

Parldigi MasterClass

National- und Ständerat

Desinformation

Bern, 9. September 2024

Prof. Dr. Tommaso Venturini, Madialab,
Université de Genève

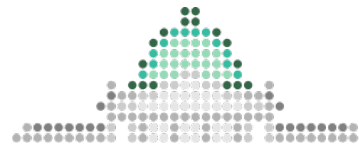
Prof. Dr. Florent Thouvenin, Lehrstuhl für Informations und Kommunikationsrecht,
Universität Zürich

Eine Veranstaltung von:



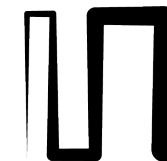
**Universität
Zürich** ^{UZH}

Digital Society Initiative



Parldigi

Unterstützt durch:



**Stiftung
Mercator
Schweiz**

Faut-il avoir peur des mêmes complotistes?

Tommaso Venturini

Medialab, University of Geneva

tommasoventurini.it

Au menu

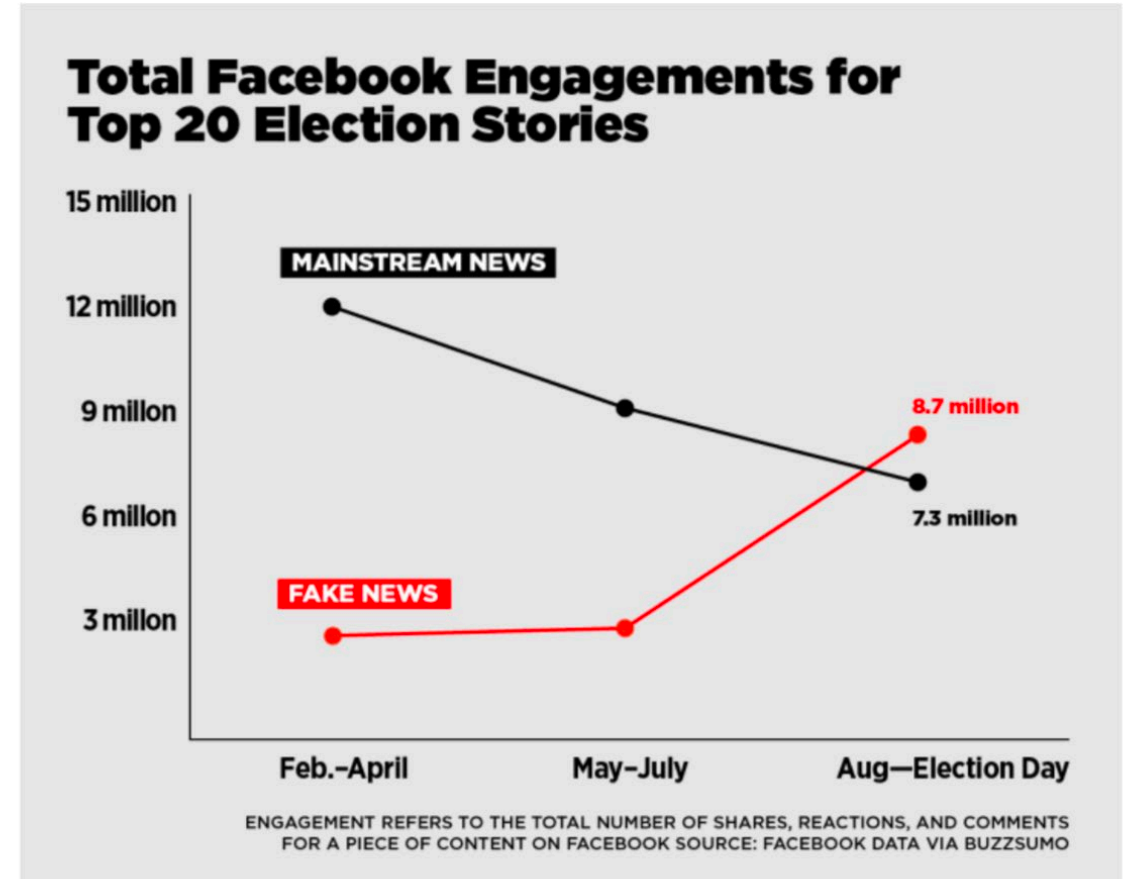
1. Des “fake news” aux “junk news”
2. Des “junk news” aux cycles de l’attention
3. Des cycles de l’attention à l’accélération des médias numériques
4. De l’accélération numérique au mêmes complot

2016, fausses nouvelles et “panique morale”

This Analysis Shows How Viral Fake Election News Stories Outperformed Real News On Facebook

A BuzzFeed News analysis found that top fake election news stories generated more total engagement on Facebook than top election stories from 19 major news outlets combined.

Posted on November 16, 2016, at 10:15 p.m.



www.buzzfeed.com/craigsilverman/viral-fake-election-news-outperformed-real-news-on-facebook

Désinformation en ligne = Fake news ?

Fausses nouvelles : contenus qui essaient de se faire passer pour news officielles afin de faire croire au public des fausses informations



Figure 1: LeSoir.info in February 2017 (left) and LeSoir.be in March 2017 (right).

4 raisons d'éviter la notion de "fake news"

Selon la littérature, la notion de fake news est :

- Indiscernable de la désinformation (et de la satire) classique
- Basée sur une vision simpliste du journalisme
- Basée sur une vision méprisante du public
- Politiquement dangereuse

Lookalike news websites in 2017



Lookalike newspapers in 1943



Désinformation en ligne

Fake News



Junk News



Figure 1: LeSoir.info in February 2017 (left) and LeSoir.be in March 2017 (right).

These Are 50 Of The Biggest Fake News Hits On Facebook In 2017

Viral fake news generated more engagement on Facebook in 2017 than the previous year, according to a BuzzFeed News analysis.

Craig Silverman (BuzzFeed News Media Editor), Jane Lytvynenko (BuzzFeed News Reporter), Scott Pham (BuzzFeed News Reporter)

Posted on December 28, 2017, 8:31 pm



Désinformation en ligne

Fake News



Junk News

Contenus qui essaient de se faire passer pour news officielles afin de faire croire au public des fausses informations

MENSONGES

Contenus qui capturent beaucoup d'attention pour peu de temps

DISTRACTIONS

Venturini, T. (2019).

From Fake to Junk News, the Data Politics of Online Virality

In D. Bigo, E. Isin, & E. Ruppert (Eds.), *Data Politics: Worlds, Subjects, Rights*

Cycles de l'attention

Up and down with ecology— the “issue-attention cycle”

A problem must be dramatic and exciting to maintain public interest because news is “consumed” by much of the American public (and by publics everywhere) largely as a form of entertainment. As such, it competes with other types of entertainment for a share of each person’s time. Every day, there is a fierce struggle for space in the highly limited universe of newsprint and television viewing time.

Downs, A. 1972
**Up and down with Ecology:
The ‘Issue-Attention Cycle’**
Public Interest 28

The Rise and Fall of Social Problems: A Public Arenas Model¹

The amount of attention received by a given social problem varies dynamically over time:

- a) problems that have achieved some success are constantly in danger of undergoing a decline and being displaced; and
- b) while some problems may rise, decline, and reemerge, very few maintain a high level of attention over many years.

Hilgartner, S. & Bosk, C. 1988
**The Rise and Fall of Social Problems: A Public Arenas
Model**
American Journal of Sociology 94(1)

Plateformes numériques et accélération des cycles de l'attention

1. Une **économie de l'attention éphémère**
basée sur des micro-transactions d'attention
2. Des **technologies de surveillance & recommandation**
promouvant un engagement superficiel
3. Des **métriques « de vanité »**
qui incitent les utilisateurs à repartager les dernières tendances
4. Des **sous-cultures Internet**
axées sur la viralité
5. Des **stratégies de trolling politique**
visant à perturber le débat et détourner l'attention collective

Médias sociaux et accélération des cycles de l'attention

Covington, P., Jay A., and Emre S., 2016

Deep Neural Networks for YouTube Recommendations

10th ACM Conference on Recommender Systems

De nombreuses heures de vidéos sont téléchargées chaque seconde sur YouTube. Recommander ce contenu récemment mis en ligne (« frais ») est extrêmement important pour YouTube...

En plus de la simple recommandation de nouvelles vidéos que les utilisateurs souhaitent regarder, **il existe un phénomène secondaire critique d'identifier et propager les contenus viraux.**

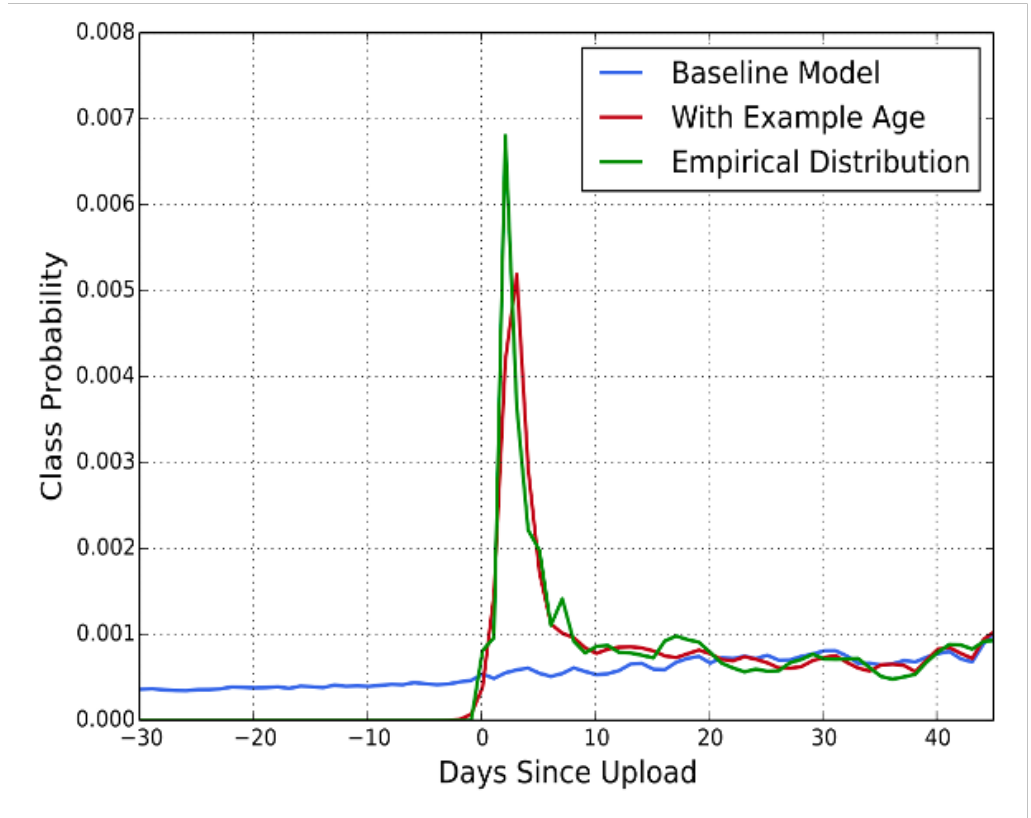


Figure 4: For a given video [26], the model trained with example age as a feature is able to accurately represent the upload time and time-dependant popularity observed in the data. Without the feature, the model would predict approximately the average likelihood over the training window.

The Rise and Fall of Social Problems: A Public Arenas Model¹

Stephen Hilgartner
Columbia University

Charles L. Bosk
University of Pennsylvania

This paper develops a model of the process through which social problems rise and fall. Treating public attention as a scarce resource, the model emphasizes competition and selection in the media and other arenas of public discourse. Linkages among public arenas produce feedback that drives the growth of social problems. Growth is constrained by the finite “carrying capacities” of public arenas, by competition, and by the need for sustained drama. The tension between the constraints and forces for growth produces successive waves of problem definitions, as problems and those who promote them compete to enter and to remain on the public agenda. Suggestions for empirical tests of the model are specified.

Popularity (π) of each issues (i) is incremented at each time (t) by

$$\hat{\pi}_{t+1}^i = \max\left(\pi_t^i + \underbrace{\alpha(\pi_t^i - \pi_{t-1}^i)}_{\text{its increment of t-1 multiplied by } \alpha} + \underbrace{x}_{\text{plus a random factor (x)}}, 0\right)$$

$x \sim \mathcal{N}(0, 1/2n)$
plus a random factor (x)

1. Boost of trending topics

If negative, popularity is set to zero

2. No negative attention

$$\pi_t^i = \frac{\hat{\pi}_t^i}{\sum_j \hat{\pi}_t^j}$$

After increment, the popularity (π) of each item (i) is divided by the sum of all popularities so that they sum is always 1

3. Inelasticity of total attention

Castaldo, Venturini, Frasca & Gargiulo (2022)

Junk news bubbles. Modelling the rise and fall of attention in online arenas

New Media & Society, 24(9)

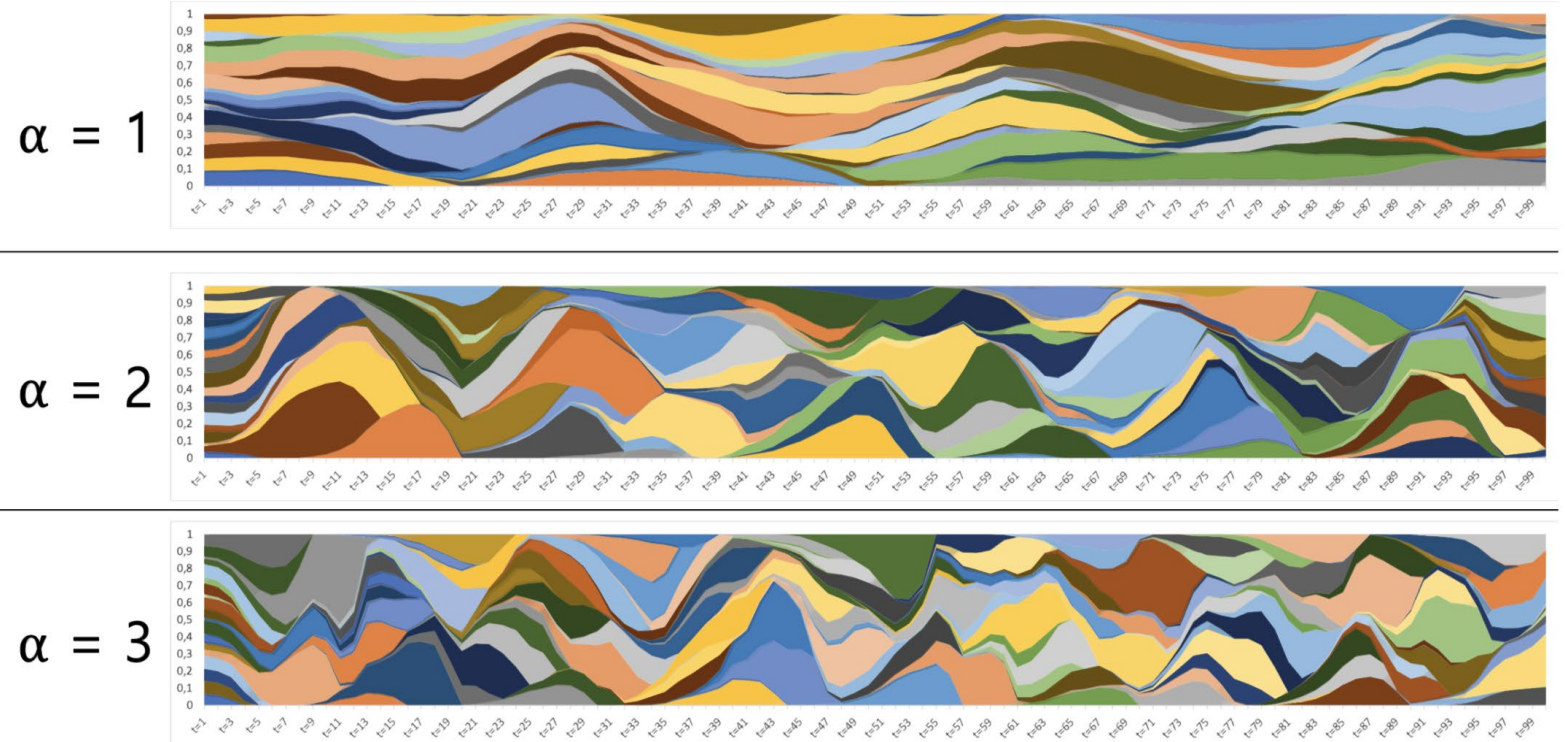
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$$\hat{\pi}_{t+1}^i = \max(\pi_t^i + \alpha(\pi_t^i - \pi_{t-1}^i) + x, 0)$$



Castaldo, Venturini, Frasca & Gargiulo (2022)

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New Media & Society, 24(9)

Algorithmes de recommandation et viralité

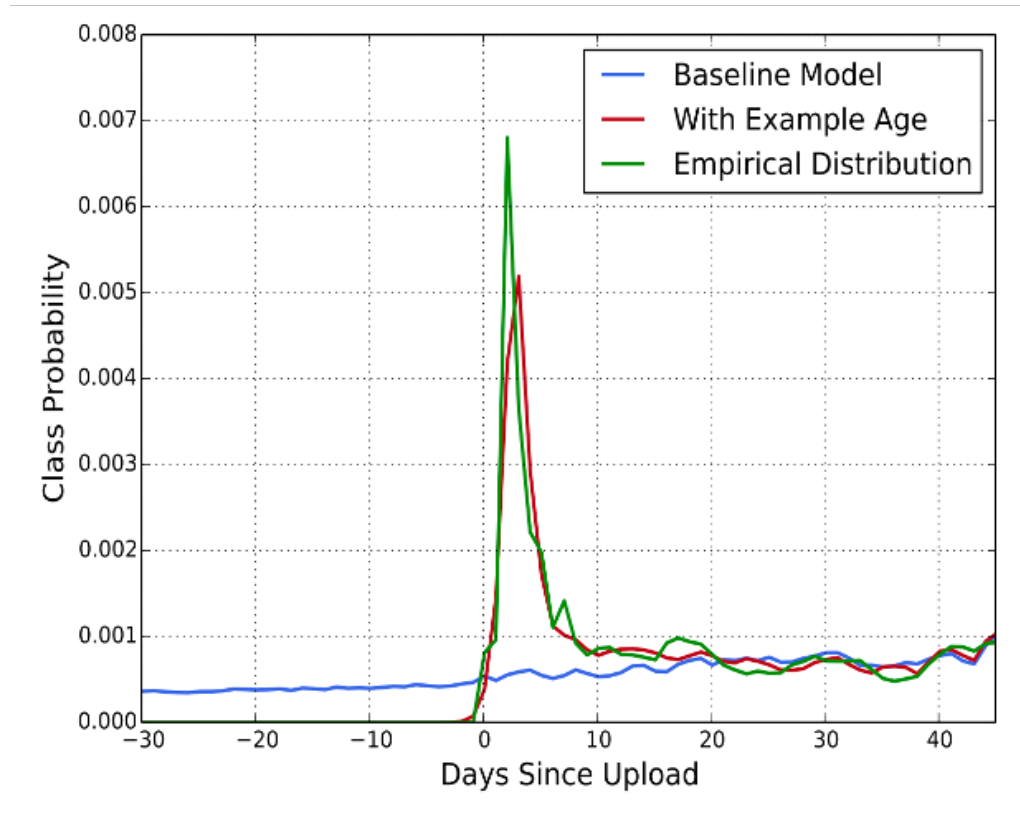


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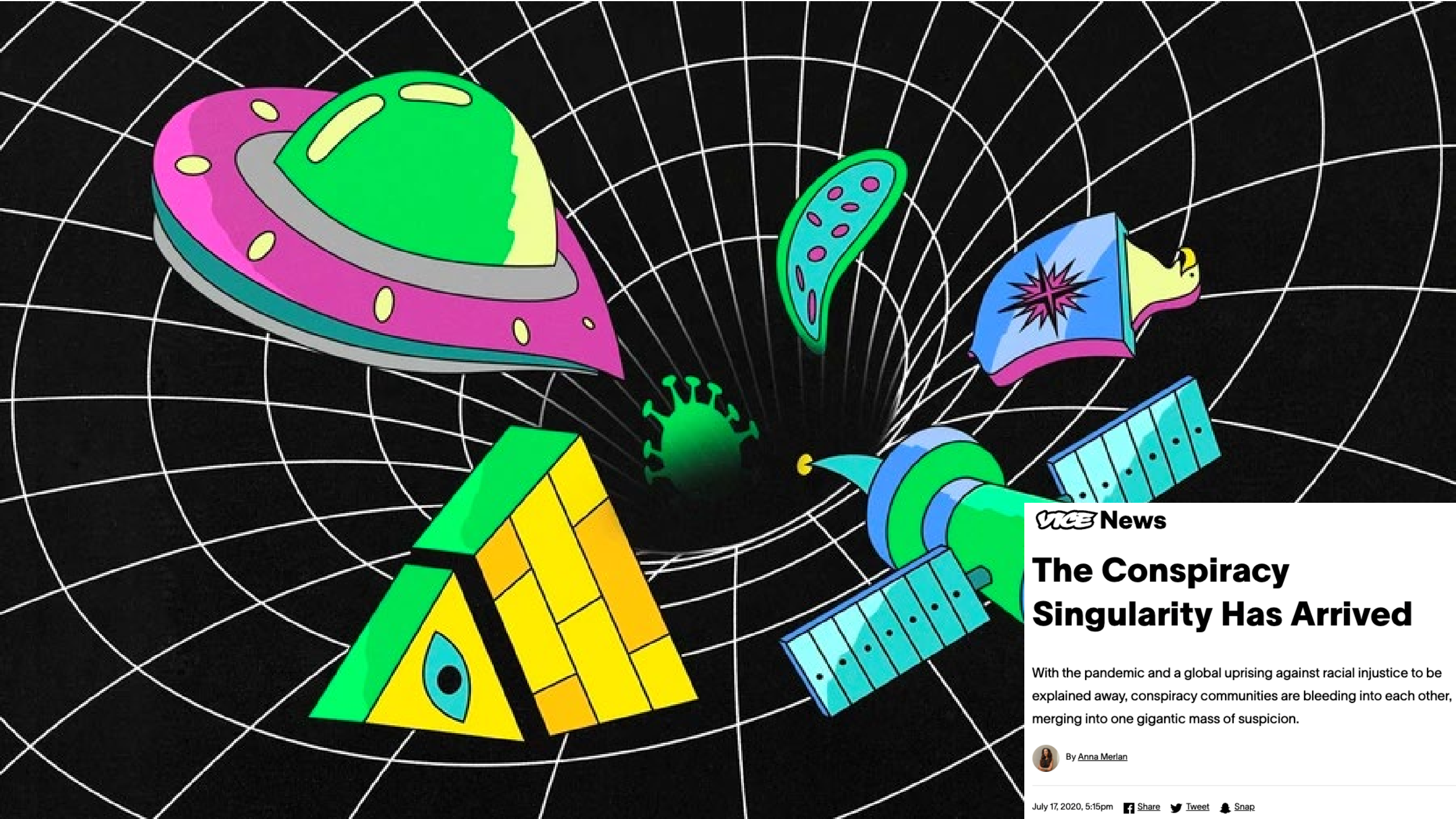


Pope Francis Shocks World, Endorses Donald Trump for President, Releases Statement

TOPICS: Pope Francis Endorses Donald Trump

photo by Jeffrey Bruno / CC BY-SA 2.0 / cropped & photo by Gage Skidmore / CC BY-SA 3.0 / cropped

1 BABYSITTER TRANSPORTED TO HOSPITAL AFTER INSERTING A BABY IN HER VAGINA 1,204,400 Babysitter transported to hospital after inserting a baby in her vagina	2 FBI SEIZES OVER 3,000 PENISES DURING RAID AT MORGUE EMPLOYEE'S HOME 1,145,470 FBI seizes over 3,000 penises during raid at morgue employee's home	3 Charles Manson to be released on parole, to Johnson County, TX 1,125,031 Charles Manson to be released on parole, to Johnson County, TX	4 Police: Chester Bennington Was Murdered 1,042,032 Police: Chester Bennington Was Murdered	5 MORGUE EMPLOYEE CREMATED BY MISTAKE WHILE TAKING A NAP 993,205 Morgue employee cremated by mistake while taking a nap
6 Angry Woman Cuts Off Man's Penis for Not Making Eye Contact During Sex - TRENDING 981,423 Angry Woman Cuts Off Man's Penis for Not Making Eye Contact During Sex - TRENDING	7 Female Legislators Unveil 'Male Ejaculation Bill' Forbidding The Disposal Of Unused Semen 966,498 Female Legislators Unveil 'Male Ejaculation Bill' Forbidding The Disposal Of Unused Semen	8 President Trump Orders the Execution of Five Turkeys Pardoned by Obama 914,429 President Trump Orders the Execution of Five Turkeys Pardoned by Obama	9 ELDERLY WOMAN ACCUSED OF TRAINING HER 65 CATS TO STEAL FROM NEIGHBORS 690,437 Elderly woman accused of training her 65 cats to steal from neighbors	10 COUPLE HOSPITALIZED AFTER MAN GETS HIS HEAD STUCK IN HIS WIFE'S VAGINA 672,093 Couple hospitalized after man gets his head stuck in his wife's vagina



VICE News

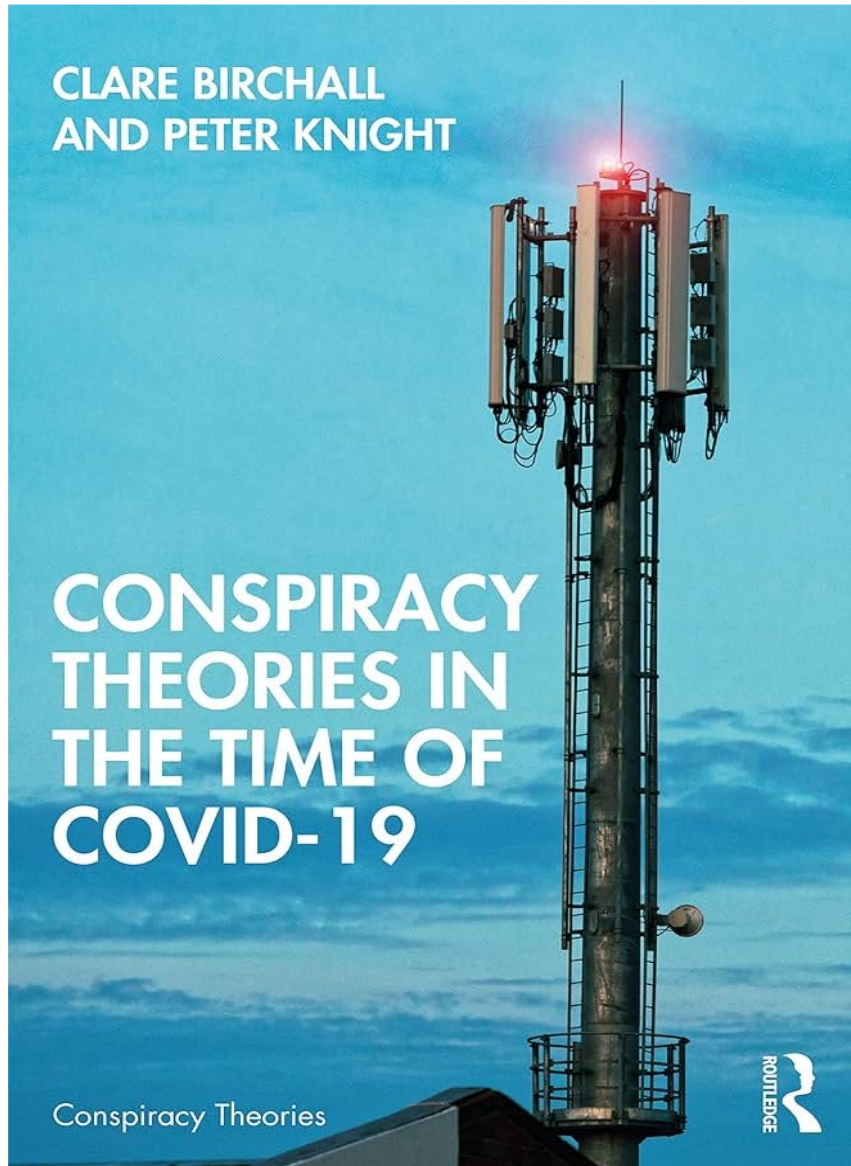
The Conspiracy Singularity Has Arrived

With the pandemic and a global uprising against racial injustice to be explained away, conspiracy communities are bleeding into each other, merging into one gigantic mass of suspicion.



By [Anna Merlan](#)

Coalitions de méfiance



5 Coalitions of Distrust Features of Coronavirus Conspiracy Theories

DOI: 10.4324/9781003315438-6

In the previous two chapters, we catalogued the conspiracy theories that emerged and converged during the first year and a half of the pandemic. To do this adequately, we included the longer histories of those conspiracy theories. This might give the impression that there is nothing new under the sun when it comes to conspiracism—and documenting that longer history helps correct the widespread but inaccurate claim that conspiracy theories exploded on social media during the pandemic in a way that had never been seen before. In this chapter, however, we counter the equally misleading claim that the circulation of conspiracy theories in the online environment during the pandemic was merely business as usual. This chapter is concerned with identifying what is distinctive about Covid-19 conspiracy theorising, over and above some of the general mechanisms and features of conspiracy theories we outlined in the introduction. If the content is not necessarily new—as we have seen, many of them reuse tropes, fears and rhetoric—what tendencies can we see emerging in the creation and circulation of pandemic conspiracy theories, and the uses to which they have been put? In what follows, we consider some key characteristics.¹ Not all these characteristics are unique to the pandemic; what we see, rather, is that existing trends

Marc Tuters Tom Willaert (2022)

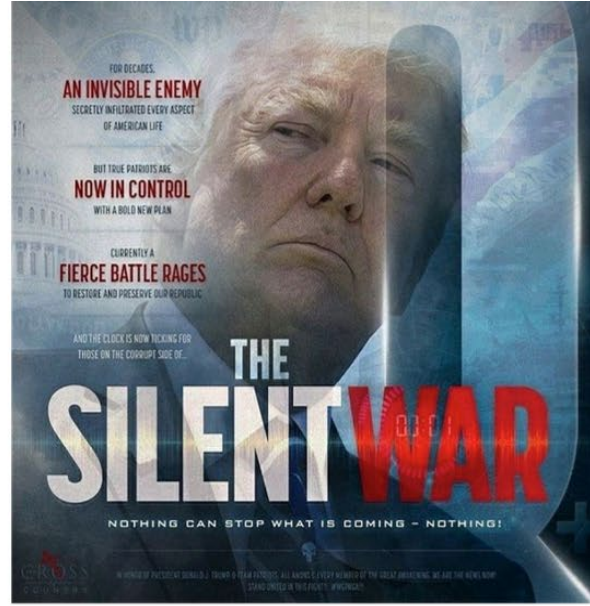
Deep state phobia:

Narrative convergence in coronavirus conspiracism on Instagram

Convergence, 28(4)



#agenda2030, #control,
#populationcontrol, #depopulation,
#freemarket, #agenda30, #truth,
#corruption, #agenda21, #nwo,
#rothchild [sic], #rockafella,
#newworldorder, #corona,
#coronavirus, #covid, #covid_19,
#covid19, #event201,
#wedonotconsent, #vaccines,
#antivaxx, #alternativemedicine,
#antivaccine, #virus, #viruses



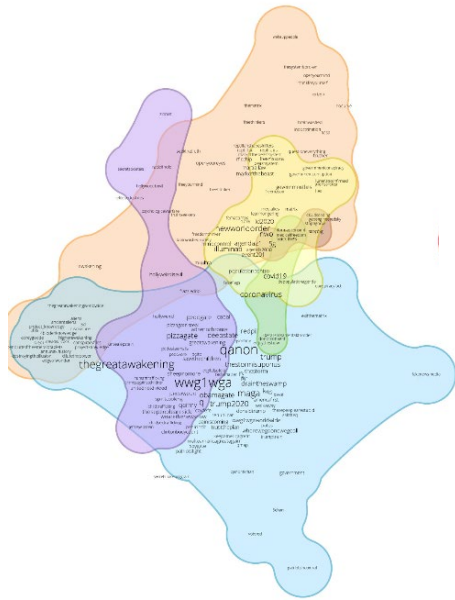
#UnitedNotDivided #QAnon #Q #Qarmy
#CalmBeforeTheStorm
#TheStormIsUponUs
#ThePlanToSaveTheWorld #Trump
#GeneralFlynn #MAGA #KAG
#SlavesNoMore #JuanOSavin #JFK
#JFKJR #SheepleNoMore #Hollyweird
#EliteApocalypse #ClintonBodyCount
#MilitaryTribunals
#CrimesAgainstChildren
#EnemyOfTheChildren #DarkToLight
#Pedogate #Obamagate #SpvGate



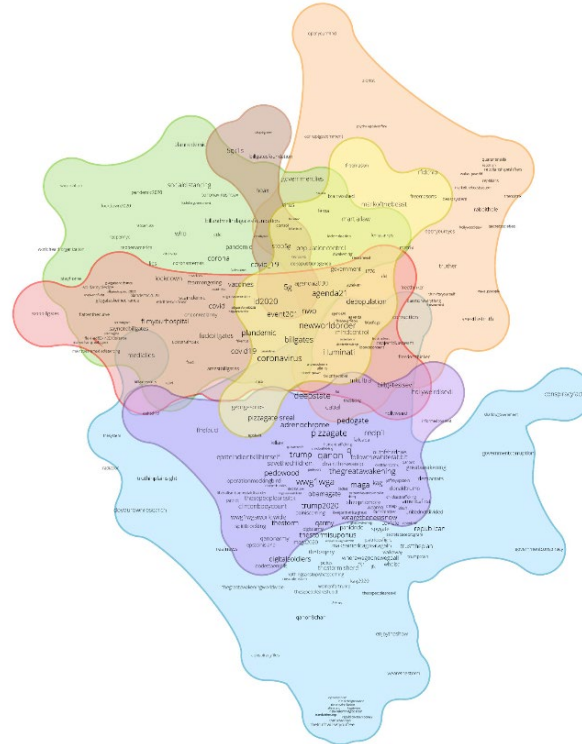
#pedowood #followthewhiterabbit
#frazzledrip #filmyourhospital
#clintonbodycount #adrenochrome
#thegreatawakening
#ghislainemaxwell #darktolight
#qanon #trump2020 #hollywood
#sextrafficking #redpill
#childtrafficking #digitalsoldiers
#epsteinisland #pedogate
#thesepeoplearesick
#godsavethechildren #obamagate
#pizzagate #maga #draintheswamp

Deep state phobia

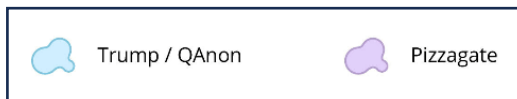
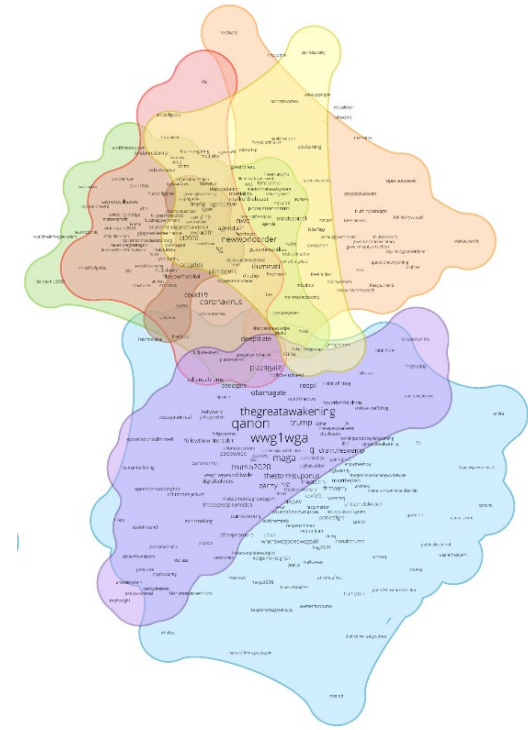
1st quarter



2nd quarter



3rd quarter



Qanon

“New World Order”

Théories du complot → Mèmes du complot

I DON'T want a digital ID.
I DON'T want a social credit score.
I DON'T want an electric car.
I DON'T want a 'great reset'.
I DON'T want to eat bugs.
I DON'T want to be locked down.
I DON'T want to rent my home.

AND IF YOU HAVE A PROBLEM WITH THAT ...

IS NO ONE ELSE SEEING THIS?

CREATE VIRUS **LOCKDOWN**

GO CASHLESS **INSTALL 5G**

FALSE

CREATE RFID **INJECT AS VAX**

They create a virus. They lockdown the world. They go cashless. They install 5g. They make ID2020 RFID universal vaccine implants to work with 5g networks. They mandate the covid vaccine.

IF YOU TRUST SOMEONE WHO HAS

500,000 SHARES WITH MONSANTO

INJURED THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WITH VACCINES

PLANS TO BLOCK OUT THE SUN

ADVOCATED FOR MICROCHIPPING

SPONSORED MARINA ABRAMOVIC

YOU'RE A SPECIAL KIND OF STUPID

J-T-KOWALSKI

Complots sans théorie

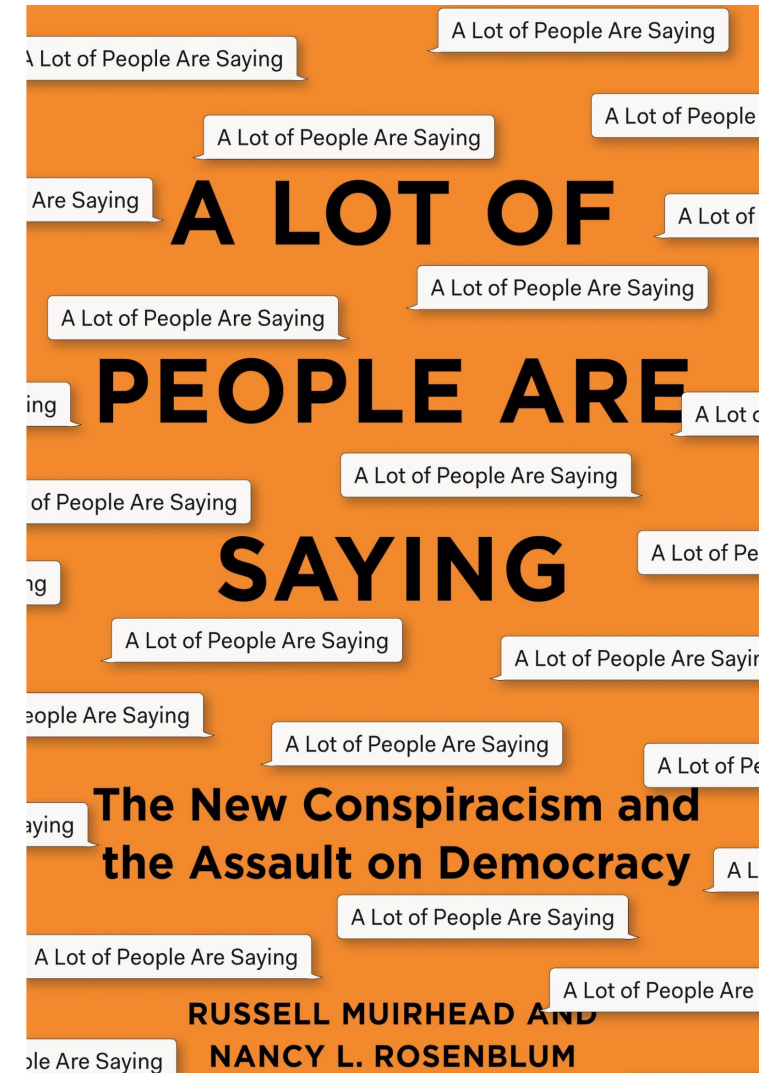
Muirhead, R., & Rosenblum, N. (2019)

A Lot of People are Saying

The new conspiracism is something different. There is no punctilious demand for proofs, no exhaustive amassing of evidence, no dots revealed to form a pattern, no close examination of the operators plotting in the shadows...

This is conspiracy without the theory. What validates the new conspiracism is not evidence but repetition.

When Trump tweeted the accusation that President Barack Obama had ordered the FBI to tap his phones in October before the 2016 election, no evidence of the charge was forthcoming. What mattered was not evidence but the number of retweets the president's post would enjoy: the more retweets, the more credible the charge



Faut-il avoir peur des mêmes complotistes ?

Les théories du complot classiques ont des importantes barrières à l'entrée. Adhérer à leur credo nécessite une certaine « alphabétisation complotiste » et la maîtrise d'un certain nombre des textes canoniques, arguments, preuves, etc.

Pour apprécier et contribuer à une sub-culture mémétique, il suffit de comprendre le fonctionnement des mêmes Internet – ce qui est aussi une compétence, mais plus facilement accessible à l'internaute moyen.

Forgés dans l'attention des plateformes, les mêmes prospèrent précisément parce qu'ils sont faciles à mémoriser, à répéter et à remixer. Comparé à l'érudition demandée par les théories du complot classiques, les mêmes du complot sont « faciles » et pourtant pas moins dangereux.

Pris en isolement, un par un, les mêmes d'Internet sont frivoles et sans conséquence. Mais l'ensemble de leurs réverbérations dans les plateformes numériques peut avoir des conséquences culturelles et politiques aussi graves que celles des théories du complot classique, tout en demandant un moindre engagement.

[Extrait d'un livre à paraître: Marc Tuters et Tommaso Venturini. The Memeplex Post-QAnon Platformized Paranoia]

Références

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Cambridge: Polity www.politybooks.com/bookdetail?book_slug=controversy-mapping-a-field-guide--9781509544509
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A Field Guide to “Fake News” and other Information Disorders
Amsterdam: Public Data Lab. fakenews.publicdatalab.org



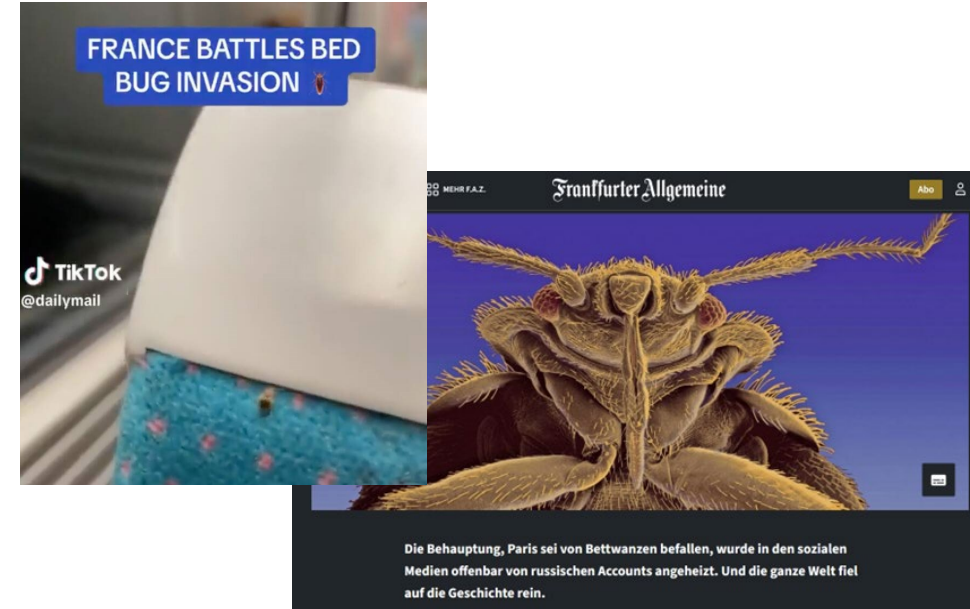
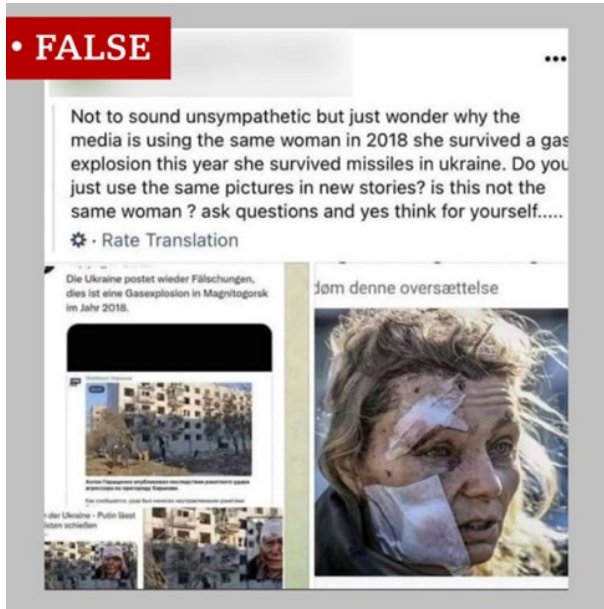
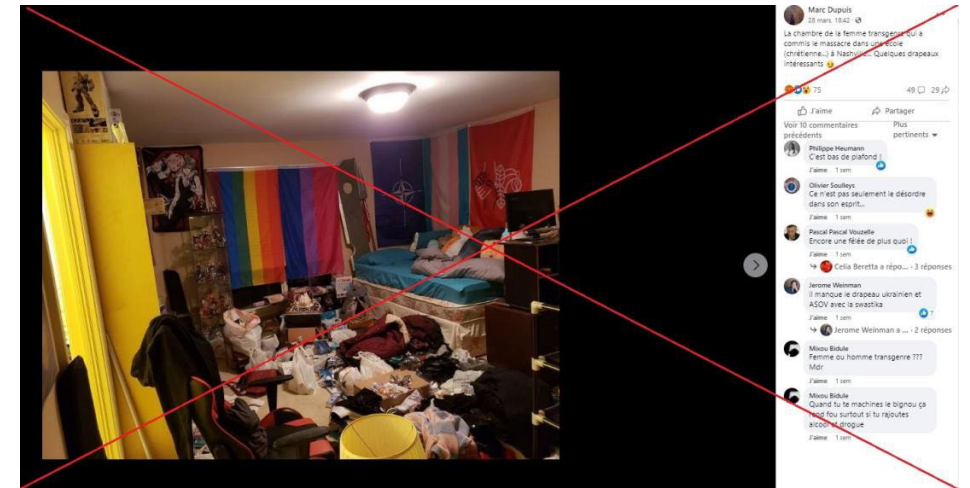
Universität
Zürich ^{UZH}

Rechtswissenschaftliche Fakultät

Desinformation: Perspektive des Rechts

Prof. Dr. Florent Thouvenin





Von links nach recht: Infosperber, CNN, AFP via EDMO, BBC, via Correctiv, TikTok via Blick, Frankfurter Allgemeine

Ausgangslage

- **Desinformation** ist vor allem ein Problem des **digitalen Medien- und Informationskonsums**
 - hohe **Reichweite**
 - schnelle, teilautomatisierte **Verbreitung**
- Länder mit starker **politischer Polarisierung** erscheinen besonders anfällig für Desinformation
- Resilienz durch **vielfältiges** und **qualitativ hochwertiges Mediennutzungsrepertoire**
- **Social Media** und **Messengerdienste** spielen eine grosse Rolle
 - **soziale Bedürfnisse** wie z.B. Zugehörigkeit
 - dadurch Interaktion mit (Des)Information
- Deshalb: **Governance-Massnahmen** müssen bei Social-Media-Plattformen und Messengerdiensten ansetzen.

Ausgangslage

- **Langfristige Wirkung von Desinformation auf die Gesellschaft**
 - Zunehmende Polarisierung (Jenke, 2023)
 - Destabilisierung des Vertrauens in Politik und Medien (Zimmermann & Kohring, 2020)
 - Einfluss auf Abstimmungen und Wahlen durch Manipulation des öffentlichen Diskurses (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; Fletcher et al., 2018; Neuder et al., 2017)
 - Einfluss auf die Gesundheit (Sharma et al., 2020)
- **Effektive Wirkung von Desinformation allerdings (noch) weitgehend unklar...**

Handlungsoptionen

Staatliche Regulierung

Ko-Regulierung
(gemeinsame Regulierung von Staat und Branchenvertreter:innen)

Selbstregulierung
(Regulierung durch Branchenvertreter:innen)

Selbstorganisation
(eigene Regeln der Anbieter:innen)

Betroffene Grundrechte

Grundrechte der Verbreitenden

Meinungsfreiheit
Wirtschaftsfreiheit

Fernmeldegeheimnis

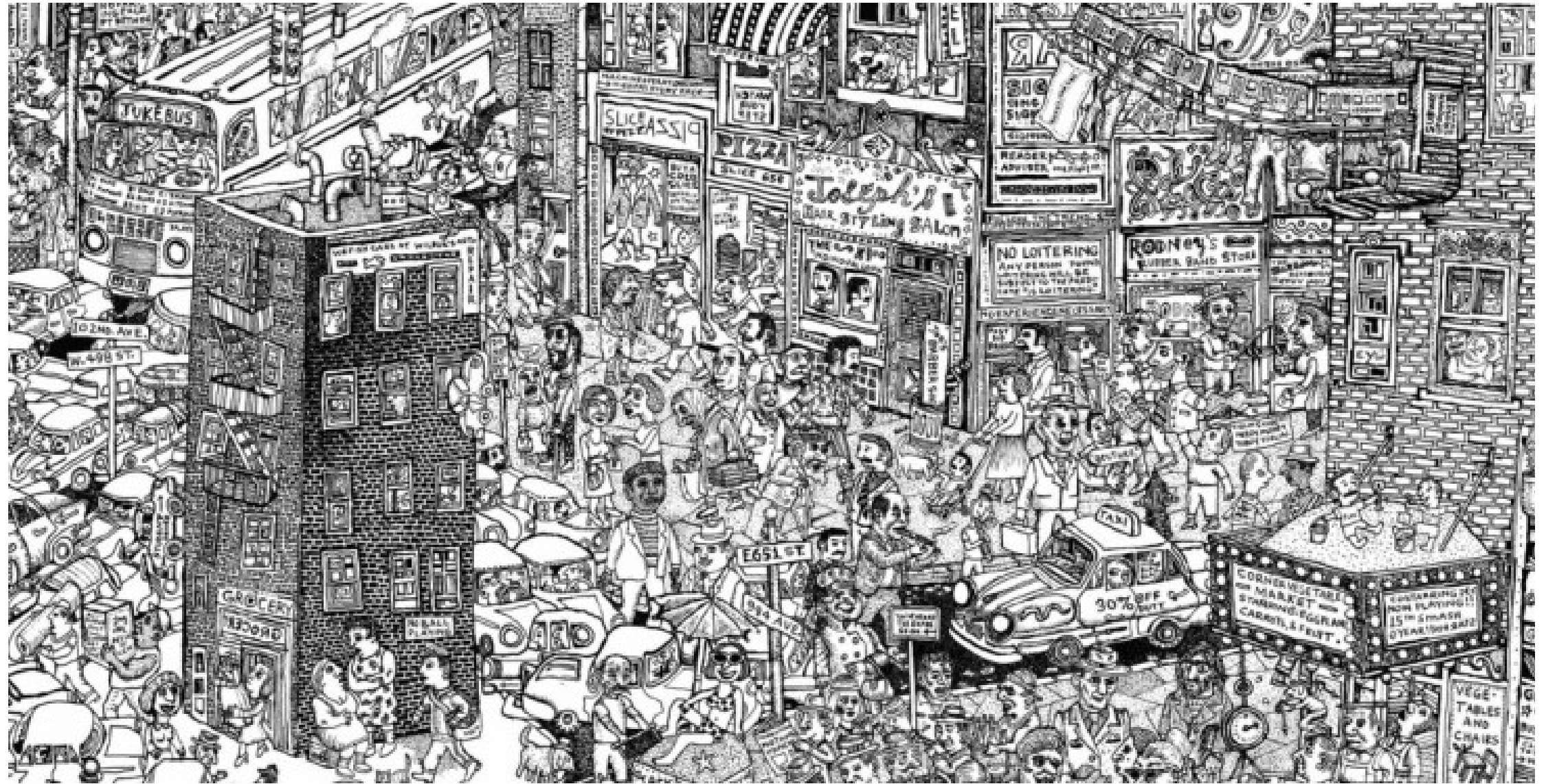
Grundrechte Anbieter (Kanäle)

Meinungsfreiheit
Wirtschaftsfreiheit
(Medienfreiheit)



Grundrechte der Rezipient:innen

Meinungsfreiheit
Wirtschaftsfreiheit
Persönliche Freiheit
Wahl- und
Abstimmungsfreiheit





Gesetzliche Vorgaben

Schutz von Individuen

- Persönlichkeitsrecht (Art. 28 ff. ZGB)
- Strafrechtlicher Persönlichkeitsschutz (Art. 173 ff. StGB)

Schutz von Systemen

- Wahlen und Abstimmungen (Art. 34 BV)
- Wettbewerb (UWG)
- Öffentlicher Frieden (StGB)
- Verfassungsmässige Ordnung (StGB)
- Beziehungen zum Ausland (StGB)
- etc.

Ansätze in der EU

- Digital Services Act (DSA)
- Medienfreiheitsgesetz
- Aktionsplan gegen Desinformation
- Verhaltenskodex zur Bekämpfung von Desinformation
- Europäische Beobachtungsstelle für Digitale Medien
- Unabhängige Faktenchecker
- Taskforce für Strategische Kommunikation
(insb. East StratCom Task Force)



Massnahmen – Staatliche Regulierung

- **Desinformations(schutz)beauftragte:r oder Desinformations-Monitoringstelle**
- **Kennzeichnungspflicht für Werbung**
- **Kennzeichnungspflicht für politische Werbung**
- **Massnahmen für automatisierte Accounts (Bots)**
 - kein Verbot
 - Begrenzung der Aktivitäten pro Zeitraum
 - Kennzeichnungspflicht



Massnahmen – Ko-Regulierung

- **Prozedurale Massnahmen für Plattformen**
 - internes Beschwerdemanagement
 - aussergerichtliche Streitbeilegungsstelle
- **Transparenzvorgaben für Plattformen**
- **Recht auf Zugang für Nutzer:innen**
- **Recht auf Zugang zu Daten**



Massnahmen – Selbstregulierung

– Erweiterung Kompetenzen Presserat

- Journalist:innen
- auch für Inhalte auf Social Media

– Schaffung eines Digitalrates

- Gemeinsame Grundsätze der Plattformen
- Beschwerdeinstanz

— | Schweizer Presserat
— | Conseil suisse de la presse
— | Consiglio svizzero della stampa
— | Cussegl svizzer da la pressa
— | Swiss Press Council



Massnahmen – Selbstorganisation

- **Sperren von Nutzer:innen auf Social Media (Deplatforming)**
- **Löschen und Sperren von Inhalten**
- **Downranking von Inhalten**
- **Flagging von Inhalten**
 - User Flagging
 - Trusted Flaggers
- **Einschränkung des Weiterleitens**



Indirekte Massnahmen

- **Teilnahme an Europäischen Gremien und Initiativen**
- **Steigerung der Medien- und Digitalkompetenz**
 - Zielgruppe: ältere Menschen
 - Zielgruppe: jüngere Menschen
- **Stärkung des Informationsjournalismus**
- **Gründung einer (kostenlosen) Medienplattform**





Homepage



Publikationen

Vielen Dank!

Prof. Dr. Florent Thouvenin

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Bericht

Governance von Desinformation in digitalisierten Öffentlichkeiten

Stand: Ende Juni 2023

Autor:innen: Florent Thouvenin, Mark Eisenegger, Stephanie Volz, Daniel Vogler, Mariela Jaffé

Center for Information Technology,
Society, and Law (ITSL)
Universität Zürich

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Bitte zitieren Sie diesen Bericht wie folgt:

Thouvenin, F.; Eisenegger, M.; Volz, S.; Vogler, D.; Jaffé, M., (2023). Governance von Desinformation in digitalisierten Öffentlichkeiten. Bericht für das Bundesamt für Kommunikation (BAKOM).

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nächste Veranstaltung **am 2. Dezember 2024**

Algorithmen in der Politik – Programmier-Crashkurs für Parlamentsmitglieder

Prof. Dr. Marcel Gygli

Berner Fachhochschule, Institut Public Sector Transformation

Lena Georgescu

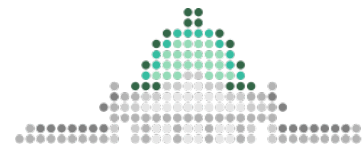
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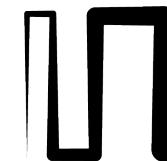
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