Democracy 3.0: Constituency, Representation & the Multistakeholder Model

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Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers
Francis Fukuyama

THE END OF HISTORY AND THE LAST MAN

Author of The Origins of Political Order

FRANCIS FUKUYAMA

POLITICAL ORDER AND POLITICAL DECAY

From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy
People's movement
Fourth Wave of Democracy

JOSHUA KURLANTZICK

DEMOCRACY in RETREAT

The Revolt of the Middle Class and the Worldwide Decline of Representative Government

What's gone wrong with democracy and how to revive it

A SIX-PAGE ESSAY
The Democracy Dilemma

Two Wolves and a Sheep Voting on What's for Dinner

Market Failures & Bailouts

Welfare Demands

Campaign Financing
HUMAN RIGHTS FIRST

TIME 4 TRUTH
DICTATORIAL DEMOCRACY

...is where freedom of speech but you have the administration I want listen.
Democracy 3.0?
Democracy 1.0:
Athenian Democracy – Direct Democracy

Democracy 2.0:
People Revolutions – Representative Democracy
Internet & Internet Governance
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State of Democracy

State of Internet & Internet Governance
ADVERSARIAL DEMOCRACY OR PUBLIC INTEREST DEMOCRACY?

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Background:
Trust for Political Parties on the Decline: HK

- 學生永不信任政黨趨增 11/5/15
  學者憂爭拗不斷拖低投票率

- 【明報專訊】過去十年香港年輕人愈來愈不信任政黨，教育
  學院一項針對中三學生的研究，問及他們對11個組織如政府、
  警察、法庭、傳媒的觀感，有16％受訪者表示「永不信任」政
  黨，比例最高，而永不信任政黨的比率也較10年前惡化。學者
  分析，政黨在議會爭拗不斷，互相攻擊，減低年輕人對政黨信
  任，又指若情況持續，會拖累年輕人在未來選舉的投票率。

教院早年獲撥款近60萬元，由教育研究學院院長甘國臻開展
一項公共政策研究——「港生對公民身分的態度：監察香港回
歸中國10年後的進展」，其中一個重點是分析1999年和2009
年兩批中三學生對11個組群的信任度，以了解「兩代後生仔」
對不同團體的信任度有何變化，研究最重要是發現學生對政黨
這個組群的不信任度最高，而且有惡化跡象。
When the spirit of trust breaks down, the result is not democracy but vetocracy, a term coined by Fukuyama. Too many political players—courts, congressional committees, special interests like the National Rifle Association and the American Medical Association, independent commissions, regulatory authorities—have acquired the power to veto measures; too few have the power to get things done. The dire consequences of the systemic paralysis have become obvious: a democracy that cannot unite to pay down its deficits, rebuild its infrastructure, fund its rising long-term obligations to the aged, or rebuild its tax code to be simple, progressive, and fair.
Political parties are most corrupt institution worldwide

- TI Global Corruption Barometer 2004
- In six out of 10 countries, political parties are given the worst assessment. Governments must enhance efforts to fight graft, starting with ratification of UN Convention against Corruption
- Posted 9 December 2004 by Transparency International Secretariat
Premise of Adversarial Democracy is Wrong

- Election will turn out a good leader?
  - Fact: someone who can win an election may not be a good leader; good leaders may shun elections

- People can choose their representatives?
  - Fact: factional interests try to choose their representatives. The public interest is often lost. People may not have a representative to represent their common interests.
Yet equal voting rights coupled with majority rule does not always protect interests equally. ...... It can create permanent minorities. If some one minority is always on the losing side, few would say that the minority's interests were being protected, let alone that they were being protected equally.

The adversary system also has another, more serious, drawback. The mechanical aggregation of conflicting selfish desires is the very core of an adversary system. But this idea verges on moral bankruptcy. ...... It replaces common interest with self-interest, the dignity of equal status with the baser motives of self-protection, and the communal moments of the face-to-face council with the isolation of a voting machine.
Multi Party Politics

- If parties have a common goal, to serve the public interest, they can be justified only if:
  - Parties have a fixed mentality and dogmas
  - Parties do not provide for better checks and balances. The Rule of Law and Press Freedom do.
Democracy 3.0: Experiences From Taiwan

Internet Empowerment in Taiwan Sunflower Movement

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2014.3.17
Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA) was approved by Legislative Yuan. The action was opposed by student community.

2014.3.18
students and protesters occupied Legislative Yuan

2014.3.19
More than 20 thousands of protesters outside Legislative Yuan (ETtoday)

Internet traffic increased dramatically. Network was seriously congested. Communication was almost impossible in the area.
Network Optimization Strategy

- Coordinating mobile operators in supporting mobile internet service
  - Chunghwa Telecom
  - Taiwan Mobile Telecom
  - FarEas Tone Telecom

- Sourcing fixed network extension from buildings nearby

- Sourcing potential resources from government
  - WiFi/Ethernet inside the Legislative Yuan?
  - 1Gbps TANet via Ministry of Education Office?
  - iTaiwan WiFi via Joint Central Government Office Building?
  - Laser Ethernet via NTU Children Hospital?
Coordinated Mobile Internet Services

Chunghwa Telecom
Cell on wheels : 1
Location : JiNang Rd. / ChungShang N. Rd
* Uplink : Microwave 45Mbps
* Antenna x1 : 28.8Mbps
Coordinated Mobile Internet Services

FarEas Tone Telecom
Cell on wheels : 1
Location : Qingdao E. Rd
* Uplink : Fiber 50Mbps
* Antenna x2 : 28.8Mbps x2
Coordinated Mobile Internet Services

Taiwan Mobile Telecom
Cell on wheels : 3
Location : Qingdao E. Rd; Jinan Rd.
* Uplink : Fiber 50Mbps
* Antenna x2 : 28.8Mbps x6
Mobile Data Assessment

- Create 260Mbps capacity
- Average speed per subscriber: 5Mbps (NCC)
- Concentration Ratio 1:30
  - Support 1560 new subscribers
- Strategy for data flow expansion
  - Increase concentration ratio 1:100
    - Support 5200 new subscribers
    - Reduce QoS
  - Coordinate more Cell on Wheels (high feasibility)
  - Develop new strategy of data flow disaggregation
  - Prioritized usage of mobile data
Institutionalize Rapid Wireless Deployment For Unpredictable Massive Movement
Crowdsourced Networking 1/2
Crowdsourced Networking 2/2
What Matters?

IT Governance Model

Direct

Plan
Do
Check
Correct

IT Activities

Manage Risks
- Security
- Reliability
- Compliance

Realize Benefits
- Increase automation
- Be effective
- Decrease costs
- Be efficient

No PLAN
Unplanned Action
No Monitoring
Unknown Errors
Unknown Liabilities
Unknown Benefits

No Accountability
No Governance
### Internet Governance Functional Area

1. Control of “Critical Internet Resources”
2. Setting Internet Standards
3. Access and Interconnection Coordination
4. Cybersecurity Governance
5. Information Intermediation
6. Architecture-based Intellectual Property Rights Enforcement

Source: Laura DeNardis

- 3.1 facilitating interconnection
- 3.2 transit agreement
- 3.3 network management (QoS)
- 3.4 setting end user access and usage policies
Multistakeholder, Constituency and Representation

Who are we: We are a group of concerned citizens

Questions:
- What does “constituency” mean in a multistakeholder model?
- How does it relate to larger question of democratic constituencies?
- What kind of leaders/representatives do we want?
- Will IG and concept of multistakeholder model impact the way we view democracy?
- How does it contrast with the UN model?
The only way to deal with an unfree world is to become so absolutely free that your very existence is an act of rebellion.

~ Albert Camus

Thank You Question?
Multistakeholder Approach
IETF Multistakeholder Model
ICANN: Multistakeholder Elections

ICANN & IETF
Nomination Committee (NomCom)

IETF: Random Selection (Sortition)
Is the Multistakeholder Model Democratic?

Should the Multistakeholder Model be made more Democratic?

Can the Multistakeholder Model be Democratic?
DON'T LET OTHERS SPEAK FOR YOU

Constituency & Representation
Obama: Does not speak for me!
Geographic Constituencies
THE CONCEPT OF CONSTITUENCY

Political Representation, Democratic Legitimacy, and Institutional Design

Andrew Rehfeld (2005)
Ageographical Constituencies
Liquid Democracy
Lobbyist vs. Representative

Nobody tells me what to do or say.
It's a big club, & you ain't in it.
CUT SPENDING, CUT DEFENSE WASTE, CUT CORPORATE WELFARE, CUT BIG BUSINESS SUBSIDIES, CUT TAX LOOPHOLES, TAX-SENDING U.S. JOBS OVERSEAS, CUT SMALL BUSINESS TAX, RAISE TAXES FOR SUPER RICH

YOU DON'T HAVE A PLAN!

SLASH SOCIAL PROGRAMS!
Deliberative Democracy Now!

James Madison says

The Federalist No. 10

Faction

References
Constituency
How do we define constituencies?
What relevance do their boundaries have?

Accountability

Representative
What kinds of leaders do we really want?
What does “representation” mean?
Internet is Like a **Mirror of Society**
WE REJECT: KINGS, PRESIDENTS AND VOTING.
WE BELIEVE IN:
ROUGH CONSENSUS AND RUNNING CODE.

IETF 83
It has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except for all the others that have been tried.

— Winston S. Churchill
Deriving Wisdom of Crowds from Elections

Mode (Majoritarian Voting) Median? Mean?...
立即普選
我要真普選
We cannot solve our problems with the same thinking we used when we created them.

-- Albert Einstein
...no government in any major developed country really works anymore... Modern government needs innovation. What we have now is roughly 400 years old. The invention of the nation-state and of modern government in the closing years of the 16th century was certainly one of the most successful innovations ever. Within 200 years they conquered the globe. But it’s time for new thinking...

**Government – not businesses or nonprofits – is going to be the most important area of entrepreneurship & innovation over the next 25 years.**
State of Democracy
How will democracy be changed by the Internet and Internet Governance Experiments?

State of Internet & Internet Governance
How is the multistakeholder model going to change global collaboration and governance?
POLITICAL NEUTRALITY IS SIMPLY A BIAS FOR THE STATUS QUO.