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Explanatory Memorandum to the Guidance Note on countering the spread of online mis- and disinformation through fact-checking and platform design solutions in a human rights compliant manner

1. Introduction

Mis- and disinformation has emerged as an important concern in democracies worldwide, becoming an integral part of the digital era. Individuals now navigate a fragmented, interconnected, and complex media landscape that extends beyond traditional mass media to include numerous social media platforms and information channels. Understanding the prevalence and impact of disinformation on democracies has become increasingly crucial for observers of this intricate information environment.

The widely-held assumption about disinformation is that it exists at alarming levels, permeating all layers of society and democratic governance. However, comprehensive empirical data on its prevalence is scarce. The UN Special Rapporteur on freedom of expression recently highlighted that "[a]lthough empirical research suggests that only a small proportion of people are exposed to disinformation, the impacts on institutions, communities and individuals are real, broad and legitimate",[1] drawing upon submissions from academic institutions on empirical research.[2] While specialised reports continue to emphasise the threats posed by disinformation in specific areas, such as Russian interference in information dissemination regarding the Ukraine invasion since 2022,[3] or mis- and disinformation levels in media reports about the climate crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic,[4] the overall empirical landscape remains complex. Academic research has also explored the secondary effects of mis- and disinformation, uncovering a discrepancy between its perceived prevalence and the severity of the problems it creates globally. It reveals that individuals' fear of exposure to mis- and disinformation can be just as powerful as false information itself, fuelling apprehension, anger, and polarisation of opinions.[5]

Another crucial finding in mis- and disinformation research is that it is a moving target. The technology enabling the creation and dissemination of false information is evolving rapidly, necessitating continuous attention to recent developments such as the role of generative AI in producing text, images, and videos. Key technologies like deepfakes and ChatGPT highlight the need for constant updates and vigilance in understanding disinformation. Moreover, the weaponisation of disinformation by malicious actors is a global process that demands attention because of its risks for democracy.

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[1] Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, "Disinformation and freedom of opinion and expression", (A/HRC/47/25), 13 April 2021, paragraph 22.
[2] See, for example, NYU Center for Social Media and Politics submission; and Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford submission.
[3] European Union External Action Service (2023), 1st EEAS report on foreign information manipulation and interference threats: Towards a framework for networked defence. Available at: https://euvsdisinfo.eu/uploads/2023/02/EEAS-ThreatReport-February2023-02.pdf, accessed 26 September 2023.
[4] First Draft research; available at: https://firstdraftnews.org/research/, accessed 26 September 2023.
[5] Lecheler, S. & Egelhofer, J. L. (2022), "Disinformation, misinformation, and fake news: understanding the supply side", in Strömbäck J. et al. (Eds.), *Knowledge resistance in high-choice information environments*, Routledge, pp. 69-87.

The work of fact-checkers plays a pivotal role in the global fight against mis- and disinformation, both through the verification of information and the emergence of a professional community dedicated to this endeavour. Fact-checking is both a process and a profession, and it has been studied as such extensively during recent years. Further, in addition to fact-checking, platform-design solutions can also contribute to reducing the spread and negative impacts of online mis- and disinformation. Indeed, platform design solutions can promote the conditions for a healthy and constructive public debate, and ensure a favourable and enabling environment for freedom of expression, which are essential to tackling disinformation. Users are a third key component in building resilience against the spread of mis- and disinformation. Empowering them is critical: while fact-checking can contribute to debunking and platform design solutions can help to reduce the reach of mis- and disinformation, users will always be exposed to some kind of false content and must be equipped to meet this challenge.

Finally, it should be noted that public, academic, and regulatory debates often rely on the distinction between misinformation and disinformation. "Misinformation" can refer to false, inaccurate or misleading information disseminated without an intention to mislead, cause harm, or pursue economic or political gain; and users who share misinformation generally believe it to be true.[6] "Disinformation" refers to verifiably false, inaccurate or misleading information deliberately created and disseminated to cause harm or pursue economic or political gain by deceiving the public, as defined by the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers.[7] However, the distinction between misinformation and disinformation is difficult to apply in practice, because it is often impossible to ascertain the intention of those who created and disseminated some content and the same content may be spread with different intentions by different individuals and groups.[8] Ultimately, both forms contribute to the distribution of false information, which weakens the information ecosystem and endangers fundamental values. It is therefore crucial to develop mechanisms to counter both the intentional and unintentional dissemination of false information more effectively. For these reasons, it is suggested that further reflection, research and guidance would be useful from the Council of Europe on this matter.

This Explanatory Memorandum provides a concise insight into the principles underlying the Guidance Note, addressing its three central pillars: the role of fact-checkers, platform design, and empowerment of users. By drawing on scientific research, human rights standards, and other relevant sources, it further elaborates on these pillars, offering valuable standards and evidence in the fight against disinformation.

2. Fact-checking

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[6] See also Wardle, C., Derakhshan, H. (2017), *Information Disorder: Toward an interdisciplinary framework for research and policymaking*, Council of Europe report DGI(2017)09, p. 20 (which defines misinformation as "[i]nformation that is false, but not created with the intention of causing harm").

[7] See Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)11 of the Committee of Ministers to member States on principles for media and communication governance, appendix, paragraph 4; and Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)12 of the Committee of Ministers to member States on electoral communication and media coverage of election campaigns appendix, paragraph 4.

[8] For critical discussions on the definitions of mis- and disinformation, see, for example, Ó Fathaigh, R., Helberger, N., & Appleman N. (2021), "The perils of legally defining disinformation", 10(4) *Internet Policy Review* 1; Lecheler, S., & Egelhofer, J. L. (2022), "Disinformation, misinformation, and fake news: understanding the supply side", in Strömbäck J. et al. (Eds.), *Knowledge resistance in high-choice information environments*, Routledge, pp. 69-87; Pérez-Escolar, M., Lilleker, D., & Tapia-Frade, A. (2023), "A systematic literature review of the phenomenon of disinformation and misinformation", *Media and Communication*, 11(2), pp. 76-87; Vraga, E. K., & Bode, L. (2020), "Defining misinformation and understanding its bounded nature: Using expertise and evidence for describing misinformation", *Political Communication*, 37(1), pp. 136-144; Freelon, D., & Wells, C. (2020), "Disinformation as Political Communication", *Political Communication*, 37(2); Hameleers, M., Brosius, A., Marquart, F., Goldberg, A. C., van Elsas, E., & de Vreese, C. H. (2022), "Mistake or Manipulation? Conceptualizing Perceived Mis- and Disinformation among News Consumers in 10 European Countries", *Communication Research*, 49(7), pp. 919–941.

This first section of the Explanatory Memorandum aims to provide an understanding of the emergence of fact-checking and its significance within democratic media ecosystems. It seeks to contextualise the impact that fact-checking can have on these ecosystems, highlighting its role and limits in promoting accuracy, accountability, and informed public discourse. Furthermore, the section aims to present examples of best practices and common standards that are currently being developed within fact-checking networks. These practices and standards serve as guidelines for ensuring the credibility and effectiveness of fact-checking initiatives, fostering transparency, and enhancing public trust in the information ecosystem.

a. Current situation: the practice and the profession of fact-checking

In an era characterised by the rapid dissemination of information across various platforms and channels, the importance of accurate and reliable information has become increasingly crucial. Fact-checking has emerged as a prominent (a) practice and (b) profession in this era, assuming an important role in the modern information landscape. However, it is important to recognize that both aspects of fact-checking are not solely linked to the "disinformation age" but also draw upon decades of journalistic culture and the application of scientific methods of verification during the news production process. This means that any efforts in addressing current and future challenges related to mis- and disinformation can build on existing good practices in this area, apply it in more comprehensive ways, and develop it further in light of developing technological realities.

First, fact-checking can be understood as a combination of norms, routines, and behaviours aimed at verifying the accuracy of information in the digital era.[9] This process involves not only professional fact-checkers, but also other communities engaged with these goals and other technological means, such as fact-checking tools that utilise natural language processing,[10] all with the goal of verifying information. Fact-checking serves as a powerful toolbox in combating the dissemination of mis- and disinformation and aims to enhance trust in news and public communication. Conceptually, fact-checking encompasses the utilisation of journalistic routines and norms related to verification, as well as scientific methods to conduct its analysis.[11] Going beyond the abstract objective of correcting false information, the practice of fact-checking today involves the "regular assessments about the validity of questionable claims made by a wide array of sources, including governments, politicians, institutions, news organisations, and social media users".[12] It encompasses not only the verification process but also the publication of corrected information and the identification of actors responsible for disinformation, reaching a broader public audience.

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[9] Graves, L. (2016), *Deciding what's true: The rise of political fact-checking in American journalism*, Columbia University Press. See also, Silverman, C. (2015), *Lies, Damn Lies, and Viral Content: How News Websites Spread (and Debunk) Online Rumors, unverified, Claims, and Misinformation*, Tow Center for Digital Journalism; and Guerrini, F. (2013), "From traditional to online fact-checking", Oxford Magazine, Eighth Week, Trinity Term.

[10] Zeng, X., Abumansour, A. S., & Zubiaga, A. (2021), "Automated fact-checking: A survey", *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 15(10), available at : https://compass.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/lnc3.12438, accessed 28 September 2023.

[11] Mena, P. (2019), "Principles and boundaries of fact-checking: Journalists' perceptions", *Journalism Practice*, 13(6), pp. 657-672.

[12] Vinhas, O., & Bastos, M. (2022), "Fact-Checking Misinformation: Eight Notes on Consensus Reality", *Journalism Studies*, 23(4), pp. 448-468, particularly p. 449.

Importantly, fact-checking today encompasses a broad range of techniques employed to verify the accuracy of information in the public domain, as well as the identities, strategies and practices of those responsible for producing or disseminating disinformation. It has evolved into a constantly developing practice and profession that reflects how information is managed within societies, shedding light on the individuals or entities responsible for safeguarding information throughout the political process. Fact-checking is not limited to the news production process alone but extends to information already present in public discourse. Fact-checkers serve as guardians of information integrity, both before and after its dissemination. This form of fact-checking involves collaboration among journalists, communication specialists, researchers and fact-checking organisations to combat mis- and disinformation. Furthermore, professional fact-checking is increasingly undertaken by governmental institutions, as well as in collaborative efforts between fact-checking organisations and governments. This state-driven fact-checking, however, must be evaluated with caution as it brings with it potential threats to the independence of media actors in democracies.

Secondly, fact-checking is a journalistic profession. Dedicated fact-checkers have been working in newsrooms worldwide for many years, particularly in the US. These fact-checkers are responsible for verifying the accuracy of journalists' work, double-checking important details, while leaving the reporting to others. Their primary focus is to prevent the publication of inaccurate information within news outlets. The increasing spread of and concern for mis- and disinformation resulted in a substantial growth of the fact-checking profession and an expansion of its focus. Large news organisations and public broadcasters are increasingly establishing specialised disinformation and fact-checking news desks that utilise digital tools to verify information – sometimes through cooperative trans-border efforts. These desks conduct fact-checking efforts focusing on "ex post" verification of information and reporting that is already present in the public domain.

The emergence of fact-checking as a profession, however, is most evident in the emergence of fact-checking organisations or independent fact-checking projects, meaning organisations that have fact-checking as their main scope but are not linked to any traditional media organisation. This type of organisation has developed into its own professional ecosystem. Fact-checking organisations and their websites and/or tools dedicated to fact-checking often also employ journalists but have different values and norms than traditional news outlets. Some fact-checking organisations are project-based, emerging from universities, think tanks, governmental organisations, and other stakeholders to address specific disinformation challenges.[13] Graves and Cherubini (2016) summarise the mission of professional fact-checkers into three role identities. First, there is a prominent group of "reporters," those who self-identify as journalists and see fact-checking as part of information services. "Reformers" conceptualise fact-checking as activism and connect their activities to political and policy change. "Experts" are those that "place a particular emphasis on their own domain expertise or distinctive methodology, positioning themselves as something like a think tank rather than as journalists or campaigners."[14]

b. Key challenges to fact-checking in the new digital information environment

Fact-checking can thus be conceived as both a practice and a profession, and both aspects have an impact on the information environment in which they operate. However, the exact nature of this impact is still debated in the current research literature, highlighting a number of key challenges.

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[13] Graves, L. (2018), "Boundaries Not Drawn", *Journalism Studies*, 19:5, pp. 613-631.
[14] Graves, L., & Cherubini, F. (2016), "The Rise of Fact-Checking Sites in Europe", in *Digital News Project Report (Reuters Institute Digital News Report)*, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, p. 17.

The practice of fact-checking has long been predominantly associated with work carried out in newsrooms. Verification techniques based on journalistic professionalism primarily focus on investigating the sourcing of information and cross-validating sources across different information channels. Traditionally, these channels involved verifying information through personal networks and investigating other sources within the media elite. For instance, a political journalist who receives new information about current political developments in a specific country would typically attempt to verify this information through a network of sources within government institutions and affiliated organisations. Another step would involve checking whether and how other media outlets or news agencies, both domestically and internationally, have reported on this information. Furthermore, when publishing a new story, it would often undergo fact-checking by newsroom editors and fact-checkers to ensure its accuracy.[15] Today, these traditional techniques and processes face challenges due to several changes in the journalistic ecosystem.

First, there is a shift in journalism towards generalism, which assumes that journalists themselves possess the skills to handle the entire production process, from research to publication. As a result, much of the responsibility for fact-checking within newsrooms falls on individual journalists rather than dedicated fact-checking departments. This increased responsibility and pressure limits the time an individual journalists can spend on fact-checking practices such as verifying their sources for a news item - putting them at risk of overlooking potentially false content. All these challenges come at a time when the working conditions of journalists are steadily and substantially deteriorating, due to the crisis of news organisations' established business models,[16] which affect fact-checkers as well.

The increased range of activities individual journalists are responsible for during news production is exacerbated by an increased digitalisation of both news production and fact-checking. In a digital age, sources are not anymore only the traditional news agencies or institutional press offices, but contain a myriad of websites, personal social media pages and complex data sources. This means that, nowadays, fact-checking must involve verification through complex digital technologies, including search engines, AI tools, and dedicated fact-checking applications. The integration of digital information into the journalistic research process has presented new challenges to traditional verification skills that are still taught to aspiring journalists worldwide. The complexity and algorithmic nature of these technologies have posed difficulties for journalists. Experimental studies indicate that fact-checking in newsrooms continues to heavily rely on traditional methods, such as telephone conversations, with only specialised journalists like data journalists and investigative journalists consistently and proficiently utilising advanced technological tools for verification processes.[17] Consequently, fact-checking in newsroom settings may need innovative forms of collaboration. Journalists and newsrooms are increasingly partnering with other news organisations, NGO-based fact-checkers, data scientists, and social media platforms during the research process.

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[15] Van Leuven et al. (2018), "Online and newsworthy: Have online sources changed journalism?", *Digital Journalism*, 6(7), pp. 798-806.

[16] Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)4 on promoting a favourable environment for quality journalism in the digital age.

[17] Lecheler, S., & Kruikemeier, S. (2016), "Re-evaluating journalistic routines in a digital age: A review of research on the use of online sources", *New media & society*, 18(1), pp. 156-171; de Haan, Y., van den Berg, E., Goutier, N., Kruikemeier, S., & Lecheler, S. (2022), "Invisible Friend or Foe? How Journalists Use and Perceive Algorithmic-Driven Tools in Their Research Process", *Digital Journalism*, 10(10), pp. 1775-1793.

As mentioned above, the practice of fact-checking is increasingly evolving, now including a range of new non-profit organisations aimed at verifying information available in the public domain. Undoubtedly, these organisations have led to a further professionalisation of fact-checking techniques within a growing sector. Just like their colleagues in journalistic organisations, professional fact-checkers working in fact-checking organisations employ systematic and rigorous methods of verification while also possessing skills in effectively communicating their findings to the public. Although some of these organisations have experimented with innovative digital tools, the evidence suggests that most still rely on traditional verification techniques. Some studies indicate that fact-checking organisations are based on manual verification methods, especially in cases where larger tools or automated approaches are not available due to language limitations or financial constraints [18]. This means that fact-checking organisations may be vulnerable to the same challenges described above in the context of journalism, including working conditions.

Advancing fact-checking organisations is, however, crucial: fact-checking organisations are an alternative to traditional journalism in an era where citizens have direct access to information and political communication without relying solely on traditional media filters. This is particularly the case in Europe, whereas newsroom-based fact-checking is still more commonly practised in the United States.[19] In many countries, particularly in Eastern Europe, fact-checking organisations, aim to enhance the accountability of politicians and media entities external to the traditional media system.[20]

As mentioned previously, both newsroom-based and other fact-checkers are increasingly engaging with a third group of actors, which includes social media platforms and other technology companies. Since a significant amount of information and discussions occur on social media platforms worldwide, fact-checking has become a prevalent practice within these spaces. Some platforms have increased their content moderation efforts or established partnerships with external fact-checking organisations. In the realm of platforms, fact-checking is extensively discussed in the growing literature on platform content moderation, specifically regarding the effectiveness and ethical considerations of human-led interventions versus machine-led interventions on social media platforms. While platforms have tended to leave fact-checking to individual users, they have mostly neglected to provide the infrastructure and tools that would make these individual activities easier and more scalable.[21] Moreover, this means that boundaries between users and professional fact-checkers become blurred, which poses its own set of challenges.

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[18] Hrckova, A., Moro, R., Srba, I., Simko, J., & Bielikova, M. (2022), "Automated, not Automatic: Needs and Practices in European Fact-checking Organizations as a basis for Designing Human-centered AI Systems", *arXiv preprint arXiv:2211.12143*.

[19] Vinhas, O., & Bastos, M. (2022), "Fact-Checking Misinformation: Eight Notes on Consensus Reality", *Journalism Studies*, 23(4), pp. 448-468.

[20] See Graves, L. & Cherubini, F. (2016), *The Rise of Fact-Checking Sites in Europe*, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, p.10.

[21] One example of a major platform providing such infrastructure are the X (formerly Twitter) Community Notes, which provide users with the opportunity to add contextual information to content posted by others. Available at: https://communitynotes.twitter.com/guide/it/about/introduction, accessed 28 September 2023.

Indeed, there is a growing interest in generating data to assess the effectiveness of professionalised fact-checking methods in combating mis- and disinformation. As mentioned earlier, research indicates that traditional journalistic verification techniques face challenges in the complex digital information environments. When it comes to fact-checking public information, meta-analytical evidence suggests that fact-checking methods can be effective, but their success heavily relies on individual and contextual differences.[22] For example, the acceptance of fact-checked results varies depending on individuals' ideological backgrounds. Individuals may be unwilling to accept that a particular piece of information is false, if it contradicts their own political ideology.[23] In addition to individual factors such as ideology and personality traits, the acceptance of corrected mis- and disinformation also depends on message and topic characteristics.[24] For example, the hypothesis that audiovisual disinformation is more challenging to correct is prevalent in the current literature but has not been fully explored yet.[25]

c. Addressing the challenges: best practice and standards of fact-checking

With the professionalisation of fact-checking, there arises a need to establish international reference frameworks and standards.[26] These principles, today formalised in works such as the International Fact-Checking Network (IFCN)'s "Code of Principles", are primarily rooted in the principle of independence, which emphasises the importance of being free from partisan biases. Transparency in sourcing, funding, methodology, and communication with the public is also essential. It is crucial to emphasise the development of internationally recognized methodologies and best practices, along with the establishment of standards in the field of fact-checking.

A significant portion of the literature focuses on the close relationship between fact-checking and journalistic work. Best practices in fact-checking are intrinsically connected to the standards of "good" journalism.[27] Relevance, credibility, and independence are among the standards by which fact-checking can be assessed. However, fact-checking is not merely an extension of journalism but rather its own distinct practice and profession. As the professional identity of fact-checking continues to evolve, standards that are based on journalistic work are also developing.[28]

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[22] Oeldorf-Hirsch, A., Schmierbach, M., Appelman, A., & Boyle, M. P. (2023), "The influence of fact-checking is disputed! The role of party identification in processing and sharing fact-checked social media posts", *American Behavioral Scientist*, 00027642231174335; Nieminen, S., & Rapeli, L. (2019), "Fighting misperceptions and doubting journalists' objectivity: A review of fact-checking literature", *Political Studies Review*, 17(3), pp. 296-309.

[23] See Walter, N., Cohen, J., Holbert, R. L., & Morag, Y. (2020), "Fact-checking: A meta-analysis of what works and for whom", *Political Communication*, 37(3), pp. 350-375.

[24] See Chung, M., & Kim, N. (2021), "When I learn the news is false: How fact-checking information stems the spread of fake news via third-person perception", *Human Communication Research*, 47(1), pp. 1-24.

[25] See Thomson, T. J., Angus, D., Dootson, P., Hurcombe, E., & Smith, A. (2022), "Visual mis/disinformation in journalism and public communications: Current verification practices, challenges, and future opportunities", *Journalism Practice*, 16(5), pp; 938-962; Weikmann, T., & Lecheler, S. (2022), "Visual disinformation in a digital age: A literature synthesis and research agenda", *new media & society*, available at : https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/14614448221141648, accessed 28 September 2023.

[26] Humprecht, E. (2020), "How do they debunk "fake news"? A cross-national comparison of transparency in fact checks", *Digital journalism*, 8(3), pp. 310-327.

[27] Himma-Kadakas, M., & Ojamets, I. (2022), "Debunking false information: investigating journalists' fact-checking skills", *Digital Journalism*, 10(5), pp. 866-887.

[28] Graves, L., & Amazeen, M. A. (2019), "Fact-checking as idea and practice in journalism", in *Oxford research encyclopedia of communication*.

For example, until recently (or perhaps still), there has been little consensus on the optimal length of fact-checks, the information they should include, or the specific methods by which veracity should be sourced (e.g., through new sources or through analysis of existing sources within the original text/visual being checked). Moreover, fact-checkers have developed unique systems of measuring veracity, such as rating and ranking systems.[29] These systems diverge from traditional journalistic norms of verification and can present challenges, as they apply a quasi-quantitative logic to the process of verifying complex facts in an online context.[30]

Due to the global nature of fact-checking as a profession, initiatives have emerged to create international standards and best practices. The International Fact-Checking Network (IFCN) first developed a Code of Principles accompanied by a governance structure. Signatories of the code pledge to adhere to five principles: non-partisanship and fairness, transparency of sources, transparency of funding and organisation, transparency of methodology, and an open and honest correction policy.[31] Also, the European Fact-Checking Standards Network (EFCSN) has published a Code of Professional Integrity specifically for European fact-checkers, developed in collaboration with fact-checking organisations and approved by them. The code defines European projects as those that have a "substantial and demonstrable focus on one (or more) of the countries of the Council of Europe, plus Kosovo or Belarus".[32] It includes guidelines for compliance and governance. The code focuses on important standards of good practice, such as clear and transparent fact-checking methodologies, the establishment of ethical standards, and transparency in financing and organisational practices. Overall, the establishment of these codes and guideline principles signifies the development of structural professional identities within the fact-checking community as it distinguishes itself further from traditional journalistic fact-checking practices.

The emerging codes and guidelines in fact-checking aim to safeguard the independence of fact-checking activity models (both as independent projects and as part of traditional media organizations), especially in an era where verification and truth-telling are increasingly politicised. These bottom-up initiatives are crucial because an increasing number of governmental and international institutions are also invested in combating disinformation campaigns on both national and international scales. The codes and guidelines reflect a bottom-up, field-driven approach that counters platform initiatives to establish their own guidelines for content moderation and fact-checking. Platform initiatives often focus on content visibility and findability rather than verification itself.[33] Therefore, the development of independent codes and guidelines ensures that fact-checking efforts remain dedicated to verification and maintain their integrity amidst political pressures and platform-driven interests and business models.

Finally, when it comes to addressing challenges to fact-checkers' working conditions, it may be helpful to build upon the Council of Europe's Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)4 on promoting a favourable environment for quality journalism in the digital age.

3. Platform-design solutions

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[29] Graves, L. (2018), "Boundaries not drawn: Mapping the institutional roots of the global fact-checking movement", *Journalism studies*, 19(5), pp. 613-631.

[30] Nieminen, S., & Sankari, V. (2021), "Checking PolitiFact's fact-checks", *Journalism Studies*, *22*(3), pp. 358-378.

[31] International Fact-Checking Network (IFCN), Code of Principles, available at : https://ifcncodeofprinciples.poynter.org/know-more/the-commitments-of-the-code-of-principles, accessed 28 September 2023.

[32] European Fact-Checking Standards Network (EFCSN), European Code of Standards for Independent Fact-Checking Organisations, Art. 5.2, C, available at : https://eufactcheckingproject.com/app/uploads/2022/10/EU-CODE-EFCSN-.pdf; accessed 28 September.

[33] Cavaliere, P. (2020), "From journalistic ethics to fact-checking practices: defining the standards of content governance in the fight against disinformation", *Journal of media law*, 12(2), pp. 133-165.

This section explains the context, reasoning and principles underpinning the recommendations on platform-design solutions contained in the Guidance Note; and serves as a reference point for relevant human-rights standards and best practices when implementing the recommendations.

a. Key challenges

It is important to begin by first recognising the considerable challenges which the Guidance Note seeks to address around platform-design solutions to mis- and disinformation. In this regard, among the major challenges are the lack of transparency, accountability and explainability of platforms' algorithmic systems which affect the dissemination of disinformation. Indeed, these specific challenges have been emphasised by both European and international human rights bodies, including the Committee of Ministers, and various Council of Europe reports. It has been specifically described how the lack of transparency and access to data are "major failings" of platforms across "almost all the concerns in relation to disinformation and misinformation", which prevents independent scrutiny, and undermines accountability and trust.[34] Crucially, the Committee of Ministers has highlighted the need to ensure the transparency, accountability and explainability of platforms' algorithmic systems, and strengthening accountability of those "developing and implementing" these systems.[35]

It has also been emphasised that the lack of transparency of platforms' content moderation and algorithmic systems makes it "impossible" to actually assess the "effectiveness" of measures adopted by platforms in addressing mis- and disinformation and these measures "impact on human rights".[36] This has been made all the more difficult due to the lack of access to data for independent researchers, civil society, journalists, and independent regulators to ensure independent and objective assessments. It is absolutely essential that platform responses to disinformation must be grounded in transparency and accountability.[37] As such, the recommendations contained in the Guidance Note on platform-design solutions seek to specifically address these challenges around a lack of transparency and accountability, and the central concern that transparency is essential to assess the effectiveness of measures adopted by platforms to tackle mis- and disinformation.

b. Current situation: human rights standards on disinformation regulation

A major point that informs the Guidance Note provisions on platform-design solutions to mis- and disinformation is that any regulatory measure must be consistent with the right to freedom of expression, guaranteed under Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights and international human rights law. There have been concerns raised by bodies such as the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights on measures being implemented to tackle disinformation, including regulation permitting the removal and blocking of content deemed "false information".[38] The Commissioner has recommended that measures to combat disinformation must never lead to content "being unduly blocked" online.[39] As such, measures targeting platforms in particular must be fully consistent with freedom of expression standards on disinformation.

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[34] Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, "Disinformation and freedom of opinion and expression", (A/HRC/47/25), 13 April 2021, paragraph 80.
[35] Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)11 of the Committee of Ministers to member States on principles for media and communication governance, pp. 6-7.
[36] Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, "Disinformation and freedom of opinion and expression", (A/HRC/47/25), 13 April 2021, paragraph 81.
[37] See, for example, Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)13 on the impacts of digital technologies on freedom of expression, appendix (for standards on ensuring accountability and transparency).
[38] Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights, Press freedom must not be undermined by measures to counter disinformation about COVID-19, 3 April 2020.
[39] Ibid.

Of note, the European Court of Human Rights has considered instances where individuals have been prosecuted for "dissemination of untrue information", with the Court establishing the fundamental principle that "Article 10 of the Convention as such does not prohibit discussion or dissemination of information received even if it is strongly suspected that this information might not be truthful".[40] A similar principle has been established under international human rights law. Crucially, four international special mandates on freedom of expression have issued a Joint Declaration on disinformation, stating that prohibitions on the dissemination of information based on "vague and ambiguous" concepts such as "false news" are "incompatible" with international standards on freedom of expression.[41] Indeed, the UN Special Rapporteur on freedom of expression has stated that "penalization of disinformation is disproportionate"; while the concept of disinformation itself is an "extraordinarily elusive concept" to define in law, and "susceptible to providing executive authorities with excessive discretion to determine what is disinformation, what is a mistake, what is truth."[42] As such, any regulatory measures which target platform-design to mis- and disinformation should be consistent with these freedom of expression principles, and the provisions of the Guidance Note are also underpinned by these standards.

c. Addressing the challenges: platform-design solutions grounded in human rights

Crucially, the provisions in the Guidance Note build upon a considerable amount of important Council of Europe standards to ensure that platform-design solutions are fully grounded in human rights law. And in this regard, there are a number of essential principles that underpin these recommendations.

First, a fundamental principle flowing throughout the provisions on platform-design solutions (and the Guidance Note as a whole) is that ensuring a favourable and enabling environment for freedom of expression is essential to tackling mis- and disinformation. Indeed, the European Court of Human Rights has held that States have a positive obligation (i.e. duty) to create such an enabling environment for freedom of expression.[43] Importantly, under human rights standards, fostering an enabling environment for free expression, with a diverse communications environment, including media diversity, is a "key means of addressing disinformation".[44] It is essential that platforms apply human rights standards to their systems, and the Committee of Ministers' Recommendation CM/Rec(2018)2 on the roles and responsibilities of internet intermediaries is still very much a gold-standard standard-setting instrument platforms should follow, and has detailed provisions on how to operationalise human rights in all actions by platforms.[45]

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[40] *Salov v. Ukraine*, Application No. 65518/01, judgment of 6 September 2005, paragraph 113. See Ó Fathaigh, R., Helberger, N., & Appleman N. (2021), "The perils of legally defining disinformation", 10(4) *Internet Policy Review* 1. See also, Nenandic, I. & Verza, S. (2022), "European Policymaking on Disinformation and the Standards of the European Court of Human Rights", in Psychogiopoulou E. and De la Sierra S. (Eds.), *Digital Media Governance and Supranational Courts, Selected Issues and Insights from the European Judiciary*, Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 175-198.

[41] United Nations Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Representative on Freedom of the Media, the Organization of American States Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information, Joint Declaration on Freedom of Expression and "Fake News", Disinformation and Propaganda, (FOM.GAL/3/17), 3 March 2017, paragraph 2(a).

[42] *Disease pandemics and the freedom of opinion and expression*, Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, A/HRC/44/49, paragraph 42.

[43] See, for example, *OOO Memo v. Russia*, Application No. 2840/10, judgment of 15 March 2022, paragraph 9.

[44] Joint Declaration on Freedom of Expression and "Fake News", Disinformation and Propaganda, (FOM.GAL/3/17), 3 March 2017, paragraph 3(a).

[45] Recommendation CM/Rec(2018)2 on the roles and responsibilities of internet intermediaries.

Second, safety-by-design is essential for algorithmic design, which has also been highlighted by the Committee of Ministers in Recommendation CM/Rec(2020)1 on the human rights impacts of algorithmic systems.[46] This principle is crucial to prevent and mitigate the risk of adverse effects of mis- and disinformation on individuals and society, particularly disinformation targeting certain groups and disinformation campaigns impacting the online safety of journalists, which has been documented in important studies for UNESCO and the International Center for Journalists, among others.[47]

Third, the principle of proportionality also underpins the provisions on platform-design solutions, which is a bedrock principle under Article 10 of the Convention and the case law of the European Court of Human Rights. It follows that when platforms apply measures to restrict mis- and disinformation, such measures must respect the rights of users, and be implemented using the "least restrictive means", done in a "transparent and non-discriminatory manner", and should be limited in scope and duration to what is strictly necessary to avoid the "collateral unjustified restriction or removal of legal content".[48] In this regard, it has been noted that certain platforms' anti-disinformation measures have resulted in restrictions on independent news content,[49] and in implementing design-solutions for disinformation, specific account should be taken of ensuring no disproportionate interferences with media freedom. Recent European regulatory measures, such as the EU's Digital Services Act (DSA), also seek to ensure that platforms apply terms and conditions in a "proportionate" manner, and consistent with freedom of expression and media freedom, which is also in line with the recommendations of the Council of Europe.[50]

Of further importance is the focus on guaranteeing procedural safeguards. This focus is consistent with international human rights standards on tackling mis- and disinformation, where focusing on due process obligations, instead of "viewpoint - or content-based" regulation, can make a "positive contribution" to protection of human rights and "greater public accountability of platforms".[51] This focus on guaranteeing procedural rights is also underpinning recent regulatory measures in the EU, with provisions in the DSA on platforms being required to providing statements of reasons for restrictions on content, and obliging platforms to establish internal complaint-handling systems for users.[52] Importantly, the European Court of Human Rights has also held that Article 10 incorporates important procedural safeguards, including that users know the grounds for content being blocked, and have a forum to challenge a restriction on expression.[53]

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[46] Recommendation CM/Rec(2020)1 on the human rights impacts of algorithmic systems, appendix, B3.2.

[47] See, for example, Posetti, J., Bontcheva, K., & Shabbir, N. (2022), *The Chilling: Assessing Big Tech's Response to Online Violence Against Women Journalists*, UNESCO, available at: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000383044.locale=en, accessed 28 September 2023 ; International Center for Journalists, "How Disinformation Fuels Online Violence Storms Targeting Women Journalists", 14 February 2023. available at : https://www.icfj.org/news/how-disinformation-fuels-online-violence-storms-targeting-women-journalists, accessed 28 September 2023.

[48] Recommendation CM/Rec(2018)2 on the roles and responsibilities of internet intermediaries, appendix, para. 2.3.1 - 2.3.2.

[49] Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, (A/HRC/38/35), 6 April 2018, paragraph 31.

[50] See Regulation (EU) 2022/2065 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 19 October 2022 on a Single Market for Digital Services and amending Directive 2000/31/EC (Digital Services Act), Article 14. See also Quintais, J.P, Appelman, N., & Ó Fathaigh, R. (2023), "Using Terms and Conditions to Apply Fundamental Rights to Content Moderation", *German Law Journal*, 24(5), pp. 881-911.

[51] Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, "Disinformation and freedom of opinion and expression", (A/HRC/47/25), 13 April 2021, paragraph 59.

[52] See Regulation (EU) 2022/2065 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 19 October 2022 on a Single Market For Digital Services and amending Directive 2000/31/EC (Digital Services Act), Articles 17 and 20.

[53] See, for example, *Vladimir Kharitonov v. Russia*, Application No. 10795/14, judgment of 23 June 2022, paragraph 36.

Finally, the recommendations in the Guidance Note on transparency and accountability are central. As mentioned above, the lack of transparency and access to data have been described as crucial failings on the part of platforms in relation to mis- and disinformation. This includes lack of specific data on user engagement with mis- and disinformation, lack of transparency of automated systems used to identify and remove mis- and disinformation, and an overall lack of transparency regarding platforms' content moderation systems; making it near-impossible to assess the effectiveness or impact of measures taken by platforms in relation to mis- and disinformation.[54] And again, recent European policymaking, such as the DSA, is firmly rooted in building frameworks for ensuring transparency of platform' systems. Moreover, focusing on transparency is also consistent with international human rights standards in the approach to tackling mis- and disinformation.[55] Crucially, the recommendations on transparency and accountability in the Guidance Note should be read in light of the Guidance Note on Best practices towards effective legal and procedural frameworks for self-regulatory and co-regulatory mechanisms of content moderation, adopted by the Steering Committee on Media and Information Society (CDMSI), which has helpful provisions on ensuring transparency.[56] And the goal of Guidance Note is to contribute to the operationalisation of the Committee of Ministers call to ensure the "transparency, accountability and explainability" of platforms' algorithmic systems.[57]

d. Prioritisation of professional news sources and public interest content

There have been notable recommendations on the role of prioritisation of professional news sources and public interest content as a specific tool for platforms in order to tackle mis- and disinformation. Indeed, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, in its Resolution 2255(2019) on Public service media in the context of disinformation and propaganda, specifically recommended that online platforms cooperate with public and private European news outlets to improve the "visibility of reliable, trustworthy news and facilitate users' access to it".[58] Similarly, four international special mandates on freedom of expression and media freedom issued a Joint Declaration in 2023, with a specific recommendation for large online platforms to "privilege independent quality media and public interest content on their services in order to facilitate democratic discourse".[59] The Committee of Ministers has recognised that some platforms have made "efforts to give greater prominence to generally trusted sources of news and information"; however, it has also emphasised that the "impact of these measures on the free flow of information and ideas in democratic societies must be studied carefully".[60]

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[54] Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, "Disinformation and freedom of opinion and expression", (A/HRC/47/25), 13 April 2021, paragraph 81.

[55] Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, (A/HRC/38/35), 6 April 2018, paragraph 66.

[56] Guidance Note on Content Moderation: Best practices towards effective legal and procedural frameworks for self-regulatory and co-regulatory mechanisms of content moderation, Adopted by the Steering Committee for Media and Information Society, June 2021.

[57] Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)11 of the Committee of Ministers to member States on principles for media and communication governance, pp. 6-7.

[58] Parliamentary Assembly, Resolution 2255 (2019) on public service media in the context of disinformation and propaganda, 23 January 2019, paragraph 8.2.

[59] United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Representative on Freedom of the Media, the Organization of American States Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information in Africa, Joint Declaration on Media Freedom and Democracy, 2023, p. 8.

[60] Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)4 on promoting a favourable environment for quality journalism in the digital age, appendix, paragraph A6.

Crucially, the criteria for any such identification and labelling must be developed in a transparent and multi-stakeholder process. Indeed, some member states have been implementing prominence regimes, and there is research on these mechanisms, including those applicable to public service media.[61] Notably, States and platforms should follow and build on examples such as the Journalism Trust Initiative by Reporters Without Borders.[62] In this regard, in implementing this Guidance Note, any measures should be implemented consistent with the detailed and comprehensive Guidance Note on the Prioritisation of Public Interest Content Online, adopted by the CDMSI in 2021.[63] Notably, States should be legally restrained from obliging that their own statements and communications are made prominent by platforms, except under public emergencies as defined by Article 15 of the Convention and interpreted in the case law of the European Court of Human Rights.[64]

e. Independent research

Finally, the provisions on independent research are informed by the overriding principle that effective policy-making on platform-design solutions to mis- and disinformation requires "accurate, nuanced and comprehensive knowledge" based on "rigorous and independent research".[65] Policymakers in Europe, such as the EU's DSA, are implementing frameworks to facilitate (and compel) access to data from certain online platforms for independent research into aspects of platforms' systems.[66] In this regard, in implementing the provisions in the Guidance Note on guaranteeing independent research, States should follow the detailed provisions in Section 6 of the Committee of Ministers' Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)13 on the impacts of digital technologies on freedom of expression. These include on (i) ensuring researchers can access data held by platforms in ways that are secure, legal and privacy-compliant; (ii) the role of competent authorities to create secure environments that facilitate research; (iii) accessing individual-level data available for independent research; (iv) vetting; (v) liability; and data-sharing agreements between platforms and researchers. And the report of the European Digital Media Observatory's Working Group on Platform-to-Researcher Data Access is an excellent resource for how platforms can share data with researchers.[67]

4. Empowerment of Users

This section explains the context, reasoning and principles underpinning the recommendations on the empowerment of users contained in the Guidance Note.

a. Current situation

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[61] See, for example, Cole M. D. et al. (Eds), (2022), *Prominence of European works and of services of general interest*, IRIS Special, European Audiovisual Observatory.

[62] Journalism Trust Initiative, https://www.journalismtrustinitiative.org.

[63] Guidance Note on the Prioritisation of Public Interest Content Online, adopted by the Steering Committee for Media and Information Society, CDMSI(2021)009, 2 December 2021.

[64] Ibid., paragraph 21.

[65] Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)13 on the impacts of digital technologies on freedom of expression, preamble.

[66] See, for example, Digital Services Act, Article 40 (Data access and scrutiny).

[67] EDMO, (2022), *Report of the European Digital Media Observatory's Working Group on Platform-to-Researcher Data Access*.

Enhancing the integrity of online information requires a holistic strategy that goes beyond reducing exposure to mis- and disinformation. In open, democratic societies it is challenging to completely prevent the production and diffusion of low-quality information without jeopardising freedom of expression. While the other pillars of this Explanatory Memorandum highlight ways in which the contemporary media ecosystem can enhance the circulation of high-quality information and limit the diffusion of low-quality content, ultimately the impact of such information depends on whether users (a) are regularly exposed to, and recognise the importance of, high-quality content; (b) are capable of distinguishing between high-quality and low-quality content; (c) act responsibly towards others in sharing and discussing different kinds of information they may encounter; and (d) enjoy strong safeguarding protections for their human rights, know how to exercise them, and are confident they can make a positive difference, as well as protecting themselves, by exercising them.

In this sense, the role of Public Service Media in Europe is more relevant than ever. By fulfilling its mission to provide accurate and objective information that is freely accessible to all sectors of society, Public Service Media can ensure that most individuals regularly encounter reliable news. As the business models of commercial media have been challenged by technological and social changes, the centrality of Public Service Media as the "gold standard" in informing and empowering the public becomes even more crucial.[68]

Empowering users is especially relevant when online communication occurs in private and semi-private platforms, such as WhatsApp, Facebook Messenger, Snapchat, and Telegram, and via messaging services such as iMessage and Android Message. These apps are very popular and constitute an important component of people's everyday social lives, as they are used to maintain connections with close friends and family, more distant acquaintances, and, at least in some cases, larger groups mostly made up of strangers who are interested in a certain topic or live in a certain area. As communication on these apps is private and often end-to-end encrypted, the scope for applying technologically driven design solutions and interventions against the spread of mis- and disinformation is much more limited than on public social media platforms. At the same time, there is evidence that personal messaging users are reluctant to challenge and correct others who share disinformation on these apps because they fear that they may instigate conflict with others with whom they have close relationships of kinship or friendship, or that they may embarrass them vis-a-vis others when the interaction occurs in groups.[69] Hence, empowering users so they are equipped to discern between true and false information, responsible in what they share, and capable of having respectful and constructive discussions with those who may share low-quality content is even more important on private messaging than on public social media.

If low-quality information circulating online reaches aware and empowered users, the potential harms resulting from this exposure are likely to be minimal. Such users will be able to identify the markers that usually characterise false or inauthentic messages, will be capable of verifying them, will be less likely to share them, will be more prepared to correct the falsehoods they contain by addressing the person who shared them in a way that is appropriate to the social context of the interaction, and will be aware of any tools at their disposal to report this content to the platform where it circulates, thus contributing to the platform's ability to recognize and reduce the spread of falsehoods. Thus, user empowerment could facilitate a virtuous circle whereby users not only avoid falling into the trap of low-quality content, but also protect and alert other users who may do so, as well as improve digital platforms' accountability and capacity to combat the spread of mis- and disinformation.

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[68] See the UK Office for Communications' recommendations on the future of Public Service Media, available at : https://www.smallscreenbigdebate.co.uk/data/assets/pdf_file/0023/221954/statement-future-of-public-service-media.pdf, accessed 26 September 2023.
[69] Chadwick, A., Vaccari, C., & Hall, N. A. (2023), "What Explains the Spread of Misinformation in Online Personal Messaging Networks? Exploring the Role of Conflict Avoidance", *Digital Journalism*, pp. 1-20.

When these conditions occur, individuals and societies develop resilience against mis- and disinformation. In turbulent informational environments, and particularly during crises, resilience is a key resource against the individual and societal harms that can result from the spread of falsehoods.

At the individual level, resilience to mis- and disinformation can be expected to be higher among citizens with higher levels of educational attainment, interest in news, digital and information literacy, availability of and familiarity with technology, and access to quality news, among others. Policy interventions to enhance resilience at the individual level should therefore focus primarily on enhancing those characteristics among individuals and groups that lack them.

We can also think about resilience against mis- and disinformation as a societal resource. From this perspective, resilience can be seen as the result of political, media, and economic conditions. In the political system, higher levels of political polarisation and prominent populist parties and leaders may decrease resilience. Foreign and domestic actors can also decrease resilience by actively targeting a country with disinformation and campaigns aimed at cultivating distrust in experts and journalists. Media systems with low trust in news among citizens, weak Public Service Media, and highly fragmented audiences may also be conducive to less resilient societies. As regards economic conditions, the business conditions in which news organisations operate, the size of a country's market for advertising and the levels of social media use may reduce resilience.[70] Policies aimed at enhancing resilience against mis- and disinformation at the societal level should address some of the systemic factors that facilitate its development.

b. Key challenges

At any time in any given society, some users will already benefit from high levels of empowerment, while others will not. The processes through which humans acquire awareness of problems, learn new skills, and develop new habits are complex and require motivation, time, and resources. Moreover, different groups enjoy different levels of empowerment and require specific approaches to enhance it. One key distinction is between those groups who can pay to access quality information and those who cannot. Another is between younger and older users of digital media: the former tend to possess higher levels of technical skills but lower levels of interest in news and politics, while the opposite tends to apply for the latter. Other societal divisions (based on religion, ethnicity, gender, and education, among others) also shape the conditions under which individuals can benefit from the opportunities of the information ecosystem. These complexities give rise to some key challenges to the empowerment of users against mis- and disinformation.

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[70] Humprecht, E., Esser, F., & Van Aelst, P. (2020), "Resilience to Online Disinformation: A Framework for Cross-National Comparative Research", *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 25(3), pp. 493–516.

First, empowerment should be prioritised as a medium-to-long term goal, with limited dependence on nudges and short term/ immediate solutions in crises and emergencies contentious election. Secondly, policies to enhance user empowerment require long-term investment by governments, reform of the education curricula (including lifelong learning and further education), and wide-ranging collaboration among a variety of stakeholders. Thirdly, any initiative aimed towards empowerment needs to start from users and communities, adapting to their specific needs and contextual conditions, particularly with respect to the most vulnerable and disconnected groups (starting from children and young adults). Programs that establish meaningful connections with the communities they aim to serve, including by co-designing curricula and interventions, are more likely to succeed than programs that adopt a one-size-fits-all, top-down approach. The use of ombudsman-like schemes to independently address user grievances in a flexible and impartial way could also help promote awareness among different communities and safeguard their rights. Fourthly, many initiatives aimed at enhancing empowerment, such as literacy programs, do not reach some of the most vulnerable groups, such as elderly people and those who lack access to digital technologies.[71] Limited engagement by the main platforms and substantial inequalities among member states in the quality, diversity, and accessibility of literacy programs are other key challenges that need to be addressed.[72] Finally, because human attitudes, skills, and behaviours are complex and difficult to change, the effects of user empowerment programs and interventions are difficult to measure and demonstrate. This problem is compounded by the fact that initiatives in this space, for instance digital and media literacy programs, often forgo the crucial step of evaluating their effects, partly due to lack of funding and short timeframes. Furthermore, programs that undertake robust evaluations of their effects do not always disseminate the results of these exercises, which makes it challenging to develop cumulative knowledge on these issues.[73]

A key component of user empowerment is critical thinking, or the tendency to question and seek verification for the information one encounters, and to be prepared to always reflect upon and challenge one's beliefs in light of new and reliable evidence. Critical thinking is a desirable feature of democratic citizenship because it promotes vigilance and responsibility among users, reduces the risk that mis- and disinformation will cascade quickly through online and offline social networks, and ultimately disincentivizes political and media elites to produce and distribute falsehoods, as they are more likely to be called out and sanctioned for doing so.

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[71] See for instance the overview of UK-based programmes in the UK Government's Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport's Online Media Literacy Strategy.

[72] Cabrera Blázquez, F., Cappello M., Talavera Milla J., Valais S. (2022), *User empowerment against disinformation online,* European Audiovisual Observatory.

[73] The UK Office for Communications has developed a toolkit for evaluating media literacy interventions, available at : https://www.ofcom.org.uk/research-and-data/media-literacy-research/approach/evaluate/toolkit, accessed 28 September 2023.

On the other hand, public discourse emphasising the prevalence of mis- and disinformation and initiatives aimed at increasing citizens' awareness of the problem may also conceivably cultivate cynicism, particularly among some groups already disconnected and distrustful of public institutions and the media.[74] Cynicism is the generalised belief that others are untrustworthy and that it is impossible and even undesirable to establish the difference between truth and falsehood. Overall, this attitude is democratically dysfunctional because it encourages an "anything goes" mentality whereby no one feels responsible for the information they distribute and for correcting the information shared by others. Cynicism is thus the opposite of empowerment, as it promotes a lack of responsibility and dismisses the notion that users have agency over the environment in which they communicate. Importantly, the sense that cynicism is endemic in a population may also generate what scholars call the "liar's dividend",[75] which enables political and other actors accused of lying to defend themselves from these charges by claiming that it is impossible to credibly establish the truth. Leveraging and cultivating this form of cynicism is a key principle of authoritarian regimes' approach to propaganda in the twenty-first century.[76]

It is important that any initiatives aiming to promote digital and media literacy and other forms of user empowerment cultivate critical thinking while avoiding boosting cynicism among citizens. Being exposed to inaccurate content, even if just to show how it can be identified as misleading,[77] or to discussions of the problem and prevalence of mis- and disinformation in contemporary media ecosystems,[78] or to news coverage of large-scale disinformation campaigns,[79] can lead to decreased levels of trust in news and the democratic process, which suggests cynicism rather than critical thinking.

c. Addressing the challenges

There are at least three broad categories of endeavours that can enhance user empowerment against mis- and disinformation. First, digital platforms can provide tools and services that give users the means to control the content made available and recommended to them,[80] to verify sources and their reliability,[81] and to get swift, fair, and effective redress if they feel their human rights have been limited by the platforms or other users. These initiatives improve the user experience of specific digital platforms by making information available to them that they would not have otherwise encountered and that may support them in making better decisions or protecting their rights. However, absent stringent forms of regulation or co-regulation, these initiatives depend on platforms' decisions and there is limited transparency on how they are implemented.[82]

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[74] Boyd, D. (2017), Did media literacy backfire?, *Journal of Applied Youth Studies*, 1(4), pp. 83–89.

[75] Chesney, B., & Citron, D. (2019), "Deep Fakes: A Looming Challenge for Privacy, Democracy, and National Security", *California Law Review*, 107(6), pp. 1753–1820.

[76] Pomerantsev, P. (2017), *Nothing is true and everything is possible: Adventures in modern Russia*. Faber & Faber.

[77] Vaccari, C., & Chadwick, A. (2020), "Deepfakes and disinformation: Exploring the impact of synthetic political video on deception, uncertainty, and trust in news", *Social Media + Society*, 6(1), available at : https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2056305120903408, accessed 28 September 2023.

[78] Van Duyn, E., & Collier, J. (2019), "Priming and fake news: The effects of elite discourse on evaluations of news media", *Mass Communication and Society*, *22*(1), pp. 29-48.

[79] Ross, A. R., Vaccari, C., & Chadwick, A. (2022), "Russian meddling in US elections: How news of disinformation's impact can affect trust in electoral outcomes and satisfaction with democracy", *Mass Communication and Society*, 25(6), pp. 786-811.

[80] For instance, Facebook offers users various ways to control the content they see on their news feed (available at : https://www.facebook.com/help/964154640320617, accessed 28 September 2023) and explanations for why they were shown a particular advertisement (available at : https://www.facebook.com/help/562973647153813?helpref=faq_content, accessed 28 September 2023).

[81] For example, in some regions and languages YouTube enhances some search results with information panels featuring content from fact checkers (available at: https://support.google.com/youtube/answer/9229632?hl=en, accessed 28 September 2023).

[82] Commitment 22 in the European Union's Strengthened 2022 Code of Practice on Disinformation, which was signed by most but not all tech companies who adhered to the code, compels platforms to provide users with these

Secondly, a variety of public and private actors can design tools—including browser plug-ins,[83] educational games,[84] how-to guides,[85] and support chatbots[86]—that assist users in understanding the dynamics of information circulation online, verifying the content they see, and engaging constructively with other users.[87] These tools can support users in their everyday digital lives but require users to be aware of their existence and willing to engage with them. This is why collaboration by the main digital platforms in promoting and disseminating these tools to their users is essential. The European Union has supported the development of various such tools as part of its programs to tackle disinformation.[88] One of these tools is EDMO, with a holistic approach that includes fact-checking in all the languages of the European Union, protection of sensitive events in the EU such as elections, as well as research and verification of the engagements taken by the platforms. Public actors can also support a healthy information ecosystem and enhance user empowerment by means of making available at their own initiative information that they hold in line with the requirements of Recommendation Rec(2002)2 of the Committee of Ministers to member States on access to official documents and the Council of Europe Convention on Access to Official Documents (CETS No. 205 – the Tromsø Convention).

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types of tools. Commitment 24 in the Code requires platforms to provide adequate information on actions taken against them and mechanisms for appealing those decisions.

[83] For instance, the InVID Verification Plugin assists users in verifying content on various social media (available at: https://www.invid-project.eu/tools-and-services/invid-verification-plugin/, accessed 28 September 2023).

[84] For instance, "Bad News" (available at : https://www.getbadnews.com/books/english/, accessed 28 September 2023) guides users in understanding the key factors that facilitate the spread of disinformation and "Go Viral" (available at : https://www.goviralgame.com/en, accessed 28 September 2023) focuses on Covid-related disinformation.

[85] The International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions developed infographics that summarize key strategies users can employ (available at: https://repository.ifla.org/handle/123456789/167, accessed 28 September 2023). First Draft offers resources for users and journalists in verifying information (available at: https://firstdraftnews.org/training/, accessed 28 September 2023). UNESCO has published a handbook for journalism education and training on how to identify disinformation. Ireton (C.), Posetti (J.), (Eds.), (2018), *Journalism, fake news & disinformation: handbook for journalism education and training*, available at: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000265552, accessed 28 September 2023.

[86] The "Fake News Immunity Chatbot" (available at : http://fni.arg.tech/, accessed 28 September 2023) helps individuals identify invalid arguments in different types of news. Various fact checkers, such as Maldita in Spain, have experimented with chatbots that automatically respond to user queries about the veracity of information they report (available at: https://www.europeanpressprize.com/article/maldita-es-whatsapp-chatbot/, accessed 28 September 2023).

[87] The RAND Corporation maintains a list of tools against disinformation online (available at: https://www.rand.org/research/projects/truth-decay/fighting-disinformation/search.html, accessed 28 September 2023).

[88] A list and description of funded projects is available at: https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/coronavirus-response/fighting-disinformation/funded-projects-fight-against-disinformation_en, accessed 28 September 2023.

Thirdly, media and information literacy is crucial to enhance user empowerment. There are various definitions of different types of literacy: for instance, the Committee of Ministers in Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)4 on promoting a favourable environment for quality journalism in the digital age, states that media and information literacy involves the development of cognitive, technical and social skills and capacities that enable people to: (a) effectively access media content and critically analyse information, thus empowering them to understand how media content is produced, funded and regulated, as well as to have the confidence and competence to make informed decisions about which media they use, and how they use them; (b) understand the ethical implications of media and technology; and (c) communicate effectively, including by interpreting, creating and publishing content.[89] The UK Office for Communications defines "media literacy" as "the ability to use, understand and create media and communications in a variety of contexts".[90] UNESCO defines "media and information literacy" as "an interrelated set of competencies that help people to maximise advantages and minimise harm in the new information, digital and communication landscapes".[91] Scholars have defined "news literacy" as an awareness of 5 "C's" pertaining to how news is produced, distributed, and understood: context (the environment in which news exists), creation (the process of news production), content (what the news says), circulation (how the news is distributed), and consumption (whether audiences pay attention to it and how they make sense of it).[92] As all these types of literacy are fundamental to citizens' ability to protect themselves against mis- and disinformation and exercise their rights, their inclusion in educational curricula at all levels is a necessary first step.[93] However, most members of a society at a given time will not be enrolled in formal education, hence it is equally as important that opportunities to enhance these skills be provided to people from all walks of life, particularly those who are more likely to be vulnerable and less likely to come into contact with educational institutions.[94] Public Service Media can be crucial to reach these users with content that can enhance their levels of literacy.

It is important to emphasise that any initiative aimed at enhancing user empowerment should not be seen in isolation, but as part of a broader, multi-pronged strategy to improve the health of information ecosystems and resilience against mis- and disinformation in democratic societies. This is not only because, as discussed earlier, there are limits to what any initiative can accomplish in the short to medium term, but also because placing the emphasis solely or predominantly on citizens' skills may inadvertently play into narratives that "blame the victim", i.e., the targets of disinformation, for being unable to defend themselves against the harms caused by its spread, and risks overlooking the importance of promoting structural conditions that make high-quality content easily available to all members of society.

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[89] Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)4 on promoting a favourable environment for quality journalism in the digital age, appendix, paragraph 9.
[90] Available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/research-and-data/media-literacy-research, accessed 28 September 2023.
[91] Available at: https://www.unesco.org/en/media-information-literacy/about, accessed 28 September 2023.
[92] Vraga, E. K., Tully, M., Maksl, A., Craft, S., & Ashley, S. (2021), "Theorizing News Literacy Behaviors", *Communication Theory*, 31(1), pp. 1–21.
[93] The European Union has developed a set of "Guidelines for teachers and educators on tackling disinformation and promoting digital literacy through education and training". Available at : https://education.ec.europa.eu/news/guidelines-for-teachers-and-educators-on-tackling-disinformation-and-promoting-digital-literacy-through-education-and-training, accessed 28 September 2023.
[94] Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)13 on the impacts of digital technologies on freedom of expression offers suggestions on what aspects digital literacy programs should include. The UK Government's Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport's Online Media Literacy Strategy lists five key principles that support strong media literacy capabilities.

There are many examples across the world of digital tools and initiatives aimed at promoting user empowerment among different sectors of the population. UNESCO's Media and Information Literacy Alliance[95] promotes much-needed international cooperation on these issues and provides expertise and resources. The Digital Future Society summarized relevant international success stories.[96] The European Audiovisual Observatory published a comprehensive report that highlights key policies and initiatives at both national and European levels.[97] The European Platform of Regulatory Authorities (EPRA) hosts materials and presentations from an event on news literacy organised in 2022 that brought together multiple stakeholders.[98]

As this is a fast-moving and diverse field, it would be impossible to comprehensively and accurately summarise the main initiatives in this space and their outcomes but pooling together information and resources – particularly evaluations of the effects of different actions – would be very beneficial to all stakeholders involved. This is why, in Paragraph 36 of the Guidance Note, we recommend that the main actors involved in promoting a healthy informational ecosystem collaborate in creating a public informational resource that collates extensive, standardised, and up-to-date data and evidence on any initiatives aiming to promote user empowerment across member States.

Finally, there is a need for further research on what works and what does not in this area. As previously discussed, our knowledge on the subject is limited by the lack of robust and systematic evaluations of existing interventions, but also by the fact that scientific research on these subjects is still in its infancy and limited to a narrow subset of wealthy liberal democracies. Of particular urgency is research into the factors that predict successful outcomes among different societal groups, particularly the most vulnerable in the population (for instance children, older people,[99] individuals living in poor information ecosystems, and non-users of digital technologies), and in contexts where democratic institutions and norms are historically weaker or are being put under strain by domestic and foreign actors that seek to benefit from democratic disruption.

5. Conclusion

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[95] Available at: https://www.unesco.org/en/media-information-literacy/alliance, accessed 28 September 2023.
[96] Digital Future Society (2020), Dealing with disinformation: Strategies for digital citizen empowerment.
[97] Cabrera Blázquez, F., Cappello M., Talavera Milla J., Valais S. (2022), *User empowerment against disinformation online,* European Audiovisual Observatory.
[98] The events of EPRA are available at: https://www.epra.org/attachments?category=mil-taskforce&page=1, accessed 28 September 2023.
[99] See Hermans, A. (2022), *The digital era ? Also my era !, Media and Information literacy: a key to ensure seniors' rights to participate in the digital era*, Information Society Department, DGI (2022)03, Council of Europe.

This Explanatory Memorandum has sought to explain the context, reasoning and principles underpinning the recommendations contained in the Guidance Note. In summing up, as a practice and profession, fact-checking must adapt and innovate to combat the proliferation of mis- and disinformation. Studies indicate that international standards on fact-checking are still in development, and that the professional identity of fact-checkers is evolving also. Most importantly, the fact-checking landscape must be mindful of empirical evidence regarding the effectiveness and effects of their work. A growing body of literature indicates that citizens do not always accept corrected information, but that their response to fact checking heavily depends on political ideology and the way fact-checked information is presented. Further, on platform-design solutions, there are challenges to overcome in tackling mis- and disinformation, in terms of the lack of transparency and accountability of platforms' algorithmic systems. Helpfully, there are considerable European and international standards upon which the Guidance Note builds upon which can contribute to ensuring an enabling and favourable online environment for a pluralistic public debate, which can serve as a crucial counterweight to mis- and disinformation. And finally, empowerment of users can facilitate a virtuous circle whereby users not only avoid falling into the trap of low-quality content such as mis- and disinformation, but also protect and alert other users who may do so, as well as improving the accountability and capacity of the platforms to combat the spread of mis- and disinformation.