

Pegah Jamalof

Ph.D. Candidate

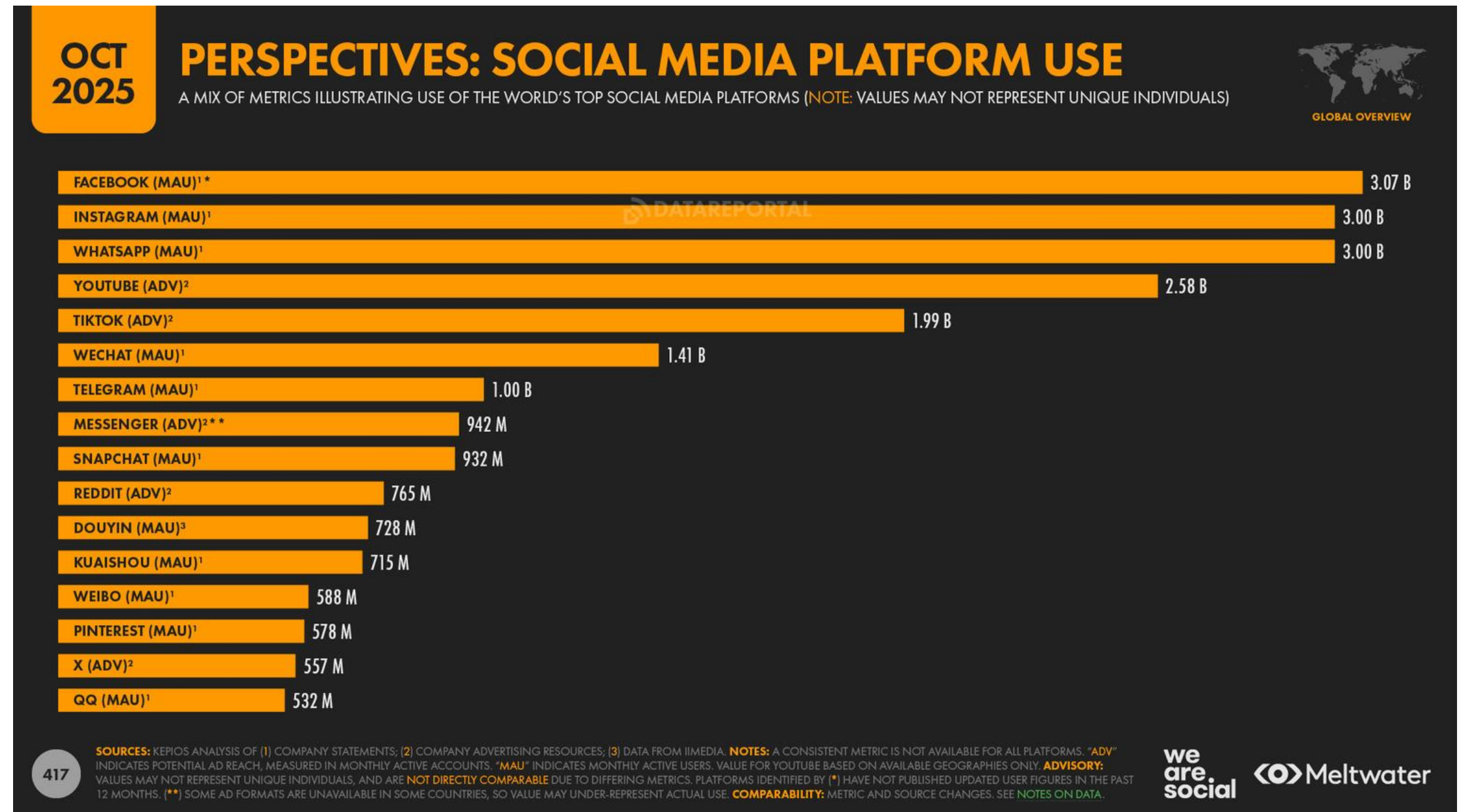
Balsillie School of International Affairs

**FROM REGIONAL REGULATION
TO GLOBAL FRAMEWORKS:
HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOCIAL
MEDIA GOVERNANCE**

PREPARED FOR DIGITAL REGULATION IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST
SYMPOSIUM

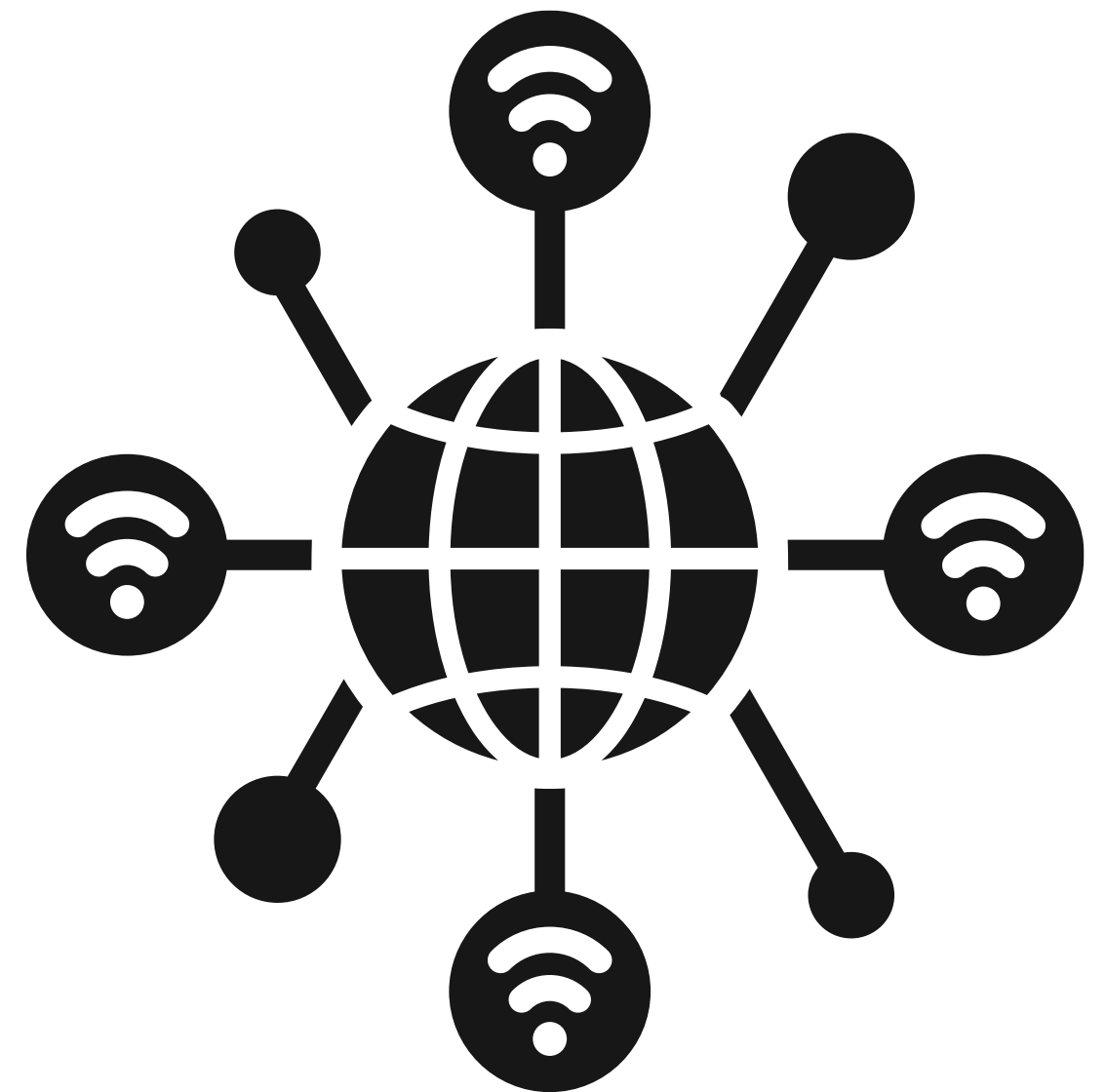
Meta at a Global Scale

- Key governance concerns
 - Misinformation & disinformation
 - Democratic disruption
 - Polarization
 - Freedom of Expression Concerns
 - Privacy & surveillance risks



Platform Governance as a Regime Complex

- **Multiple partially overlapping institutions**
- **Governance actors such as:**
 - Private platform governance
 - Domestic & Regional regulation
 - International norms / human rights law
 - Multistakeholder initiatives / technical standards bodies
- **Key debates:**
 - Multilateralism vs multistakeholderism
 - Voluntary ethics / self-regulation vs binding law
 - Human rights frameworks vs corporate ethics
 - Democratic legitimacy



The European Union: First Major Regulatory Model



Brussels Effect

**First Mover
Advantage**

**GDPR (2018)
DSA (2022)**

Limits to the Brussels Effect



- **Uneven influence**
- **Geopolitical divergence**
- **Case Examples:**
 - **Brazil**
 - **U.S.**
 - **China**

The UN Global Digital Compact

- **Multistakeholder approach**
- **Normative framework**
- **Limited enforcement capacity**



What now?

To what extent does the UN Global Digital Compact reinforce, adapt, or diverge from existing regional regulatory models like the EU's digital governance framework?

References

Abbott, K. W., & Snidal, D. (2000). Hard and soft law in international governance. *International Organization*, 54(3), 421–456.

<https://doi.org/10.1162/002081800551280>

Blancato, F. (2019). *Regulate to dominate: The geopolitics of standard-setting in digital technologies and its strategic implications for the EU*. United Nations University.

Bueno, T., & Canaan, R. G. (2024) "The Brussels Effect in Brazil: Analysing the impact of the EU Digital Services Act on the discussion surrounding the fake news bill", *Telecommunications Policy*, 102, 757.

Burns, O. (2021). Social Media and Data Privacy. In *The GDPR Challenge* (pp. 67-85). CRC Press.

Carr, Madeline (2018) "Global Internet governance" in Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds) *International organization and global governance* (Routledge), pp. 744-754

Cervi, G. V. (2022) "Why and how does the EU rule global digital policy: An empirical analysis of EU regulatory influence in data protection laws", *Digital Society*, 1(2).

Cinelli, M., Morales, G.D.F., Galeazzi, A., & Starnini, M. (2021). The echo chamber effects on social media. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (PNAS)*. 118 (9).

Datareportal (2025). *Global social media Statistics*. Retrieved from: <https://datareportal.com/social-media-users>

Haggart, B., & Keller, C. (2021) "*Democratic Legitimacy in Global Platform Governance*", *Telecommunications Policy*, 45(9), 102152.

Haggart, B. (2020). Global platform governance and the internet-governance impossibility theorem. *Journal of Digital Media & Policy*, 11(3), 321.

https://doi.org/10.1386/jdmp_00028_1

Jones, Kate (2023) "AI governance and human rights: Resetting the relationship", *Research Paper*, Chatham House.

Kitchens, Brent; Johnson, Steven L.; and Gray, Peter. 2020. "Understanding Echo Chambers and Filter Bubbles: The Impact of Social Media on Diversification and Partisan Shifts in News Consumption," *MIS Quarterly*, (44: 4) pp.1619-1649.

Krahmann, E. (2017). Legitimizing private actors in global governance: From performance to performativity. *Politics and Governance*, 5(1), 60–70.

<https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v5i1.773>

Lucia, B., Vetter, M. A., & Adubofour, I. K. (2025). Behold the metaverse: Facebook's Meta imaginary and the circulation of elite discourse. *New Media & Society*, 27(2), 790-807.

Nye, Joseph S. (2014) *The Regime Complex for Managing Global Cyber Activities*, Global Commission on Internet Governance: Paper Series No. 1, Waterloo, ON, Centre for International Governance Innovation.

Pew Research Center. (2022, September 20). *Social media and News Fact Sheet*. Retrieved from: <https://www.pewresearch.org/journalism/fact-sheet/social-media-and-news-fact-sheet/>

Ramasastri, A. (2015) "Corporate Social Responsibility Versus Business and Human Rights: Bridging the Gap Between Responsibility and Accountability", *Journal of Human Rights*, 14(2), 237–259.

Rasche, A., & Waddock, S. (2021). The UN guiding principles on business and human rights: Implications for corporate social responsibility research. *Business and Human Rights Journal*, 6(2), 227–240. <https://doi.org/10.1017/bhj.2021.2>

Srivastava, S. (2023) "*Algorithmic Governance and the International Politics of Big Tech*", *Perspectives on Politics*, 21(3), 989–1000.

Taal, Amie (Ed.) *The GDPR Challenge: Privacy, Technology, and Compliance in an Age of Accelerating Change* (CRC Press Taylor & Francis, 2021).

Tufekci, Z. (2019). A response to Johanne Kübler's A review of zeynep tufekci – twitter and tear gas: The power and fragility of networked protest (2017, New Haven: Yale university press). *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 32(3), 365-369. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10767-019-9317-2>

United Nations. (2024). *United Nations Global Digital Compact*. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/techenvoy/global-digital-compact>

van de Kerkhof, J. (2025). Article 22 Digital Services Act: Building trust with trusted flaggers. *Internet Policy Review*, 14(1). <https://doi.org/10.14763/2025.1.1828>