ABSTRACT. This paper details proposals by UNESCO to manufacture and draft a concept of “Internet Universality” that adopts a human-rights framework as a basis for articulating a set of principles and rights for the Internet. The paper discusses various drafts of this concept before examining the Charter of Human Rights and Principles for the Internet put forward by The Internet Rights & Principles Dynamic Coalition based at the UN Internet Governance Forum, and the working law Marco Civil da Internet introduced by Brazil.

Keywords: Internet; universality; human rights; openness; access; multi-stakeholder; global governance

1. Introduction

My philosophical hackles rise when I normally hear claims for universality. I treat most of them as a Eurocentric projection of unreflective ethnocentrism. The Enlightenment was a source for many of these claims and they tended to be expressed as moral imperatives – they were “ought” rather than “is” statements. Today (and I mean mid 2014) we are witnessing an early stage of world interconnectivity driven by new web technologies that use the Internet as a platform or are based on mobile hand-held technologies. Various estimates indicate that the rate of diffusion of these technologies will mean almost complete world absorption, uptake or adoption in a few short decades. In this fragile communicational ecosystem new spaces will open up for exchange of ideas, information, knowledge goods and previous unthought of collaborations will take place in large scale projects, petitions and political movements that will come to forcefully assert world
opinion. (And at the same time we will approach the new surveillance dangers bravely revealed by the likes of Snowden and Lassange). New levels of transparency will increasingly confront new levels of state scrutiny and individual rights to privacy will become paramount.

2. UNESCO’s “Internet Universality:” The Draft Proposal

The importance of these concerns has already been carried forward in an ongoing and constructive way by a number of world forums and agencies. UNESCO’s latest initiative deserves special mention in this context. As Xianhong Hu (2013) who is from the Division of Freedom of Expression and Development at UNESCO explains the concept of “Internet Universality” arises from a feeling of fragmentation, competing notions of freedom (of information, of expression) and the realization of a conceptual vacuum to protect a “delicate ecosystem” in terms of its openness, universality and integrity. UNESCO’s Secretariat (2013a) issued a draft proposal outlining the concept for a comprehensive study led by UNESCO adopting a framework informed by the concept of Internet Universality, which summarizes UNESCO’s positions on the Internet and covers the fields of access to information and knowledge, freedom of expression, privacy, and ethical dimensions of the information society. The draft provides the following context for justification of a mandate:

the digital revolution is impacting on all spheres of public and private life. More and more personal and public information is
collected, stored, processed and shared via the Internet. All this brings with it unparalleled opportunities as well as challenges. Cyberspace is especially complex and sensitive, because of its transnational and multidimensional character. This calls for a holistic approach to address the broad range of issues relating to its use. UNESCO as a universal organisation with a mandate relevant to many cyber issues can foster trust and dialogue, and build consensus at the global, regional and national levels (p. 2).

The document then outlines UNESCO’s relevant activities to the study as well as detailing the various fields of study.

3. UNESCO’s Discussion Paper

An updated version of the UNESCO Discussion Paper, “Internet Universality: A Means towards Building Knowledge Societies and the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda” (2013b) was released on 2 September 2013. The paper represents a formalization of previous work:

The concept [Internet Universality] includes, but also goes beyond, universal access to the Internet, mobile and ICTs. The word “Universality” points to four fundamental norms that have been embodied in the broad evolution of the Internet to date, and which provide a comprehensive way to understand how multiple different aspects are part of a wider whole. For the Internet to fulfill its historic potential, it needs to achieve fully-fledged “Universality” based upon the strength and interdependence of the following: (i) the norm that the Internet is Human Rights-based (which in this paper is the substantive meaning of a “free Internet”), (ii) the norm that it is “Open”, (iii) the norm that highlights “Accessible to All”, and (iv) the norm that it is nurtured by Multi-stakeholder Participation. The four norms can be summarized by the mnemonic R – O – A – M (Rights, Openness, Accessibility, Multi-stakeholder) (p. 1).

UNESCO has long recognized the potential of the Internet “to bring the world closer to peace, sustainable development and the eradication of poverty.” This is a heavy theoretical demand and perhaps even naïve and unrealistic to expect the Internet to change fundamentally entrenched problems of war and conflict, ecological disaster and world poverty.

The concept stands in need of political economy considerations and a theoretical development of the concept in terms of its norms that might take an historical perspective and also explore the concept philosophically in relation to allied concepts. This means not only reference to the World Information Summits or the highly contested rhetoric of the knowledge society but also recognition of more fundamental philosophical approaches.
that explore the nature of the emerging global public sphere and theories of communication.

At the very least this would imply a consideration of the theories such as Jurgen Habermas’ (1962; 1984, 1987) work on the public sphere or the theory of communicative action, Gianni Vattimo’s (1992) *The Transparent Society*, or Castell’s (2012) *Networks of Outrage and Hope*, to name a few prominent contributions. These represent three very different conceptions of global civil society. Some critics have argued that Habermas’ notion of the bourgeois public sphere in the Internet age has degenerated into another domain of cultural consumption dominated by image creation, the rise of porn (considered as a metaphor for a kind of exploitation), and multinational media giants. Vattimo’s transparent society is part of the “end of history” thesis and the impossibility of thinking history in linear terms accompanied by a radical pluralization of value that abolishes the concept of the media society based on “the ideal of emancipation modeled on lucid self-consciousness” (p. 7). Instead, Vattimo argues, the West faces a pluralization of local rationalities and a new complexity that consists in a multiplicity of voices and freedom as the experience of “oscillation.” Castells, by contrast, acknowledges of the rise of new forms of social movements and protests from the Arab uprisings to the *indignadas* movement in Spain, and the Occupy Wall Street movement in the US based of what he calls “mass self-communication,” that consists in horizontal networks of interactive, multi-directional communication on the Internet and wireless communication networks. These new social movements have their genesis in structural economic crisis and deepening crises of legitimation spurred by the hope for change based on the success and solidarity of successful uprisings elsewhere in the world. These movements comprise “networks of networks,” are spontaneous in origin, move from outrage to hope through the public use of reason, are highly self-reflexive, mostly non-violent, “viral” and engage in direct, deliberative democracy based on networked democracy.

UNESCO needs to align their high sounding ideals and to temper them with the different kinds of analysis and models of global civil society that philosophers and sociologists have described on the basis of empirical evidence and developed in relation to a body of theoretical literature and the reality of contemporary events. The three models I briefly refer to here indicate the kind of theoretical infusion and interrogation I think is necessary. It is necessary to examine the literature on the emerging global civil society and the relationship between the Internet and forms of democracy.

Internet Universality is a concept that can illuminate UNESCO’s various programs in the service of the vision of the knowledge society. It can enrich discussion around the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda and provide a framework concept for joined-up activities and understandings.
Most importantly, the document indicates that

As suggested in the Final Recommendations of the WSIS+10 review meeting, educational systems going forward should be redefined to support new approaches of education. In this regard, the “Internet Universality” concept in its four component dimensions can encompass ICT-based education, Open Education Resources (OER), E-learning, mobile learning, informatics, innovations, collaborative learning and research, access and the quality of education. UNESCO’s Education program has a key role to play in the “Universality” norms for the Internet as regards online rights, openness, access and participation (p. 11).

The UNESCO Discussion Paper is somewhat pragmatic and highly utilitarian in its concept of Internet Education with little mention of its grander possibilities in line with high-sounding rhetoric concerning rights and freedoms.

Over the past years the Internet has increasingly pervaded every aspect of education, changing the roles of both learners and teachers, transforming the traditional educational landscape and creating multiple opportunities for continuous learning both in schools and out of schools. Internet has already shown that it can significantly contribute to achieving Education for All (EFA) goals, MDG-related education goals and more recently that it can contribute to the realization of the priorities set in UN Secretary-General’s Global Education First Initiative. Through its work on Technology in education, and particularly on Mobile learning, UNESCO has already indirectly been making the case for “Internet Universality” and its many benefits for education (p. 11).

The paper goes on to mention “quality lifelong learning opportunities for all, acquisition of relevant knowledge, skills and values for a fast changing labor market,” “high-quality multilingual educational resources,” “overcoming the gender divide and the acute shortage of qualified teachers,” all worthwhile but strictly instrumental kinds of goals. The paper also mentions how UNESCO might also “locate its work in promoting the Internet’s role in cultural rights, inter-cultural dialogue and a culture of peace” within the concept positions the Internet Universality in relation to e-science, the social and human sciences and communication-information.

Clearly, the concept of Internet Universality is an umbrella beneath which UNESCO can locate all of its significant activities:

Rooted in history, the concept of “Internet Universality” highlights some issues that are fundamental and unchanging, such as human rights, as well as other issues that are more fluid and evolving (such as openness and accessibility). As such, the content of the concept should retain flexibility and be responsive to
developments. However, in the next quadrennium, “Internet Universality” can help to bring together the different sectors of UNESCO to discuss practical ways in which the sum of the Internet-related parts of the Organization becomes a greater whole (p. 14).

4. The Charter of Human Rights and Principles for the Internet

At the same time as the drafting of the different versions of the UNESCO discussion paper was occurring The Internet Rights & Principles Dynamic Coalition based at the UN Internet Governance Forum, a multi-stakeholder forum, developed a charter that was first mooted at the World Summit on the Information Society at Tunis Summit in 2005 in two related projects. The Internet Bill of Rights Dynamic Coalition set out to develop a Charter of Human Rights, and the Framework of Principles for the Internet Dynamic Coalition that set out to focus on Internet governance principles. These came together at the third Internet Governance Forum meeting in 2008, held in Hyderabad (India) and merged in 2009 to form the Internet Rights and Principles (IRP) Dynamic Coalition. As The Charter of Human Rights and Principles for the Internet (IGF, 2013) document puts it:

The IRP Charter is a living document. In the fast-changing environment of increasing awareness that online we have rights too, the charter has been a formative contribution to the emerging area of internet governance principles. It has been a source of inspiration for rights-based initiatives from civil society, governments, and businesses committed to ensuring that the online environment is also a place where human rights are sustained and protected. The 2011 report of the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression, Frank La Rue, and the 2012 landmark decision by the UN Human Rights Council on human rights and the internet have both affirmed the value of the Charter. The Charter 2.0 phase looks to consolidate and promote this work to a wider public (p. 7).

The full document makes reference to ten fundamental rights and principles and also to other rights: access to the Internet; non-discrimination in Internet access, use, and governance; liberty and security on the Internet; development through the Internet; freedom and expression; freedom of religion and belief; online assembly and association; privacy; digital date protection; education on and about the Internet; culture and access to knowledge; rights of children; rights for disabled; rights to work; online participation in public affairs; consumer protection; health; legal remedy and fair trial; appropriate
social and international order; and duties and responsibilities (IGF, 2013). The ten Internet rights and principles are listed in Figure 1 below.

The Internet offers unprecedented opportunities for the realization of human rights, and plays an increasingly important role in our everyday lives. It is therefore essential that all actors, both public and private, respect and protect human rights on the Internet. Steps must also be taken to ensure that the Internet operates and evolves in ways that fulfill human rights to the greatest extent possible. To help realize this vision of a rights-based Internet environment, the 10 Rights and Principles are:

UNIVERSALITY AND EQUALITY: All humans are born free and equal in dignity and rights, which must be respected, protected and fulfilled in the online environment.

RIGHTS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE: The Internet is a space for the promotion, protection and fulfillment of human rights and the advancement of social justice. Everyone has the duty to respect the human rights of all others in the online environment.

ACCESSIBILITY: Everyone has an equal right to access and use a secure and open Internet.

EXPRESSION AND ASSOCIATION: Everyone has the right to seek, receive, and impart information freely on the Internet without censorship or other interference. Everyone also has the right to associate freely through and on the Internet, for social, political, cultural or other purposes.

PRIVACY AND DATA PROTECTION: Everyone has the right to privacy online. This includes freedom from surveillance, the right to use encryption, and the right to online anonymity. Everyone also has the right to data protection, including control over personal data collection, retention, processing, disposal and disclosure.

LIFE, LIBERTY AND SECURITY: The rights to life, liberty, and security must be respected, protected and fulfilled online. These rights must not be infringed upon, or used to infringe other rights, in the online environment.

DIVERSITY: Cultural and linguistic diversity on the Internet must be promoted, and technical and policy innovation should be encouraged to facilitate plurality of expression.

NETWORK EQUALITY: Everyone shall have universal and open access to the Internet’s content, free from discriminatory prioritization, filtering or traffic control on commercial, political or other grounds.

STANDARDS AND REGULATION: The Internet’s architecture, communication systems, and document and data formats shall be based on open standards that ensure complete interoperability, inclusion and equal opportunity for all.

GOVERNANCE: Human rights and social justice must form the legal and normative foundations upon which the Internet operates and is governed. This shall happen in a transparent and multilateral manner, based on principles of openness, inclusive participation and accountability.

Figure 1: The 10 Internet Rights & Principles, http://internetrightsandprinciples.org/site/campaign
Each of the multiple rights (mentioned above) is seen as interdependent with some limitations, and each has its own specification.

The Right to Education is given below in Figure 2.

a) **Education through the Internet**
Virtual learning environments and other sorts of multimedia, learning and teaching platforms shall take into account local and regional variations in terms of language, pedagogy and knowledge-traditions.

Publications, research, text books, course materials and other kinds of learning materials shall be published as Open Educational Resources with the right to freely use, copy, reuse, adapt, translate and redistribute them.

Free or low-cost training opportunities, methodologies and materials related to using the Internet for social development shall be promoted.

b) **Education about the Internet and human rights**
Everyone shall be educated about the Internet.

Education on the Internet shall include raising awareness and respect for human rights (online and offline).

Digital literacy shall be a key component of education. Knowledge and skills enable people to use and shape the Internet to meet their needs.

Figure 2: The Right to Education on and about the Internet

While education has been traditionally conceived of as a right this specification does not seem to capture the language or justification for education to be considered a right in the Internet age. The first point that promotes “localism” and recognition of diversity actually runs against the concept of universality – a problem (universalism-particularism) not really recognized or resolved by the document. The second point concerns OER in relation to “social development” but does not recognize the wider concept of open education. The third point is a little shallow in that it simply states “education about the Internet” rather than attempting to explain why this should be regarded in conjunction with a right and the last points mention “digital literacy” and using the Internet to meet one’s needs. This is a rather disappointing statement and does not encourage us the view education in the Internet age as a right. I realize that this is a living document but it is big on rhetoric and short on ideas. What is needed is an explanation of the notion of the Internet as a delicate evolving communicative ecosystem that embodies collective intelligence, global brain, and crowd sourcing processes that allow groups of users to create, share and evolve a new generation of open and interacting “social machines”.

To talk of “social machines” is to make a statement from the perspective of cultural anthropology about tool-creating and tool-using. It speaks to a stage of cultural evolution where education is dependent upon and becomes part of the new underlying infrastructure enabling a new generation of social software also pointing to education as a user-generated
activity based increasingly on the philosophy of peer learning. According to this analysis we need to make explicit the social properties of knowledge and information to understand that the use and governance of the Net are socially embedded activities. This notion of education will be a huge breakthrough, very different from the mass industrial schooling systems that still dominate the advanced world. A tool-creating Internet moves beyond the provision of new content, whether user-generated or not, to make education and its link to creativity absolutely central to the vision of the Internet global universe. In the “Right to Education” there is no mention of higher education or, indeed, of the university, a concept or idea that lends itself to a natural alliance with the concept of universality especially in terms of global institutions and their emerging interconnectedness through research collaborations, global portals and consortia.

In relation to the right to education we should also briefly mention “The Right to Culture and Access to Knowledge on the Internet” including:

a) Right to participate in the cultural life of the community
b) Diversity of languages and cultures
c) Right to use one’s own language
d) Freedom from restrictions of access to knowledge by licensing and copyright
e) Knowledge commons and the public domain
f) Free/open source software and open standards.

These are noble sentiments and worthy values but they exhibit the same tension between the particular – localism and the protection of the Other, of the fact of cultural diversity, on the one hand – and the universal, on the other. They are also better conceived in terms of education as a central hub within the Internet ecology that has many links to other areas.

Not co-incidentally a scoping document issued by the United States Department of Commerce National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA) on 14 March 2014, announced its intent to transition key Internet domain name functions to the global multi-stakeholder community. “As the first step, NTIA asked ICANN to convene global stakeholders to develop a proposal to transition the current stewardship role played by NTIA in the coordination of the Internet’s Domain Name System (DNS)” (p. 1). The transition proposal was to develop a multi-stakeholder model that maintained openness and security and requires global public consultation.

5. Marco Civil da Internet

Brazil has been to the forefront of the development of a law that establishes the principles, guarantees, rights and obligations for the use of Internet. It is
an imperative that grows out of the crisis of governance of the Internet including Snowden’s revelations about NSA spying. As Milton Mueller and Ben Wagner (2014) report,

One of the most unusual consequences of this crisis has been an alliance between Brazil’s President Rousseff and the President of the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), Fadi Chehadé. Together, Rousseff and Chehadé have spearheaded a push for new initiatives in Internet governance. After meeting with Chehadé on October 9, President Rousseff announced via Twitter that ‘Brazil will host in April 2014 an international summit of government, industry, civil society and academia.’ Later in November, the date and title of the event was set: it will be called the Global Multi-stakeholder Conference on the Future of Internet Governance and will be held in Sao Paulo, Brazil April 23 and 24, 2013 (http://www.internetgovernance.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/MiltonBenWPdraft_Final.pdf)

The Global Multi-stakeholder Conference on the Future of Internet Governance encouraged contributions from all sectors of the global community as well as online submissions.

The NETmundial Draft Outcome Document received 1370 comments in a grass roots process. The NETmundial Multi-stakeholder Statement begins with the following Preamble:

This is the non-binding outcome of a bottom-up, open, and participatory process involving thousands of people from governments, private sector, civil society, technical community, and academia from around the world. The NETmundial conference was the first of its kind. It hopefully contributes to the evolution of the Internet governance ecosystem.

The statement focuses on Internet Governance Principles, and a Roadmap for the future evolution of the Internet Governance Ecosystem, including:

- human rights and shared values
- protection of intermediaries
- culture and linguistic diversity
- unified and unfragmented space
• security, stability and resilience of the internet
• open and distributed architecture
• enabling environment for sustainable innovation
• and creativity

Given the historical importance of the Internet governance process principles it is worthwhile stating them here in abridged form:

• **Multistakeholder**: Internet governance should be built on democratic, multistakeholder processes, ensuring the meaningful and accountable participation of all stakeholders.
• **Open, participative, consensus driven governance**: The development of international Internet-related public policies and Internet governance arrangements should enable the full and balanced participation of all stakeholders.
• **Transparent**: Decisions made must be easy to understand, processes must be clearly documented and follow agreed procedures, and procedures must be developed and agreed upon through multistakeholder processes.
• **Accountable**: Mechanisms for independent checks and balances as well as for review and redress should exist. Governments have primary, legal and political accountability for the protection of human rights.
• **Inclusive and equitable**: Internet governance institutions and processes should be inclusive and open to all interested stakeholders.
• **Distributed**: Internet Governance should be carried out through a distributed, decentralized and multistakeholder ecosystem.
• **Collaborative**: Internet governance should be based on and encourage collaborative and cooperative approaches that reflect the inputs and interests of stakeholders.
• **Enabling meaningful participation**: Anyone affected by an Internet governance process should be able to participate in that process… especially stakeholders from developing countries and underrepresented groups.
• **Access and low barriers**: Internet governance should promote universal, equal opportunity, affordable and high quality Internet access so it can be an effective tool for enabling human development and social inclusion.
• **Agility**: Policies for access to Internet services should be future oriented and technology neutral, so that they are able to accommodate rapidly developing technologies and different types of use.

The rest of the document is devoted to a proposed roadmap for the future evolution of Internet governance as a means of continuously improving the existing Internet governance framework. Internet governance aims to promote sustainable and inclusive development and for the promotion of human rights by embracing the following:

1. Issues that deserve attention of all stakeholders in the future evolution of Internet governance (including selection processes based on open, democratic, and transparent processes).
2. Issues dealing with institutional improvements (including the need for a strengthened Internet Governance Forum).
3. Issues dealing with specific Internet Governance topics (including security and stability, avoidance of mass and arbitrary surveillance, and capacity building and financing).

4. Points to be further discussed beyond NETmundial (including roles and responsibilities of stakeholders, jurisdiction issues, benchmarking systems and net neutrality).

This is an important document and already it has interesting implications. Perhaps one correlated issue is a law that establishes the principles, guarantees, rights and obligations for the use of Internet in Brazil (Law No 12.965, passed on April 23rd 2014). Referring to an unofficial English translation Law No 12.965 makes reference to principles in Chapter 1: “The discipline of Internet use in Brazil is founded on the basis of respect for freedom of expression, as well as:

I – the recognition of the global scale of the network;
II – human rights, personality development and the exercise of citizenship in digital medias;
III – plurality and diversity;
IV – openness and cooperation;
V – free enterprising, free competition and consumer protection; and
VI – social purpose of the network.”

Chapter 2 lays out rights and guarantees of the users and Chapter 3 concerns provision of connection and Internet applications including network neutrality, records, personal data and private communications protection. Chapter 4 focuses on the role of public authorities including the promotion of digital inclusion. Chapter 5 is final provisions. This is a useful document because it is the first to protect civil rights and civil liberties in relation to the Internet and may serve as a model for other legislation. The document has been referred to as “The Constitution of the Internet.”

6. Conclusion

We are at a critical point historically speaking with the global governance of the Internet a global system of interconnected computer networks that currently links several billion devices worldwide, roughly a third to a half of the world’s population. The “network of networks” is a multi-stakeholder enterprise that requires active governance in a way that models digital inclusion and digital development for the entire world especially given its positive social, economic and cultural benefits and its surveillance dangers.

UNESCO and other world agencies have recognized this universality and the need for serious thought in international law to be given to the questions of the constitution of the Internet, its principles, rights and responsibilities.
As a globally distributed network the Internet is in its infancy. Its history, its societal effects and relation to culture, its creative potential and its governance requires careful study.

NOTES

1. UNESCO (2013b) notes: “According to 2012 report ‘Measuring Information Society’ by International Telecommunication Union (ITU), the total number of Internet users worldwide by the end of 2011 was 2.3 billion, amounting to 24% of the population in developing countries with higher penetration in developing countries. Active users of Facebook, an online social networking platform, grew from 150 million to 600 million between 2009 and 2011; and the total number of Chinese social media users reached 300 million by the end of 2011.”

2. “The concept has been developed and received positive feedback and suggestions since February 2013, through informal external consultations with interested parties at a number of international events which include: 1. WSIS+10 review meeting 2013; 2. World Press Freedom Day Celebration 2013; 3. Stockholm Conference on Online Freedom; 4. WSIS C9 Media Meeting at WSIS Forum 2013; 5. Giganet International Workshop on Internet Governance on 18 May 2013; 6. Online Freedom Coalition Conference 2013; 7. Oxford-Annenberg Summer Institute on Global Media Policy 2013. An internal consultation meeting was held within UNESCO Communication and Information Sector on 27 May 2013, and following this, a formal inter-sectoral consultation took place with UNESCO Sectors of Education, Culture, Science, Social Sciences and Humanities as well as Bureau of Strategic Planning has been undertaken since 16 June 2013, with an open and house-wide online consultation conducted through UNESCOMMUNITY,” UNESCO (2013b: fn 5, p. 3).


4. The concept is said to be able to take stock of several Post-2015 development reports including: The UNTT Report Realizing the Future We Want for All, http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/untaskteam_undf/untt_report.pdf; The UNDG

5. See http://www.intgovforum.org/cms


9. For Marco Civil da Internet see the unofficial translation made available by Paulo Rená at http://diretorio.fgv.br/sites/diretorio.fgv.br/files/Marco%20Civil%20ingl%C3%AAs.pdf and see also http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian_Civil_Rights_Framework_for_the_Internet

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