

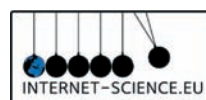
International Conference on Internet Science

www.internetscienceconference.eu

Internet • Interdisciplinarity • Innovation

Brussels, April 9-11, 2013

Conference Proceedings



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1240, route des dolines - BP287 Valbonne - France

Phone: +33 (0) 493 001 550 - Fax: +33 (0) 493 001 560 - <http://www.sigma-orionis.com>

On behalf of the FP7 European Network of Excellence in Internet Science

Foreword

By Conference General co-Chairs

As co-chairs of the first international Internet Science conference, we are delighted to welcome all Internet scientists to these conference proceedings. This is the first of what we plan to be an annual Internet Science conference series. It starts as an offspring of our network of excellence on Internet Science, following a series of other related events that paved the way including workshops for our eight Joint Research Areas (JRAs), and our annual Internet Science Doctoral Summer School and jointly run Internet Science courses. More details are available on our website www.internet-science.eu and Twitter feed @i_scienceEU – the conference hashtag is #icis2013.

This conference is chaired by a socio-legal scholar (Chris Marsden) and a network scientist (Leandros Tassioulas), with a programme committee chaired by a computer scientist researching the relationship between digital networks and society (Juan Carlos de Martin) and a communications engineer with interests in the geopolitics and geo-economics of Internet effects (Kave Salamatian), with the conference co-ordinated by a nuclear scientist now engaged in exploring the interactions between ICT/Internet and societal developments (Roger Torrenti). The range of disciplines involved is however much broader than that – we include economists, behavioural psychologists, evolutionary biologists, philosophers of science, game theorists, political scientists and several other disciplines in the Technical Program Committee as well as amongst the papers in the Proceedings.

We are delighted to welcome ten keynote speakers, who also give a sense of the range of the international outreach of the conference and the entire Internet Science project. We have three keynotes arriving from the United States, in addition to European speakers. The speakers include computer scientists, biologists, lawyers, political economists and sociologists. Several are academics, several from the corporate environment, three from European institutions and one from a non-governmental organisation. We are therefore both international and multi-stakeholder. It is also noteworthy that we have four women amongst our keynotes, and hope to achieve more geographical, disciplinary and gender inclusion in future conferences.

The Technical Programme has chosen the best 31 papers to be presented in 4 parallel paper sessions and 2 poster sessions. We will also award a Best Student Paper prize at the conference, reinforcing our commitment to mentoring and inspiring the next generation of interdisciplinary Internet scientists.

Our first doctoral summer school in Oxford in August 2012 was a great success (www.internet-science.eu/summer-school-2012), and we look forward to welcoming the next cohort of doctoral Internet scientists to Annecy in August 2013. For more details, please follow @i_scienceEU

Finally, we invite you to get involved by registering and affiliating with the project:

<http://www.internet-science.eu/user/register>

We wish you a stimulating, thought-provoking but most of all enjoyable Internet Science experience!

Professor Chris Marsden, University of Sussex Law School
Professor Leandros Tassioulas, University of Thessaly and Centre for Research and Technology Hellas

Foreword

By Technical Programme Committee co-Chairs

If performing interdisciplinary research is often challenging, organizing an interdisciplinary conference is arguably even more challenging. Interdisciplinary research, in fact, is performed by a two or more researchers belonging to different disciplines who have made, at some point, the explicit decision to work together.

To propose an interdisciplinary conference, instead, requires not only to address the varying customs and expectations that each discipline cultivate with respect to conferences, but also, and more importantly, to assemble a technical program committee capable of expertly reviewing manuscripts belonging to a wide range of knowledge domains.

This is precisely what we have striven to accomplish for the first edition of the Internet Science International Conference. Our technical program committee, which we wholeheartedly thank for having worked with great dedication under severe time constraints, reviewed over 91 manuscripts belonging to many different disciplines, including anthropology, computer science, law, economics, sociology and philosophy. Each paper received three reviews, and eventually 15 papers were accepted for oral presentation at the conference, and 19 as posters, an acceptance rate of 16% for oral presentations and 20% for posters.

While it is not for us to judge the result of the process, i.e., the final technical program, we take the liberty of stating that the outcome exceeded our already fairly optimistic expectations. We knew, in fact, that Internet Science was starting to show signs of maturity, but we did not expect so many submissions of such a high average quality. In particular we were impressed by the signs of the emergence of a new generation of scholars for whom - it is fair to suspect - the words 'Internet Science' already sound mainstream. The future of the discipline clearly belongs to them.

Professor Kavé Salamatian, LISTIC, University of Savoie

Professor Juan Carlos de Martin, Nexa Center for Internet and Society, Politecnico di Torino

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Conference General Co-chairs

Leandros Tassioulas (Centre for Research and Technology Hellas)
Christopher Marsden (University of Sussex)

Technical Programme Committee Co-chairs

Kavé Salamatian (LISTIC, University of Savoie)
Juan Carlos De Martin (Nexa Center for Internet and Society, Politecnico di Torino)

Conference coordinator

Roger Torrenti (Sigma Orionis)

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Georg Carle (Technische Universität München)
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Hermann de Meer (University of Passau)
Ian Brown (Oxford Internet Institute)
Jerome Hergueux (University of Paris)
Jonathan Cave (University of Warwick)
Karmen Guevara (University of Cambridge)
Laura Sartori (University of Bologna)
Leandros Tassoulas (Centre for Research and Technology Hellas)
Mayo Fuster Morell (Barcelona and European University Institute)
Mohamed Ali (Dali) Kaafar (INRIA France and National ICT Australia)
Pablo Rodriguez (Telefonica)
Piet Van Mieghem (Delft University)
Robin Dunbar (University of Oxford)
Sandra Cortesi (Berkman Center)
Serge Fdida (Universite Pierre et Marie Curie)
Sue Moon (Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology)
Thanassis Tiropanis (University of Southampton)
Thomas Plagemann (University of Oslo)
Timur Friedman (Universite Pierre et Marie Curie)

CONFERENCE AGENDA

TUESDAY, APRIL 9

18:30 Welcome reception

MARMERZAAL

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 10

9:30	OPENING SESSION Chair: Roger Torrenti, Sigma Orionis, Conference coordinator	AUDITORIUM ALBERT II
	Welcome addresses <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Leandros Tassioulas, CERTH and Chris Marsden, University of Sussex, Conference General co-Chairs- Kavé Salamatian, University of Savoie and Juan Carlos De Martin, Politecnico di Torino, Technical Programme Committee co-Chairs Invited speeches <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Ziga Turk, Professor, University of Ljubljana, Former Minister of Science, Slovenia- Martin Hynes, Chief Executive, European Science Foundation- Carl-Christian Buhr, Member of the Cabinet of Ms Neelie Kroes, European Commission VP for the Digital Agenda	
11:00	Coffee-Tea break	MARMERZAAL
11:30	SETTING THE SCENE Chair: Leandros Tassioulas, CERTH, EINS NoE coordinator, Conference General co-Chair	AUDITORIUM ALBERT II
	Keynote speeches <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Urs Gasser, Executive Director, Berkman Center for Internet & Society, Harvard University- Jon Crowcroft, Professor of Communications Systems, University of Cambridge- Andrea Matwyshyn, Assist. Prof., Department of Legal Studies & Business Ethics, Wharton School	
13:00	Lunch break	MARMERZAAL
14:30	INTERNET SCIENCE AND POLITICS Chair: Fabrizio Sestini, EINS scientific officer, DG CONNECT, European Commission	RUBENS
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14:30	FROM INTERNET TO SCIENCE AND BACK Chair: Juan Carlos De Martin, Politecnico di Torino, Technical Programme Committee co-Chair	BOUDEWIJN
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- "A Reflective Examination of a Process for Innovation and Collaboration in Internet Science", Karmen Guevara, Alan F. Blackwell (University of Cambridge, United Kingdom)- "Science as Social Construction: An InterEpistemological Dialogue between Two Internet Scientists on the InterEpistemological Structure of Internet Science, Part 1", Paolo Dini (London School of Economics and Political Science, United Kingdom), Laura Sartori (University of Bologna, Italy)- "Digital scholarship: Exploration of strategies and skills for knowledge creation and dissemination", Cristobal Cobo (1 St Giles & Oxford Internet Institute, United Kingdom), Concepción Naval (Universidad de Navarra, Spain)	
16:00	Coffee-Tea break	MARMERZAAL
16:30	POSTER SESSION Chair: Karmen Guevara, Computer Laboratory, University of Cambridge	AUDITORIUM ALBERT II
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18:00	Break	MARMERZAAL
19:00	NETWORKING DINNER	TROONZAAL

THURSDAY, APRIL 11

9:30	GOVERNANCE AND INTERNET SCIENCE Chair: Nicole Dewandre, DG CONNECT, European Commission	RUBENS
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- "Regulating code: A prosumer law approach to social networking privacy and search market interoperability", Chris Marsden (University of Sussex, United Kingdom), Ian Brown (University of Oxford, United Kingdom)- "Open Science: One Term, Five Schools of Thought", Benedikt Fecher (Alexander von Humboldt Institut für Internet und Gesellschaft & Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, Germany), Sascha Friesike (Alexander von Humboldt Institut für Internet und Gesellschaft, Germany)- "Governance of the Top Level Domains: 2013, A failed revolution?", Dominique Lacroix (Internet European Society & Le Monde en ligne, France)	
9:30	FROM ECONOMICS AND GAME THEORY TO UNDERSTANDING NETWORK SCIENCE Chair: Jonathan Cave, University of Warwick	BOUDEWIJN
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11:00	Coffee-Tea break	MARMERZAAL
11:30	POSTER SESSION Chair: Melanie Dulong de Rosnay, CNRS/ISCC	AUDITORIUM ALBERT II
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- "Challenges and Opportunities for Integrating Open Energy Data Sources", Chris Davis, Gerard Dijkema (Delft University of Technology, The Netherlands)- "Reputation based Coordination of Prosumers Communities", Anna Satsiou (Centre for Research and Technology Hellas, Greece), George Koutitas, Leandros Tassioulas (University of Thessaly, Greece)- "Research Design for the Study of Social Media Use by Dutch Development Organizations", Anand Sheombar (Manchester Metropolitan University & SURFmarket, The Netherlands)- "Relationships under the Microscope with Interaction Backed Social Networks", Jeremy Blackburn (University of South Florida, USA), Adriana I. Iamnitchi (University of South Florida, USA)- "The Evolving Dynamics of the Internet Layered Architecture: Innovation, Net Neutrality and the Interdependence of Structure and Function", Paolo Dini (London School of Economics and Political Science, United Kingdom), Thanassis Tsiropas (University of Southampton, United Kingdom)- "Youth's attitudes and behaviours with respect to online privacy: A conceptual exploration", Lien Mostmans, Joke Bauwens, Jo Pierson (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium)- "The evolution of networked communication between patients and clinicians in the UK National Health Service: young people living with long term health conditions", Frances Griffiths, Jonathan Cave (University of Warwick, United Kingdom), Jackie Sturt (King's College, United Kingdom)- "Evolving Ethnography for Virtual Communities", Donald McMillan (Mobile Life VINN Excellence Centre at Stockholm University, Sweden), Barry Brown (University of California San Diego, USA)- "Social, Local and Mobile Identity Management. The development of a usercentric open SoLoMo platform", Paulien Coppens (Vrije Universiteit Brussel & iMindsSMIT, Belgium), Rob Heyman, Jo Pierson (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium)	
13:00	Lunch break	MARMERZAAL
14:00	CLOSING SESSION: FROM RESEARCH TO POLICIES Chair: Chris Marsden, University of Sussex, Conference General co-Chair	AUDITORIUM ALBERT II
	Opening speech <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Anne Glover, Chief Scientific Advisor to the President of the European Commission Best student paper award Keynote speeches <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Alissa Cooper, Chief Computer Scientist, Center for Democracy & Technology- Pablo Rodriguez, Research Director and Head of the Barcelona Lab Telefonica Digital Policy report Closing address <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Mario Campalargo, Director Net Futures, DG CONNECT, European Commission	
16:00	Open networking	

A background graphic consisting of a network of grey dots connected by thin grey lines, forming a complex web-like structure. The dots are of varying sizes and are distributed across the entire page, with a higher density in the upper left and lower right areas. The lines connect the dots in a non-uniform, organic pattern, suggesting a network or data flow.

Internet Science and Politics

Chaired by Fabrizio Sestini, EINS Scientific Officer, DG CONNECT, European Commission

Common Narrative - Divergent Agendas:

The Internet and Human Rights in Foreign Policy

Ben Wagner
European University Institute
San Domenico di Fiesole, Italy
Ben.Wagner@eui.eu

Kirsten Gollatz
Alexander von Humboldt Institute
for Internet and Society, Berlin, Germany.

Andrea Calderaro
Center for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom,
European University Institute, San Domenico, Italy.

Abstract— The following paper provides an overview of the key conferences on the Internet and human rights and the Internet in the last 3 years. It then proceeds to analyse key narratives, stakeholders and agendas within these conferences, as well as questions of power and legitimacy. It will argue that the conference draw from a common discourse and language but are actually representing divergent agendas between stakeholders and states. This tension will be discussed throughout the article, before the main reasons for this are considered in the conclusion.

Index Terms— Human Rights, Internet Freedom, Foreign Policy, International Relations

I. INTRODUCTION

Although the relation between Internet and Human Rights is widely considered as a key issue in the debate on freedom of expression online, the issue is relatively new in the field of foreign policy. The need to develop policy initiatives able to integrate this debate into actual foreign policy requires an active debate and strengthening of collaborations among multiple actors active in the field of online freedom of expression, including policy makers, international organizations, governments and telecommunication actors. The increasingly frequent policy oriented and academic conferences worldwide addressing the relation between Internet and Human Rights are indicative of the rising relevance of this issue in international politics, and may serve as a vantage point for further inquiry into how this issue area is translated into foreign policy practice.

By focusing on six key international events, this paper explores policy challenges in the debate on freedom of expression online. In particular, the attention to Internet and Human Rights issues among diplomats and MFAs in the past three years would seem to suggest the states in North America and Europe have developed a common foreign policy agenda. Here, it will be argued that while these conferences share a common narrative and use the ‘language of rights’ (Glendon 1991) within a diplomatic context, this does not signal a common agenda. Rather these conferences draw from a common narrative stemming from global scripts on human rights, national civil society discourses and the foundational narrative of the debate created by the U.S. State Department.

In order to demonstrate this, the article will first provide an overview of the key events that took place in the field of Internet and Human Rights in Foreign Policy from early 2010 until late 2012. While many more conferences were organized in this three-year period, those discussed here will be limited to six international conferences organised by national ministries of foreign affairs (MFAs). It will then proceed to analyse the dominant narratives and stakeholders that were present at these Internet freedom conferences, before looking more closely at the divergent agendas and the power dimension of Internet Freedom. In conclusion a perspective will be provided on how the divergence between discourse and agendas affects policy development before sketching out future policy developments in this area.

II. SUMMARY OF DIPLOMATIC INTERNET AND HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVES 2010 – 2012

The “internet freedom debate” (Ross 2010) has become one of the most important international debates on international freedom of expression and foreign policy (McCarthy 2011). One of the most central public statements of such a foreign policy initiative was United States (US) Secretary of State Hillary Clinton’s “Remarks on Internet Freedom” (2010) made on 21 January 2010. Despite including other countries, the obvious focus of her statement was China and Iran, which are both mentioned more than any other country. Moreover, within this foundational statement on internet freedom as foreign policy, two key aspects stand out: the assumption that ensuring freedom of expression might serve to foment “US friendly revolutions” (Nye 2009) and the highly ambiguous role of the corporate sector in securing free expression (MacKinnon 2009). Following Clinton’s remarks, several European countries began to develop internet freedom initiatives, which were generally understood to be a response to the suppression of mass public protests in Iran in 2009.

The Franco-Dutch initiative which was launched in a joint communiqué by Bernard Kouchner and Maxime Verhagen, then French and Dutch foreign ministers, in May 2010. The initiative culminated in a meeting at ministerial level on “The Internet and Freedom of Expression” in July 2010.¹ Here, too,

¹ de la Chapelle, B. (2010) [Remarks by Bertrand de la Chapelle during the Dynamic Coalition on Freedom of Expression and](#)

the key aspects of the meeting agenda were the support of the supposed revolutionary activities of “cyber dissidents” and the ambiguous role of the corporate sector. However, the Franco-Dutch initiative includes significantly stronger references to a human rights framework to guarantee freedom of expression, compared to the US State Department’s internet freedom initiative. However the Internet Freedom Initiative led not only to diplomatic but also to corporate responses. With the Internet @ Liberty Conference in Budapest Google also highlighted its agenda in the field of Internet Freedom. Explicitly drawing on existing private and public sector initiatives, such as the Global Network Initiative or the Hillary Clintons Internet Freedom Initiative, the conference was the first clear attempt by a large private corporation to push the Internet Freedom Agenda.

In contrast to many other conferences an attempt had been made to provide a truly global perspective on Internet Freedom, with over 25 countries represented on various panels throughout the three days. At the same time the topics discussed seem relatively narrowly focussed on Freedom of Expression issues rather than broader issues of Human Rights and the Internet. (1)² The Freedom Online conference in Den Haag was key in being the first large EU-US event where foreign ministers from both sides of the Atlantic were actively involved in the debate on human rights online. The American, Dutch and Swedish Foreign ministers were all present, bringing together some of the key proponents of Human Rights online in a European context. The elevated role of the U.S. foreign ministry was evident during the conference, with Hillary Clinton invited to make the opening keynote, which was followed by a presentation by Eric Schmidt from Google. The conference itself was focussed explicitly on Freedom of Expression and as a result did not consider many other aspects of Human Rights online such as privacy, protection from surveillance or access to knowledge.

While this focus is typical of both U.S. and Dutch foreign policy in this area, it provides a thin view on potential human rights policy agendas. At the same time the conference was an excellent space to bring together what has become a coalition of states working together to promote internet freedom online. Based on its core values and objectives, namely human rights, a pluralist democracy and the rule of law the Council of Europe (CoE) has also addressed issues with respect to the internet in recent years. The CoE included the issue of Internet Freedom by organizing a major conference in the field in March 2012. Here, the Committee of Ministers which represents 47 member states passed an Internet governance strategy by emphasizing the multi-stakeholder dialog. The preliminary draft was inter alia elaborated at the Internet Governance Forum in Nairobi in September 2011³ and during the conference (2) “Our Internet –

Freedom of the Media on the Internet Coalition Meeting, at the 5th Internet Governance Forum, Vilnius, Estonia, 14-17 September.

² These six specific conferences form the basis of the analysis conducted in this paper. Why these six were selected in this manner will be explained in section III.B. in greater detail.

³ <http://www.intgovforum.org/cms/2011-igf-nairobi>

Our Rights, Our Freedoms” organized together with the Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs of Austria in November 2011.⁴ As a result, the CoE has developed 40 lines of action integrating a variety of soft law elements, including a “framework of understanding and/or commitments” to protect the Internet’s universality, integrity and openness, appropriate human rights-based standards to protect and preserve the unimpeded cross-border flow of legal Internet content, and human rights policy principles on “network neutrality”.⁵ The strategy also seeks to advance data protection and privacy, the rule of law and co-operation against cybercrime, as well as child protection. The comprehensive declaration that also links previous relevant legislation will be implemented over a period of four years, from 2012 to 2015.

(3) Following the United States and the Dutch diplomatic initiatives, the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Internet Infrastructure Foundation (.SE) and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) hosted the first Stockholm Internet Forum on “Internet Freedom for Global Development” in April 2012. The focus on human development, digital rights and technologies might have been stated most sharply by Sweden’s Development Minister Gunilla Carlson, who drew the analogy “Where there is water, there is life. And where there is the Internet, there is hope. Let’s make sure everybody has plenty of both.”⁶ As second crucial issue on the agenda, one can identify, the responsibility of ICT-corporations combined with the need for exercising due diligence in order to promote human rights. Thereby participants referred to and strongly highlighted the UN Framework and Guiding principles on business and human rights.⁷ In the course of the conference, civil society representatives also published new principles for more transparency in policy-making of states: The Stockholm Principles for Governmental Transparency Reporting on Net Freedom are still in beta.⁸

Not surprisingly, Sweden took the initiative within the UN Human Rights Council in fostering freedom online. In July 2012 U.N.’s human rights body endorsed the first ever resolution affirming that the same rights that people have offline must also be protected online, in particular freedom of

⁴ <http://www.coe.int/t/information/society/conf2011/>

⁵ Internet Governance - Council of Europe Strategy 2012 - 2015, CM(2011)175 final, available at [https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?Ref=CM\(2011\)175&Language=lanEnglish&Ver=final&BackColorInternet=C3C3C3&BackColorIntranet=EDB021&BackColorLogged=F5D383](https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?Ref=CM(2011)175&Language=lanEnglish&Ver=final&BackColorInternet=C3C3C3&BackColorIntranet=EDB021&BackColorLogged=F5D383), 15 March 2012.

⁶ <http://www.stockholminternetforum.se/program/session-1/informal-summary/>

⁷ On 16 June 2011, the UN Human Rights Council endorsed the "Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights: Implementing the United Nations 'Protect, Respect and Remedy' Framework" proposed by UN Special Representative John Ruggie, available at: <http://www.business-humanrights.org/SpecialRepPortal/Home/Protect-Respect-Remedy-Framework/GuidingPrinciples>

⁸ <http://stockholmprinciples.org/>

expression.⁹ Together with Sweden, this resolution was presented by Brazil, Nigeria, Tunisia, Turkey and the United States and was supported by over 80 member states and civil society organizations. Sweden's foreign minister Carl Bildt has described this as the beginning of a global alliance for the freedom of the Internet.¹⁰

(4) Not wanting to be left out, the OSCE also decided to organise an Internet Freedom conference in June 2012. The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) representing 56 states from Europe, Central Asia and North America and is thereby the world's largest regional security organization, coordinated a meeting on Internet Freedom in Dublin in June 2012, as Ireland held the OSCE Chairmanship that year. The two OSCE monitoring bodies, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights and Representative on Freedom of the Media mainly contributed to the conference. As outlined by the organizing committee the Dublin Conference on Internet Freedom first and foremost aimed at moving towards a clearer interpretation of already existing OSCE commitments. In this sense, the working sessions were built around the aim to gain a shared understanding on internet freedom, in particular stressing the role of governments and corporations within international law. However, statements from the audience indicated several conflicting points of views of participating delegations.¹¹

(5) Following the first meeting in The Haag, the second Coalition for Freedom Online conference in September 2012 was organized by the Republic of Kenya in partnership with the Dutch government. For the first time Internet freedom policies were broadly discussed on the African continent under the leadership of Kenya. In relation, far more representatives from African and Asian countries attended the conference and participated in the program focusing on entrepreneurship and corporate social responsibility, censorship issues and internet access rights.¹² The Coalition was initiated in 2011 by US and EU governments and seeks to coordinate international diplomatic actions related to Internet freedom. After Kenya and Ghana, Tunisia announced it would join the alliance to become the Coalition's 18th member state and host the next conference in 2013.¹³

⁹ UN Human Rights Council, Resolution 20/8 on the promotion, protection and enjoyment of human rights: http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/RegularSession/Session20/A.HRC.20.L.13_en.doc, 5 July 2012

¹⁰ Bildt, C. (2012): A Victory for the Internet, In: New York Times, available at http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/06/opinion/carl-bildt-a-victory-for-the-internet.html?_r=1, 6 July 2012

¹¹ <http://www.osce.org/cio/91473> (Part 1) & <http://www.osce.org/cio/91474> (Part 2)

¹² <http://www.freedomonlinekenya.org/programme-1>

¹³ <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/10/198704.htm>

(6) Finally the most recent conference in this list was the Berlin Internet and Human Rights Conference in 2012.¹⁴ Looking back on already two years of internet freedom commitments in the US and Europe the Internet and Human Rights Conferences in Berlin attempted to bring together existing initiatives while progressing on the actual implementation of internet freedom. This also included an attempt to develop policy recommendations that were distilled from the recommendations and comments of participants. The conference can to be seen in the context of the German application to become a member of the U.N. Human Rights Council and as an attempt to build capacity on this issue in Berlin. As such the conference was more focused on organising German and European initiatives rather than the global debate on these issues.

III. ANALYSIS: NARRATIVE, STAKEHOLDERS AND AGENDAS

The analysis provided in this part applies a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods. Thereby, parts III.A and III.C deploy key elements of a discourse analysis by characterizing, contextualizing and interpreting the debate. The arguments established in Part III.B are based on quantitative measures and are centred on conference participants.

A. Common Narrative? Key Discourses and Questions

Having provided an overview of the most important initiatives, the article will now analyse the key discourses and see whether the suggestion of a common narrative can indeed be substantiated. The following section constitutes a critical analysis of the discourses and language used, based on a repeated reading of programme documents of all six conferences. The method is based on (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002) but also draws heavily from (McCarthy 2011).

From a sociological perspective, one can consider narratives as effective organizing mechanisms by deploying meaning toward policy issue within institutional contexts. Thus, existing institutional logics might be subject to change and consequently result in alternative settings (Ocasio and Thornton 2008). Notably there is a considerable usage of the words 'Internet', 'Freedom', 'Human' and 'Rights'. However beyond the use of these terms there is little commonality in the substance of what these terms are used to describe (Abraham 2012).¹⁵

Another aspect that comes out strongly is the lack of legally binding instruments involved in these debates. While there are numerous declarations of principles, statements of Internet and best practise guidelines being developed, parliamentarians or even legislative instruments are only involved in a few cases. While such instruments such as the Global Online Freedom

¹⁴ In this case the cut-off of the analysis was the end of 2012. While other conferences on this topic have taken place since then they were not considered for the purposes of this analysis,

¹⁵ See also Figure 1. In this quantitative view, the commonly used words "internet", "freedom", "human rights" have been excluded to better illustrate the divergent topics that have been discussed in those six conferences.

Act (GOFA) in the U.S. or demands for stricter export controls on surveillance technologies in Europe do exist, they have not been situated at the core of the conferences nor were they seriously discussed in any of these venues. It seems that these initiatives exist on the fringes of these conferences, while the actual focus of their debates are soft rather than hard policy instruments.



Figure 1. Conference Topics illustrated with wordle.net

A third element that is extremely prevalent in conference debates is that the organisers don't seem to have answers for many of the topics they are discussing. Indeed question marks are so prevalent in many of the internet freedom conferences being organised, that it seems appropriate to consider them collections of open questions rather than attempts at policy implementation or joint action. The role of the multi-stakeholder model is interesting in this context, as it basically evolves into providing new ideas and policies to governments who aren't quite sure what to do about internet freedom. To the invited groups - mainly regional or local civil society but also the private sector and international organisations - a space is offered which is suggested to allow them to upload their ideas and suggestions to government policy in return for innovative ideas and effective analysis. It is however entirely unclear whether this upload ever actually happened.

As such the various conferences serve as a massive free-form public consultation of relevant stakeholder groups. As the consultation process is not formalised, it tends to promote the invitation of the 'usual suspects' and has difficulty challenging basic assumptions about the agenda itself (Barnes et al. 2003). These include narratives about the key role of foreign policy in keeping the Internet open or the fundamental importance of the multi-stakeholder model in Internet governance.

At the same time this flurry of conferences does not mean that there has been a huge amount of policy activity within the field of internet and human rights. For all of the stages that have been built and for all of the public debates that have taken place, this has translated into remarkably little actual activity. On issues such as export controls for technologies, which harm human rights or developing joint declarations or treaties, the development of actual foreign policy has been sluggish at best. The few notable exceptions are the freedom online coalition initiated in Den Haag in 2011, which has since led to a coalition of states working together in this area. This exception notwithstanding, most of the conferences have tended to call

for things to be done rather than actually doing things. The impetus of the agenda around internet freedom conferences is more to consider what could be done rather than actually doing it. An alternative interpretation is to see these individuals as 'unelected representatives' (Keane 2009) who still fulfil an important function within the democratic process.¹⁶

The concept of Internet Freedom has become something of an empty vessel, which is filled by the respective organisers in whatever manner they see fit. However its lack of specificity also makes it difficult to draw together the different aspects of internet freedom around a common set of policy objectives. While all stakeholders draw from the language and narrative of rights, it is difficult to discern a common 'Internet Freedom' or 'Internet and Human Rights' narrative. All of the conferences so far have been held together by a few common terms and a common linguistic framework, within which the debates have taken place. They do not necessarily however suggest a common strategic agenda.

B. Stakeholder Analysis: Key Participants

The starting point for building a database based on the six big international conferences related to freedom online and foreign policy as outlined in the beginning.¹⁷ These are explicitly less than the key events previously mentioned and only include international conferences organised by Ministries of Foreign Affairs. The stakeholder analysis is based on the set of the respective programs which are publicly available on the web. A case is defined as an official speaker, as mentioned in those programs.¹⁸ As a result this quantitative analysis initially aims to identify those individuals and groups who hold some kind of "stake" or interest in the field of Internet and Human Rights. The list of speakers was analysed in order to identify the key actors as well as marginal groups shaping the public debate in the last two years. Following the observations of discourses and questions outlined in the previous section, the following analysis intends to provide further insights into the issues at stake, as well.

Pointing on speakers who attended the conferences follows the assumption that those are perceived as relevant experts in this specific field. They have been invited with the intention to share their knowledge and experiences, and thereby contribute

¹⁶ The authors are grateful to Saskia Sell for this idea and her valuable comments on an earlier version of this article.

¹⁷ The sample includes the following conferences: "Our Internet - Our Rights, Our Freedoms. Towards the Council of Europe Strategy on Internet Governance 2012 - 2015" (Austria, 2011); "Freedom Online. Joint Action for free expression on the internet" (The Netherlands, 2011); "The Stockholm Internet forum on Internet freedom for Global Development" (Sweden, 2012); "Dublin Conference on Internet Freedom" (Ireland, 2012); "The Second Freedom Online Conference" (Kenya, 2012); "The Internet and Human Rights: Building a free, open and secure Internet" (Germany, 2012)

¹⁸ Speakers that were occurring at several conferences each time counted as one case.

to the discussions in plenaries and workshops by providing a specific perspective on the topics linked to Internet and Human Rights. By doing so, experienced speakers shape and frame the public agenda within the field of Internet Foreign Policy to a large extent. They might even shift the attention to alternative problems and solutions, which subsequently might also influence the policy decisions. In order to identify structural patterns and perhaps biases, attributes such as the conferences attended, the organisation, the persons' name and role have also been gathered. Cases have been further categorized according to the stakeholder group, the respective person, or the organization he or she represents.

In the years 2011 and 2012 five out of six conferences were hosted by European governments and as such took place in Europe, one conference was held in Kenya. In total, 245 cases were collected. These cases are clustered into seven stakeholder groups as illustrated in Figure 2.

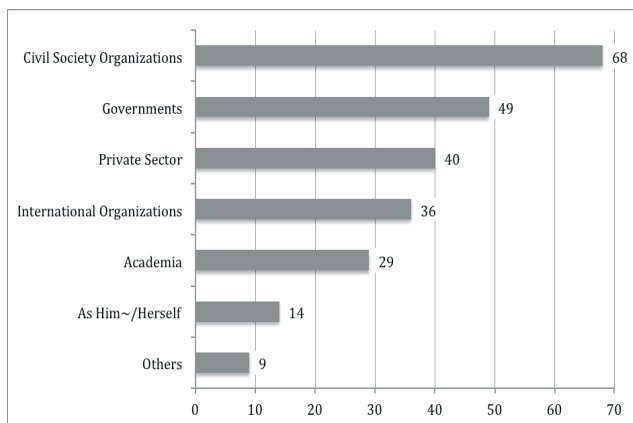


Figure 2. Overall Numbers of Representatives by Stakeholder Group (n=245)

Due to the 'multi-stakeholder' approach that all conference organizers have stressed as very important and applied in the agendas, identifying and dividing different stakeholder groups wasn't a problem. However, while some groups play an outstanding role in contributing to the programs others were completely out of sight. According to their times of appearances, representatives of Civil Society Organizations are the most central actors invited to speak at international conferences on internet freedom. Adding the number of speakers matched under the category "As Him/Herself", mainly represented by bloggers and activists from authoritarian countries, civil society is most active in these conferences and can be identified as the primary stakeholders in the respective field. According to their function as organizers and hosts of the meetings, governmental representatives cluster the second largest stakeholder group.¹⁹ These numbers are followed by

¹⁹ The number is based on governmental representatives as they appear in the conference program as speakers in workshops or sessions. The group of governmental actors attending those

members from the private sector, first and foremost by officials from Google (9 times) and Facebook (3 times). International Organizations only form the middle field and will be illustrated in detail subsequently. As Figure 1 indicates, academics play a less important role according to the number of times they spoke as experts on panels and workshops.

However, one of the most crucial findings is hidden behind the last category entitled "Others". Quantitatively not enough to form an own category, members of national and the European Parliament represent the most marginal group. The absence of parliamentary representatives becomes even more relevant when looking on how many people exactly have joined the discussions²⁰. In sum, in only four out of 245 cases parliamentarians have commented on the issues regarding internet freedom in the realm of international relations. This lack of parliamentary representation within international conferences fits to the aforementioned findings and further exemplifies the absence of hard policy initiatives in the political discourse on internet freedom.

Geographically, speakers from the United States and the UK participated in the conferences most often, though the sample did not include conferences that took place in one of these countries. These are followed by the countries that hosted own conferences, that are Germany, The Netherlands, Sweden, Austria, Kenya and Ireland. Based on our sample of conferences we can state a strong geographical bias towards a Anglo-American and European perspective (See figure 3).

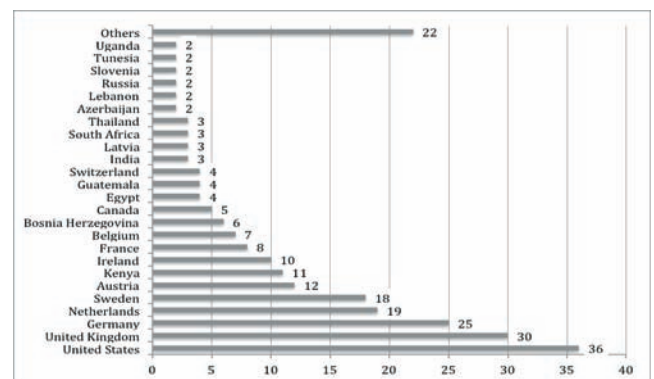


Figure 3. Diversification of speakers by country (n=245)

Detailed findings – 'Levels of stake-holding'

In this section results will be provided in more detail by further elaborating the structure of each conference and within selected stakeholder groups. Figure 4 provides an overarching view on how organizers have interpreted and applied the multi-stakeholder approach. The perceived relevance of one or the other groups results in quite diverge proportional distributions.

conferences is much bigger when all country delegations invited are being included.

²⁰ Easy to count, Marietje Schaake, Dutch Member of the European Parliament officially participated in the sample of conferences three times, and Birgitta Jónsdóttir, Icelandic Member of Parliament for The Movement was active in one conference.

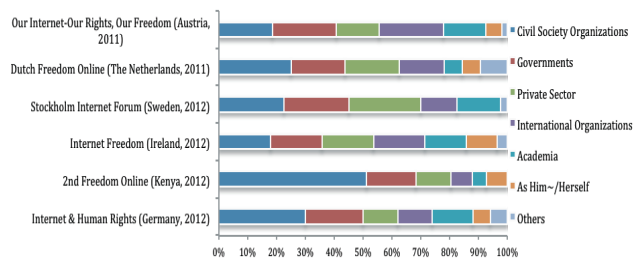


Figure 4. Multi-Stakeholder involvement by Conferences, in percent (n=245)

Most pronounced emerges the 2nd Freedom Online Conference, which was held in Kenya. Whereas strong emphasis was given to Civil Society Organizations – with distinction these were the most represented group – other stakeholders, such as international organisations and academia, were less involved in this conference compared to the conferences hosted by European foreign ministries.

As mentioned before, representatives of Civil Society Organizations participated most often according to the times they gave a talk or joined the discussions. Thereby, the conducted analysis indicates a variety of actors with a civil society background that were involved directly. Members within this category cannot be viewed as a homogeneous stakeholder community, neither in their structure, nor according to their priorities. Within six conferences 48 different organizations were identified. Only a few of them, such as Access Now and The Institute for Human Rights and Business (each 5 times), Freedom House and Hivos (each 3 times) can be named as this category's leaders. However, the majority of CSOs involved participated only once and can be described as smaller groups, rather concerned with national politics. Human Rights Watch as an organization with worldwide branches and a true global outreach only participated twice. Other international CSOs did not contribute to the conferences' agendas.

Even though the conferences dealt with a global topic and were always directed to an international audience, one can also observe a “national framing”. This becomes most obvious when we refer to governmental representatives. (See figure 5) The overall result leads to the notion that governments were most active in the conferences they have organized themselves. According to the number of governmental representatives Germany and Austria, as well as Ireland seem to be quite relevant in pushing the agenda forward, but indeed they aren't. All three countries were involved in organizing and hosting an own conference and thereby developed a program involving their own national representatives. By contrast Sweden, The Netherlands and Kenya participated in more than three conferences, as well as The United States and the UK.. The leading role of U.S. foreign policy and the Swedish government can also be confirmed by looking at these numbers.

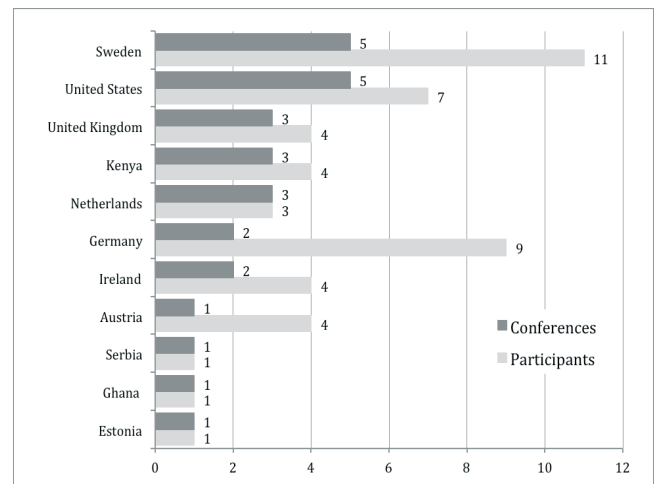


Figure 5. Conferences attended from Governmental Representatives by Country (n=49)

Shifting the attention to International Organizations and how they shape the conferences' agendas, three major actors were found: The Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), both organizers of an own conference and the United Nations (see figure 6).

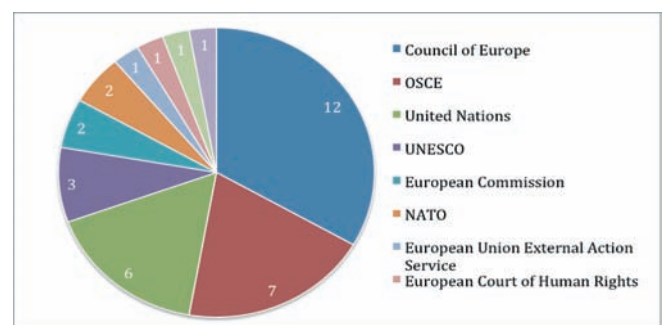


Figure 6. Participation from International Organizations (n=36)

Similarly to parliamentarians, international organizations are mainly represented by a single person. For the OSCE, this is Dunja Mijatovic who was appointed OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media in 2010. She participated in all six conferences and was thereby the most demanded single person. With regard to the United Nations, Frank La Rue has provided expertise at five conferences in his role as the UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression.

Over the course of the last three years the conference analysed above indicate a growing international response to the debate on internet freedom. However, these six single events were mainly framed by national actors and stakeholders. This seems to be contradictory. On the one hand, conferences were initiated by broader coalitions proposing and pushing an agenda on internet freedom principles which are understood as global norms. On the other hand, governments themselves take on the role as conference hosts and organizers to deploy their

domestic and foreign policy interests. Thereby, the vague term of “internet freedom” became a widely used frame for national discourses.

C. Divergent Agendas and Power

Derived from the two sections above that focused on the narratives and key participants, several key drivers could be identified which have led to these conference taking place in this manner over the past three years. There can be split into 1) specific geopolitically relevant events and their framing 2) the role of U.S. foreign policy in framing the debate 3) competition between government ministries at a national level 4) the role of small European countries in framing the debate 5) the role of international organisations and 6) the role of large global corporations.

i) Mass public protests in Iran and during the Arab Spring

The mass public protests on the streets of Tehran in 2009 were widely discussed at a global level. Their role in defining public debate was important, as it led to a close linkage between ICTs, the Internet and the protest movement in Iran. This was perceived to be fuelled, enabled or at very least linked to new ICTs. Particularly the Wall Street Journal story suggesting that Nokia Siemens had supported the Iranian government’s suppression of the protests by supplying surveillance technology to Iran (Lake 2009) further focused the debate on the role of ICTs. Although diplomats had been involved in these debates for some time, this was the first time that there was an active search for solutions in this area in response to the widespread public debate. Special advisors were appointed and existing staff with competency in this area were brought together to develop solutions. The result was an explosion of respective foreign policy approaches in late 2009 and early 2010.

ii) The role of U.S. foreign policy in framing the debate

One of the best placed actors in the diplomatic debate on these issues was Hillary Clinton, who had recognised after the presidential elections in 2008 when she became U.S. Secretary of State that she needed to increase the capacity of the state department to deal with online issues. At the same time the historic position of U.S. foreign policy in this area and its ‘open door policy’ provided a fertile ground to develop U.S. foreign policy in this area (McCarthy 2011). The result were Hillary Clinton’s remarks on Internet Freedom, which for all of the legitimate criticism on both their framing and substance of the agenda (Morozov 2011) have been the key starting point of a foreign policy agenda around ‘Internet Freedom.’ As noted by McCarthy in a seminal article in 2011:

“The symbolic politics surrounding the Internet are crucial to the future direction of its technological development. The argument of US foreign policy officials, that an Internet characterized by the free flow of information meets international norms of human rights and democracy, is an attempt to steer the development of

the technology in a direction that meets its specific vision of how international society should function” (McCarthy 2011: 105).

This analysis is also strongly reflected in the frequent presence of State Department officials speaking at the conferences discussed here. Their prevalence is second only to that of Swedish officials and has been crucial in shaping and framing the global debate on internet freedom beyond the remarks of Hillary Clinton directly.

iii) Competition between government ministries at a national level

Notably pursuing an Internet Freedom agenda allows the state department to get in on a ‘hot new policy area’ where it previously had little or no political leverage. The ‘cyber’ policy area had previously been occupied by the Department of Homeland Security and the Intelligence Services as well as the Department of Commerce, with little scope for policy development by the State Department. Engaging in Internet Freedom as a strategic object of U.S. Foreign policy has the effect of ‘de-securitising’ the agenda - or at very least shifting the discursive frame away from the classic security-oriented ‘politics of cyber.’ This is not to say that the state department has not shown an appetite for Internet Freedom to become a tool to pursue U.S. strategic interests, but rather that the very consideration of Internet Freedom as an agenda has provoked a shift away from the classic economy and security frame.

Importantly this shifting balance of ministries in the ‘cyber’ policy can also be observed in other foreign ministries around the world. The opportunity structure for developing Internet Freedom policies is common to many MFAs and the resulting response of foreign ministries around the world - and particularly in Europe - has been to follow suit, if not always with an identical strategic agenda. Apart from divergent European foreign policy interesting, this is also because the issue has historically been framed in terms of Human Rights in several small European countries, particularly Sweden and Estonia.

iv) Small European countries shaping the debate: Sweden and the Netherlands

Indeed it is important to consider the role of both Sweden and the Netherlands in framing the debate on Human Rights and Foreign policy online in Europe. Particularly Swedish Foreign Minister Carl Bildt has been able to make a name for himself, although the process of doing so has led to considerable tensions with other ministries within the Swedish government. The process of Sweden becoming a leading global voice on Internet Freedom has posed some difficulty for larger European countries, as their leadership on a defining future foreign policy issue is called into question. The response by other large European MFAs has been to focus on other aspects of the ‘cyber’ policy agenda, with President Sarkozy of France organising an unusual e-G8 meeting in 2011 to promote the economic dimension of internet foreign policy, while the

United Kingdom has promoted its 'London Cyber' process as a means of establishing jointly agreed norms in cyberspace.

Notably the Netherlands have also played an important role in both linking U.S. and European debates on Internet Freedom and spearheading the Freedom Online coalition movement to develop a group of states around an internet freedom agenda. All of the 'usual suspects' in Europe and North America are members of this coalition with one exception: Germany. At the same time both the Netherlands and Sweden are part of an informal G5 group of EU countries which work together on cyber policy issues at a European level.²¹ As such it remains to be seen how European foreign policy develops in this area and how the ongoing co-operation of the G5 influences European foreign policy in regards to the internet and human rights.

v) The role of International Organisations

Despite the existence of a European 'No Disconnect Strategy' that was developed by EC VP Neelie Kroes after the Arab Spring, there is a notable absence of EU Commission officials at the internet freedom conferences analysed. Indeed it seems that the institutions of the European Union are also still catching-up with this debate and that there are only very few individuals who are actually considered 'speaker material' from these organisations.

This is not to say that international organisations have not been represented at these conferences. The Council of Europe and the OSCE took over the representation in this case. The CoE has been deeply involved in these debates, yet given the small size and budget of the organisation its purpose is clearly agenda setting rather than policy change. In regards to the OSCE their strong representation stems from the consistent involvement of Dunja Mijatovic, one of the key 'usual suspects' who is almost exclusively the sole OSCE speaker represented. The strong presence of the CoE and OSCE in these debates suggests that the agenda is still at a declaratory rather than an operational stage. If it begins to filter into organisations and bureaucracies more strongly, it might be expected that other IOs such as the European Commission or UNDP might be more frequently represented as well.

vi) The interests of large global corporations

Unsurprisingly Internet Freedom policies are also used as a tool to further economic interests. The policies have been particularly relevant for large global corporations wishing to expand their presence across the globe. As such the agenda has been particularly relevant for those companies whose business models depend on global Internet connectivity, particularly Google, Cisco and Facebook. Google has openly and vocally supported the Internet Freedom agenda since it was first announced in 2010, with both Chairman Eric Schmidt and CEO Sergey Brin publicly coming out in favour of the U.S. Internet Freedom agenda. Also Cisco has been particularly

concerned with the threat that the breakup of the global internet into different national internets represents for its hardware business. As the development of internet governance policies remains closely entwined with economic and trade policies, the support of private companies for such agendas has become an important factor.

IV. CONCLUSION AND THE PATH AHEAD

The Internet Freedom agenda has developed and disseminated in manifold ways over the past three years. Although initiated in the U.S., it has quickly gained different dimensions and spaces through its continued use as a highly flexible 'boundary object'.²² Despite this, each initiative in this area has attempted to carve out a new space and not be seen as a 'me-too' conference, a phenomenon that can be particularly observed in the conferences that took place in 2012. While there is a strong impetus towards taking concrete steps, many of the initiatives and conference left unclear how these policy agendas will be implemented. For the enormous amount of discourse in this space remarkably little has been done.

There are several reasons for this. Public policy is slow to develop and particularly difficult when the empirical basis of the policy making process is unclear. In many cases decision makers lack hard facts about human rights abuses enabled by internet technologies, how governments are censoring and surveilling the internet in different parts of the world and even how online service providers in their own country are filtering news content in crisis situations. Moreover public debates on ACTA, SOPA but also WCIT exemplify the difficulty of developing a public debate on deeply technical material which is formulated following legal and diplomatic conventions. The general lack of public debate, usable expertise and reliable data makes the overall policy process difficult. The general lack of substantive parliamentary debates on these issues - although there are a few notable exceptions - further accentuates this problem.

Of course MFAs also compete on this topic and there is a notable level of PR, public diplomacy and agenda setting taking place during the conference organising process. For the U.S. State department the Internet Freedom agenda has been an important tool to demonstrate the on-going capacity of the U.S. to innovate in the field of diplomacy and to reassert U.S. dominance within this field after the Iraq war. For Sweden and to a lesser extent the Netherlands, Internet Freedom of the Internet and Human Rights has provided a platform which as smaller European countries they would not otherwise have had access to in developing European foreign policy. Germany, which had not previously been particularly active in this field saw the conference as a way to catch up with other actors in this area while promoting its own candidature for the U.N. Human Rights Council.

²¹ Bendiek, A., & Wagner, B. (2012). Die Verfassung des Internets. *IP - Die Zeitschrift, Jahrgang 2* (November/December).

²² This idea initially stems from Jeanette Hofmann, who provided valuable comments on an earlier version of this article.

The analysis above has also identified the disconnection between national debates on the Internet and the global internet freedom agenda. This is reflected both in the speakers invited and in the way the conferences are framed. While there seems to be an overarching discourse, there is little agreement beyond a few common boundary objects. Although the conference in Kenya represents an attempt to remedy the European and North American focus of the Agenda, there is no denying in that the overwhelming number of stakeholders participating comes from North America and Europe. The frequent presence of civil society organisations at these conferences could simply be cosmetic, but the extent to which they are integrated into the debate on these issues suggests that they themselves are one of the key drivers of this agenda. Of course, it is extraordinarily helpful that open networks are also in the interests of large corporations and not just of civil society organisations. But the extent to which foreign ministries use these conferences as a means to 'download' knowledge and build their own capacity in dealing with these topics is notable and considerably shapes the debate as a result.

With Hillary Clinton universally expected to leave the state department at the end of 2012, there is no knowing how her successor will proceed and which strategic objectives he will pick. While the topic has clearly taken root in Europe, the direction and scope of European engagement with the Internet Freedom agenda remains difficult to ascertain. Crucial in this context is the involvement (or lack of it) of the largest European countries: the UK, France and Germany. While all have shown an appetite for integrating the internet into foreign policy, the focus has been on security and norms of behaviour in the UK, on supporting rights-holders and creating economic growth in France. All three countries have their own Cybersecurity strategy that typically includes a foreign policy component, but none has yet developed an overarching strategy for integrating the Internet and human rights or even just 'Internet Freedom' into foreign policy.

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About the EINS Network of Excellence

What is the network of excellence? www.internet-science.eu/network-excellence-internet-science The Network of Excellence in Internet Science aims to strengthen scientific and technological excellence by developing an integrated and interdisciplinary scientific understanding of Internet networks and their co-evolution with society. Its main objective is to enable an open and productive dialogue between all disciplines which study Internet systems from any technological or humanistic perspective, and which in turn are being transformed by continuous advances in Internet functionality. The network brings together over 30 research institutions across Europe that are focusing on network engineering, computation, complexity, networking, security, mathematics, physics, sociology, game theory, economics, political sciences, humanities, and law, as well as other relevant social and life sciences.

The network's main deliverable will be a durable shaping and structuring of the way that this research is carried out, by gathering together a critical mass of resources, gathering the expertise needed to provide European leadership in this area, and by spreading excellence beyond the partnership. The network is funded by the EC 7th Framework Programme: ICTs, and is operational until 2015.

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