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**The Problem Isn't Just Backpage:
Revising Section 230 Immunity**

Danielle Keats Citron & Benjamin Wittes

University of Maryland Francis King Carey School of Law
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THE PROBLEM ISN'T JUST BACKPAGE: REVISING SECTION 230 IMMUNITY

Danielle Keats Citron* and Benjamin Wittes**

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INTRODUCTION

Backpage is a classifieds hub that hosts “80 percent of the online advertising for illegal commercial sex in the United States.”¹ This is not by happenstance but rather by design. Evidence suggests that the advertising hub selectively removed postings discouraging sex trafficking. The site also tailored its rules to protect the practice from detection, including allowing anonymized email and photographs stripped of metadata.²

Under the prevailing interpretation of 47 U.S.C. § 230 (“Section 230”) of the CDA, however, Backpage would be immune from liability connected to sex trafficking even though it proactively helped sex traffickers from getting caught. No matter that Backpage knew about the illegal activity and designed the site to ensure that the activity could continue without detection, Section 230 has come to its rescue. As courts have interpreted Section 230, Backpage has enjoyed broad immunity from liability arising from user-generated content.³

Dirty.com is a site devoted to spreading gossip, often about college students. The site’s founder, Nik Richie, has encouraged readers to email

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¹ Petition for Writ of Certiorari at 7, *Doe v. Backpage.com, L.L.C.*, 2106 WL 4610982 (2016) (No. 16-276), <http://www.scotusblog.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/16-276-cert-petition.pdf> [<https://perma.cc/LRV6-AV77>].

² *Doe v. Backpage.com, L.L.C.*, 817 F.3d 12, 17 (1st Cir. 2016); *see also* *Backpage.com, LLC v. McKenna*, No. C12-954 RSM, 2012 WL 4120262, at *2 (W.D. Wash. Sept. 18, 2012).

³ As we explore in this piece, a handful of cases have refused to immunize providers from liability because they were not being sued for having published user-generated content but rather for failing to warn about a specific threat. *See Doe v. Internet Brands, Inc.*, 824 F.3d 846 (9th Cir. 2016).

him “dirt” on people they know. Richie pastes his favorite emails in blog posts, often alongside images showing ordinary people “scantly clad, inebriated, and unfaithful.”⁴ Posts have led to a torrent of abuse, with commenters accusing the subjects of “dirt” of having sexually transmitted infections, psychiatric disorders, and financial problems.⁵ Richie has admittedly “ruined people sometimes out of fun.”⁶ That admission is not against interest—he knows well that he cannot be sued for his role in the abuse because the onus of the abuse is on the users. Courts applying Section 230’s immunity provision have dismissed efforts to hold Richie responsible for defamatory posts that have damaged lives and careers.⁷

Now consider the relationship between social media companies and terrorist groups. Last year, one of us (Wittes) undertook a survey of overseas groups that were formally designated as foreign terrorist groups yet still had active social media accounts. Federal law allows civil and criminal penalties for providing material support—including anything of value—to designated foreign terrorist groups.⁸ Yet numerous designated terrorist groups, including Hamas, Hezbollah, the PKK, and Lakshar-e-Taiba, openly maintained an online presence on well-known social media services, including Facebook and Twitter; several of those accounts were suspended after publication of the corresponding article.⁹ Yet because of Section 230’s immunity provision, efforts to hold social media companies responsible under the civil provisions of the federal material support statute have consistently failed.¹⁰

We offer the modest proposition that Section 230 immunity is too sweeping. In physical space, a business that helped sex traffickers find

⁴ Kate Knibbs, *Cleaning Up the Dirty*, RINGER (Apr. 19, 2017, 12:21 PM), <https://theringer.com/the-dirty-nik-richie-gossip-site-relaunch-4a086aa24536> [<https://perma.cc/WF3X-K9EM>].

⁵ Kashmir Hill, *The Dirty Business: How Gossipmonger Nik Richie Stays Afloat*, FORBES (Nov. 11, 2010, 8:37 PM), <https://www.forbes.com/sites/kashmirhill/2010/11/11/the-dirty-business-how-gossipmonger-nik-richie-of-the-dirty-com-stays-afloat/#b29403a62f9b> [<https://perma-archives.org/warc/20170909184903/https://www.forbes.com/>].

⁶ Knibbs, *supra* note 4.

⁷ See, e.g., *Dyer v. Dirtyworld*, No. CV–11–0074–PHX–SMM, 2011 WL 2173900 (D. Ariz. June 2, 2011).

⁸ 18 U.S.C. 2339B (2012).

⁹ Zack Bedell & Benjamin Wittes, *Tweeting Terrorists, Part I: Don’t Look Now but a Lot of Terrorist Groups Are Using Twitter*, LAWFARE (Feb. 14, 2016, 5:05 PM), <https://lawfareblog.com/tweeting-terrorists-part-i-dont-look-now-lot-terrorist-groups-are-using-twitter> [<https://perma.cc/JFN4-LQJZ>].

¹⁰ *Cohen v. Facebook*, 252 F. Supp. 3d 140 (E.D.N.Y. 2017) (dismissing claims based on federal material support statute against Facebook because failure to remove Hamas postings concerned defendant’s role as publisher of online content and thus fell within Section 230(c)(1)’s immunity provision); *Fields v. Twitter*, 200 F. Supp. 3d 964 (N.D. Cal. 2016).

clients without fear of getting caught might be liable for aiding and abetting illegal sex trafficking. A physical magazine devoted to publishing user-submitted malicious gossip about non-public figures would face a blizzard of lawsuits as false and privacy-invading materials harmed people's lives. And a company that knowingly allowed designated foreign terrorist groups to use their physical services would face all sorts of lawsuits from victims of terrorist attacks. Something is out of whack—and requires rethinking—when such activities are categorically immunized from liability merely because they happen online.

This was not, as highlighted below, what Congress had in mind in 1996 when it adopted the Communications Decency Act (CDA). The CDA was part of a broad campaign—rather ironically in retrospect—to restrict access to sexually-explicit material online.¹¹ Lawmakers thought they were devising a limited safe harbor from liability for online providers engaged in self-regulation. Because regulators could not keep up with the volume of noxious material online, the participation of private actors was essential.¹²

Courts, however, have extended this safe harbor far beyond what the provision's words, context, and purpose support.¹³ Lower courts have ironically applied Section 230, entitled “[p]rotection for private blocking and screening of offensive material,” to protect from liability sites designed to purvey offensive material.¹⁴ The CDA's origins in the censorship of “offensive” material and protections against abuse are inconsistent with outlandishly broad interpretations that have served to immunize platforms dedicated to abuse and others that deliberately tolerate users' illegal activities.

Section 230 is overdue for a rethinking. If courts do not construe the scope of federal immunity to avoid injustice, Congress should amend the law. Existing efforts to amend section 230 are focused on denying the immunity to a narrow set of bad actors, such as sites facilitating sex trafficking like Backpage.¹⁵ In our view, a better alternative would keep the immunity intact but condition it on a service provider taking

¹¹ S. REP. NO. 104-23, at 59 (1995).

¹² 141 CONG. REC. H8469-70 (daily ed. Aug. 4, 1995) (remarks of Rep. Cox).

¹³ Danielle Keats Citron, *Cyber Civil Rights*, 89 B.U. L. REV. 61, 116 (2009).

¹⁴ *Id.*

¹⁵ *The Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act: SESTA is Flawed, But the Debate Over It Is Welcome*, ECONOMIST (Sept. 23, 2007), <https://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21729434-how-should-online-firms-be-held-liable-illegal-content-published-their-platforms-sesta> [https://perma.cc/3BHN-T6JU]. There are a number of proposals in consideration, including the Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act, a bipartisan Senate bill, and the Allow States and Victims to Fight Online Sex Trafficking Act, a House bill. See S. 1693, 115th Cong. (2017); H.R. 1865, 115th Cong. (2017).

reasonable steps to prevent or address unlawful third-party content that it knows about.

This is not to discount the important role that the immunity provision has played over the past twenty years.¹⁶ Far from it. Section 230 immunity has enabled innovation and expression beyond the imagination of the operators of early bulletin boards and computer service providers the provision was designed to protect. But its overbroad interpretation has left victims of online abuse with no leverage against sites whose business model is abuse. This state of affairs can be changed without undermining free expression and innovation. Having broad protections for free speech and clear rules of the road is important for online platforms to operate with confidence. Section 230, at least as it is currently understood, is not necessary for either of these. With modest adjustments to Section 230, either through judicial interpretation or legislation, we can have a robust culture of free speech online without shielding from liability platforms designed to host illegality or who deliberately host illegal content.

I. ORIGINS OF SECTION 230

Let's step back twenty years when Congress tackled, in its estimation, the foe of the age: online porn. The Communications Decency Act (CDA), part of the Telecommunications Act of 1996, endeavored to ensure that online content was "decent" and fit for children.¹⁷ The CDA criminalized the "knowing" transmission of "obscene or indecent" messages to underage recipients, or "knowingly" sending or displaying to a minor any message "that, in context, depicts or describes, in terms patently offensive as measured by contemporary community standards, sexual or excretory activities or organs."¹⁸

The Supreme Court struck down those provisions as unconstitutionally vague.¹⁹ Justice Stevens, writing for the Court, held that the law impermissibly risked limiting adults' access to material like literature that included content the state might deem "indecent."²⁰ The Court held that expression online was too important to be limited to what government officials think is fit for children.²¹

When the CDA addressed private actors, as it did in Section 230, it was not to give them immunity from liability for helping third parties

¹⁶ DANIELLE KEATS CITRON, HATE CRIMES IN CYBERSPACE (2014).

¹⁷ *See id.*; Citron, *supra* note 13, at 116 (exploring CDA generally and Section 230 specifically).

¹⁸ *Reno v. ACLU*, 521 U.S. 844, 859–60 (1997).

¹⁹ *Id.* at 875.

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ *Id.*

abuse each other. It was “to encourage telecommunications and information service providers to deploy new technologies and policies” to block or filter offensive material.²² The inspiration for Section 230 was *Stratton Oakmont v. Prodigy Services*.²³ In *Prodigy*, an online service provider lost its protection as a distributor and gained liability as a publisher though it had no knowledge of the allegedly defamatory content because it tried but failed to sufficiently filter objectionable material.²⁴

Federal lawmakers were appalled that Prodigy was penalized for trying to screen offensive material but doing it incompletely.²⁵ Their concern was that holding online service providers liable for inexact screening would not result in improved screening, but no screening at all. Providers could avoid publisher liability if they acted as purely passive conduits. This possibility was antithetical to lawmakers who believed that self-regulation was essential to tackling objectionable online content.²⁶

Representatives Christopher Cox and Ron Wyden offered an amendment to the CDA entitled “protection for blocking and screening of offensive material,”²⁷ which was codified as Section 230.²⁸ Section

²² S. REP. NO. 104-23, at 59 (1995). As Representative Cox put it, “protect[ing] computer Good Samaritans, online service providers, anyone who provides a front end to the Internet, let us say, who takes steps to screen indecency and offensive material for their customers ... from taking on liability such as occurred in the Prodigy case in New York that they should not face for helping us and for helping us solve this problem.” 141 CONG. REC. H8469 (daily ed. Aug. 4, 1995).

²³ *Stratton Oakmont v. Prodigy Servs. Co.*, 1995 WL 323710 (N.Y. Sup. Ct., Nassau County May 24, 1995).

²⁴ *Id.*

²⁵ As Representative Bob Goodlatte explained: “Currently, however, there is a tremendous disincentive for online service providers to create family friendly services by detecting and removing objectionable content. These providers face the risk of increased liability where they take reasonable steps to police their systems. A New York judge recently sent the online services the message to stop policing by ruling that Prodigy was subject to a \$200 million libel suit simply because it did exercise some control over profanity and indecent material.” 141 CONG. REC. H8471 (daily ed. Aug. 4, 1995).

²⁶ 141 CONG. REC. H8469-70 (daily ed. Aug. 4, 1995) (remarks of Rep. Cox); see Citron, *supra* note 13, at 116 (discussing history of Section 230’s adoption and goal of drafters).

²⁷ H.R. REP. NO. 104-223, Amendment No. 2–3 (1995) (proposed to be codified at 47 U.S.C. § 230). Representative Cox described it as “protect[ing] computer Good Samaritans, online service providers, anyone who provides a front end to the Internet, let us say, who takes steps to screen indecency and offensive material for their customers.” 141 CONG. REC. H8470 (daily ed. Aug. 4, 1995). Representative Danner found the Cox-Wyden Amendment “a reasonable way to provide those providers of the information to help them self-regulate themselves without penalty of law.” *Id.* The House Rules Committee, which allowed consideration of the Cox-Wyden amendment, described that provision as “protecting from liability those providers and users seeking to clean up the Internet.” H.R. REP. NO. 104-223, at 3 (1995).

230(c)(1) addresses the problem of *under-screening*, exemplified by *Prodigy*: “no provider or user of interactive computer services shall be treated as the publisher or speaker of any information provided by an information content provider.”²⁹ Section 230(c)(2) secures protections for *over-screening* done in good faith: “no provider or user of an interactive computer service shall be held liable on any action voluntarily taken in good faith to restrict access to material that the provider or user considers to be obscene, lewd, lascivious, filthy, excessively violent, harassing, or otherwise objectionable, whether or not such material is constitutionally protected.”³⁰ Federal criminal law, intellectual property law, and the Electronic Communications Privacy Act are not covered by the immunity provision.³¹

II. OVERBROAD INTERPRETATION IN THE COURTS

Courts have built a mighty fortress protecting platforms from any accountability for unlawful activity on their systems—even when they actively encourage such activity or deliberately refuse to address it. The Supreme Court has declined to weigh in on the meaning of Section 230, but state and lower federal courts have reached a “near-universal agreement” that it should be construed broadly.³²

Courts attribute a broad sweeping approach to the fact that “First Amendment values drove the CDA.”³³ As one court recently put it, “Congress did not sound an uncertain trumpet when it enacted the CDA, and it chose to grant broad protections to internet publishers.”³⁴ For support, courts have pointed to Section 230’s “findings” and “policy” sections, which highlight, among other things, the importance of the “vibrant and competitive free market that presently exists for the Internet”

²⁸ Section 502 of the final legislation contained the Senate’s additions to 47 U.S.C. § 223. Section 509 contained the House’s new Section 230. Pub. L. No. 104-104; *see* H.R. REP. NO. 104-458 (1996).

²⁹ 47 U.S.C. § 230(c)(1) (2018). The conference report described the provision as securing immunity for “Good Samaritans” engaged in blocking or filtering of objectionable content online. H.R. REP. NO. 104-458, at 193 (1996).

³⁰ 47 U.S.C. § 230(c)(2) (2018). Section 230(e)(3) preempts contrary state laws but does not “prevent any State from enforcing any State law that is consistent with this section.” *Id.* § 230(e)(3).

³¹ *Id.* § 230(e)(f).

³² *Doe v. Backpage.com*, L.L.C., 817 F.3d 12, 18 (1st Cir. 2016) (citing cases from the 1st, 5th, 9th, and 11th Circuits).

³³ *Id.* at 29.

³⁴ *Id.*

and the Internet's role facilitating "myriad avenues for intellectual activity."³⁵

All of this ignores the plain reality that the "core policy of Section 230(c)(1)" was to protect "Good Samaritan blocking and screening of offensive material."³⁶ The judiciary's long insistence that the CDA reflected "Congress' desire to promote unfettered speech on the Internet"³⁷ so ignores its text and history as to bring to mind Justice Scalia's admonition against selectively determining legislative intent in the manner of someone at a party who "look[s] over the heads of the crowd and pick[s] out [their] friends."³⁸

A. Breadth of the Immunity

We recognize that the language of Section 230(c)(1) is by its terms broad. It does not, after all, explicitly limit the liability shield it creates to those companies that engage in some measure of blocking or screening. While the intent of the provision—that companies doing some measure of blocking are immunized for content they miss in Section 230(c)(1) and are immunized for good faith blocking in Section 230(c)(2)—is clear from its

³⁵ See, e.g., *Barnes v. Yahoo!*, 570 F.3d 1096 (9th Cir. 2009) (citing sections 230(a)(3) and 230(b)(2) for the proposition that free speech values underlie the immunity provision). Section 230(b)(2) declared it federal policy to preserve "vibrant and competitive free market that presently exists for the Internet and other interactive computer services, unfettered by Federal or State regulation." Although this section has been invoked to support the proposition that no rules should constrain the Internet, a close reading shows it refers to the marketplace of services, not the figurative marketplace of ideas. Congress did not want the FCC or the states to regulate Internet access fees. Three paragraphs later, Congress made clear it was anything but anti-regulatory when it comes to online abuses, enunciating a federal policy "to ensure vigorous enforcement of Federal criminal laws to deter and punish trafficking in obscenity, stalking, and harassment by means of computer." 47 U.S.C. § 230(b)(5). Regrettably, cyber stalking and harassment laws have not been enforced as vigorously as Congress hoped. Citron, *supra* note 13, at 83-90; Danielle Keats Citron, *Law's Expressive Value in Combating Cyber Gender Harassment*, 108 MICH. L. REV. 373 (2009). There are, however, exceptional federal prosecutors devoted to combating the problem, including Mona Sedky and Wesley Hsu. See Benjamin Wittes, *The Lawfare Podcast: Mona Sedky on Prosecuting Sextortion*, LAWFARE (June 26, 2016, 2:11 PM), <https://www.lawfareblog.com/lawfare-podcast-mona-sedky-prosecuting-sex-tortion>; Kashmir Hill, *The Cyber Prosecutor Sending Nude-Photo Thieves to Prison*, FORBES (July 31, 2014, 10:28 AM), <https://www.forbes.com/sites/kashmirhill/2014/07/31/federal-prosecutor-nude-photo-hackers/#111dcc81ed6c> [<https://perma.cc/ZWP2-4MDK>].

³³ *Doe v. Internet Brands, Inc.*, 824 F.3d 846 (9th Cir. 2016).

³⁷ *Zeran v. Am. Online, Inc.*, 129 F.3d 327, 334 (4th Cir. 1997).

³⁸ ANTONIN SCALIA, A MATTER OF INTERPRETATION: FEDERAL COURTS AND THE LAW 36 (1997).

history and context, the language of 230(c)(1) admittedly sweeps more broadly than that, reaching online service providers more generally.³⁹

But even with that recognition, the broad construction of CDA's immunity provision adopted by the courts has produced an immunity from liability far more sweeping than anything the law's words, context, and history support.⁴⁰ Platforms have been protected from liability even though they republished content knowing it might violate the law,⁴¹ encouraged users to post illegal content,⁴² changed their design and policies to enable illegal activity,⁴³ or sold dangerous products.⁴⁴ As a result, hundreds of decisions have extended Section 230 immunity, with comparatively few denying or restricting it.⁴⁵

Consider *Jane Doe No. 1 v. Backpage.com*.⁴⁶ Sex trafficking victims sued Backpage—a classifieds hub hosting “80 percent of the online advertising for illegal commercial sex in the United States.”⁴⁷ Plaintiffs alleged that Backpage did not enjoy Section 230 immunity for their sexual assault because it had deliberately structured its service to enable sex trafficking.⁴⁸ Evidence showed that defendant had selectively

³⁹ See notes 18–30.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., *GoDaddy L.L.C. v. Toups*, 429 S.W.3d 752 (Tex. App. 2014); *CITRON*, *supra* note 16, at 171. Courts have narrowly construed when platforms fall outside Section 230's safe harbor because they co-created content. *Fair Hous. Council v. Roommates*, 521 F.3d 1157, 1167-68 (9th Cir. 2008). Only platforms that “materially contribute” to content's development, such as by paying for it or requiring users to post it, are ineligible for the safe harbor. *Id.*; *FTC v. Accusearch*, 570 F.3d 1187, 1192, 1199 (10th Cir. 2009).

⁴¹ *Shiamili v. Real Estate Grp. of N.Y.*, 17 N.Y.3d 281 (N.Y. 2011); *Phan v. Pham*, 182 Cal. App. 4th 323 (Cal. Ct. App. 2010) (extending Section 230 immunity to defendant who forwarded defamatory email and added comment that “everything would come into daylight”).

⁴² *Jones v. Dirty World Entm't Recordings*, 755 F.3d 398 (6th Cir. 2014) (rejecting plaintiff's contention that soliciting gossip constituted co-development of illegal content); *S.C. v. Dirty L.L.C.*, No. 11-CV-00392-DW, 2012 WL 3335284 (W.D. Mo. Mar. 12, 2012); *Dyer v. Dirtyworld*, No. CV-11-0074-PHX-SMM, 2011 WL 2173900 (D. Ariz. June 2, 2011).

⁴³ *Doe v. Backpage.com, L.L.C.*, 817 F.3d 12, 16 (1st Cir. 2016).

⁴⁴ See, e.g., *Hinton v. Amazon*, 72 F. Supp. 3d 685, 687 (S.D. Miss. 2014) (granting dismissal on Section 230 grounds because “claims against eBay arise or stem from the publication of information on www.ebay.com created by third parties”).

⁴⁵ *Ambika Doran, Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act Turns 20*, LAW360 (Sept. 7, 2016, 12:27 PM), <https://www.law360.com/articles/836281/section-230-of-the-communications-decency-act-turns-20> [<https://perma.cc/LF9C-C2GR>].

⁴⁶ 817 F.3d 12 (1st Cir. 2016); see also *Backpage.com, LLC v. McKenna*, No. C12-954 RSM, 2012 WL 4120262, at *2 (W.D. Wash. Sept. 18, 2012).

⁴⁷ Petition for Writ of Certiorari at 7, *Doe v. Backpage.com, L.L.C.*, 2106 WL 4610982 (2016) (No. 16-276), <http://www.scotusblog.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/16-276-cert-petition.pdf> [<https://perma.cc/9GGX-LJ6D>].

⁴⁸ *Backpage*, 817 F.3d at 16.

removed postings discouraging sex trafficking and tailored its rules to protect the practice from detection, including allowing anonymized email and photographs stripped of metadata.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, the court held that Backpage enjoyed immunity from liability, even as it recognized that plaintiffs' evidence was "persuasive."⁵⁰ The court reasoned that, "[s]howing that a website operates through a meretricious business model is not enough to strip away those protections."⁵¹

Neither the text of the statute nor its history require sweeping immunity from liability for sites like Backpage. It was, after all, part of the Communications *Decency* Act. Section 230 was by no means meant to immunize services whose business is the active subversion of online decency—businesses that are not merely failing to take steps to protect users from online indecency but are actually facilitating and encouraging online illegality.

Granting immunity to platforms designed in part or in whole for illegal activity would seem absurd to the CDA's drafters. As Judge Frank Easterbrook noted in a case involving an alleged violation of fair housing laws, such an expansive interpretation does not harmonize with the "decency" name of the CDA because broad protection induces online computer services to "do nothing about the distribution of indecent and offensive materials."⁵²

In the technology world, Section 230 of the CDA is a kind of sacred cow—an untouchable protection of near constitutional status.⁵³ It is, in some circles anyway, credited with having enabled the development of the modern internet.⁵⁴ We are not convinced that courts' sweeping departure from the law's words, context, and purpose has been the net boon for free expression that the law's celebrants imagine. The free expression calculus devised by the law's supporters often fails to consider the loss of voices in the wake of destructive harassment encouraged or tolerated by platforms.⁵⁵ We suspect that the many benefits the immunity has enabled could have been secured at a slightly lesser price.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ *Id.* at 17.

⁵⁰ *Id.* at 29.

⁵¹ *Id.*

⁵² Chi. Lawyers Comm. for Civil Rights v. Craigslist, 519 F.3d 666, 670 (7th Cir. 2008).

⁵³ CDA 230: The Most Important Law Protecting Internet Speech, EFF BLOG, <https://www.eff.org/issues/cda230/legal> [<https://perma.cc/65KG-W8R4>].

⁵⁴ Christopher Zara, *The Most Important Law in Tech Has a Problem*, WIRED (Jan. 3, 2017, 12:00 AM), <https://www.wired.com/2017/01/the-most-important-law-in-tech-has-a-problem/> [<https://perma.cc/JZH5-299U>]; Eric Goldman, *Online User Account Termination and 47 U.S.C. § 230(c)(2)*, 2 U.C. IRVINE L. REV. 659 (2012).

⁵⁵ Maeve Duggan, *2. Online Harassment in Focus: Most Recent Experience*, PEW RES. CTR. (July 11, 2017), <http://www.pewinternet.org/2017/07/11/online-harassment-in-focus-most-recent-experience/> [<https://perma.cc/24ET-92Q3>] (finding that 42% of people

But now that twenty years have passed, the question is whether the Internet will break if Section 230 is no longer accorded a broad sweeping interpretation. Section 230's most fervent supporters argue that it is "responsible for the extraordinary Internet boom" and its evisceration would sound the death knell to innovation.⁵⁷ To the extent the Internet needed a broad liability shield when it was young, it certainly needs it no longer. Innovation on online platforms can at this point coexist with an expectation that platform companies will behave according to *some* enforceable standard of conduct.

Be that as it may, absent a Supreme Court intervention, the ship may have sailed in regards to the judiciary's interpretation of the current statute. Numerous federal courts of appeals have considered Section 230, and so far anyway, the courts are in a near unanimous agreement that it conveys protection from liability far in excess of what we think constitutes reasonable public policy.⁵⁸

If a broad reading of the safe harbor embodied sound policy in the past, it does not in the present—an era in which child (and adult) predation and sexual exploitation on the Internet is rampant, cyber mobs terrorize people for speaking their minds, and actual terrorists use online services to organize and promote their violent activities. Unless the Court upends the table, it is hard to imagine a retreat from the broad sweeping interpretation of Section 230 adopted in the state and lower federal courts.

who experienced severe harassment were "more likely to say they changed their username or deleted their profile, stopped attending offline venues or reported the incident to law enforcement"); see Danielle Keats Citron, *Civil Rights in Our Information Age*, in *THE OFFENSIVE INTERNET* 31 (Saul Levmore & Martha Nussbaum eds., 2010).

⁵⁶ Free speech scholar Jack Balkin has assessed Section 230 in a measured way: "[Section 230] has had enormous consequences for securing the vibrant culture of freedom of expression we have on the Internet today. . . . Because online service providers are insulated from liability, they have built a wide range of different applications and services that allow people to speak to each other and make things together. Section 230 is by no means a perfect piece of legislation; it may be overprotective in some respects and underprotective in others. But it has been valuable nevertheless." Jack M. Balkin, *The Future of Free Expression in a Digital Age*, 36 PEPP. L. REV. 427, 434 (2009).

⁵⁷ Derek Khanna, *The Law That Gave Us the Modern Internet—and the Campaign to Kill It*, ATLANTIC (Sept. 12, 2013), <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2013/09/the-law-that-gave-us-the-modern-internet-and-the-campaign-to-kill-it/279588/> [<https://perma.cc/FVF7-2RWA>] (citing Eric Goldman).

⁵⁸ *Klayman v. Zuckerberg*, 753 F.3d 1354, 1358 (D.C. Cir. 2014); *Jones v. Dirty World*, 755 F.3d 398, 406 (6th Cir. 2014); *Doe v. MySpace, Inc.*, 528 F.3d 413, 422 (5th Cir. 2008); *Perfect 10, Inc. v. CCBill L.L.C.*, 488 F.3d 1102 (9th Cir. 2007); *Universal Commc'ns Sys, Inc. v. Lycos, Inc.*, 478 F.3d 413 (1st Cir. 2007); *Doe v. GTE Corp.*, 347 F.3d 655 (7th Cir. 2009); *Green v. Am. Online*, 318 F.3d 465 (3d Cir. 2003); *Ben Ezra, Weinstein, & Co. v. Am. Online Inc.*, 206 F.3d 980 (10th Cir. 2000); *Zeran v. Am. Online, Inc.*, 129 F.3d 327 (4th Cir. 1997).

B. Radical Changes in the Digital Marketplace

The world of technology companies Section 230 protects today, and the activities of those companies that it protects, is immensely different from 20 years ago. At the most basic level, the companies and their successors are vastly larger, more powerful, and less vulnerable than were the nascent “online service providers” of two decades ago. They are also providing services very different from, and less obviously about speech, than the Prodigy-like services that Congress sought to protect.

Prodigy was, after all, a bulletin board system. The major online platforms of the day mostly involved people posting things and expressing opinions about things. The platforms could, to some degree, claim that they were passive actors vis-a-vis the speech of third-party users. That is still true to a point. Social media providers like Twitter and Facebook host the speech of third-party users.

But the networked environment today is profoundly different from the one in 1996. Twenty years ago, commercial service providers had 12 million subscribers.⁵⁹ Now billions of individuals are online in ways that would have been unimaginable when Congress passed the CDA. As Judge Alex Kozinski noted in *Fair Housing Council v. Roommates.com*, “the Internet has outgrown its swaddling clothes and no longer needs to be so gently coddled.”⁶⁰

In 1996, it was impossible to foresee the threat to speech imposed by cyber mobs and individual harassers, whose abuse chills the speech of those unwilling to subject themselves to further damage.⁶¹ Then, the aggregative power of the Internet was not yet known.⁶² Today, huge social networks and search engines enable the rapid spread of destructive abuse. If someone posts something defamatory, privacy invasive, and threatening about another person, or even about a non-user of a given service, and thousands or tens of thousands of people share it, there can be devastating consequences whether or not the targeted individual used the service in question.⁶³ Online abuse is often the first thing employers, clients, and potential dates see in a search of a victim’s name. The potential for destruction is exponentially greater today than it was twenty years ago.

Moreover, Section 230 immunity has been invoked by giant companies engaged in enterprises that have little to do with free expression. This is true for Airbnb, which facilitates short-term rentals of

⁵⁹ *Reno v. ACLU*, 521 U.S. 844, 850–51 (1997).

⁶⁰ 521 F.3d 1157, 1175 n.39 (2008).

⁶¹ Citron, *supra* note 13.

⁶² *Id.*

⁶³ CITRON, *supra* note 16.

real estate⁶⁴ and eBay, which runs an auction site.⁶⁵ It is not hard to see Section 230's immunity being asserted by Uber, which arranges transportation;⁶⁶ Soothe, an on-demand massage service;⁶⁷ or Glamsquad, which sends hair stylists to people's homes.⁶⁸ These businesses have little to do with free expression, though we have seen business in the on-demand economy asserting Section 230's protection, with some success.⁶⁹ If those companies operated in physical space, they could not escape liability for failing to meet reasonable duties of care.⁷⁰

No doubt, providing a safe harbor for massive social networks, search engines, and ISPs has been beneficial. If communication conduits like ISPs did not enjoy Section 230 immunity, they would likely remove valuable online content at the request of hecklers to avoid distributor liability.⁷¹ The same is true of search engines that index the vast universe

⁶⁴ *Airbnb, Inc. v. San Francisco*, 217 F. Supp. 3d 1066, 1072-73 (N.D. Cal. 2016); see Eric Goldman, *Section 230 Ruling Against Airbnb Puts All Online Marketplaces at Risk-Airbnb v. San Francisco*, TECH. & MARKETING L. BLOG (Nov. 14, 2016), <https://blog.ericgoldman.org/archives/2016/11/section-230-ruling-against-airbnb-puts-all-online-marketplaces-at-risk-airbnb-v-san-francisco.htm> [<https://perma.cc/F82G-4RJ7>].

⁶⁵ *Hinton v. Amazon*, 72 F. Supp. 3d 685, 687 (S.D. Miss. 2014) (granting dismissal on Section 230 grounds because "claims against eBay arise or stem from the publication of information on www.ebay.com created by third parties").

⁶⁶ See Ryan Calo and Alex Rosenblat, *The Taking Economy: Uber, Information, and Power*, 117 COLUM. L. REV. (forthcoming 2017).

⁶⁷ SOOTHE, <https://itunes.apple.com/us/app/soothe-in-home-massage-delivered-to-you/id811054908> [<https://perma.cc/VL2B-4NPQ?type=image>].

⁶⁸ Rebecca Adams, *Need a Blowout At Home Within the Hour? There's an App for that, and It's Called Glamsquad*, HUFF POST (Mar. 11, 2014, 7:57 AM), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/03/11/glamsquad_n_4919678.html [<https://perma.cc/6U2H-U6YW>].

⁶⁹ *Compare Inman v. Technicolor*, Civil Action No. 11-666, 2011 WL 5829024 (W.D. Pa. Nov. 18, 2011) (finding eBay immune from liability for mercury poisoning contracted by plaintiff after purchasing vacuum tubes from third party on site) with *Airbnb v. San Francisco*, Case No. 3:16-cv-03615-JD, 2016 WL 6599821 (N.D. Cal. Nov. 8, 2016) (finding Section 230 immunity inapplicable because city ordinance "does not regulate what can or cannot be said or posted in the listings" and "creates no obligation . . . to monitor, edit, withdraw or block the content supplied by hosts" but rather holds Airbnb liable "only for their own conduct, namely for providing, and collecting a fee for, Booking Services in connection with an unregistered unit").

⁷⁰ Landlords, shopping malls, hospitals, and banks have been held liable for enabling foreseeable criminal activity of third parties. Michael Rustad & Thomas H. Koenig, *The Tort of Negligent Enablement of Cybercrime*, 20 BERKELEY TECH. L.J. 1553, 1582 (2005); see also Robert L. Rabin, *Enabling Torts*, 49 DEPAUL L. REV. 435, 437 (1999) (arguing that there is little difference between inciting misconduct and enabling it); Danielle Keats Citron, *Mainstreaming Privacy Torts*, 98 CAL. L. REV. 1805, 1836-38 (2010) (privacy invasions should be addressed by mainstream torts, including negligent enablement though Section 230's broad immunity has often stood in the way).

⁷¹ CITRON, *supra* note 16, at 171.

of online content and produce relevant information to users in seconds and, for that matter, social media providers that host millions, even billions, of users.⁷²

We recognize the good that the CDA's Section 230 has done for digital expression specifically and for democracy generally. We are not arguing that Section 230 should not exist or that it should it should not offer robust protections for platform providers. Instead, we want to bring its expressive and other costs into view along with its benefits so that courts can recalibrate the interpretative lens of the CDA's safe harbor.

Although Section 230 has secured breathing space for the development of online services and countless opportunities to work, speak, and engage with others, it has produced unjust results. An overbroad reading of the CDA has given platforms a free pass to ignore destructive activities, to deliberately repost illegal material, and to solicit unlawful activities while ensuring that abusers cannot be identified.⁷³ As Rebecca Tushnet put it well, Section 230 "allows Internet intermediaries to have their free speech and everyone else's too."⁷⁴

Companies have too limited an incentive to insist on lawful conduct on their services beyond the narrow scope of their terms of service. They have no duty of care to respond to users or larger societal goals. They have no accountability for destructive uses of their services, even when they encourage those uses. In addition, platforms have invoked Section 230 in an effort to immunize a great deal of activity that has very little to do with speech.⁷⁵ It is indeed "power without responsibility."⁷⁶

The broad sweeping interpretation of Section 230's immunity eliminates incentives for better behavior by those in the best position to minimize harm.⁷⁷ As Citizen Media Law Project's Sam Bayard has explained, a site operator can enjoy Section 230's protection all the while "building a whole business around people saying nasty things about others, and . . . affirmatively choosing not to track user information that would make it possible for an injured person to go after the person directly responsible."⁷⁸

⁷² *Id.*

⁷³ Citron, *supra* note 13, at 118.

⁷⁴ Rebecca Tushnet, *Power Without Responsibility: Intermediaries and the First Amendment*, 76 GEO. WASH. L. REV. 101, 117 (2008).

⁷⁵ Hinton v. Amazon.com, 72 F. Supp. 3d 685, 687 (S.D. Miss. 2014).

⁷⁶ Tushnet, *supra* note 74, at 117.

⁷⁷ Citron, *supra* note 13, at 118; Mark Lemley, *Rationalizing ISP Safe Harbors* (Stanford Public Law Working Paper, No. 979836) [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm \[https://perma.cc/P7UP-PEHF\]](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?https://perma.cc/P7UP-PEHF).

⁷⁸ Sam Bayard, *New Jersey Prosecutors Set Sights on JuicyCampus*, DIG. MEDIA L. PROJECT (Mar. 21, 2008, 12:41) <http://www.dmlp.org/blog/2008/new-jersey-prosecutors-set-sights-juicycampus> [<https://perma.cc/2ZX6-WSZG>].

Let's take stock of some providers and users whose activities have been immunized from liability under the broad approach to Section 230:

- Revenge porn operator whose business was devoted to posting of people's nude images without consent;⁷⁹
- Gossip site that urged users to send in "dirt" and fanned the flames with snarky comments;⁸⁰
- Social network whose operators knew about users' illegal activity yet refused to collect information that would allow those users to be held accountable;⁸¹
- Biggest purveyor of sex trade advertisements whose policies and architecture were designed to prevent the detection of sex-trafficking;⁸²
- Auction site that arranged for the sale of goods that risked serious harm;⁸³
- User of an online service who forwarded a defamatory email with a comment that "everything would come into daylight,"⁸⁴
- Hook up site that ignored more than 50 reports that a subscriber used the site to impersonate a man and falsely suggest his interest in rape fantasies, which led to hundreds of strangers confronting him for sex at work and home.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ CITRON, *supra* note 16, at 168–81. As the advocacy group the Cyber Civil Rights Initiative, run by Dr. Holly Jacobs and Professor Mary Anne Franks has shown, there are countless sites whose *raison d'être* is the peddling of nonconsensual pornography.

⁸⁰ Jones v. Dirty World, 755 F.3d 398 (6th Cir. 2014); see Eric Goldman, *Want to Encourage Gossipy Content? Go For It—Jones v. Dirtyworld*, FORBES (June 17, 2014, 9:49 AM), <https://www.forbes.com/sites/ericgoldman/2014/06/17/want-to-encourage-gossipy-content-online-go-for-it/#20a030132e09> [<https://web.archive.org/web/20180125045106/https://www.forbes.com/sites/ericgoldman/2014/06/17/want-to-encourage-gossipy-content-online-go-for-it/>].

⁸¹ Citron, *supra* note 13, at 118 n.388; Bayard, *supra* note 78 (arguing that Section 230 should not but nonetheless would immunize from liability sites like AutoAdmit and Juicy Campus that solicited defamation and told users that it would do what they could to prevent them from being traced and held accountable).

⁸² Doe v. Backpage.com, L.L.C., 817 F.3d 12, 16 (1st Cir. 2016).

⁸³ Inman v. Technicolor USA, Inc., Civil Action No. 11–666, 2011 WL 5829024 (W.D. Pa. Nov. 18, 2011).

⁸⁴ Phan v. Pham, 182 Cal. App. 4th 323 (Cal. App. Ct. 2010).

⁸⁵ Herrick v. Grindr, 17-CV-932 (VEC), 2017 WL 744605 (S.D.N.Y. Feb. 24, 2017); Sara Ashley O'Brien, *1,100 Strangers Showed Up at His Home for Sex. He Blames Grindr*, MONEY (Apr. 14, 2017, 1:02 PM), <http://money.cnn.com/2017/04/14/technology/grindr-lawsuit/index.html> [<https://perma.cc/7YUU-8XSR>]; Andy Greenberg, *Spoofed Grindr Accounts Turned One Man's Life Into a 'Living Hell'*, WIRED (Jan. 31, 2017, 2:57 PM),

Blanket immunity fosters irresponsible behavior, such as setting up sites for the purpose of causing others to suffer severe embarrassment, humiliation, and emotional distress.⁸⁶ It gives platforms a license to solicit illegal activity, including sex-trafficking, child sexual exploitation, or nonconsensual pornography. Site operators have no reason to take down material that is clearly defamatory or invasive of privacy.⁸⁷ They have no incentive to respond to clear instances of criminality or tortious behavior. Victims have no leverage to insist that operators take down destructive posts.

III. MODEST SOLUTIONS

It is not inevitable that society suffers these harmful consequences in exchange for a legal environment that fosters speech and innovation. This exchange is a choice—and it's a bad choice. Ideally, since Section 230 does not actually compel this exchange, the solution would be for courts to interpret Section 230 in a manner more consistent with its text, context, and history. This interpretation would go a long way to incentivize efforts to deter illegal material, which is what the CDA's drafters set out to do in the first place. However, this solution is probably a long-shot given the judiciary's current understanding of the law. If this assessment is correct, the only course is a potential statutory fix. We suggest a course correction for the courts and, if needed, a modest statutory change that would help reorient the current liability environment.

A. Interpretative Shift

As a preliminary matter, courts should not apply Section 230's safe harbor unless the claims relate to the publication of user-generated content. Some recent decisions have embraced this approach. In *Doe v. Internet Brands*,⁸⁸ two men used a networking site devoted to the modeling industry to lure the plaintiff to an audition where they drugged

<https://www.wired.com/2017/01/grinder-lawsuit-spoofed-accounts/>
[<https://perma.cc/P6QP-7AFN>].

⁸⁶ DANIEL J. SOLOVE, *THE FUTURE OF REPUTATION: GOSSIP, RUMOR, AND PRIVACY ON THE INTERNET* 159 (2007).

⁸⁷ Indeed, the broad reading of Section 230 is why revenge porn operators have been so brazen about their business model. CITRON, *supra* note 16, at 173–76. Some operators have learned the hard way that Section 230 does not protect them from liability related to their *own* wrongdoing. *Id.* Kevin Bollaert was convicted of engaging in an extortion scheme in California after he charged \$500 a photo for the removal of nonconsensual pornography. *Id.* Hunter Moore pleaded guilty to federal conspiracy to hack women's computers to steal intimate images. *Id.*

⁸⁸ Order and Opinion, 824 F.3d 846 (9th Cir. 2016).

her, raped her, and recorded the rape.⁸⁹ The woman sued the site's owner because it knew about the rapists' use of the site but never issued a warning about it. The Ninth Circuit rejected the Section 230 defense because the defendant was not being sued for publishing third-party content.⁹⁰ Instead, the lawsuit centered on defendant's failure to warn plaintiff about the rape scheme, not its failure to edit or remove content.⁹¹

This reading of the statute is consistent with the fact that "publisher" and "speaker" are technical terms of art in defamation and intellectual property law.⁹² The *Prodigy* decision, which prompted lawmakers to adopt the safe harbor, involved defamation law. Had Congress intended to extend a broad cloak of immunity to providers beyond decisions related to the publication of content, one would expect it to have said so. Congress did not even prohibit holding providers liable for the dissemination of information; it merely prohibited a finding that a provider was a "publisher" or "speaker." Courts should, at a minimum, limit the statute to those terms.

This reading would set a limit on the kinds of claims covered by Section 230. Many legal theories advanced under the law do not turn on whether a defendant is a "publisher" or "speaker." Liability for aiding and abetting others' wrongful acts does not depend on the manner in which aid was provided. Designing a site to enable defamation or sex trafficking could result in liability in the absence of a finding that a site was being sued for publishing or speaking.

In addition to a narrow reading of "publisher" and "speaker" under Section 230(c)(1), courts should limit its application to Good Samaritans, understood as online service providers that take reasonable steps, when warned, to protect against illegal activity or that proactively address illegal material like *Prodigy* but end up under-screening.⁹³ Section 230's title reflects this purpose: "protection for private blocking and screening of offensive material." So does subsection (c)'s subtitle: "protection for 'Good Samaritan' blocking and screening of offensive material." Although titles added by non-legislative compilers are entitled to little weight,

⁸⁹ *Id.* at 851.

⁹⁰ *Id.* at 852.

⁹¹ *Id.* at 851.

⁹² RESTATEMENT (SECOND) OF TORTS §581 (1977); Jonathan Zittrain, *What the Publisher Can Teach the Patient: Intellectual Property and Privacy in an Era of Trusted Privication*, 52 STAN. L. REV. (2000); Pamela Samuelson & Robert J. Glushko, *Intellectual Property Rights for Digital Library and Hypertext Publishing Systems*, 6 HARV. J. L. & TECH. 237 (1993).

⁹³ Citron, *supra* note 13, at 116 n.377.

Section 230's title was enacted by Congress and signed by the President, and hence deserves deference.⁹⁴

Sites like The Dirty and Backpage have successfully argued that Section 230(c)(1) provides them blanket immunity related to user-generated content. These sites read a provision enacted to encourage providers to take steps to *restrict* abusive material to shield them from liability for *encouraging* such material. This interpretation undermines the congressional goal of incentivizing self-regulation.⁹⁵

The courts certainly should not extend the CDA's safe harbor to actively *Bad Samaritans*—that is, online service providers that knowingly traffic in, or solicit, illegal activity. Extending immunity to Bad Samaritans undermines Section 230's mission by eliminating incentives for better behavior by those in the best position to minimize harm. Treating abusive website operators and Good Samaritans alike devalues the efforts of the latter and may result in less of the very kind of blocking that CDA in general, and Section 230 in particular, sought to promote.⁹⁶

What activity would warrant treating a provider as a Good Samaritan under Section 230(c)(1)? Grants of immunity typically seek to protect and encourage specific beneficial acts. This rationale explains why the law often immunizes Good Samaritans for negligence but not for intentional torts or crimes.⁹⁷ Online service providers should be immune from liability if they engage in reasonable efforts to protect against illegal activity or to address illegality that they have been warned about.⁹⁸ By contrast, the immunity should not apply to platforms that deliberately host illegal content or that encourage users to post illegal content.

What about The Dirty? The site should not be protected from liability since it is designed for the express purpose of hosting defamation and privacy invasions. To immunize it would turn the notion of the Good Samaritan on its head since its interests are aligned with the abusers.

⁹⁴ *Begay v. U.S.*, 118 S. Ct. 1581, 1587 (2008); RUTH SULLIVAN & ELMER A. DREIDGER, *SULLIVAN AND DRIEDGER ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF STATUTES* 253–58 (3d ed. 1994).

⁹⁵ Section 230(e)(3) disclaims any intent “to prevent any State from enforcing any State law that is consistent with this section” but bars any “that is inconsistent with this section.” Ascertaining Section 230's effect on operators' liability for state law re-quires an analysis of its purpose.

⁹⁶ Citron, *supra* note 13, at 116.

⁹⁷ *See, e.g., Mitchell v. Forsyth*, 472 U.S. 511 (1985) (providing no prosecutorial immunity for Attorney General's authorization of wiretaps for purported national security purposes).

⁹⁸ Olivier Sylvain has a thoughtful proposal to revise the Good Samaritan obligation in Section 230 to shift away from good-faith efforts at self-regulation. Olivier Sylvain, *Intermediaries' Design Duties*, 50 CONN. L. REV. (forthcoming). Instead, Professor Sylvain would bar the immunity when providers process and publish user data in ancillary or secondary markets in ways that their originating users did not intend. *Id.*

Enjoying Section 230 would be a windfall for the site operator who gives lip service to preventing defamation in the site's terms of service but encourages his "Dirty Army" to email him "dirt" and chooses which gossip to post.

By contrast, Twitter likely would enjoy immunity from liability for the delayed removal of ISIL accounts. Given the scale of Twitter's user base (in the hundreds of millions), Twitter should be immunized from liability for failing to remove accounts about which it had not been notified or for removing accounts after a normal review process. The platform is currently engaged in good-faith screening efforts. In the first six months of 2017, the platform removed more than 377,000 pro-terrorism accounts.⁹⁹ Sustained failure to remove an account despite repeated notifications, by contrast, might well strip the company of immunity in a specific case. Note that this would not in and of itself give rise to liability. Instead, it would merely require that Twitter defend a suit on its merits rather than being automatically shielded from answering claims asserted against it.

B. Legislative Proposal

If the courts decline to move Section 230 in this direction, Congress should consider statutory changes. There have been several suggestions for fixing Section 230. The National Association of Attorneys General (NAAG) has urged Congress to amend Section 230 to exempt state criminal laws.¹⁰⁰ This proposal grew out of concerns about advertisements for child-sex traffickers. But the NAAG proposal would require online providers to shoulder burdensome legal compliance with countless state criminal laws that have nothing to do with the most troubling uses of online platforms, such as child sex-trafficking, stalking, and nonconsensual pornography.

A modest alternative to a sweeping elimination of the immunity for state law would be to eliminate the immunity for the worst actors. As one

⁹⁹ Going forward the problem for the major social media sites like Twitter is not going to be removing too little extremist speech but rather removing too much in the face of threatened regulation by the EU Commission and EU member states. See Danielle Keats Citron, *Extremist Speech, Compelled Conformity, and Censorship Creep*, NOTRE DAME L. REV. (forthcoming). EU countries have effectively compelled the major tech companies to adopt their speech norms with threats of new laws and penalties, which poses serious risk of censorship creep. *Id.*

¹⁰⁰ Mike Masnick, *More Details Emerge as States' Attorneys General Seek to Hold Back Innovation on the Internet*, TECHDIRT (June 19, 2013, 4:16 PM), <https://www.techdirt.com/blog/innovation/articles/20130619/01031623524/more-details-emerge-as-states-attorneys-general-seek-to-hold-back-innovation-internet.shtml> [<https://perma.cc/WM2X-V3DC>].

of us (Citron) has proposed, sites that encourage destructive online abuse or which are principally used for that purpose should not enjoy immunity from liability.¹⁰¹ Mirroring Section 230's current exemption of federal law and intellectual property, the amendment could state, "Nothing in section 230 shall be construed to limit or expand the application of civil or criminal liability for any website or other content host that purposefully encourages cyber stalking, nonconsensual pornography, sex trafficking, child sexual exploitation, or that principally hosts such material."¹⁰²

A broader though still balanced approach would be to clarify the reach of Section 230(c)(1), which could be revised as follows: "No provider or user of an interactive computer service that *takes reasonable steps to prevent or address unlawful uses of its services once warned about such uses* shall be treated as the publisher or speaker of any information provided by another information content provider *in any action arising out of the publication of content provided by that information content provider.*"

With this revision, platforms would enjoy immunity from liability if they could show that their response to unlawful uses of their services in general was reasonable. Such a determination would take into account differences among online entities. ISPs and social networks with millions of postings a day cannot plausibly respond to complaints of abuse immediately, let alone within a day or two. For example, Twitter would be in a strong position to argue that it has taken reasonable steps to address ISIS and other terrorist content on its platform--thus it would likely enjoy 230 immunity for such postings. The Dirty, we suspect, could make no such showing; it would likely not be immune under such a standard.

Our proposal seeks to establish a reasonable standard of care that will reduce opportunities for abuses without interfering with the further development of a vibrant Internet or unintentionally turning innocent platforms into involuntary insurers for those injured through their sites. Approaching the problem as one of setting an appropriate standard of care more readily allows differentiating between different kinds of online actors, setting a different rule for websites established to facilitate mob attacks from that applied to large ISPs linking millions to the Internet. Reaching this stage, however, requires abandoning the hyper-protective stage in which many courts currently are mired.

¹⁰¹ CITRON, *supra* note 16, at 177.

¹⁰² *Id.* In amending Section 230, Congress could import the definition of cyberstalking from federal criminal law, 18 U.S.C. 2261A. *Id.*

CONCLUSION

An immunity provision designed to encourage voluntary blocking and restriction of objectionable material should not shield providers that encourage or deliberately host such material. An overbroad reading of the CDA has given platforms a free pass to ignore destructive activities and, worse, to solicit unlawful activities while doing what they can to ensure that abusers cannot be identified. With modest adjustments to Section 230, either through judicial interpretation or legislation, we can have a robust culture of free speech online without extending the safe harbor to Bad Samaritans.

More broadly, we hope this article opens a conversation about Section 230's importance for free speech. Section 230, as currently interpreted, gives an irrational degree of free speech benefit to harassers and scofflaws, but ignores important free speech costs to victims. Individuals have difficulty expressing themselves in the face of online assaults.¹⁰³ These victims of assault shut down their blogs, sites, and social network profiles not because they tire of them, but because continuing them provokes their attackers.¹⁰⁴ Civil liberties organization Electronic Frontier Foundation has recognized that cyber harassment is "profoundly damaging to the free speech and privacy rights of the people targeted."¹⁰⁵ A robust culture of free speech online can be achieved without shielding from liability those who deliberately repost illegal material or those who run sites whose business model is hosting such abuse.¹⁰⁶ An environment of perfect impunity for intermediaries that facilitate online abuse is not an obvious win for free speech if the result is that the harassers speak unhindered and the harassed retreat in fear offline.

A recalibrated Section 230 would, we surmise, do a better job of incentivizing the parties in the best position to protect against risks to free

¹⁰³ Danielle Keats Citron, *Online Engagement on Equal Terms*, 95 B.U. L. REV. ANNEX 97 (2015).

¹⁰⁴ Citron, *supra* note 13 (arguing that combating cyber harassment with a cyber civil rights legal agenda would help preserve online dialogue and promote a culture of political, social, and economic equality).

¹⁰⁵ Dia Kayyali & Danny O'Brien, *Facing the Challenge of Online Harassment*, ELEC. FRONTIER FOUND. (Jan. 8, 2015), <https://www.eff.org/deeplinks/2015/01/facing-challenge-online-harassment> [<https://perma.cc/L5FZ-3JWH>] (noting that cyber harassment silences people, especially those with "less political or social power" and "women and racial and religious minorities").

¹⁰⁶ Danielle Keats Citron & Neil Richards, *Can and Should Perez Hilton Be Held Liable for Reposting of Celebrities' Nude Photos*, FORBES (Sept. 3, 2014, 4:41 PM), <https://www.forbes.com/sites/daniellecitron/2014/09/03/can-and-should-perez-hilton-be-held-liable-for-reposting-celebrities-private-nude-photos-without-their-consent/#65cd6931d841> [<https://perma.cc/5DD3-MVGV>].

expression engendered by online abuse. By contrast, the current approach allows providers to host abuse without regard for the harm it inflicts. As one of us (Wittes) has argued with Gabriella Blum in a different context, the Internet “lacks any kind of sensible allocation of risk.”¹⁰⁷ ISPs and software vendors suffer no real consequences for bad cybersecurity; thus, bad security and low quality are the norm.¹⁰⁸ If Section 230 is left as is, the same will continue to be true of online platforms and the illegal behavior they host. Of course, websites whose business model is abuse have no incentive to restrict it. But neither do sites that know about unlawful activity and keep it up in case it might appeal to some users.

What’s more, to the extent that our proposal is resisted on the grounds that online platforms deserve special protection from liability because they operate as zones of public discourse, we offer the modest rejoinder that while the Internet is special, it is not so fundamentally special that all normal legal rules should not apply to it. Yes, online platforms facilitate expression, along with other key life opportunities, but no more and no less so than do workplaces, schools, and coffee shops, which are all also zones of conversations and are not categorically exempted from legal responsibility for operating safely. The law has not destroyed expression in workplaces, homes, and other social venues. When courts began recognizing claims under Title VII for hostile sexual work environments, employers argued that the cost of liability would force them to shutter and if not would ruin the camaraderie of workspaces.¹⁰⁹ As we know now, that has not been the case. Rather, those spaces are now available to all on equal terms while firms have more than survived in the face of Title VII liability. The same should be true for networked spaces.

¹⁰⁷ BENJAMIN WITTES & GABRIELLA BLUM, *THE FUTURE OF VIOLENCE: ROBOTS AND GERMS, HACKERS AND DRONES* 216 (2015).

¹⁰⁸ *Id.* at 17.

¹⁰⁹ JEFFREY ROSEN, *THE UNWANTED GAZE: THE DESTRUCTION OF PRIVACY IN AMERICA* (2001). Serious thanks to Mary Anne Franks for our discussions about these and so many other related issues.