



The Eighth European Multidisciplinary
Conference on Global Internet Governance
Actors, Regulations, Transactions and Strategies

Conference Programme GIG-ARTS 2024

Thirty Years of Multistakeholderism in Internet
Governance: Assessments and Prospects

Leiden University – Campus The Hague

3-4 June 2024



**Universiteit
Leiden**

Global Transformations
and Governance Challenges



**THE HAGUE
PROGRAM**
on International
Cyber Security



**UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI
DI SALERNO**

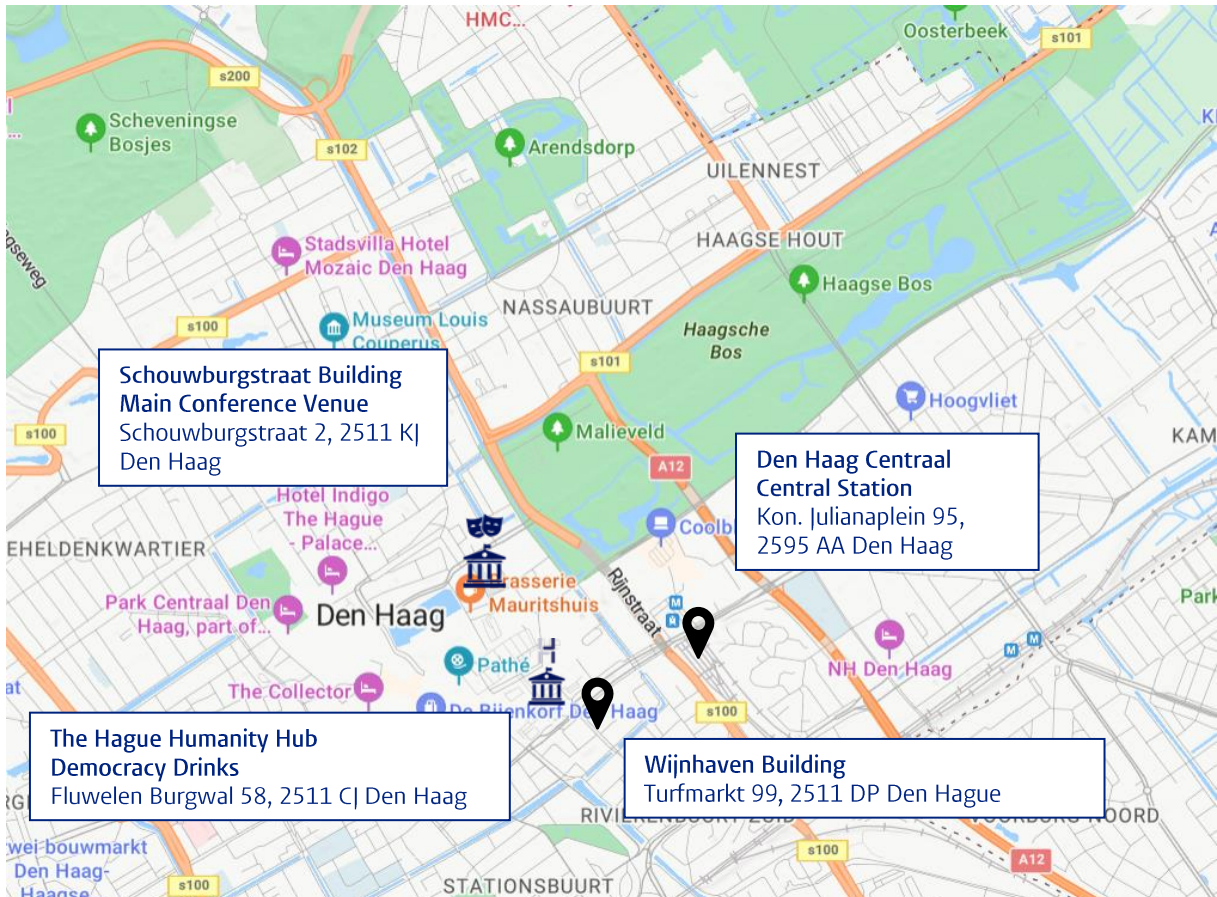
SYNOPSIS

The GIG-ARTS (Global Internet Governance: Actors, Regulations, Transactions and Strategies) conference is an annual multidisciplinary academic venue to present and discuss developments in global internet governance and their implications in and beyond this field of research.

Previous GIG-ARTS Conferences have addressed themes of “Global Internet Governance as a Diplomacy Issue” (Paris, 2017), “Overcoming Inequalities in Internet Governance” (Cardiff, 2018), “Europe as a Global Player in Internet Governance” (Salerno, 2019), “Online Information Governance” (Vienna, 2021), “Global Internet Governance and International Human Rights” (Nicosia, 2022), and “Governance of Cyber Security” (Padua, 2023).

The Eighth GIG-ARTS Conference, to be held at The Hague Campus of Leiden University, takes as its main theme “Thirty Years of Multistakeholderism in Internet Governance: Assessments and Prospects”. The multistakeholder principle has spread across governance of the internet (and other global issues) since the 1990s. After three decades of experimentation and development, how has this approach to ruling the internet fared? What promises have been fulfilled, and what problems persist? How can and should multistakeholder governance of the internet be taken forward into the future?

LOCATIONS MAP



Distances from Main Conference Venue, Schouwburgstraat 2, Room A0.06:

The Hague Humanity Hub
300 m from Schouwburgstraat (4 min walk)

Den Haag Centraal Train Station
600 m from Schouwburgstraat (8 min walk)

Wijnhaven Building
350 m from Schouwburgstraat (5 min walk)

OUTLINE SCHEDULE

MONDAY 3 JUNE 2024

12:30-13:00	Registration, Schouwburgstraat 2, 2511 KJ The Hague
13:00-13:30	Welcome
13:30-14:30	Keynote Speech: The Multistakeholder Approach in Internet Governance 30 Years On: Cornerstone or Achilles Heel?
14:30-16:00	Paper Panel Session 1: Assessing the Multistakeholder Model
16:00-16:30	Break
16:30-18:00	Roundtable 1: Policymaker Experiences of Multistakeholderism
18:00-19:30	Reception Wijnhaven Brasserie
20:30	Evening Social Miss Maui Beach House

TUESDAY 4 JUNE 2024

09:00-10:30	Paper Panel Session 2: Multistakeholderism in the Global South
10:30-11:00	Break
11:00-12:00	Keynote Speech: The Power to Govern Ourselves: (Multi)Stakeholders, States and Collective Action
12:00-13:00	Lunch: Reflections on Multistakeholder Experiences in Other Policy Fields
13:00-14:30	Roundtable 2: Regional Perspectives on Multistakeholderism
14:30-15:45	Paper Panel Session 3: Multistakeholderism and Digital Sovereignty
15:45-16:00	Break
16:00-17:15	Paper Panel Session 4: Geopolitics of Internet Governance
17:30-19:30	Reception Democracy Drinks: New Ways of Democracy in Internet Governance

DETAILED SCHEDULE

MONDAY 3 JUNE 2024

12:30-13:00 Registration, Schouwburgstraat 2, 2511 KJ The Hague

13:00-13:30 Welcome

- Meryem Marzouki and Mauro Santaniello, GIG-ARTS Conference Series
- Jan Aart Scholte, Global Transformations and Governance Challenges
- Dennis Broeders, The Hague Program on International Cyber Security

13:30-14:30 **Keynote Speech: The Multistakeholder Approach in Internet Governance 30 Years On: Cornerstone or Achilles Heel?**

Speaker: Anriette Esterhuysen, Association for Progressive Communications
Moderator: Meryem Marzouki, Global Internet Governance & Digital Rights Expert

14:30-16:00 **Paper Panel Session 1: Assessing the Multistakeholder Model**

Chair: Dennis Broeders, Leiden University

- **The “Big Tech-Big Power Politics Archives”**
Malcolm Campbell-Verduyn and Marianne Franklin, *University of Groningen*
- **Multistakeholder Global Governance at ICANN: A Cross-Level Analysis of Legitimacy**
Hortense Jongen, *Free University Amsterdam*; Jan Aart Scholte, *Leiden University*
- **Too Many Cooks Spoil the Broth: When Multistakeholderism Hampers Accountability**
Triantafyllos Kouloufakos, *KU Leuven*
- **Assessing Multistakeholder Governance of Content: Comparative Analysis of the Christchurch Call and the Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism**
Iyoti Panday, *Georgia Institute of Technology*
- **Exploring Digital Constitutionalist Advocacy Coalitions in the Global Multistakeholder Internet Governance (1992-2023)**
Dennis Redeker, *University of Bremen*; Mariëlle Wijermars, *Maastricht University*; Nicola Palladino, *University of Salerno*

16:00-16:30 Coffee Break

16:30-18:00 **Roundtable 1: Policymaker Experiences of Multistakeholderism**

Moderator: Tatiana Tropina, Leiden University

- Alexia González, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)
- Hu Xianhong, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

- Olaf Kolkman, Internet Society (ISOC)
- Markus Kummer, Internet Governance and Policy Expert
- Elena Plexida, Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN)
- Guus van Zwooll, Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs

18:00-19:30 Reception Wijnhaven Brasserie, Sponsored by ICANN
Location: Turfmarkt 99, 2511 DP The Hague

20:30 Evening Social Miss Maui Beach House, Sponsored by ICANN
Location: Strand Noord 37-38, 2586 ZZ The Hague



TUESDAY 4 JUNE 2024

09:00-10:30 **Paper Panel Session 2: Multistakeholderism in the Global South**
Chair: Marianne Franklin, University of Groningen

- **Multistakeholderism in the Global South: A Comparative Study of AFRINIC, APNIC, and LACNIC**
Debora Irene Christine, *Tifa Foundation*; Nahema Nascimento Falleiros, *Federal University of Rio de Janeiro*; Gloria Nzeka, *University of Maryland*
- **Hybrid Multistakeholderism in Moroccan Digital Governance: A Theoretical and Empirical Investigation**
Serena Fraiese, *University of Salerno*
- **Do Elections Catalyse or Distract Multistakeholder Governance against Information Disorder? Examining the Drivers and Barriers to Sustained Co-Governance Efforts in the Post-Election Period**
Beltsazar Krisetya, *Centre for Strategic and International Studies*
- **More than a Stakeholder: A Global South Feminist Counterpublic Sphere and the Vision of a Gender Just Global Digital Compact**
Lisa McLaughlin, *Miami University*
- **Platform Advocacy and Social Media's Accountability to Dissident Voices in the Global South**
Mai Van Tran, *Free University Brussels*

10:30-11:00 Break

11:00-12:00 **Keynote Speech: The Power to Govern Ourselves: (Multi)Stakeholders, States and Collective Action**

Speaker: Milton Mueller, Internet Governance Project, Georgia Institute of Technology

Moderator: Louise Marie Hurel, London School of Economics

12:00-13:00 Lunch, Reflections on Multistakeholder Experiences in Other Policy Fields

- Josh Brem-Wilson, Coventry University (on food)
- Mao Suzuki, National University of Singapore (on health)

13:00-14:30 **Roundtable 2: Regional Perspectives on Multistakeholderism**

Moderator: Mauro Santaniello, University of Salerno

- Carolina Aguerre, Universidad Católica del Uruguay – Latin America
- Fiona Asonga, Technology Service Providers of Kenya (TESPOK) – Africa
- Nibal Idlebi, United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (UNESCWA) – Middle East
- Nadia Tjahja, United Nations University-Comparative Regional Integration Studies (UNU-CRIS) – Europe
- Yang Fan, Xiamen University – East Asia

14:30-15:45 **Paper Panel Session 3: Multistakeholderism and Digital Sovereignty**

Chair: Arun Sukumar, Leiden University

- **(Cyber-) Sovereignty Discourse within the Internet Governance Forum**
Christopher Eglinton and Dmitry Epstein, *Hebrew University of Jerusalem*
- **Global Internet Governance: The Follies of Internet Freedom, Multistakeholderism, and the Rise of Sovereignty Discourse and Digital Constitutionalism**
Neelesh Maheshwari, *South Asian University*
- **Infrastructural Sanctions, the War in Ukraine, and EU Digital Sovereignty**
Niels ten Oever, *University of Amsterdam*; Clément Perarnaud, *Brussels School of Governance*; John Kristoff, *University of Illinois Chicago*; Max Resing, *University of Twente*; Moritz Müller, *University of Twente*; Arturo Filastò, *Open Observatory of Network Interference (OONI)*; Cris Kanich, *University of Illinois Chicago*
- **From Multistakeholderism to Digital Sovereignty: Towards a New Discursive Order in Internet Governance?**
Julia Pohle, *Berlin Social Science Center*; Mauro Santaniello, *University of Salerno*

15:45-16:00 Break

16:00-17:15 **Paper Panel Session 4: Geopolitics of Internet Governance**

Chair: Francesco Amoretti, University of Salerno

- **Shades of Digital-Cyber Sovereignty: A Multilayer Analysis of the China-US Cyber Rivalry**
Giacomo Bruni, *Peace Research Institute Oslo*
- **Privacy Framing in Legislative Hearings after Cambridge Analytica: Analysis of Stakeholders and Discourses**
Dmitry Epstein, *Hebrew University of Jerusalem*; Rotem Medzini, *University of Birmingham*
- **Hollow Multilateralism: How Autocracies Contest Norms and Procedures of International Organizations**

Daniëlle Flonk, *Hitotsubashi University*, Maria J. Debre, *Zeppelin University Friedrichshafen*

- **The Securitization of Data Flows in the Context of Sino-American Relations: Potential Impact on Internet Fragmentation**
Marilia Maciel, *Diplo Foundation*

17:30-19:30 Reception Democracy Drinks, Sponsored by ICANN
New Ways of Democracy in Internet Governance



Location: Hague Humanity Hub, Fluwelen Burgwal 58, 2511 CJ The Hague
Speakers: Alisa Heaver, Netherlands Ministry of Economic Affairs & Climate
Jamal Shahin, Free University of Brussels
Moderator: Jan Aart Scholte, Leiden University

Speaker Profiles

Carolina Aguerre



Carolina is Associate Professor at the Department of Humanities and Communication at the Universidad Católica del Uruguay (UCU) and honorary co-director of the Centre for Technology and Society (CETYS) at Universidad de San Andrés (Argentina). Her research interests cover theories and practices around the governance of communications technologies, including the Internet and artificial intelligence and the intersection with the political economy of these technologies and north-south dialogues.

Fiona Asonga



Fiona is Chief Executive Officer of the Technology Service Providers Association of Kenya (TESPOK), which operates the Kenya Internet Exchange Point and Industry Computer Security Incident Response Team. Fiona is an expert in Kenya's ICT sector, advising the private sector and East African governments on ICT policy and regulations. Fiona is a keen advocate of ICT for development and multi-stakeholder engagement for digital development and sits on the Executive Council of the UN IGF.

Anriette Esterhuysen



Anriette led the Association for Progressive Communications (APC) from 2000 to 2017, and now advises on internet governance. She chairs the UN Internet Governance Forum's Multistakeholder Advisory Group (MAG) and served on the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace. An Internet Hall of Fame inductee, she received the Electronic Frontier Foundation's Pioneer Award. Anriette serves on the boards of Connect Humanity, the IGF Support Association, and the South African Tertiary Research and Education Network (TENET).

Alexia González



Alexia is Policy Analyst at the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) with extensive experience in communication sector analysis. She focuses on the evolution of wireless networks and the environmental sustainability of communication networks. In the past, Alexia worked as an economic advisor to one of the five board members of the former Federal Telecommunications Commission (COFETEL) in Mexico (2010-2011) and was a trainee at the Under-Ministry of Communications in Mexico (2008).

Alisa Heaver



Alisa is Senior Policy Officer at the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs and Climate Policy. She has been working on Internet governance for the Dutch government for over 3 years. She participates actively in the Internet Governance Forum (IGF), since last year as a member of its Multistakeholder Advisory Group (MAG). She also represents the Dutch government in the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN). At a national level Alisa engages with the Netherlands IGF and other public-private partnerships such as the Dutch Standardisation Forum.

Hu Xianhong



Xianhong is UNESCO's Programme Specialist at the Sector of Communication and Information. She serves on the Secretariat of UNESCO's Intergovernmental Program of Information for All (IFAP) and leads on the UNESCO Internet Universality R.O.A.M principles (Rights, Openness, Accessibility, Multi-stakeholder) indicators project. Her policy work relates to humanistic digital governance and transformation, the ethical implications of Artificial Intelligence and other emerging technologies, and building humanistic and inclusive Knowledge Societies. She serves as member on the Steering Committee European Dialogue of Internet Governance (EuroDIG) and the International Conference on Theory and Practice of Electronic Governance (ICEGOV).

Nibal Idlebi



Nibal is Acting Director of the Statistics, Information Society and Technology Cluster at the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for West Asia (UNESCWA) in Beirut. She is senior expert on technology and innovation policy, knowledge society, digital and open government and STI for sustainable development. She has led regional initiatives to boost the appropriate use of technology and innovation and accelerate the implementation of SDGs in the Arab region. Nibal is a jury member of regional and international awards on innovation, entrepreneurship, digital content and e-Government.

Olaf Kolkman



Olaf is Principal, Internet Technology, Policy, and Advocacy at the Internet Society. He has two and a half decades of experience in Internet technology and policy matters of security and trustworthiness of the Internet. He is executive-level advisor to and spokesperson of the Internet Society. He serves on several advisory boards and is treasurer of the Global Forum on Expertise in Cyberspace. He served as chair of the Internet Architecture Board (IAB) between 2007 and 2011 and was commissioner on the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace.

Markus Kummer



Markus is an Internet governance and policy expert. He is Senior Advisor to the Geneva Internet Platform (GIP) and the DiploFoundation. He is former Chair of the IGFS Executive Committee and Vice-Chair of the Internet Society Switzerland Chapter. In 2014-17 he served on the Board of the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN) and in 2011-14 as Vice-President of the Internet Society. In 2004-11 he was Executive Coordinator of the United Nations Working Group on Internet Governance and the Secretariat supporting the Internet Governance Forum (IGF). Markus served as a career diplomat in the Swiss Foreign Ministry between 1979 and 2004.

Milton Mueller



Milton is an internationally prominent scholar specializing in the political economy of information and communication. His work informs public policy, and scholarship in science and technology studies (STS), law, economics, communications, and international studies. His books are acclaimed scholarly accounts of the global governance regime emerging around the Internet. Milton's research employs theoretical tools of institutional economics, STS and political economy, as well as historical, qualitative and quantitative methods.

Elena Plexeida



Elena is Vice President for Government and IGO Engagement at the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN). Previously she worked on internet governance issues for the European Commission DG CONNECT. Before that, she was a Telecom Attaché with the Permanent Representation of Greece to the European Union. During the Greek Presidency of the Council of the EU, Elena co-chaired the Council Working Party on Telecommunications and Information Society. She was also an international affairs officer at the Hellenic Ministry of Telecom.

Jamal Shahin



Jamal is Programme Director and Associate Professor at the Brussels School of Governance (Vrije Universiteit Brussel), Senior Lecturer at the University of Amsterdam, and Professorial Fellow at UNU-CRIS in Bruges. At UNU-CRIS, Jamal heads up the Digital Governance cluster. His research interests focus on digital sovereignty and related issues, specifically in a European (Union) context. He investigates how new forms of social and political organisation at the global level influence the effectiveness and legitimacy of decision-making.

Nadia Tjahja



Nadia is a PhD Fellow and Co-Coordinator of the Digital Governance Cluster at the United Nations University Institute on Comparative Regional Integration Studies (UNU-CRIS) and a PhD researcher at the Centre for Digitalisation, Democracy and Innovation (CD2I) at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB) working on the Global and Regional Multistakeholder Institutions (GREMLIN) project, where she is researching the legitimacy of multistakeholderism in Internet governance.

Yang Fan



Fan is Assistant Professor of international law at Xiamen University (China). He is currently Visiting Associate Fellow at The Hague Program on International Cyber Security at Leiden University. He is the initiator and Deputy Director of the Cyberspace International Law Center at Xiamen University School of Law and the Deputy Director of the International Economic Law Institute of Xiamen University. He is a liaison and expert for the Sino-EU Expert Working Group on the Application of International Law in Cyberspace.

Guus van Zwoll



Guus serves as Senior Policy Coordinator at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in The Hague, leading the Digital Rights and Governance unit. He navigates the intricate international public policy landscape with a dedicated focus on advancing human rights, digital governance, and enhancing global digital security. Guus has held a series of influential roles within the human rights sphere, specializing in the (digital) security of Human Rights Defenders. He initiated the Dutch Shelter City Initiative and served as the Head of Secretariat at ProtectDefenders.eu.

Conference Organizing Committee

- Meryem Marzouki, Global Internet Governance & Digital Rights Expert
- Mauro Santaniello, Internet & Communication Policy Centre, University of Salerno
- Jan Aart Scholte, Global Transformations and Governance Challenges, Leiden University (Co-Chair)
- Tatiana Tropina, Cyber Security Governance, Leiden University (Co-Chair)
- Annik-Marianne Tiedt, Conference Assistant

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- Arun Sukumar, Leiden University
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- Francesco Amoretti, University of Salerno
- Hortense Jongen, Free University Amsterdam
- Jamal Shahin, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, UNU-CRIS & University of Amsterdam
- Jan Aart Scholte, Leiden University
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