



Disinformation and the Role of Social Media Influencers in Times of Crises, Conflicts, and Wars

Recommendations on Countering Disinformation

Software Construction Visualization Fake News Publicity Trust Digital Information Opinions Leader Construction Journalists Responsibility Analysis POLICY nest toward whedge International Democracy Education Traditions Goodle Context Fake Media Technology Recommendations Flow Innovation Opportunities Digital Agenda Hardware Security Data Influence



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INTRODUCTION

In today's information landscape, social media influencers play a crucial role as opinion leaders. Influencers - or, as many of them prefer, content creators - have a wide reach and credibility¹ with their followers, also beyond the marketing sector. With a growing reliance on social media for news consumption,² politically engaged influencers and content creators become increasingly relevant for shaping political opinion and discourse.3 This comes with a certain responsibility, especially in times of heightened tensions when users are uncertain about the veracity of information online.

Malicious foreign and domestic actors are exploiting this information disorder to undermine trust and cohesion in liberal democracies. The COVID-19 pandemic, Russia's war against Ukraine and, more recently, the war between Israel and Hamas4 have been accompanied by disinformation campaigns.

Despite the broad discussion of the topic, confusion regarding terminology often arises. The project's "working definition" was taken from a definition developed on the basis of the official EU definition5: "False, inaccurate, decontextualized and misleading information covertly and deliberately designed, presented, promoted and spread to manipulate and exert political, financial or other influence"6 [Lowercase letters by the author]. Disinformation campaigns are large-scale, more or less targeted and coordinated information attacks that can come from a variety of actors, including governments, state-sponsored entities, extremist groups and individuals (in the security community hence referred to as a "hybrid threat").7

In addition, several countries are struggling with internal conflicts and democratic backsliding, which are exacerbated by disinformation. Countries in Central and Eastern Europe see low citizen trust in traditional media and the political system, partly influenced by the region's Soviet past, and a reliance on social media for news gathering.8 Also, many countries in the region moved decisively toward liberal democracy and Euro-Atlantic integration, eliciting backlash from anti-European forces. Russia in particular has organized disinformation campaigns aimed at lowering social trust as well as reversing these trends.9

https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep21238.pdf (accessed December 18, 2023).

9 Agnieszka Legucka, Russia's Long-Term Campaign of Disinformation in Europe, Carnegie Europe, https://carnegieeurope.eu/strategiceurope/81322 (accessed December 18, 2023).



¹ Katja Muñoz, Mobilizing Social Media Influencers. A European Approach to Oversight and Accountability, DGAP Policy Brief, Forschungsinstitut der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik e.V., May 2023.

Nic Newman et. al., Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2023, Reuters Institute Digital News Report, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, June 14, 2023.

³ Christina Peter and Luisa Muth, "Social Media Influencers' Role in Shaping Political Opinions and Actions of Young Audiences," in: Media and Communication, Vol. 11, No 3, August 2023, 164-174.
The Associated Press, "Israel-Hamas War Misinformation is Everywhere. Here are the Facts," in: The Associated Press, November 14, 2023.

⁶ European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. Tackling Online Disinformation: a European Approach, COM(2018) 236 final, April 26, 2018.

Christoph Nehring and Hendrik Sittig, Blurring the Truth. Disinformation in Southeast Europe, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Media Programme Southeast Europe, 2023.
Patrick Cullen et al., The Landscape of Hybrid Threats. A Conceptual Model (Public Version), Publications Office of the European Union, February 2021.
Michael Boksa, Russian Information Warfare in Central and Eastern Europe. Strategies, Impact, Countermeasures, German Marshall Fund of the United States, June 2019,

Politicians and bureaucracies are too slow to respond, especially in sensitive situations such as elections, military conflicts, or pandemics, when people are even more vulnerable to mis- and disinformation. Efforts to combat disinformation often lack a cohesive strategic approach, are not integrated into governance levels, and occur in isolated "silos".10 Some political actors even accept this shortcoming because they themselves use disinformation. The rise of generative Al tools adds to this "truth crisis". 11 Synthetic media generated by AI is increasingly being used by politicians in elections, 12 and fabricated war imagery abounds. 13

Despite these challenges, active civil society initiatives or Ukraine's struggle for freedom demonstrate ongoing efforts to preserve democratic values. Amidst this backdrop, influencers play a dual role. They are on the one hand susceptible to sharing false information or even spreading disinformation for payment. On the other hand, they are close observers of trends, dynamics, and narratives online and have developed a specific expertise in this regard.

Given their significant role, it is crucial to involve influencers. This publication serves as strong evidence that influencers and content creators can contribute significantly to developing best practices against disinformation, emphasizing the importance of their role in shaping a better-informed and more resilient democratic society.

ABOUT THE PROJECT

The project "Disinformation and the Role of Social Media Influencers in Times of Crises, Conflicts, and Wars" brought together a selected group of social media influencers and content creators from the Czech Republic, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, and Ukraine to explore their role in times of crises, conflict, and war.

The group comprised politically engaged influencers and content creators with a moderately-sized follower base. None relied on this for a living. Some of them were lifestyle influencers but have been politized through current events, while others started their channel with political information. They could be won for the project by an open call and an application process. The selection was based on criteria like diversity and motivation.

They first met in the immediate aftermath of the full-scale invasion of Ukraine and against the backdrop of the COVID-19 pandemic. In a total of four digital workshops and two study trips to Berlin and Prague over the course of 2023, they met with decision-makers, academics, and experts to exchange lessons learned and discuss the dissemination and content of online disinformation. Related challenges such as Al-generated manipulated content, hate speech, and disturbing online content were also discussed. Key guestions throughout the meetings were: How can the growing influence of influencers be leveraged for protecting democracy during conflicts and wars? What are their roles and responsibilities, and those of other stakeholders? What opportunities exist for cooperation among stakeholder groups to counter disinformation? The project enabled the participants to not only actively engage with the topic but also develop concrete recommendations for three stakeholder groups.

In addition to recommendations, this project aimed to raise public awareness, encourage cross-border cooperation, and strengthen media literacy. It sought to foster a sustainable network of European influencers and content creators, while ensuring that participants could independently form their opinions. The project facilitated transnational connections among like-minded people from different backgrounds and European regions, who are actively contributing to a comprehensive, whole-of-society approach to the fight against disinformation.

Christopher Nehring, "Wer bekämpft eigentlich in Deutschland Desinformation?," in: Tagesspiegel Background, August 1, 2023.
 Thor Benson, "Human's Aren't Mentally Ready for an Al-Saturated 'Post-Truth World'," in: Wired, July 18, 2023.
 Britney Nguyen, "2024 Candidates Are Using Al In Their Campaigns. Here's How 5 poot it," in: Forbes, December 13, 2023.
 Aldo Kleemann, Deepfakes - When We Can No Longer Believe Our Eyes and Ears. Media Manipulation in Conflict: Challenges and Responses, SWP Comment, No. 52, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, October 2023

CHALLENGE 1: THE EXISTENCE AND PROLIFERATION OF DISINFORMATION

The existence and proliferation of disinformation poses significant threats to informed decision-making and societal cohesion in liberal democracies. While misleading people through information is not a new phenomenon, online communication, social media channels, and digital tools are a catalyst for the proliferation and reception of disinformation. Generative AI will further facilitate its production, for example, by imitating human influencers based on their images and voice material.¹⁴ Adjacent developments, such as the business model of social media platforms, the decline of established media, and insufficient media and information literacy, exacerbate the problem.

It needs to be emphasized that the full extent and causality of the impact of disinformation cannot be accurately determined. Grey areas, hidden channels, restricted access for researchers, and difficulties in measuring the impact on users make it difficult to precisely gauging the extent of the threat. 15 Nonetheless, throughout the project, conversation partners from a wide range of sectors expressed strong concern that the spread and reception of disinformation would undermine democracy and peace, particularly where institutions are fragile, and trust is low. More needs to be done, because disinformation has the potential to destabilize societies and democratic decision-making processes by stoking anger, polarizing public opinion, exacerbating existing social conflicts, and undermining trust in democratic institutions and processes.16

The challenge lies in identifying the sources of disinformation, understanding the motivations of its creators, and developing effective strategies to counter its influence. This reguires a multidisciplinary approach involving experts in policymaking and law, those knowledgeable about the infrastructure and governance of social media platforms, and, as indicated by this project, the "superusers" - influencers and content creators - in a collaborative team effort. While the list of stakeholders extends beyond policy makers, social media platforms, and influencers, for the sake of brevity, the recommendations of the project primarily center on these three groups.



 ¹⁴ Zeyi Yang, "Deepfakes of Chinese Influencers are Livestreaming 24/7," in: MIT Technology Review, September 19, 2023.
 15 Elisabeth Nöfer, Stormy-Annika Mildner, and Margaryta Letiago, The Truth and Nothing but the Truth. EU and German Responses to Disinformation in Times of Crisis and War, Spot On, Aspen Institute Germany, May 2023. 16 Carme Colomina, Héctor Sanchez Margalef, Richard Youngs, The Impact of Disinformation on Democratic Processes and Human Rights in the World, April 2021.



CHALLENGE 1: THE EXISTENCE AND PROLIFERATION OF DISINFORMATION

Recommendations to Policy Makers

- Raising Awareness for Disinformation
- Policy makers should take the presence and threat of disinformation seriously by classifying disinformation as a security concern.
- Policy makers should timely step-up efforts both at the national and EU level to combat disinformation and create a democratic online environment to stabilize democracy.
- Regulating Social Media Platforms
- Policy makers should develop and implement stricter regulations for the transmitters of information, e.g. social media platforms, and ramp up efforts in this regard.
- ▶ Improving Political Communication and Pre-Bunking
- Policy makers should skill up to be better equipped to counter disinformation.
 They should invest more resources and/or more efficiently into effective strategic communication. This will lead to a more trustworthy and relevant political narrative and modernized political communications.
- Democratic institutions should increase trust and equip citizens with authoritative information so that they do not (or less) fall prey to misleading content. This includes adapting to new media platforms and more engaging and understandable online content.
- De-bunking and pre-bunking are important instruments in this regard to counter disinformation, so adequate resources should be allocated for this.

Recommendations to Social Media Platforms

- ► Collaboration with NGOs and Researchers
- Social media platforms should collaborate (more) with civil society and researchers to combat disinformation by creating a stakeholder liaison.
- Social media platforms should provide (more) access to data for research and fund awareness campaigns, or other initiatives.
- Social media platforms should more actively offer support and expertise so that users can report problems and vulnerabilities.

▶ Transparency

- Social media platforms should be more transparent with how their algorithms works.
- To enable more research and research-based solutions against disinformation, social media platforms should comply with the Digital Services Act by opening up their APIs to academic research teams and verified NGOs while protecting users' personal data.
- Social media platforms should continue third-party fact-checking programs and allocate resources to them on an ongoing basis.
- ► Collaboration with Influencers and Content Creators
- Social media platforms should cooperate more with purpose-driven social media influencers and content creators on public campaigns in order to support media literacy and democratic values.

Recommendations to Influencers

- Awareness and Responsibility
- Social media influencers and content creators have a responsibility to be aware of the impact of their actions and not to spread disinformation. They have a responsibility to be media literate.
- Social media influencers and content creators need to hold themselves accountable for cases in which they unintentionally spread disinformation. If in doubt, they should not share this information and be explicit about uncertainties.
- **▶** Countering Disinformation
- Social media influencers and content creators are encouraged to use their social media platforms in a purpose-driven way to produce and disseminate arguments to counter disinformation and to share quality information that counter disinformation. One way of doing this is moderating comment sections.
- ► Cooperation with Other Influencers, Policy Makers, and NGOs
- Social media influencers and content creators are encouraged to come together and form a coalition for democratic social media environments. They should form networks with NGOs, experts, fact-checking platforms, governmental institutions, and other social media influencers and content creators to prevent disinformation from being spread.
- Social media influencers and content creators should network with other social media influencers and content creators to learn from each other, exchange best practices and assist each other in times of need.



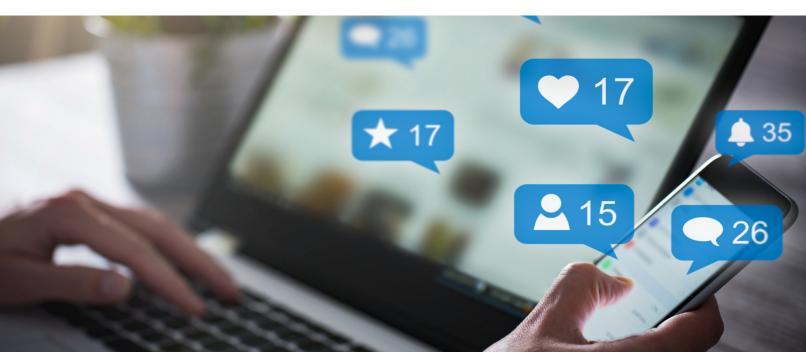
Challenge 2: The Design of Social Media **PLATFORMS**

The design of social media platforms and its newsfeed algorithms can amplify the reach and impact of dis- and misinformation. The business interest of platforms prioritizes user engagement. For this reason, the interface of social media platforms exploits unconscious cognitive mechanisms to make users scroll further or share content without checking it. Because sensational or misleading content receives more attention, without intervention this is prioritized by the engagement logic of the algorithms. Recent layoffs of trust and security teams have been affecting the important work of intervening factchecking and moderating teams.¹⁷ Other teams have been outsourced, with responsibility given to employees with limited authority or limited training.

Social media platforms must be trusted to establish and enforce suitable community guidelines as well as to supervise their staff. Only they can oversee the complex technological infrastructure behind social media spaces. At the same time, platforms must be held accountable for preventing politically or otherwise intended disinformation campaigns.

Next to new regulation on the transparency and targeting of political advertising, the Digital Services Act (DSA) is most relevant in this regard. It imposes obligations in regard to user empowerment, content moderation, advertising, recommendation systems, regular risk assessments and general transparency, combined with independent audits.18 Platforms must block, delete, and downgrade while avoiding over-blocking and respond to complaints in case of unjustified blocking of content or even channels. DSA provisions also include the implementation of crisis response mechanisms in the event of emergencies such as pandemics, wars, or civil unrest.19

Importantly, the DSA only addresses illegal content but does not define what is illegal, relying on member states passing additional laws defining illegality. Non-illegal "awful but lawful" content, including nonsense and deception, remains (in most cases) outside legislative boundaries for valid reasons.



 ¹⁷ Vittoria Elliot, "Big Tech Ditched Trust and Safety. Now Startups Are Selling It Back As a Service," in: Wired, November 6, 2023.
 18 Official Journal of the European Union, Regulation 2022/2065 of the European Parliament and of the Council, October 27, 2022.
 19 Théophane Hartmann, "Analysis: Big Tech's Compliance Efforts as EU Digital Services Act is Enforced," in: Euractiv, August 25, 2023.



Challenge 2: The Design of Social Media Platforms

Recommendations to Policy Makers

- ► Implementing the Digital Services Act
- National policy makers should consistently implement the Digital Services Act and monitor its implementation. A coordinated approach among EU member states and accession candidates should be followed in case of new regulations for social media platforms.
- Responsiveness to Users
- National Digital Services Coordinators, responsible for overseeing the new platform rules implemented by the DSA, should designate points of contact for users. Simultaneously, they should establish a centralized communication channel to enhance direct engagement in the respective national language.

Recommendations to Social Media Platforms

- ► More Staff and Training for Staff
- Social media platforms should provide extensive training for the relevant employees and subcontractors in collaboration on disinformation, its impact, and the importance of freedom of expression. This training should be regularly updated to keep pace with evolving disinformation tactics and be customized to regional languages and contexts. In addition, social media platforms need to reinstate trust and safety teams.
- Prioritized Access for Social Media Influencers and Content Creators
- Social media platforms need to improve their services for all users for troubleshooting. They should recognize certain purpose-driven social media influencers and content creators in collaboration with trusted civil society organizations to allow for more effective identification and reporting of disinformation.
- Social media platforms should initiate a discussion among various stakeholders how to identify and prioritize trusted flaggers to more effectively fight disinformation.

Recommendations to Influencers

- ► Active Role against Disinformation
- Social media influencers and content creators are encouraged to engage consistently with social media platforms to communicate the problems they encounter.
 Sharing their valuable insights and experiences with social media platforms is a constructive way to contribute to the platforms' improvement.



Challenge 3: The Decline of Traditional News Media

As the audience for news consumption has shifted significantly to digital platforms and social media, particularly among younger audiences, the reach of "traditional" media and advertising revenues have shifted significantly to search engines and social media platforms.²⁰ The loss of advertising revenue has contributed to a sharp decline in local news sources in particular,21 but has also limited quality and scope in larger media outlets. As fewer resources are devoted to factchecking and in-depth journalism, it becomes more difficult to establish the credibility of information disseminated through non-traditional sources, which in turn further erodes public trust in this reporting.

Additionally, traditional news outlets use social media as a platform to distribute their content. This adaptation involves the use of more sensational material that spreads quickly on social media. In this way, the changes in so-called "quality journalism" can help create fertile ground for disinformation.

In fragile democracies or nation-states without independent or public media, news media are often politically charged and trust in them is traditionally low. A partisan media landscape that might spread disinformation domestically also increases the susceptibility to disinformation. In contrast, a diverse, high-quality, independent and trustworthy media system acts as a bulwark against disinformation. This ensures that citizens have access to a broad range of viewpoints and reduces the influence of specific interest groups or to advertisers. Especially public service broadcasting has been found to increase democratic resilience, as they are neither dependent on advertising nor on government support.

The challenges described for "traditional" news media overlap with the challenge of disinformation. Solutions proposed in the project included a change in the funding model, indirect political support, increased collaboration, and the use and skills of journalism. Particularly as influencers and content creators become more professional, learning from established journalists and adopting some of their ethics can alleviate some of the challenges they face in information-dense environments.

United Nations, "Social Media Poses 'Existential Threat' to Traditional, Trustworthy News: UNESCO," in: UN News, March 10, 2022.
 David Bauder, "Decline in Local News Outlets is Accelerating Despite Efforts to Help," in: Associated Press, November 16, 2023.





Challenge 3: The Decline of Traditional News Media

Recommendations to Policy Makers

- Supporting Journalism
- Policy makers should allocate resources and give incentives to support innovative journalism. By providing financial assistance or tax incentives to news organizations engaged in outstanding journalism, innovative funding models, and investigative reporting, policy makers can encourage the production of high-quality journalism that serves the public interest.
- Policy makers should protect the integrity and freedom of journalism by, for example, providing access for financial resources for investigative journalism. Additionally, journalists should be protected by providing resources for safety measures and training.

Recommendations to Social Media Platforms

- ▶ Cooperation with Journalists on Fact-Checking
- Social media platforms should establish and continue fact-checking partnerships and collaborations with traditional news organizations and compensate them for doing so. Such collaborations can help sustain traditional news media financially while leveraging the skills of trained journalists for content moderation on platforms. Social media platforms and journalists should engage to talk about these issues and pave the way to future sustainable democratic just societies.

Recommendations to Influencers

- ▶ Learning from Journalism
- Social media influencers and journalists should reach out to each other to create mutual learning experiences to better maneuver online environments.

Challenge 4: Lack of Media and **INFORMATION LITERACY**

Media and information literacy are indispensable tools in navigating the complexities of the digital age and fostering a well-informed society. This approach is focused on equipping individuals with the competencies and skills to engage effectively and responsibly with media and information systems. This includes to critically assess the credibility, accuracy, and reliability of information from different media platforms and sources and recognize manipulation.22 It may also include to produce and share media content responsibly and adhere to ethical principles.

The lack of literacy among social media users heightens the risk of susceptibility to manipulation and the proliferation of disinformation. Factors contributing to this vulnerability include insufficient education and skills, a lack of awareness, incentives that drive belief in misleading information, overload of information, the mechanisms of algorithmically sorted news feeds, and various social factors.

Media and information literacy is relevant and necessary for individuals of all generations. However, the degree of emphasis and specific challenges may vary across generations. Older generations may be less familiar with different channels and sources and were seen by our participants as susceptible to taking chain messages or fake websites at face value. Younger generations have grown up in a highly digital and interconnected world but may face challenges related to discerning the credibility of information or the impact of their behavior. School children are the most accessible for educational opportunities.

However, this topic requires lifelong learning. The constant evolution of disinformation tactics, especially in crises and wars, coupled with changes in platform interfaces, requires constant adaptation of knowledge and skills to maintain literacy.

Despite the importance of media and information literacy, one must accept that it is not a one-size-fits-all solution as it has inherent limitations. One significant challenge is the human inclination to accept falsehoods, particularly when they align with preexisting beliefs.23 Even individuals with high levels of education may succumb to these cognitive biases.24 This susceptibility is evident in conspiracy theories, which cannot only serve for expressing identity but also contribute to the formation of tight-knit in-groups. For this reason, media and information literacy is a key solution, but must be coupled with other approaches in information dense environments.



Alton Grizzle et.al., Media and Information Literate Citizens. Think Critically, Click Wisely!, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2021.
 Dean Jackson, Issue Brief. The 'Demand Side' of the Disinformation Crisis, National Endowment for Democracy, August 2, 2018.
 David Robson, "Why Smart People are More Likely to Believe Fake News," in: The Guardian, April 1, 2019.
 Karen Douglas et. al., "Understanding Conspiracy Theories," in: Political Psychology, Volume 50, Issue S1, March 20, 2019, 7-9.

Challenge 4: Lack of Media and Information Literacy

Recommendations to Policy Makers

- ▶ Media Literacy in the School Curriculum
- Policy makers should improve education against disinformation, especially regarding critical thinking and media and information literacy by integrating it into the compulsory national school curriculum. In schools, there should be workshops and weeks dedicated to understanding social media and how it shapes opinions.
- Support of Media Literacy Organizations
- Policy makers should support non-profit organizations and social enterprises that promote media literacy through teachings, campaigns, or, funding and organizational support.
- ► Institutionalization of Media and Information Literacy
- Policy makers should establish dedicated bodies or agencies with a clear legal obligation to promote media literacy within their jurisdiction. These independent bodies should be given the necessary authority and resources.

Recommendations to Social Media Platforms

- ▶ Collaborating with Educators
- Social media platforms should offer opportunities to learn how social media works by offering learning opportunities on all aspects of media and information literacy on social media.
- Popup-Alerts against Unconscious Sharing
- Social media platforms should implement popup alerts to encourage users to think more critically before sharing content. Such measures can break through the problematic automatisms of social media consumption without appearing patronizing, but rather encouraging self-reflection.
- ▶ Training for Users
- Social media platforms should offer easy-to-find and free courses and tips for users to train media literacy in the newsfeed or on the platforms. They can create dedicated sections or provide links to reputable sources that educate users on how to assess the credibility of news and information sources. These can be engaging tools to help users develop their ability to identify reliable sources, detect bias, and evaluate information critically.



Recommendations to Influencers

Sharing Knowledge

 Purpose-driven social media influencers and content creators are encouraged to share their knowledge on how to fact check and identify trustworthy information. One example for this is sharing their knowledge on the dynamics of algorithms, virality of content, and identification of disinformation by producing and sharing informational content and giving trainings.

Self-Training

 Social media influencers and content creators should seek to train themselves in media literacy and be aware of their responsibilities. They should acquire basic skills like source verification and consulting more than one source.

▶ Labeling Paid Content

 Paid content (advertising) must be labeled as such and not disguised by social media influencers and content creators in a way that it could be confused with independent editorial material as users often cannot tell the difference. This transparency not only meets legal requirements but also supports the integrity and trustworthiness of the influencer.

CONCLUSION

Unreliable and intentionally misleading information have always been a powerful weapon to steer opinions and actions. 'The first casualty when war comes is truth, this adage, attributed to U.S. Republican Senator Hiram W. Johnson in a speech during World War I,26 remains relevant in contemporary times. Throughout this project, persons from different backgrounds emphasized that disinformation is one of the major challenges of democracy and freedom today. Vulnerability to information manipulation is also an obstacle to solving the biggest challenges of our time, such as the climate crisis, which requires agreement on shared facts and productive cooperation among humanity. One answer is building alliances to find the best practice and build a network. "Our enemies are well-connected and organized, so we have to be it, too", as one influencer put it.

Another answer is to also involve the new gatekeepers. The interest shown in our project indicates that it is becoming increasingly clear to most stakeholders that these new gatekeepers have significant influence on individual opinion and public discourse. There remains an urgent need to increase awareness among influencers who may not fully grasp their social influence, and to develop stronger connections with established stakeholders such as journalists. So far, influencers are not a coordinated civil society

group such as an influencer association that could be integrated into legislative processes.²⁷

As we move forward, it is imperative to continue these efforts in a thoughtful and courageous manner, working collaboratively to fortify democratic resilience and safeguard the freedom of democratic online spaces.

 ²⁶ Garson O'Toole, "Truth Is the First Casualty in War", in: Quote Investigator, April 11, 2020.
 ²⁷ See Katja Muñoz, Mobilizing Social Media Influencers. A European Approach to Oversight and Accountability, DGAP Policy Brief, Forschungsinstitut der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, e.V., May 2023.





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ABOUT THE ASPEN INSTITUTE GERMANY

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