An Agent of Change: Youth meta-participation at the Internet Governance Forum

Paper presentation at the GigaNet Annual Symposium 2022

Nadia Tjahja[1][2]*, Diana Potjomkina[2]
1 United Nations University Institute for Comparative Regional Integration Studies (UNU-CRIS), Potterierei 72, 8000, Bruges, Belgium
2 Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Brussels School of Governance (VUB-BSoG), Pleinlaan 2, 1050, Brussels, Belgium
* Corresponding author

Abstract

Youth engagement has been declared a priority by European Union and United Nations policy-makers, and the Internet Governance Forum (IGF) faces similar demands. At the IGF 2021, youth called for more youth participation, more representation at the IGF Multistakeholder Advisory Group (MAG), and for acknowledgement of youth as a separate stakeholder category. In order to better understand why and how youth participate - and want to participate - in Internet governance, there is a need for a critical reflection on their presence, the spaces and activities they engage in. Therefore this paper looks at the complexity of the youth identity and it looks at youth meta-participation: a process in which young people and facilitators create participatory spaces for youth to reach their political agency and where they do not only seek to engage in existing participation spaces but also to reshape them. The main research question is how the youth want to change their participation at the IGF, specifically, which activities and mechanisms are being created to improve the ways in which they can exercise their agency. Actors meta-participate when the existing participation opportunities are not sufficiently reflecting their needs. Thus, a clearer understanding of current and demanded participation mechanisms may lead us to a broader set of questions concerning the effectiveness of the current multistakeholder model. This paper, based on interviews with stakeholders and desk research, argues that youth do not accept the status quo if it does not represent their needs or does not allow for them to explore their ideas, and they will utilise processes to build the space they need or create activities bottom-up that allow them to change the manner of their participation.

1. Introduction

In 2021, European Commission President von der Leyen announced the year 2022 as the European Year of Youth, which focuses on "European youth to build a better future – greener, more inclusive and digital" (European Youth Portal, 2022). This is also reflected in other international initiatives that focus on youth taking an active role in their own future, including decision making processes, such as the UN Secretary General's report on "Our Common Agenda". Its 11th commitment is to listen to and work with youth, notably to "remove barriers to political participation" (United Nations, 2021). At the Internet Governance Forum (IGF) 2021, youth called for more youth participation, more representation at the IGF Multistakeholder Advisory Group (MAG), and for acknowledgement of youth as a separate stakeholder category.

In order to better understand why and how youth participate in Internet governance, there is a need for a critical reflection on their presence, the spaces and activities they engage in. Such a discussion is ongoing in many spheres, notably in the Partnership between the European Commission and the Council of Europe on Youth (Bárta and Lavizzari, 2021; Galstyan, 2019). At the same time, academic literature so far has not paid significant attention to the practice of youth participation in Internet Governance. In one of rare examples, Daskal and Orlova (2017) see youth as essentially a passive actor who have been involved in Internet Governance in a top-down manner. They argue that "the existing limitations transform young

people from genuine political participants into mere performative representatives whose sole function is to play the role of young representatives at IGF" (Daskal and Orlova, 2017). This mirrors literature on youth political participation more generally, which stresses youth political disengagement and positions youth as essentially a political object which is "a challenge" (Kitanova, 2020) due to its passivity and needs to get more involved (Kitanova, 2020 cf. Weiss, 2020).

This paper aims to support the discussions on youth participation by understanding the different interpretations of youth and by looking at how youth perceive their participation at the IGF. It also offers a perspective different to the sources quoted in the previous paragraph by highlighting the way in which youth exercises its political agency and seeks not only to engage in existing participation spaces but also to reshape them. Notably we look at meta-participation: a process in which young people and facilitators create spaces in which they can later participate, in case the existing participation opportunities are not sufficiently reflecting their needs. Therefore the main research question is how youth want to change their participation at the IGF, specifically, which activities and mechanisms are being created to improve the ways in which they can exercise their agency.

In order to look at this question, we consider the following subquestions:
1. Who is considered youth at the IGF and how is their identity evolving?
2. Does the structure allow for meta-participation?
3. How are youth changing the processes of their participation in the IGF

To answer these questions, we conducted semi-structured interviews with youth and facilitators of youth activities complemented by an analysis of primary sources.

A clearer understanding of current and demanded participation mechanisms may lead us to a broader set of questions concerning the effectiveness of the current multistakeholder model. Therefore, ultimately, this paper seeks to explore youth meta-participation to understand the development and progress of youth participation at the IGF, which can inform future policy making on youth participation.

2. Conceptualising youth meta-participation

We conceptualise the attempts of youth to reshape their participation in the IGF as meta-participation, or participation with the aim to change existing participation frameworks. This is normally done because the existing structures for participation are seen as lacking in some way (being too restrictive, ineffective and the like), and so the goal of meta-participating actors is to eventually make the processes of participation more legitimate (Potjomkina, manuscript, cf. Trilla and Novella, 2001).
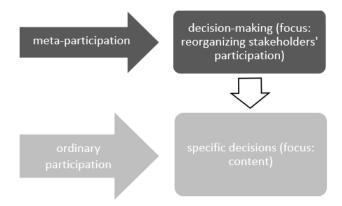
Meta-participation is a novel and underexplored concept in Political Science, and we see it as a valuable conceptual complement to the much-used concept of political participation. While political participation, like so many political science concepts, lacks a single generally accepted definition, two core themes emerge from the mainstream literature. Firstly, it is generally understood as taking place in the framework of the *existing* political order. This can be done through elections, which aim to replace the elites through a strictly regulated process. This can also happen through actions "in-between elections" (Ekman and Amnå, 2012), such as petitions or protests, which are less structured but generally aimed at the *existing* elites (cf. Barrett and Brunton-Smith, 2014). Secondly, participation is generally understood as "aimed at influencing governmental decisions" (Ekman and Amnå, 2012 cf. Barrett and Brunton-Smith, 2014, van Deth, 2016) adopted by the elites, without questioning the broader institutional setup that produces these decisions. In short, political participation, as mostly understood in political science, is implicitly constrained by pre-existing institutional mechanisms.

Meta-participation, in contrast to "ordinary" political participation, is aimed not at influencing specific decisions, but rather at reforming the existing decision-making structures - hence "meta" indicating action at a higher level of abstraction. The concept has, in fact, originated in literature on youth participation. Trilla and Novella in their 2001 article described four types of participation based on their complexity and intensity, with meta-participation being the most advanced one in which "[t]he participants consider that the participation and communication are not enough or that they are not effective enough; therefore *they demand or generate new participation spaces and mechanisms*" (emphasis added) (Trilla and Novella, 2001); in a subsequent article, Soler Masó et al. (2015) described it as "the utmost expression of youth participation."

At the same time, phenomena that can be described as meta-participation have been regularly described in the literature. On the theoretical level, we can go back to Foucault who has famously described resistance to governmentality as "the will not to be governed thusly, like that, by these people, at this price" (Foucault, 1997), stating that the subjects normally do not deny governance altogether, but rather wish to reshape it. Meta-participation, from this perspective, can be seen as the resistance to the governmentality of the established participation mechanisms. We can also refer to the top rung of Arnstein's (2019) famous "ladder of citizen participation" which means citizens' control over the governance of a programme or an institution, although Arnstein does focus on specific programs and not broader political decision-making structures. In a way, Cornwall's (2017) concept of "popular spaces" created by citizens themselves and possibly later institutionalised, as opposed to "invited" spaces that are created in a top-down manner without much concern for demands on the ground, is also related to meta-participation. In the literature on youth participation, Bessant (2003) discusses the limitations of governmentality behind established mechanisms of youth participation and the need for the youth to challenge the status quo practices and to seek democratic representation. Similarly, Cahill and Dadvand (2018) invite critical reflection on the setup of youth participation mechanisms, including both their purpose and various operational aspects, in essence demonstrating that there is space for meta-participation by youth concerning the mechanisms that are available to them.

On the empirical level, a careful reading of many studies on civic participation and political mobilisation shows that meta-participation, as defined here, frequently forms parts of these processes (Frangonikolopoulos and Chapsos, 2012; Potjomkina, manuscript; Spirova, 2008). In reality, citizens do not always limit their activities to the existing political structures and instead seek to modify or overthrow these structures and entire political systems. If we look at these processes as mere attempts to influence the content of governmental decisions, we risk missing out on their fundamental significance: meta-participation seeks to redefine participation structures in order to create broader, more sustainable change.

Figure 1: meta-participation and ordinary participation. Source: from Potjomkina (manuscript) partly based on Trilla and Novella (2001)

In this article, we build on the concept of meta-participation as elaborated in the PhD manuscript of Potjomkina, who clarified the difference between meta-participation as being aimed at changing the decision-making process, in contrast to "ordinary" participation that is aimed at changing not the process but specific outcomes. Potjomkina (manuscript) identified four directions in which meta-participation may aim to change the existing participatory mechanisms: it may be directed at changing the protocol of participation (such as the number of meetings), the circle of participating stakeholders (which groups should be included or excluded and in what capacity), the scope of discussion (what issues can and cannot be discussed, and from which perspective), and the prominence of participation mechanism vis-à-vis decision-makers (whether the decisions taken by a certain structure have practical consequences for policy-making, and to what extent). Meta-participation is rooted in stakeholders' belief that existing participation structures are fundamentally not compatible with their political needs; and if meta-participation succeeds, new participation structures will be seen as more legitimate by the meta-participating actors. This is also why, we argue, it is essential to consider meta-participation as a key to understanding and addressing youth's alleged "disengagement" in political affairs: they are not necessarily disinterested in participation as such, but only in participation under the *existing* rules (which meta-participation can change). We discuss how this manifested in practice further below.

3. Methodology

To answer the research question and its subquestions, we conducted desk research and semi-structured interviews, to interpret, re-describe and re-contextualise the individual phenomena within the meta-participation framework. Firstly, our desk research consisted of content analysis of the IGF website and its related documents on the IGF legacy website and its current website. The content analysis allowed us to map the different protocols, processes and mechanisms that were created and in place in the IGF. Secondly, in-depth interviews were conducted and we sought young people between the ages of 18 up until and including the age of 35 with a minimum of three years' experience in Internet Governance, who attended a minimum of one in-person IGF. We chose a minimum of three years so that participants would remember their time as newcomers, but have the experience of the continuation or cessation of their peers and projects as their involvement continued. We also ensured geographical, multistakeholder and role diversity (see Table 1).

Table 1. Outline of interview criteria

Criteria	Explanation	Examples
Region	The region they represent following the UN regional groupings, also included is a "Global" option.	African Group, Asia-Pacific, EEG, GRULAC, WEOG, Global
Type	Different categories of youth. The target is young people who can speak about the different youth mechanisms at the IGF. The premise is that every person is an end user and therefore can speak from their own experience. However, we wanted to target those youth representatives who have taken active roles at the IGF, and have over 3 years experience at the IGF. We also included facilitators who organise programmes for youth, who have traditionally been unacknowledged.	(Former) MAG, (Former) YCIG, Facilitator, Youth IGF/NRI, Activist
Stakeholder Groups	Variety of stakeholder groups	Government, IGO, Private Sector, Technical Community, Civil Society

We identified 50 people across the different criteria whom we wanted to interview, of which we reached out to 32 people. 20 people accepted the invitation, of which 16 people did a verbal interview and one person did a written interview. The lack of response could be attributed to not receiving permission from the organisation to respond to the research or because they do not identify themselves as youth.

Other limitations include the difficulty to find contact addresses from young people who change institutions frequently, and certain stakeholder groups such as the government and private sector which do not publicly make contacts available. Also, the focus was on in-person participation, which excludes all previous remote participation options and the fully virtual conference of 2020. In the future, the study could be expanded to include remote participation and include remote hubs at universities, however it is unclear whether the data regarding remote participation reflects registration or actual attendance.

4. Who is considered youth at the IGF and how is their identity evolving?

The official stakeholders of the IGF are considered as part of the working definition designed by the Working Group on Internet Governance (WGIG) established by WSIS, namely "government, the private sector and civil society" *(United Nations, 2005)*

The WSIS Tunis Agenda looks more deeper into the different stakeholder groups in paragraphs 35 and 36:

"35. We reaffirm that the management of the Internet encompasses both technical and public policy issues and should involve all stakeholders and relevant intergovernmental and international organizations. In this respect it is recognized that:
  1. *Policy authority for Internet-related public policy issues is the sovereign right of States. They have rights and responsibilities for international Internet-related public policy issues.*
  2. *The private sector has had, and should continue to have, an important role in the development of the Internet, both in the technical and economic fields.*
  3. *Civil society has also played an important role on Internet matters, especially at community level, and should continue to play such a role.*
  4. *Intergovernmental organizations have had, and should continue to have, a facilitating role in the coordination of Internet-related public policy issues.*
  5. *International organizations have also had and should continue to have an important role in the development of Internet-related technical standards and relevant policies.*

36. We recognize the valuable contribution by the academic and technical communities within those stakeholder groups mentioned in paragraph 35 to the evolution, functioning and development of the Internet."
(World Summit on the Information Society, 2005)

Youth is not acknowledged as a separate stakeholder category in the WGIG working definition nor the Tunis agenda. However, in practice, youth are dispersed among the different aforementioned stakeholder groups, and discussions are ongoing about whether youth should be recognised as part of the stakeholder group (Fung, 2022; Oghia, 2022; Prieto, 2022; Socarana, 2022; Walpen, 2022) or independently (Ettema, 2022; Chukov, 2022; Pajaro Velasquez, 2022). However, in practice it is easiest to acknowledge and include youth as part of civil society and not other stakeholder groups like government (Oghia, 2022), and mostly youth fall in the categories of end users or academia which is then categorised as civil society in the official statistics (Tjahja et al., 2021). Yet it remains unclear what is considered to be "youth" in Internet Governance, and one dimension of youth meta-participation is aimed at clarifying this concept and creating a space for young people to address issues specific to youth.

The term "youth" is defined differently across countries and regions to accommodate socio-economic aspects of being a youth in their respective countries or regions. The statistical definition of youth by the UN covers age of 15-24 (UNESCO, 2022), whereas the European Union (EU) collects data regarding youth from the ages 15-29 (Eurostat, 2022). The African Union (AU) and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) maintain the ages 15-35 (African Union, 2006; ASEAN, 2017). However, the Youth Coalition on Internet Governance (YCIG), the IGF Dynamic Coalition that brings together youth stakeholders (see also section 5.3) defines youth as the ages between 13-35 to reflect the minimum age of those who can sign a terms and agreement document on a platform, and the maximum international legal age for youth (YCIG, 2020). So in the abovementioned regions the definition of youth spans between 9 and 20 years, and the YCIG definition spans 22 years. This large age range indicates that the concept of youth needs to have sufficient depth to acknowledge the experiences, different life stages, and transitions between different identities and stakeholder groups as time passes. Youth has generally been associated with newcomers (Fung, 2022), where age, inability to vote and pay taxes indicates a lack of experience (Oghia, 2022). Yet in this age range, there are participants who have over 10 years of experience and are still considered youth (Chukov, 2022, Oghia, 2022, Schauermann, 2022), and their continuous development allows youth to take positions of responsibility in which they participate as representing youth organisations and communities (Monnet, 2022, Tjahja et al., 2022). Therefore to fully understand youth is to realise that these stakeholders are not bound by definitions that are associated to their jobs, such as Government, Private Sector, Civil Society, but by their current identity. It could be a student, as is most commonly acknowledged at the IGF (Meyer, 2022), but could also be young professionals, families, national service persons, who as end users have specific needs and concerns that they would like to have addressed when it comes to governance of the Internet that may impact their lifestyles such as eye-tracking exam software, online bullying or online safety. It depends what they are doing at that time in their lives (Herring, 2022) and it is up to them how they then choose to self-identify.

Youth identity is fluid, and the individual can be externally perceived as being youth or choose to self-identify as youth. Socarana (2022) feels that "youth are inaccurately depicted by many other stakeholders". Often the focus is on the value of the contribution, while youth are not always interested in speaking from experience, but from a need, as policies can easily overlook youth. And while being perceived as youth provides opportunities because there are programmes and activities that provide further access and integration, this can also become a pitfall in the long term, when this acknowledgement as a young expert results in being consistently re-invited to participate as the youth representative, for years at a time to talk about the same issues. This prevents personal growth and can create problems such as asking youth who are outgrowing the age span to continue to represent youth (Schauermann, 2022). This also prevents new participants from joining, because there is a hesitancy to look for new people who have proven their capability to participate in the discussions or the role was designed for a specific person and therefore did not consider wider integration of young people or continuity (Schauermann, 2022). It is worth reminding here that one person can be a youth representative for multiple years and there are limited speaking slots available. In this case being heard is then based on the individual rather than their ability to meaningfully represent a stakeholder group.

On the contrary, there are also young people who choose not to self-identify as youth because they feel that they belong to a specific stakeholder group despite falling within the age bracket (Fung, 2022, Herring, 2022, Oghia, 2022, Walpen, 2022), or on the contrary feel excluded or separated from the IGF community, and then purposely do not associate themselves with the youth identity (Fung, 2022). Here the focus is on integration within the existing status quo. However, this means that there is hidden youth (according to definition) in stakeholder statistics and participation from young people could be bigger than anticipated (Tjahja et al., 2021).

However, the transition from self-identifying as a youth or identifying oneself as one of the other stakeholder groups is also challenging because there is no clear line delimiting identities, and most young

people find it difficult to manage this transition (Fung, 2022). At this stage there are three forms of transitions. Firstly, to transition is to actively participate in content processes and be acknowledged as a contributor in your stakeholder group (Oghia, 2022, Schauermann, 2022), Secondly, to transition is to establish yourself through employment (Oghia, 2022, Schauermann, 2022) but lastly, to not be eligible anymore for specific opportunities. What can complicate this transition is when youth take on multiple roles or 'hats' (Chukov, 2022, Socarana, 2022). They will change hats depending on context, but also acknowledge that they are a youth while wearing a particular hat (Chukov, 2022, Socarana, 2022).

There is also a difference that needs to be acknowledged between Gen Z and the generations before them, in essence those who were born in the age in which the Internet existed, and older generations for whom the internet was a technological development. Gen Z are living on the Internet and have never known the Internet as a separate space (Fung, 2022). As Barlow saw cyberspace: "You are terrified of your own children, since they are natives in a world where you will always be immigrants" (Barlow, 2016). We are now in a transition period where those who see the Internet and the real world as two separate spaces are engaging with Gen Z, a new generation who perceive their interaction with the Internet as an active component of their lives and therefore engage with the Internet with different habits, skills and values.

Lastly, this study includes facilitators of youth participation. While they may not be part of the youth category, they actively engage with the mechanisms that foster youth participation. These are stakeholders such as the IGF Secretariat who has a dedicated person to address the NRI sessions and Dynamic Coalitions and thus serves as the facilitator of youth activities within those spaces. But also externally such as the Internet Society, which funds youth to travel to the IGF and supports their participation through a capacity building event. These spaces are generated specifically aimed for youth.

This section looked at what is understood as youth that goes beyond an age definition. While discussions mostly revolve around whether they should be a separate stakeholder group or should be integrated in existing stakeholder groups. When we speak about youth, it is not a homogenous group (Ettema, 2022), and we should acknowledge their complexity. Here we must ask ourselves through which lens we are looking at youth. Are we looking at youth as young people participating in a discussion, or youth who talk about issues that are considered youth issues?
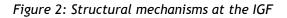
Young people have their own identities and problems which are distinct from other groups' problems and while not everyone who falls into the age category as youth actually self identifies so, there are other young people and facilitators who want to discuss youth specific topics. With this in mind, it is important to realise that this stakeholder group has an interest in further developing the Internet Governance system by raising their issues and concerns. This explains the calls for acknowledgement of youth as a separate stakeholder category at the IGF 2021. It also means that unless a space for discussing youth-specific issues is created, this group of young people and their allies will meta-participate to create spaces and processes to be able to engage in a manner that fits with their needs.
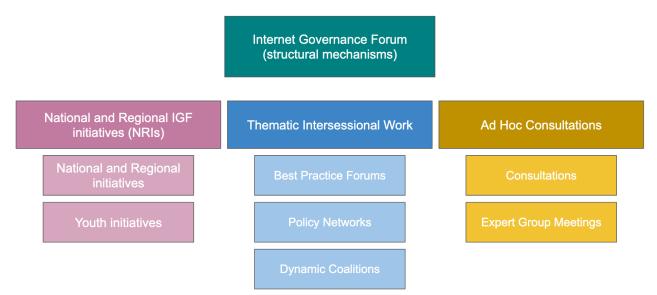
5. Does the structure allow for meta-participation?

We approach the IGF from two perspectives: the IGF as a convenor in which mechanisms are built and maintained, and the IGF as an annual event in which (recurrent) activities are created or engaged with.

5.1 IGF as a convenor

Since its first event in 2006, the global IGF has inspired the development of numerous IGF initiatives. These initiatives aim to bring multistakeholder communities together to exchange on issues and create outputs that could be discussed at the annual IGF meeting. These initiatives can generally be divided into two areas: the National and Regional IGF initiatives (NRIs) and the Thematic Intersessional Work activities (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Structural mechanisms at the IGF

The NRIs are IGF events that are set up and organised by communities at the national, regional and sub-regional levels, in a bottom-up manner. It means that any country or community can reach out to the IGF Secretariat to request to set up a national, regional or youth IGF in which they organise the event following the IGF principles (Internet Governance Forum, 2017). Their main focus is "to promote multistakeholder dialogue and cooperation aimed at tackling issues of relevance to their stakeholders" (Internet Governance Forum, 2017), and the application process requires consultations and reflections with the wider public on the composition of the organising team and finding stakeholders to engage with (Internet Governance Forum, 2017). Through this mechanism, youth or youth facilitators are able to set up a Youth IGF. Currently there are 34 Youth IGFs (Internet Governance Forum, 2022a), each with a different structure that reflects on their respective culture and community (Internet Governance Forum, 2021).

The Thematic Intersessional Work activities are divided into three areas: Best Practice Forums (BPFs), Dynamic Coalitions (DCs) and Policy Networks (PNs).

Policy Networks are a recent development established as a result from the UN Secretary General's Digital Cooperation Roadmap (United Nations, 2020), which aims "to develop multistakeholder expert-led frameworks that address in-depth issues, challenges, good practices and ways forward" (Internet Governance Forum, 2022b). However, it is unclear how a Policy Network is established and how the expert is appointed. The IGF website indicates that the "IGF Secretariat neutrality facilitates the potential among stakeholders and the MAG on the feasibility and benefits of the PN implementation" (Internet Governance Forum, 2022b) which gives an indication that there may be opportunities from the community to generate a new space, however it is not clearly indicated who and how PNs can be established in comparison to NRIs where it is stated that anybody can submit an application providing they meet specific criteria.

The BPFs brings together stakeholders to exchange good practices on specific issues. They are established by a proposal of minimum one member of the IGF Multistakeholder Advisory Group (Internet Governance

Forum, 2022b), and facilitated as an intersessional activity by the MAG which aims to provide concrete output. Contrary to the BPFs, DCs are issue-specific groups that are set up and facilitated by IGF community members where they are required to meet administrative and stakeholder requirements, which allows for openness, transparency and access to the space (Internet Governance Forum, 2022b). Within this last process, there are two DCs that were set up to reflect on (youth) participation, notably the Youth Coalition on Internet Governance (YCIG) and the Dynamic Coalition on the Schools on Internet Governance (DC-SIG).

The Youth Coalition on Internet Governance (YCIG) was established by youth for youth. The YCIG Charter outlines eight objectives, which they aim to achieve, of which four of them seek to generate more spaces in which youth can participate, or to include youth as a stakeholder, specifically:

- Implement solutions that address any gaps or inadequacies in the existing Internet governance frameworks vis-à-vis youth positions;
- Ensure youth are included as speakers in relevant IGF sessions and workshops, and advocate for mandated youth participation on the MAG as well as any associated fora and processes;
- Encourage the MAG and IGF Secretariat to adopt a range of more inclusive forms of dialogue and meeting formats that enable youth participation through mandates, policy changes, and/or other methods;
- Encourage more youth participation in Internet governance processes by providing opportunities for meaningful engagement through discussions, interactive sessions, remote participation, and/or other methods.
(Youth Coalition on Internet Governance, 2020)

We can clearly see that these objectives of YCIG are meta-participatory, namely, they aim to increase the available participation space for youth representatives who identify as youth. Within these objectives they organise a variety of activities in which youth are able to participate in content discussions on relevant hot topics, but they also use the Dynamic Coalition as a platform to approach other organisations to foster youth participation. An example of this is the Working Group on Youth Participation in Internet Governance, which was an email campaign to IGF session organisers to include youth on their panel and specify youth who fit the criteria for that panel (Herring, 57:23, *IGF 2018 Open Mic/Taking Stock*, 2018). In addition to continuing dialogue on how to empower youth or promote youth participation at the IGF and other IG spaces. (*IGF 2017 Youth Coalition on Internet Governance*, 2017; *IGF 2018 DC on Youth*, 2018; *IGF 2019 Youth Coalition on Internet Governance*, 2019; *IGF 2021 Digital Cooperation process - Analysis from Youth lenses*, 2021; *IGF 2021 YCIG Youth in the decision-making process*, 2021).

Another Dynamic Coalition which specifically addresses youth participation is Dynamic Coalition on the Schools on Internet Governance (DC-SIG). The Schools of Internet Governance are organisations which were established independently from the IGF, but they came to the IGF to create a space in which the schools from all over the world could come together to exchange, collaborate and reflect on good practices, standardisation and the role that they play within the ecosystem to foster youth empowerment and capacity building (Internet Governance Forum, 2018).

However, there is another level within the Dynamic Coalitions in which there is reflection on the manner in which DCs engage with each other and participate at the IGF: the Dynamic Coalition Coordination Group (DCCG) (Internet Governance Forum, 2016). Each year there is a main session in which DCs collaborate on presenting an issue that is cross-cutting and YCIG has the opportunity to provide input and speakers (Youth Coalition on Internet Governance, 2018). However, while there is a structure in place in which youth can meta-participate by proposing topics, stakeholders and processes to engage on the design of the main session, or more generally, comment on the manner in which Dynamic Coalitions should work and cooperate, youth participation at this level depends on the steering committee representative.

In addition to the NRIs and the Thematic Intersessional Work activities, there are consultative and expert meetings which are convened ad hoc. These can be both open sessions or invite only. In anticipation of IGF 2020, there were open online consultations both through the NRI mailing list and through open webinars where any person interested could attend (Internet Governance Forum, 2020a). The IGF 2022 Youth Track is a closed session which invites all youth IGF coordinators and a selection of youth activists and youth facilitators from youth-centric organisations to coordinate the IGF Youth Track (Internet Governance Forum, 2022c). The 2022 IGF Expert Group Meeting (EGM) provided the community with the opportunity to nominate people to participate. Notably, the outline for the list of participants included a youth representative (Internet Governance Forum, 2022d). On the NRI mailing-list, the IGF Secretariat facilitated a discussion on how to elect a representative and the group themselves decided how to proceed: "There were the discussions of using the youth mailing list to openly nominate a person, which was followed by the submission of CVs and plans by everyone nominated on the mailing list as a sort of campaign or to say why they wanted to be selected." (Botsyoe, 2022). However, difficulties arose with new members joining and participating in the mailing list, late submissions and discussion on how the representative would be elected, whether that was appointed by the IGF Secretariat or Mentimeter Poll (Bosyoe, 2022). "Finally the IGF Secretariat made the selection based on participation, ability to attend and represent you[th] and the engagement after the event." (Botsyoe, 2022). While the ambition to empower youth to design their own decision making process was provided, the introduction of a new role and a new structure to participate among youth who are part of a mailing list and not necessarily know each other proved to be complex. Their participation fell in-between a process and a bottom-up ambition as there was an overseeing body that provided guidelines but no instructions in a non-cohesive group.
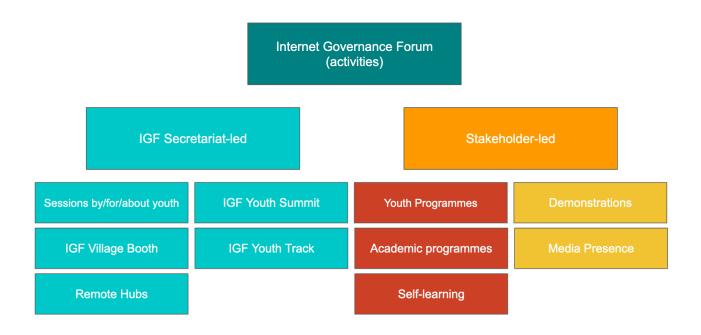
We can see that in the NRIs and Dynamic Coalition, stakeholders can meta-participate because they are able to use the structure to generate their own spaces. As we will discuss in more detail below, youth have been able to make use of this structure to design youth spaces such as the Youth IGF and the YCIG in which issues for young people are addressed, but also where youth are the designers of the space of interaction. While there are efforts to include youth in decision-making spaces such as consultations, these consultations still rely on a convener to organise youth.

5.2 IGF as an annual event

Every year the IGF annual event is organised by a different host country supported by the IGF Secretariat. Together they convene the event with the purpose to bring stakeholders together to discuss current issues, exchange information and share good practices, in a manner that is "multilateral, multi-stakeholder, democratic and transparent" as described in paragraph 72 and 73 of the Tunis agenda (World Summit on the Information Society, 2005).

The activities organised for the IGF annual event can be divided into two categories: IGF Secretariat-led activities and stakeholder-led activities (see Figure 2). Activities organised by the IGF Secretariat is a top-down approach to inclusiveness, in which stakeholders can use existing processes to (meta-)participate. Then there are the stakeholder-led activities, in which stakeholders create bottom-up activities at the IGF independently from existing processes.

Figure 2: Activities at the IGF Annual Event

```
                    Internet Governance Forum
                           (activities)

        IGF Secretariat-led                    Stakeholder-led

   Sessions by/for/about youth    IGF Youth Summit      Youth Programmes      Demonstrations

   IGF Village Booth              IGF Youth Track       Academic programmes   Media Presence

   Remote Hubs                                          Self-learning
```

The main event has an agenda that is co-designed by stakeholders who submit session proposals and a Multistakeholder Advisory Group (MAG) who reflect on the session proposals and advise on the programme and the schedule facilitated by the IGF Secretariat. This process is open to the public, and there are several types of sessions to which stakeholders can submit a proposal. Youth as individuals are able to submit proposals to workshops, launches and awards, lightning talks and pre-event (day 0) sessions, as they fall in the eligibility category of "stakeholders with demonstrated interest in Internet governance" (Internet Governance Forum, 2022e). To submit a workshop proposal, they will need to meet certain submission and diversity criteria such as including geographical representation, gender balance and youth (Internet Governance Forum, 2022f) both as part of the organising team and as speakers in the session. However the launches and awards, lightning talks and pre-event (day 0) sessions do not have this requirement as the style of the session does not per se require it, but allows any individual to submit sessions. Increasingly youth have become active proposers of sessions and engage on panels as speakers on a variety of topics, including but not exclusively on youth issues.

One other notable session is the open mic/taking stock with the MAG Chair and the IGF Secretariat Head of Office in which youth can present any ideas, raise awareness, present proposals and solutions. Youth have used this space to comment on the structure in which internet governance is being addressed (Badiei, 40:57), highlighting missing issues that should be addressed in the future from regional and youth perspectives (Fung, 1:18:01), access to participation within the physical location (Sweet, 1:59:03), inclusivity in participation from the wider global community (Latham, 1:56:40) and IGF community behaviour towards youth and youth participation (Herring, 57:23) (*IGF 2018 Open Mic/Taking Stock*, 2018). What makes this session notable is that this is on the record for reflection and every person in the room and online has the opportunity to provide their short statement. The interesting point of youth voices in the above examples is that they choose to use this space to meta-participate through influencing existing processes and asking to change decision making processes.

A prominent side-event is the IGF Village, where organisations can set up booths for visitors to learn about the organisation, their projects and mission. It is also a place for networking where some booths have meeting spaces to have discussions. The application procedure works on a first-served basis as there is a limited number of booths available, however, the IGF Secretariat also considers stakeholder and regional diversity. Youth have been able to obtain booths at the IGF Village such as Digital Grassroots, the Internet Society's Youth Observatory, DotAsia organisation, and others. Modey (2022) explains that with Digital Grassroots "we leverage the IGF to promote our programs, what we do and our networks. And we also use

it to make connections for people who can be mentored on our program. So when people come to talk to us in our booth, we tell them about our programs, and if you're an expert, we invite you to be a mentor. And if we sign up to be mentors, so that the next time we'll have you in our programs, and depending on the line of work that you related to, we can match you up with any of our ambassadors for you to have a meeting with them, talk to them about the issues they are working on and stuff like that."
In essence, youth uses this space to raise awareness but also create opportunities for engagement.

An opportunity that the IGF Secretariat established to open up access to communities world-wide is providing technical facilities to include remote participants. Specifically, the Secretariat opened registrations for remote hubs as satellite events which are completely organised by stakeholder groups themselves. Remote hubs participate at the IGF and can ask questions from the floor, in addition they also organise their own activities such as consultations and capacity building. Some institutions have organised remote hubs to facilitate youth participation, specifically by providing a space in which they can ask their questions surrounded and supported by their peers internationally.

Since 2019, a youth pre-event has been organised by youth from the host country and the IGF Secretariat (Internet Governance Forum, 2020b; NASK, 2021; Youth Internet Governance Forum, 2019). This Youth Summit facilitates discussions between senior stakeholders and youth, based on policy messages which empower young people to enter discussions at the IGF. While the format provides opportunity, the community engagement or reaction to these initiatives have not met its intended purposes. Senior stakeholders have been reported to only attend the initial speeches but did not stay until the end of the event as planned (Piccolo, 2022).

In the previous section we mentioned that the IGF led a consultation on the IGF Youth Track in which stakeholders can comment on the design and structure of the events. Here we seek to elaborate on the IGF Youth Track as an activity that was created to foster spaces for youth in regional events to guide them to the global IGF. The activity seeks to introduce themes important to youth that are connected with themes from the Youth Summit and the global IGF and engage discussion among participants and stakeholders (Internet Governance Forum, 2022c). The event provides an initial interaction across regions, youth facilitators, and IG youth events. Furthermore, participants become familiar with other participants and it allows them to build networks in anticipation of the physical global event.

There are also stakeholder-led initiatives in which independent activities were organised to foster participation, for example youth programmes such as the ISOC IGF Ambassador scheme and the Mozilla Fellowships. These organisations sponsor a certain number of young people (10-30 participants) to follow a programme that fits the mission, goals and ideology of the organisation and to participate in the IGF. These organisations took the initiative to facilitate youth participation by creating capacity building spaces for young people to become aware of specific issues, and then integrating them in the IGF community through knowledge-sharing but also by providing a support system with the host organisation and the other selected peers. At the end of the programme, the youth participants are encouraged to further collaborate and "they launch a project, they launch an organisation, they do some initiatives" (Prieto, 2022). However, these young people are often not considered "youth" by the wider stakeholder community, instead they are perceived as affiliated to the respective host organisation (Chukov, 2022), such as the IGF Youth Ambassadors who are considered part of the Internet Society.

Besides organisations, there are also academic institutions that bring their students and PhD candidates to attend the IGF in-person and online (Meyer, 2022). They use the event as a learning experience or to conduct research. However, in general, students do not play an active role at the IGF, they attend sessions to feel inspired about their research papers (Meyer, 2022). Yet due to the open nature of participation from the floor, students do have the opportunity and are encouraged to engage (Meyer, 2022). Youth also

empower themselves through self-learning. They use the Internet to become aware of the issues most important to them and find the IGF as a space in which they can interact.

Besides capacity building initiatives, there are also other examples of meta-participation which seek to engage wider audiences and create spaces to raise awareness through demonstrations and media engagement.

In the history of the IGF, there have been three demonstrations that took place. At IGF 2014, two activists boycotted the event and chose not to participate (Akdeniz and Altiparmak, 2014; Deutsche Welle, 2014). At IGF 2016 civil society organisations presented a speech and a petition in the closing ceremony (Article 19, 2016, p. 19; Vázquez, 2016). And at IGF 2021, youth took the stage to raise awareness on climate change and coal[1].

The media has been in some years a recognised stakeholder and in other years part of the civil society stakeholder group. They can attend to participate in relevant topics such as freedom of speech or disinformation, but they could also attend to conduct interviews or write articles. Youth have produced media from the IGF, but also engaged with media.

Overall, the different mechanisms and activities organise and coordinate stakeholders to effectively participate at the IGF with the aim to promote multistakeholder dialogue on issues that are relevant to the attending stakeholders. They offer room for meta-participation, where youth can create additional spaces in which they are able to address their concerns or represent issues they are concerned with. In essence, the IGF allows space for meta-participation to create new building blocks, and the question is whether youth are active in using these opportunities, or whether they will create opportunities for themselves to insert themselves in spaces to be included.

6. How are youth changing the processes of their participation in the IGF?

From the last two sections we can glean that youth have multiple entry points in which they can meta-participate: create spaces for themselves and other youth to participate in the IGF. However, there seem to be two separate tracks developing within the IGF. The younger youth are keen on creating separate spaces for youth in which there are discussions on issues that pertain to youth that are created by and for youth (Pajaro Velasquez, 2022), whereas the older youth are more focused on integration of youth within existing spaces and are looking into creating spaces in which all stakeholders are participating (Prieto, 2022, Walpen, 2022).

The separate spaces that younger youth are creating are aimed to provide a safe space within the IGF as participating can be a daunting experience, based on the status, the level and the lack of familiarity with the process. These youth-oriented spaces empower youth to familiarise themselves with the processes and provide low threshold networking experiences. This space is important because sometimes youth do not feel safe within these bigger spaces as they feel insecure about their knowledge (Socarana, 2022) or because the environment is hostile towards their country (Monnet, 2022) or towards their personal identity (Pajaro Velasquez, 2022). Therefore this self-designed space provides them the opportunity to explore and navigate without too much pressure. Yet the older youth are seeking for other ways of transitioning into a stakeholder group rather than "naturally fall out of [being a youth] at some point" (Schauermann, 2022). These older youth are willing to put the energy in to participate and their focus is on the messages they want to share (Socarana, 2022), but do not want to create separate spaces to further develop, but are also not ready to join existing processes. In essence, for returning participants there are no further integration processes beyond actively participating in the main activities in comparison to newcomers, or capacity-building activities.

---

[1] There are no sources available of the event. There are only eyewitness accounts.

Other evidence of this duality is the call for youth to be acknowledged as a separate stakeholder category. This falls in line with discussions whether youth should be separate and have their own events, dedicated to youth-specific topics, or whether they should be integrated within other stakeholder groups.

Within these youth spaces youth does feel heard, but often question what the follow up afterwards is (Chukov 2022, Ettema, 2022, Socarana, 2022): how are their messages being understood, who is listening and what are they doing to engage with this. Piccolo (2022) mentioned the lack of interaction from policymakers at the Youth Summit, and Schauermann (2022) provided insights of participation being tailored to the individual rather than creating institutional structure. Here we see that it is not the structure that is not accommodating youth, but the perception of youth by the other stakeholders and lack of importance given to their feedback. Yet, youth are not deterred by the lack of engagement from the top, instead they themselves create their own projects such as the Digital Grassroots organisation (Modey, 2022) and #DearGovernments (Piccolo, 2022) which focuses on the bottom. Modey (2022) explained that Digital Grassroots use the IGF Village Booth to raise awareness of their youth programmes, but at the same time use the space to connect with people who then join as mentors to these newcomers. Where policymakers in official events have failed youth engagement, Digital Grassroots created a more intimate atmosphere where they encourage engagement on an individual level to support long term engagement with the Internet Governance Forum.

The problem with these independent projects is that "there is not enough commitment to have continuation into the structure of the youth community, people come and go" (Schauermann, 2022) and it is reliant on the individuals who are currently engaging. Formalisation of youth structures such as the YCIG and the Youth Observatory have also shown that there is a lack of institutional memory. The YCIG term is only 1 year with a 1 year extension. Due to little time to work on long term projects, there is often repetition and loss (Schauermann, 2022). In spite of this, many former youth leaders take on roles that support youth participation in other places (Fung, 2022) and connect youth spaces together, so as the youth community is growing, it is forming its own spaces and networks to further engage in.

It is evident that youth are choosing to stand for positions to create change (Pajaro Velasquez, 2022) and that they are creating their own spaces of change (Modey, 2022). It is complex to assign a youth representative as "youth are not one group. It's not one homogenic group. So if we have a youth representative, that doesn't mean that youth representative speaks on behalf of all youth" (Ettema, 2022). However, there have been steps within the IGF, and in Russia, to foster a youth representative position. During the EGM, the IGF Secretariat started a process among the NRIs to elect a youth representative for the very first time. Although the process itself resulted with the IGF Secretariat intervening to select someone, a first step was made to acknowledge such a position. Russia is also promoting the national role of the Youth Digital Ombudsperson. According to Chukov, "young people in Russia, those who are interested in the [digital] sphere, deserve to be well represented and have their own counteragent with the business, civil society and governmental institutions, and this person was selected by the jury in the [Russian IGF] forum and several people applied to be the Youth Digital Ombudsman... This was our creative solution, how to make this experience where people are not just limited to one term, but make sure that young people have some continuation and they can work as a team and achieve something and try to form public opinion on the interesting topics for young people". Russia is now working towards establishing a network of Youth Digital Ombudspersons.

We can see that youth are taking steps to use existing processes but are not deterred when these processes do not meet their needs or expectations. They have been resourceful and innovative by meta-participating: creating new spaces to fill the gaps and finding the stakeholders that encourage them to further develop.

7. Conclusion

Over the years young people have become more confident in attending international conferences and forums. Not only have their increasing attendance been noticeable - the manner of their participation has evolved. They do not accept the status quo if it does not represent their needs or does not allow for them to explore their ideas, and they will utilise processes to build the space they need or create activities that allow them to change the manner of their participation.

The IGF is an open space and fosters a multistakeholder community where everybody is welcome to participate. It is within this space where youth are empowered to take action and create change from within an institution, but also to add activities to broaden existing spaces. We have seen with YCIG that they used the process to organise their activities and use this space to impact other spaces to foster further youth participation.

Yet the biggest barrier to their participation is how the wider community perceives and supports youth. There is no clear understanding of what the youth identity encompasses. The personal associations towards what a youth represents may then create a barrier for participation. This is manifested in ideas such as that youth are newcomers, that they are inexperienced and that their participation should focus around capacity building. However, it neglects the understanding of the complexity which entails youth, such as acknowledging the large age span, but also acknowledging that while they may not have experience, they do have specific needs that must be addressed, and need acknowledgement and dedicated spaces to do so. The article has shown that young people who choose *youth* as their primary identity at the IGF have creatively used the existing opportunities to create new spaces and call for recognition of their stakeholder group and follow-up to youth demands. Meta-participation of these young people has been resourceful and creative.

With this paper we shed light on the scope of what youth is and showed stakeholders that youth are consciously aware of the limitations of the processes that do not meet their needs, and are driven to create spaces for themselves and their peers to be able to raise their concerns and receive genuine acknowledgement. In current discussions about the future of the IGF, the awareness of youth taking their own initiatives should not be ignored. Harnessing their motivation and energy to create engagement and refine IGF processes to address the needs of the new generation will allow for a sustainable project supported by a strong flow of newcomers transitioning into long-term partners.

Further research on this topic would seek to widen the interview pool and include youth from rural areas, indigenous peoples, and those who have been part of remote hubs. With the recent acceleration towards hybrid participation, it would be interesting to understand how young people who are physically unable to attend the IGF, access and engage with the IGF online and whether meta-participation is present in these online spaces as well.

CRediT authorship contribution statement
Nadia Tjahja: Conceptualisation, methodology, investigation, data curation, empirical analysis, writing - original draft, lead author. **Diana Potjomkina**: Theory conceptualisation, writing - review & editing.

Acknowledgements

Bibliography

Akdeniz, Y., Altiparmak, K., 2014. Why two renowned Internet activists are boycotting the Internet Governance Forum in Turkey [WWW Document]. IFEX. URL https://ifex.org/why-two-renowned-internet-activists-are-boycotting-the-internet-governance-forum-in-turkey/ (accessed 10.16.22).

Arnstein, S.R., 2019. A Ladder of Citizen Participation. J. Am. Plann. Assoc. 85, 24–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2018.1559388

Article 19, 2016. IGF 2016 Civil Society Closing Speech [WWW Document]. Artic. 19. URL https://www.article19.org/resources/igf-2016-civil-society-closing-speech/ (accessed 10.16.22).

Barrett, M., Brunton-Smith, I., 2014. Political and Civic Engagement and Participation: Towards an Integrative Perspective. J. Civ. Soc. 10, 28. https://doi.org/10.1080/17448689.2013.871911

Bárta, O., Lavizzari, A., 2021. INSIGHTS – MEANINGFUL YOUTH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN EUROPE. Council of Europe.

Bessant, J., 2003. Youth participation: a new mode of government. Policy Stud. 24, 87–100. https://doi.org/10.1080/0144287032000170984

Cahill, H., Dadvand, B., 2018. Re-conceptualising youth participation: A framework to inform action. Child. Youth Serv. Rev. 95, 243–253. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.11.001

Cornwall, A., 2017. Introduction: New Democratic Spaces? The Politics and Dynamics of Institutionalised Participation. IDS Bull. 48, 1–10. https://doi.org/10.19088/1968-2017.144

Daskal, E., Orlova, A., 2017. Performing Internet Governance: The Case Study of Youth Participation in the Internet Governance Forum, in: Selected Papers of #AoIR2017. Presented at the The 18th Annual Conference of the Association of Internet Researchers.

Deutsche Welle, 2014. Turkey faces criticism as host of the Internet Governance Forum | DW | 04.09.2014 [WWW Document]. DW.COM. URL https://www.dw.com/en/turkey-faces-criticism-as-host-of-the-internet-governance-forum/a-17899512 (accessed 10.16.22).

Ekman, J., Amnå, E., 2012. Political participation and civic engagement: Towards a new typology. Hum. Aff. 22. https://doi.org/10.2478/s13374-012-0024-1

European Youth Portal, 2022. What is the European Year of Youth? [WWW Document]. URL https://europa.eu/youth/year-of-youth_en (accessed 6.15.22).

Foucault, M., 1997. The Politics of Truth. Semiotexte, New York.

Frangonikolopoulos, C.A., Chapsos, I., 2012. Explaining the Role and the Impact of the Social Media in the Arab Spring. Glob. Media J. 8, 10–20.

Galstyan, M., 2019. YOUTH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION. Council of Europe.

IGF 2017 Youth Coalition on Internet Governance, 2017.

IGF 2018 DC on Youth, 2018.

IGF 2018 Open Mic/Taking Stock, 2018.

IGF 2019 Youth Coalition on Internet Governance, 2019.

IGF 2021 Digital Cooperation process - Analysis from Youth lenses, 2021.

IGF 2021 YCIG Youth in the decision-making process: hear us!, 2021.

Internet Governance Forum, 2022a. Youth Initiatives [WWW Document]. URL https://www.intgovforum.org/en/content/youth-initiatives (accessed 9.28.22).

Internet Governance Forum, 2022b. Thematic Intersessional Work [WWW Document]. URL https://www.intgovforum.org/en/content/thematic-intersessional-work (accessed 9.27.22).

Internet Governance Forum, 2022c. IGF Youth Track [WWW Document]. URL https://www.intgovforum.org/en/content/igf-youth-track (accessed 10.14.22).

Internet Governance Forum, 2022d. IGF Expert Group Meeting [WWW Document]. URL https://www.intgovforum.org/en/content/igf-expert-group-meeting (accessed 10.14.22).

Internet Governance Forum, 2022e. IGF 2022 Call for Session Proposals [WWW Document]. URL

https://www.intgovforum.org/en/content/igf%C2%A02022-call-for-session-proposals (accessed 10.15.22).

Internet Governance Forum, 2022f. IGF 2022 Call for Workshop Proposals [WWW Document]. URL https://www.intgovforum.org/en/content/igf-2022-call-for-workshop-proposals (accessed 10.15.22).

Internet Governance Forum, 2021. Youth Engagement at the IGF: existing practices.

Internet Governance Forum, 2020a. Youth at IGF 2020 [WWW Document]. URL https://www.intgovforum.org/en/content/youth-at-igf-2020 (accessed 10.14.22).

Internet Governance Forum, 2020b. 15th Annual Meeting Internet Governance Forum Summary Report. Internet Governance Forum, Virtual.

Internet Governance Forum, 2018. Dynamic Coalition on Schools of Internet Governance (DC-SIG) [WWW Document]. Internet Gov. Forum. URL https://www.intgovforum.org/multilingual/content/dynamic-coalition-on-schools-of-internet-governance-dc-sig (accessed 9.28.22).

Internet Governance Forum, 2017. IGF NRIs Toolkit.

Internet Governance Forum, 2016. Dynamic Coalitions Coordination Group [WWW Document]. Internet Gov. Forum. URL https://www.intgovforum.org/multilingual/content/terms-of-reference-dynamic-coalitions-dc-coordination-group-dccg (accessed 10.10.22).

Kitanova, M., 2020. Youth political participation in the EU: evidence from a cross-national analysis. J. Youth Stud. 23, 819–836. https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2019.1636951

NASK, 2021. Youth IGF Poland [WWW Document]. Youth IGF. URL https://yigfen.nask.pl/ (accessed 10.16.22).

Potjomkina, D., manuscript. Meta-Participation and Legitimacy in Multistakeholder Mechanisms: Peruvian Civil Society and the Free Trade Agreement with the EU.

Soler Masó, P., Novella Cámara, A.M., Planas Lladó, A., 2015. The structures of youth participation in Catalonia since the democratic transition. Catalan Soc. Sci. Rev. 107–128. https://doi.org/10.2436/20.3000.02.28

Spirova, M., 2008. The "Color Revolutions" in Georgia and Ukraine. Taiwan J. Democr. 4, 75–90.

Tjahja, N., Meyer, T., Shahin, J., 2022. Who do you think you are? Individual stakeholder identification and mobility at the Internet Governance Forum. Telecommun. Policy 46, 102410. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.telpol.2022.102410

Tjahja, N., Meyer, T., Shahin, J., 2021. What is civil society and who represents civil society at the IGF? An analysis of civil society typologies in internet governance. Telecommun. Policy 45, 102141. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.telpol.2021.102141

Trilla, J., Novella, A., 2001. Educación y participación social de la infancia. Rev. Iberoam. Educ. 29. https://doi.org/10.35362/rie260982

United Nations, 2021. Our Common Agenda. United Nations, S.l.

United Nations, 2020. Report of the Secretary-General Roadmap for Digital Cooperation.

van Deth, J.W., 2016. What Is Political Participation?, in: Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.68

Vázquez, A.J., 2016. Mexican civil society at the IGF 2016 denounces human rights violations - Artículo 19. URL https://articulo19.org/mexican-civil-society-at-the-igf-2016-denounces-human-rights-violations/ (accessed 10.16.22).

Weiss, J., 2020. What Is Youth Political Participation? Literature Review on Youth Political Participation and Political Attitudes. Front. Polit. Sci. 2, 1. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2020.00001

World Summit on the Information Society, 2005. Tunis Agenda for the Information Society [WWW Document]. URL https://www.itu.int/net/wsis/docs2/tunis/off/6rev1.html (accessed 9.26.22).

Youth Coalition on Internet Governance, 2020. YCIG Charter [WWW Document]. YCIG. URL https://ycigweb.wordpress.com/charter/ (accessed 10.10.22).

Youth Coalition on Internet Governance, 2018. IGF Dynamic Coalitions & the Sustainable Development Goals.

Youth Internet Governance Forum, 2019. Youth Internet Governance Forum [WWW Document]. URL https://yigf.de/ (accessed 10.16.22).

Interviews

1. Botsyoe, L. (2022) 'Youth Participation in Internet Governance'. Interviewed by Nadia Tjahja [Microsoft Teams]
2. Chukov, R. (2022) 'Youth Participation in Internet Governance'. Interviewed by Nadia Tjahja [Microsoft Teams]
3. Ettema, M. (2022) 'Youth Participation in Internet Governance'. Interviewed by Nadia Tjahja [Microsoft Teams]
4. Fung, J. (2022) 'Youth Participation in Internet Governance'. Interviewed by Nadia Tjahja [Microsoft Teams]
5. Gengo, A. (2022) 'Youth Participation in Internet Governance'. Interviewed by Nadia Tjahja [writing]
6. Herring, S. (2022) 'Youth Participation in Internet Governance'. Interviewed by Nadia Tjahja [Zoom]
7. Meyer, T. (2022) 'Youth Participation in Internet Governance'. Interviewed by Nadia Tjahja
8. Modey. U. (2022) 'Youth Participation in Internet Governance'. Interviewed by Nadia Tjahja [Microsoft Teams]
9. Monnet, F. (2022) 'Youth Participation in Internet Governance'. Interviewed by Nadia Tjahja [Microsoft Teams]
10. Oghia, M. (2022) 'Youth Participation in Internet Governance'. Interviewed by Nadia Tjahja [Zoom]
11. Piccolo, V. (2022) 'Youth Participation in Internet Governance'. Interviewed by Nadia Tjahja [Zoom]
12. Pajaro Velasquez, U. (2022) 'Youth Participation in Internet Governance'. Interviewed by Nadia Tjahja [Microsoft Teams]
13. Prieto, A. (2022) 'Youth Participation in Internet Governance'. Interviewed by Nadia Tjahja [Microsoft Teams]
14. Prykhodko, O. (2022) 'Youth Participation in Internet Governance'. Interviewed by Nadia Tjahja [Microsoft Teams]
15. Schauermann, E. (2022) 'Youth Participation in Internet Governance'. Interviewed by Nadia Tjahja [Zoom]
16. Socarana, B. (2022) 'Youth Participation in Internet Governance'. Interviewed by Nadia Tjahja [Microsoft Teams]
17. Walpen, L. (2022) 'Youth Participation in Internet Governance'. Interviewed by Nadia Tjahja [Microsoft Teams]