EXTRACTING LESSONS FROM NETMUNDIAL **ACHIEVING BOTTOM-UP AND MULTISTAKEHOLDER OUTCOMES FROM GLOBAL INTERNET GOVERNANCE POLICY DISCUSSIONS**



Extracting lessons from NETmundial

Achieving bottom-up and multistakeholder outcomes from global internet governance policy discussions

This study was written by APC, based on research done by APC, DiploFoundation and the Center for Technology and Society of the Getulio Vargas Foundation (CTS/FGV).

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INTRODUCTION

In April 2014, São Paulo, Brazil was the site of a breakthrough in international internet governance cooperation: the Global Multistakeholder Meeting on the Future of Internet Governance (NETmundial) managed to convene a large number of global actors to produce a consensus¹ statement on internet governance principles and a roadmap for the future evolution of the internet governance ecosystem. The NETmundial Multistakeholder Statement² – the outcome of the meeting – was elaborated in an open and participatory manner, by means of successive consultations. Most of the opinions expressed after NETmundial agreed that the process of drafting an outcome document in a bottom-up and multistakeholder way is a key legacy of the event. Perhaps most remarkable was that the outcome documents were prepared prior to the event with participation of multiple stakeholders, during just a six-month period, something that was previously deemed unfeasible.

In spite of its success in producing an outcome document, the process followed by NETmundial organisers evolved in a quite spontaneous manner. Decisions about the process were made "on the go" to tackle challenges as they emerged. Consequently, there is little documentation about the methodology and lessons extracted from the process. This multistakeholder-based document drafting (and indeed negotiating) process thus also had a number of shortcomings, pointed out by several stakeholders and groups. Lack of clearly defined and transparent processes for the meeting itself left a lot of process-steering power to the host. Impromptu and ad-hoc decisions on the drafting process were perceived to have given some parties influence beyond the public (written and verbal) contribution process. And many governments felt that the process did not enable them to review, participate and approve outcomes effectively and in ways consistent with both formal and informal established negotiation processes.

In order to better understand why NETmundial led to this breakthrough it is important to document and analyse the methodology employed. This research report, the outcome of a collective initiative by the Association for Progressive Communications (APC), DiploFoundation, and the Center for Technology & Society of the Getulio Vargas Foundation (CTS-FGV) aims to do just this. Developed with the support of the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), the objectives of this report are to:

- Document the process that led to the production of a multistakeholder outcome statement at NETmundial.
- Extract key lessons from NETmundial by critically analysing this experimental process, identifying key points for success and issues to be improved.
- Identify key learnings that could contribute towards the implementation of multistakeholder decision-making or documentdrafting processes within other global fora.
- Make recommendations on if and how the lessons of NETmundial can be applied in the Internet Governance Forum (IGF) process (global, regional and national and intersessional), possibly by informing longer term efforts to reform and strengthen the IGF by giving methodological input that would facilitate the production of outcomes and links to other internet policy spaces.

¹ This consensus should be qualified in that even though the statement was adopted by consensus some participants, specifically the Russian Federation, India, Cuba, and ARTICLE 19, representing some participants from civil society expressed some dissent with its contents and the process. See "NETmundial-Closing Session" (p 21-24). netmundial.br/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/NETMundial-23April2014-Closing-Session-en.pdf

² NETmundial Multistakeholder Statement, adopted 24 April 2014. netmundial.br/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/NETmundial-Multistakeholder-Document.pdf

METHODOLOGY

The research team employed a variety of methods to capture and evaluate the process of NETmundial. To document and analyse the process that shaped NETmundial, the researchers relied on the official website of NETmundial,³ the records of meetings of the Executive Multistakeholder Committee (EMC), and messages exchanged in relevant mailing lists, such as the list of the EMC.⁴ The documentation of the process also draws heavily on the Network of Internet & Society Centers (NoC) Internet Governance Case Studies on NETmundial⁵ and the NETmundial White Book.⁶

To understand the expectations and perceptions of stakeholders, the research team compiled and reviewed texts produced by different stakeholder groups, both before and after the meeting. These sources are listed in Annex 1. The researchers also carried out an online survey to collect quantitative and qualitative information regarding participants' perception of the process and outcome. A summary of the results and methodology is found in Annex 2. In addition, the researchers conducted interviews with a group of participants, in order to complement the quantitative analysis with qualitative information. A summary of the interviews is included in Annex 3.

Lastly, the research team conducted textmining of all available content contributions to NETmundial, 181 documents in total, which is drawn on to analyse the impact of stakeholders on the outcome document.⁷ Preliminary results of the research were presented for review and discussion during a pre-event at the 2014 IGF in Istanbul focused on NETmundial co-organised by the Brazilian government, CGI.br and APC, and others. Feedback from discussion at the pre-event was incorporated in this study. The session was attended by members of the High-Level Multistakeholder Committee (HLMC), EMC, chairs of the drafting groups, and many individuals who were part of the organisation of NETmundial or participated in it. The event served as a very effective debriefing for people who were part of the event. The recording of this session is available online.8

- 4 When analysing the content of closed mailing lists, the researchers follow Chatham House rules and names are not disclosed.
- 5 Maciel, M., Zingales, N., & Fink, D. (2014). NOC Internet Governance Case Studies Series: The Global Multistakeholder Meeting on the Future of Internet Governance (NETmundial). Center for Technology & Society of the Getulio Vargas Foundation. https://drive.google.com/folderview?id=0ByExtilYgx0NcVliXzgxVEFWS2s&usp=sharing
- 6 NETmundial White Book. (2014). https://docs.google.com/ document/d/10bkZZfLzl05QQwdk6xc_bTbAH8p7NFijL6LE9_ RimyE/edit#heading=h.9cm8d82qmgkl

³ netmundial.br

⁷ For the comprehensive report with the methodology and all the results of the text mining, see: Milovanović, G., & Radunović, V. (2015). Text-Mining of the NETmundial Text Corpus. DiploFoundation.https://drive.google.com/a/diplomacy.edu/file/d/0BwS42iOQX9hqTWZFQmpHdFNDNUE/ view

⁸ friendsoftheigf.org/session/904

DOCUMENTING NETMUNDIAL

BACKGROUND

The main catalyst for convening NETmundial was the revelation of mass surveillance of digital communications by the US National Security Agency (NSA). In particular Edward Snowden's disclosures revealed that then-President of Brazil Dilma Rousseff's personal cell phone was successfully targeted for the content of calls, emails, and messages by the NSA.9 The disclosures revealed that Brazil's state oil company Petrobras was also a target of surveillance. After an advisory meeting with the board of the Brazilian Internet Steering Committee (CGI.br), in September 2013, President Rousseff gave a speech at the opening of the 68th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, in which she criticised policies of mass surveillance.¹⁰ President Rousseff also emphasised the need to develop a framework for the governance and use of the internet, and to create mechanisms to ensure basic principles are guaranteed, such as privacy, freedom of speech, and net neutrality. The following month she received a visit from Fadi Chehadé, chief executive officer of the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN) - in parallel, the main technical community organisations issued a statement in Montevideo on 7 October in defence of an open internet and against pervasive surveillance.¹¹ After this conversation, the global meeting was announced.¹² The announcement of NETmundial came less than two weeks before the

2013 IGF in Bali. As a result the IGF was utilised by all stakeholders to discuss NETmundial and in particular for consultations with the ICANN CEO, Fadi Chehadé, and the Brazilian government – which had sent a very large and high level delegation to Bali – to seek clarity and provide input on the planning of the meeting.

NETmundial was held 23-24 April 2014 in São Paulo, Brazil. The event was organised by means of a partnership between the Brazilian Internet Steering Committee (CGI.br)¹³ and 1net,¹⁴ a coalition launched at the 2013 IGF to gather actors from the various stakeholder groups involved in internet governance discussions. Funding for NETmundial came from the organisers CGI.br and the I* community, including ICANN.¹⁵

NETmundial explicitly aimed to address two issues: the need to identify a set of universally acceptable internet governance principles and the need to propose a way forward for the evolution of the internet governance ecosystem.

⁹ Saxena, S. (2013, 3 September). NSA picked content from Brazilian President's phones, emails & texts. The Hindu. www. thehindu.com/news/national/nsa-picked-content-from-brazilian-presidents-phones-emails-texts/article5086977.ece

¹⁰ Rousseff, D. (2013, 24 September). Statement by H. E. Dilma Rousseff, President of the Federative Republic of Brazil, at the Opening of the General Debate of the 68th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, 2013. gadebate. un.org/sites/default/files/gastatements/68/BR_en.pdf

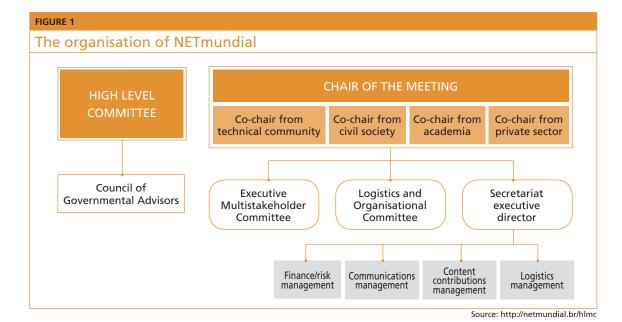
¹¹ ICANN. (2013, 7 October). Montevideo Statement on the Future of Internet Cooperation. https://www.icann.org/ news/announcement-2013-10-07-en

¹² Planalto. (2013, 9 October). Brasil vai sediar encontro mundial sobre governança da internet em 2014. blog.planalto. gov.br/brasil-vai-sediar-encontro-mundial-sobre-governanca-da-internet-em-2014

¹³ The Brazilian Internet Steering Committee (CGI.br) is a multistakeholder body for discussions of Internet-related issues. CGI.br is composed of 21 members: 10 governmental representatives and 11 non-governmental actors. Among other activities, CGI.br is responsible for coordinating joint actions for the proposal of policies and procedures related to the regulation of Internet in Brazil, deliberating on any matters referred to it that relate to Internet services in Brazil, and adopting the necessary administrative and operational procedures for the management of the Internet in Brazil in accordance with accepted international standards. For more information see: cgi.br/about

^{14 1}net was created at the end of 2013 with the purpose of providing an inclusive and open platform for discussion of Internet governance matters among interested actors. The platform was launched quickly so it could facilitate the involvement of stakeholders in the preparatory process of NETmundial. NETmundial was the first and most important topic in the agenda of 1net so far and participation in the mailing list has declined following the event. For more information see: 1net.org

¹⁵ I* refers to the main organisations responsible for the coordination of the internet's technical infrastructure. They include ICANN, the Internet Engineering Task Force, the Internet Architecture Board, the World Wide Web Consortium, the Internet Society, and the five regional Internet address registries (African Network Information Center, American Registry for Internet Numbers, Asia-Pacific Network Information Centre, Latin America and Caribbean Internet Addresses Registry, and Réseaux IP Européens Network Coordination Centre).



The meeting was convened under the expectation that it should present conclusions and a concrete outcome. According to a report presented by Adiel Akplogan, CEO of AfriNIC and the chair of 1net until August 2014, a critical element for the success of the meeting would be "a final joint declaration of internet principles and an institutional framework for multistakeholder internet governance. The declaration should aim to be concrete/practical, linked to prior/current Internet governance initiatives, and hopefully include some next steps."¹⁶

The following sections detail the organisational structures and preparatory process of NETmundial.

ORGANISING COMMITTEES AND THEIR WORKING METHODS

Structure of organising committees

The organisation of NETmundial was carried out by a multistakeholder board of chairs from different regions,¹⁷ appointed by the chair of the meeting, Professor Virgílio Fernandes Almeida, to represent four key communities (civil society, the technical community, academia, and the private sector) and four organisational committees. The structure and the methodology for the composition of the committees was jointly determined by Brazilian government representatives and the I* organisations.¹⁸

The mandates of the committees were the following:¹⁹

- High-Level Multistakeholder Committee (HLMC): Responsible for conducting the political articulation and fostering the involvement of the international community.
- Executive Multistakeholder Committee (EMC): Responsible for organising the event, including the agenda and execution, and for the review of the proposals from participants.
- Logistics and Organisational Committee (LOC): Responsible for overseeing the logistical aspects of the meeting.
- Council of Governmental Advisors (CGA): Open to all governments willing to contribute to the meeting.

¹⁶ Akplogan, A. (2013, 18 November). E-mail to I-coordination list. https://www.nro.net/pipermail/i-coordination/2013-November/000077.html

¹⁷ The chairman, Professor Virgílio Fernandes Almeida, was supported by Jeanette Hofmann (academic community), Subi Chaturvedi (civil society), Fadi Chehadé (technical community), and Andile Ngcaba (private sector).

¹⁸ Akplogan, A. (2013, 18 November). Op. cit. 19 See: netmundial.br/#committees

FIGURE 2 **Composition of HLMC** HLMC CHAIRMAN Minister Paulo Bernardo Silva MINISTERIAL LEVEL South EC South USA India Tunisia Germany Argentina France Ghana Indonesia Turkey Africa Korea MULTISTAKEHOLDER COMMUNITY Academia Technical community Private sector **Civil society** Jeanette David Derrick Kathy Tarek Mathieu Joe Christoph Jimson Jovan Stephanie Louis Hofmann Johnson Cogburn Weill Alhadeff Steck Olufuye Kurbalija Perrin Pouzin Brown Kamel INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS Wu Hongbo

Hamadoun Touré

Source: Maciel, M., Zingales, N., & Fink, D. (2014). Op. cit.

The HLMC and the EMC were multistakeholder bodies. 1net was responsible for selecting the global non-governmental members of the EMC and HLMC. This process was coordinated by the 1net steering committee. Each steering committee member was responsible for coordinating discussions within their constituencies to select individuals for the HLMC and EMC.

By contrast, the CGA was composed only of governments, and the LOC had representatives from the Brazilian government, CGI.br, ICANN, and 1net. In addition, an Executive Secretariat was established to provide support to all committee activities. It was composed of a team of five people, who were the only personnel with full-time dedication to the event. This group worked on site at CGI.br in São Paulo.

The HLMC included 27 members: one chair (the Brazilian Minister for Communications), 12 representatives of states as co-hosts (invited by the Brazilian Ministry of Communications),²⁰ two from international organisations (appointed by the UN Secretary General), and 12 from the multistakeholder community (three each from civil society, the private sector, academia, and the technical community) nominated through 1net.

The EMC was composed of: a) eight Brazilian members appointed by CGI.br (one cochair from the technical community, one representative from academia, and two each from government, civil society and private sector); b) nine representatives from the global multistakeholder community selected through 1net (including one co-chair and one member from the technical community and two each from the private sector, civil society, and the academic community); c) finally, one from the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) (appointed by the UN from the staff of the international organisations). After the EMC was formed, a representative from the government of Egypt and a representative of the European Commission were added as Special Members. The inclusion of "special members" was not based on any clear justification. When they were added to the mailing list of the EMC it did not stir controversy among EMC members. However, irrespective of the increased regional diversity the special members provided and the high quality contributions they offered, the manner of their inclusion so late in the process lacked clarity and transparency.

The Logistics and Organisational Committee was composed of two members from CGI.br (one of them was a co-chair), a member of ICANN (also co-chair), a member of 1net, and three members from the Brazilian government (one from the

²⁰ The 12 countries were: Argentina, Brazil, France, Ghana, Germany, India, Indonesia, South Africa, South Korea, Tunisia, Turkey and the United States of America. Each continent was granted three slots with the recommendation of involving other governments from their region.

FIGURE 3									
Composition of EMC									
EMC CO-CHAIRS									
Demi Getschko Raul Echeberria									
	ACADEMIA		TECHNICAL COMM		UNITY PRIVATE		SECTOR		
Flavio Wagner	Dongman Lee	Matthias Kettermann	Demi Getschko	Raul Echeberria	Akinori Maemura	Cassio Vecchiatt	Henrique i Faulhaber	Zahid Jamil	Dominique Lazanski
CIVIL SOCIETY					GOVERNMENT			INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS	
Carlo Afon			Adam Peake	Marilia Maciel	Benedi Fonse		1aximiliano Martiñhao	Thomas Gass	
SPECIAL MEMBERS									
Manal Ismail Michael Niebel									

Ministry of Justice, one from the Ministry of Foreign Relations, and one from the Cabinet of the Presidency).

The Council of Governmental Advisors, which was formed by participating government representatives, was coordinated by the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations and co-chaired by the governments of China, Portugal and Australia. The mandate of this council was to channel the content proposals and comments coming from government participants.

Working methods of organising committees

Due to the different mandates and characteristics of each committee, their working methods varied. The EMC, which had the mandate to determine the overall processes, had the most meetings (eight in total) to prepare proposals related to participation, meeting format, and the production of the first draft of the outcome document. Meetings occurred in CGI.br's headquarters, but given the international composition of the EMC, all meetings included remote participation using Adobe Connect.

The HLMC working process differed from that of the EMC. One reason for this was the high-level composition of the group and the resulting difficulty it had in gathering its Source: Maciel, M., Zingales, N., & Fink, D. (2014). Op. cit.

members on a regular basis. A face-to-face meeting occurred during the GSMA forum in Barcelona on 14 February 2014, where several high-level representatives from the committee were in attendance. The second and final face-to-face meeting of the HLMC took place during NETmundial on 24 April 2014 when the outcome document was presented by the EMC for final review before the closing ceremony.

The CGA had a preparatory meeting on 22 April 2014 in São Paulo, the day before NETmundial. During this meeting, government representatives exchanged their impressions about the preparatory process for NETmundial, and also discussed their positions regarding internet governance principles and the roadmap for the further evolution of the internet governance ecosystem as proposed in the draft outcome document.

In terms of decision making, all EMC decisions were reported to the NETmundial chair by the Secretariat. Board meetings were conducted to review the EMC decisions and provide further input. Such meetings were the ultimate decision-making point and included the chair and co-chairs of NETmundial and the chairs of the EMC and HLMC. Discussions mostly served to review and endorse the approaches adopted by the EMC, and any substantive suggestions from the board were taken to the EMC through its chairs.

PRE-MEETING CONSULTATIONS AND THE PRODUCTION OF THE FIRST DRAFT OUTCOME DOCUMENT

The global multistakeholder community was invited to take part in NETmundial and also to provide inputs to guide the drafting of the outcome document. Two different modalities of participation were used: 1) online tools on www.netmundial.br for collecting contributions; and 2) participation at the NETmundial meeting, physically or remotely.

The first phase of consultations took place from 14 February to 8 March 2014 and consisted of collecting submissions through a dedicated web form on the two agenda topics. A total of 188 contributions were received:²¹ 65 were related to principles, 69 were dedicated to the roadmap, and 54 combined the two topics. The highest number of contributions were from the United States (31) and Brazil (16), followed by the United Kingdom (7), India (7), and Switzerland (6).

Since the participants would have only two days of discussions in São Paulo, meeting organisers decided that a draft outcome document should be produced in order to give attendees a starting point for discussion. The EMC was tasked to produce this first draft based on the inputs provided in the public consultation. The Secretariat of NETmundial assisted in this process by producing a summary of all the inputs.²²

To prepare the draft outcome document, the EMC followed a few guidelines. Primarily, they opted to include the issues mentioned in a large number of contributions (relevance) and tried to address them in a way that made consensus possible (consensus-driven approach). In order to be included in the draft, each paragraph needed to achieve consensus among EMC members and also have a reasonable expectation of achieving consensus in the NETmundial plenary. It is important to notice, however, that these guidelines were not made publicly available, and were only informally discussed among EMC members.

To develop the draft outcome document, the EMC divided itself into two groups: one focused on the drafting of the principles section and the other focused on the roadmap section. One reason for this approach was the unexpectedly large amount of contributions received during the consultation that needed to be reviewed by the EMC in a short timeframe to produce the draft outcome. Having two drafting groups working in parallel was the only way to make sure that a draft outcome document could be successfully produced in time. The final work was reviewed by the whole EMC and then forwarded to the HLMC, which reviewed the draft before it went public. Some HLMC members presented comments individually, but there was no joint committee discussion about the draft. This lack of a common position made it harder for the EMC to clearly assess if suggestions from individual HLMC members garnered enough support to be incorporated into the draft.

The second phase of online consultation followed the publication of the draft outcome document on the NETmundial website. From 15 to 21 April 2014, the public could comment on the draft text through a website that was specially prepared to receive public comments based on a dedicated system (Wordpress plugin) called "Commentpress".²³ The system allowed short comments on specific parts of a document, and requested users to identify themselves as well as their affiliated stakeholder group.²⁴ This second phase generated a total of 1370

²¹ Spreadsheet with all the public inputs is available at: netmundial.br/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/NETmundial-Comments.xlsx

²² netmundial.br/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Content-Contribution-Summary_1703_final.pdf.

²³ More information about Commentpress is available at: futureofthebook.org/commentpress

²⁴ Special customisations were made for NETmundial's purposes, such as asking contributors to identify their stakeholder groups.

comments from 280 contributors, which were then assembled by the NETmundial Secretariat.²⁵

Subsequently, the Secretariat extracted the most meaningful comments (based on the existence of a "rationale" for the suggested edit)²⁶ and produced a summary, which was published on 22 April, the day before NETmundial started on 23 April. The tight schedule gave the EMC only one day to digest the comments made on the platform, helped by the synthesis of the Secretariat. The EMC did not produce another version of the outcome document: online comments on the original draft and comments made in person by NETmundial attendees were incorporated simultaneously.

REGISTRATION

The EMC, which was responsible for managing registration for on-site participation, applied principles such as openness, equality and flexibility to guide their process. They decided to adopt a pre-registration procedure, inviting anyone with an interest in attending the meeting to sign up via a dedicated web form from 3 to 28 February 2014. Expressions of interest allowed the organisers and the EMC to monitor the levels of attendance, keep track of the balance among the stakeholders, and develop early strategies to cope with the possibility of over-registration.²⁷

Due to interest exceeding available capacity, the EMC used the following criteria to select participants: no more than five people from each organisation (up to two from the same organisation and also from the same country); and up to three governmental representatives per country if the country was represented at a ministerial level (two in case of no ministerial representation).²⁸ Other general guidelines adopted by the EMC were intended to foster balance among stakeholder groups, giving preference to those that showed previous experience with the theme and prioritising the registration of actors from underrepresented countries.

The LOC, which managed funding for the organisational aspects of NETmundial with resources from CGI.br, ICANN, and the I* community, considered the fundamental guestion of whether any travel support would be available. Early on, it was decided that the meeting would be similar to the Internet Governance Forum, with no funding officially provided by the organisers, but some funding would be offered by entities that usually support internet governance-related meetings. Nonetheless, the LOC sought funding from those various internet-related entities, to ensure broader participation, in terms of representativeness and geographic regions. Approximately three weeks before the meeting, the Secretariat instituted a donor fund to support expenses for air tickets and hotel for some people who requested them. However, since participants who submitted requests were not informed until very late in the process, this prompted many of them to seek other sources of funding or abandon the idea of attending altogether.29

On 15 March 2014 participants were informed of the outcome of their requests for participation.

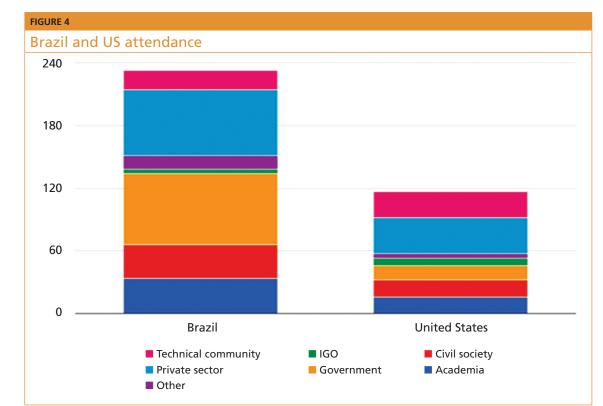
²⁵ Spreadsheet with all the public inputs is available at: netmundial.br/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/NETmundial-Comments.xlsx

²⁶ In the words of the Secretariat, "rationale" includes "even the most primary forms of supporting arguments. Some rationale are elaborated and go deep into the subject. Others are one-liners which will not develop the subject as much as other arguments. Nevertheless, despite the stark difference between those simpler rationale and deep arguments that elevate the level of the debate, they are something to start with and that is why they are included in the report." See "NETmundial Draft Outcome Document—Public Consultation: final report on comments," 22 April 2014, p. 8 (emphasis in the original). netmundial.br/ wp-content/uploads/2014/04/NETmundialPublicConsultation-FinalReport20140421.pdf

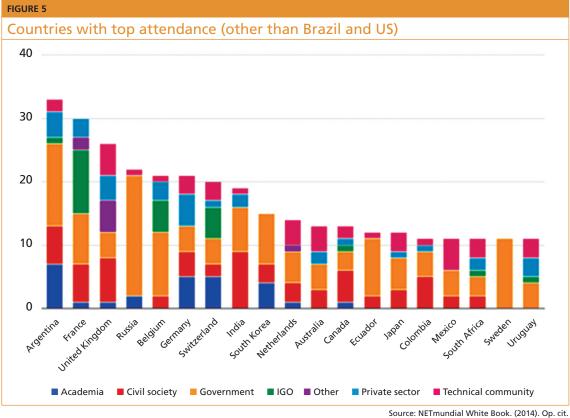
²⁷ A total of 869 expressions of interest were received from 94 different countries, divided into self-declared categories of academia (105), civil society (245), government (138), private sector (210), technical community (107) and "other" (64). The highest numbers of requests were from Brazil (251) and the United States (136).

²⁸ The Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations handled the registration of governments through diplomatic channels.

²⁹ One of such sources of funding was made available by Google to support civil society from developing countries. This funding was administered by APC.



Source: NETmundial White Book. (2014). Op. cit.



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The event had a total of 1229 participants from 97 countries. Of these participants, 38.5% were government representatives, 18.1% were participants self-identified as civil society, 14.4% as private sector, 12.4% as technical community, 9.8% as academia and 6.8% as "other".³⁰ In terms of participation per country, the two countries with the highest level of registration were Brazil and the United States. Of the 19 countries with the next highest level of participation, nine were in WEOG (Western Europe and other group), five in Latin America and the Caribbean, three in the Asia-Pacific region, one in Eastern Europe, and one in Africa.

WORKING SESSIONS

The two-day meeting itself was divided between an opening and closing ceremony, welcome remarks, panel discussions, and four working sessions (two sessions on principles and two sessions on the roadmap going forward) during which the text itself was discussed. The final panel focused on "beyond NETmundial" and the statement was tabled and adopted at a closing session on the evening of the last day.

The working sessions were assigned chairs, who chaired the plenary sessions. They were also assigned advisors to assist with the drafting of the final text (see following section). The criteria of selection for the chairs was unclear: two of them were previously selected by their constituencies as representatives from academia for the HLC and the EMC, while the other three chairs were invited by CGI.br shortly before the event. All the stakeholder groups were represented in the working sessions for the roadmap, but a representative from academia was missing in the working sessions on principles. As for the advisors, two of the five were previously selected by their respective stakeholder groups - occasionally with some level of controversy – to compose the EMC. While the other three advisors in each session included

30 Presentation from Prof Virgilio Almeida at ICANN, London on June, 23, 2014.

one representative from the UN system and two government representatives, one of these was always from the Brazilian government.³¹

The working languages of the working sessions were mostly English and Portuguese with translation available for Arabic, Chinese, French, Russian and Spanish. NETmundial introduced a number of innovative modalities of participation at the working sessions. To facilitate input from participants during the working sessions, four microphones were provided, one for each stakeholder group, and the opportunity to speak rotated to each microphone.³² Each participant, regardless of stakeholder group, was required to queue behind their respective microphone, and each was allotted the same time (a maximum of two minutes). A timer was displayed to ensure that no speaker exceeded two minutes. In addition, each rotation included inputs from remote participants - so there was a fifth microphone in practical terms – applying the same time limit.

Remote participation was available for the plenary working sessions, and was facilitated in two different ways. First, participants could submit online comments to the online moderator via Adobe Connect for the moderator to read out loud. Second, individuals could participate remotely via one of the 33 hubs available worldwide, spread across 30 cities and 23 countries. This distribution was the result of an open "call for remote hubs proposals" issued on 18 March.³³ Ten of the 33 remote hubs were given the status of official hubs on the basis of geographical coverage, adequacy of infrastructure, personnel provision, and costs.

³¹ Varon, J. (2014). The NETmundial: An Innovative First Step on a Long Road. In W. J. Drake & Price, M. (Eds.), *Beyond NETmundial: The Roadmap for Institutional Improvements to the Global Internet Governance Ecosystem*. https://cdt. org/files/2014/09/BeyondNETmundial_FINAL.pdf

³² The four microphones were allocated to: 1) civil society;2) the business community; 3) the technical and academic communities; and 4) government and international organisations.

³³ NETmundial. (2014, 18 March). NETmundial opens opportunity for interested to host Official Hubs of participation. netmundial.br/blog/2014/03/18/netmundial-opens-opportunity-for-interested-to-host-official-hubs-of-participation

In these official hubs, connection was possible via video, in addition to text. Participants at official hubs could benefit from simultaneous translation of the meeting into six languages (Arabic, Chinese, French, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish) in addition to English, and have their comments translated into English from one of these languages.

ON-SITE DRAFTING SESSIONS AND ADOPTION OF THE DOCUMENT

After the working day finished, drafting groups met in a separate room. Two separate drafting groups were created, one for principles and another for the roadmap. These groups were composed of the chairs of the working sessions and the members of the EMC assigned to them (also called "advisors" in the document that announced the dynamics for the working sessions).³⁴ Among the advisors were a representative of the host government, which was very important because, as a trained diplomat, the representative could advise on "agreed language" and ensure that the text was consistent with what was agreed by governments at other fora. Translation and remote participation were not available for the drafting sessions. The groups made changes in the outcome document in order to reflect comments made in the online consultation and in the plenary sessions. The drafting room was open to observers and the text was displayed on the screen of the conference room along with the modifications as they were made, allowing for transparency in the drafting process. The procedures for the drafting sessions explicitly only allowed the chairs and advisors to speak, and prohibited any interference from

observers.³⁵ Advisors did on occasion consult observers on specific issues in the draft texts.

Before the final plenary session of NETmundial, the text was presented to the HLMC in a meeting open to observers. Members of the HLMC proposed a few substantive modifications to specific paragraphs of the text. These modifications included a last-minute suggestion by ICANN, which diluted language regarding the structural separation of IANA functions and ICANN policy process, deletion of some text on mass surveillance at the request of the US government, inclusion of reference to respective roles and responsibilities of stakeholders at the request of the Brazilian government, and modification of text about the limitation of responsibility of intermediaries that stated that limitations on the liability of intermediaries should respect and promote economic growth (which was seen as a reference to enforcement of intellectual property rights), which came from the French government.

The final plenary session was mostly devoted to presenting the final outcome document to NETmundial participants. The document was read out loud to the plenary and after that the chair of the meeting asked for the document to be accepted by acclamation, a request followed by cheers and applause from the audience. Three governments (Russia, India and Cuba) and a civil society representative (ARTICLE 19 speaking on behalf of a number of civil society participants) took the floor to express criticism of various aspects of the text. In addition, individuals involved in organising NETmundial, including the hosts Virgilio Almeida, the chair of the meeting, and Fadi Chehade of ICANN, delivered concluding remarks.

³⁴ NETmundial. (2014, 20 April). NETmundial announces dynamics for working sessions. netmundial.br/ blog/2014/04/20/netmundial-announces-dynamics-for-working-sessions

³⁵ Maciel, M., Zingales, N., & Fink, D. (2014). Op. cit.

KEY LESSONS FROM NETMUNDIAL

ORGANISING COMMITTEES AND THEIR WORKING METHODS

What worked well

Overall, the establishing of organising committees, including multistakeholder committees, was welcomed by participants. Respondents to the online survey conducted by the research team with registered NETmundial participants, both those who participated on site and remotely (see Annex 2), responded positively about the role of the organising committees, with a majority of respondents – 88% – indicating that the committees reinforced multistakeholder participation in NETmundial.³⁶

What did not work so well

According to the survey, there was a considerable lack of clarity around the roles of the committees. Generally speaking they felt more positive about the work and role of the committees during the preparatory process than during the meeting itself.37 Around 50% of respondents thought their stakeholder representatives kept them informed about issues in the preparations for NETmundial and during the meeting itself, including drafting sessions. Most respondents did not take part in selecting their representatives, which could indicate that the process for selection was weak and may have caused a disconnect between participants and the committee members representing their stakeholder groups.

HLMC members reported having had little guidance from the chairs and little intercommittee communication, which led to a lack of clarity about the role they should play. One HLMC member reported "we have been left without guidance on the process and without work to do, till [sic] the EMC draft outcome arrived."³⁸

Regarding the co-chairs,³⁹ the majority of respondents indicated that their role was not clear, and responses were mixed regarding the question of how well the different co-chairs represented their stakeholder groups. There was controversy around the selection of one of the co-chairs (identified as having been selected to represent civil society) and this undermined the credibility of the event particularly in the country from which this person originated. The controversy can be attributed to the lack of clear process, but was probably mostly due to the fact that it was a person without an established track record of working in internet governance.

PRE-MEETING CONSULTATIONS AND THE PRODUCTION OF THE FIRST DRAFT OUTCOME DOCUMENT

What worked well

The consultative process, including the use of online tools, that led to the initial draft of the outcome document was well received by participants as it was based on public inputs. The overwhelming majority of survey respondents (89%) thought having an initial draft ahead of the meeting was helpful and 90% would like to see the process of written inputs before the event reproduced in future meetings. The fact that all the contributions were made available online added to the

^{36 52%} of respondents answered "definitely"; 36% answered "somewhat"; and only 8% answered "not at all".

³⁷ For the HLC, 53% of respondents said its role was clear during NETmundial, as opposed to 62% clarity on its overall role. Similarly for the EMC, 59% of respondents indicated that its role during the meeting was clear, down from 65% who said its overall role was clear.

³⁸ HLMC member, private communication with research team member, 11 April 2014.

³⁹ Co-chairs here refers to the multistakeholder board of chairs described in section 3.2.1.

transparency of the process. In addition, while a large majority of respondents said the NETmundial outcome document would be important or very important for future internet governance discussions, at the same time all stakeholders agreed that the multistakeholder processes employed at NETmundial were more important than the outcome document.

What did not work so well

While as noted above the consultative methods used for soliciting input were widely welcomed, the short timeframe for inputting was consistently noted as a challenge. Of the survey respondents, 87% said soliciting comments on the initial draft should be repeated, but more time (for example three or four days) was needed to make comments.

Despite consensus around the usefulness of the initial draft outcome document, there was considerable confusion about how this document was developed. Guidelines for the first draft were not made publicly available, and were only informally discussed among EMC members. This may have led to a lack of understanding about the criteria for drafting the text and how conflicting views were resolved. The survey results reinforce this. Almost half of the survey respondents (47%) did not know who was responsible for drafting the initial draft of the outcome document, and 64% said that drafting teams should have been selected before NETmundial. The lack of clarity about who was responsible for drafting reinforces the missing link on representation. A sizable grouping (63%) indicated that drafting groups should have been assisted by experts on the topics under discussion.

REGISTRATION

What worked well

The research did not reveal conclusive findings regarding the registration process, though it is worth noting that the barriers for registration were relatively low, with the only guidelines being that prospective participants indicate an expression of interest. Limitations on participation were mostly due to an effort on the part of the organisers to achieve a balance in participation and the ability to find travel support to attend in person. Multiple interviewees considered remote participation, including the remote hubs, as a positive aspect of NETmundial and a way to mitigate the challenge presented by lack of travel support. One of the interviewees noted that the process proved to be the first one of its kind bringing together stakeholders not just at the event, but through remote hubs. Two interviewees spoke positively of the remote participation. One suggested there should be free software and free open protocols to allow everyone to participate remotely, and give remote participants priority over people that travelled there. Another commented that remote participation cannot replace physical participation.

What did not work so well

As noted earlier, there was an imbalance of participation among stakeholder groups, with government participation more than double that of any other stakeholder group. While selforganised funding mechanisms helped support participation, formal funding mechanisms were not sufficient and not operationalised early enough to be utilsed to facilitate the participation of underrepresented stakeholders and regions. In addition, despite the fact that all stakeholders were allotted equal speaking time during the working sessions, the opening ceremony was dominated by governments, with 26 of 31 speaking slots dedicated to governments. As is often the case with global internet governance conferences, there was also an imbalance of on-site participation in terms of regional representation. Other than Brazil, of the 20 countries with the highest levels of participation, 10 were from the Western Europe and other group. Five countries in Latin America also contributed a high a number of

participants. Of the three countries sending high numbers of participants in the Asia Pacific region, two of them – Japan and South Korea – are highly industrialised economies. The only country in the Eastern European region to send a high number of participants was Russia, whose delegation was almost entirely made up of government representatives.

The perception of one interviewee was that overall, participation of governments from developing countries was not very good. In fact, there were a large number of developing country government representatives present and many did speak during the plenary working sessions.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, many also kept a low profile. Another interviewee also noted that "elitism" has to be eliminated and that it is important to bring diversity and allow new faces to grow in expertise, knowledge and experience, otherwise this problem will never change. These challenges are not unique to NETmundial, but are worth noting nonetheless.

WORKING SESSIONS

What worked well

The research revealed mixed responses to the modalities for the plenary working sessions. A number of survey respondents reacted positively to the innovation of having each stakeholder group line up at their respective microphones and the equal allocation of time for each speaker. This introduced a degree of equality among stakeholders, which is absent in most UN processes in which governments are allowed to speak first and for longer time slots, and the role of other stakeholders is secondary or may not exist at all. However, there were some critiques both of the practicality of this arrangement and how the modalities were carried out, as detailed below.

What did not work so well

A majority of survey respondents (69%) said that there was not enough time for on-site inputs/submissions. Out of the two-day meeting just eight hours were allocated for working sessions, with the rest of the time allocated for panels and ceremonies. In addition, due to time constraints the two-minute speaking slots were reduced towards the end of the meeting, which drew some criticism. An interviewee felt that the arbitrary changes to time limits for oral interventions penalised civil society in particular, as they do not have the skills and resources to be as succinct as government and business.⁴¹

ON-SITE DRAFTING SESSIONS AND ADOPTION OF THE DOCUMENT

What worked well

The on-site drafting process proved to be a source of contention. The open sessions increased transparency, but the perceived uneven application of the announced modalities drew criticism from many survey respondents. Nonetheless, according to the survey, the method of rough consensus used to adopt the outcome document was accepted by the majority of respondents (55%).⁴²

What did not work so well

It was widely observed by survey respondents that the rule that anyone other than the chairs and advisors was allowed to observe but not intervene in drafting sessions was not strictly enforced. However, what was not clearly defined or commonly understood, including among the two drafting groups, was the extent

⁴¹ It is worth noting that from the perspective of a chair it was actually governments who had difficulty making their remarks within the time limit.

⁴² The question in the survey was "Do you agree that the methodology of rough consensus should have been employed for the adoption of NETmundial outcome document?". As noted earlier the outcome document was adopted by consensus with four actors recording their dissent after its adoption.

⁴⁰ See participant list: netmundial.br/list-of-participants

to which chairs and advisors could consult with observers. In one of the drafting groups an advisor engaged in bilateral conversations with observers from the stakeholder group he represented. In response, the chairs of this group allowed consultation with representatives of other stakeholder groups among the observers to ensure that some of the inputs made during the working sessions were understood correctly by the drafting group. This was perceived by some of the interviewees as influencing the drafting process. One interviewee also suggested that drafting sessions should have been done in real-time online. He also criticised the fact that the rule of people not speaking during drafting sessions was unequally applied.

Among survey respondents, there were differing understandings of the modalities for the drafting sessions, though the majority of respondents (52%) understood that the sessions were open for observation only.43 Although more people (42%) thought the drafting process was transparent than those (35%) who did not, comments revealed some shortcomings in the process. For example, respondents pointed out that observers were technically only supposed to observe, but some observers did make inputs, which happened at the request of the chairs and advisors who consulted experts among the observers on specific issues from time to time. This points to the need for experts to have been assigned to assist the drafting groups on technical issues, legal language, rights frameworks, among others, as well as defined procedures for drafting group members to consult their constituencies.

Another response noted, "In reality, they ended up being more open to certain groups than others." A third comment reinforced this, remarking, "It was great that the sessions were open, this was a huge step. But there was too little time and the support from non-members of the drafting committee was uncoordinated and provided for an unbalanced power dynamic." In the case of remote participants, there was no access to the drafting groups at all. Only 27% of respondents thought there was equal representation of different stakeholders in the on-site drafting committees.

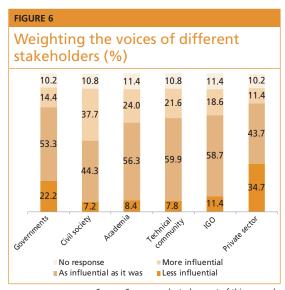
According to the survey results, the steps followed to produce the outcome document were supported by participants, but weaknesses were identified regarding the drafting committees, including a shortage of time and lack of clarity on processes, which raised concerns in their eyes. In addition, the meeting of the HLMC before the document was finalised and during which changes to the outcome document were made added an element of top-down decision making into the bottomup process. In terms of the adoption of the outcome document, 58% of survey respondents said they would have liked to have had a second public comment period on the outcome document, especially since it is difficult for some stakeholder groups to make a decision on the spot. Government representatives, in particular, often need to consult with central authorities before taking a position on an outcome document, which can be difficult if the document is adopted the same day it is finalised, especially for governments in different timezones.

⁴³ Responses to the question: "Do you think that drafting sessions were open to any interested party?" were: Yes, but for observation only (52%); No (14%); Yes, for observation and input (13%); I don't know (13%); Other (1%).

ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF STAKEHOLDERS ON THE OUTCOME DOCUMENT

Our analysis of how the voices of stakeholder groups are reflected in the outcome document used text mining conducted by DiploFoundation,⁴⁴ which revealed that the content contributions from governments were the most influential, followed by civil society and the private sector to a much lesser degree.⁴⁵ Contributions from academia were found at the highest average distance from it, signifying the least influence on the outcome document.

The survey results reinforced findings from text mining in the sense that the outcome document reflected power imbalances. But it also contradicted the text mining in some respects. For example, survey responses also indicated a perception that governments' interest was most well represented. But in contrast to the data mining, survey respondents had the perception that civil society's interest was least well represented, while the text mining indicated business inputs were least influential. Similarly, in response to the question of which stakeholder group should have more or less influence, responses revealed that civil society should have been more influential, and the private sector less influential. The contradictions between the results of the data mining and the survey may be a result of perceptions based on imbalances in power among stakeholder groups and lack of clarity around processes.



Source: Survey conducted as part of this research. See Annex 2 for summary and analysis of survey results.

Respondents to the survey were largely willing to say that NETmundial increased multistakeholder participation, but were not as satisfied with transparency and the impact of stakeholders. This can be understood as implying that multistakeholder participation is a useful but imperfect means to achieve transparency and impact of stakeholders, and that improvements in the process could lead to more equitable outcomes. One of the interviewees, however, was more sceptical, and was concerned that consensus-based processes give powerful private actors veto power over important policy decisions. Using the example of a change in wording to include the word "creators" in the language on intellectual property in the NETmundial outcome document, one interviewee asserted that this single word completely changes the nature of intellectual property paradigms.

⁴⁴ Milovanović, G., & Radunović, V. (2015), Op. cit. One of the main goals of the text-mining approach was to identify several broad topics that best describe the entire corpus of written contributions to NETmundial. This can be best understood as "what the people were really discussing". The technique known as Latent Dirichlet Allocation, or LDA, was used in the calculations to identify a set of topics that best describe the pattern of term occurrences in the term-document matrix of the corpus. Each topic encompasses all terms from the terminological model (almost 5000 manually approved words and phrases - terms related to internet governance), but the importance of the terms varies across the topics. Technically, each topic is a probability distribution over the terms. If we assume that several topics mix in the linguistic production of a particular discourse, then each topic is characterised by a probability by which it contributes a particular term to that discourse. In turn, all documents encompassed by a particular text corpus are viewed as mixtures of topics in LDA, thus each document being characterised by a (potentially) unique combination of influence from each of the topics.

⁴⁵ The governments whose contributions were most proximal to the final NETmundial document were Argentina, Republic of Korea and Poland; the most proximate civil society contributions were those of Korean civil society, Kuwait Information Technology Society and Center for Democracy and Technology, while the most proximate private contributions were those of AHCIET, ETNO and Telecom Italia Group. Overall, the three most similar documents to the NETmundial final document were the contributions by the Center for Democracy & Technology, followed by the Government of Poland, followed by the Government of Argentina.

FIGURE 7

Word clouds for stakeholder groups. The size of the word corresponds to the frequency of its usage in the contributions made on behalf of the respective stakeholder group



Source: Milovanović, G., & Radunović, V. (2015). Op. cit.

KEY LEARNINGS FOR MULTISTAKEHOLDER DECISION-MAKING OR DOCUMENT-DRAFTING PROCESSES WITHIN OTHER GLOBAL FORA

Generally, survey respondents were positive about the processes and structures experimented with at NETmundial and felt that they contributed to multistakeholder participation at the meeting. But despite this positive experience, there are key learnings that could be applied to other global internet governance fora for multistakeholder decisionmaking and document-drafting processes. Drawing on the research, we offer the following key learnings:

Clarity around processes and structures is

critical. There was a lack of clarity on the processes and structures, in particular the drafting process and role of the EMC and HLMC. Flexibility in the procedures is crucial to the achievement of results within a limited time-frame, but it should not come at the expense of the integrity and legitimacy of the process. When rules are unclear, it is often the powerful players that are able to exploit ambiguity and benefit most.

Transparency increases trust. While NETmundial was lauded by some participants as increasing transparency, for example by making all contributions available online and opening up drafting sessions to observers, the process was also criticised for lacking in transparency at some key points, such as the drafting process and the selection of representatives from stakeholder groups. Transparency is critical for building trust in the process, even if not all

Inclusivity requires proactivity and creativity.

stakeholders agree with the outcome.

While there were very few limitations to participation in NETmundial, the same challenges of imbalanced on-site participation that typically plague global conferences were experienced at NETmundial. These challenges were mitigated by the innovative use of remote participation hubs. However, additional tools could be experimented with to facilitate the participation of remote participants, for example, in drafting sessions. In addition, transparent funding arrangements should be utilised to allow the participation of lessresourced and underrepresented groups and to attract specific expertise.

Multistakeholder representation needs further

development. Multistakeholder committees are an important tool to strengthen the bottomup nature of distributed governance processes, but improvements are needed in order for these structures to facilitate the channelling of input into internet governance processes. For example, steps should be taken to ensure that stakeholders can choose their representatives in a transparent and public manner. In addition, there is a need for more clarity and experimentation on how committee members expected to represent their stakeholder groups, bring inputs from their stakeholders, etc.

With regard to multistakeholder document drafting, we offer the following recommendations informed by the research:

- Guidelines for decision making and drafting, including the composition of the drafting teams, should be developed with input from all stakeholder groups and be clearly announced ahead of the meeting.
- Drafting teams should be composed of both stakeholder representatives who are able to channel input from their constituencies, as well as individuals with relevant expertise who can weigh in on specialised issues, such as technical issues, legal language, rights frameworks, among others. Stakeholder

representatives should be balanced according to stakeholder group, region, and gender, and efforts should be made to ensure the inclusion of underrepresented groups and individuals. Experts should be selected based on the expertise required, with consideration for diversity according to the factors mentioned above.

- A draft outcome document should be tabled for consultation prior to the meeting, and the amount of time for commenting through the use of online tools and at the meeting itself should be maximised.
- A combination of approaches for inputs to the drafting should be considered: online inputs, face-to-face, and open mic. Participants

should be permitted to observe drafting sessions to increase transparency. They should be allowed to make interventions at specified times during the drafting sessions. All stakeholders should be allotted the same amount of speaking time.

- On-site participation can be enriched and complemented by online consultations and remote participation mechanisms.
- Translation should be utilised when possible to facilitate more inclusive participation and input in drafting sessions.
- Time should be allotted for consultation on the final outcome, as it can be difficult for some stakeholder groups to react and agree to the document on the spot.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE INTERNET GOVERNANCE FORUM

NETmundial affirmed that internet governance processes should be open, participative, transparent, accountable, inclusive, equitable, collaborative, distributive, and conducive to meaningful participation from all stakeholders both with the principles section of the outcome document and with the processes that it employed.⁴⁶

The roadmap section of the outcome document affirmed that all of the organisations with responsibilities in the internet governance ecosystem should develop and implement principles for transparency, accountability and inclusiveness. It expressed the desirability of a strengthened IGF, reinforced that important recommendations to that end were made by the UN Commission on Science and Technology for Development working group on IGF improvements,⁴⁷ and suggested that they be implemented by the end of 2015. Specifically, the NETmundial roadmap made recommendations for the IGF:

- Improved outcomes: Improvements can be implemented including creative ways of providing outcomes/recommendations and the analysis of policy options.
- Extending the IGF mandate beyond five-year terms.⁴⁸
- Ensuring guaranteed, stable and predictable funding for the IGF, including through a broadened donor base, is essential.

• The IGF should adopt mechanisms to promote worldwide discussions between meetings through intersessional dialogues.

The outcome document also noted that a strengthened IGF could better serve as a platform for discussing both longstanding and emerging issues with a view to contributing to the identification of possible ways to address them.

Finally, the NETmundial roadmap recommended that there should be adequate communication and coordination among existing forums, task forces and organisations of the internet governance ecosystem. Periodic reports, formal liaisons and timely feedbacks are examples of mechanisms that could be implemented to that end. It also recommended analysing the option of creating internet governance coordination tools to perform ongoing monitoring, analysis, and information-sharing functions.

In the two and a half years since NETmundial, there have already been some steps taken to implement these recommendations. Most concretely, the IGF's mandate was extended for another 10 years at the conclusion of the World Summit on the Information Society's 10-year review (WSIS+10) in December 2015. In addition, the IGF has made significant strides in adopting mechanisms to carry out intersessional work, through its Best Practice Forums, which even utilised the same online commenting platform used in the lead-up to the NETmundial process.⁴⁹

Progress has also been made in using creative ways to provide analysis of policy options and recommendations into other policy spaces. Ahead of the 2015 IGF in João Pessoa, intersessional work facilitated by the online commenting platform used at NETmundial was utilised to create a document on "Policy Options

⁴⁶ NETmundial Multistakeholder Statement. netmundial.br/ wp-content/uploads/2014/04/NETmundial-Multistakeholder-Document.pdf

⁴⁷ United Nations Commission on Science and Technology for Development. (2012). Report of the Working Group on Improvements to the Internet Governance Forum. unctad. org/meetings/en/SessionalDocuments/a67d65_en.pdf

⁴⁸ The first time that the IGF's mandate was renewed in 2010 it was for a five-year term.

⁴⁹ Internet Governance Forum Best Practice Forums. www. intgovforum.org/cms/best-practice-forums

for Connecting the Next Billion". This document has been forwarded to related processes such as the UN General Assembly's (UNGA) Second Committee, the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) Council, and UNESCO. The output from the Best Practice Forum on Online Abuse and Gender-Based Violence Against Women was referenced in a report of the UN Broadband Commission for Digital Development Working Group on Broadband and Gender on "Cyber Violence Against Women and Girls".⁵⁰ In addition a main session at the 2015 IGF focused on WSIS+10 emulated the NETmundial working sessions, with stakeholders lining up behind their respective mics. This process facilitated input from the IGF community into the consultations being held by the co-facilitators of the WSIS+10 overall review at UNGA.

Still, more work is needed to strengthen the IGF.⁵¹ Focusing specifically on learning from and building on the processes and methodology employed at NETmundial (rather than the broader question of IGF improvements), we recommend the following:

Multistakeholder organising committees. As

noted in the previous section, multistakeholder committees can be an important tool to strengthen the bottom-up nature of distributed governance processes, and steps should be taken to ensure that stakeholders can choose their representatives in a transparent and public manner. Since its inception the IGF has had a multistakeholder organising committee called the Multistakeholder Advisory Group (MAG). Some specific recommendations to increase transparency around MAG and strengthen its relationship to various stakeholder communities include:

- Increase transparency by publishing a full list of MAG nominees, including the nominating party. Publishing the process for selection criteria and nomination by stakeholder groups should also be encouraged.
- Put more effort into the orientation and integration of new MAG members.
- Develop terms of reference and criteria for the selection of a MAG chairperson and make use of a nomination committee (nomcom) process in which all stakeholders participate to develop a slate of names for the UN Secretary General's consideration.
- Names of potential chairpersons should be made public, as should the criteria used for selection. MAG members and the broader IGF community should have the opportunity to weigh in on the candidate through the nomcom process.
- The position of MAG chairperson should rotate among stakeholder groups and regional groupings.

Some global IGFs have also had multistakeholder organising committees at the national level, such as the 2013 IGF in Bali, which had the multistakeholder Indonesian Organising Committee, and the 2007 and 2015 IGFs in BrazII, which were organised partly by CGI.br. Future global IGFs should form national multistakeholder organising committees to promote bottom-up processes and reinforce links with various stakeholder groups.

On-site participation. Similar to NETmundial, there are very few barriers to participation in the IGF. Essentially anyone who has an interest may register. Also like NETmundial there is an imbalance in stakeholder participation, with participants from Western Europe and North America outnumbering participants from other regions, other than the host country. As noted in the previous section, transparent

⁵⁰ UN Broadband Commission for Digital Development Working Group on Broadband and Gender. (2015). Cyber Violence Against Women and Girls. www2.unwomen. org/~/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/ publications/2015/cyber_violence_gender%20report. pdf?v=1&d=20150924T154259

⁵¹ For more detailed and extensive recommendations from APC on how to strengthen the IGF, see: Association for Progressive Communications. (2016). Contribution to the "Retreat on Advancing the 10-Year Mandate of the Internet Governance Forum" from APC. www.intgovforum.org/ cms/documents/igf-meeting/igf-2016/takingstock/779-apcinputtoigfretreat-july2016/file

funding arrangements should be utilised to allow the participation of less-resourced and underrepresented groups, in particular from developing countries, and to attract specific expertise. In contrast with NETmundial, where there were twice as many government participants as other stakeholder groups, at the IGF governments typically rank as the second or third stakeholder group in terms of participation.⁵² In order to address this challenge, we recommend:

- Investing effort around many actors, including developing country governments, such as by having the secretariat and the MAG initiate discussions with these governments very early on in the preparatory process for the annual IGF.
- Stakeholders from developing countries should be encouraged to be facilitators of sessions and funds should be secured to support their participation.

Remote participation. The use of remote participation (video and transcript streaming) and in particular remote hubs at NETmundial, which allowed for remote video interventions in working sessions, was well regarded. The IGF has made strides in this area, but at times remote participation has been uneven. We recommend that the IGF continue to invest in this area, including through providing official translations and video capabilities for remote hubs. In addition, all session facilitators should scan the Twitter feed, incorporating questions and comments, as a means of widening opportunity for remote participation.

Microphones for stakeholder groups. The set-up of microphones for different stakeholder groups and a visible timer to allocate equal time for each speaker was an innovative feature of NETmundial. As noted earlier, this has already been utilised

at one main session in the 2015 IGF. This format could be useful for IGF main sessions to avoid an imbalance of speaking time among stakeholders. It will not be suitable for all main sessions, as different formats (like roundtables) may be more appropriate for some topics, but for open mic sessions this model is recommended.

Collaborative drafting. While the IGF does not aim to produce an outcome document like NETmundial, it is increasingly becoming outcome-oriented, with resources developed through the IGF and its intersessional work feeding into other processes. Some recommendations for outcomes coming from the IGF and its intersessional work informed by the NETmundial experience include:

- Engagement of diverse stakeholders (particularly from developing countries) in intersessional work should be encouraged by providing clear information on mechanisms to get involved.
- Guidelines for developing an outcome, such as through a Best Practice Forum, should be developed with input from all interested stakeholders and clearly announced.
- Efforts should be made to solicit input from a wide range of actors, including individuals with relevant expertise who can weigh in on specialised issues (such as technical issues, legal language, and rights frameworks) as well as diversity in views, stakeholder group, region, and gender. Efforts should be made to ensure the inclusion of underrepresented groups and individuals.
- A combination of approaches for inputs to developing outcomes should be considered – online inputs through collaborative tools and platforms, and face-to-face.

Peaceful protests. Peaceful protests have been a feature of both NETmundial and several IGFs. The IGF should follow the NETmundial practice of permitting peaceful protests that do not disrupt the session.

⁵² See attendance statistics from recent IGFs: 2015 João Pessoa www.intgovforum.org/cms/igf-2015-attendance-statistics; 2014 Istanbul www.intgovforum.org/cms/igf-2014/ attendance-statistics; 2013 Bali https://ccdcoe.org/sites/ default/files/documents/IGF-131025-Bali2013.pdf; 2012 Baku www.intgovforum.org/cms/component/content/ article/114-preparatory-process/1280-igf-2012-baku-attendance-statistics

CONCLUSION

NETmundial demonstrated a remarkable thing: that governments and non-governmental actors in the internet governance space can indeed produce an outcome document together, using innovative and collaborative methods in a rather short period of time. Even if the outcome document was seen as less monumental than the process employed to achieve it, the NETmundial principles and roadmap touched on some of the most important issues of the day, and were shaped by those who contributed to the process. In the two and a half years that have passed since NETmundial, the NETmundial outcome documents have been cited in a number of UN texts, but there has been a lack of attention to the adherence to the principles and implementation of the roadmap at all levels. Much more can be done to utilise these instruments, including by critically reviewing the extent to which they have been implemented, to investigate whether they are still up to date, and to brainstorm on the way forward. The IGF is certainly a space where such discussions can happen, and the possibility of convening a NETmundial+5 event could also be considered as a way to reflect and build on what was achieved at NETmundial.



PRE-NETMUNDIAL PUBLICATIONS

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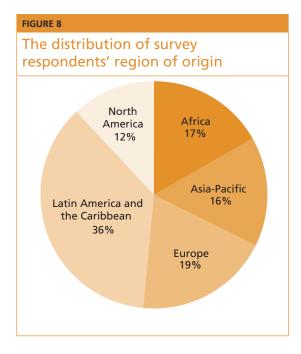
ANNEX 2 – SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS OF SURVEY RESULTS

GENERAL

The survey was sent to all registered participants in NETmundial through the official website. In total 210 responses were received. However, after cleaning the dataset for incomplete responses and people who did not participate in NETmundial, a working dataset of 167 remained. This represents approximately 27.24% of the total number of participants in NETmundial.

While the number of responses is lower than the research team would have liked, because the team canvassed people who participated (in one way or another) in the NETmundial process, it was very clear that the sampling frame and sample source produced responses from those who have insightful perspectives and views in relation to the NETmundial process.

Respondents ranged in the level of their involvement in NETmundial: five were members of the High-Level Multistakeholder Committee

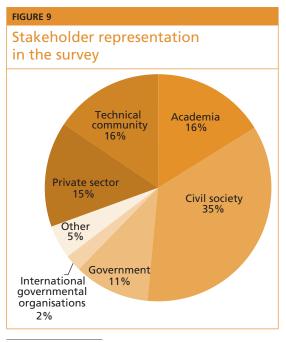


(HLMC); four were members of the Executive Multistakeholder Committee (EMC); 13 were members of the on-site NETmundial drafting groups that incorporated the changes based on suggestions made by NETmundial participants, and 45 observed the drafting sessions. The remainder of participants were contributors and participants to NETmundial either online or on site.

ORGANISATIONAL MODEL AND STRUCTURE: COMMITTEES AND CHAIRS

The first series of questions⁵³ concerned the roles and performance of the two main committees of NETmundial, as regarding the cochairs of the meeting.

The HLMC was responsible for conducting the political articulation and fostering the involvement of the international community, while the EMC was responsible for organising



53 Note: Survey questions are contained at the end of Annex 2.

the event, including the agenda discussion and execution, and for the treatment of the proposals from participants and different stakeholders.

Questions in this section concerned whether the stakeholder representatives on the committees kept their constituencies informed; the role of the committees; the performance of stakeholder representatives; and the role of the committees as a whole. The survey also addressed whether the creation of the committees made the preparatory process more transparent; increased the impact of stakeholders in the preparatory process; and reinforced multistakeholder participation in NETmundial.

For the four co-chairs of NETmundial, who came from each of the stakeholder groups, similar questions were asked regarding their role and performance representing their respective stakeholder groups.

Some key findings are below:

Overall, respondents responded positively about the role of the committees, with a combined 88% of respondents indicating that they "definitely" or "somewhat" reinforced multistakeholder participation in NETmundial. But the role of the committees was not very clear to respondents, and generally speaking they viewed the committees more positively during the preparatory process than during the meeting itself.

Just around 50% of respondents thought their stakeholder representatives kept them informed about issues in the preparations for NETmundial and during the meeting itself, including drafting sessions. Respondents were consistently more positive in their views about the performance of the committees overall than of their stakeholder representatives in the committees. Most respondents did not take part in selecting their representatives, which could indicate that the process for selection was weak and might have caused disconnection between participants and the committee members representing their stakeholder groups.

While the general view of the committees was positive, there was a considerable lack of clarity around the roles, especially during the meeting itself. For the HLC, 53% of respondents said its role was clear during NETmundial, as opposed to 62% clarity on its *overall* role. Similarly for the EMC, 59% of respondents indicated that its role during the meeting was clear, down from 65% who said its *overall* role was clear.

Some of the most interesting findings were with regard to the impact of the committees on the preparatory process. Only 37% thought the committees "definitely" made the preparatory process more transparent, while 50% answered "somewhat" to the same question. Similarly, 42% said that the committees "definitely" increased the impact of stakeholders, with 47% answering "somewhat" to the same question. The technical community and governments responded most positively to this question.

On the other hand a strong majority of respondents – 88% – indicated that the committees reinforced multistakeholder participation at NETmundial (52% of respondents answered "definitely"; 36% answered "somewhat"; and only 8% answered "not at all"). Taken together, these figures indicate that respondents are largely willing to say that NETmundial increased multistakeholder participation, but were not as satisfied with transparency and the impact of stakeholders. This can be understood as implying that multistakeholder participation is a useful but imperfect means to achieve transparency and impact of stakeholders.

Regarding the co-chairs, the majority of respondents indicated that their role was not clear, and responses were mixed regarding the question of how well the different co-chairs represented their stakeholder groups.

DRAFTING PROCESS

Responses to survey questions concerning the drafting process for the outcome document revealed strong support for some of the innovative methods introduced at NETmundial – soliciting inputs ahead of the meeting, online comment platform, and open mic sessions – but also lack of clarity around procedures, especially the on-site drafting groups. Respondents consistently indicated that time constraints were a challenge.

Almost half of the respondents (47%) did not know who was responsible for drafting the initial draft of the outcome document, and 64% said that drafting teams should have been selected before NETmundial. The lack of clarity about who was responsible for drafting reinforces the missing link on representation. A sizable grouping (63%) indicated that drafting groups should have been assisted by experts on topics under discussion.

The process that led to the initial draft of the outcome document was well accepted, as it was produced based on public inputs. The overwhelming majority, 89%, thought the initial draft was helpful and 90% would like to see the process of written inputs before the event reproduced in future meetings. A large proportion, 87%, said soliciting comments on the initial draft should be repeated, but more time was needed to make comments. For example, three or four days would have been better. Similarly, a majority of respondents (69%) said there had not been enough time for on-site inputs/submissions.

The steps followed to produce the outcome document were supported by participants, but weaknesses were identified regarding the drafting committees, including a shortage of time and lack of clarity on processes, which raised concerns in their eyes. For example, one respondent noted: "It was great that the sessions were open, this was a huge step. But there was too little time and the support from non-members of the drafting committee was uncoordinated and provided for an unbalanced power dynamic."

Although more people (42%) thought the drafting process was transparent than those (35%) who did not, comments revealed some shortcomings in the process. For example, respondents pointed out that observers were technically only supposed to observe, but some observers were making inputs, such as written inputs and interventions, as well as lobbying. One response pointed out: "In reality, they ended up being more open to certain groups than others." In the case of remote participants, there was no access to the drafting groups at all. Additionally, only 27% of respondents thought there was equal representation of different stakeholders in the on-site drafting committees. A number of comments alluded to some stakeholders being more powerful and influential than others, and the private sector/business was the only sector mentioned specifically in this context.

In terms of the process for adopting the outcome document, rough consensus was accepted by the majority of respondents (55%). However, 58% would have liked to have had a second public comment period on the outcome document.

THE OUTCOME DOCUMENT

A large majority of respondents said the NETmundial outcome document would be important or very important for future internet governance discussions, but at the same time all stakeholders agreed that the multistakeholder processes employed at NETmundial were more important than the outcome document.

Regarding the outcome document itself, responses were split between "well" and "neither well nor poorly" regarding how well it represented the opinions of different stakeholder groups, with slightly more support for the former. While these results indicate that the NETmundial outcome is generally accepted by respondents, the fact that 17% of respondents indicated that the outcome "poorly" represented the opinions of different stakeholder groups cannot be discounted.

Responses indicated that civil society's interest was least well represented in the outcome document, while government's interest was most well represented. Similarly, in response to the question of which stakeholder group should have more or less influence, responses revealed that civil society should have been more influential, and the private sector less influential. Remarkably, all stakeholders thought the voice of civil society should have been more powerful.

CONCLUSION

- The most significant outcome of NETmundial was the processes it adopted.
- Generally, respondents were positive about the processes and structures experimented with at NETmundial and felt that they contributed to multistakeholder participation at the meeting.
- There was a lack of clarity on the processes and structures, in particular the drafting committees and procedures. This is the area in which there was the most confusion and room for improvement.
- Lack of time contributed to shortcomings in the process.
- The outcome of NETmundial did not equally represent the interest and voice of all stakeholders. Improvements in the process could lead to more equitable outcomes.

ONLINE SURVEY QUESTIONS

1. Starting questions:

 Did you participate in NETmundial: a) onsite (Hyatt); b) In the Arena NETmundial;
 c) individual remote participation; d) participation in remote hubs; e) I did not participate in NETmundial.

- 2. Please indicate how you participated in the NETmundial (mark all that apply): a) member of the High-Level Committee (HLC); b) member of the Executive Multistakeholder Committee (EMC); c) Member of the on-site NETmundial drafting groups that incorporated changes based on suggestions made by NETmundial participants; d) Observer of drafting sessions; e) Contributor to NETmundial inputs in the online platform; f) Followed the work of the drafting groups as an observer; g) Other
- 3.Region of origin: a) Africa; b) Asia-Pacific; c)
 Europe; d) Latin America and the Caribbean;
 e) North America.
- 4. Which stakeholder group did you register as at NETmundial: a) Government; b) Civil society; c) Private sector; d) Technical Community; e) Academia; f) International Governmental Organization; g) Other.

You do not have to answer any of the following questions: 1E, 1F, 1G

- 5. Gender: a) male; b) female; c) other.
- 6. Age: _____ (in years)
- 7. Area of professional expertise: a) management/governance, b) legal, c) natural sciences/life sciences/biomedical, d) social sciences/humanities, e) IT, f) engineering, g) arts/design, h) other.

2. NETmundial committees:

NETmundial had two multistakeholder committees. The High Level Committee (HLC) was responsible for conducting the political articulation and fostering the involvement of the international community, while the Executive Multistakeholder Committee (EMC) was responsible for organising the event, including the agenda discussion and execution, and for the treatment of the proposals from participants and different stakeholders.

2.1 Concerning the HLC:

- a. Did you take part in the process of choosing your stakeholder group representatives to the HLC? Yes or No.
- b.Did your stakeholder group representatives in the HLC keep your constituencies informed about issues related to NETmundial preparations? Yes or No.
- c. Was the role of the HLC group clear to you? Yes or No.
- d. Do you have clarity about what role the HLC played during the two days of NETmundial meeting? Yes or No.
- e. How well do you think the representatives of your stakeholder group in the HLC played their expected role? a) very bad; b) bad; c) neither bad or good; d) good; e) very good.
- f. How well do you think the HLC as a whole played their role? a) very bad; b) bad; c) neither bad or good; d) good; e) very good.

2.2 Concerning the EMC:

- a.Did you take part on the process of choosing your stakeholder group representatives to the EMC? Yes or No.
- b.Did your stakeholder group representatives in the EMC keep your constituencies informed about issues related to NETmundial preparations? Yes or No.
- c. Was the role of the EMC group clear to you? Yes or No.
- d.Do you have clarity about what role the EMC played during the two days of NETmundial meeting? Yes or No.
- e.How well do you think the representatives of your stakeholder group in the EMC played their role? a) very bad; b) bad; c) neither bad or good; d) good; e) very good.
- f.How well do you think the EMC as a whole played their role? a) very bad; b) bad; c) neither bad or good; d) good; e) very good.

2.3 General overview of the work of the committees:

- a.Do you believe that the creation of the committees: a) made the preparatory process more transparent; b) increased the impact of stakeholders in the preparatory process; c) reinforced multistakeholder participation in NETmundial? [choose all that apply; if nothing is selected, we count that as "none of the above"].
- b.Do you believe all stakeholder groups were equally represented in the committees? Yes or No.

2.4 Co-chairs: NETmundial had one meeting chair assisted by 4 co-chairs, one per stakeholder-group (private sector, civil society, academia and the technical community). Concerning the co-chairs of the meeting:

- a. Did you have clarity about the role of the cochairs? Yes or No.
- b. How well do you think the co-chair who represented your stakeholder group played his/her role? a) very bad; b) bad; c) neither bad or good; d) good; e) very good.

3. Drafting, submissions and length of procedures:

- a. Was it clear to you who were responsible for drafting the initial outcome document of NETmundial? a) No; b) Yes, the HLC; c) Yes, the EMC; d) Yes, the chair and co-chairs of the meeting; e) Yes, someone else.
- b. Do you think it was useful to have an initial draft of the outcome document before NETmundial? Yes or No.

You may elaborate on your answer if you wish (open-ended question):

c. Should the process of requesting written inputs up ahead of the event be reproduced in future encounters? Yes or No.

You may elaborate on your answer if you wish (open-ended question):

d. Do you think the process of soliciting comments on an initial draft should be repeated in future endeavours? Yes or No.

You may elaborate on your answer if you wish (open-ended question):

- e. The initial draft of the outcome document of NETmundial was placed under public consultation from April 14 to April 21. Do you think there was enough time to make comments to the draft document? Yes or No.
- f. Was the two-day NETmundial time length enough to provide room for all the discussions, to incorporate the submissions, and draft the outcome documents? Yes or No.

If No, how long should the event have taken? a) three days; b) four days; c) five days; d) a week.

- g. Do you think more time was needed on any of the following? a) provide written inputs (content contributions); b) integrate the online inputs and submissions; c) integrate the on-site inputs and submissions; d) none of the above.
- h. During the working sessions, which method do you deem would have been appropriate for the participants to provide their inputs:
 a) open microphone; b) face-to-face; c)
 electronic format; d) sectorial representation;
 e) other:
- i. Do you think that drafting teams should have been pre-selected prior to NETmundial? Yes or No.
- j. Do you think that the on-site drafting process was sufficiently transparent? Yes or No.
- k. Do you think that drafting sessions were open to any interested party? Yes or No.
- I. Do you think that the drafting group should have been divided by topics covered in the outcome document? Yes or No.
- m. Do you think that the drafting groups should have been assisted by experts on the topics covered in the outcome document? Yes or No.

- n. How well do you think the interests of the different stakeholders were represented in the final outcome documents? a) very bad; b) bad;
 c) neither bad or good; d) good; e) very good.
- o. Do you think that there was equal representation from different stakeholder groups on the on-site drafting committees? Yes or No.

4. Procedures for adoption of final outcome documents:

a. Do you agree that the methodology of rough consensus should have been employed for the adoption of NETmundial outcome document? Yes/No/I don't know.

If No, which process of adoption do you think should had been employed? a) full consensus; b) majority; c) other: _____; d) I don't know.

b. Please consider the following questions about the distribution of voting power in respect to the multistakeholder production process of the NETmundial final output document:

1. How influential should the vote of governments have been: a) less influential than it was; b) as influential as it was; c) more influential than it was.

i. How influential should the vote of the civil society have been: a) less influential than it was; b) as influential as it was; c) more influential than it was.

ii. How influential should the vote of the academia have been: a) less influential than it was; b) as influential as it was; c) more influential than it was.

iii. How influential should the vote of the technical sector have been: a) less influential than it was; b) as influential as it was; c) more influential than it was.

iv. How influential should the vote of intergovernmental organisations have been:a) less influential than it was; b) as influential as it was; c) more influential than it was. v. How influential should the private sector have been a) less influential than it was; b) as influential as it was; c) more influential than it was.

5. Final outcome document:

- a. Should a second public comment on the outcome document have been allowed before its approval? Yes or No.
- b. What importance of the NETmundial outcome document would you attribute for future

IG discussions? a) completely unimportant; b) unimportant; c) neither important nor unimportant; d) important; e) very important.

c. In respect to the future developments of Internet Governance, what is the more important contribution of the NETmundial process: a) the outcome document itself;
b) the multistakeholder production process of the document; c) both are of equal importance; d) neither of them has any importance.

ANNEX 3 – SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS

To complement the online survey sent to all registered participants in NETmundial, the research partners conducted face-toface interviews with specific key actors who participated in the NETmundial process either through online or onsite contributions. The interviewees were selected because they were highly active in NETmundial, through contributions to the outcome document and interventions in working and closing sessions. The four interviewees in particular were vocal in their support and opposition to the outcome document, which the research team was interested to understand in more detail. The research team intended to interview more participants, but faced time constraints.

Taking advantage of the opportunity that experts from various stakeholder groups attended the IGF 2014 in Turkey, interviews were conducted there and used to supplement the research analysis by gathering more in-depth impressions on both procedural and substantive issues in relation to the NETmundial process.

Four experts shared their views based on the following questions:

- NETmundial was convened in a moment of declining trust among actors. Do you think that NETmundial contributed to the process of rebuilding trust among actors? If so, how? If not, why not?
- What is the most important contribution of NETmundial with respect to the future of internet governance?
- Would you evaluate NETmundial as positive or negative? What do you think should be the next steps to the process initiated by NETmundial going forward: a) in terms of operationalising NETmundial principles and b) implementing the roadmap session and improving the internet governance ecosystem?

- Which issues did you feel were not addressed or did not achieve enough consensus during the meeting? Do you think these issues need to be dealt with using the multistakeholder model? If no, why not? Where do you think these issues should be discussed?
- What is your view on the participation of governments in NETmundial?

The experts interviewed included:

Interviewee 1: a member of a large civil society coalition from the global South.

Interviewee 2: a secure communications and privacy expert from the global North.

Interviewee 3: a digital rights advocate from the global North.

Interviewee 4: an internet governance expert working in this capacity in a national government also from the global North.

CONTRIBUTION OF NETMUNDIAL PROCESS TO REBUILD TRUST AMONG ACTORS

Given the rise in public awareness and outrage regarding communication surveillance in the digital context, it was expected that the NETmundial outcome would firmly condemn disproportionate and illegitimate practices that impact on the right to privacy on the internet.

Interviewee 1 expressed concern about the divergence between Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff's 2013 speech at the UN General Assembly on privacy and surveillance, which led to the NETmundial process, and the outcomes of NETmundial itself. He said that he believes that the issues that triggered the NETmundial meeting remain almost fully unaddressed. Therefore, he would not agree trust has increased as a result of the NETmundial process, particularly in relation to trust in the US government and the US corporations. Interviewee 1 raised an interesting point regarding the UN resolution on privacy in the digital age passed a few months before NETmundial. He argued that the UNGA resolution serves as an instrument developed by states that aims to regulate the power of the states and addresses surveillance and privacy in a more substantive manner than the "so-called multistakeholder document" developed through the NETmundial process.

Interviewee 2 concurred with the view that the NETmundial process did not contribute to restoring trust among the various actors. On the contrary, he said that he believes that instead of creating a trustworthy environment, the NETmundial process consolidated inequality among stakeholders. Special interests of governments and corporations influenced the drafting process and the outcome, in his view, with governments having front row seats. He also mentioned the fact that participants could not pass the security checks and circulate in the meeting venue without photo ID, suggesting that people were not trusted unless they had friends in government and political sway. Interviewee 2 highlighted that the NETmundial process forged stronger relationships between civil society and some businesses.

THE MOST IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION OF NETMUNDIAL WITH RESPECT TO THE FUTURE OF INTERNET GOVERNANCE

The endorsement of a multistakeholder framework for developing internet policy is one of the most important contributions and outcomes of the NETmundial process, in the view of Interviewee 4. Referring to discussions being held at the global IGF 2014, he felt that NETmundial had endorsed and energised this forum.

THE POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF NETMUNDIAL

Interviewees provided examples of both positive and negative aspects of NETmundial. Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 3 saw the reinforcing of basic human rights at the core of internet governance policies and arrangements as a positive aspect. They concurred that it is very positive to have human rights mainstreamed in an internet governance document, especially since it proved wrong some of the naysayers among civil society, who believed that this was not possible. The role of the Brazilian and the German governments in this regard was underscored. However, Interviewee 3 noted that Brazil's position at NETmundial does not diminish the need for it to look at its own government policies, which reinstated the military secret service that had been abolished after the dictatorship, in order to monitor social movements.

Collaboration among civil society on site, including with local Brazilians, was also recognised by Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 3 as a positive aspect of NETmundial. Interviewee 2 gave the example of the banner during President Rousseff's speech, which read "We are all victims of mass surveillance, we stand with you", demonstrating alliances across artificial boundaries and the possibility to work positively together. Interviewee 3 pointed out additional positive developments regarding collaboration among civil society at NETmundial, such as the joint statement developed by more than 100 civil society organisations for the meeting. He also believes civil society understands better the dynamic and the way to work with the government than the private sector does, particularly around the fact that governments had to line up with civil society to make interventions during the meeting. However, it was mentioned that standing in line was arduous and that calling people may be better for future meetings.

Multiple interviewees considered remote participation as a positive aspect of NETmundial. According to Interviewee 4, the NETmundial process proved to be the first one of its kind bringing together stakeholders not just at the event, but through remote hubs. Both Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 3 spoke positively of the remote participation. Interviewee 2 suggested there should be free software and free open protocols to allow everyone to participate remotely, and give remote participants priority over people that travelled there. Interviewee 3 commented that remote participation cannot replace physical participation.

Considering NETmundial as a whole, Interviewee 1's responses were mixed. He noted that even though it is too soon to tell if NETmundial as a process was good and what its impact will be, he supports NETmundial as a standalone event. But he expressed concerns about the next steps being taken. For example, he views the announcement of the NETmundial Initiative at the World Economic Forum as taking the process in the wrong direction. He stated that despite high hopes, NETmundial was slowly captured by ICANN and US-backed interests.

Interviewees had a number of criticisms regarding participation in NETmundial. Interviewee 1 noted that overall, participation of governments from developing countries was not too good. Interviewee 2 criticised the disproportionate number of upper-middleclass white participants and the limitations to participation of Brazilians due to security reasons. The latter could have harnessed the power of the local civil society in Brazil, he said. Interviewee 3 also thinks elitism has to be eliminated and that it is important to bring diversity and allow new faces to grow in expertise, knowledge and experience, otherwise this problem will never change.

Criticisms of methodologies used at NETmundial were among the negative aspects that interviewees identified. For example, Interviewee 2 mentioned that the arbitrary changes to time limits for oral interventions penalised civil society in particular, which did not have the resources to be as succinct as government and business. He also suggested that drafting sessions should have been done in real-time online and criticised the fact that the rule of people not speaking during drafting sessions was unequally applied.

ISSUES THAT WERE NOT ADDRESSED ADEQUATELY

While there were specific content-related concerns raised by civil society with regard to net neutrality and intellectual property, Interviewee 1 believes that his colleagues in civil society do not see the risks in bringing consensus-based decision making to actual policy processes.

OTHER COMMENTS

The basis for Interviewee 1's critique of the NETmundial process comes from a concern that multistakeholder consensus-based processes should not supplant democratic policy-making processes. "Open processes where powerful players can come in and sway the results will never lead to real substantive outcomes," said Interviewee 1. While Interviewee 1 believes that NETmundial was a good process, he is very concerned about the possibility of it becoming "the global governance process" by which internet policy is made, instead of "a policy process" that, among others, contributes to shaping the internet governance ecosystem and its future policy-making processes.

Interviewee 2 and Interviewee 3 insist that there needs to be a balancing of power relationships in processes and structures, based on the notion that the internet is a public good that should be managed in the public interest. The internet is re-appropriating this as a space for freedom of expression, which is a commons, they contend.

LOOKING FORWARD

In particular, Interviewee 1 is concerned that consensus-based processes give powerful private actors veto power over important policy decisions. Using the example of a change in wording to include the word "creators" in the language on intellectual property in the NETmundial outcome document, Interviewee 1 asserts that this single word completely changes the nature of intellectual property paradigms. According to Interviewee 1, this change was made possible by the veto power of private actors.

According to Interviewee 2, an important question for the future is how multilateral

forums will take on the NETmundial principles. He also mentioned the need to fix some of the issues of NETmundial, making sure more actors from the global South are actively and meaningfully engaged.

Interviewee 2 thinks there is a need for utopian ideals and to build positive alternatives, as part of the responsibilities of the current generations toward the future ones. There should be economic, social and political resistance. The internet is the greatest invention for peace, ever, he said. We should be ready to make mistakes, and admit them, said Interviewee 3.