

# 2016 Annual Colloquium on fundamental rights Public consultation\* on "MEDIA PLURALISM AND DEMOCRACY"

Fields marked with \* are mandatory.

## Introduction

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Media freedom and pluralism are essential safeguards of well-functioning democracies. Freedom of expression and media freedom and pluralism are enshrined in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights and they are at the core of the basic democratic values on which the European Union is founded.

The second Annual Colloquium on Fundamental Rights will take place on 17-18 November 2016. It will provide the stage for an open exchange on the many different aspects of media pluralism in a digital world, and the role of modern media in European democratic societies.

The colloquium should enable policymakers at EU and national level and relevant stakeholders — including NGOs, journalists, media representatives, companies, academics and international organisations — to identify concrete avenues for action to foster freedom of speech, media freedom and media pluralism as preconditions for democratic societies.

The Commission's objective with this public consultation is to gather broad feedback on current challenges and opportunities in order to feed into the colloquium's discussions. The questions asked are thus meant to encourage an open debate on media pluralism and democracy within the European Union — without, however, either prejudging any action by the European Union or affecting the remit of its competence.

**Wichtig - Öffentliche Konsultation (auf deutsch) / Important -  
consultations publiques (en français)**

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DE

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## IMPORTANT NOTICE ON THE PUBLICATION OF CONTRIBUTIONS

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\*Contributions received from this survey will be published on the European Commission's website. Do you agree to the publication of your contribution?

- Yes, my contribution may be published under my name (or the name of my organisation);
- Yes, my contribution may be published but should be kept anonymous (with no mention of the person/organisation);
- No, I do not want my contribution to be published. (NB — your contribution will not be published, but the Commission may use it internally for statistical and analytical purposes).

*For further information, please consult the privacy statement [click below]*

[Privacy statement\\_2016ac\\_public\\_consultation.pdf](#)

### A. Identifying information

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1. In what capacity are you completing this questionnaire?

- Individual/private person
- Civil society organisation
- Business
- Academic/research institution
- Other (please specify)

2. If you are answering this consultation as a private citizen, please give your name.

3. If you are answering this consultation on behalf of an organisation, please specify your name and the name of the organisation you represent.

Is your organisation included in the Transparency Register?

- Yes  
 No

If yes, please indicate your Register ID-number

57305017757-64

If your organisation is not registered, we invite you to register [here](#). Please note that it is not compulsory to register to reply to this consultation. Responses from organisations that are not registered will be published as part of the individual contributions.

*Citizens have a right to expect that European institutions' interaction with citizens associations, NGOs, businesses, trade unions, think tanks, etc. is transparent, complies with the law and respects ethical principles, while avoiding undue pressure, and any illegitimate or privileged access to information or to decision-makers. The Transparency Register exists to provide citizens with direct and single access to information about who is engaged in activities aiming at influencing the EU decision-making process, which interests are being pursued and what level of resources are invested in these activities. Please help us to improve transparency by registering.*

4. If you are an individual/private person:

a) What is the country of your nationality?

- Austria
- Belgium
- Bulgaria
- Croatia
- Cyprus
- Czech Republic
- Denmark
- Estonia
- Finland
- France
- Germany
- Greece
- Hungary
- Ireland
- Italy
- Latvia
- Lithuania
- Luxembourg
- Malta
- Netherlands
- Poland
- Portugal
- Romania
- Slovak Republic
- Slovenia
- Spain
- Sweden
- United Kingdom
- Other (please specify)

Other (please specify)

USA

b) What is your age group?

- Under 18
- 18-30
- 31-40
- 41-50
- 51-60
- 61-70
- Over 71

## B. Media freedom and pluralism

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5. In the context of media freedom and pluralism, what should be the role of the State, if any, in the regulation of media? What should be the role of self-regulation?

Media freedom and pluralism can only prosper in a legal framework which provides strong guarantees for the fundamental right to freedom of expression. The State should ensure that there are as few and as narrow limitations to freedom of expression as possible, in any area of law. The objective must be to promote an open public square that enables vibrant and free political debate with as many diverse viewpoints as possible.

6. Could you provide specific examples of problems deriving from the lack of independence of media regulatory authorities in EU Member States?

In January 2016, the European Regulators Group for Audiovisual Media Services (ERGA) published a statement (<https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/en/news/statement-european-regulators-group-audiovisual-media-services-erga-necessity-independent-media>) on the necessity of independent media, drafted in the light of the entry into force in January 2016 of the new Polish public services media law depriving the independent national authority of the power to nominate and dismiss the management and supervisory boards of the public service broadcasters, and transferring this power to the Minister of State Treasury. The ERGA also adds that all members of the new management and supervisory boards of the public service broadcasters will be appointed at the sole discretion of the Minister of State Treasury, without any requirement to ensure a plurality of representation. There will be no defined terms of office, and members may be dismissed by the Minister of State Treasury at any time at his/her discretion.

7. What competences would media regulatory authorities need in order to ensure a sufficient level of media freedom and pluralism?

The ERGA report on the independence of NRAs (<https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/en/news/erga-report-independence-national-regulatory-authorities>) made the following recommendations: 1) guaranteed independency; 2) NRAs shall have adequate and appropriately qualified human resources; 3) NRAs shall have sufficient and adequate financial resources for the performance of their tasks, and be autonomous in the allocation of the budget; 4) NRAs shall carry out their work in line with the principle of transparency; 5) NRAs shall have the power to take autonomous decisions, independent from all bodies and organisations related to the provision and distribution of audiovisual media services; 6) NRAs should be provided with adequate enforcement powers and these powers should be handled autonomously, but also in line with fair, transparent and non-discriminatory published procedures for imposing sanctions; and 7) The right to be heard should be ensured by a specific provision and the appeal bodies should be judicial bodies.

8. What should be the role of public service media for ensuring media pluralism?

Public service media can play an important role in supplying high quality content, such as investigatory journalism, documentaries, and current affairs coverage. Publicly funded media organisations have the opportunity to devote more resources to development of content that does not appeal to a wide audience, than commercially funded media. Examples would be content focused on science, history, culture, and educational programming aimed at children. In that sense public service media can ensure provision of valuable content that would otherwise not be offered to the public.

9. How should public service media be organised so that they can best ensure the public service mandate?

We would like to refer to Article 19's Model Public Service Broadcasting Law (<https://www.article19.org/data/files/medialibrary/1794/model-psb-law.pdf>) based on their Access to the Airwaves: Principles on Freedom of Expression and Broadcast Regulation (<https://www.article19.org/data/files/medialibrary/2633/11-08-08-STANDARDS-access-to-airwaves-EN.pdf>).

10. Have you experienced or are you aware of obstacles to media freedom or pluralism deriving from the lack of independence of public service media in EU Member States?

- Yes
- No

If yes, please give specific examples.

11. Are you aware of any problems with regard to media freedom and pluralism stemming from the lack of transparency of media ownership or the lack of rules on media ownership in EU Member States?

- Yes  
 No

If yes, please give specific examples.

12. Please indicate any best practice on how to ensure an appropriate level of transparency and plurality of ownership in this area.

13. What is the impact of media concentration on media pluralism and free speech in your Member State? Please give specific examples and best practices on how to deal with potential challenges brought by media concentration.

14. Are you aware of any problems related to government or privately financed one-sided media reporting in the EU?

- Yes  
 No

If yes, please give specific examples.

15. Please indicate any best practice to address challenges related to government or privately financed one-sided media reporting while respecting freedom of speech and media pluralism.

## C. Journalists and new media players

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16. What is the impact of media convergence and changing financing patterns on quality journalism?

Many observers express concern about the financial viability of traditional news organisations in an increasingly digital environment. Digital media are often seen to be in tension with traditional print and broadcast media, as they offer substitutes to subscription and advertising funding models and can challenge longstanding practices governing intellectual property, content sharing, ownership, and market competition. Some traditional media have expressed concern that increased focus on amateur reporting poses a threat to the journalistic profession.

These challenges are real, but it is important to see them in the context of the opportunities enabled by technological developments. The innovation of easy interactivity that characterises the “Web 2.0” has the potential to revolutionise journalism. Emerging “social news” websites host lively user-generated discussions on the issues of the day - allowing readers to interact directly with journalists, and even to participate in reporting by providing additional views, context, and fact-checking, thus serving as unofficial “watchdogs” of the press. The migration to digital platforms has also enhanced the resources available to journalists - professional and amateur alike - for data tracking, news-gathering, secondary research, low-cost or self-publishing, and crowdsourced fundraising. Blogs and wikis about journalism allow reporters to share the traditions, tools, and techniques of their trade with one another and with “citizen journalists”. These communication and networking tools also provide journalists with increased access to experts, whistleblowers, and other primary sources, increasing public accountability. These qualities of openness and accessibility have the potential to vastly expand the opportunities for voices traditionally excluded from mainstream media to make themselves heard.

17. Have you ever experienced, or are you aware of, any limitation imposed on journalistic activities by state measures?

- Yes
- No



If yes, please give specific examples and further information, including justifications given by authorities and the position taken by journalists.

Freedom House publishes annual reports report on press freedom across the world. Its latest report (<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/freedom-press-2016>) notes among other things that “media freedoms in some of the world’s strongest democracies came under pressure from security-minded governments and populist politicians”. The report notes in particular security and surveillance laws passed in Spain and France, and the UK legislation that is now in the final stages of adoption. It discusses the measures taken by the Polish government (referred to in question 6).

Laws passed in Germany and Spain on ancillary copyrights for publishers have had a negative impact on journalism and media. CDT raised these concerns in our response to the European Commission’s public consultation on the role of publishers in the copyright value chain and on the “panorama exception”: <https://cdt.org/blog/cdt-responds-to-european-commission-consultation-on-ancillary-rights-unnecessary-barriers-for-innovation-and-free-speech/>).

18. Please indicate any best practice that reconciles security concerns, media freedom and free speech in a way acceptable in a democratic society.

We would raise the following points: Firstly, the protection of anonymity is a vital component in protecting both the right to freedom of expression and the right to privacy. Anonymity allows individuals to express themselves without fear of reprisal, and enables whistleblowers to come forward. Secondly, encryption is a basic requirement for the protection of the confidentiality and security of information, thus essential to the protection of the right to freedom of expression, especially online. Thirdly, limited liability of online intermediaries is a fundamental reason for the success of the Internet as a platform for free expression and debate. The threat of criminal liability for internet platforms inhibits their willingness to host user-generated content, even block legal content, and are discouraged from allowing users to communicate in the first place. Finally, an overhaul of surveillance practices in Member States is necessary in order to achieve enhanced transparency, control and oversight of national intelligence agencies, since mass surveillance of electronic communications induces self-censorship by journalists, their sources, and their audiences.

19. Have you experienced, or are you aware of, limitations related to privacy and data protection imposed on journalistic activities?

- Yes  
 No

If yes, please give specific examples and further information.

CDT has been critical of the reasoning (<https://cdt.org/blog/eu-court-privacy-rights-trump-free-expression-and-access-to-information/>) behind the CJEU ruling in *Google Spain v AEPD, Mario Costeja Gonzales* in which individual privacy rights “override” Internet users’ right to free expression and access to true, public information. Search engine operators are tasked with making the judgment as to when the conditions for suppression of results are met. Here lies a concern for access to information and free expression. Search engine operators must determine whether personal information is now “inadequate, irrelevant or no longer relevant, or excessive in relation to the purposes of the processing at issue carried out by the operator of the search engine.” These are highly fact-dependent determinations, and require the search engines to engage in a careful balancing of rights. This decision matters not just for general purpose search engines, but for anyone else engaged in the effort to organise and contextualise information across the web. In-site search on social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook, social bookmarking sites like Digg, historical repositories like the Internet Archive, and user-generated content sites like Reddit and Wikipedia – all of these and millions more sites are potentially implicated by the court’s ruling. Users of these sites, and creators of the next generation of tools to locate information online, have relied on a free and open web that supports linking and sharing of information that has been publicly posted.

20. Have you experienced, or are you aware of, problems linked to hate speech and threats directed towards individuals exercising journalistic activities?

Recently, The Guardian conducted a research into its comment threads (<https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/apr/12/the-dark-side-of-guardian-comments>) which showed that articles written by women attract more abuse and dismissive trolling than those written by men, regardless of what the article is about. Although the majority of its regular opinion writers are white men, The Guardian found that those who experienced the highest levels of abuse and dismissive trolling were not. The 10 regular writers who got the most abuse were eight women (four white and four non-white) and two black men. Two of the women and one of the men were gay. And of the eight women in the “top 10”, one was Muslim and one Jewish.

21. Are you aware of cases where fear of hate speech or threats, as described above, has led to a reluctance to report on certain issues or has had a generally chilling effect on the exercise of freedom of speech?

- Yes
- No

If yes, please give specific examples and further information.

The most serious examples concern violence against journalists and cartoonists who publish certain types of religious satire. Repeated attacks and credible threats of violence have made it extremely dangerous if not impossible to publish such material.

Hate speech is a broader category of expression, and it can cause fear and make those who are targeted withdraw from public debate. Article 19 has published helpful resources on hate speech and recommendations for policy responses:

<https://www.article19.org/resources.php/resource/3572/en/prohibiting-incitement-to-discrimination,-hostility-or-violence>

22. Have you experienced, or are you aware of, problems concerning journalists' safety and security in the EU?

- Yes  
 No

If yes, please give specific examples.

According to the Committee to Protect Journalists ([https://cpj.org/reports/cpj\\_eu\\_special\\_report\\_2015.pdf](https://cpj.org/reports/cpj_eu_special_report_2015.pdf)), in Italy, from 2006 to 2015, 2,371 threats against journalists have been recorded. Bulgaria's press also comes under threat from criminal organizations. Its journalists have been victims of contract-style killings, beatings, and bomb attacks, CPJ has found. In 2014 in France, Le Monde's investigative journalist Gérard Davet was placed under police protection after he received a number of death threats directly linked to his works. Threats of violence on religious satire are unfortunately common as well, as mentioned.

23. Please indicate any best practice for protecting journalists from threats against their safety and security.

24. Have you ever experienced or are you aware of pressures put by State measures on journalistic sources (including where these sources are whistleblowers)?

- Yes  
 No

If yes, please give specific examples.

Transparency International published a report in 2013 on 'Whistleblowing in Europe - Legal Protections for Whistleblowers in the EU'.  
([https://www.transparency.de/fileadmin/pdfs/Themen/Hinweisgebersysteme/EU\\_Whistleblower\\_Report\\_final\\_web.pdf](https://www.transparency.de/fileadmin/pdfs/Themen/Hinweisgebersysteme/EU_Whistleblower_Report_final_web.pdf)).

The report notes that '... several EU countries in recent years have taken steps to strengthen whistleblower rights, including Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Romania and Slovenia. Countries that have issued proposals or have announced plans for proposed laws include Finland, Greece, Ireland, the Netherlands and Slovakia. Despite these signs of progress, much remains to be done toward ensuring that whistleblowers in the EU receive the protections they deserve under European and international standards. Political will is lacking in many countries. More whistleblower laws would be in place today had government leaders followed through on their commitments to pass and enforce them.'

25. How would pressures on journalistic sources be best addressed?

See question 26

26. Please indicate any best practice for protecting the confidentiality of journalistic sources/whistleblowers.

Encryption technology has proved to be a tool that can ensure the confidentiality of journalistic sources and whistleblowers. The Panama Paper leak was made possible thanks to an unknown source who reached out to the German newspaper *Suddeutsche Zeitung* in the first place. The newspaper communicated with this source over a series of encrypted channels that both sides frequently changed, each time deleting all history from their prior exchange. This initial action led to the biggest leak in the history of investigative journalism: approximately 11.5 million documents  
(<http://panamapapers.sueddeutsche.de/articles/56febff0a1bb8d3c3495adf4>).

27. Have you experienced, or are you aware of, censorship (including self-censorship) in the EU?

- Yes
- No

If yes, please give specific examples.

Mass surveillance of electronic communications and persistent threats from malicious private actors induces self-censorship by journalists, their sources, and their audiences. Responding to these threats requires the use of strong encryption technologies and strong legal protections to encourage their adoption across the EU. Several EU Member States operate electronic surveillance systems that can be used to monitor journalists' contact with sources, intercept their communications, and in some cases obstruct their freedom of movement, launch criminal investigations or threaten legal action against journalists based on unlawful electronic surveillance. Governments can also act directly to compel intermediaries to disclose user data by requiring that digital networks and communications infrastructure be designed to enable intrusion by the state. An international survey in 2014 ([https://pen.org/sites/default/files/globalchilling\\_2015.pdf](https://pen.org/sites/default/files/globalchilling_2015.pdf)) found that one in three writers in liberal democratic countries "had avoided writing or speaking on a particular topic, or had seriously considered it, due to concerns about surveillance". The right to seek out information and to develop one's own opinion can thus be chilled by the threat of surveillance and scrutiny.

28. Have you experienced, or are you aware of, any obstacles to investigative journalism, which may include legal provisions in force or a lack of resources?

29. Do you consider that the level and intensity of investigative journalism, the number of journalists engaged in such activity, the resources available, the space in print and the time available in audiovisual media for the publication of results of investigations has changed over time?

- Yes
- No

If yes, please give specific examples.

### 30. Please indicate any best practice facilitating investigative journalism

In recent years, more secure mailbox platforms are being developed in which anyone can deposit documents he or she considers that society should know, without a trace, anonymously and safely. These mailbox platforms collaborate with different types of journalist organisations, and they can also provide the know-how to investigative journalists and their sources to use encryption technologies and safe web pages. An example is SecureDrop, an open-source whistleblower submission system, managed by Freedom of the Press Foundation. <https://securedrop.org/>. Users of SecureDrop include ACLU, CPJ, The Guardian, The Intercept, The New Yorker and the Washington Post. <https://securedrop.org/directory>

## D. Hate speech online

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31. What would be the most efficient ways to tackle the trivialisation of discrimination and violence that arises through the spreading of hatred, racism and xenophobia, in particular online?

Article 19 provides a set of guidelines and policy recommendations for how States should implement their obligations with regards to incitement to hatred under human rights law.

<https://www.article19.org/data/files/medialibrary/3572/12-12-01-PO-incitement-WEB.pdf>

With regard to hate speech online, we would offer the following recommendations for government policy. First, measures to suppress online hate speech should be narrowly focused expressions that are illegal under the law, and subject to sanctions. Second, the determination of what constitutes illegal hate speech should be made by courts or subject to judicial oversight. Third, there should be full transparency of government-induced suppression of speech, and public records should be kept. Fourth, people whose expressions have been suppressed should be notified, and have access to appeal.

These recommendations are particularly important when government authorities rely on private companies to carry out content removal. CDT raised these issues in a letter to the European Commission concerning its recent 'Code of Conduct on Countering Illegal Hate Speech Online'.

(<https://cdt.org/insight/letter-to-european-commissioner-on-code-of-conduct-for-illegal-hate-speech-online/>).

More generally, CDT advises that efforts to take down speech that is posted online will always tend to be ineffective, as individuals who seek to post hateful messages will be able to find alternative hosts, outside of the reach of EU law, for their statements. It is crucial that the EU focus on maintaining an enabling environment for freedom of expression, including strong substantive and procedural protections for individual speakers, journalists, advocates, and others, so that alternative views and dissenting opinions, that contradict and dispel the effects of hateful speech, can flourish online.

32. How can a better informed use of modern media, including new digital media ('media literacy') contribute to promote tolerance? Please indicate any best practice.

## E. Role of free and pluralistic media in a democratic society

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33. How do developments in media freedom and pluralism impact democracy? Please explain.

Media freedom and pluralism are important for democracy. Independent media improve governance, reduce corruption, increasing economic efficiency and stability, and creating positive social change. Pluralistic media provide the necessary information to citizens allowing them to participate in the democratic decisions and debates that affect their lives. Free media also play an important monitoring role that enables citizens to hold their governments and elected officials accountable.

34. Who do you think is the most suited to help increase media literacy? Please rank and explain why.

	The most important - 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	The least important - 8
Family	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Friends	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
School	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Public authorities	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Media, including online providers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Dedicated learning systems using e.g. radio, TV, mobile phones and the internet (please specify)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Civil society	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other (please specify)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Other - please specify

35. Please give specific good examples or best practices for increasing media literacy.



36. What would be concrete ways for free and pluralistic media to enhance good governance and transparency and thus foster citizens' democratic engagement (e.g. self-organisation for political purposes, participation in unions, NGOs, political parties, participation in elections)?

37. What are best practices of free and pluralistic media contributing to foster an informed political debate on issues that are important for democratic societies (e.g. in terms of the nature of the content or in terms of format or platforms proposed)?

The Internet is a significant enabler of political debate. In order to maintain the Internet as an open platform for individual expression, policy makers, among other things, should 1) resist censorship of user-generated content, either directly or via intermediaries; 2) safeguard Internet access, and ban all forms of blocking, throttling, and network disruptions; 3) foster new media pluralism and secure the information environment against the chilling effects of surveillance on journalists and readers; and 4) advance the EU's ambitious agenda for a "digital Renaissance" by investing in tools for digitisation and sharing of cultural works.

38. Which measures would you consider useful to improve access to political information across borders? Please indicate any best practice.

39. Do you consider that social media/platforms, as increasingly used by candidates, political parties and citizens in electoral campaigns play a positive role in encouraging democratic engagement?

- Yes  
 No

If yes, please give specific aspects and best practices that you would recommend.

Increasingly, voters are using social media to engage with political leaders and candidates. Younger voters in particular are avid users of social media and use it for political networking and discussions of current events and policy debates ([http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/flash/fl\\_373\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/flash/fl_373_en.pdf)). Indeed, across countries and voting demographics, the Internet is an important and growing force in European electoral politics. In the 2013 Eurobarometer study on Participatory Democracy, 28 percent of respondents reported using social media in the previous two years to directly influence decision-making. In eight European countries, respondents said the Internet and social media was the "main avenue" for expressing their view on a public issue. Political actors in turn are using the Internet to engage directly with these online constituencies, but in a way that is transparent - which can help them to build a following, develop rapport, and even generate responsive policy ideas (<http://techpresident.com/news/wegov/25286/pirate-mep-crowdsources-internet-policy-questions-designated-eu-commissioners>).

If no, please give specific aspects and examples of negative impacts, and possible alternatives to address them.

40. Do you consider that there are specific risks or problems regarding the role of platforms and social media — in relation to pluralism of the journalistic press or more generally — as regards the quality of the democratic debate and the level of engagement?

- Yes
- No

If yes, please give specific examples and best practices that you would recommend to address these risks or problems.

The role of social media platforms in the broader media landscape is changing rapidly. People are increasingly using social media as sources of news. This trend represents both risks and opportunities for free expression and pluralism. It is not possible to predict exactly how this will evolve, but it is clear that if a few social media platforms will be playing a larger and larger role as sources of news, there will be increasing need for transparency into the mechanisms that determine what types of content is featured and what is not. An in-depth study and discussion is available from the Institute for the Study of Journalism. Blogpost:  
<http://www.digitalnewsreport.org/essays/2015/the-rise-of-mobile-and-social-news/> Full study:  
[https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Reuters%20Institute%20Digital%20News%20Report%202015\\_Full%20Report.pdf](https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Reuters%20Institute%20Digital%20News%20Report%202015_Full%20Report.pdf)

## Contact

JUST-COLLOQUIUM@ec.europa.eu

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