which are less infrastructurally compromised. "We tried to maintain an internet presence for our project, but with the present situation in Manipur, we cannot think of moving ahead because we can't predict what is going to happen in a day's time or in a week's time. Even if the internet is available at some part of the day, it is not reliable enough to plan anything for the long term," said Kipgen.

'Securitisation' is a concept that refers to the process through which an issue is represented as an existential threat that urgently needs to be dealt with in the name of 'security'. Global studies on internet shutdown have pointed out how this perceived urgency bypasses democratic procedures in responding to a threat. The narratives from Manipur on livelihood loss show that the shutdown directly interferes with people's basic access to a dignified livelihood. From people choosing to work from home to start-ups working with farmers, the shutdown has compromised their right to live and work on par with any other citizen of the country. On the other hand, there has been an active state narrative that reduces livelihood loss to mere 'collateral' damage while curbing a security situation. There are no scales or measures released to the public to get an accurate stock of the financial losses of this damage.

Disruptions on Education

The internet shutdown in Manipur has disrupted all forms of learning opportunities for students. At the beginning of the shutdown, we were told that 2G internet was available in some government offices, such as the District Collector's

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offices. However, when teachers access it, it takes long hours to perform basic tasks, such as uploading an examination result. The connection is also interrupted, which means one must wait hours to re-upload a single document. Even when the broadband connection is allowed in the second phase of the (partial) shutdown, it is reported that the majority of the population has no access to broadband connectivity. An estimation by the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India shows that only 2.23 lakh people have access to a wired internet connection in the entire northeast region. According to Aadhaar data the projected population of Manipur in 2023 is approximately 32 lakh, which shows how disproportionate the broadband access ratio is. As discussed earlier, internet cafes and CSCs are hesitant to open up internet usage for the public because they are responsible for any activity deemed illegal in shared usage. Students and aspiring students continue to face the brunt of this situation.

A. Rozer, a research scholar, reported that "most people in Manipur access the internet via mobile phones. WiFi permeation in Manipur is largely limited to the Imphal area and maybe a few larger towns like Thoubal, and parts of Churachandpur, and Senapati". Ironically, during our interviews, one of the respondents from Haipi (in Kangpokpi district) mentioned that broadband connectivity reached their village only four months before the internet shutdown. In the first set of interviews during the complete shutdown, respondents from Imphal spoke about the availability of the internet through government offices and some licenced hotspots; however, such facilities were largely inaccessible in the first phase to the hill districts, predominantly inhabited by the tribal communities. This stark contrast reveals the overlapping linkages between the internet, politics and resource distribution.

"It is the time when many universities and competitive exams are inviting applications. Even when government offices were open to the public, it took two hours to upload a 2 KB photo on an application website. People who have relatives outside the states who happened to have their documents are lucky; others are frantically searching for the internet from one office to another," said one of the respondents. Dylan, who is currently working as an assistant professor at Rayburn College, was

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applying for his Ph.D. during the shutdown. Between May 3 and August 3, he needed the internet several times to fill out the application, write the entrance examination and complete the final interviews. He is from Churachandpur, and the only factor that helped him complete this process was the sheer luck of leaving his educational documents with a cousin in Mizoram. When he was selected, he had to travel 8 hours towards the Manipur-Mizoram border to access the internet for his final interview.

Despite the difficulty in accessing resources online to aid education, we were told that the University of Manipur was conducting end-of-semester exams. "No department had covered their complete syllabus at the time of the shutdown. While the valley students are able to catch up in some way, the hill students are likely to lag behind in the exams," said Mawi, who is a professor. Mawi also noted that by August, institutes of higher education are opening up, and professors too are going to struggle with preparing for class without access to resources on the internet. Meanwhile, a group of students have written to authorities to transfer them to other central universities as they have security concerns returning to the university and taking classes online - even if supported by internet connectivity conditions on a given day - puts them on an unequal footing with their classmates. The shutdown impacts not only a few students but also the efforts to advance academic endeavours in the region, highlighting its unique socio-historical characteristics. Lhungdim, who had earned a Ph.D. in Journalism and Mass Communication from the University of Hyderabad, came back to his hometown in Manipur with a big goal. He wanted to make a positive impact. He started by creating a special online course called the 'Post Graduate Diploma in Indigenous Studies' for the Bethesda Khankho Institute. At the same time, he was working to set up a physical school for the institute. He was also talking to a highly reputed university in Meghalaya about working together on this project. Everything looked promising for his dream project until he had to discontinue his online course due to the internet shutdown.

With no access to information, learning resources and no method to participate in competitive exams, the internet shutdown is

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hindering the academic and professional growth of an entire generation. While it is claimed that the internet shutdown prevents the spreading of rumours, misinformation and the spread of violence, the brutal violence in Manipur continues to persist. On the other hand, the internet shutdown has concealed human rights violations, severed communications, disrupted educational opportunities and livelihoods, and perpetuated one-sided narratives of the conflict. As this article is being written, Manipur enters its 123rd day of shutdown with marginal changes made on July 25, 2023. While recognising the internet as a fundamental right to promote an inclusive and equitable digital landscape, we put forward the following recommendations based on our enquiry.

1. End internet shutdown: The internet shutdown has conveniently masked the brutality of the violence that erupted in Manipur. Several stories of state neglect, biased army and displacement are yet to come out due to the shutdown of social media and the crackdown on independent media. The government of Manipur must lift its restrictions on the internet. We echo the concerns raised by several human rights lawyers that the latest order on allowing broadband services does not have an end date of the shutdown. This is also in contempt of the landmark judgement in the Anuradha Bhasin vs. Union Of India case, which guaranteed that " Freedom of Speech and Expression and Freedom to Practice any Profession or carry on any trade, business or occupation through the medium of internet is a Fundamental Right which is guaranteed as well as protected under Article 19 of the Constitution of India."

2. Transparency and accountability: The government must devise a method to account for the loss of livelihood, education and career opportunities due to the shutdown and compensate the affected parties reasonably.

3. Invest in common internet infrastructure: There should be adequate investment in internet infrastructure, broadband, and access points, especially in districts that lack resources.

4. Continuity in education: Schools, colleges and libraries should have a contingency plan for internet shutdowns; this includes creating offline resources and provisioning access points whenever required.

5. Contingency plans for entrepreneurs: Governments and financial institutions should offer support and relief packages to businesses, especially small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), affected by internet shutdowns. This could include financial assistance, tax breaks, or flexible loan repayment terms.

Note: Osama Manzar and Jenny Sulfath work with the Digital Empowerment Foundation (DEF). Violina Barman works with the Council for Social and Digital Development (CSDD), a Guwahati-based research and policy advocacy organization working at the intersection of technology and society with a particular focus on Northeast Indian states. DEF is a Delhi-based NGO working to end information poverty and ensure digital equity. DEF conducts regular studies and documentation of internet shutdowns across the country. Our previous studies on the everyday impact of internet shutdown can be read here:

Kept in the dark: The social and psychological impact of network shutdowns in India

Rights And Risks: Life And Liberty In An Internet Dark Kashmir

Annexure 1

The order issued on May 3, 2023, banning the internet in Manipur for five days

GOVERNMENT OF MANIPUR
SECRETARIAT : HOME DEPARTMENT

MOST IMMEDIATE

O R D E R S
Imphal, the 3rd May, 2023

No.H-3607/4/2022-HD-HD : Whereas, Director General of Police, Manipur vide letter No.IC/11(163)/2008-PHQ(Pt)/01422 dated 03-05-2023 reported that, All Tribal Student's Union Manipur (ATSUM) organized a rally in all hill districts on 03-05-2023 with total shutdown in all hill districts from 6 A.M. to 4 P.M. in protest against the demand for inclusion of Meitei/Meetei in Scheduled Tribe (ST) category. During this rally and total shutdown there are reports on incidents like fighting amongst volunteers/youths of different communities and situation is tense and volatile in the districts of Bishnupur and Churachandpur.

2. And whereas, some **anti-social elements** are using social media extensively for transmission of images, hate speech and hate video messages inciting the passions of the public. The social media has also become a **handy tool for rumor mongers** and is being **used to incite general public** which might have **serious repercussions for the law and order** situation in the State of Manipur.

3. And whereas, there is an imminent danger of loss of life and /or damage to public/private property, and wide spread disturbances to public tranquillity and communal harmony, as a result of inflammatory material and false rumours, which are being/could be transmitted/circulated to the public through social media/ messaging services on mobile services, SMS services and dongle services.

4. And whereas, to thwart the design and activities of anti-national and anti-social elements and to maintain peace and communal harmony and to prevent any loss of life or danger to public/private property, it has become necessary to take adequate measures to maintain law and order in public interest, by stopping the spread of disinformation and false rumours, **through various social media platform such as Whatsapp, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter etc. on mobile phone** and SMS, for facilitating and/or mobilization of mobs of agitators and demonstrators, which can cause loss of life and/or damage to public/private property by indulging in arson/vandalism and other types of violent activities.

5. Now, therefore in exercise of the powers conferred under Rule 2 of Temporary Suspension of Telecom Services (Public Emergency or Public Safety) Rules, 2017, having satisfied that the above situation is likely to cause serious disturbances to the entire peaceful co-existence of the communities and maintenance of public order, do hereby order suspension/curbing of **mobile data services** in the territorial jurisdiction of the State of Manipur. All Mobile Service providers are hereby directed to ensure compliance of this order.

6. This order is issued to prevent any disturbances of peace and public order in the jurisdiction of the State of Manipur and shall be in force for the **next 5(five) days with immediate effect** from the time this suspension order becomes operational.

7. The order is being passed ex-parte in view of the emergent situation. It shall be published for the information of public through press and electronic media.

8. Any person found guilty for violation of aforesaid orders will be liable for legal action.

By orders & in the name
of the Governor,

(H. Gyan Prakash)
Commissioner (Home),
Government of Manipur
Commissioner (Home)
Government of Manipur

Annexure 2

The order issued on 25 July by the Government of Manipur allowing broadband connections with strict restrictions

MOST IMMEDIATE

GOVERNMENT OF MANIPUR
SECRETARIAT : HOME DEPARTMENT
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O R D E R S
Imphal, the 25th July, 2023

No.H-3607/4/2022-HD-HD : Whereas, Director General of Police, Manipur vide letter No.IC/11(163)/2008-PHQ(Pt)/01449 dated 24-07-2023 reported that there are still reports of incidents of violence, attacking and arson of houses and premises including exchange of firing;

2. And whereas, the State Government has reviewed the issues of the ban on internet since 03-05-2023 continuously without any break (except for the exempted cases) and considered the suffering of the Common as the internet ban had affected important offices/ institutions, cohort of people on work from home basis, chartered Accountant firms, Lawyers, Health facilities, refuelling centres, recharging of electricity/ mobile, booking for LPG, educational institutions, Taxation related offices, other online based citizen centric services etc.

3. Whereas, the State Government has made considered decision to lift suspension in case of Broadband service (ILL and FTTH) conditionally in a liberalised manner subject to fulfilment of the following terms and conditions and taking up with all possible safeguards:

   a) *Connection will be only through static IP and that the subscriber concerned shall not accept any other connection other than allowed for the time being [TSP/ISP shall be held responsible for non-compliance of this condition];*
   b) *No Wifi/ Hotspots shall be allowed from any of the routers and systems using the connection at any cost by the subscriber concerned;*
   c) *Media Access Control Address (MAC) binding at the system level or router shall be ensured with the help of ISP/TSP concerned;*
   d) *Blocking of social media websites and VPNs at the local level will be ensured by the subscriber concerned;*
   e) *Shall have to ensure removal of any existing VPNs softwares from the system and not to install any new softwares/ VPN App by the subscriber concerned;*
   f) *Enforcing Physical Monitoring by subscriber concerned / the concerned authority/ officials of checking violation of the terms and conditions specified;*
   g) *Changing of log in ID and Password for respective system on daily basis; and*
   h) *Will obey all orders/ Regulations regarding any change in the condition under which service is being allowed issued by the State Government from time to time by the subscriber concerned.*
   i) *Further, in the event of any violation, subscriber concerned will be liable to be punished as per provisions of relevant laws of the land in force and that I also agree to be fixed personally responsible for any leakage/ activities done by any Secondary user of internet, in case Wifi/ Hotspot had been activated without approval of Home Department from my system/ router.*
   j) *ISP shall ensure to obtain undertaking to the extent as explained above before giving any internet connection in the prescribed format (enclosed herewith) without fail.*

4. Whereas, the State Government decides to keep suspension of Mobile Internet data under Rule 2 of Temporary Suspension of Telecom Services (Public Emergency or Public Safety) Rules, 2017 as the preparedness for having effective control and regulatory mechanism for Mobile data service is not technically feasible and there are still apprehensions that the spread of disinformation and false rumours, through various social media platform such as Whatsapp, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter etc. on electronic equipments like tablet, computer, mobile phone etc and sending bulk SMS, for facilitating and/or mobilization of mobs of agitators and demonstrators, which can cause

The Everyday Violence of
an Internet Shutdown

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