TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY NETWORKS IN THE INFORMATION SOCIETY

Partners or Pawns?

DERRICK L. COGBURN

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Information Technology and Global Governance

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Derrick L. Cogburn
School of International Service
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To Sharon, Roscoe, Courtney, Kimberly, Noemí, and Sean Manuel,
the rest of my Arcadia family, and Arroyo families,
and to those civil society advocates struggling to make a difference
around the world.

Preface

With the convening in Geneva of the first phase of the United Nations World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) in December 2003, the processes of global governance through international conferences was transformed, as was the role of transnational advocacy networks in the process. Historically, governments have dominated the official "conference diplomacy" surrounding these World Summits. However, reflecting the UN General Assembly resolution authorizing WSIS, transnational civil society and private sector organizations were invited to participate as official *partners* in a multistakeholder dialog at the summit alongside the more traditional participants—governments and international organizations. Civil society activists quickly mobilized to take advantage of this historic opportunity. Some of these networks are still active today.

It soon became clear, however, that the structure of participation in WSIS would carefully limit the participation of non-state actors, particularly global civil society, which faced several deficiencies relative to governments and private sector stakeholders. Civil society has a very large number of diverse participants, an extremely heterogeneous set of policy preferences, and few financial and transnational institutional resources on which to draw. In contrast, governments, including those of developing countries, have long established diplomatic infrastructure on which to draw. Private sector participants not only have more financial resources at their disposal, they also have substantial institutional resources, such as the International Chamber of Commerce, which they have used as a secretariat to organize Business Action to Support the Information Society (BASIS).

With these limitations, transnational civil society may have been destined to participate in WSIS more as *pawns* rather than as true *partners*.

As the analysis in this book shows, important lessons for transnational advocacy networks and broader multistakeholder global governance emerged out of the WSIS processes and its follow-on structures: the UN Global Alliance on ICT and Development (GAID) and the Internet Governance Forum (IGF). This book explores the participation of global civil society actors, struggling to make an impact on a dizzying plethora of substantive policy issues in the complex processes leading up to and following the two phases of WSIS. We undertake this analysis in order to better understand the limits and potential of multistakeholder global governance. In this book, we develop a conceptual framework for analyzing these multiple and complex processes, drawn from a voluminous literature on global governance and international cooperation, conference diplomacy, epistemic communities, and transnational advocacy networks. We trace these processes back to the founding of the United Nations and initial attempts to involve ordinary citizens into the work of this multilateral, state-centric body, up to the WSIS, and beyond. We benefit from the use of the voluminous amount of digital, text-based data now available to the social science analyst, along with computational text analysis approaches. Of course, we also benefit from decades of participant observation in nearly all the processes described in this book. In the end, we find mixed results. On the one hand, some of these global governance processes used transnational civil society participants as little more than pawns, claiming to have a much-vaunted *multistakeholder* process, almost as if it were a new religion. However, on the other hand, some of the transnational advocacy networks that emerged out of these processes have been extremely effective, and, although not without their own problems, have formed deep relationships with relevant epistemic communities, overcome their reticence to working with governments and the private sector, used information technology effectively, and developed rich, robust structures and processes of their own to enable them to have a lasting impact on global policy processes related to the information society.

Rock Hall, MD, USA — Derrick L. Cogburn
25 June 2016

Acknowledgments

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Also in Washington, D.C., I would like to thank the United States Congressional Research Service (CRS), especially the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division; Europe, Africa, and Middle East Section where I served as a research analyst and graduate fellow. Conducting research on telecommunications policy, information technology, and international affairs there helped to sharpen my analysis, as did my last semester of doctoral classes at Georgetown University.

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Based in part on my experiences serving on the official Howard University delegation to observe the historic elections in South Africa in 1994, I was able to return to South Africa for field research on both telecommunications restructuring in South Africa and civil society and global policy advocacy emanating from this critically important country. I would like to thank my colleagues at the University of the Western Cape, and in Pretoria at the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research in South Africa (CSIR). At CSIR, I am deeply thankful for, and indebted to, Ben Fouche, Rasigan Maharaj, Koffi Kouakou, and Naadia Davis, who all helped me to launch the Center for Information Society Development in Africa (CISDA) and to participate in so many of the activities described in this book. Also in South Africa, I would like to thank my colleagues at the University of the Witwatersrand, Graduate School of Public and Development Management (now Graduate School of Government), especially Luci Abrahams, Allison Gillwald, and Charlie Lewis. In the South African government, I would like to thank Andile Ncaba and His Excellency Jay Naidoo for their leadership in and my access to the telecommunications restructuring processes there, as well as the G8/Developing World Information Society and Development (ISAD) Conference. And in the South African civil society, I thank Peter Benjamin and Anriette Esterhysen, and Koos Bekker in the South African private sector.

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At American University, my current academic home, I would like to thank my friends and colleagues in the School of International Service, Nanette Levinson, for her longstanding collaboration and support, Dean

Emeritus Louis Goodman, Amitav Acharya, and Dean Jim Goldgeier; and in the School of Communication, Laura DeNardis (with whom I am co-directing our new Internet Governance Lab IGL, along with Nanette Levinson) and Filippo Trevisan. In addition to our continuing work with COTELCO, I would like to thank all of my colleagues involved with helping me to launch and manage the Institute on Disability and Public Policy (IDPP), especially Maya Aguilar, along with Clyde White, Jennifer Ellis, Marilyn Arnone, Robert Guerra, and our senior research associate Erin Spaniol. In particular, I would like to thank Asvatha Babu, a new research associate, who has contributed substantially to this manuscript, through literature searches, background research, and editorial assistance. Thank you Ash!

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Over the course of my career, I have been blessed with tremendous external support for my research program, and I would like to thank The Nippon Foundation, W.K. Kellogg Foundation, Ford Foundation, Markle Foundation, the NSF, United States Department of Education, J.P. Morgan Chase, Microsoft Corporation and Microsoft Research, Cisco Systems, and Hewlett Packard for the generous support of my research over the years.

Finally, and I think we all know, the last shall be first. I would like to thank my family. Without the deep and sustained love and support of my immediate and extended family, my life would be incomplete and I could not have accomplished a fraction of what I describe in this book or that I have achieved in my life. I especially thank my late mother, Sharon M. Cogburn, my late father, Roscoe C. Cogburn, my "little" sister Courtney Dawn Cogburn and my "big" sister Kimberly Goffinet (and their loving families), my better half and beloved wife Noemí Enchautegui-de-Jesús, my progeny and pride and joy, Sean Manuel Cogburn-Enchautegui, my mother-in-law Carmen, my brothers-in-law Samuel and Manuel (and their loving families).

The insights in this book have been aided by many of you, with great thanks, but the mistakes are of course my own.

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List of Acronyms

3WCDRR	3rd World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction (Sendai, Japan)
A2K	Access to Knowledge
ABT	WTO Agreement on Basic Telecommunications
AISI	African Information Society Initiative
APC	Association for Progressive Communications
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARPA	Advanced Research Projects Agency
B2B	Business-to-Business Electronic Commerce
B2G	Business-to-Government Electronic Commerce
BAAP	Buenos Aires Action Plan of ITU
BASIS	Business Action to Support the Information Society
BDT	Telecommunications Development Bureau of the ITU
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa – Alliance
C&T	Content and Themes of the WSIS Civil Society
ccTLD	Country Code Top-Level Domain
CISDA	Center for Information Society Development in Africa
CONGO	Conference of NGOs in Consultative Relationship with the United Nations
COSP	Conference of States Parties to the UN CRPD
CRIS	Communication Rights in the Information Society
CRPD	United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
CSB	Civil Society Bureau – of WSIS

UNCSD	United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development
CSIR	South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
CSP	Civil Society Plenary—of WSIS
DACST	South African Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology
DARPA	Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency
DC	Dynamic Coalition—within IGF
DCCG	Dynamic Coalition Coordinating Group
DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
DIAUD	Disability Inclusion and Accessible Urban Development
DNS	Domain Name System
DoC	United States Department of Commerce
DOC	South African Department of Communications
DOT	Force Digital Opportunities Task Force of G8
DSPD	Division of Social Policy and Development
DTI	South African Department of Trade and Industry
EC	European Commission
ECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
ENUM	Electronic Number Mapping System
EU	European Union
G3ICT	Global Initiative for Inclusive Information and Communication Technologies
G7/8	Group of 7/8 Highly Industrialized Nations
GAC	Governmental Advisory Council of ICANN
GAID	Global Alliance for Information and Communication Technology for Development
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (precursor to WTO)
GBDe	Global Business Dialog on Electronic Commerce
GDDI	Global Digital Divide Initiative of WEF
GEC	Global Electronic Commerce
GEO	Geostationary Earth Orbiting satellite
GigaNet	Global Internet Governance Academic Network
GII	Global Information Infrastructure
GIIC	Global Information Infrastructure Commission
GIS	Global Information Society
GKP	Global Knowledge Partnership

GMPCS	Global Mobile Personal Communications by Satellite
GTLD	Global/Generic Top-Level Domain
HLPF	High-Level Political Forum of the SDGs
HLWG	High-Level Working Group on ICTs of ECA, developed AISI
IANA	Internet Assigned Numbers Authority
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
ICA	International Communication Association
ICANN	Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers
ICC	International Chamber of Commerce
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
ICG	IANA Stewardship Transition Coordination Group
ICT4D	Information and Communication Technologies for Development
IDN	Internationalized Domain Names
IDSC	Egyptian Information and Decision Support Center
IETF	Internet Engineering Task Force
IGC	Civil Society Internet Governance Caucus
IGF	Internet Governance Forum
IGP	Internet Governance Project of Syracuse University/ Georgia Tech
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IoT	Internet of Things
IP	Internet Protocol
IPR	Intellectual Property Rights
IPv4	Internet Protocol version 4
IPv6	Internet Protocol version 6
ISAD	Information Society and Development Conference
ISO	International Standardization Organization
ISOC	Internet Society
IST	Information Society Technologies Conferences of the EC
ITR	International Telecommunication Regime
ITU	International Telecommunication Union (United Nations specialized agency)
LEO	Low Earth Orbiting satellite
MAG	Multistakeholder Advisory Group of IGF
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals

MEO	Mid-Earth Orbiting satellite
MGoS	Major Groups and Other Stakeholders
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
MPCIC	Multi-Purpose Community Information Center
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NASA	United States National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NCUC	Non-Commercial Users Constituency
NGBT	Negotiating Group on Basic Telecommunication in WTO
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NIH	United States National Institutes of Health
NSA	United States National Security Agency
NSF	United States National Science Foundation
NTIA	United States National Telecommunications and Information Administration
NWICO	New World Information and Communication Order
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PIT	Public Information Terminals
POTS	Plain Old Telecommunications Service
PTO	Public Telecommunications Operator
PTT	Post, Telegraph and Telephone (government telecom operating agencies)
RIR	Regional Internet Registry
RITSEC	Egyptian Regional Information Technology Software Engineering Center
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAMOS	South African Multiple Option Settlement system
SARB	South African Reserve Bank
SARS	South African Revenue Service
SCRPD	Secretariat for the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals (2030 Sustainable Development Agenda)
SME	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises
SMMEs	Small, Medium and Micro-Sized Enterprises
TAN	Transnational Advocacy Network
TCP/IP	Transmission Control Protocol/Internet Protocol
TRIMS	Trade Related Investment Measures in WTO

TRIPS	Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property in WTO
UCLA	University of California Los Angeles
UNA	United Nations Association
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development – Earth Summit
UNCITRAL	United Nations Conference on International Trade Law
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNICTTF	United Nations Information and Communication Technologies Task Force
USF	Universal Service Fund
USG	United States Government
VOIP	Voice Over Internet Protocol
VSAT	Very Small Aperture Terminal Satellite
W3C	World Wide Web Consortium
WBG	World Bank Group
WCIT	World Conference on International Telecommunication of ITU
WEF	World Economic Forum
WFUNA	World Federation of United Nations Associations
WGIG	Working Group on Internet Governance
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
WITSA	World Information Technology Services Alliance
WSIS	United Nations World Summit on the Information Society
WTDC	World Telecommunications Development Conference
WTDC	World Telecommunications Development Conference of ITU
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWW	World Wide Web

Timeline of Key Information Society and GII Regime Transformation Events

1865	International Telecommunication Union (ITU) founded as International Telegraph Union
1876	Alexander Graham Bell credited with inventing the telephone (March)
1878	Circuit-switched telephone network developed
1945	United Nations (UN) created
1946	United Nations Associations (UNA) created
1948	Conference of NGOs (CoNGO) in Consultative Status with the UN created
1961	Leonard Kleinrock at MIT publishes the first paper on packet switching theory (July)
1962	JC.R. Licklider of MIT writes memos describing a "Galactic Network" (August)
1965	Lawrence Roberts and Thomas Merrill used a low-speed telephone line to create the first WAN
1966	Roberts left MIT to head computer science at ARPA, developed a plan for ARPANET
1968	BBN and Frank Heart won ARPA RFQ to develop packet switches called IMPs
1969	NMC at UCLA and Stanford Research institute become the first two nodes on ARPANET
1969	UC Santa Barbara and University of Utah become the second and third nodes on ARPANET
1970	US Congressman Al Gore promotes high-speed telecommunications as engine of growth

1971 ARPA changes its name to Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA)
1972 Electronic mail software introduced by Ray Tomlinson at BBN (Bolt Beranek and Newman)
1973 TCP/IP Development begins with Robert Kahn and Vinton Cerf
1974 Vint Cerf and Robert Kahn publish "A Protocol for Packet Network Interconnection"
1980 Defense Community adopts TCP/IP as a standard
1980 *Many Voices, One World*, MacBride Commission report published by UNESCO
1980 New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) gains momentum
1982 *The Missing Link*, Maitland Commission Report published by the ITU
1983 ARPANET transitioned from NCP to TCP/IP and MILNET splits off
1983 DNS System invented by Paul Mockapertris
1984 The USA leaves UNESCO (followed by the UK and Singapore)
1986 First meeting of the Internet Engineering Task Force (IETF)
1989 Tim Berners Lee invents the World Wide Web (WWW)
1991 First INET Conference held in Copenhagen and launch of the Internet Society (ISOC)
1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro Convened and Agenda 21 adopted
1994 Global Information Infrastructure (GII) speech by US Vice-President Al Gore to WTDC
1994 *Europe and the Global Information Society*, Bangemann report to the European Council
1995 World Trade Organization (WTO) created in Geneva (January)
1995 Global Information Infrastructure (GII) Principles launched by the USA (February)
1995 Global Information Infrastructure Commission (GIIC) launched by CSIS (February)
1995 Term "Digital Divide" Coined by Larry Irving in the NTIA *Falling Through the Net* report
1995 WTO Financial Services Agreement (July)
1995 WTO Agreement on Movement of Natural Persons (July)
1995 ITU World Telecom (October)

1996 African Information Society Initiative (AISI) adopted by all African countries at UNECA
1996 Information Society and Development (ISAD) Conference convened in South Africa (May)
1996 WTO, IMF, World Bank MOU on Global Electronic Commerce (November)
1997 WTO Agreement on Basic Telecommunications (February)
1997 WTO Agreement on IT Products (March)
1997 Global Knowledge for Development Conference (June)
1997 The USA issues unilateral challenge to the International System of Accounting Rates
1998 WTO E-Commerce Work Program (May)
1998 Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN) formed (September)
1998 OECD E-Commerce Ministerial Conference (October)
1999 WTO Seattle Ministerial Meeting
1999 Washington, DC Meeting of the IMF and World Bank on E-Commerce
2000 World Economic Forum (WEF) Meeting on E-Commerce in Davos, Switzerland
2000 Digital Opportunities Task Force (DOT Force) launched by the G8
2001 Global Digital Divide Initiative (GDDI) launched by the World Economic Forum
2001 UN ICT Task Force launched by UN DESA
2003 UN World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) Geneva held in Switzerland
2004 Working Group on Internet Governance (WGIG) launches report
2005 UN World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) Tunis held in Tunisia
2005 Global Alliance on ICT and Development (GAID) formed at the end of WSIS Tunis
2005 Internet Governance Forum (IGF) formed at the end of WSIS, Tunis
2006 UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) adopted
2010 GAID shuttered
2010 IGF renewed and given a new five-year mandate

2011 *World Disability Report*, published by World Bank/WHO indicated over 1 billion PWDs
2013 Snowden revelations begin; *The Guardian* newspaper reveals existence of classified NSA leaks
2013 President Dilma Rousseff accuses the USA of violating International Law in UNGA speech
2013 European Commission says the USA has "lost the trust" of the global community, urges action
2014 NetMundial convened in Sao Paulo, Brazil
2014 NTIA issues guidelines and conditions under which it will relinquish core IANA functions
2014 IANA Stewardship Transition Coordination Group (IGC) formed
2015 Post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted by UNGA
2015 IGF given a new ten-year mandate at the UNGA WSIS+10 review
2016 IANA Transition Committee report completed (Marrakech) and submitted to NTIA

Author's Note

Derrick L. Cogburn is an expert on global governance, transnational NGOs, information and communication technologies, and the use of ICTs for socioeconomic development. His research and teaching interests include multistakeholder global governance Internet governance accessible cyberinfrastructure and cyberlearning, global, national, and regional disability policy, geographically distributed collaboration in knowledge work, global virtual teams and organizations, transnational policy networks, and epistemic communities. He is the editor of the Palgrave Macmillan book series on Information Technology and Global Governance. He is Associate Professor of International Communication and International Development at the American University School of International Service. He also Executive Director of the Institute on Disability and Public Policy (IDPP) at American University, a project funded by the Nippon Foundation of Japan and emerging from the Center for Research on Collaboratories and Technology Enhanced Learning Communities (COTELCO), an award-winning social science research collaboratory investigating the social and technical factors that influence geographically distributed collaborative knowledge work, particularly between developed and developing countries. COTELCO is an affiliated center of the Burton Blatt Institute, Centers of Innovation on Disability, where Cogburn serves on the Leadership Council. He has served as principal investigator/project director on more than $7 million in externally funded research, and a total of almost $16 million overall (including co-principal investigator/investigator awards), including substantial funding from the Nippon Foundation, NSF, US Department of Education, W.K. Kellogg Foundation,

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He has published over 50 peer-reviewed articles and conference proceedings, three edited books, seven book chapters, 21 working papers and public scholarship, and has delivered over 68 invited lectures and conference presentations nationally and 37 internationally.

Cogburn is the past president of the Information Technology and Politics section of the American Political Science Association (APSA) as well as past president of the International Communication section of the International Studies Association (ISA). He is also a principal and member of the Scientific Committee of the Internet Governance Project (IGP) founding board member and former Vice Chair of the Global Internet Governance Academic Network (GigaNet), and served as a faculty member of the Syracuse University Africa Initiative.

From 1995 to 2000 Cogburn helped to establish and build the Global Information Infrastructure Commission (GIIC), serving as Africa Regional Director, and from 1998 to 2000 served as Executive Director of GIIC Africa. He serves or has served in high-level appointed international positions with the UN Global Alliance for ICT and Development (GAID), the World Bank, the ITU, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). He also served on the Committee of Visitors for the NSF, Office of Cyberinfrastructure, and was appointed to the High-Level Multistakeholder Committee to oversee NETMundial: A Global Multistakeholder Meeting on the Future of Internet Governance.

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International Affairs Center. He also received his MA in political science (Comparative Politics Africa, Political Economy) from Howard University in 1994, and his BA in history (Ancient Near Eastern and Africa)/political science (International Relations) from the University of Oklahoma in 1992.

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PART 1

Transnational Advocacy Networks in the Global Information Society: Partners or Pawns?

CHAPTER 1

Multistakeholderism and Contestation in the Global Governance of the Information Society

Introduction

Since the founding of the United Nations (UN) in 1945, the question of how to enable effective participation for individual citizens in its multiple and complex deliberative processes has presented scholars and practitioners with a persistent problem. Various solutions to this problem have been explored by a wide range of actors, from the United Nations Associations (UNAs) in 1946, to the Conference of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in Consultative Relationship with the United Nations (CoNGO) founded in 1948, to the "Major Groups" framework emerging from the 2000 *Millennium Summit*, to the innovative multistakeholder processes of the WSIS in 2003 and 2005, and its successors the *Global Alliance for ICTs and Development* (GAID) and the *IGF*, to the more expansive "Major Groups and Other Stakeholders" (MGoS) approach taken in the High-Level Political Forum (HLPF) of the 2030 *Sustainable Development Agenda* and the General Assembly of Partners (GAP) and the sixteen Partner Constituency Groups (PCGs) of Habitat III. Each of these approaches has had some success in involving private citizens in the work of the UN, and each has also had its shortcomings. Moreover, no approach has been applied consistently across the UN system to facilitate multistakeholder involvement.

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