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ISSUES AND CHALLENGES FACING INTERNET GOVERNANCE: A REPORT FROM THE 2007 INTERNET GOVERNANCE FORUM

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Abstract

This report examines the 2007 Internet Governance Forum, held in November, 2007 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The Internet Governance Forum is a UN-sponsored convening that emerged from the UN's World Summit on the Information Society. The purpose of the IGF is to provide a multi-stakeholder forum for discussion and debate on the wide range of social, political, and economic issues related to Internet governance. This report first provides background on the events and issues leading up to the creation of the IGF. Next, this report examines the IGF's mandate and how it has been executed up to this point. This report then explores each of the five main themes around which the IGF was organized (openness, access, security, diversity, and critical Internet resources), with special attention paid to the positions and concerns of the civil society sector. The concluding section summarizes the report's key observations, offers key points of concern as the IGF process moves forward, and considers potential avenues for future research.

Introduction

From November 12th through November 15th, 2007, the second annual Internet Governance Forum (IGF) was held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The 2007 IGF is the second in a planned five IGFs to be held at various locations around the world over a five-year period. The first IGF was held in Athens, Greece, in 2006. The next IGF is scheduled to be held in 2008 in Delhi, India.

The IGF is a United Nations-sponsored convening that is intended as a new forum for multi-stakeholder policy dialogue addressing the wide range of regulatory and policy issues related to the development, diffusion, operation, and governance of the Internet. The IGF represents the UN's response to the fact that, unlike traditional media, the Internet is inherently global (rather than national or local) in its orientation. As such, it presents regulatory and policy problems that can only be fully resolved via international cooperation, collaboration, and implementation. The IGF is also reflective of the growing consensus that "the debate is no longer whether the Internet 'can or should be governed' but that some form of regulation including options for self-regulation, co-ordination and co-operation should be welcomed" (International Telecommunications Union, 2004, p. 3).

The stated objective of the IGF is to provide governments, the private sector, and civil society, including the academic and technical communities, with the opportunity to work together towards a sustainable, robust, secure and stable Internet. The IGF is not an international regulatory body of any kind, in that it possesses no authority to establish policies or regulations. Nor have the participants in the first two convenings even gone so far as to develop any consensus regarding specific recommendations in relation to

particular policy issues. Rather, the IGF meetings have functioned primarily as a place for open dialogue and discussion, in which a particular emphasis has been placed on providing all relevant stakeholders (in terms of both geography and institutional affiliation) with an opportunity to participate in the discussions that take place.

This report will provide an overview of the workings of the 2007 Internet Governance Forum, as well as an examination of the key issues addressed during the convening. This report also will pay particular attention to the perspectives of national, international, and community-based civil society organizations, and the key social and political issues underlying their concerns regarding Internet governance. Finally, this report will pay particular attention to the role of U.S. policymaking in global Internet governance.

These issues will be addressed within the context of the five broad themes around which the Internet Governance Forum was organized. These five themes are as follows: a) openness; b) access; c) security; d) diversity; and e) critical Internet resources. The examination of these five themes from the analytical perspective outlined above will be derived from field notes taken during the IGF, transcripts of IGF proceedings, informal conversations with IGF participants, official documents prepared by the U.N. and the U.N.-created Internet Governance Working Group, as well as position papers and scholarly papers prepared by various stakeholder groups, including civil society organizations, government agencies, industry associations, and academics.

The next section of this report provides background on the formation of the Internet Governance Forum, particularly in terms of its origins from within the two UN-sponsored World Summits on the Information Society. The third section will detail the

specifics of the IGF mandate and how this mandate has, to this point, been executed. This section will discuss some of the key points of contention among various stakeholders in regards to the decision-making processes associated with the creation and operation of the IGF, particularly in terms of transparency and true multi-stakeholderism. The next five sections examine each of the five central themes of the IGF. These sections seek to not only outline the key policy issues reflected within these broad themes, but also to highlight the role and position of civil society organizations within the context of these issues.

Background

The Internet Governance Forum emerged from a much broader United Nations Initiative known as the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS). The first World Summit was held in Geneva, Switzerland in 2003. The second was held in Tunis, Tunisia in 2005.[1] These summits were motivated by the UN's increased awareness of the centrality of communication and information technologies to cultural expression, economic development, and the fulfillment of basic human rights, and the need for greater global coordination of the regulation and policymaking related to the development, diffusion, access to, and operation of these technologies (see Raboy & Landry, 2005).

The first World Summit resulted in the adoption of a Declaration of Principles, as well as a Plan of Action (WSIS Executive Secretariat, 2004). The Declaration of Principles was wide-ranging, containing 67 separate items under headings ranging from "Access to Information and Knowledge" to "Capacity Building" to "Cultural Diversity

and Identity, Linguistic Diversity and Local Content." Perhaps one of the most important declarations in terms of Internet governance was the statement that:

> The Internet has evolved into a global facility available to the public and its governance should constitute a core issue of the Information Society agenda. The international management of the Internet should be multilateral, transparent and democratic, with the full involvement of governments, the private sector, civil society and international organizations. It should ensure equitable distribution of resources, facilitate access for all and ensure a stable and secure functioning of the Internet, taking into account multilingualism" (WSIS Executive Secretariat, 2004, p. 8).

Further, the Declaration of Principles stated that "The management of the Internet encompasses both technical and public policy issues and should involve all stakeholders and relevant intergovernmental and international organizations" (WSIS Executive Secretariat, 2004, p. 8).[2]

Out of the first WSIS thus came the recommendation that the Secretary General of the United Nations set up a working group on Internet governance, "in an open and inclusive process that ensures a mechanism for the full and active participation of governments, the private sector and civil society from both developing and developed countries, involving relevant intergovernmental and international organizations and forums, to investigate and make proposals for action, as appropriate, on governance of

the Internet by 2005" WSIS Executive Secretariat, 2004, pp. 17-18). The specific mandate for this group was to:

i) develop a working definition of Internet governance

ii) identify the public policy issues that are relevant to Internet governance

iii) develop a common understanding of the respective rules and responsibilities of governments, existing intergovernmental and international organizations and other forums as well as the private sector and civil society from both developing and developed countries

iv) prepare a report on the results of this activity to be presented for consideration and appropriate action for the second phase of WSIS in Tunis in 2005 (WSIS Executive Secretariat, 2004, p. 18).

These recommendations reflect the – at this point – highly fragmented and disjointed nature of regulation and policymaking related to the Internet (Dutton & Peltu, 2004; Internet Governance Project, 2004). Today, what formal global governance of the Internet that exists is widely dispersed. Core activities related to the assignment of Internet domain names and numbers are handled by the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN). ICANN is a private, California-based, non-profit entity that was formed in 1998 after four years of debate over how best to manage technical Internet activities. ICANN operates under a contract with the U.S. Department of Commerce (see United States Department of Commerce, 1998). ICANN has the authority to set policy for, and manage, the allocation and assignment of Internet protocol

addresses, add new names to the top level of the Internet domain name hierarchy, and maintain responsibility for operating root servers that distribute information about the content of the top level of the domain name space (Mueller, 2002). This approach to dealing with these issues was originally adopted as a solution to the challenges of territorial jurisdiction that could otherwise hamper the efficient management of these key functions for what is an inherently global medium (Internet Governance Project, 2004). However, as will be discussed in greater detail below, the question of whether ICANN is sufficiently reflective of the type of transparent, multi-stakeholder governance system that many see as essential for the Internet is one of the focal concerns of many of the stakeholders engaged in the Internet governance issue (see, e.g., Antanova, 2007; Center for Democracy & Technology, 2007).

Other aspects of Internet governance are handled by other bodies. For instance, the Internet Engineering Task Force (IETF) is an informal organization that oversees the standards development process for the Internet. The International Telecommunications Union is a United Nations agency that performs a wide range of functions directly or indirectly related to Internet governance, including standards-setting, statistics-gathering, and research (Internet Governance Project, 2004). Other international organizations that directly or indirectly deal with issues of Internet governance include the Internet Systems Consortium (which manages a globalized root server and issues software that implements the Internet's domain name server (DNS) protocol) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). UNESCO's mandate requires it to work on behalf of "the free flow of ideas by word and image," and to "maintain, increase and spread knowledge." These objectives have inevitably involved UNESCO in Internet

governance, primarily in terms of issuing position papers, organizing convenings, and engaging in global policy advocacy (see, e.g., UNESCO, 2005a, 2005b).

The list of formal and informal organizations involved in various aspects of Internet governance at the national, regional, and international levels continues well beyond those listed here (for a detailed overview, see Internet Governance Project, 2004; see also Mueller, Mathiason, & McKnight, 2004),[3] which of course raises the question of whether some sort of more centralized and formalized approach to global Internet governance would be advantageous. At this point, the overall focus of discussions seems to be not on establishing an entirely new organization for Internet governance, but on improving existing structures, networks, and processes (Dutton & Peltu, 2005), to address what have been described "'holes' in the Internet governance universe that need to be filled" (MacLean, 2004, p. 23).

It should also be noted that, given the UN's role in the establishment of the IGF, some stakeholders have expressed concerns that the UN may ultimately be seeking to establish a concrete role in Internet governance, and that the IGF may represent a step in that direction (this issue is discussed in Drake, 2004). In addition, there are many stakeholder groups (particularly those representing developing nations) who would, in fact, welcome a more concrete and authoritative role for the UN and/or the International Telecommunications Union in the realm of Internet governance, and who have advocated accordingly (see Mueller, Mathiason, & Klein, 2007). According to Peake (2004), "Many developing nations, particularly China, South Africa, Brazil and most Arab States expressed the view that Internet governance was a matter related to national sovereignty and that an intergovernmental process, preferably under the UN (with the ITU being

specifically mentioned) was needed where governments could discuss policy issues of international scope" (p. 5).

Regardless, at this point there appears to be no meaningful movement toward the UN taking a more active or authoritative role in the realm of Internet governance. The perspective that the introduction of a very large, multi-national bureaucratic structure such as the UN into the realm of Internet would ultimately do more harm than good appears to be holding sway at this point. Nonetheless, there were various moments throughout the 2007 IGF (most notably during the plenary session on security issues), when the divide between stakeholders on this issue erupted to the surface in the form of some fairly contentious discussion and debate.

It is within this fragmented state of Internet governance described above that the Working Group on Internet Governance was formed. The formation of the WGIG has been described as a comprise measure in which "pro-ICANN governments let Internet governance issues officially emerge and be placed on the multilateral agenda, and in which other governments, mainly from developing countries, accepted multistakeholder participation" (Kurbalija, 2007). The WGIG was comprised of 40 members, representing government, the private sector, and civil society. The group met four times in 2004 and 2005. At the conclusion of these meetings, group issued a report (Working Group on Internet Governance, 2005a) as well as a background report (Working Group on Internet Governance, 2005b) that goes into greater detail about the deliberative processes and the areas of agreement and disagreement among the working group members.[4]

As was noted above, one of the first key tasks assigned to the Working Group on Internet Governance was to develop a clear and concise definition of Internet governance,

which the WGIG developed and presented in its report. One point stressed by the WGIG, as well as many stakeholders that had taken part in the long-running discussions on how best to define Internet governance, is that *governance* does not equal *government* (Center for Democracy & Technology, 2007). That is, governance represents a broader set of norms and rules than can be designed, implemented, and enforced by governmental bodies. Governance extends into the realms of the private sector (e.g., private firms, or associations of firms) and NGOs (Wilson, 2005).

Within the context of establishing the parameters of Internet governance, another key point of discussion revolved around whether the term should be defined narrowly or broadly in terms of its scope. That is, should Internet governance be defined purely in terms of the activities and issues related to the management of domain names and infrastructure, or should Internet governance be defined more broadly to include issues outside of ICANN's jurisdiction (Matsura, 2007)? According to Peake (2004), this issue was a focal point of debate during the first WSIS, with advocates of a narrow definition fearing that the definition of Internet governance could become so broad that it would ultimately devolve into a meaningless "catch-all" for all information and communication technology policies; and advocates of a broader definition fearing that a more narrow, technically oriented definition would allow important socio-political issues related to the operation of the Internet to slip through the cracks (see Center for Democracy & Technology, 2007; Drake, 2004). As will become clear, such definitional issues characterize many of the overarching themes of the IGF (see below).

Within the context of WSIS and the IGF, the advocates of a broader definition of Internet governance (e.g., Wilson, 2005) seem to have held sway, as the WGIG explicitly

stated that “Internet governance includes more than Internet names and addresses, issues dealt with by the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN): it also includes other significant public policy issues such as critical Internet resources, the security and safety of the Internet, and developmental aspects and issues pertaining to the use of the Internet” (Working Group on Internet Governance, 2005a, p. 4). However, the background report does note that some participants in the working group “took a relatively narrow view . . . in which only the management of the Internet’s core resources (e.g. IP addresses, domain names, the root zone) needed special governance arrangements” (Working Group on Internet Governance, 2005b, p. 6).

The Working Group on Internet Governance (2005a) ultimately defined Internet governance as follows:

> Internet governance is the development and application by Governments, the private sector and civil society, in their respective roles, of shared principles, norms, rules, decision-making procedures, and programmes that shape the evolution and use of the Internet (p. 4).

Clearly, this definition emphasizes that governance authority and responsibilities extends beyond governmental actors, and that Internet governance extends broadly into the “evolution and use of the Internet.”[5]

In advancing the other aspects of its mandate, the WGIG recommended the creation of a “space or forum for dialogue [that] should allow for the participation of all stakeholders from developing and developed countries on equal footing. . . . The forum

should preferably be linked to the United Nations, in a form to be defined. It would be better placed than existing Internet institutions to engage developing countries in a policy dialogue" (Working Group in Internet Governance, 2005a, p. 11). This proposal ultimately led to the creation of the Internet Governance Forum.

The IGF Mandate and its Execution

Specifics of the structure and objectives of the proposed Internet Governance Forum were outlined in the wake of the Tunis World Summit on the Information Society, and included a 15-point mandate for the IGF. The full mandate for the IGF, as outlined by the WSIS Executive Secretariat (2006) is as follows:

> a) Discuss public policy issues related to key elements of Internet governance in order to foster the sustainability, robustness, security, stability and development of the Internet.
>
> b) Facilitate discourse between bodies dealing with different cross-cutting international public policies regarding the Internet and discuss issues that do not fall within the scope of any existing body.
>
> c) Interface with appropriate intergovernmental organizations and other institutions on matters under their purview.
>
> d) Facilitate the exchange of information and best practices, and in this regard make full use of the expertise of the academic, scientific and technical communities.
>
> e) Advise all stakeholders in proposing ways and means to accelerate the availability and affordability of the Internet in the developing world.
>
> f) Strengthen and enhance the engagement of stakeholders in existing and/or future Internet governance mechanisms, particularly those from developing countries.
>
> g) Identify emerging issues, bring them to the attention of the relevant bodies and the general public, and, where appropriate, make recommendations.
>
> h) Contribute to capacity building for Internet governance in developing

> countries, drawing fully on local sources of knowledge and expertise.
>
> i) Promote and assess on an ongoing basis, the embodiment of WSIS principles in Internet governance processes.
>
> j) Discuss, *inter alia*, issues relating to critical Internet resources.
>
> k) Help to find solutions to the issues arising from the use and misuse of the Internet, of particular concern to everyday users.
>
> l) Publish its proceedings (p. 17).

The WSIS Executive Secretariat (2006) further suggested that the IGF could:

> a) Build upon the existing structures of Internet governance, with special emphasis on the complementarity between all stakeholders involved in this process – governments, business entities, civil society and intergovernmental organizations.
>
> b) Have a lightweight and decentralized structure that would be subject to periodic review.
>
> c) Meet periodically, as required. IGF meetings, in principle, may be held in parallel with major relevant UN conferences, *inter alia*, to use logistical support (p. 17).

As should be clear, despite what is in some ways a wide-ranging mandate, the IGF's responsibilities focus on activities such as *facilitating* discussion, *identifying* issues, *promoting* engagement among stakeholders, and *interfacing* with various organizations. In this regard, the language used to describe the IGF's mandate fairly clearly delineates a somewhat limited role and set of responsibilities.

Rasmussen (2007) attributes the formation of the IGF to four long-term trends. The first of these involves the digitalization of the telecommunications industry and the associated liberalization of telecommunications regulations. These developments transformed these telecommunications companies into important players in the ISP

business and “gave energy and authority to the ITU as an international policy agency” (Rasmussen, 2007, p. 16). The second significant trend involved the general integration of the Internet into all aspects of society, and the consequently heightened salience of discussions related to the demands, opportunities, and expectations related to Internet performance. The third significant trend involved the increasing deployment of the Internet infrastructure in developing countries, and the associated increased awareness this generated about access barriers and the Internet’s potential to facilitate national development. The fourth and final trend involved the growing debate and (in many quarters) dissatisfaction about the political structure and operation of ICANN.

The dissatisfaction with the operation of ICANN – particularly the dominant role played by the U.S. – played a key role in the emphasis on the development of a true multi-stakeholder approach to Internet governance reflected in the Statement of Principles and Plan of Action that emerged from WSIS. The continued emphasis on multi-stakeholder participation that emerged in the IGF mandate reflects persistent criticism to that point that the multi-stakeholder principle espoused during WSIS was not being achieved, and that not all relevant stakeholders were receiving sufficient opportunity to take part in the policy dialogue (see, e.g., McLaughlin & Pickard, 2005). For instance, William Drake (2004), a member of the Working Group on Internet Governance, stated in the wake of the first World Summit on the Information Society that “greater attention is needed to the inclusion of civil society organizations, small and medium-sized enterprises, and individual users” (p. 28). Others have argued that, “while large sections of civil society were included in the process, others remained outside, lacking the resources, the organizational structure, or the will to participate” (Milan,

Hintz, & Cabral, 2007). The end result was that the civil society sector felt sufficiently marginalized from the WSIS process that it issued its own independent policy statement/agenda in the wake of the first WSIS (WSIS Civil Society Plenary, 2003). This document goes into great detail in regards to the overarching policy principles and policy issue areas that are of the greatest importance to those civil society groups dealing with issues related to the "Information Society."

Grass roots and community level organizations, in particular, were highlighted as being largely absent from the WSIS process (Milan, Hintz, & Cabral, 2007). Barriers to participation not only included resources (i.e., travel funds), but also strict accreditation requirements that excluded many small grass-roots and community organizations, as well as a general skepticism of, and aversion to, institutionalized policymaking environments that led many grassroots and community organizations to avoid taking part. This decision was motivated in part out of concerns that participation would serve only to "legitimize the decisions taken by other agents (corporations, governments, lobbies, etc.)" (Milan, Hintz, & Cabral, 2007, p. 11).[6] Researchers also documented significant regional imbalances in WSIS participation, with relatively low levels of participation from African civil society organizations when compared to the participation levels of North American and Western European civil society organizations (Cammaerts & Carpentier, 2005).[7]

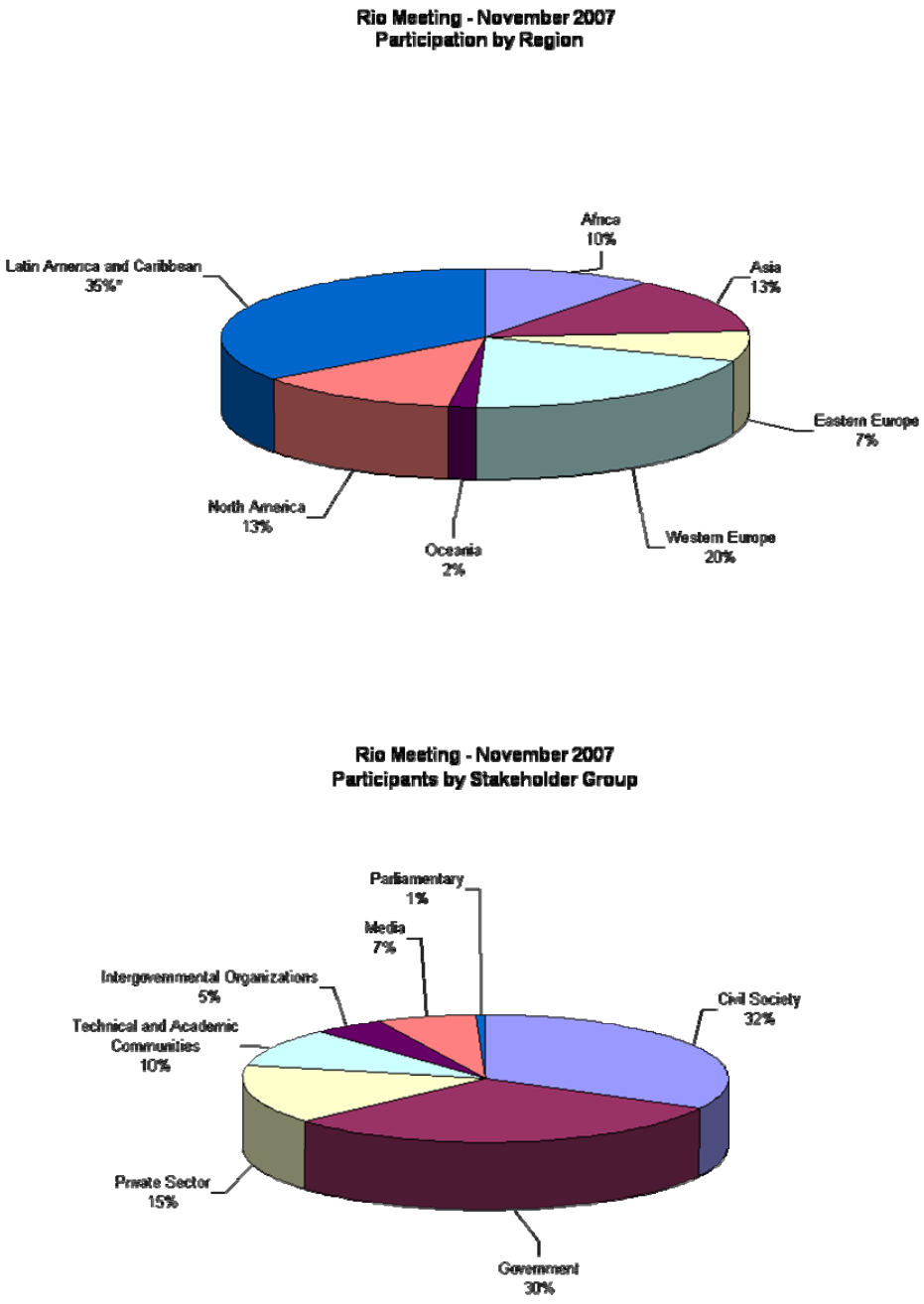
The IGF has sought to be more inclusive than WSIS, and some accounts have been quite complementary of its efforts in this regard (see, e.g., Kalas, 2007). Nonetheless, some criticism has arisen that the IGF has not achieved the level of multi-stakeholder participation needed to adequately reflect the WSIS Declaration of Principles. Skepticism on the part of grassroots and community activists seems to have

persisted, particularly among those organizations that see their role more in terms of developing communications tools and opportunities rather than in terms of engaging in policy advocacy (Milan, Hintz, & Cabral, 2007).[8] In addition, civil society organizations continue to meet and engage in separate consultations in relation to Internet governance issues (see, e.g., Civil Society Organizations and Brazilian Researchers' Contribution to the Internet Governance Forum, 2007; Civil Society Working Group, 2006).

Representatives of some developing nations have expressed concerns to the Working Group on Internet Governance that the legitimacy of the IGF as an international policy forum is dependent, at least in part, upon better representation and participation of governmental and civil society organizations from the developing world, and that mechanisms for providing funds to support attendance by such participants may need to be considered.[9]

In terms of the 2007 IGF, Figure 1 provides a breakdown of attendance, first by region and then by stakeholder group. As the figure indicates, high levels of attendance were demonstrated by the Latin American region, given the event's location in Brazil – though it should be noted that 29 percent of the IGF participants came from the host country, leaving only 6 percentage points of the remaining 35 percent of the participants that came from Latin America as representative of other Latin American countries. In terms of the stakeholder breakdown, civil society organizations represented the largest proportion of attendees (32 percent); followed closely by government (30 percent). These results would seem to speak well to the civil society sector's efforts to overcome the marginalization that was felt by many to be characteristic of the WSIS process.

Figure 1: IGF Attendance by Region and Stakeholder Group.



Source: http://www.intgovforum.org/rio_stats.htm (last accessed January 4, 2008).

Beyond its multi-stakeholder orientation, another key characteristic of the IGF that needs to be emphasized is its lack of policymaking or regulatory authority of any kind. That is, the IGF was conceived of purely as "an arena for continued discussion. It provides no basis for negotiating meaningful agreements." (Mueller, Mathiason, & Klein, 2007, p. 250). As was emphasized in the Tunis Agenda for the Information Society, "The IGF Would have no oversight function and would not replace existing arrangements, mechanisms, institutions or organizations, but would involve them and take advantage of their expertise. It would be constituted as a neutral, non-duplicative and non-binding process. It would have no involvement in the day-to-day or technical operations of the Internet" (WSIS Executive Secretariat, 2006, p. 18). This approach to the construction of the IGF was adopted in order to facilitate the kind of open and inclusive discussion of sensitive and controversial policy issues that it was believed by many of the IGF organizers could only be achieved in an environment in which there was no mandate to reach agreed-upon and globally enforceable policy decisions. In this regard, the IGF can be seen as an effort to provide a fundamentally de-politicized environment for discussing Internet governance issues.

Some analysts have, however, questioned this somewhat constrained mandate for the IGF. Some have asked whether the IGF may be best classified as an "ineffectual 'talking shop' unable to influence significantly the hard issues and choices at stake – or an important landmark on the road to more representative multi-stakeholder regulation of the Internet?" (Dutton & Palfrey, 2007, p. 3). Others participants have advocated that the IGF should ultimately deliver some form of results to stakeholders (Mathiason, 2006). One representative of the Internet Society noted, in a panel devoted to the topic of

whether the IGF is fulfilling its mandate, that, as currently constituted, the IGF has "no success criteria," which makes it difficult to determine whether anything has been achieved. On the other hand, others have argued that the IGF's lack of decision-making powers "will enable it to open out its scope, as there will be no fear of a wrong decision being taken" (Dutton & Palfrey, 2007, p. 7). As Markus Kummer, the Swiss diplomat who was appointed the coordinator of the WGIG noted in a February, 2007 planning meeting, "There are those who want . . . the IGF to be more reactive and come out with some tangible output, whereas others see the IGF as more of a platform where people come together and then the decision-makers take their decisions in other bodies."[10] It is worth noting that many participants in a number of the IGF 2007 panels began their presentations by expressing either their approval or disapproval for the current orientation of the IGF mandate.[11]

One other possible danger associated with a forum with no concrete authority that was not mentioned by any of the participants, but that seemed very much in evidence throughout the entirety of the convening, was the danger that a forum in which no consensus on issues or specific policy solutions are to be reached can lead to discussions that seldom move beyond broad normative pronouncements to address specific policy problems and solutions. This tendency seemed to be very much in evidence in a number of IGF 2007 sessions, in which speakers frequently tended to focus their remarks on broad, hardly controversial, proclamations about the importance of the Internet to civic participation, economic development, and the full realization of human rights; and about the need for an open, accessible, diverse, and secure Internet.[12] Thus, it was a fairly rare occurrence when IGF panelists delved into specific policy issues or solutions in concrete

detail. It may be that such tendencies for the IGF to serve primarily as a forum for the expression of generalities are a byproduct of its lack of authority to develop, implement, or enforce any substantive policy solutions.

A somewhat countervailing trend, however, involved the formation of a number of "Dynamic Coalitions" that took place in the wake of the first IGF in Athens (for a discussion of the dynamic coalitions, see Internet Governance Forum Secretariat, 2007). These coalitions represent groups of stakeholders with an interest in a particular issue, who then engage in both face-to-face and electronic discussion of these issues. Many of these dynamic coalitions are working towards producing some sort of specific, tangible output, even if such output does not carry with it any sort of policy authority. Thus, for instance, the IGF 2007 meeting of the dynamic coalition devoted to the idea of an Internet Bill of Rights focused on the goal of producing a concrete document outlining a clear draft of an Internet Bill of Rights in time for debate and discussion at the 2008 IGF. One participant in this coalition went so far as to express the idea that the production of an Internet Bill of Rights could "give meaning" to the IGF. Similarly, there is a dynamic coalition devoted to the development of a Framework of Principles for Internet Governance. One of the members of this coalition emphasized that while the IGF has a mandate to "talk for five years," the dynamic coalition has "the possibility of an end-state someplace," should the members be able to reach agreement on a Statement of Principles. These dynamic coalitions thus appear to be where much of the activity, discussion, and idea-sharing and generation are taking place between IGF meetings (many of these groups are even planning on holding independent meetings during the 12 months between

IGFs). Representatives of the civil society sector and the academic community clearly were active participants in many of these dynamic coalitions.

Openness

As will be illustrated within the context of each of the IGF's overarching themes, these themes, and their relationship to possible mechanisms of Internet governance, are sufficiently new that definitional issues and debates played a prominent role in many of the panels in which these themes were discussed. In terms of a working definition of the concept of openness and its relationship to Internet governance, one panelist taking part in the Openness Plenary Session broke the openness concept down into three dimensions: a) a legal dimension (dealing with issues of copyright and intellectual property); b) a political dimension (dealing with issues of the government's role in relation to freedom of expression); and c) an economic dimension (dealing with issues of interoperability across networks and the nature of the business models employed on-line).

As suggested by this definitional breakdown, openness represents a very wide-ranging theme, though perhaps its most important dimension involves its relationship to the ideas of freedom of expression and the free flow of information. Obviously, from the standpoint of global coordination and the setting of global standards, a global approach to freedom of expression is likely to prove quite challenging, as vastly different national level approaches to freedom of expression (in terms of the degree of freedom allowed) have always existed; and have, within individual nations, often differed in accordance with the communications technology employed (e.g., the lower levels of First Amendment protection afforded the broadcast media in the U.S. relative to the print

media, or even relative to cable, satellite, and of course, the Internet). It is worth noting in this regard that some panelists representing the broadcasting sector raised the question of whether, the growing social, political, and cultural importance of the Internet may in fact require policymakers to adopt approaches that place public service responsibilities and regulations upon this sector that in some way reflect the spirit of what has traditionally been in place in the broadcast sector in many parts of the world.[13] Also raised within this context of considering possible parallels between the new and old media worlds was the issue of concentration of media ownership, in light of the growing concentration of ownership that, according to some panelists, is taking place among the most widely accessed web sites.[14]

Nonetheless, it seems clear that civil society organizations engaged in the broader issue of freedom of expression (such as those working toward the establishment and enforcement of global communication rights; see, e.g., http://www.crisinfo.org/) see the Internet as a very important battleground, in hopes that the establishment of some sort of globally enforceable standards may serve to counteract some of the more restrictive practices that are taking place within particular national contexts.

It is also worth noting that the wide range of approaches to free expression that exist around the globe are proving quite challenging to corporations seeking to provide globally accessible Internet services. A representative of Google took part in a number of IGF panels related to freedom of expression, at one point describing what his company faces in terms of dealing with free expression issues globally as "On a good day, like a moving target; on a bad day, like a runaway train." This statement reflects the challenges faced and the comprises reached in relation to freedom of expression that global Internet

firms such as Google become involved with in their efforts to expand their markets into as many countries as possible. The Google representative outlined a number of instances in which the company engaged in censoring activities in order to conform to the policies and regulations within more restrictive countries, but defended such behaviors on the grounds that the notion a globally accepted stance on freedom of expression that adheres to the standards established in more democratic nations remains unrealistic.

It is important to emphasize, however, as a number of IGF panelists did, that threats to freedom of expression on-line do not arise exclusively from governmental actors. Various private sector actors often are equally capable of restricting freedom of expression.

Reflecting this concern, some IGF participants focused on the issue of net neutrality as a key guiding principle reflective of the broader theme of openness (see Mueller, 2007).[15] This, despite the fact that the net neutrality issue has primarily been a point of concern almost exclusively within the realm of U.S. Internet policy, where ISPs have considered implementing policies that preference access (in terms of, for example, download speeds) to affiliated content providers over unaffiliated content providers. In this regard, however, developments and controversies surrounding net neutrality in the U.S. may turn out to be a precursor to developments in other parts of the world, particularly in light of the frequency with which U.S. business models and strategies in the media and telecommunications sector tend to diffuse globally. At this point, the U.S. government, in keeping with the ongoing deregulatory trend in the U.S., has refrained from imposing strong net neutrality requirements on Internet service providers, though it will be interesting to see if such a policy position persists into the next presidential

administration, and whether the U.S. approach to net neutrality-related issues diffuses globally.

A related issue within the context of the IGF's openness theme that was a frequent topic of discussion was the issue of copyright protection and fair use. A number of representatives of the growing Access to Knowledge movement (see http://www.access2knowledge.org/cs/) took part in panels dealing with issues of on-line access and usage norms related to copyrighted materials. Here again, as was the case within the context of freedom of expression, the Internet is clearly an important battleground for civil society organizations concerned with the broader issue of fair and equitable intellectual property laws and policies; though while much concern was expressed over the dangers to the development and benefits to the Internet inherent in overly restrictive intellectual property regimes, specific policy solutions did not receive much discussion within the context of the IGF panels.

Access

The access theme was conceived as addressing issues related what has broadly been referred to as the Digital Divide – that is, the gaps that exist between developed and developing nations in terms of the extent to which the population is on-line. As was frequently noted during the IGF, only one billion of the approximately six billion people on earth currently have access to the Internet. Much discussion at the IGF revolved around the question of what it will take to connect the "next billion." Within the context of the IGF, the digital divide issue, like the intellectual property issue, also was strongly linked with the growing Access to Knowledge movement, which addresses the wide

range of technical, economic, and institutional impediments to citizen access to information. Indeed, in many ways the openness and access themes intersect (Yakushev, 2007).[16]

The specific Internet governance issues reflected in this access theme include overcoming access challenges in rural, impoverished, and underdeveloped regions, network interconnection costs, infrastructure development, and technology diffusion and usage skills development. However, as was common with each of the IGF's organizing themes, the exact parameters of what access should mean as an overarching principle of Internet governance were subject to different interpretations. Thus, for instance, some IGF participants suggested that access concerns should be conceptualized quite broadly, and thus include issues such as access (for individuals and regions) to resources such as money and electrical power, given that such resources are essential to facilitate Internet connectivity. Others argued that such a broad definition moves the discussion beyond those issues that any Internet governance regime would have the authority to address.

Within the civil society sector, access issues were a particular point of focus, with many NGOs emphasizing the need for policies directed, in particular, at promoting infrastructure development and technology access in developing countries. As was illustrated by the Alliance for Progress Communication, 96 percent of the population in Africa is without Internet access, and 90 percent of Asia is without Internet access. In contrast, 66 percent of the population in the Americas and 68 percent of the population in Europe are without Internet access (Adam, 2007). As these numbers indicate, even in more developed parts of the world the majority of the population remains disconnected from the Internet and the political, economic, and cultural benefits that it can provide;

however, the dramatically limited extent of Internet access that persists in less developed parts of the country illustrates a key aspect of the broader digital divide that has been a key point of concern, and of advocacy work, for the civil society sector (Adam, 2007).

Security

The IGF's security theme can be seen in many ways as addressing those issues and concerns that can potentially come into conflict with those issues reflected in both the openness and access themes, in that possible solutions to the wide range of perceived on-line security threats often involve approaches that potentially reduce levels of openness and access on-line. Some participants construed the definition of security, as it relates to Internet governance issues, fairly narrowly, to primarily encompass issues related to the trust and confidence in on-line commercial transactions. Others disagreed with this fairly narrow definition, advocating instead a broader approach that includes protection of network elements, spam restrictions, a wide range of privacy issues, as well as issues related to protecting children from inappropriate content, and to the related issue of child pornography.[17]

Various forms of cyber-crime and cyber-terrorism represented key points of focus for those panels dealing with the security theme. It is important to recognize, however, that one of the key points emphasized within the context of on-line crime and terrorism is the question of the extent to which existing laws, regulations, and enforcement agencies effectively address on-line crime and terrorism. As one representative of Brazil noted in the IGF's plenary session on security, "more than 95 percent of crimes carried out on the Internet are provided for . . . in the criminal code in Brazil."[18] This point was meant to

emphasize that the overwhelming majority of the crime committed on-line is not criminal activity that is in any way unique to the Internet. The challenge that exists, therefore, at both the national and the global level, is identifying the legal and enforcement gaps that may exist in relation to specific Internet-related crimes and terrorist activities.

Another key underlying challenge related to all of these Internet-related security concerns is the issue of how to develop and implement global-reach regulations and enforcement mechanisms that can effectively interconnect with the wide range of national-level regulations and enforcement mechanisms that many nations already have in place. And, of course, the desired standards, penalties, and enforcement approaches inevitably differ substantially from country to country, which complicates any effort to develop a more global approach to these issues. As one participant in the IGF security plenary noted, "We don't have a single legal standard at the moment, and that is causing a lot of trouble." In addition, this same participant noted that "law enforcement agencies do need to cooperate, and that is something that is lacking at the moment."[19]

Diversity

Amongst all of the overarching themes reflected in the IGF's agenda, the theme of diversity perhaps has the deepest roots in other areas of communications regulation and policymaking. Within the context of traditional media regulation, the diversity principle has been conceptualized primarily in terms of the promotion and preservation of a diverse array of sources of information, as well as a diverse array of ideas, viewpoints, and content options (see, e.g., Napoli, 1999).

Within the context of the Internet, which, at least superficially, would seem to provide the kind of choice and multiplicity of sources that extends far beyond what could ever be achieved via traditional mass media, the key diversity concerns arise from the issue of language. That is, the central problem reflected in the IGF's diversity theme involves the linguistic diversity (or lack thereof) of the content available online. For many Internet users, the potential benefits of the variety of content options available on-line from a nearly infinite array of sources essentially run aground against the fact that much of this information may not be available in their native language.

As many IGF panelists noted, increasing the extent to which the world's citizens have access to the Internet is only part of the problem. It is also necessary to make sure that, once online, these citizens are able to locate and access content in their native language. As was noted in the introduction to a panel on the Multilingual Internet, there are more than 6000 languages in the world. Ninety percent of these languages are not represented on the Internet. Fifty languages represent 99 percent of the content on-line.[20]

As one UNESCO representative speaking on the Multilingual Internet panel noted, "The ability to use one's language on the Internet will determine one's ability to participate" in the Information Society." This same panelist suggested that the unavailability of native-language content on-line may even represent a more significant component of the Digital Divide than infrastructure imbalances. In this way, the principle of diversity becomes intertwined with the principle of access.

More broadly, the issue of linguistic diversity on-line reflects broader concerns about preserving and promoting cultural diversity. Many IGF panelists stressed the importance of the world's cultural diversity being accurately reflected in the on-line

realm.[21] One panelist suggested that "Linguistic diversity is for human society what biodiversity is for nature." Consequently, many IGF participants (particularly those within the civil society sector) stressed the need for the local production of on-line content. This point was emphasized by Internet pioneer Vint Cerf, who stressed that the production of native-language content can only be done locally.[22]

In this way, we also see the principle of diversity as it relates to Internet governance overlapping quite strongly with the principle of localism – which has a prominent and long-standing principle in the realm of media regulation and policy. In the media realm, localism has been reflected in efforts to structure media markets in ways that promote local ownership of media outlets and that foster (and in some cases, mandate) the production of locally oriented programming (see Napoli, 2001). In the case of the Internet, in which the scope is expanded to the global level, thus making the issue of language differences of paramount importance, the achievement of linguistic diversity is most likely only achievable via mechanisms that promote the local production of content.[23]

In terms of the practicalities associated with this issue, challenges arise not only in terms of the production of native-language content, but also in terms of the underlying system of domain name and number registration. The Internet Domain Name System (DNS) has been based on the American Standard Code for Information Exchange (ASCII), which is limited to Latin letters, digits, and the hyphen. Therefore, it has not traditionally been able to deal with languages consisting of non-Latin characters or even European languages (such as French and German) containing letters with diacritics (Dutton, Palfrey, & Peltu, 2007). In an effort to address this issue, ICANN has

incorporated 11 languages that utilize non-Latin scripts into an ongoing test of top level domain names (see http://idn.icann.org/). In this way, the issue of linguistic diversity on-line is a policy issue that touches not only global Internet policymaking bodies, but also local governments, industry actors, and civil society organizations concerned with the production and availability of locally oriented and created on-line content. Linguistic diversity also is an issue that overlaps with issues related to the theme of critical Internet resource (see below).

Critical Internet Resources

One thing that should immediately be clear about the Critical Internet Resources conference theme is that, unlike the other conference themes it does not reflect a broader underlying principle or value.[24] Indeed, the subject of critical Internet resources was not even included as one of the conference themes for the 2006 IGF, but was added to the 2007 agenda after some contentious debate and discussion that focused on concerns that issues related to ICANN and the allocation of critical Internet resources had been neglected during the 2006 IGF.[25]

The term critical Internet resources, as it is used within the context of Internet governance, relates to the issues associated with the authority and operation of ICANN via ICANN's authority to allocate many of those things often considered to be critical Internet resources: Internet protocol addresses and new top level domain names (e.g., .gov, .org, etc.).[26] Thus, the term critical Internet resources has been described by one IGF participant as a "code word" for ICANN within the context of IGF discussions.[27] Within the context of the operation and growth of the Internet, these addresses and

domain names represent valuable, and somewhat scarce, resources. This is reflected in the fact that one of the key points of concern among critics of ICANN is that these resources have been disproportionately allocated to developed nations, possibly to the detriment of the growth of the Internet within developing nations (see, e.g., Center for Democracy & Technology, 2004; King, 2004). McLaughlin and Pickard (2005) describe the discontent with ICANN as follows:

> Seen by many in the international community as the province of a small technocratic elite with ties to the U.S. Department of Commerce, ICANN increasingly has come under fire for its lack of transparency and accountability and Western-centric mode of governance. Furthermore, ICANN has generated controversy by its seemingly arbitrary and disproportionate allotment of highly coveted top-level domain names (TLD) and Internet protocol addresses that seem to privilege developed nations over developing ones (p. 362).

The reason that the topic of critical Internet resources represented something of a sore spot for IGF organizers and stakeholders traces back to long-standing disagreements between various stakeholder groups over the appropriate scope of ICANN's authority and the transparency and representativeness of ICANN decision-making processes (see Center for Democracy & Technology, 2004). In addition, there were many stakeholders (particularly those within the civil society sector), who were concerned that a focus on the contentious issues surrounding ICANN would divert attention from other important issues related to Internet governance.[28] Many IGF 2007 participants in fact expressed

initial concern that the entire convening would devolve into a debate over ICANN, but were pleased to see that this turned out not to be the case.

It should be noted also that other IGF participants advocated a much more extensive definition of critical Internet resources, including definitions that would also consider elements such as electricity, technological training (see Center for Democracy & Technology, 2007) and even Internet users as critical Internet resources[29] – though generally the IGF discourse surrounding critical Internet resources remained confined to those resources under ICANN's authority. The civil society sector, in particular, was concerned than overarching focus on ICANN could:

> divert attention from key barriers to Internet development in many countries, including still-monopolized communications infrastructures, burdensome licensing schemes, outdated regulatory systems, limits on spectrum use, and repression of speech, as well as more mundane concerns like hardware and electricity. Moreover, defining CIR as IP addresses and domain names could lead to the misimpression that ICANN and the addressing registries are the sole repositories of Internet governance and bear the responsibility for addressing the full range of barriers to Internet development. (Center for Democracy & Technology, 2007, p. 4).

Given the broad range of themes and issues contained within the framework of the IGF, it seems safe to assume, at this point, that the kind of narrowing of the definition of Internet

governance that was a concern of the civil society sector is not likely to occur – at least within the context of the activities of the IGF.

Considering the extent to which the role and authority of the United States is such a focal point of the ICANN debate, it was somewhat surprising to see the low profile maintained by U.S. government officials at the IGF. According to the provisional attendance list for the 2007 IGF, the official U.S. delegation totaled nine individuals – a smaller delegation than was sent by nations such as the Ukraine, Cameroon, and South Africa. Moreover, only one U.S. government official took part in the over 15 panel sessions attended by the author.

Thus, the IGF did not represent a particularly useful venue for developing a detailed sense of the policy positions and/or activities of the U.S. government. However, in 2005 the U.S. Department of Commerce did release a "Statement of Principles on the Internet's Domain Name and Addressing System" outlining the U.S. government's position on those Internet governance issues related to domain name and addressing issues (on most broader issues, the U.S. continues to maintain a strongly deregulatory stance that defers largely to the private sector). These principles are as follows:

a) The United States Government intends to preserve the security and stability of the Internet's Domain Name and Addressing System (DNS).

b) Governments have legitimate interest in the management of their country code top level domains (ccTLD) [e.g., country-specific domain names such as .uk, .us, .fi, etc.].

c) ICANN is the appropriate technical manager of the Internet DNS

d) Dialogue related to Internet governance should continue in relevant multiple fora.

As should be clear, this fairly general statement of principles does reflect that the U.S. government is supportive of the status quo as it relates to ICANN and its authority. Further, under item d), the Department of Commerce goes on to state that "the United States will continue to support market-based approaches and private sector leadership in Internet development broadly" (United States Department of Commerce, 2005, p. 1).

The civil society sector has taken issue with some aspects of the U.S.'s position on Internet governance, as expressed in its 1998 white paper (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1998) and in its more recent statement of principles. Of particularly concern has been the apparent contradiction between the U.S.'s stated support of internationalization and privatization of Internet governance and its continued unilateral contracting and oversight authority over ICANN (see Internet Governance Project, 2005e).

Ultimately, the issue of critical Internet resources (and all of the associated issues related to ICANN's authority and operation) can be seen as the focal point of Internet governance issues out of which all of the broader governance concerns have emerged, given that it is only in the realm of critical Internet resources in which something resembling a clearly defined international governance authority exists. At the same time, the nature of the issues related to ICANN and critical Internet resources reflect the common point that Internet governance represents a challenging confluence of technical

and public policy issues. Thus, for instance, the seemingly technical issue associated with the allocation and assignment of domain names and addresses intersects clearly with issues related to linguistic diversity, freedom of expression, and access to locally oriented content, as ICANN and other stakeholders seek to manage the allocation of critical Internet resources in ways that facilitate global diffusion and access.

Conclusion

In general, the key points of contention in the realm of Internet governance have been, and are likely to continue to be, in the areas of principles and process. Principles, in this case, refers to the establishment of the key normative criteria that should guide and motivate Internet governance. Internet governance is in such a nascent stage that we are very much in the midst of what is essentially the gestation period for these guiding principles. What these principles will be, how they will be defined, operationalized, and implemented, all remain essentially up for grabs. Much of the civil society advocacy work, and scholarly research, that is taking place at this point is focusing the formation of these guiding principles (see, e.g., Matsura, 2007; Mueller, Mathiason, & Klein, 2007; WSIS Civil Society Plenary, 2003).

Process, in this case, refers to the still-forming, yet-to-be-fully-institutionalized, mechanisms, organizational structures, and processes for the design and implementation of Internet governance. These process issues represent the other key focal point for civil society advocacy work, as these entities seek to insure a process of global Internet governance that is properly inclusive and gives the civil society sector a meaningful seat at the table. Academic researchers similarly have made such process issues a focal point

of their work (see, e.g., Cammaerts & Carpentier, 2005; McLaughlin & Pickard, 2005; Milan, Hintz, & Cabral, 2007).

A common tendency at this point is for the boundaries of the key themes to be expanded to degrees that ultimately may undermine their clarity and utility as any kind of organizing principles. Thus, for instance, when critical Internet resources are defined in such a way (as some IGF panelists suggested) as to include electricity or Internet users, it is likely that such a definition does little to serve the needs of those engaged in the specific task at hand – developing ideas that could feed into the next steps in the development of a multi-stakeholder Internet governance regime. Similarly, when the concept of access is defined so broadly as to include citizen access to electrical power or to money, it too is likely being defined too broadly to meaningfully guide future debates and discussions about Internet governance.

Observers of the Internet governance process have also highlighted the related tendency toward "diplomatic 'creative ambiguity' of the language often used to frame international Internet governance agendas" (Dutton, Palfrey, & Peltu, 2007). And certainly, to the extent that the process, as currently conceived, is not designed to move toward any tangible outcomes in the near future, such tendencies in defining the key guiding principles for Internet governance seem likely to persist for the near term.

Internet governance thus appears to be at the stage where its guiding principles have yet to adhere to sufficiently concrete and well-defined boundaries. Mueller, Mathiason, and Klein (2007) go so far as to suggest that progress in the realm of Internet governance has stagnated largely because the stakeholders involved failed to establish clear and agreed-upon guiding norms and principles at the outset. Future scholarly and

advocacy organization work should be devoted to establishing these definitional boundaries in order to ensure that they adequately reflect the necessary public interest elements and priorities. This, of course, assumes that at some point the IGF (or whatever follows in its wake) seeks to develop, and even at some point implement, concrete policy proposals. In any case, it is clear that the defining principles of Internet governance remain contested territory – and the resolution of these contests will ultimately play a determinative role in how the Internet is governed.

Progress on this front could be facilitated by the gathering of more data related to Internet access, traffic, and content provision that can be broken down and analyzed geographically. Ideally, the guiding principles for Internet governance can, at some point, be translated into concrete performance metrics that can, as one IGF participant from South Africa noted, contribute to "better and more up-to-date indicators of progress," and that can "improve policy decision-making around these goals."[30] On more specific policy fronts, such as in terms of assessing the effectiveness of ICANN, gaps in the necessary data to construct robust performance metrics similarly have been identified (Center for Democracy & Technology, 2003). These issues feed into broader communications policy concerns that increasingly are being raised about the availability and accessibility of the data necessary to inform effective policymaking (see, e.g., Napoli & Seaton, 2007; Napoli & Karaganis, 2007).

In terms of the next iteration of the IGF (to be held in Delhi, India), it would seem that the key points to focus on in terms of assessing the IGF and its contribution the development of Internet governance involve whether:

a) discussions that have taken place during the IGFs begin to influence Internet governance in any meaningful ways.

b) the nature of participation in the IGF's processes evolves in ways that fully reflect the principles of transparency and multi-stakeholderism that provided the underpinnings for the formation of the IGF.

c) whether the IGF takes any evolutionary steps beyond being a forum for discussion and begins to develop and put forth concrete policy recommendations, or, at least, concrete and workable definitions of some or all of what are emerging as the key overarching normative principles of Internet governance.

d) whether if/when the IGF moves toward the development of more concrete, and potentially enforceable, policy proposals, the civil society sector is allowed to maintain the virtually unprecedented levels of participation that have been established within this context of a forum without any significant decision-making authority.

Finally, as conducting the background research for this project made very clear, the work being done in these areas is highly diffused. It is spread across a wide range of civil society and advocacy organizations around the globe, and is similarly spread a across a wide range of academic disciplines (e.g., communications, law, computer science, information science, technology studies, and public policy). There consequently are a wide range of fora where these issues are being debated and discussed, and a

disparate, inter-disciplinary collection of publication outlets through which work in these areas is being disseminated. More important, it is within these publications that we see greater specificity in terms of descriptions of the activities of individual government, private sector, and civil society actors than was demonstrated within the context of the IGF, where the discussions remained fairly broad and general.

Moving forward, it would therefore potentially be useful if a thorough review of the literature on both the principles and process of Internet governance were conducted – one that accounted for not only published work, but also the tremendous amount of the more elusive "gray literature" that is in circulation in this area (i.e., conference papers and proceedings, white papers, government and civil society organization reports, and various position statements and papers from a wide range of interested stakeholders). Such an exercise should be conducted with an eye towards addressing a common criticism of the work to date in this field – that it neglects to clearly and explicitly outline the social, cultural, and political ramifications of the often highly technical issues at stake. As has been noted, "Writers have found it difficult to identify and calculate the actual societal impacts of current governance rules beyond the narrow confines of the Internet itself, to trace their implications for other spheres of life deemed important to citizens and consumers. Therefore the 'so what' question remains problematic for the wider intellectual and policy communities" (Wilson, 2005, p. 31). Thoroughly articulating the emerging principles and processes for Internet governance, and their relationship to broader social, political, and cultural concerns could be useful in lowering the hurdles that some audiences face in terms of recognizing the significance of the core issues related to Internet governance.

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Endnotes

[1] For an overview and assessment of WSIS from a civil society perspective, see Raboy and Landry (2005).
[2] It is worth emphasizing that a number of IGF panelists and participants have stressed that, within the context of Internet governance, it is often quite difficult to neatly separate technical and policy issues (see, e.g., Drake, 2004; Kleinwachter, 2004).
[3] It is worth noting that an entire session of the 2007 IGF was devoted to outlining the wide range of formal and informal bodies addressing various elements of Internet governance.
[4] The background report was intended by the WGIG as a "reference" and "does not have the same status as the WGIG report" (Working Group on Internet Governance, 2005a, p. 3).
[5] The Background Report of the Working Group on Internet Governance (2005b) contains a listing of other definitions of Internet governance that were considered by the working group in its deliberations.
[6] Reflecting this perspective, some analyses have argued that the "institutionalization" of civil society participation in Internet governance may actually undermine the effectiveness of these groups by "assigning them adversarial positions in comparison to state actors . . . by shaping their identities in a way that impedes their freedom to speak . . . by reducing the amount of actors and sacrificing external transparency . . . and by granting NGOs only informal participation rights which could be withdrawn on the whim of state governments" (Dany, 2007, pp. 18-19).
[7] For a detailed discussion of the barriers to WSIS attendance and participation faced by civil society organizations, see Hintz (2007).
[8] For instance, one participant in the Milan, Hintz, and Cabral study described the IGF as "puppet theatre" (p. 12), a perspective that, according to the authors, reflected the continued skepticism of institutionalized policymaking environments that characterizes many members of Internet-oriented grassroots and community groups.
[9] Discussion of this issue, raised by a representative of Brazil and seconded by a representative from El Salvador, can be found in the Transcript of the 13 February 2007 IGF Consultation, Geneva, pp. 16, 27.
[10] See Transcript of the 13 February 2007 IGF Consultation, Geneva, p. 5.
[11] Discussion of this issue also can be found in the Transcript of the 13 February 2007 IGF Consultation that took place in Geneva. In this discussion there is some suggestion that a move towards the negotiation of some specific recommendations may begin by the third IGF.
[12] This tendency led to the decision, in the writing of this report, to extend beyond the information conveyed during the IGF panels and delve fairly deeply into the associated white papers, position statements, government documents, and academic publications associated with the various stakeholders participating in the IGF, in order to be able to provide a more detailed and substantive account of the issues and challenges facing Internet governance. Hence the fairly extensive reference list associated with this report.
[13] This point was made by Alexandre Jobim, Chairman of the International Association of Broadcasters Legal Committee.
[14] This issue was a key point of the preliminary results of some research in progress presented by representatives of the European Broadcasting Union and the BBC.
[15] Milton Mueller of Syracuse University and the Internet Governance Project stressed the importance of the global adoption of net neutrality as a guiding principle for Internet governance in a number of the IGF panels in which he participated.
[16] As noted by Russian Internet official Michael Yakushev (2007), "The notion of 'openness' is closely related to notions of access and freedom. No one would argue today that access to information and services is not a key tool for individual success and freedom, and a main criterion for social progress" (p. 126).
[17] These conflicting definitions of the scope of the IGF's security theme could be found in discussions that took place during the plenary session on security.
[18] This statement was made by Antonio Tavares, a member of the board of the Brazilian Internet Steering Committee.
[19] These statements were made by Marco Gercke, an expert in cyber-crime at the University of Cologne.
[20] This statistic came from the presentation of Daniel Pimienta, a researcher at the Antiles Guyane at Martinique, as part of the IGF 2007 Diversity Plenary Session.

[21] As one panelists stated, "To reduce cultural diversity is to jeopardize the possibility for our species to evolve and adapt."

[22] In his presentation, Cerf used the term "responsible multilingualism" in relation to his point that multilingual elements must be in place in all phases of the Internet's operation. Cerf emphasized that, just like in other areas of communication, we are not likely to be able to achieve an environment in which individuals of different languages can effectively communicate with one another, but that the focus should instead remain on ensuring that the Internet permits people with a common language to effectively communicate with one another.

[23] Of course, the term "local" is being adjusted to accommodate the scope of the policy space at issue. Within the context of national-level media policy, localism typically is thought of at the level of individual cities or communities. Within the context of global Internet policy, localism is adjusted to units of analysis related to nations, or language communities within these nations. One IGF panelist noted, for instance, that Russia contains over 180 ethnic groups, with more than 150 languages, 24 of which have official status.

[24] As Dutton, Palfrey, & Peltu (2007) emphasize, openness, access, security, and diversity can be seen "as representing the IGF's underlying public service values rather than just 'issues'" (p. 7).

[25] This discussion can be found in the transcript of the February 13, 2007 IGF Consultation that took place in Geneva.

[26] For a thorough and clear overview of ICANN's responsibilities and authority, see Center for Democracy and Technology (2004).

[27] This statement was made by Milton Mueller during his participation in the IGF 2007 plenary session on critical Internet resources.

[28] This point was emphasized by Anriette Esterhuysen of the Association for Progressive Communications in the IGF's Opening Session. See also Drake (2004); Mueller, Mathiason, and Klein (2004).

[29] This statement was made by IGF panelist Fernando Barrio, of the London Metropolitan Business School.

[30] This point was made by Mike Jensen, an independent consultant from Johannesburg who works on behalf of the Association for Progressive Communications, during the IGF 2007 plenary session devoted to the Access theme.