Center for Deliberative Democracy

Piloting the use of Deliberative Polling for Multistakeholder Internet Governance: *Considered Judgments on Access for the Next Billion*

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Abstract

Multistakeholder Internet governance aspires to fulfill democratic values in a process of dialogue producing results that can be considered for possible action. How can these goals be accomplished when the participants in these processes come from entities as varied as corporations, governments, civil society and academia drawn from countries all over the world? How can such a multistakeholder process embody democratic values? How can it be based on dialogue? What kinds of results can it produce?

We report here on an approach that offers a practical answer to these questions. We piloted it at the Internet Governance Forum (IGF) in João Pessoa, Brazil in December 2015. We set out criteria for evaluation and report the results.

The solution we explore is deliberation among a stratified random sample of *netizens*, citizens of the internet, drawn from all the relevant stakeholders, engaged together in dialogue and with opinions collected in confidential questionnaires before and after deliberation. The process is called Deliberative Polling and it has been applied around the world, but mostly with samples of the mass public. What would happen with a population of experts? Can this approach serve as a viable method facilitating multistakeholder Internet governance?

This pilot application focused on the topic of Internet access—policy proposals to increase access for the next billion users. An advisory group clarified policy options and vetted briefing materials for balance and accuracy. A stratified random sample of the IGF population was given the initial questionnaire, recruited to deliberations and given a post deliberation questionnaire. The results are encouraging in terms of representativeness (in demographics and policy attitudes), changes in policy attitudes, knowledge gain, evidence of equal participation and reasoned deliberation as shown by qualitative data. We believe it demonstrates the possibility that deliberators drawn from all these sectors can participate in substantive dialogue weighing the merits of issues and coming to specific conclusions. The pilot was limited in its duration and scale but produced, nevertheless, results that strongly support the conclusion that this approach to multistakeholder Internet governance is viable.

1. The Challenge of Multistakeholder Governance

Internet governance has long aspired to implement "multistakeholder" processes that are "democratic" and inclusive for all relevant parties. More specifically, the UN sponsored Tunis Agenda (WSIS 2005) prescribed that "A multistakeholder approach should be adopted, as far as possible, at all levels" of Internet governance (paragraph 37). The same document called for the creation of the Internet Governance Forum (IGF), as a "space for dialogue among all stakeholders" on "Internet-related policy issues." The hope was for a process of dialogue that is "multilateral, multistakeholder, democratic and transparent."[2] It should consider issues "that are cross-cutting and multidimensional and that either affect more than one institution, are not dealt with by any institution or are not addressed in a coordinated manner."[3]

The multistakeholder approach was reaffirmed in 2014 by the *NetMundial* governance principles: "Internet governance should be built on democratic, multistakeholder processes, ensuring the meaningful and accountable participation of all stakeholders, including governments, the private sector, civil society, the technical community, the academic community and users (emphasis added)."

When the UN extended the IGF for another ten years in 2015, it said "that the management of the Internet as a global facility includes multilateral, transparent, democratic and multistakeholder processes." It took note of the variety of parties that must be included: "the full involvement of Governments, the private sector, civil society, international organizations, technical and academic communities, and all other relevant stakeholders in accordance with their respective roles and responsibilities" (paragraph 57).

How are all these very different perspectives and actors to be included while also making the process "democratic"? How can multistakeholder processes coexist with multilateral processes that typically involve negotiations among governments? National decision-making regarding the Internet could lead to a very different vision than an open multistakeholder process including all the relevant parties.[4] Perhaps the multistakeholder processes can apply to a broader sphere and encompass the multilateral ones, as if there were a larger and smaller "Russian Metrjoska" as Wolfgang Kleinwächter has suggested.[5] But then the question of how the larger doll, the multistakeholder process, performs its distinctive functions would still need to be resolved. The ambiguities in what might constitute multistakeholder governance remain.

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[2] WSIS Tunis Agenda for the Information Society. See http://www.itu.int/net/wsis/docs2/tunis/off/6rev1.html. See also discussion in Jeremy Malcolm *Multi-Stakeholder Governance and the Internet Governance Forum* (Perth: Terminus Press, 2008) pp. 3-4.

[3] Ibid.

[4] See Cerf et al for observations on the difficulties that ensue when multilateralism supplants the multistakeholder approach. Their case is WCIT in Dubai (Cerf et al "Internet Governance Is Our Shared Responsibility" *I/S: A Journal of Law and Policy for the Information Society,* 2014, pp. 12-19).

[5] See Wolfgang Kleinwächter "IGF, WSIS10+ & WIC: Three World Conferences for One Internet". http://www.circleid.com/posts/20151221_igf_wsis_10_wic_three_world_conferences_for_one_internet/

In this situation there have been various calls for innovation in the processes of multistakeholder governance. Cerf, Ryan and Senges (2014) want to "encourage further development of mechanisms (emphasis added) for global debate, deliberation and cooperation in policy development at places like the Internet Governance Forum (IGF)" They call for the development of "well defined processes" that would "identify the best way to resolve issues" (p. 31). Almeida, reflecting on *NetMundial* says, "the ability to innovate and create has been at the heart of the Internet's remarkable growth. Innovation should also be part of evolving the governance process" (Almeida 2014). And when the UN renewed the IGF it said the forum "should continue to show progress on working modalities and the participation of relevant stakeholders from developing countries" (paragraph 63). Hence there is a mandate for further progress in methods or "working modalities" particularly those that will further inclusion of the developing countries.

The IGF provides a good environment to explore these challenges. It was explicitly established as a forum for multistakeholder governance embodying the full range of criteria mentioned above. We explore it here as a venue for testing a mechanism in the effort to innovate multistakeholder processes.

Consider some of the aspirations mentioned above:

a) "The full involvement of Governments, the private sector, civil society, international organizations, technical and academic communities, and all other relevant stakeholders in accordance with their respective roles and responsibilities."
b) "Multistakeholder"
c) "Transparent"
d) "Cross-cutting"
e) "Democratic"
f) Based on "dialogue"
g) "Consider Issues in a coordinated manner"
h) Provide "recommendations" (non-binding)

According to a) and b) the process should be transnational and involve governments, the private sector, civil society, etc. As a multistakeholder process it should represent various entities and individuals who are not nation-states, but representatives of civil society, corporations and individuals. It should be a transparent and hence public process. It will deal with cross-cutting issues that affect a range of stakeholders, nation-states and perspectives. It will aim to do all this in a democratic manner through "dialogue" that is "coordinated" and provides "recommendations."

Fulfilling all of these criteria poses some challenges. First, this combination of criteria is difficult because of the "democratic" condition. The inclusion of both multilateral and multistakeholder requirements means nation state representatives, individuals, NGOs and those from corporations all must be represented in the same "democratic" process. However, democracy requires, among other things, an element of political equality or equal representation. Yet the components of the process are utterly different in their scale, resources and influence. How does one represent nation states, individuals and NGOs for example in an equal way in a coordinated process?

A second challenge is that the process must involve dialogue. How does one have a meaningful dialogue among such different kinds of entities? The largest entities, nation states and corporations can easily overwhelm the others. Furthermore representatives of some of these entities are likely to be constrained, as ambassadors would, to follow instructions, while other participants, such as those from civil society, may feel freer to offer their personal opinions. A dialogue where some are bound and some are free to express whatever they think may be distorted by a reluctance of many to react to the merits of the argument.

A third challenge is that the process needs to consider issues in a "coordinated manner" so as to arrive at "non-binding recommendations." Hence it is not just talk. It must be a process that is democratic and inclusive to achieve legitimacy for the conclusions it generates about what should be done.

A fourth challenge is that this multilateral, multistakeholder democratic process needs to operate in a "transparent" way. Transparency is usually a laudable virtue of institutions. However, in this context it may only enforce the tendency of the multilateral representatives to behave as ambassadors, feeling constrained to offer the views of their governments or institutions.

2. Deliberative Democracy as a Method to Improve Multistakeholder Governance

We believe that deliberative democracy mechanisms such as Deliberative Polling[6] can be adapted to address some Internet Governance questions in a way that mitigates the challenges listed above. The solution is to practice deliberative democracy among netizens through a mechanism of inclusion applying to all the stakeholders. By netizens we mean individuals who will act as if they are members of a demos or political entity constituted by users of the Internet. They may also have other memberships, but for the purposes of this exercise we asked them to respond with their sincere views on Internet governance issues as deliberative citizens of the Internet.

Stratified random sampling of the relevant population is employed as the mechanism of inclusion to recruit a representative sample of deliberative netizens. The individuals from various entities can have their views represented equally, on an individual basis as required by political equality, even though there are evident inequalities among nation states, individuals, corporations, NGO's etc. Confidential questionnaires are employed to gather what might be their sincere opinions, both before and after deliberation. The application of secret ballots (confidential questionnaires) is transparent, even if any particular individual's secret ballot is not.

A representative sample is not the same as a sample of representatives. If the process works well, the participants will be "representative" of the relevant population, but they

[6] See http://cdd.stanford.edu

will not be "representatives" in the sense of electoral democracy. They are not delegates or ambassadors from their respective institutions. Rather they are intended to be a microcosm of the relevant internet community (in this case the IGF community) engaged to think about the issues and to respond with their sincere views on the merits. This solution allows for dialogue, transparency and a method of generating conclusions through a democratic process that counts people's views equally. It is not meant to be a method of final decision but one that can point the way to some collective judgments and in that spirit, enhance the dialogue.

There are several empirical challenges to this approach. In this report we describe how we tested them with a pilot conducted in conjunction with the IGF in João Pessoa, Brazil in 2015.

There is a preliminary consideration, which is ultimately a philosophical question. If we employ stratified random sampling to recruit participants in the deliberations, should the sample represent the IGF as it is? Or, if the IGF has certain limitations in its representativeness, should the sample be selected to represent the IGF as we think it should be? For example, better representation of women and the global south versus global north? Or, if the process is applied to a multistakeholder governance community that is dominated by certain sectors and under-represented by others, should the proportions be adjusted? In theory this could be done, if there were a clear rationale that specified the right proportions for the decision to be made. For example, in some contexts, there might be an argument for representing the sectors equally. Doing so would depart from the rationale of providing a representative sample for the deliberations. However, that is not our approach in this pilot. For this pilot we attempted to represent the IGF community as it is, not as it might ideally be. We note this issue for future discussions and experiments.

We now turn to a series of empirical challenges:

a) Is it possible to recruit a random and representative sample from the IGF community to participate? The representativeness can be evaluated by comparing participants and non-participants (those who take the initial survey but do not participate in the deliberations) in both attitudes and demographics.
b) Would IGF participants be effectively motivated to take part?
c) Will there be significant opinion change at the individual level? One potential impediment is that the participants may feel bound to offer the views of the entities that employ them (governments, corporations, NGOs). If this were the case, the deliberative process would not engage them as netizens. Significant opinion change would be an important finding in that it would provide a response to this challenge. And, in particular opinion change of government and private sector participants.
d) If there are significant opinion changes, can the reasoning supporting those changes be identified? Evidence on this point would buttress the picture of deliberative netizens coming to considered judgments.
e) Will there be significant knowledge gain? One might argue that the IGF population is already so knowledgeable that we cannot expect it to learn much.

f) Are the opinion changes distorted by inequalities in certain demographics, such as gender or region (e.g. the divide between the global south and the global north)? For example, if the opinions tended to move systematically in the direction of those held by the men or those held by those from the global north, that might support a picture of domination by the more advantaged undermining claims about the authenticity of the deliberative process.

We will explore these questions below.

3. Setup and Analysis of the Pilot Deliberative Poll @ IGF 2015

The Deliberative Polling pilot, DP@IGF2015, was a joint initiative between the Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law's Program on Liberation Technology[7] (CDDRL) and the Center for Deliberative Democracy at Stanford University[8] (CDD). The briefing materials and the agenda for "increasing access for the next billion users" was supervised by a distinguished advisory committee[9] supplemented by a range of additional international experts.[10]

We offer the substantive results here because they illustrate the operation of the process as a pilot for future efforts. The briefing materials described thirteen specific policy options for increasing access combined with pros and cons for each option. The overall process was vetted for balance and accuracy by members of the advisory committee and additional experts noted here. We developed a detailed questionnaire about the policy options and additional questions that might shed light on support or opposition to them, as well as knowledge questions and questions evaluating the process. We report on those results here. The briefing materials are available as Appendix G.

There were two online DP sessions held before the IGF and one face to face on the afternoon of day 0. All the sessions involved small group discussions with trained moderators and plenary sessions where questions agreed to during the small groups were directed to panels of competing experts.

A stratified random sample of past and present IGF participants was invited to take the initial survey and deliberate. Participants were offered the option of participating in the deliberations online or face to face. There were two online sessions conducted on Google Hangouts (over a four hour period) and there was a face-to-face version on day 0 at the IGF meetings in João Pessoa. The schedules were comparable for both approaches. In both the

[7] http://cddrl.fsi.stanford.edu/libtech/
[8] http://cdd.stanford.edu/
[9] The advisory committee members were: Vint Cerf, Janis Karklins, Hartmut Glaser, Wolfgang Kleinwächter, Eileen Donahoe, Urs Gasser, Jeremy Malcolm, and Yurie Ito.
[10] In addition, other leading experts offered comments on drafts of the materials. These experts included: Ang Peng Hwa, Dan Werner, David O'Brien, Deniz Duru Aydin, Eli Sugarman, Eric Jardine, Fen Hampson, Fiona McAlpine, Gordon Smith, Justine Isola, Nico Sell, Rebecca MacKinnon. In addition, several Stanford students made notable contributions to the drafting process. These included: Sarah Al Saleh, David Jonason, Jackie Kerr, Elaine Korzak, Yea-Seul Lim, Jeremy Mann, Liam McCarty, and Michael Ramadan.

online and face to face versions there was only one round of small group and plenary sessions. Full scale Deliberative Polls have always had at least two, if not more.

Briefly on Deliberate Polling®
The CDD developed a five-step approach to facilitate the deliberative democratic process, called Deliberate Polling®, see: http://cdd.stanford.edu/polls/docs/summary/. *Professor James Fishkin proposed Deliberative Polling® in 1988 to assess what a population would really think about an issue if it considered tradeoffs and competing arguments in depth and on the basis of good information. The process "combines deliberation in small group discussions with scientific random sampling to provide public consultation for public policy and for electoral issues." (*http://cdd.stanford.edu)

Deliberative Polling® examines the changes in opinion through questionnaires administered both before-and-after deliberation in small group discussions and in plenary sessions in which questions from the small groups are answered by competing experts representing different points of view. In addition, qualitative data from the group discussions shed light on the reasoning behind the sample's considered judgments. The CDD has collaborated with various partners around the world to apply Deliberative Polling® more than 70 times in 24 countries. Cases include the United States, European Union, various African countries and China. Most recently, Deliberative Polling® enabled residents of Ulaanbaatar, the capital of Mongolia, to impact the budgetary decisions on capital projects for their government.

Hence we should state at the outset that we consider this project a pilot for two reasons. First, the treatment, the period of deliberation was half the period these projects normally last. Second, the sample size is far smaller than for a normal Deliberative Poll (which are typically three to five times larger in the number of participants). Yet as we shall see below, despite the truncated treatment and the small sample size there were numerous statistically significant changes in opinion. This result might be surprising given a third difference from most Deliberative Polls—the participants in this deliberation were from an expert population rather than the mass public. Hence, these participants are more informed and likely have more settled opinions, than the general public. This factor would make it reasonable to expect little opinion change.

3.1 Representativeness

Appendices A and B compare the participants and non-participants (persons that were invited and completed the questionnaire but did not attend the event.) Appendix A compares them in demographics and Appendix B in their policy attitudes.

Demographically, the participants did not differ significantly from the non-participants. The gender breakdown was exactly the same between participants and non-participants, 62.3 percent male and 37.7 female. The average age in years was 45.9 for participants and

43.3 for non-participants, with majority of participants being employed full-time. Participants and non-participants did not differ significantly on industry sectors: academia represented 24 percent for participants and non-participants and the technology/private sector represented 34 percent for participants and 36 percent for non-participants. The sectors with slightly larger differences were civil society, 22 percent for participants and 29.5 percent for non-participants; and government, 16 percent for participants and 7 percent for non-participants. In terms of geographical locations, participants were from various parts of the world with the majority of participants being from North America (31 percent), South America (15 percent), Europe (15 percent), then followed by Asia (12 percent) and Africa (12 percent). A full breakdown and comparison of participants and non-participants is available in Appendix A.

Attitudinally, participants and non-participants had few statistically significant differences. Of the thirty attitude questions on the issues discussed, only seven questions were statistically different at 0.10 or below and only three of the questions with significant differences between participants and non-participants concerned the policy proposals.[11] The full breakdown of all attitude questions and comparisons for participants and non-participants are available in Appendix B.

3.2 Policy Attitude Results

The participants deliberated on thirteen proposals that covered four different themes: 1) "*Leaving it to the market and market innovations" as a method for increasing access to the Internet, 2) "Offering free access by different means", 3) "Increased national and international action" to increase access, and 4) "Beyond connectivity: Proposals to improve access to content and tools."*

Seven of the thirteen policy proposals show statistically significant differences between the initial survey responses of participants and those offered post deliberation. Under the theme of *leaving it to the market and market innovations,* the proposal to "encourage advertising funded (free equal rating) access for Internet services" experienced a statistically *significant decrease in support* (*p-value of 0.023)*, from a mean of 5.26 pre-deliberation to 4.32 post-deliberation (on a 0 to 10 scale, where 10 represents extremely important and 0 represents extremely unimportant and 5 is the midpoint). On the one hand, this proposal would increase free access without violating net neutrality but on the other hand, it would require the poor to be exposed to advertising in exchange for access.

From the second theme on providing free access to the Internet, participants increased their support for the proposal to "facilitate free public access by non-government institutions, such as local businesses or user communities," from an already high pre-

[11] The three proposals were: "leave it to market to increase access", "encourage advertising funded (free Equal Rating) access for Internet services", and "place limits of intellectual property costs for smartphones and other access-enabling technology". On the first two proposals, participants and non-participants were on the same side of the scale rating the proposals as low priority, on the third, participants and non-participants were both modestly above the mid-point. Overall there were limited attitudinal differences between participants and non-participants on the policy proposals.

deliberation mean of 7.39 to 8.41 post deliberation, the p-value is 0.009. On the one hand, local businesses and user communities can provide access without burdening local governments. On the other hand, this proposal could give those businesses a great deal of information and control over users' use of the Internet.

On the third theme of *increasing national and international action,* participants decreased their support for all three proposals: "encourage coordinated international action through the Digital Solidarity Fund", "establish a multistakeholder clearinghouse to connect funders with projects for global Internet access", and "governments should be encouraged to make best efforts to ensure access to the Internet as a right." The first proposal on the Digital Solidarity Fund had a pre-deliberation mean of 6.85 and decreased to 5.48 post-deliberation, with p-value of 0.001. On the one hand the Digital Solidarity Fund could help fund and coordinate universal access. On the other hand it could increase "red tape" and administrative overhead. The second proposal on having a multistakeholder clearinghouse started at 7.62 and ended at 6.5, with a p-value of 0.004. On the one hand the clearinghouse could be a "one-stop shop" for global investments in Internet connectivity efforts. On the other hand it could disrupt existing practices and has no clear funding source. And, the third proposal on Internet as a right started at 8.14 and ended at 6.94, p-value of 0.008. On the one hand Internet access is increasingly seen as a necessity for participation in all aspects of modern life. On the other hand, there are so many people without clean water, medical attention and food that establishing the Internet as a "right" might distract from other urgent needs. All of these changes were highly significant statistically.

Lastly, the proposal beyond connectivity on "place[ing] limits of Intellectual Property costs for smartphones and other access-enabling technology" had a significant increase, from 5.40 to 6.23, with p-value of 0.032. On the one hand, this proposal, inspired by the pharmaceutical industry for drugs in developing countries, would help reduce the cost of Internet technology and hence might increase access. On the other hand, IP plays a crucial role in incentivizing research and development by assuring future returns.

Participants also changed their views towards some empirical premises. After deliberations, participants came to disagree more strongly with the statement "Free public WIFI access will disrupt the market for commercial Internet providers", as disagreement increased modestly from 3.81 to 4.14, with p-value of 0.061. And, participants also moved modestly away from agreeing that "Government sponsored free public WIFI access will raise surveillance and monitoring concerns," (from 2.51 to 2.86). On the issue of establishing funds to increase access to the Internet, after deliberation, participants came to feel more strongly that "each country should be left to do what is best for its people" support increased from 3.32 to 2.91 (a lower number means more support), with p-value of 0.037.

A full table with all questions is available in Appendix C.

Policy Priorities

In addition to considering opinion change, we should consider the policy priorities at the end of the deliberations. All thirteen proposals were rated on the same 0 to 10 scale, where 0 was "lowest possible priority" and 10 was "highest possible priority" with 5 exactly in the middle. Hence we can rank them by their time 2 ratings. These are the most important priorities for action in the view of the sample after they have considered all the arguments for and against the proposals. Even when there is no change in the rating, it is worth noting that the importance attributed to the proposal was sustained in the face of in depth argument on either side.

The top two ideas were the proposals for free public access in government centers such as schools or libraries and at non-government institutions such as local businesses or user communities. The latter increased significantly. There was also very strong support (ranking third) for government actions to nurture market competition, presumably based on the idea that competition would lower prices and hence increase access. The next two proposals, establishing universal service funds and encouraging nations to consider the Internet as a right, both dropped significantly, but they were still rated high enough post-deliberation to rank fourth and fifth.

Turning to the bottom of the priority list, Zero rating and the alternative of equal rating with free advertising ranked 13th and 11th respectively, with the free advertising proposal dropping significantly. Concerns with net neutrality produced an intense debate on zero rating as we will see below.

Table I: Policy Priorities Ranked Highest to Lowest Post-Deliberation

Proposals Ranked Highest to Lowest by POST Deliberation

	Pre	Post	Post-Pre	Sig.
Q1) On a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 is lowest possible priority, 10 is highest possible priority, and 5 is exactly in the middle, what priority would you say each of the following should have for increasing access to the Internet?				
f. Facilitate free public access by local government centers such as schools and libraries	8.53	8.78	0.255	0.339
g. Facilitate free public access by non-government institutions, such as local businesses or user communities	7.39	8.41	1.018	0.009***
e. Increase government actions to nurture market competition	7.48	7.84	0.357	0.201
h. Encourage nations to establish Universal Service Funds to provide Internet access to all citizens	7.83	7.11	-0.722	0.061*
k. Governments should be encouraged to make best efforts to ensure access to the Internet as a right	8.14	6.94	-1.204	0.008***
d. Encourage the spread of micro-financed community phones	6.21	6.68	0.464	0.249
j. Establish a multistakeholder clearinghouse to connect funders with projects for global Internet access	7.62	6.50	-1.115	0.004***
m. Place limits of Intellectual Property costs for smartphones and other access-enabling technology	5.40	6.23	0.830	0.032*
l. Promote a global intermediary liability regime to limit the liability of ISPs and platform providers for actions of their users	6.71	6.16	-0.556	0.360
i. Encourage coordinated international action through the Digital Solidarity Fund	6.85	5.48	-1.370	0.001***
c. Encourage advertising funded (free Equal Rating) access for Internet services	5.26	4.32	-0.943	0.023**
a. Leave it to the market to increase access	3.88	3.92	0.033	0.922
b. Encourage zero rating for particular services and content	3.87	3.4	-0.472	0.292

Note: The survey results presented are means from pre deliberation and post deliberation, with the different between the post and pre deliberation mean and statistical significance. Significance below 0.01 is indicated with "***", below .05 with "**" and below .10 with "*".

4. Qualitative Data

Sixteen sessions, fourteen of them were moderated small group discussions and two sessions were plenary discussions with experts, were recorded and transcribed. The transcripts provide a picture of reasoned argument with mutual civility, even on highly contested issues such as zero rating. They also buttress the picture confirmed in quantitative data of relatively equal participation from people all over the world regardless of country and gender (see section 9 below).

The participants offered questions as much as they did answers. They were clearly grappling with trade-offs posed by the various policy options. They drew on their experience and expertise and their reactions to the policy options posed by the briefing materials. The transcripts provide a voluminous amount of data. Our point here is simply to add support to the picture of reason based discussion weighing the arguments for and against the various options.

Table II offers selected excerpts from the discussions for selected policy options. The identifiers have been removed to protect the anonymity of the participants. The proposals are in bold and the quotations are in italics.

Table II: Selected Excerpts from Small Group Discussions

Leave it to the market to increase access. *"There's been some writing recently about economists suggesting that we may be reaching a plateau for Internet penetration, period. And the reasoning for that is that business – the private sector will only invest where there's a market or a profit to be made. Reaching more people, it's going to cost more to give them access than there's any hope of making a return. So I think that our view is very strongly against leaving it entirely to the private sector…. I think it makes a very strong argument for a multistakeholder approach to increasing access."* *"Here's the really worrying part, is that the 20 percent who don't get access in Malaysia, if it's provided by government services, it's highly likely to have the danger of being um, under surveillance, and/or restricted access."* *"I was trying to implement…community wireless projects… We went to separate communities and we actually went to the regulator and said, "You know what? This place is not served and we believe there is sufficient unemployed youth who can run a mini ISP on their own. They just need that license for free. And we were about to be allowed as a nonprofit to be given that. But guess who stopped that? It's the biggest mobile phone company that it said that it's going to create unfair*

competition."

"We moved in the developing countries from state monopolies that were so called to be so bad. Now we have private monopolies. They're only accountable to their shareholders…it's not market stifling because it's not just a market issue. It's the right of people communicating being arrogated into private hands and suffocating that right."

Encourage "zero-rating" for particular services and content

"I don't have a problem with zero rating so long as it's not called Internet. It has nothing to do with the Internet. And it's actually classified as an app, you know, as a company providing an app… But it should clearly distinguish itself from an Internet. Because there's no way one person in one economy or should have one Internet and another one should have another one."

"The argument for zero rating would be that people who can't afford regular Internet access will at least get a little bit of the Internet. But will they get that crucial, infrastructure connectivity that you are talking about, or will they just end up being stuck in the Facebook wall?"

"If we need access and nobody's investing, let's experiment with some form of zero rating, equal rating, whatever. I don't like walled gardens…(but) I'm fine with the broadcasting model, which is I give you some data if you watch this advertisement."

"If you're like a nine year old or eight year old and maybe now younger like four year old, first time experience with the Internet, and all you have is Facebook, you're very likely to think that Facebook is the Internet. It's about you. Because the Internet is not meant to be like that. It's meant to empower, provide information."

"I'm trying to turn the debate around and say, having one of the providers a zero rating is not problematic. If he's the only provider in that market, then I think it's a much bigger problem…. my point was that at least there are some providers that are not zero rating."

"If your cable company gave you Fox News for free, and you had to pay for five other news channels, there's a danger of information control with zero rating. And – and it also gets to the principle behind net neutrality is that you are free over the Internet, right? You want everybody to have access to anything. That's antithetical to that model, and it's a slippery slope between Facebook.org and having large geographies have Internet access that's predefined by a corporation, by a government… And so that's why I think a lot of people are leery about it."

Facilitate free public access by local government centers such as schools and libraries

"The challenge [here] is the sustainability because, certainly in Canada, the government initially funded community center and library access. The government changed, the funding was withdrawn… (in only a few cases) through some combination of private access and Internet cafes and general government funding, have (they) been able to maintain these community centers…. it's a real problem because it creates dependency, and so there needs to be sustainability first." *"What exactly [is] this access in libraries? If a government comes and says, "Oh, this is a telecenter now," and puts some computers there…that is not really empowering people or giving people access to public services online. Wireless networks would prove a much more meaningful investment. When you just have the computers there, you probably will have broken computers in six months and no one to maintain [them]."*
Governments should be encouraged to make best efforts to ensure access to the Internet as a right *"I think this is going to sound bad and I don't mean to sound like it is. In the United States, driving, is not recognized as a right; it's recognized as a privilege. Internet access, because we talked about education and access to knowledge, is much closer to a right but there's a whole, complicated set of hardware that surrounds that. And it's hard for me to conceptualize that free computers for everybody and free cables is a right but the essence of having access to the Internet and the information to me should be a right."* *"If you have the assumption that education is a fundamental right, then you can't really have the proper education in this day and age and the information age without Internet access. But when you say Internet is a right for everybody, does that mean they should be able to go to a public library and get it or does that mean you have to give everybody a computer and they have to get it at home? "* *"The overall objective is to connect the under-served using every tool at our disposal. And to probably the most effective ways of doing that, I just don't know the extent that having a four day debate in the United Nations over whether it's a human right is gonna move the ball on that."*

5. Knowledge Gains

Participants in these pilot deliberations increased their knowledge on all six knowledge questions. The knowledge questions were questions asked specifically about facts related to the proposals and the issue of Internet access overall. Asking specific factual questions with multiple choice answers is the standard practice for measuring knowledge levels in

public opinion research.[12] The question with the highest change was regarding "which of the following companies have offered/offers zero-rating services?" Before deliberation 18 percent answered the question correctly and after deliberation, 36 percent answered correctly. The average increase for the six knowledge questions was 10.6 percent - a highly significant change.

It is worth noting that slightly over half of the participants (55 percent) work professionally to some degree in the field of "access". That is to say that even though these participants spend a significant amount of time professionally on the issue of access, the participants still learned a lot during these pilot deliberations.[13] A full table is available in Appendix D.

6. Civility and Mutual Respect

In deliberations, it is important that even if participants disagree with each other they should respect and listen to each other. A series of questions probed whether participants felt others who disagreed with them actually knew what they were talking about, whether they were not thinking clearly, or just out for their own interests. Keeping in mind that the participants in these pilot discussions are experts in their fields, the results show that participants were respectful of each other and willing to listen to the other side. One question in this battery of questions changed significantly: "they believe some things that aren't true." Before deliberations, participants agreed with this statement, at 6.38, but, after deliberations, participants' agreement decreased to 5.47. Participants became less supportive of this statement. On the other questions in this battery, "they just don't know enough", the means were 5.43 and 5.02 (pre and post); "they are not thinking clearly, the means were 4.93 and 4.54 (pre and post); "they have good reasons; there just are better ones on the other side, the means were 6.54 and 6.67 (pre and post), and lastly, "they are looking out for their own interests", the means were 6.97 and 6.31. This battery is on a 0 to 10 scale, where 10 is strongly agree. These questions can also be found in Appendix C. Overall, participants expressed less cynicism and increased mutual respect. The CDD have observed similar trends in other Deliberative Polls. [14]

7. Deliberative Inequalities

[12] See for example Michael X. Delli Caripini and Scott Keeter *What Americans Know About Politics and Why it Matters* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989).
[13] We have examined the subset of participants who worked to some degree on the access question and their knowledge gain was substantial.
[14] See James S. Fishkin *When the People Speak: Deliberative Democracy and Public Consultation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Some critics of deliberation argue that societal inequalities may be perpetuated despite a structured deliberative environment.[15] And, these concerns are more enhanced in settings like IGF, where the typical participation in such events is dominated by males and/or those from more developed countries. The critics argue that such inequalities not only lead to distorted rates of participation in the discussions, but also to males and those from more developed countries pushing their views onto others, i.e. females and those from less developed countries.

To examine these concerns, the thirteen proposals discussed during this event were analyzed to determine whether participants in the pilot deliberations actually moved towards the opinions of males and those from more developed countries after deliberations. The table in Appendix E illustrates the proportion of small groups that moved toward the pre-deliberation opinions of males and those from the global north, a rough guideline for those from more developed countries. A higher number, closer to 1, means that more groups moved closer to males and those from the global north. The results show that, on average, movement toward males was 0.46, which means that participants moved towards males' pre-deliberation opinion roughly half the time and away from the males' pre-deliberation opinion half the time. And, the result was the same for movement towards the global north, 0.51. This result shows that there was not consistent movement toward or away from males or those from the global north. In other words, participants were not persuaded one way or another by the two groups.

8. Event Evaluations

Participants in the pilot discussions rated their deliberative event highly. 75 percent of participants felt the deliberative event was *valuable* (with 25 percent rating the event 10 out of 10, *extremely valuable*), 83 percent of participants rating the small group discussions as *valuable* (34 percent rating 10 out of 10), and 84 percent rating the ability to meet and talk with others outside of the group discussion as *valuable* (35 percent rating 10 out of 10). The plenary session was rated slightly lower, at 67 percent. Typically, the plenary session receives high marks as well. The somewhat lower rating in this case was likely due to the fact that some experts that could not attend one of the plenary session panels. One of the online plenary sessions could only have one expert, whereas typically our plenary sessions have at least two and usually three experts. Our face-to-face plenary session had six experts and our first online plenary session had three experts.

In evaluating the moderators of the small group discussions, participants felt the moderators "provided the opportunity for everyone to participate in the discussion" (85 percent) and disagreed strongly that "my group moderator sometimes tried to influence the group with his or her own views" (90 percent). Participants also felt that "members of my small group respected each other's views" (88 percent) and that they "learned insights I

[15] See Lynn Sanders "Against Deliberation" for the argument that deliberations, especially in juries, will be distorted by "dominance and inequality" by which the higher status will impose their views on the less advantaged. Lynn Sanders (1997) "Against Deliberation" *Political Theory*, vol. 25 no. 3.

would like to share from my professional colleagues" (80 percent). These are all very positive evaluations. The table for these evaluations results is in Appendix F.

9. Conclusion

This report proposes an approach to complementing the methods of multistakeholder governance by adding a mechanism that has been used successfully in other policy contexts primarily with the mass public—Deliberative Polling. Such experimentation is in line with many calls for refining the mechanisms of multistakeholder dialogue and governance. The project we report on here is a pilot because it was limited both in sample size and in duration of the deliberations. Both factors would have suggested that we would find little of interest in the pilot. Limited time to deliberate would suggest more modest effects than in other Deliberative Polls. Limited sample size would suggest that any substantively large changes would be unlikely to be statistically significant. Instead what happened is that seven of the thirteen policy proposals changed significantly, a substantial number by any standard. Such changes are proof of concept for the idea that a stratified random sample of IGF participants can deliberate as netizens, changing their views based on substance rather than simply taking instruction from their home institutions. Furthermore, the substantial knowledge gains show that even experts can learn from this sort of dialogue. And the results on inequality demonstrate that the process was not dominated by those from the global north or by the male participants—two persistent worries in these forums. The strong event evaluations about every component of the process only buttress this positive picture.

These results show that more ambitious applications are likely to generate representative and thoughtful results from deliberation, results that can satisfy all the criteria for innovation in multistakeholder governance. It is democratic, involves participants from all the sectors on an equal basis in cross-cutting dialogue, and it considers issues in a coordinated manner to provide non-binding recommendations. We believe the results of DPs are worth listening to because they are representative and thoughtful. The process is not distorted by inequalities and it is evidence based. If the results of this first pilot set the example for future experiments, then this method may well advance the processes of multistakeholder governance.

Lessons Learned

The basic message of this pilot is very encouraging for the application of Deliberative Polling to multistakeholder governance issues. But the effort does identify some key challenges going forward. It was very difficult to make initial contact with the sample on the basis of publicly available information. Projects going forward would greatly benefit from partners with more specific information on the contact details of the relevant IG community. Further, the face to face option was more attractive to participants than the purely online version, which was also affected by time differences around the world.

However, we hope to continue experimenting with online versions in this space with other IG relevant communities, perhaps with designs with efforts offering more time options.

Some qualitative feedback suggested that fewer options with more depth on each might have been desirable. Or, alternatively, longer time for deliberation might have been appropriate with such a large agenda. We fully agree that the issues need to be calibrated to fit the time period available for deliberation. In some ways it is remarkable that the project produced this depth of discussion and degree of significant change in an expert population, given the number of options and given the relatively short time for deliberation. We acknowledge that these are issues to be carefully considered going forward.

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Appendix A: Representativeness Analysis

Increasing Internet access to the next billion
Pilot Deliberative Poll 2015
using deliberative democracy in multistakeholder governance

Results
Released at IGF 2015

Note: These results compare participants who completed the entire deliberation process and participants who completed the pre-deliberation survey, but did not attend the event. The statistical significance show whether there is substantive difference between the participants and non-participants.

	Participants (N=61)	Non-Participants (N=241)	Sig.
Gender	**(%)**	**(%)**	NS
Female	37.7	37.7	
Male	62.3	62.3	
Education			NS
Less than high school	0.0	1.0	
High School	0.0	1.5	
Some university/college	21.3	18.5	
Some graduate school	9.8	11.1	
Graduate school	63.9	61.1	
Other	4.9	6.6	
Age (in years)	45.9	43.3	NS
What is your current employment status?			NS
Employed full time	70.5	75.6	
Employed part time	9.8	10.3	
Not employed, but actively looking for work	3.3	2.8	
Student	1.6	5.2	
Not actively looking for work	3.3	0.5	
Other	11.5	5.6	
If employed, what sector are you currently in?			N/A
Academia	24.0	24.2	
Civil Society	22.0	29.5	

Government	16.0	7.4	
Private	4.0	6.3	
Technological Community	30.0	30.3	
Media	4.0	1.6	
Marital Status			NS
Married	59.0	55.8	
Living with a partner	9.8	12.5	
Single	24.6	26.0	
Divorced	6.7	5.8	
Number of children under 18	0.7	0.7	NS
Household income (USD)			NS
Less than $25,000	16.7	25.1	
Between $25,001 and $50,000	18.3	19.1	
Between $50,001 and $75,000	16.7	11.6	
Between $75,001 and $100,000	8.3	13.6	
Between $100,001 and $125,000	6.7	4.5	
Between $125,001 and $150,000	8.3	3.0	
More than $150,000	25.0	23.1	
Regions			NS
Asia	12%	9%	
North America	31%	25%	
Central American/Caribbean	5%	2%	
South America	15%	13%	
Europe	15%	25%	
Middle East/North Africa	5%	10%	
Sub-Saharan Africa	12%	12%	
Oceania	5%	4%	

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Appendix B: Summary Results

Increasing Internet access to the next billion
Pilot Deliberative Poll 2015
using deliberative democracy in multistakeholder governance

Results
Released at IGF 2015

Note: These results compare participants who completed the entire deliberation process and participants who completed the pre-deliberation survey, but did not attend the event. The statistical significance show whether there is substantive difference between the participants and non-participants. Significance below 0.01 is indicated with "***", below .05 with "**" and below .10 with "*".

	Participants (N=61)	Non-Participants (N=241)	Sig.
Q1) On a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 is lowest possible priority, 10 is highest possible priority, and 5 is exactly in the middle, what priority would you say each of the following should have for increasing access to the Internet?			
a. Leave it to the market to increase access	3.88	4.68	0.045**
b. Encourage zero rating for particular services and content	3.80	4.56	0.114
c. Encourage advertising funded (free Equal Rating) access for Internet services	5.20	4.42	0.060*
d. Encourage the spread of micro-financed community phones	6.14	6.40	0.467
e. Increase government actions to nurture market competition	7.48	7.23	0.450
f. Facilitate free public access by local government centers such as schools and libraries	8.61	8.83	0.347
g. Facilitate free public access by non-government institutions, such as local businesses or user communities	7.48	7.89	0.193
h. Encourage nations to establish Universal Service Funds to provide Internet access to all citizens	7.87	7.78	0.816

i. Encourage coordinated international action through the Digital Solidarity Fund	6.85	6.83	0.959
j. Establish a multistakeholder clearinghouse to connect funders with projects for global Internet access	7.62	7.14	0.226
k. Governments should be encouraged to make best efforts to ensure access to the Internet as a right	8.08	8.05	0.939
l. Promote a global intermediary liability regime to limit the liability of ISPs and platform providers for actions of their users	6.75	6.81	0.875
m. Place limits of Intellectual Property costs for smartphones and other access-enabling technology	5.40	6.30	0.054*
Q2) Some people think that Internet access must be increased for the poor, even if that means some people will only have access to a few selected services. Suppose these people are at one end of a 1 to 7 scale at point 1. Other people think all users must be able to connect to the entire Internet, even if that means some of the poor may not get connected. Suppose these people are at Point 7. People who are exactly in the middle are at point 4, and of course other people have opinions at other points between 1 and 7.	4.50	4.11	0.190
Q3) Some people think that responsibility for increasing Internet access to the poor falls primarily on governments. Suppose these people are at one end of a 1 to 7 scale at point 1. Other people think that responsibility for increasing Internet access to the poor falls primarily on the private sector. Suppose these people are at point 7. People who are exactly in the middle are at point 4 and of course people have opinions at other points between 1 and 7.	3.38	3.51	0.497
Q4) How strongly would you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1=strongly agree; 5=strongly disagree)			
a. Free public WIFI access will disrupt the market for commercial Internet providers.	3.81	3.82	0.966
b. Government sponsored free public WIFI access will raise surveillance and monitoring	2.52	2.43	0.562

concerns.			
c. WIFI access provided by small businesses raise surveillance and monitoring concerns.	3.13	2.93	0.251
d. Free public WIFI access at schools and libraries would only benefit already populated areas.	3.83	3.52	0.060*
e. Market forces will quickly bring most people in the world online without the need for any new policies	3.95	3.82	0.479
Q5) And, how strongly would you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about establishing funds within and between countries for increasing access to the Internet? (1=strongly agree; 5=strongly disagree)			
a. Countries will be more capable of providing access to users that the market left out.	2.38	2.36	0.891
b. Countries will be faced with more bureaucracy when obtaining funding.	2.33	2.47	0.375
c. Funds will stifle market competition.	3.96	3.50	0.009
d. International coordination takes too much time and resources.	2.85	2.66	0.290
e. Each country should be left to do what is best for its people.	3.36	3.03	0.092*
f. In most countries, government efforts to increase access are likely to be undermined by corruption.	2.76	2.48	0.096*
Q6) And how strongly would you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (1=strongly agree; 5=strongly disagree)			
a. People can easily survive without the Internet.	3.25	3.61	0.057*
b. Access to the Internet increases economic and social opportunities for individuals.	1.26	1.21	0.560
c. Access to the Internet increases opportunities to participate politically for individuals.	1.42	1.41	0.926
d. Basic necessities, such as food and water, are more important than access to the Internet.	2.18	2.16	0.903

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Appendix C: Before and After Responses

Increasing Internet access to the next billion
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using deliberative democracy in multistakeholder governance

Results
Released at IGF 2015

Note: The survey results presented are means from pre deliberation and post deliberation, with the different between the post and pre deliberation mean and statistical significance. Significance below 0.01 is indicated with "***", below .05 with "**" and below .10 with "*". When reviewing results, please keep in mind the answer scales for each question as questions have varying answer scales.

	Pre	Post	Post-Pre	Sig.
Q1) On a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 is lowest possible priority, 10 is highest possible priority, and 5 is exactly in the middle, what priority would you say each of the following should have for increasing access to the Internet?				
a. Leave it to the market to increase access	3.88	3.92	0.033	0.922
b. Encourage zero rating for particular services and content	3.87	3.40	-0.472	0.292
c. Encourage advertising funded (free Equal Rating) access for Internet services	5.26	4.32	-0.943	0.023**
d. Encourage the spread of micro-financed community phones	6.21	6.68	0.464	0.249
e. Increase government actions to nurture market competition	7.48	7.84	0.357	0.201
f. Facilitate free public access by local government centers such as schools and libraries	8.53	8.78	0.255	0.339
g. Facilitate free public access by non-government institutions, such as local businesses or user communities	7.39	8.41	1.018	0.009***
h. Encourage nations to establish Universal Service Funds to provide Internet access to all citizens	7.83	7.11	-0.722	0.061*
i. Encourage coordinated international action through the Digital Solidarity Fund	6.85	5.48	-1.370	0.001***
j. Establish a multistakeholder clearinghouse to connect funders with projects for global Internet access	7.62	6.50	-1.115	0.004***
k. Governments should be encouraged to make best efforts to ensure access to the Internet as a right	8.14	6.94	-1.204	0.008***
l. Promote a global intermediary liability regime to limit the liability of ISPs and platform providers for actions of their	6.71	6.16	-0.556	0.360

users				
m. Place limits of Intellectual Property costs for smartphones and other access-enabling technology	5.40	6.23	0.830	0.032*
Q2) Some people think that Internet access must be increased for the poor, even if that means some people will only have access to a few selected services. Suppose these people are at one end of a 1 to 7 scale at point 1. Other people think all users must be able to connect to the entire Internet, even if that means some of the poor may not get connected. Suppose these people are at Point 7. People who are exactly in the middle are at point 4, and of course other people have opinions at other points between 1 and 7. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or wouldn't you have an opinion about that?	4.52	4.34	-0.179	0.456
Q3) Some people think that responsibility for increasing Internet access to the poor falls primarily on governments. Suppose these people are at one end of a 1 to 7 scale at point 1. Other people think that responsibility for increasing Internet access to the poor falls primarily on the private sector. Suppose these people are at point 7. People who are exactly in the middle are at point 4 and of course people have opinions at other points between 1 and 7. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or wouldn't you have an opinion about that?	3.38	3.27	-0.117	0.539
Q4) How strongly would you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1=agree strongly; 5=disagree strongly)				
a. Free public WIFI access will disrupt the market for commercial Internet providers.	3.81	4.14	0.333	0.061**
b. Government sponsored free public WIFI access will raise surveillance and monitoring concerns.	2.51	2.86	0.351	0.032**
c. WIFI access provided by small businesses raise surveillance and monitoring concerns.	3.12	3.30	0.175	0.331
d. Free public WIFI access at schools and libraries would only benefit already populated areas.	3.86	3.76	-0.103	0.603
e. Market forces will quickly bring most people in the world online without the need for any new policies	3.90	3.97	0.069	0.754
Q5) And, how strongly would you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about establishing funds within and between countries for increasing access to the Internet? (1=agree strongly; 5=disagree strongly)				
a. Countries will be more capable of providing access to users that the market left out.	2.38	2.60	0.217	0.170
b. Countries will be faced with more bureaucracy when obtaining funding.	2.31	2.38	0.073	0.651

c. Funds will stifle market competition.	3.94	3.70	-0.241	0.102
d. International coordination takes too much time and resources.	2.86	2.76	-0.102	0.436
e. Each country should be left to do what is best for its people.	3.32	2.91	-0.404	0.037**
f. In most countries, government efforts to increase access are likely to be undermined by corruption.	2.78	2.60	-0.172	0.261
Q6) And how strongly would you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? (1=agree strongly; 5=disagree strongly)				
a. People can easily survive without the Internet.	3.25	3.73	0.118	0.424
b. Access to the Internet increases economic and social opportunities for individuals.	1.26	1.23	-0.033	0.698
c. Access to the Internet increases opportunities to participate politically for individuals.	1.42	1.33	-0.083	0.497
d. Basic necessities, such as food and water, are more important than access to the Internet.	2.18	2.15	-0.033	0.818
Q7) And how strongly would you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1=agree strongly; 5=disagree strongly)				
a. Public officials care a lot about what people like me think.	3.26	3.05	-0.207	0.182
b. Most public policy issues are so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.	4.11	4.00	-0.119	0.495
c. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.	3.82	3.80	-0.017	0.918
d. I have opinions about politics that are worth listening to.	1.76	1.56	-0.200	0.181
Q8) Here are some things that people find more or less important for themselves or society to have. On a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 is extremely unimportant, 10 is extremely important, and 5 is exactly in the middle, how important or unimportant would you say each of the following is to you?				
a. Seeing to it that everyone has equal opportunities	9.14	9.36	0.220	0.378
b. Leaving people and companies free to compete economically	5.83	6.08	0.254	0.517
c. Making one's own choices	8.03	8.20	0.167	0.650
d. Making sure the government provides for its people	8.26	8.38	0.121	0.563
e. Making sure that nobody suffers from lack of food or shelter	9.31	9.32	0.017	0.954
f. Earning as much money as possible	3.83	4.30	0.467	0.107
g. Getting to decide exactly what to do with everything I earn	5.74	6.03	0.293	0.480
h. Making sure that government does what the people want	7.88	8.02	0.136	0.651
i. Minimizing the gap between rich and poor	8.22	8.56	0.333	0.284
j. Promoting economic growth	8.40	8.52	0.117	0.707
k. Being able to get a good education	9.14	9.00	-0.143	0.708
l. Having a well educated society	9.16	9.12	-0.246	0.501

m. Having a safe community	9.03	8.98	-0.051	0.870
n. Making sure everyone is literate	9.18	9.14	-0.051	0.879
Q9) Now we'd like you to think about the people who disagree strongly with you about issues like those we've been asking you about. How strongly would you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about those people? (0=disagree strongly, 10=agree strongly)				
a. They just don't know enough	5.43	5.02	-0.415	0.357
b. They believe some things that aren't true	6.38	5.47	-0.909	0.029**
c. They are not thinking clearly	4.93	4.54	-0.389	0.350
d. They have good reasons; there just are better ones on the other side	6.54	6.67	0.127	0.675
e. They are looking out for their own interests	6.97	6.31	-0.655	0.113
Q10) And how strongly would you agree or disagree with each of the following statements, also referring to people who disagree strongly with you about issues like those we've been asking you about?				
a. I respect their point of view, even though it is different from mine.	1.88	1.77	-0.117	0.411
b. It is hopeless to reach agreement with them.	3.72	3.59	-0.138	0.336
c. I would be willing to compromise to find a solution we both can support.	1.73	1.85	0.117	0.253

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Appendix D: Knowledge Questions

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Results
Released at IGF 2015

(% correct)	Pre	Post	Post-Pre	Sig.
Q11) Which of the following companies have offered/offers zero-rating services? (correct: all of the above)	18.0	36.1	+18.0	0.004
Q12) Which of the following Funds was established by the United Nations World Summit of the Information Society (WSIS)? (correct: Digital Solidarity Fund)	55.7	67.2	+11.5	0.090
Q13) Which of following countries has the highest Internet penetration rate? (correct: Latvia)	45.9	59.0	+13.1	0.059
Q14) Approximately, what percentage of the world's population today is connected to the Internet? (correct: 40%)	62.3	67.2	+4.9	0.471
Q15) In 2014, what was the average Internet penetration rate for developing countries? (correct: about 9%)	21.3	21.3	0.0	1.000
Q16) Which of the following countries have recognized access to the Internet as a civil or fundamental right? (correct: Estonia, Finland, France)	45.9	62.3	+16.4	0.007
Knowledge Index	**41.5**	**52.2**	**+10.6**	**0.006**

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Appendix E: Inequality Analyses

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Results

	Proportion of groups moving towards males	Proportion of groups moving towards persons from the global north
Q1a	0.63	0.63
Q1b	0.50	0.38
Q1c	0.13	0.88
Q1d	0.25	0.25
Q1e	0.38	0.38
Q1f	1.00	0.88
Q1g	0.38	0.25
Q1h	0.38	0.38
Q1i	0.63	0.38
Q1j	0.50	0.57
Q1k	0.50	0.71
Q1l	0.50	0.63
Q1m	0.25	0.38
Average	**0.46**	**0.51**

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Appendix F: Event Evaluations

Increasing Internet access to the next billion
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Results
Released at IGF 2015

On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is "a waste of time", 10 is "extremely valuable" and 5 is exactly in the middle, how valuable was each of the following in helping you clarify your positions on the issues?	% Valuable
a. The overall process	75.0
b. Participating in the small group discussions	83.1
c. Meeting and talking together delegates outside of the group discussions	84.3
d. The large group plenary sessions	66.7
	% Agree
And how strongly would you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?	
a. My group moderator provided the opportunity for everyone to participate in the discussion.	85.0
b. The members of my group participated relatively equally in the discussions.	73.3
c. My group moderator sometimes tried to influence the group with his or her own views.	89.8 Strongly Disagree
d. My group moderator tried to make sure that opposing arguments were considered.	66.7
e. The important aspects of the issues were covered in the group discussions.	68.9
f. I learned a lot about people very different from me - about what they and their lives are like.	66.7
g. Few members dominated discussions.	35.0
h. The members of my small group respected each other's views.	88.3
i. I learned insights I would like to share to my professional colleagues.	79.6

And how much time would you say you spent reading the briefing material before today's event?	
None	8.2
About a half hour	26.2
About an hour	44.3
About an hour and a half	9.8
About two hours	11.5
Before the discussions started, how much of the assigned briefing material would you say you had read, on average?	
Just glanced at the materials	21.3
Read less than half of the materials	1.6
Read about half of the materials	6.6
Read more than half of the materials	13.1
Read most or all of the materials	57.4
And by the end of the last discussion, how much of the briefing materials would you say you had read?	
Just glanced at the materials	13.3
Read less than half of the materials	3.3
Read about half of the materials	11.7
Read more than half of the materials	11.7
Read most or all of the materials	60.0
Would you say that the briefing material was mostly balanced, or that it clearly favored some positions over others?	
Completely balanced	10.3
Mostly balanced	77.6
Favored some positions over others	12.1
Don't Know	0.0
On a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 is not at all and 10 is completely, BEFORE you attended this event, to what degree did your professional work focus on the question of Access?	
0 to 4	16.3
5	30.2
6 to 10	54.5

Appendix G: Briefing Material

Increasing Internet access to the next billion

pilot Deliberative Poll 2015
using deliberative democracy in multistakeholder governance

CDDRL STANFORD

Center for Deliberative Democracy

The Deliberative Poll at the Internet Governance Forum 2015 (DP@IGF2015) project is a joint initiative between CDDRL's Program on Liberation Technology and the Center for Deliberative Democracy. It is designed to extend deliberation and consultation within Internet governance through a proven consultative mechanism, the Deliberative Poll, which brings together a representative sample of a community for discussions among participants and with stakeholders.

Under the aegis of the United Nations, there has been an ongoing international effort to develop shared principles shaping the global Internet. This Internet Governance (IG) process is set to grow in significance as cyberspace evolves. In keeping with the consensus statement from the 2014 NETmundial conference, there are fundamental principles that need preservation – human rights, cultural and linguistic diversity, security and stability, and an open unfragmented space, among others. But many of these principles pose tradeoffs and challenges when examined through a policy lens. They deserve - indeed they require - evidence-based, multi-national, multistakeholder deliberations.

A Deliberative Poll (DP) in this unique context will tackle the problem of democratic representation in a global, multistakeholder and multi-layered governance context. It will:

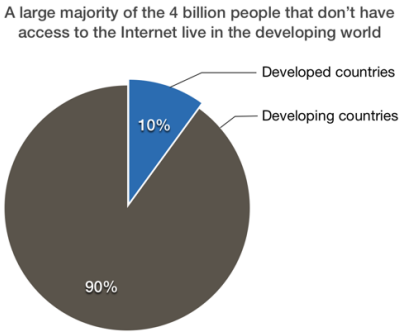
1. Provide specific results, based on the aggregation of all the individual deliberative judgments;
2. Move the dialogue beyond general consensus statements, which often just paper over differences, to confront trade-offs and the pros and cons of specific proposals; and,
3. Clarify where genuine movement is possible by revealing the reasoning in support of and opposition to the policy choices provided.

More concretely it will produce the following outcomes: First, it will allow IG decision makers around the world to be able to consider polling results from well-informed “netizens” as a reference. Second, the project will also surface the effect of informed deliberation by analyzing the delta between the preferences of stakeholders as they developed their opinions through “normal” media coverage and campaigning, versus the preferences they hold after they have been exposed to balanced briefings and deliberations. Third, we believe that the creation of balanced briefing materials about global Internet policy challenges contribute an important resource and reference point in this very complex and fast moving policy sphere. This unique experiment is the first of its kind seeking to address global IG challenges and policy trade-offs within the framework of a Deliberative Poll. For more information on Deliberative Polling see: **http://cdd.stanford.edu/what-is-deliberative-polling/**

Working in close collaboration with an expert advisory committee to vet various issues of importance to this field, this project would use the DP as an experiment in multistakeholder Internet governance. The results of this project would provide informed opinions of “netizens” to the public and policymakers on topics related to global Internet system, its substantive challenges and how it can arrive at decisions. This project will produce balanced briefing materials for use by the DP participants and providing them with an opportunity to share their opinions in confidential questionnaires. In addition, the small group discussions will allow for qualitative analyses in addition to the quantitative data captured in the surveys. A stratified random sample of the IGF will be engaged to deliberate in a pilot Deliberative Poll either online or face-to-face. There are plans for a full scale Deliberative Poll at a later date. This unique experiment is the first of its kind seeking to address the topic of access to the Internet and policy trade-offs within the framework of a Deliberative Poll.

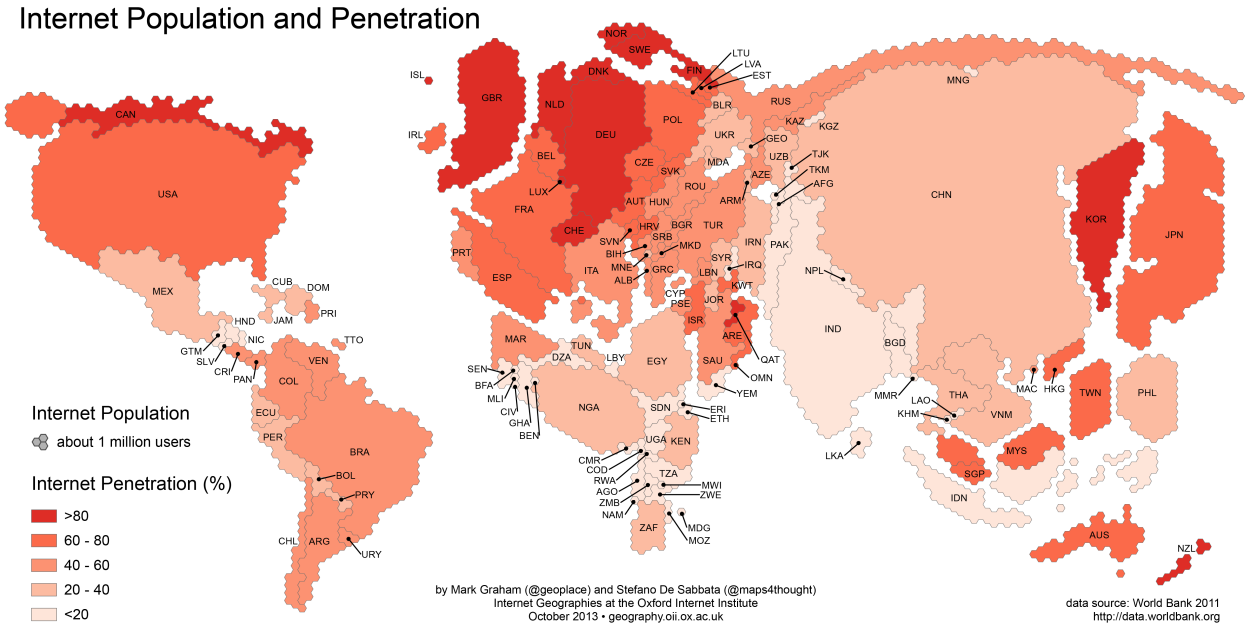
Increasing Internet access to the next billion

The rapid, but uneven, spread of Internet access



In little over two decades, the Internet has spread from connecting a mere 1 percent of the global population in 1995 to connecting 40 percent of the population today—over 3 billion people.[16] However, this exponential growth has not been evenly distributed across the globe. Of those 3 billion users, an estimated 78 percent reside in developed countries, and major inequalities across regions remain. While Europe has an Internet penetration rate of over 75 percent, only about one-fifth of African households are connected.[17] Although developing countries are catching up quickly (in 2014, their Internet penetration growth rate was 8.7 percent, compared to a 3.3 percent average for developed countries), they are home to about 90 percent of the 4 billion people not yet using the Internet.[18]

This rift between those who have access and ability to use information and communication technologies (ICTs) and those who do not (for technical, political, social, or economic reasons) is commonly referred to as the digital divide. The digital divide exists at many levels, ranging from digital literacy to security, due to the complexity and cost of properly implementing security and systems to provide safe access. And, the digital divide exists between countries, rural and urban populations, the old and the young, men and women, and so on.[19]



[16] http://www.internetlivestats.com/internet-users/

[17] http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=47729#.VU7Htc6ppFI

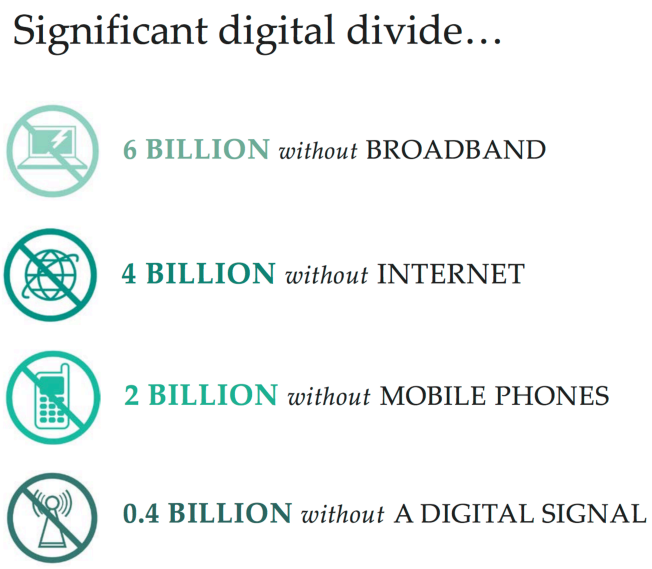
[18] http://www.itu.int/en/ITU-D/Statistics/Documents/facts/ICTFactsFigures2014-e.pdf

[19] http://www.diplomacy.edu/sites/default/files/An%20Introduction%20to%20IG_6th%20edition.pdf

Why Internet access matters

Internet access has direct bearing on the exercise of human rights and opportunity for social and economic development. Access to (and ability to use) computers, mobile devices, and other technologies connected to the Internet can provide a number of economic, educational, and social advantages that could reduce existing global inequality. For example, educational resources on the World Wide Web can improve skills and might increase wages, thus reducing the economic rift within and across countries. Internet access can also transform the lives of those who have disabilities that are not yet connected. Further, an Internet connection can increase public participation in politics and social issues across the globe. In the words of Bill Clinton, "it is dangerously destabilizing to have half the world on the cutting edge of technology while the other half struggles on the bare edge of survival."[20]

The United Nations World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) voiced a global commitment to bridge the global digital divide: "We are [...] fully aware that the benefits of the information technology revolution are today unevenly distributed between the developed and developing countries and within societies. We are fully committed to turning this digital divide into a digital opportunity for all, particularly for those who risk being left behind and being further marginalized."[21] Furthermore, currently under discussion is a draft set of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which will be discussed at a UN General Assembly in September 2015. One such SDG, whose intended completion date is 2030, is: "Significantly increase access to information and communications technology and strive to provide universal and affordable access to the Internet in least developed countries by 2020."



From World Bank (2016)[22]

Providing access to the next billion users

Internet penetration rates have increased dramatically in recent years, but the pace of change seems to be

[20] http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PPP-2000-book3/html/PPP-2000-book3-doc-pg2483.htm
[21] http://www.itu.int/wsis/docs/geneva/official/dop.html
[22] http://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/Publications/WDR/WDR 2016/WDR2016_overview_presentation.pdf

slowing down.[23] 500 to 900 million more people are expected to be online by 2017 but, even with the maximum expected user increase, more than half of the forecasted global population would be offline.[24] **In general terms, the main obstacles to expanding global Internet penetration relate to: (a) lack of physical infrastructure; (b) low incomes and the relatively high cost of access; (c) user illiteracy and lack of incentives to connect; and (d) policy and politics that impede access.** There are many possible approaches to overcome these challenges. We have distilled a set of proposals for the purpose of this document and deliberation.

The proposals in the table at the end of this document all speak to addressing some of the major obstacles to increasing Internet access. Some proposals promote a largely market-driven approach, while others promote government involvement to narrow current divides between Internet users and non-users. Other proposals involve different policies based on the idea that addressing global Internet inequality will require increased international coordination and cooperation going forward. For example, a prominent and controversial trend in Internet access expansion has been the emergence of "zero-rating schemes," where some mobile carriers enter into agreements with content and platform providers to offer free, discounted or incentivized, mobile data to users accessing low-data-usage "zero-rated" versions of their online content.[25] For example, in less than a year, Facebook's zero-rating initiative Internet.org has won more than 9 million users. Internet.org customizes its content for local interest and language, providing access to a predetermined set of services such as Facebook, Wikipedia, Accuweather, Facts for Life (how to raise healthy children), and Kokoliko (a job board service). Other companies that have offered zero-rating services include Google, Wikipedia, Wechat, Amazon and Twitter.

Furthermore, in the last few years, several ambitious new initiatives have also sought to address the challenge of lacking Internet infrastructure in rural and developing areas with innovative methods and technologies. Using networks of high altitude vessels, such as balloons (Google), drones (Facebook), or low-orbit satellites (SpaceX) to name a few, these technologies plan to beam high-speed Internet across large rural areas at a relatively modest cost. This would help fill current coverage gaps and connect people in rural and remote area; it could also provide Internet services after natural disasters. The recent announcement that Google's high-altitude balloons (under development since 2009) will soon provide affordable high-speed Internet across the entire country of Sri Lanka highlights the pace at which these technologies seem to be moving from the drawing board to viable alternatives to provide access.

Besides market innovations, one idea born out of the WSIS Convention was the establishment of an UN-administered Digital Solidarity Fund (DSF) to help technologically disadvantaged countries build telecommunication infrastructures.[26] However, developed countries generally opposed the idea and instead favored traditional direct investments. Furthermore, many argued that some developing countries already receive financial support for infrastructure investments through various channels, including bilateral and multilateral development agencies such as the UNDP or the World Bank and regional development initiatives.[27] With increased liberalization of the telecommunications market, coupled with an oversaturation of western telecommunications markets, the development of telecommunication infrastructures through foreign direct investment has indeed expanded rapidly and been a strong driver of expanded access. The DSF was established in 2005 but failed to secure a clear funding mechanism, which has limited its impact. However, one could argue that the not-so-lucrative endeavor of connecting the global poor will require a strong DSF or similar international institution to fund new initiatives,

[23] http://a4ai.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/a4ai-affordability-report-2014.pdf

[24] http://www.mckinsey.com/insights/high_tech_telecoms_internet/offline_and_falling_behind_barriers_to_internet_adoption

[25] http://www.intgovforum.org/cms/wks2014/index.php/proposal/view_public/208

[26] http://www.diplomacy.edu/sites/default/files/An%20Introduction%20to%20IG_6th%20edition.pdf

[27] http://www.diplomacy.edu/sites/default/files/An%20Introduction%20to%20IG_6th%20edition.pdf

coordinate global and local efforts, and develop overarching expertise and good practices. Perhaps only a large-scale economic program, in coordination with other countries, would have the impact necessary to reach universal Internet access in the near future.

On the other end of the spectrum, governments and non-government entities have implemented free public WiFi access on national or local levels in both government locations (such as libraries, schools and post offices) and non-government locations (such as cafes, and various modes of transportation, including buses and trains). In Kenya, for example, small buses (the main mode of transportation) carrying about 30 passengers offer free WiFi access. Many people prefer these buses to buses without WiFi, especially when stuck in traffic jams (a very frequent occurrence). In a number of countries, businesses from cafes to retail shops offer WiFi services to their customers, some of which are free and some of which require fees and/or passwords. As other examples: Singapore provides free public WiFi at designated service locations through a public-private partnership[28] that is fairly comprehensive in the city center[29]; in Thailand, government partners with particular service providers to offer free public WiFi access to anyone who logs in with their national ID (raising concerns, for some, regarding potential government surveillance); and in the U.S., New York City is expected to launch a network of advertising-funded, free gigabit WiFi hotspots in 2015.

These are only a few examples of a plethora of existing approaches, not to mention those that have not yet been tried, that could help provide Internet access for a larger share of the world's population. As you review the list of proposed policies below, consider weighing the competing arguments for and against each of the proposals. Neither the list of policies, nor the arguments for and against the policies, is intended to be exhaustive. Instead, the list serves to present major options for expanding global Internet access that could be executed on its own or in tandem, and the list of arguments serves to spark initial discussion.

[28] http://info.singtel.com/business/products-and-services/internet/singtel-bizwifi

[29] http://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/fewer-free-public-wi-fi-hot-spots-in-singapore

Proposed Policies

Proposal	Arguments in Favor	Arguments Against
Leaving it to the market and market innovations		
1. Leave it to the market to increase access	The number of Internet users increases every year by hundreds of millions of people, in large part thanks to dynamic direct and private sector investments. There is no need for government or any supranational entities to encourage or proactively stimulate increased Internet access. Let the market decide on its own what the pace should be for increasing access. Creating artificial scenarios to encourage greater Internet access could stifle entrepreneurship and interfere with the Internet's (notably unprecedented) organic growth. A wide range of innovative initiatives based on novel technologies (such as balloons, drones, or low-orbit satellites that can beam high-speed Internet across entire countries) and commercial models (such as enforced advertisement or pay-with-your-data) from private for-profit organizations is well-positioned to make significant progress in providing Internet access to a larger share of the world's population. These projects seem likely to provide far greater access within only a few years, so there is no need for governments or any international organizations to get involved.	There is great inequality in Internet access both between and within countries, and these inequalities can have grave and self-sustaining economic, social and political implications. Governments, international organizations and other entities therefore have an urgent obligation to push for universal Internet access. Many markets are inhibited by monopolization, rent seeking and sometimes corruption in cable and Internet companies. Such market failures arguably make universal Internet access unlikely. In these markets, government and other entities should find ways to encourage or create policies that ensure that all users who want Internet access can get it. The magnitude of investments and coordination necessary to provide universal Internet access necessitate government and international action. While the market has been successful in bringing Internet access to an increasingly larger share of the world's population over past decades, it is largely the rural and the poor that remain without Internet access. Even as technologies improve, it will become increasingly difficult for the private sector to have a viable return on further expansions and price cuts. The public and nonprofit sector must therefore help to provide Internet access to those the market cannot serve.

2. Encourage "zero-rating" for particular services and content	Zero-rating programs effectively facilitate some Internet access. Because, many people cannot afford telecommunication services in much of the developing world, waiving data fees for certain websites and web services allows low-income individuals to access at least part of the Internet, which is better than no access at all. Zero-rating programs include access to useful and crucial Internet services such as tools and resources for communication, health, and education. Providing people in underserved communities with a free set of basic services might increase their awareness of the types of content they can access on the broader Internet, thereby driving demand for affordable access, local content and services, and accelerating Internet penetration. By exempting high-usage sites from data caps, operators give people the ability to see more of the web without spending additional money. In other words, zero-rating programs can reduce the cost of Internet access to local sites for poor consumers because their consumption of data on global applications does not count against their data caps. In the end, people get more data for their money, and this increases overall data volumes. The zero-rating model simply shifts some of the costs of Internet access to the service or content providers and away from the user. Many Internet services already provide valuable tools (Facebook, Google etc.) for free for those who can access them. This model simply provides a	For those who cannot afford data beyond the free zero-rated websites, this model effectively places a limitation on which content users can and cannot access. This represents a violation of the principles of net neutrality[30], the principle according to which Internet traffic shall be treated equally without discrimination, restriction or interference regardless of its sender, recipient, type or consent, so that Internet users' freedom of choice is not restricted by favoring or disfavoring the transmission of Internet traffic associated with particular content, services, applications or devices.[31] In addition, these services may create a two-tiered Internet where users who cannot afford to purchase data plans get stuck on a separate and unequal path to connectivity. Those who cannot afford data might then develop a skewed understanding of what the Internet is and has to offer them. If this two-tiered internet is built into the internet's early development in a given country it is likely to become an entrenched and permanent division. These services might undermine the ability of new and domestic Internet services to compete against established companies, since services that don't count against the data cap disadvantage all the other services which do count, potentially creating an environment that does not allow for competitiveness and a decrease in prices. These services might not provide adequate protections for new Internet users and may make user traffic vulnerable to malicious attacks and government eavesdropping. Some users might not understand how their data will be used, or

[30] http://boingboing.net/2015/04/19/internet-org-delivering-poor.html
[31] http://thisisnetneutrality.org

	method to provide these free tools, even to those who cannot afford an Internet connection. (The potential long-run benefits to providers is clear: increased revenues from more consumer data and more loyal users, both of which increase the value of providers' existing products and services and potentially facilitate the "freemium" business model.)	may not be able to properly give consent for certain practices. Further, some users might not understand where the free zero-rated services end and expensive data-intensive services begin. Zero-rating services only benefit those who already have access to a mobile phone and live in areas with reliable network coverage, leaving those who are less fortunate behind and worsening existing digital divides. It is crucial to keep the general-purpose computing platform free and open to prevent limiting of access and device functionalities.[32] These services also raise concerns regarding surveillance and monitoring of users. With limited access, services are able to more easily scrutinize users' web traffic and collect data, which increases privacy concerns.
3. Encourage advertising funded (free "Equal Rating") access for Internet services	Promoting advertisement funded (equal rating) access could increase Internet access for those who cannot afford it without violating net neutrality. Companies paying for the services could either require that users view ads or they could get "brought to you by" recognition which the users would be exposed to. Mozilla has proposed this kind of equal rating and there are experiments in African and West Asian markets. The benefit is that it provides Internet access to the poor without violating net neutrality or introducing the path dependence of a permanent gap in the development of the Internet.	This approach is only now being piloted and may not provide sufficient advertisement value to companies to shoulder the costs of providing free services. Forcing the poor to be exposed to advertising in exchange for Internet access might be viewed as coercive.

[32] http://boingboing.net/2015/04/19/internet-org-delivering-poor.html

4. Encourage the spread of micro-financed community phones	Based on small loans or NGO support, so-called "Village Phone" programs grant select individuals (living in remote areas) a mobile phone or smartphone and training on how to operate it and how to charge others to use it for a profit. These individuals can then receive information—seasonal weather reports, planting advice, disease diagnostics, market prices, and so on—and pass it on to their neighbors or let members of their communities use the phone on a pay-as-you-go basis. Examples from the Women of Uganda Network (WOUGNET)[33] and village phones efficiently increase Internet access to underserved rural areas and create opportunities for local Internet entrepreneurs (participants are often women).	Without addressing underlying infrastructure challenges, such as unreliable network coverage or the lack of electricity in remote rural areas, these programs are not a viable option in many unconnected areas. There must be policies in place to address electricity issues at the same time as addressing issues of internet infrastructure. One single phone or point of access to the Internet is insufficient to provide a whole community with the full benefits of the Internet. It may also give the Internet entrepreneurs it creates control over the content accessed in their communities. Such a program could diminish demand of ISPs and thus remove the incentive for Internet providers to make the necessary investments to expand their reach to underserved areas. Providing direct access to certain households and indirect access to others might increase existing inequalities in rural communities and give Internet entrepreneurs/middlemen with unfair advantages.
5. Increase government actions to nurture market competition	Regulators can eliminate legal, regulatory and market barriers that protect monopoly or oligopoly providers from new competitors to ensure a competitive market structure and thus promote consumer choice. In turn, increased competition can lower prices and broaden Internet access. Examples include: encouraging governments to reallocate spectrum, reducing "connectivity taxes" on Internet services, offering subsidies to promote network expansions, and enabling small operators to use existing wireless or	The installation of communications infrastructure is a costly enterprise and requires large investments that only large players can afford. Forcing incumbent operators to share their networks with competitors removes their incentive to invest in expanding infrastructure. Building competing infrastructure networks in areas that are already being served by incumbent providers creates unnecessary strains on communities and imposes management and monitoring costs on governments.

[33] http://wougnet.org/highlighted-projects/

	fiber-optic networks of established operators streamlining licensing processes.	Improvements in wireless technology and other innovations are increasingly presenting viable broadband alternatives to fixed-line access and might lower barriers to entry in the wireless market enough to render these regulatory precautions unnecessary.
Offering free access by different means		
6. Facilitate free public access by local government centers such as schools and libraries	Local government and public service centers such as schools, libraries, post offices or parks could provide publicly funded Internet access points (wireless hotspots or connected devices) to guarantee access for local communities. Local governments could provide minimal free public wireless services over wider areas (even entire cities). Providing minimal (low bandwidth) connection would help ensure that everyone has Internet access without unduly undermining the market positions private Internet providers, who can provide faster and better quality services. Providing access without discriminating between users could be represent a cost-efficient way to provide access to entire populations. Providing Internet access allows the broad use of efficient e-government services: governments could offset initial high costs for connecting all residents in the long run.	Free public access diminishes market demand and thus undercuts the efforts of commercial Internet providers to expand their reach in underserved areas. Local institutions, like schools in underserved areas typically already have insufficient resources, so providing Internet access is an unviable additional strain. Having government provide Internet access implies that the government has direct control and insight into what users can access on the Internet. Further, in some context a government controlled network may pose severe threats to human rights defenders and others critical of governments via the governments' direct means of control with the information flow. It is unclear whether such Internet services will be of sufficient quality for users to take full advantage of the benefits of the Internet. It is unclear whether governments have the capacity to provide Internet as a public service. Government-provided Internet might involve so much bureaucracy that governments should instead leave it to the private markets.

7. Facilitate free public access by non-government institutions, such as local businesses or user communities	For some local businesses (e.g. cafes), providing WiFi access and/or hotspots allows them to generate greater revenue and attract customers. In the same vein, local user communities that decide to provide Internet access could build a greater sense of community. These forms of free access present efficient ways to provide access to a wider share of the population without burdening local governments. Some organizations, like openwireless.org[34], are working with a coalition of volunteer engineers to provide open networks via users and small businesses in urban environments.	Letting businesses be the only or primary providers of Internet access gives them insight and control over users' Internet behavior. Further, since business can keep non-clients from using their Internet connection, relying on this approach risk furthering the divide between those who can and cannot afford these businesses' goods or services. Further, businesses gain increase access to, and control over, users' communication. This may be misused for commercial purposes or subject to state pressure. Such requires a robust regulatory framework and human rights due diligence processes, such as the UN guiding principles on Business and Human Rights (2011). Wireless community projects require dedication, technical expertise and equipment, and are therefore not realistic for providing Internet access to a significant share of underserved, low-income communities.
Increased national and international action		
8. Encourage nations to establish Universal Service Funds to provide Internet access to all citizens	A Universal Service Fund (USF) is a system of telecommunications subsidies and fees managed by the government with the goal of promoting universal access to telecommunications services within a country.[35] The funds are typically supported through charging telecommunications companies quarterly fees, so they do not provide a direct burden on taxpayers. The market will leave some poor and rural citizens without Internet access where providers cannot make a return on their network investments. USFs are typically used to	The fees collected for USFs are a burden on Internet providers and, by extension, on their customers, who end up footing the bill for such funds. The telecom companies simply pass on the additional costs to their customers, and the resulting higher fees hinder growing Internet penetration. The result could be a net negative effect on subscription rates. USFs are at risk of being subject to bureaucracy, corruption, and incompetence. They may be guided more by political objectives than economic ones and be unable to stand up to the vested interests of incumbent Internet providers.

[34] https://openwireless.org/
[35] https://www.fcc.gov/encyclopedia/universal-service

	subsidize network infrastructure investments in such less lucrative remote and low-income areas. This resource transfer helps bridge rural-urban digital divides. USFs can also help provide Internet access to hospitals, schools, and libraries. USFs can provide direct support to low-income households in high-cost rural areas, instead of subsidizing individual operators.	In practice, USFs stifle competition and innovation in the telecommunications industry. Since smaller businesses do not have the resources to effectively find grants, the fund subsidies merely enrich incumbent providers. Many traditionally established USFs exclude funds being used for anything besides basic voice phone connectivity. Sometimes USFs does not allow for use on broadband infrastructure.
9. Encourage coordinated international action through the Digital Solidarity Fund	The Global Digital Solidarity Fund was inaugurated in 2005 with the mission to promote and finance development projects that will enable marginalized people and countries to join the information society. The fund, and similar efforts in the digital community, can help fund and coordinate efforts to provide (minimal) viable universal access to the Internet. Efforts to increase Internet access are developed in a myriad of forums and processes and involve a large number of stakeholders and governments across the world with little to no coordination. The Digital Solidarity Fund could help coordinate a global approach and develop expertise and good practices.	Such a fund would create unnecessary administrative overhead and "red tape," as well as disrupt existing practices. Like other coordinated international organizations, there will inevitably be significant bureaucratic difficulties in reaching consensus. The Digital Solidarity Fund might therefore prove to be less effective at providing the necessary services. Developing countries already receive financial support for infrastructure investments through various channels, including bilateral and multilateral development agencies such as the UNDP or the World Bank, as well as regional development initiatives. There is no need for an additional framework.
10. Establish a multistakeholder clearinghouse to connect funders with projects for global Internet access	This clearinghouse could be a "one-stop shop" for global investments in Internet connectivity efforts. A clearinghouse could pinpoint good practices and streamline the complicated process of obtaining funding for Internet access projects. Lowering the cost and difficulty of making investments in Internet networks could increase investment rates.	If such a clearinghouse was created, it is unclear what entities will pay for such operations. A clearinghouse would disrupt established practices in the industry without providing much benefit to the funders and end users.

11. Governments should be encouraged to make best efforts to ensure access to the Internet as a right	Internet access is increasingly a necessity for participation in all aspects of modern life. It is a means to education, political participation and participation in many economic and social interchanges. Those without it are greatly disadvantaged. To the extent this disparity can be closed in a practical and cost effective manner, governments should attempt to do so. While Internet access does facilitate enjoyment of human rights, it does not need to be established or recognized as a "human right" in order to justify or motivate government prioritization of Internet access for their own citizens. Governments should be encouraged to recognize Internet access as a right for inhabitants of their respective jurisdictions. Internet access is recognized as an important enabler for human rights in a number of UN documents. In this sense all states should be committed to secure Internet access for their populations. For example, in EU countries, this is stipulated in the EU Service Directive. Internet access is already recognized as a right (civil right) by the laws of several countries, including Estonia, France, and Finland. Estonia was the first country to legally guarantee the right to Internet access through universal services legislation; as of July 2010, all citizens of Finland have the right to a one-megabit broadband connection. Brazil, and more recently Italy, has introduced an Internet 'Bill of Rights' that establishes Internet access as a fundamental right. The type and breadth of access ensured by such legislation can vary according to each country's circumstances. A country-by-country introduction of Internet access as a right would provide moral backing to those who advocate	We should be reluctant to consider Internet access a right when there are people without clean water, medical attention, and food. A right to Internet access might divert efforts and resources away from addressing more urgent rights. Internet access disparity is not an independent phenomenon but rather a reflection of existing domestic socioeconomic inequalities: it should be addressed as such. Some argue that the Internet, just like any technology, is valuable primarily as a means to an end. Access to it is not a right in itself but rather a tool for obtaining something else more important and fundamental. Officially recognizing a right is a very complex and tedious process. The economic and political resources it would require are much better invested in concrete support for better human rights practices online.

	for universal Internet access and help keep governments accountable for not placing restrictions on access and making increased progress on the issue.	
Beyond connectivity, other proposals to improve access to content and tools		
12. Promote a global Intermediary liability regime to limit the liability of ISPs and platform providers for actions of their users	Removing Internet companies' liability for what their customers do allow for a more open Internet landscape in which users can communicate freely and access more content. This would be one step toward limiting censorship and surveillance, in turn fostering a more robust and vibrant online ecosystem. Removing Internet providers' liability for what their customers do while using their services lowers these companies' overhead costs, savings that they can then pass on to their customers. The lower cost of doing business might also attract more investments to the sector.	Such a proposal removes one important gatekeeper for a more safe and culturally adequate Internet experience. In the long run, this could deter existing and new users from using Internet services. Removing intermediary liability on the Internet would make it more difficult to discourage and regulate unlawful behavior, such as hate speech or other criminal activity, thus putting citizens and society at risk.
13. Place limits on Intellectual Property (IP) costs for smartphones and other access-enabling technology	Placing an upper limit on the cost of IP, an approach inspired by the pharmaceutical industry, would help reduce the overall cost of Internet technology (both service and infrastructure providers), thus diminishing barriers to entry for businesses in the sector. In developing markets, especially, this could increase competition and lower the price of Internet access equipment.	IP rights play a crucial role in incentivizing research and development by assuring future returns. Reducing IP costs would weaken IP rights and hurt forward-thinking technology companies, stifling innovation in providing Internet access.

About Deliberative Polling®
Deliberative Polling® is a process of public consultation in which scientific samples are polled both before and after they have had a chance to seriously deliberate about the issues. The process was first developed by Professor James S. Fishkin in 1988. Its applications to countries around the world have all been collaborations with Professor Robert C. Luskin. They have conducted projects with various partners in the US, Britain, Australia, Canada, Denmark, Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, China and Northern Ireland. Deliberative Polling® is a trademark of James S. Fishkin. Any revenues from the trademark are used to support research at the Center for Deliberative Democracy, Stanford University. More on Deliberative Polling: http://cdd.stanford.edu.

These briefing materials have been compiled by the Center for Democracy, Development and Rule of Law and the Center for Deliberative Democracy at Stanford University. An advisory board reviewed the materials for this pilot Deliberative Poll and by leading experts on this issue topic. The materials have been revised and vetted with the aim of ensuring that the information provided is balanced, accurate, and that there are arguments made in support of and against different proposals in this document.

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