

Parldigi MasterClass

Conseil national et Conseil des États

La désinformation

Berne, le 9 septembre 2024

Prof. Dr Florent Thouvenin, Chaire de droit de l'information et de la communication,
Université de Zurich

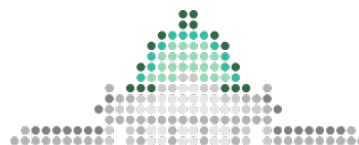
Prof. Dr Tommaso Venturini, Medialab,
Université de Genève

Un événement organisé par:



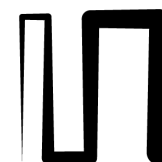
**Universität
Zürich** UZH

Digital Society Initiative



Parldigi

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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.



Total Facebook Engagements for Top 20 Election Stories



ENGAGEMENT REFERS TO THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SHARES, REACTIONS, AND COMMENTS FOR A PIECE OF CONTENT ON FACEBOOK SOURCE: FACEBOOK DATA VIA BUZZSUMO

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

Désinformation en ligne = Fake news ?

Fausse 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.



Posted on December 28, 2017, 8:31 pm

Top 10 Fake News Articles by Facebook Engagements



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*

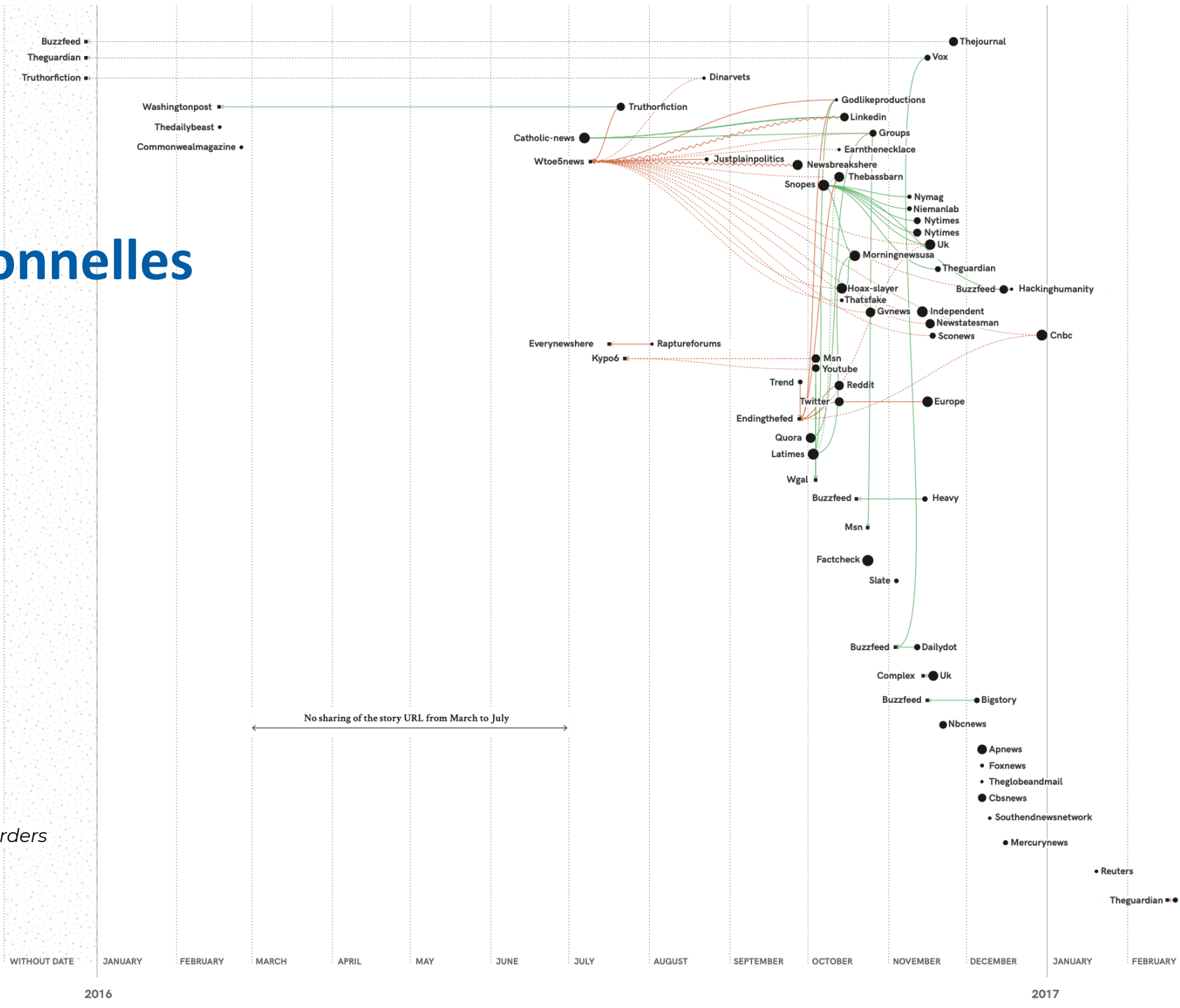
Junk news et cascades informationnelles

WTOE 5 NEWS

YOUR LOCAL NEWS NOW



Bounegru, L., Gray, J., Venturini, T., & Mauri, M. (2018)
A Field Guide to "Fake News" and other Information Disorders
 Amsterdam: Public Data Lab
fakenews.publicdatalab.org



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.**

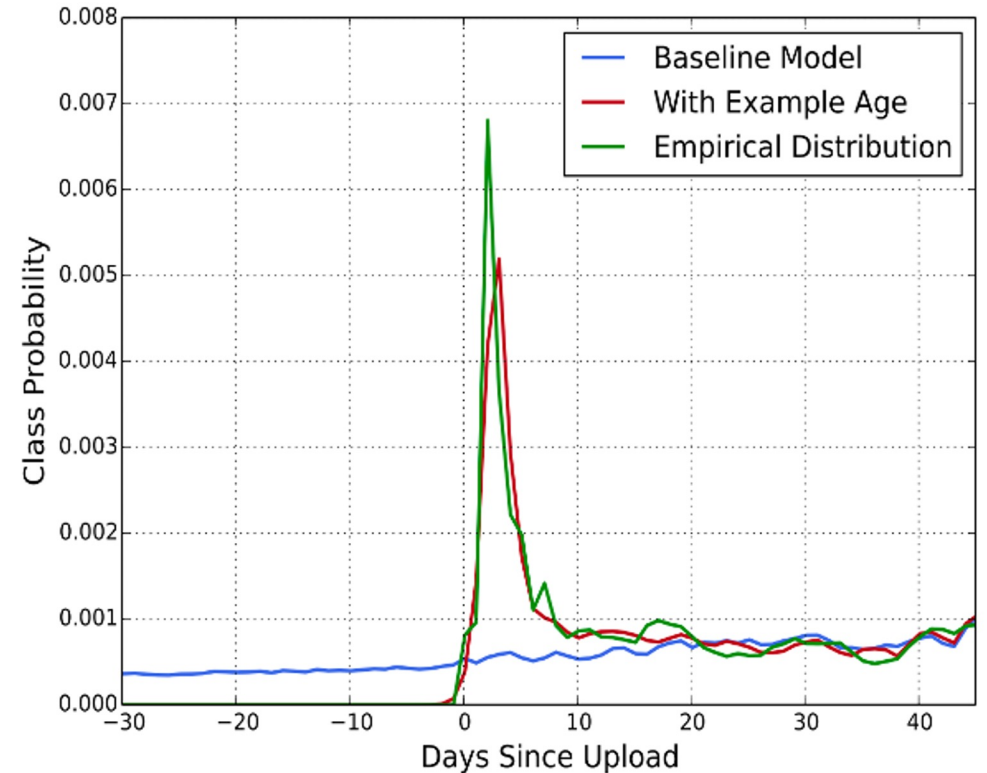


Figure 4: For a given video [26], the model trained with example age as a feature is able to accurately represent the upload time and time-dependant popularity observed in the data. Without the feature, the model would predict approximately the average likelihood over the training window.

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

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

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)

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

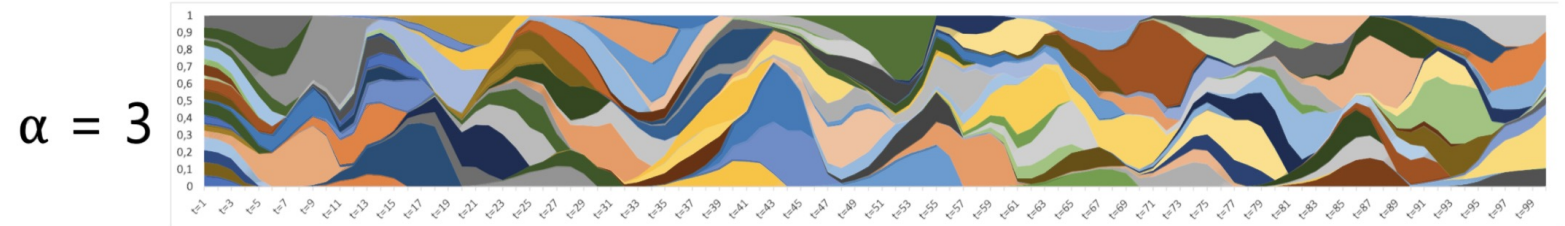
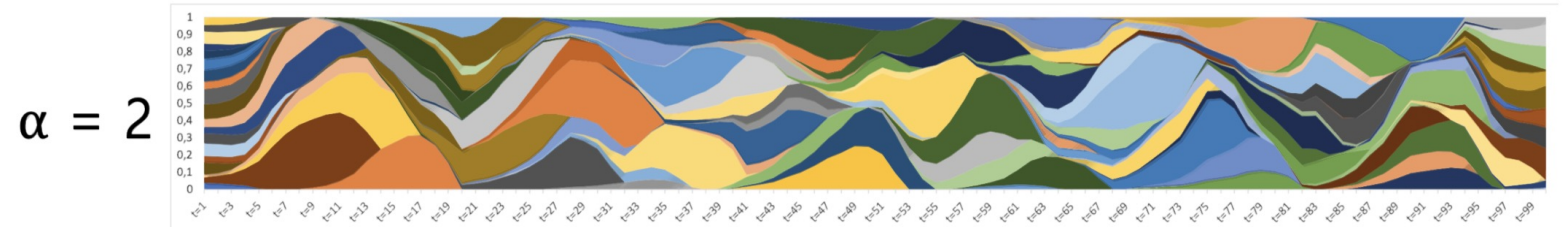
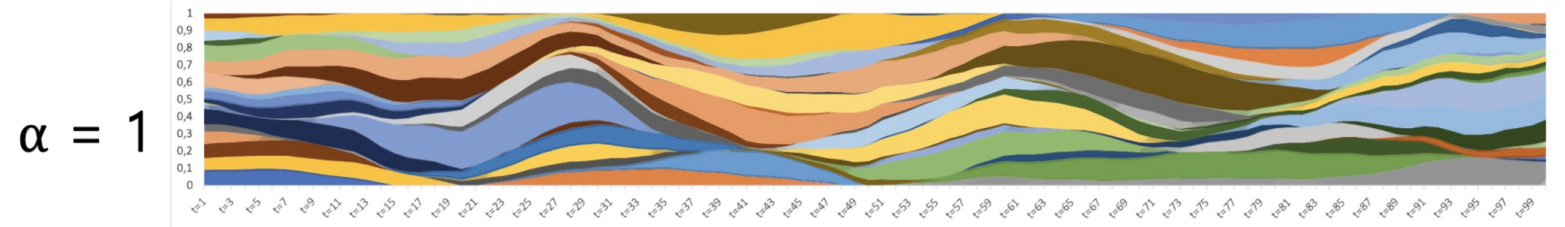
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$$\hat{\pi}_{t+1}^i = \max(\pi_t^i + \alpha(\pi_t^i - \pi_{t-1}^i) + x, 0)$$

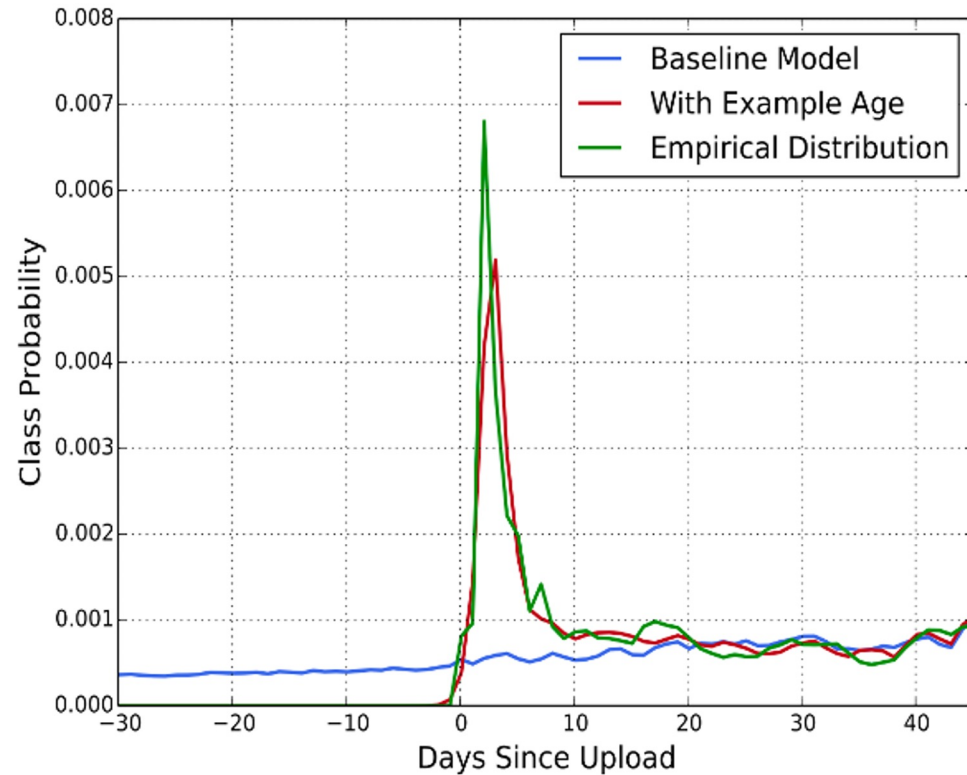


Castaldo, Venturini, Frasca & Gargiulo (2022)

[Junk news bubbles. Modelling the rise and fall of attention in online arenas](#)

New Media & Society, 24(9)

Algorithmes de recommandation et viralité



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

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.



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)

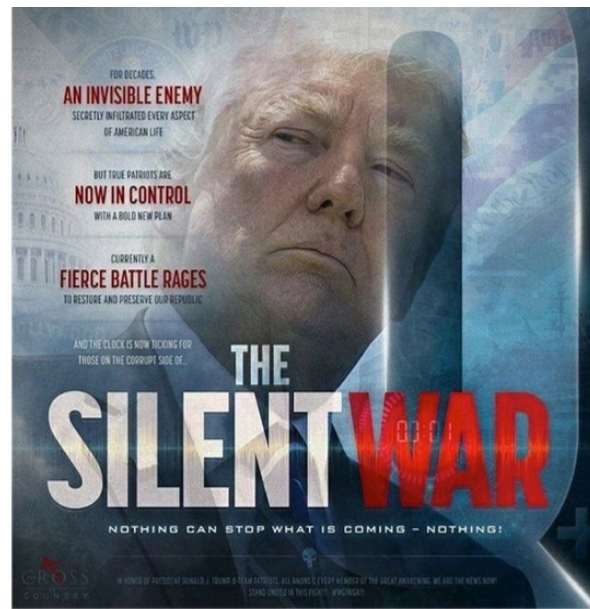
Deep state phobia:

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
#Pedoqate #Obamaqate #SpyGate

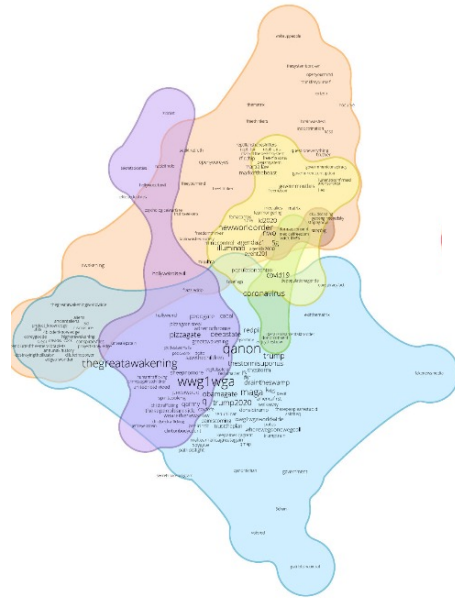


#pedowood #followthewhiterabbit
#frazzledrip #filmyourhospital
#clintonbodycount #adrenochrome
#thegreatawakening
#ghislainemaxwell #darktolight
#qanon #trump2020 #hollywood
#sextrafficking #redpill
#childtrafficking #digitalsoldiers
#epsteinisland #pedogate
#thesepeoplearesick
#godsavethechildren #obamaqate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

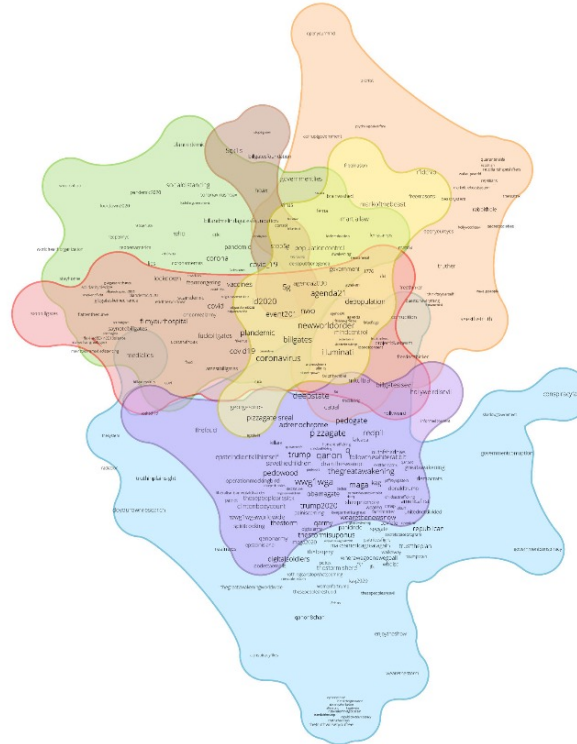
Marc Tuters Tom Willaert (2022)

Deep state phobia

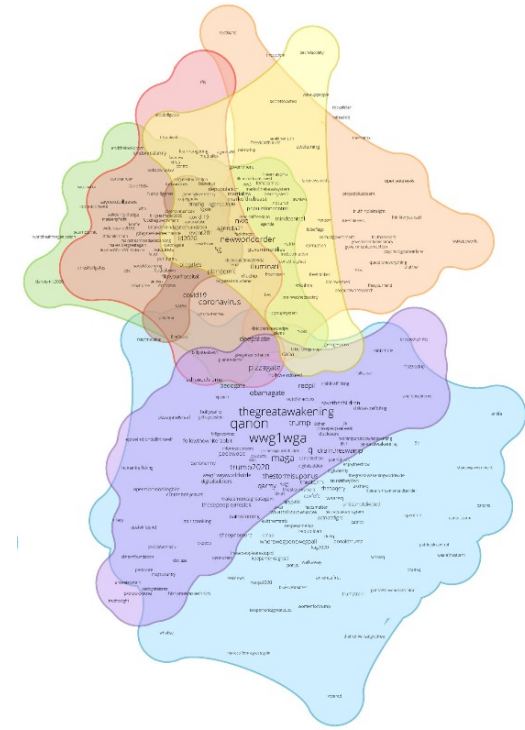
1st quarter



2nd quarter



3rd quarter



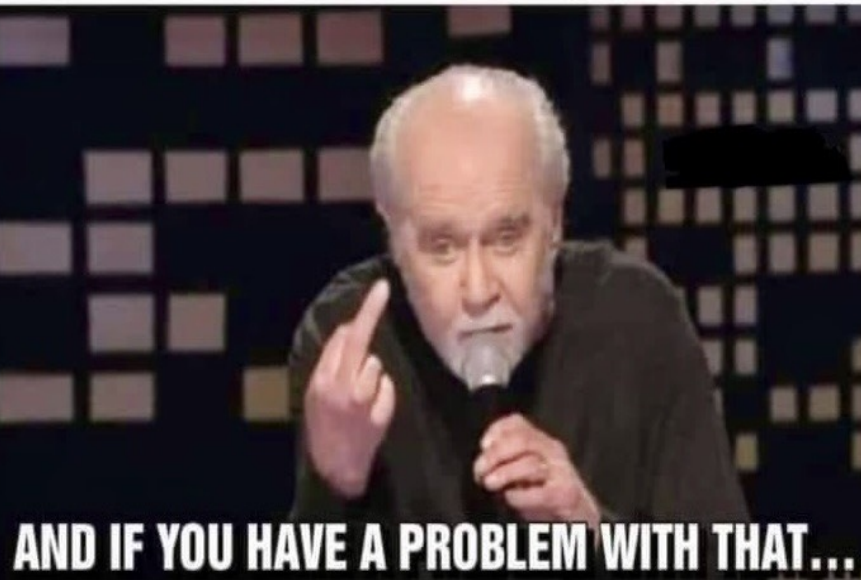
Qanon

“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.



Complots sans théorie

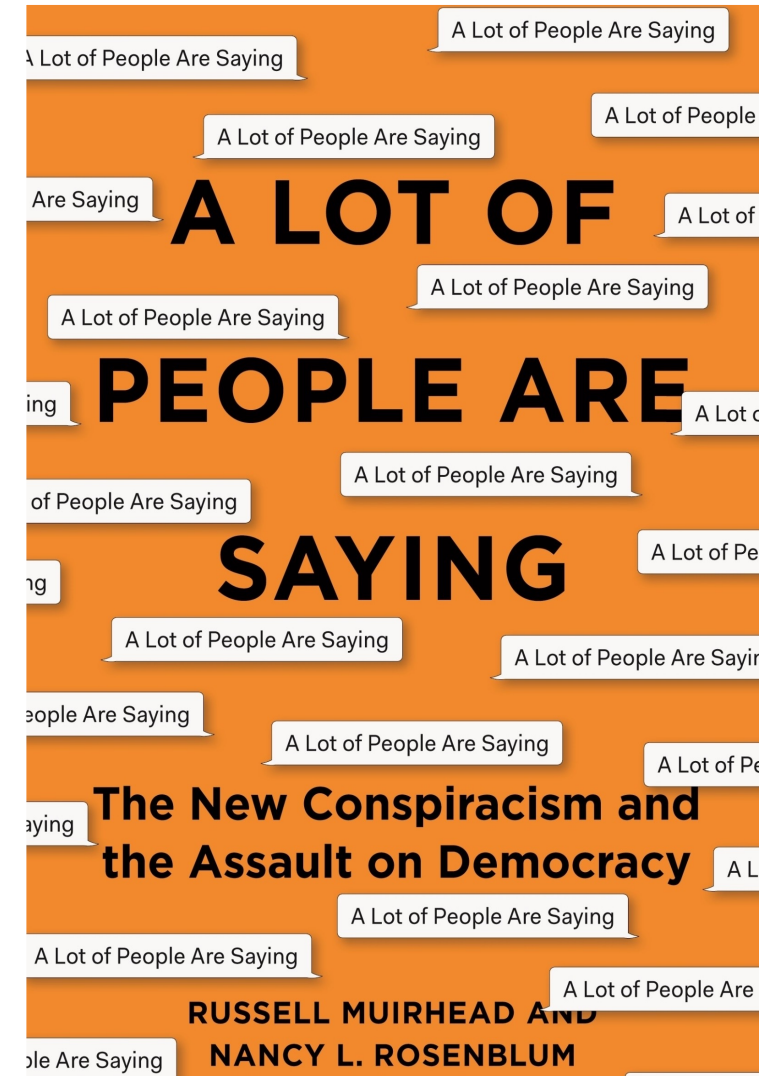
Muirhead, R., & Rosenblum, N. (2019)

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 Tutters et Tommaso Venturini. The Memeplex Post-QAnon Platformized Paranoia]

Références

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Online Conspiracy Theories, Digital Platforms and Secondary Orality
Theory, Culture & Society, 39(5), 61–80. doi.org/10.1177/02632764211070962
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Junk news bubbles modelling the rise and fall of attention in online arenas
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A Field Guide to “Fake News” and other Information Disorders
Amsterdam: Public Data Lab. fakenews.publicdatalab.org



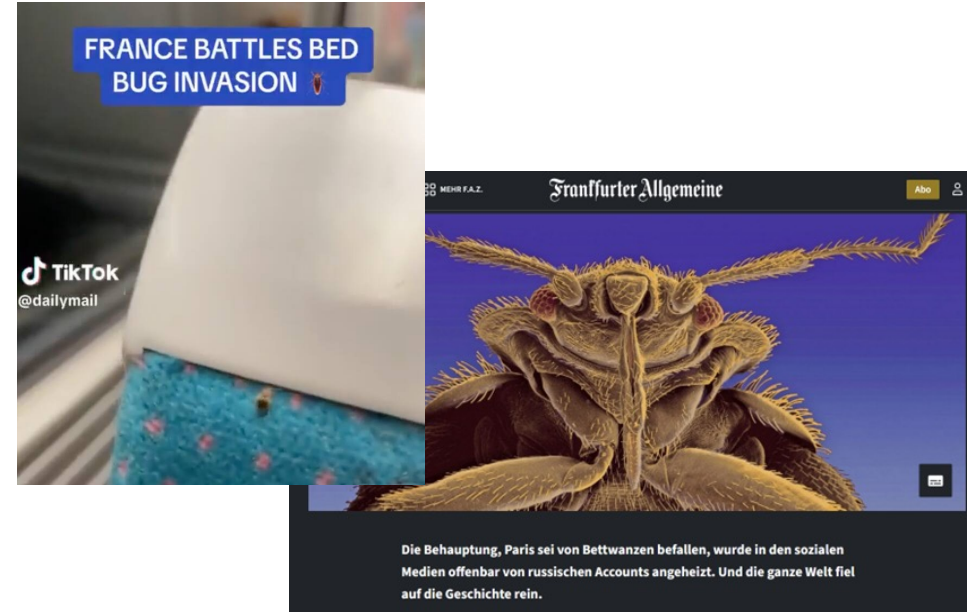
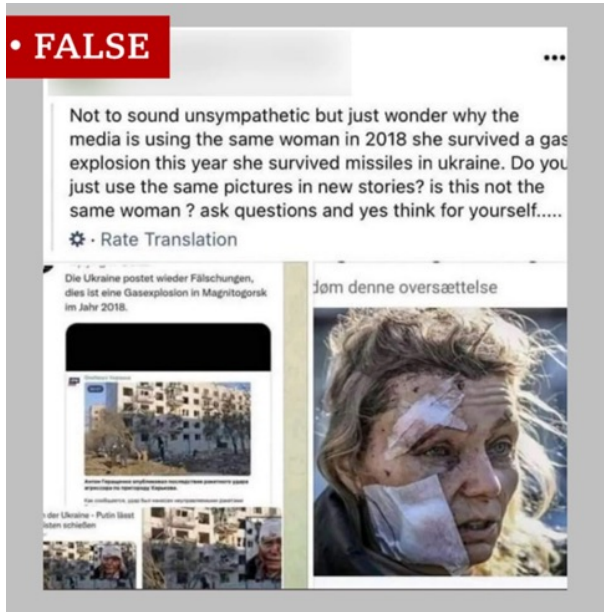
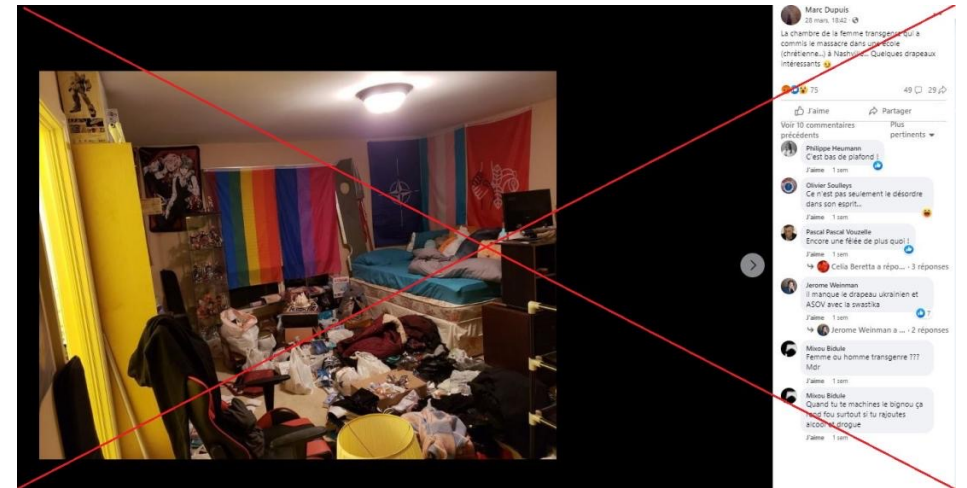
Universität
Zürich ^{UZH}

Faculté de droit

La désinformation: perspective du droit

Prof. Dr Florent Thouvenin





De gauche à droite: Infosperber, CNN, AFP via EDMO, BBC, via Correctiv, TikTok via Blick, Frankfurter Allgemeine

Situation actuelle

- La **désinformation** est un problème lié avant tout à **la consommation d'informations et de médias numériques**.
 - **Pénétration** élevée
 - **Diffusion** rapide et semi-automatisée
- Les pays à forte **polarisation politique** semblent particulièrement vulnérables à la désinformation.
- La résilience se nourrit d'**un répertoire d'utilisation des médias diversifié** et de grande qualité.
- Les **réseaux sociaux** et les **services** de messagerie jouent un rôle important.
 - **Besoins sociaux** tels que l'appartenance
 - d'où une interaction avec la (dés)information
- Conséquence: les **mesures de gouvernance** doivent commencer par les plateformes de médias sociaux et les services de messagerie.

Situation actuelle

— Effet à long terme de la désinformation sur la société

- Polarisation croissante (Jenke, 2023)
- Diminution de la confiance envers la politique et les médias (Zimmermann & Kohring, 2020)
- Influence sur les votations et les élections par la manipulation du discours public (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; Fletcher et al., 2018; Neuder et al., 2017)
- Influence sur la santé (Sharma et al., 2020)

— L'impact effectif de la désinformation reste toutefois (encore) largement incertain...

Actions possibles

Régulation par l'État

Corégulation (régulation conjointe de l'État et des représentants du secteur)

Corégulation (régulation conjointe de l'État et des représentants du secteur)

Corégulation (régulation conjointe de l'État et des représentants du secteur)

Droits fondamentaux concernés

Droits fondamentaux des diffuseurs

- Liberté d'expression
- Liberté économique
- Secret des télécommunications

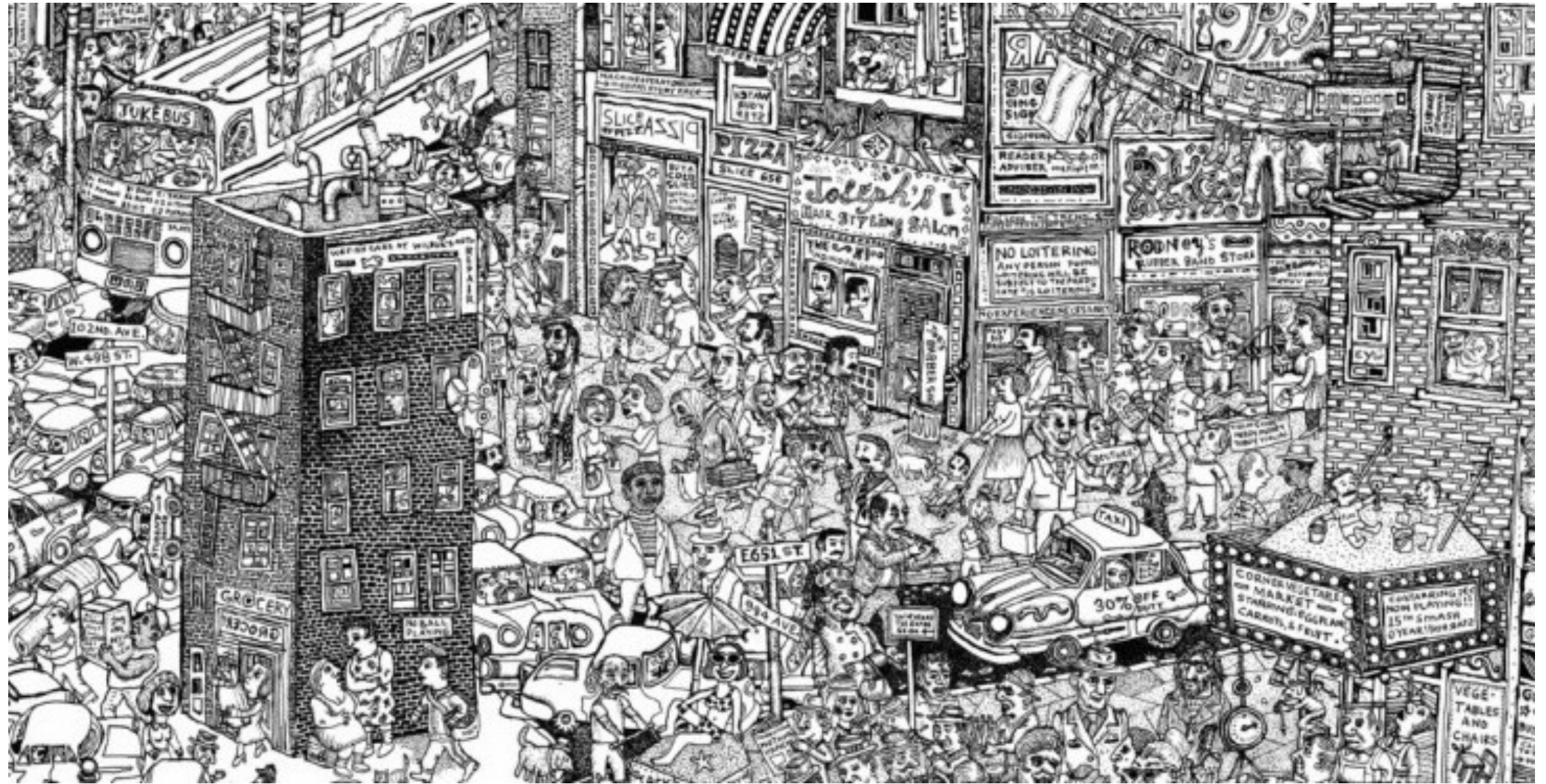
Droits fondamentaux des tiers

- Liberté d'expression
- Liberté économique
- (Liberté des médias)



Droits fondamentaux des destinataires

- Liberté d'expression
- Liberté économique
- Liberté personnelle
- Liberté de vote et d'élection





Dispositions légales

Protection des individus

- Droit de la personnalité (art. 28 ss CC)
- Protection de la personnalité
(art. 173 ss CP)

Protection des systèmes

- Élections et votations (art. 34 Cst.)
- Concurrence (LCD)
- Paix publique (CP)
- Ordre constitutionnel (CP)
- Relations avec l'étranger (CP)
- etc.

Approches au sein de l'UE

- Règlement sur les services numériques (DSA)
- Loi sur la liberté des médias
- Plan d'action contre la désinformation
- Code de conduite pour lutter contre la désinformation
- Observatoire européen des médias numériques (EDMO)
- Vérificateurs indépendants
- Task force pour la communication stratégique (notamment East StratCom Task Force)



Mesures – régulation par l'État

- **Chargé/-e de la (protection contre la) désinformation ou Observatoire de la désinformation**
- **Obligation de marquage pour la publicité**
- **Obligation de marquage pour la publicité politique**
- **Mesures concernant les comptes automatisés (bots)**
 - Pas d'interdiction
 - Limitation des activités par période
 - Obligation de marquage pour les bots



Mesures – corégulation

- **Mesures procédurales pour les plateformes**
 - Gestion interne des réclamations
 - Organe de règlement extrajudiciaire des litiges
- **Exigences de transparence pour les plateformes**
- **Droit d'accès pour les utilisateurs/-trices**
- **Droit d'accès aux données**



Mesures – autorégulation (en particulier réglementation sectorielle)

– Extension des compétences du Conseil de la presse

- Les journalistes
- Également pour les contenus sur les réseaux sociaux

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

– Création d'un Conseil numérique

- Principes communs aux plateformes
- Instance de recours



Mesures – auto-organisation

- **Blocage des utilisateurs/-trices sur les réseaux sociaux (deplatforming)**
- **Suppression et blocage de contenus**
- **Downranking de contenus**
- **Signalement de contenus**
 - Signalement d'utilisateurs/-trices
 - Signalements de confiance
- **Restriction de la transmission**





Page d'accueil



Publications

Merci!

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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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INFORMATION
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fög

Forschungszentrum
Öffentlichkeit und Gesellschaft

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).

Parldigi MasterClass

Conseil national et Conseil des États

Prochain événement **le 2 décembre 2024**

Algorithmes en politique – cours intensif de programmation pour les parlementaires

Prof. Dr Marcel Gygli

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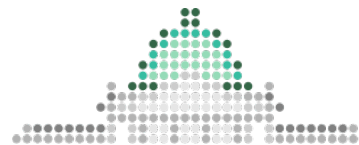
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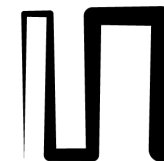
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