

Reconceptualizing public communication to deal with disinformation

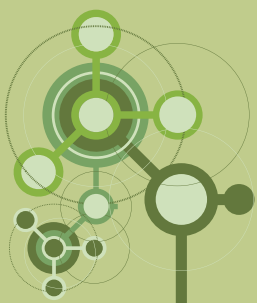
(Re)conceituando a Comunicação pública para enfrentar a desinformação

(Re)conceptualizar la comunicación pública para hacer frente a la desinformación



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ABSTRACT

Public communication can facilitate the provision of a plurality of perspectives and information with adequate contextualization, accuracy, and reliability. This study aims to apply a systematic literature review to reconstitute answers to pressing questions in the area in an original way. Thus, this study recovered common aspects of the specific conceptualization in Brazil, indicated its contribution to the formation of democratic identities and the fight against disinformation, revisited and problematized its legal bases, and suggested appropriate improvements.

KEYWORDS: PUBLIC COMMUNICATION • ACCESS TO INFORMATION • LEGAL ASPECTS • DISINFORMATION.

RESUMO

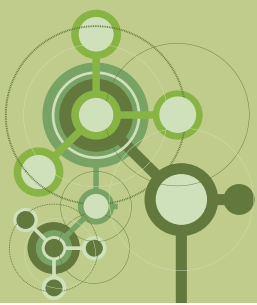
A comunicação pública pode facilitar a provisão de pluralidade de perspectivas e informação com contextualização adequada, precisão e confiabilidade. Este artigo tem o objetivo de aplicar a metodologia de revisão sistemática da literatura para reconstituir, em um percurso original, respostas a questões prementes na área. Assim, recuperamos aspectos usuais da conceituação específica no Brasil, indicamos sua contribuição para a formação de identidades democráticas e o enfrentamento da desinformação, e revisitamos e problematizamos suas bases legais, além de sugerir aperfeiçoamentos cabíveis.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: COMUNICAÇÃO PÚBLICA • ACESSO À INFORMAÇÃO • ASPECTOS LEGAIS • DESINFORMAÇÃO.

RESUMEN

La comunicación pública puede proveer una pluralidad de perspectivas e información con una contextualización, precisión y confiabilidad adecuadas. Este artículo tiene como objetivo aplicar la metodología de revisión sistemática de la literatura para reconstituir, de manera original, respuestas a preguntas urgentes en el área. Así, recupera aspectos comunes de la conceptualización específica en Brasil, señala su contribución a la formación de identidades democráticas y al enfrentamiento a la desinformación, y revisa y problematiza sus bases jurídicas, además de sugerir mejoras oportunas.

PALABRAS CLAVE: COMUNICACIÓN PÚBLICA • ACCESO A LA INFORMACIÓN • ASPECTOS LEGALES • DESINFORMACIÓN.



INTRODUCTION

Providing multiple perspectives and information, with proper contextualization, accuracy, and reliability, is vital for a strong democracy. The quality of Public Communication (PC), in its various definitions, depends on the ability to ensure such provision. Whether it originates in industrial media, or adopt ethical standards that preserve the balance and diversity of views, or in public broadcasters, in social movements, in voluntary sector organizations or governments, PC assumes centrality when it is expected autonomy, freedom, and, above all, ground on correct data in the the construction of citizenship and the formation of public opinion.

Although this brief normative appreciation is supported by extensive theorizing, the foundations of PC practices thereby idealized are not always adequately elucidated. Thus, it is worth reflecting on important questions in the context, which include: what is the specificity of PC in Brazil? What is its role in legitimizing democracy as a peaceful way of resolving conflicts? Is there room for the improvement of its legal support in the Brazilian context?

This article aims to indicate answers to these three questions, in an original path that revisits the diversity of concepts essential to the understanding of the themes present in the specialized literature, and proposes questions and considerations that seek to instigate pertinent reflections. In a systematic review of the literature, we retrieved usual aspects of the conceptualization of PC, as it has been developed in Brazil (section 2); we indicate how public communication can contribute to the formation of democratic identities and to the confrontation of disinformation (section 3); and we revisited and problematized the legal bases of the Brazilian PC, in addition to suggesting appropriate improvements (section 4).

This article importance lies in clarifying why Public Communication can represent, especially in the Brazilian political and social context, one of the most promising ways to confront disinformation about public policies, as well as in suggesting appropriate practices and reflecting on how it can be improved.

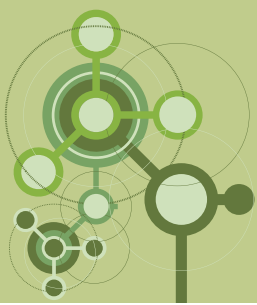
CONCEPT AND NORMATIVITY OF PC IN BRAZIL

Fundamental texts on Public Communication in Brazil published from the mid-2000s onwards had, partially, as their backdrop the need to face theoretical and practical challenges brought up by the redemocratization process after 1985 for the construction of performance parameters for communicators in the sectors that usually produce PC (without detracting from others, depending on the study perspective), which are: industrial media; public broadcasting; voluntary sector and social movements; and governments. This is the case, for example, of the collections organized by Oliveira (2004), Duarte (2009), and Kunsch (2011).

These main works were followed by others, which began to describe cases of successful or unsuccessful implementation of the principles developed in response to the need to affirm the PC in democratic Brazil. This is the case, for example, of Marques and Matos (2011); Matos (2013); Weber, Coelho and Locatelli (2017); and Matos and Gil (2019). It is a voluminous literature, which exhaustively characterizes the theory and practice of Public Communication in the specific context of a country that experiences obstacles resulting from a political culture of high apathy and disbelief in democratic institutions, at levels that stand out in Latin America and even worldwide. The Latinobarómetro surveys² and World Values Survey³ shows that, among

2 Available at: <https://www.latinobarometro.org/latOnline.jsp>. Accessed on: 26 Aug. 2024.

3 Available at: <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV7.jsp>. Accessed on: 26 Aug 2024.



49 countries worldwide, Brazil is the one with the fifth lowest index of trust in the government; and, within Latin America, it is the country exhibiting the lowest level of satisfaction with democracy.

This theoretical path is complex and has been kept alive in Brazil by dozens of graduate programs dissertations and theses in the Applied Social Sciences and Humanities, available in the online repositories of teaching and research institutions. The review of such vast material is beyond the purposes of this article; therefore, we summarize in a few paragraphs the characteristics of Public Communication (PC) under the normativity proposed by the Brazilian literature.

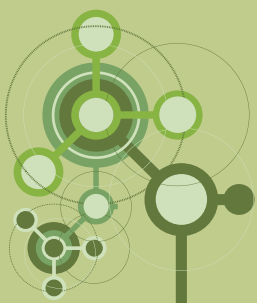
Such communication is nonconformist to the planned propagation of private interests, whether of political groups or economic elites, and at the same time it disguises itself as public interest communication. This expression—public interest—is not of peaceful apprehension, but can be used as an equivalent, in general terms, to the collective interest for the success of public policies that seek social justice and are capable of reducing the enormous social, economic, and political inequalities in the fields of health, education, work, social security, etc. In this context, by definition, the PC should, primarily, give visibility to the means of accessing public services that seek social justice in the various areas of public policies, aiming to meet the social rights provided for in Chapter II of the Brazilian Constitution.

Public Communication allows the construction of public spheres, in which the various perspectives at stake in the scenario of political struggle are represented with equality, reliability, and adequate contextualization; provides the necessary expression and visibility to the various demands existent in society; favors ethical and respectful dialogue among the numerous actors; does justice to the complexity of public management, in order to characterize the dilemmas and challenges involved in carrying out action diagnoses, in determining criteria of efficiency, efficacy, and effectiveness in the face of the different expectations of the various social segments, in the accurate evaluation of results and implementation of course corrections, etc. It is, moreover, a communication that does not make mere political propaganda of governments and representatives, based on specific clippings and seductive language.

Providing conditions for dialogue between the government and citizens is also one of the tasks of the PC, according to the literature produced in Brazil. Implementing systematic ways to encourage public expression, receive the opinions of individuals and social sectors, provide transparency to the positions expressed and the actions taken in response would be other obligations. Official public consultation tools have come to meet this social demand, such as the E-democracy Portal⁴ which produced promising results, according to Rossini (2015). However, the popularization of social networks from 2006 onwards suggested that the effect of robots, filter bubble, and echo chambers on democracy could be quite negative, contributing to the intensification of polarizations and the rise of authoritarian populism, according to Norris and Inglehart (2018). Such phenomena would even occur in Brazil, where they have also been the object of dissertations and theses.

In fact, because of the need to establish a normativity for Public Communication (PC) in Brazil, considering the generalized expectation that PC is capable of making a fundamental contribution to the consolidation of democracy in the country, a frequent influence is the Habermasian perspective in the theoretical elaborations that place PC as a source to subsidize political participation in deliberative instances, according to the scenario characterized by Marques (2009). This incidence proved to be particularly fruitful due to the imperative to think of proposals for the PC contribution to dynamize the experiences of access democratization to public decision-making—committees, municipal councils, public policy managers, participatory budgeting, etc.—which multiplied with the administrative decentralization promoted by the Federal Constitution of 1988, according to Avritzer (2012).

⁴ Available at: <https://edemocracia.camara.leg.br/>. Accessed on: 28 Aug. 2024.



Miola and Marques (2017) question whether the origin of public communication really defines it, since the nature of the content (how it meets the public interest), the vehicle employed, and the target audience are equally essential criteria by determining the dimensions of transparency, accountability, and provision of services. Nevertheless, under any of its characteristics, an essentially national concept of PC seems to be at stake.

The expression is often used in English as a mere equivalent to means of communication in general circulation, or mass media—although the use of “mass” has been increasingly problematized in the course of communication theories sophistication and under the impact of technologies, according to Proulx (2010). To stick only to encyclopedias, Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (2018) and McQuail (2015) refer to PC mainly as a communication of general circulation among society that ensures freedom of expression and information. Occasionally, PC still appears in these works on two fronts: as a synonym for the service provided by public broadcasting stations and as a synonym for democratic communication that favors the articulation and expression of interests towards elected governments and their accountability to society.

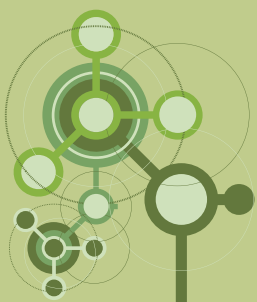
The normativity of Public Communication, as it is characterized in Brazil, indicates the relevance of preserving the public interest for democratic consolidation against the private capture of mass communication by economic and political interests and against the instrumental use of communication by governments for political propaganda purposes. However, such meanings do not seem to be explicitly referred to in the international literature by the uses of the expression in English. The literature suggests that other countries eventually get closer to Brazil: according to Haswani (2010), the Italian notion of PC resembles the expectations of its role in redemocratized Brazil, indicating the need for comparative studies.

Such studies should also reflect on the possible reasons for the difference that has led Brazilian literature to tirelessly seek the normative specificity of Public Communication. It is possible that, in countries without interruptions of the democratic regime, the perception that communication circulating in society should have a public nature has not been questioned for the maintenance of the democracy centrality in political life, and can thus be projected over time as a backdrop to public life. This would also result in the maintenance of public broadcasting services free of government interference as a constant factor in the United States and Western Europe, with many differences in scale and financing, but still active in the production of relevant content (Rothberg, 2011). Obviously, the maintenance of the public interest in communication was shaken many times in those countries, with scandals over telephones tapping by the British press being perhaps the most striking recent fact, as it reverberated worldwide (Carlson; Berkowitz, 2014). The democratic background, however, would have remained a constant, possibly making the need for continuous affirmation of the public character of general circulating communication not so urgent.

Among the various normative aspects that we reviewed, it is worth reflecting more carefully on the task of the PC to affirm the fundamental character for democratic life, and in a context characterized by misinformation, of public institutions responsible for offering services in the areas of health, education, social security, etc., that meet the social rights provided for in the constitution. The next section focuses on this matter.

PUBLIC COMMUNICATION, DEMOCRATIC IDENTITIES, AND DISINFORMATION

The normativity of the PC includes the premise that Public Communication should contribute to the creation and strengthening of democratic identities. It is true that the task of defining these identities is not simple. Different areas of knowledge in the Humanities, Social Sciences and Applied Social Sciences are the basis for different analyses.



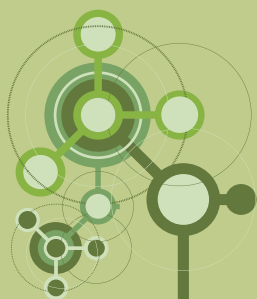
Several studies focus on anti-democratic or fascist identities, with the classic study by Adorno (2019) being a fundamental reference. Fascist individuals find it difficult to recognize the demands of others, or even to suppose that there may be any legitimacy in them. They exhibit the need to separate “our” wills, which are fair for they are formed in the bosom of the family and morals, from the wills of others, which come from outside and do not have the slightest capacity to understand the reasons for our moral superiority. “From a psychological point of view, individuals of this type are characterized by their rigidity [...] in the consideration for the other, for the frustration and lack of critical distance regarding themselves, for the coldness in interpersonal relationships,” according to Haber’s interpretation (2014, p. 355, free translation). If PC cannot be expected to deconstruct fascist identities, given the complexity of the phenomenon, we can at least expect some positive contribution.

Thus, if democratic politics “consists of taming hostility and trying to neutralize the antagonism that exists in human relations,” according to Mouffe (2003, p. 15, free translation), the PC should contribute to the positioning, in building the Brazil that was constitutionally configured after the redemocratization of the public institutions relevance, which are legally responsible for the fulfillment of social rights. This requires situating such institutions as decidedly subject to democratic scrutiny and open to evaluation by democratic procedures. Citizens should be encouraged to recognize themselves as rights-holders, not only as holders of the services that public institutions provide. They should also be encouraged to exercise their identities, specifically as holders of the rights to evaluate the quality of the public policies from which those services result. And, above all, they should be regularly consulted on the capacity of such policies to meet their needs or not, in addition to participating in appropriate deliberative spheres, in the formulation, control of execution, and evaluation of policies and services.

And, if “political practice in a democratic society does not consist in the defense of the rights of pre-constituted identities, but rather in the constitution of these identities themselves, in a precarious and always vulnerable terrain,” according to Mouffe (2003, p. 14, free translation), then the mission of PC would be to intervene in the dynamics of the democracy legitimation, as a political system chosen for the conflicts resolution, the creation and maintenance of public policies aimed at social justice attainment in the context of the Constitution citizenship rights. Such mission would lead to the dissemination of the perception of co-responsibility between public authorities and citizens for the elaboration, execution, and evaluation of policies.

And a way for PC to intervene in this sense would come, according to aspects brought by the national literature on the subject, from its construction with plurality, balance, adequate contextualization, precision, and reliability, according to our view. Such a constructed performance of the PC in Brazil would favor the transparency of the democratic State based on its constitutional attributions of guaranteeing social rights. In addition, it would tend to facilitate the public power perception by citizens as a means of social justice, confronting individualistic visions that are more susceptible to the emergence of disbelief in democracy and distrust of governments. Thus, to favor the creation of democratic identities, PC should be explored to gain prominence as a source of information on the fulfillment of rights, according to Haswani (2010), who suggests that Brazil fails to fulfill a constitutional mission by not informing the characteristics of the executed public policies to ensure legally provided rights. By not developing adequate policies for public communication and information, the Brazilian State would renounce the mission of contributing to building public opinion on the policies adequacy or otherwise.

This attribution, in particular, has become even more relevant in the scenario of disinformation installed after 2020, regarding the COVID-19 pandemic. This obligation is affirmed even by the institutions of the United Nations, such as the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO). In other words, before the pandemic, the Unified Health System (SUS) (taking the health area in Brazil for example), should have already consolidated its constitutional role in the dissemination of correct information about procedures, treatments, etc., overlapping the dissemination of incorrect or simply inaccurate data of questionable origin. The emergency of the new coronavirus placed the SUS as a necessary source to face the scenario of misinformation about the infection.



The example of public health is just one of several in which public communication must assume a relevant role. But it becomes emblematic in contemporary times, in which PC should concern precisely the scenario of disinformation. In the Brazilian case, PC could influence the acknowledgement of the Unified Health System as a source of information, placing the government as a guarantor of social rights, in addition to influencing the formation of cooperative identities, based precisely on such recognition. Cooperation in public health also implies that PC includes convening the necessary action to respect the people's rights not to be victims of diseases that can be combated by vaccines.

Mihelj *et al.* (2024) gather several recommendations for the practice of public communication by managers in the health area, which can be adapted to other areas of public policy. In common, the various areas must be alert to the fact that decisions on lines of action involve choices of values that should include broad consultation with the whole society. Communicators cannot neglect the fact that political leaders will have to take responsibility for these decisions. Thus, they should seek to prevent such choices from being politicized, because this can undermine trust in the adopted policies.

The communication of data production and collection processes that underpin public policies should strengthen the image of autonomy and transparency of the leading public agencies. The integrity of the scientific process of collecting, analyzing information, and formulating performance indicators must be visible.

Particularly in the field of health, but also in other areas, communicators must anticipate the possible political contestation of public policies under construction or adoption. It is necessary to foresee scenarios of contestation and lack of support from social sectors, thus generating knowledge to improve communication channels for crisis management.

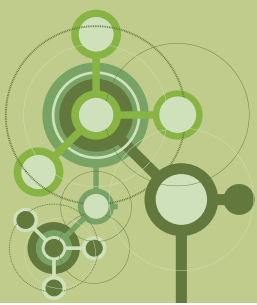
It is also necessary to develop cooperative relationships with media organizations, ensure that journalists' questions never go unanswered, and facilitate journalists' access to experts with adequate knowledge, in addition to presenting strategies to confront disinformation. Such strategies should coordinate different actors; which should remain alert and reactive for when disinformation comes from official channels; avoid to inadvertently amplify misinformation when responding to it explicitly; pay particular attention to communities most vulnerable to disinformation; and interact with communities of different political, ideological, and religious affiliations.

The aspects of normativity that we have recovered so far are supported by a brief review of the specialized literature. Now, it is necessary to review the legal support for PC in Brazil and indicate possible improvements.

LEGAL SUPPORT AND IMPROVEMENTS

As recognized by the specialized literature (Haswani, 2010), the Brazilian Constitution is brief in its normative considerations on Public Communication, tending to concern its relationship with the State's obligation to provide information on public management. This is the keynote of item XXXIII of Article 5, according to which "all people are entitled to receive information concerning their private, collective or general interest from government bodies, which shall be provided within the period established by law, under penalty of liability, except for those information whose secrecy is essential to the security of society and of the State" (Brasil, 1988).

The five articles of the Constitution, in Chapter V, dedicated to Communication, refer to the regulation of general circulation media, in order to affirm the legal order based on "full freedom of press in any medium of social communication" and with the veto of "any kind of censorship of a political, ideological, and artistic nature" (Brasil, 1988). There is no specific legal provision for CP in this chapter.



A relevant constitutional determination on the PC is in Article 37, item XXII, Paragraph 1, which explicitly prohibits its use for the promotion of rulers: "The publicity of acts, programs, public works, services and campaigns of government bodies shall be educational, informative or social orientation character, and shall not contain names, symbols or images that characterize personal propaganda of government authorities or employees" (Brasil, 1988).

The provision of information under the terms of Article 5 was the subject of the Access to Information Law (Federal Law No.12.527/2011), regulated by Decree No.7.724/2012, which, in Chapter III, enunciates what can be considered a kind of minimum regulation of PC, at least regarding the active transparency aspect. Article 7 determines that "it is the duty of bodies and entities to promote, regardless of request, their websites disclosure with information of collective or general interest produced or held by them." Such disclosure includes information on "programs, projects, actions, works, and activities, with an indication of the responsible unit, main goals, and results; in addition to, when existing, result and impact indicators" and "answers to society's most frequently asked questions" (Brasil, 2012, free translation).

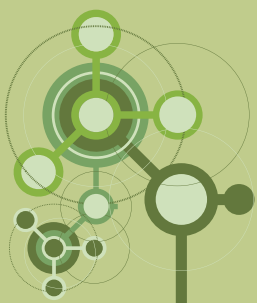
Official manuals and guides were prepared by the Brazilian Office of the Comptroller General (CGU), which is the body responsible for ensuring compliance with and inspection of Law No.12.527, with emphasis on the Active Transparency Guide (*Guia de Transparência Ativa*; CGU, 2019). Progressively, after 2012, states and municipalities elaborated legal provisions incorporating the determinations of federal law, in a process marked by facilitating factors and obstacles (Batista, 2017).

As explored in the literature (Rothberg, 2019; 2014), studies by multilateral organizations and references in political science support an assessment that the items to be disclosed are insufficient, as determined by Decree 7.724/2012. According to this reasoning, the normativity of the PC legally anchored in Brazil, at least in the aspect of active transparency, is not necessarily characterized by presenting a complete description of what and how to disclose, nor does it determine possible sanctions for managers who do not satisfactorily comply with the legal minimum (except in the case of violations of Article 37 of the Constitution, which eventually lead to convictions for managers to return the public funds they spent on personal promotion).

Darbishire (2010) indicates 14 classes of information to be considered as ideal standards of proactive disclosure: 1. Institutional information; 2. Organizational information; 3. Operational information; 4. Decisions and acts; 5. Information on public services; 6. Budget information; 7. Information about open meetings; 8. Decision-making and public participation; 9. Information on subsidy; 10. Information on public procurement; 11. Lists, registries, databases; 12. Information on information held; 13. Information on access to official publications; 14. Information about the existence of the right to information.

The General Assembly of the Organization of American States (OAS, 2012, p. 16) outlines 17 classes of information of permanent relevance, for instance "reporting and monitoring mechanisms relevant to public authority, including its strategic plans, governance codes, and key performance indicators, including any audit reports." Monitoring should include constant evaluation of the correctness and comprehensiveness of the content itself to be made available by the means of active transparency. Each government sector (secretariat, ministry, department, etc.) must produce and submit, periodically, to a body specially designated for the task, an annual roadmap with the forecast of what should be disclosed, in addition to evaluation reports on the execution of that roadmap. Legal sanctions must be provided for managers who do not comply with the script.

On the other hand, the political science literature on policy evaluation also supports other types of information, such as: social, economic, political, and environmental conditions that lead to the policy; the reasoning underlying a policy; general terms of commitments, figures, statistics, projections, and timetables; financial and human resources mobilized; measures of efficiency (internal optimization), effectiveness (objective results) and effectiveness (effective modification of previous conditions);



results of citizen satisfaction surveys; and evaluation of the results in terms of social justice and equity in the benefits distribution (Costa; Castanhar, 2003).

Given the volume of information to be disclosed by the government, considering active transparency as a central public communication component, communication offices need to be qualified (Rothberg; Vanzini, 2013). Also because the intelligibility requirement is characteristic of communicative knowledge: it is not enough for data to be available; it is also necessary for them to be involved in intelligible approaches.

In this way, PC should be able to offer a counterpoint to disinformation, by contributing as non-formal education in the construction of democratic identities and dissemination of appropriate information to the exercise of the right to information, communication, and participation.

Finally, it should be noted that the improvement of public institutions in PC supported by the mechanisms of active transparency endorsed by law must be appreciated in the context of the numerous evidence that positively associate government transparency and economic development. The literature suggests that means facilitating the accountability of governments work as an incentive to deepen democratic governance and the development of social capital, and these, in turn, tend to favor the economy performance (Gundelach, 2015; Bevir, 2009).

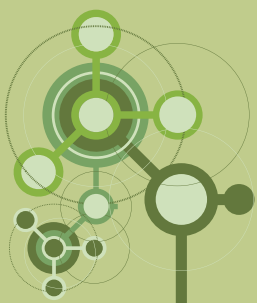
The relation is due to the fact that transparent governments tend to encourage the emergence and maintenance of cooperative relations between the various social, economic, and political sectors, and cooperation would tend to optimize the effect of public investments.

Thus, the existence of qualified PC is not only due to the democratic requirement to ensure the right to information, communication, and participation, but also corresponds to empirical evidence placing it as a vector of government efficiency and economic development.

Objectively, it is worth reflecting on the possibilities for improvement. The curricular guidelines of the journalism and public relations courses (Resolutions No. 1 and 2, of September 27, 2013, of the National Council of Education) do not present specific approaches to the teaching of PC, although they generically mention their commitment to the formation of citizenship. There should be room for the areas to rediscuss their contribution to professional training.

Additionally, some organizations host PC professionally and scientifically, such as the Brazilian Association of Public Communication (ABCPública), the National Association of Graduate Programs in Communication (Compós), the Brazilian Association of Researchers in Communication and Politics (Compólitica) and the Brazilian Association of Business Communication (Aberje). These institutions bring opportunities for the development of research and professional practices.

The usual literature of public communication already cited, in particular Duarte (2009), indicates that the resistance arising from the clientelism, which is historically ingrained in the Brazilian public service, hinders the development of practices in line with the aforementioned Article 37 of the Federal Constitution. Although there is a lack of research on the subject, it would not be unreasonable to suggest the existence of numerous pessimistic reports from government communication advisors, who are held hostage by the Administration's desires for personal propaganda and increased electoral chances. This scenario increases the responsibility of educational managers as well as professional and scientific associations for investing in means of improving PC.



CONCLUSIONS

This article aimed to characterize what can be considered as quality attributes of public communication (PC), particularly in the Brazilian context and in the growing scenario of disinformation. In addition to indicate possible ways to improve PC in the face of the demands of maintaining the vitality of democratic institutions in the country.

In order to meet this objective, this research presented a content divided into three sections. The first section recovered aspects of the conceptualization and normativity of PC in Brazil. The PC should facilitate the construction of public spheres with diversity, equality, and respect, in which the various perspectives at stake are represented with reliability and contextualization. This communication is prevented from making political propaganda; instead, it should sustain the dialogue between the government and society and subsidize political participation in deliberative instances, in addition to meeting the right to information on public policies, in a comprehensive and in-depth manner.

The second section proposed public communication as a way of building democratic identities and combating disinformation. PC must contribute to projecting the centrality of the public institutions responsible for the affirmation of social rights. Citizens should be encouraged to assume the right to participate in quality assessments of public policies and to be periodically consulted. The PC must support the legitimization of democracy as a peaceful way of resolving conflicts and its development with plurality and balance, in addition to the necessary contextualization.

The third section reviewed the legal support of Public Communication in Brazil and indicated appropriate improvements. The normativity of PC in the country can be considered insufficient, considering the standards indicated by international organizations and pertinent literature. PC can be improved with appropriate professional practices.

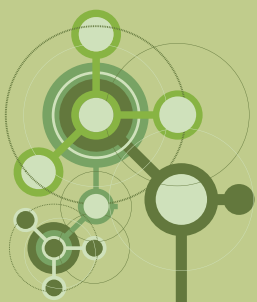
If the challenges to improving PC in the country are enormous, its relevance for maintaining democratic vitality makes it urgent to move forward quickly, particularly in the contemporary scenario of internet disinformation. The literature we reviewed suggests the centrality of Public Communication to provide information capable of addressing the vulnerabilities exploited by scenarios of planned or unplanned disorientation. Among other existing paths, such as media education and social media regulation, PC can be a priority path, precisely because citizens with knowledge in media and regulated networks are not enough if there is no adequate information and knowledge for the formation of citizenship widely available online.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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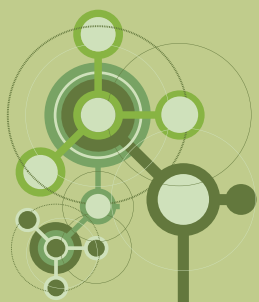
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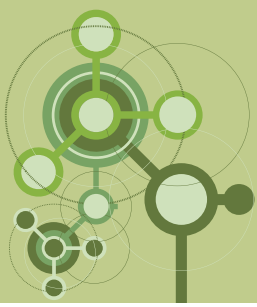
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