



Annual
Report
2024

2009-2024

15 years

University of Law

Center for Studies on Freedom of Expression



> Staff



Agustina Del Campo
Director.



Ramiro Álvarez Ugarte
Deputy Director.



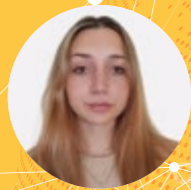
Josefina Del Campo
Head of Operations.



Matías González Mama
Legislative Observatory
Coordinator / Researcher.



Nicolás Zara
Project Coordinator,
Researcher.



Solana Babicola
Administrative
Assistant.



**Francisca Chocano
Villanueva**
Research assistant



Juan Martín Marinangeli
Communications and Research
Assistant



**Lina Paola
Velásquez Veloz**
Researcher.

» Researchers for the Legislative Observatory:



Andrés Calderón



**Juan Carlos
Arjona Estévez**



**Luisa Fernanda
Isaza Ibarra**



Iná Jost

» Consultants and collaborators

Eduardo Bertoni, Director of the Center for Human Rights and Humanitarian Law at the American University Washington College of Law

Joan Barata, Senior Legal Researcher for The Future of Free Speech en Vanderbilt University

Claudio Ruiz, Director of Tecnología Crítica

Agneris Sampieri, Policy Analyst at Access Now

Maricarmen Sequera Buzarquis, Director of TEDIC

Carolina Botero, Advisor to the Directorate of Fundación Karisma

Robert Gorwa, Postdoctoral researcher at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center

Michael Karanicolas, Executive Director, UCLA Institute for Technology, Law and Policy

Paddy Leerssen, Postdoctoral researcher at the University of Amsterdam and member of the DSA Observatory

Paulina Gutiérrez, - former Digital Rights Programme Officer at the ARTICLE 19 Office in Mexico and Central America

Daphne Keller, Director of the Cyber Platform Regulation Program Stanford University Policy Center

Paula Roko, Human Rights Consultant at the Office of the Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression

Governance Council



Carolina Botero



Santiago A. Cantón



Daniela Salazar

> Foreword

In 2024, we celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the Centro de Estudios en Libertad de Expresión y Acceso a la Información [Center for Studies on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information] (CELE). Since its founding in 2009 at the School of Law of the Universidad de Palermo, this Research Center has grown into an international authority defending fundamental rights, adapting with vision and leadership to the constant changes of a dynamic world.

CELE organizes its work around three essential pillars: freedom of expression, which is the basis for open and pluralistic debate in healthy democracies; access to information, which is essential for ensuring transparency and citizen participation; and internet regulation, which seeks to balance technological innovation with the protection of fundamental rights.

The global context has undergone significant transformations over the past decade. The pandemic, technological advances, and geopolitical conflicts have reshaped our societies. In recent years, the emergence of artificial intelligence has accelerated this change. Technologies such as generative language models and advanced image processing tools are revolutionizing multiple aspects of daily life but also pose ethical, social, and legal challenges that impact fundamental rights such as privacy and freedom of expression.

CELE is tasked with the challenge of anticipating and addressing these new issues while continuing to lead critical debates, engage in international forums, examine the impact of emerging technologies, and reaffirm its commitment to freedom of expression and access to information as steadfast pillars of democracy.

Beyond its academic achievements, CELE's impact extends to the social and practical sphere. Its ability

to coordinate efforts among academics, legislators, journalists, and civil society organizations has transformed research into concrete proposals that benefit local and international communities. This collaborative approach positions it as a key player in shaping public policies on essential issues for democratic strengthening.

CELE has also established itself as a unique platform for training new generations. This commitment to education ensures the continuity of its mission and the development of a network of leaders who will share and expand these values.

I want to express my deepest gratitude to the Director of CELE, Agustina Del Campo, LL.M., whose leadership has been instrumental in the growth and consolidation of the Center, and to the team that supports her for their dedication and creativity. I also wish to acknowledge the support of institutions, professors, and researchers who have believed in this mission and have contributed to its expansion. This annual report stands as a testament to a collective effort that crosses borders and generations, demonstrating that CELE's influence extends far beyond the academic sphere.

For the University of Palermo, hosting CELE is a privilege and a source of pride. This Center not only reflects the fundamental values of our academic community but also plays a crucial role in building more just, equitable, and democratic societies, which are essential to addressing the challenges of the present and the future.

I invite you to delve into this report, which outlines the achievements of the past year and also charts the path forward into the future.

Ing. Ricardo Popovsky
President, Universidad de Palermo

“CELE has been an extremely important point of reference in Latin America on issues of freedom of expression. Participating in CELE's workshop is always a significant moment of the year; it provides a space for reflection and dialogue among different organizations in the region.”

Carolina Botero



CELE

Agustina Del Campo
Director of CELE

CELE celebrated its 15th anniversary in 2024, growing and solidifying its position as a hub of thought and leadership on freedom of expression, access to information, and democracy at the national, regional, and global levels. This year, we expanded our agenda, networks of contacts and collaborators, funding sources, research, and management capacity, while solidifying our role as facilitators and advocates for discussions on the most pressing regional and global issues in law and technology. This annual report reflects the work, progress, and dedication of our team over the past year. The activities summarized here contribute to fulfilling our mission, which—for 15 years—remains the same: to develop applied research aimed at strengthening public debate and defending and promoting freedom of expression across borders to bolster democracies.

It is a time of significant swings for internet governance and international human rights law. Approaches to technological development oscillate between “technosolutionism,” the fascinating yet misleading notion that technology will solve even the most deep-seated social problems, and social panic over the new challenges these technologies bring. Internet governance, which previously emphasized multistakeholderism and global cooperation, is increasingly shifting toward multilateralism (state-centered) and localism. At CELE, we have monitored these trends and developments, identifying new research areas that can contribute meaningfully to emerging debates and their frameworks. We have also initiated new activities and forums aimed at sharing and disseminating information and knowledge, raising awareness, and facilitating the inclusion of diverse voices in ongoing discussions. The goal is to foster the reflection necessary to develop effective strategies, positions, and policies to promote freedom of expression in the online public debate. These are challenging times for advocating freedom of expression. The speed, scale, permanence of content, and the immense diversification of possibilities in terms of content (artificial intelligence, deepfakes, etc.), create optimism on

the one hand and considerable anxiety, particularly among historically vulnerable communities. The global agenda often leans more toward discussions of development, justice, and social equity rather than framing issues in terms of rights. The rapid pace of technological development leaves behind vast gaps that demand attention and create new legal challenges, requiring creativity, continuity, adaptation, and resilience. At CELE, we believe that human rights are essential to modern democracies. While their frameworks and guidelines can be complex when addressing many emerging challenges, they remain a necessary investment in the medium and long term. Furthermore, the risk of abandoning this framework as the center of technological governance threatens peace, security, and the sustainable development of societies.

In the current context, the need to promote dialogue, tolerance, and education on human rights, particularly freedom of expression and access to information, has become increasingly urgent. In this vein, in 2024, CELE advanced initiatives such as the Comparative Legislation Roundtables, which since 2021 have brought together academics and activists from around the world to discuss legislative developments and innovative proposals across different regions, allowing us to learn from their strengths and weaknesses. We also fostered discussions with legislators, civil society, academics, and journalists from various countries in the region and beyond. We participated in the United Nations Summit for the Future and numerous other international, regional, and local forums, promoting a comprehensive analysis of the implications of technology and its potential regulations on freedom of expression and public debate. This year, we celebrated the 12th edition of the Annual Internet Regulation Workshop in Latin America and hosted three international seminars—two virtual and one in-person in Buenos Aires. Additionally, we contributed to a new online edition of the Diploma in Freedom of Expression, which we have co-organized since 2022 with the University of Buenos Aires and the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights.

> About Us

The Center for Studies on Freedom of Expression (CELE) is a global research center based in Buenos Aires, Argentina, affiliated with the Universidad de Palermo. Our purpose is to develop applied research capable of informing and strengthening public policy discussions around freedom of expression to build capacity and open spaces for reflection and debate this right’s importance, content, and limit, particularly in its relationship to democracy. Technology has played a significant role in the development of these rights and the promotion of democratic values while also bringing new challenges that compel us to continuously expand and rethink our agenda.

Since our inception, we have viewed freedom of expression as a right that is particularly important for democracy and one that is in constant evolution. We work globally, regionally, and locally from a human rights perspective. On one hand, local and regional contexts are undeniably embedded within a global framework whose relevance must not be underestimated. On the other hand, local and regional diversities enrich global complexity and demand attention and analysis. At CELE, we strive to ensure that these three geographical dimensions also interact, promoting the development and inclusion of underrepresented voices in the global debate while bringing global context to regional and local discussions.

In recent years, discussions on freedom of expression and access to information, particularly on the internet, have taken on new forms. The multistakeholder governance model promoted in the 2000s for the internet, especially for the regulation of expression in this medium, is giving way to more traditional models of multilateral governance and local regulation. At CELE, we have created tools and platforms to conduct comparative law analyses, which are becoming increasingly relevant in this field.

As its name suggests, CELE focuses on two major thematic areas that intersect: **Freedom of Expression and Access to Information**. Today, the internet is the most disruptive factor in the practice, regulation, and theory of the right to freedom of expression. However, trends and the evolution of the discussion on online freedom of expression are closely tied to the theoretical conception of this right.

> Research projects and publications

Research Projects

CELE develops three main areas of research: **private regulation and its impact on expression on the internet; state regulation of freedom of expression, especially on the internet; and the evolution of the theoretical framework of the right to freedom of expression in light of technological development.**

» Private Regulation of Speech and its Impacts on Freedom of Expression

In 2020, CELE developed a line of research focused on the socialization and implementation of the United Nations Guiding Principles on Human Rights and Business. This standard's impact and acceptance in the private sphere, particularly in the internet and telecommunications sector, has driven significant innovation in the development of self-regulatory practices and regulations that use—in different ways—human rights standards.

Throughout 2024, CELE continued its research in this line of study, offering critical perspectives on the opportunities and challenges posed by the human rights framework for the private sector. In addition to a study that explores the potential use of this framework in the ICT sector of Latin America, published in the *Journal of Digital Media & Policy*, CELE developed a working paper that explores two problems that—in our view—remain unresolved in the use of human rights as criteria for analyzing corporate behavior: the disagreement surrounding these rights (especially, in recent years, regarding freedom of expression) and the lack of sufficient empirical knowledge about the effects of technologies on the communities where they are deployed. The paper offers some possible approaches to address these problems and was presented at the conference *The Promise and Perils of Human Rights for Governing Digital Platforms* at Leiden University, Netherlands, on January 18-19, 2024.

Essays and Blog Posts

- **Blog - Seminar in Leiden: Between Criticism and the Recovery of Human Rights Discourse for Internet Governance.** Ramiro Álvarez Ugarte (March 2024)
- **From Soft Law to Hard Law: Human Rights Impact Assessments in the Digital Services Act Era.** Ramiro Álvarez Ugarte, Tech Policy Press (June 2024)

» State Regulation and Legislation of Expression

Freedom of expression as a human right was primarily conceived to protect expression from restrictions and potential misuse of power by the state. To such an extent that in many countries, freedom of expression is enforceable only against the state and not the private sector. States have obligations to respect and guarantee expression and access to information, that the private sector does not share. The internet has introduced new scenarios for developing regulations and legislation on freedom of expression, reopening old discussions, and generating new ones. CELE conducts research and works to strengthen the capacity to guide state regulatory development on freedom of expression at regional, global, and comparative levels.

Global

Throughout 2024, CELE participated in the International Conference on Digital Platform Governance: Building a Global Forum of Networks organized by UNESCO in June to commemorate the International Day for Countering Hate Speech in Dubrovnik, Croatia. As part of the conference, a side event hosted the second in-person meeting of the Internet for Trust (I4T) Knowledge Network, launched in Paris in March of the same year. CELE, represented by Matías González Mama, Coordinator of the Legislative Observatory, took part in both events and follows the discussions in this space.

CELE participated in the NetMundial+10 conference, where, under the leadership of Brazil, a group of countries, civil society organizations, academics and technical sectors involved in internet governance ratified the importance of the multistakeholder principle in internet governance.

CELE followed the consultation process for the Summit of the Future, the United Nations meeting where the Global Digital Compact (GDC) was approved in September, and participated through the AISur network with comments. The multilateral document outlines a course of action for rights and technologies moving forward. Together with AISur organizations, CELE hosted a side event at the summit that highlighted Latin America's expectations for the future and raised several critiques, particularly focusing on the process that led to the GDC.

Since 2013, the Center has been a member of [Global Network Initiative](#) (GNI), where Agustina Del Campo also served as



Vice Chair of the Board until May of this year. As part of the GNI, CELE participated this year in various dialogues and processes, including a meeting of experts in Brussels titled "European Rights & Risks: DTSP & GNI Stakeholder Engagement Forum."

» Essays, Blog Posts, and Other Presentations

- **Blog - Some Notes on NetMundial+10, Ten Years Later,** Ramiro Álvarez Ugarte (May 2024)
- **Blog - CELE's participation in the International Conference on Digital Platform Governance: UNESCO's « Building a Global Forum of Networks»,** Matías González Mama (June 2024)

Regional

Since its inception, the Center has focused on contributing to the development of regional standards for freedom of expression. CELE actively engages and collaborates with the Office of the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and is a founding member of AISur, an alliance of Latin American organizations that works together to advance various regional and global processes.

» Legislative Observatory

For over six years, the Observatory has been dedicated to analyzing and compiling legislation that affects freedom of expression and the circulation of speech in the Americas, becoming an essential tool for academics, journalists, and human rights defenders. This repository was conceived with the key question of how internet regulations impact the freedom of expression guaranteed by

the American Convention on Human Rights, allowing for comparative analysis at national, regional, and global levels.

The Observatory hosts a public database with detailed information on 451 laws and 1,508 bills of law. Its analysis uses the three-part test of the Inter-American Human Rights System to assess the impact of each piece of legislation in collaboration with local experts in each country. Additionally, since last year, it has included a section on data protection and privacy, reflecting the growing interest in these areas in the region, along with the development of legislative reports on regulations worldwide.

This project is a fundamental part of CELE. It allows us to track legislative progress and challenges, identify trends and opportunities for improvement in digital regulation, as well as study the impact of these regulations on fundamental rights such as privacy and the right to freedom of assembly and association. In 2024, the Observatory continued with the monthly Bulletin of legislative and regulatory news on freedom of expression, protection of personal data, and privacy in the region, which includes news, bills, and relevant judicial decisions in the nine countries mentioned above.

Workshops with Legislative Advisors: During 2024, CELE's Legislative Observatory organized virtual national workshops with legislative advisors from the congresses of Argentina and Peru. Additionally, on November 14, the 4th Edition of the Workshop for Legislators of Latin America was held, with over 90 participants. The workshop focused on two key modules: "Risks and Human Rights in Platform Regulation: A Critical Perspective on New Regulatory Developments" and "Gender-Based Political Violence and Freedom of Expression."

> Essays, Blog Posts, and Other Presentations

- **Blog - Legislative Observatory Monthly Bulletin**, CELE (January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November, December 2024)
- **Blog - Judicial Activism or Democratic Safeguard? The New Limits of Digital Electoral Propaganda in Brazil**, Iná Jost (April 2024)
- **Blog - Cybersecurity as a Straitjacket in Mexico's Regulatory Framework**, Juan Carlos Arjona Estevez (April 2024)
- **Online Gender-Based Violence and Freedom of Expression. A Study of Six Cases in Paraguay**, Maricarmen Sequera (April 2024)
- **Case: Ulrich Richter Morales and Claudia Ramírez Tavera vs. Google Inc. and Google Mexico**, (May 2024)
- **Blog - Cyberpatrolling in Argentina: Analyzing a Problematic Resolution**, Lucía Camacho (July 2024)
- **Amicus Curiae Contribution in the tutela action filed by José Manuel Vega de la Cruz against the Government of the Department of Cesar, Constitutional Court of Colombia**, (August 2024)
- **Amicus Curiae Contribution in the case "Gisele Zuni Mousques v. Christian Chena and others on Violence against Women," Supreme Court of Justice, Paraguay** (August 2024)
- **A Latin American Perspective on Global Governance for Digital Platform Accountability**, T20 Policy Brief. Agneris Sampieri Ortega, Ramiro Álvarez Ugarte, Matías González Mama (August 2024)
- **Between Immunity Guarantees and Freedom of Expression: Judicial Independence and Limits on Judges' Speech**. Nicolás Zara y Agustina Del Campo (August 2024)
- **Blog - OSINT and Artificial Intelligence: A Regional Perspective on an Explosive Combination**, Nicolás Zara (September 2024)
- **Amicus Curiae in the tutela action filed by Ricardo Marín Rodríguez against Carmen Felisa Ramírez Boscán** (September 2024)
- **Blog -The Suspension of X in Brazil: Between Sovereignty and Censorship**, Juan Martín Marinangeli (September 2024)

Workshop "Between Governance and Regulation. Challenges for Human Rights on the Internet in Latin America - #CELE2024"

CELE held the eleventh edition of the workshop "Between Governance and Regulation. Challenges for Human Rights on the Internet in Latin America" on August 22-23, 2024, bringing together 70 experts from civil society organizations and academics specializing in digital rights in the region. The workshop has established itself as a strategic space for discussions on internet regulation and human rights in Latin America. One of the event's highlights was the participation of Pedro Vaca, Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression of the IACHR, who shared his perspectives on freedom of expression in the digital sphere in Latin America. The workshop addressed topics such as artificial intelligence, the Digital Services Act, online disinformation, and a gender analysis in this context. It also included a training session for new members of the AISur consortium, an alliance that seeks to promote digital rights in the region and globally collaboratively. CELE is a founding member of AISur and serves on its Executive Committee.

Comparative Law

In recent years, there has been a growing trend of internet regulation by national states, with laws being enacted to address various challenges posed by the internet and its intermediaries, perceived as particularly severe. For instance, this trend can be found in Germany's so-called NetzDG law in 2017 or France's Loi Avia in 2020. More recently, the decision of the Australian Parliament to ban social media access for minors reflects this trend. However, the internet remains a global technology that, in various ways, resists this exclusively national regulation. This has given rise to other regulatory dynamics, such as the "globalization" of laws and regulations, the emergence of models that migrate from one country to another, regulatory entrepreneurship led by the private sector, civil society, or the state (as seen in the case of the DSA), and the transnational influence of jurisprudential criteria, among others.



» CELE Europe

In 2023, CELE formally launched a work agenda to monitor the European Union's Digital Services Act (DSA). The DSA, implemented in stages between 2023 and 2024, is a one-of-a-kind regulation that imposes transparency obligations on digital platforms and recognizes significant rights of their users. Additionally, it mandates large platforms to implement measures for assessing and mitigating risks stemming from their operations. The DSA raises vital research questions beyond the European Union, including the need for state transparency, effective mechanisms for monitoring and enforcing obligations in this industry, desirable measures for harm mitigation, risk assessment within companies in the sector, and more. CELE is part of the DSA International Human Rights Alliance, a forum fostering dialogue between civil society and European academics and organizations worldwide. It is also a member of the DSA Civil Society Coordination Group, led by the European chapter of the Center for Democracy and Technology (CDT Europe).

As part of this project, CELE has monitored and participated in public consultations launched by the European Commission for the implementation of the DSA, in academic dialogues on the scope and definitions of the DSA, and, most importantly, on the impact of regulation on freedom of expression. In this context, we developed a project in 2024 analyzing the proposed risk regime, which traces the genealogy of this new regulatory paradigm, identifies prior trends that contributed to its emergence, and offers a critical perspective on the potential negative consequences its adoption could have on the effective enjoyment of the right to freedom of

expression. As a result of this research, CELE drafted an essay titled **"Are Risks the New Rights?: The Perils of Risk-Based Approaches to Speech Regulation,"** which was presented and discussed with European academics and civil society at the Catholic University of Leuven (KU Leuven) on December 4, 2024.

As part of this project, CELE, together with FTI Consulting and with the support of the newly formed Global Majority House consortium, organized a discussion titled **"Building Bridges - Strengthening Freedom of Expression to Enable European Tech Leadership Regulation."** The event sparked a conversation on the gap between regulations adopted and promoted by the European Union, such as the DSA and the Digital Markets Act (DMA), and the challenges to freedom of expression in the Global South, where the state often still represents the greatest risk to human rights, highlighting challenges such as mass surveillance and censorship. Both events featured representatives from Europe and various organizations from different countries in the Global South, solidifying CELE's role as a key player in facilitating South-North dialogue.

The Global Majority House Consortium is a coalition of academic and civil society organizations aimed at amplifying the presence of voices from the Global South in Europe and before international organizations based there. This initiative includes 7Amleh, The London Story, Digital Rights Foundation, What to Fix, Zašto ne (Bosnia), and CELE.

> Essays, Blog Posts, and Other Presentations

» Comparative Legislation Roundtables:

Due to the number of legislative initiatives surrounding internet regulation and the efforts of multiple civil society organizations to stay updated and respond to them, CELE launched a platform in 2021 to discuss in depth some bills, judicial decisions, and initiatives that are relevant to comparative law (particularly considering the potential import and export of laws, bills, and court decisions). We call this space the "Comparative Legislation Roundtables."

The Roundtables summon a diverse and international group of academics and civil society members. During these meetings, participants analyze laws or bills, discussing their context and background, how they fit into their respective ecosystems, the challenges they pose, as well as their potential impact on the regulation of other countries or regions. The goal of these roundtables is to share and discuss progress and setbacks in comparative legislation on freedom of expression worldwide, particularly regarding the internet, and to exchange best practices (from diverse legal systems) and lessons learned from similar regulations.

To date, there have been nine Comparative Legislation Roundtables. The roundtables are moderated by Matías González Mama, Coordinator of the Legislative Observatory. This year, we had the honor of hosting Guilherme Canela Godoi, Michael Karanicolas, Daphne Keller, Francisco Brito Cruz, Owen Bennet, Marystella Simiyu, Emily Laidlaw, Dorota Głowacka, and Gehan Gunatilleke. We also launched a new section on CELE's website, where you can find a brief description of the topics discussed in the legislative roundtables.

Essays, Blog Posts, and Other Presentations

- **Submission on the Draft Delegated Act on Transparency Reports (detailed rules and templates) under the DSA**, CELE (January 2024)
- **Blog - CELE's Comments on the European Commission's Consultation on the Implementation of Transparency Reports for Companies under the EU Digital Services Act**, Agustina Del Campo, Nicolás Zara (January 2024)
- **Blog - Summary of CELE's 2023 Legislative Roundtables**, Lina Paola Velasquez, Matías González Mama (January 2024)

- **Blog - Enthusiasm, Anticipation, and Uncertainty: CELE's Participation in the DSA and Platform Regulation Conference in the Netherlands**, Nicolás Zara (February 2024)
- **Submission in response to OFCOM'S Consultation on Illegal Content**, CELE (Febrero 2024)
- **Submission on the European Commission Consultation on the draft Digital Services Act (DSA) guidelines on the integrity of electoral processes**, CELE (March 2024)
- **Blog - CELE's Participation in the Fifth Edition of the Civil Society Roundtable Series in Brussels: Civil Society at the Forefront** Nicolás Zara (April 2024)
- **Blog - Uncertainties and Good Intentions: European Commission's Guidelines for Mitigating Systemic Risks in Electoral Processes**, Nicolás Zara (May 2024)
- **Blog - TikTok Under Threat in the United States and the European Union: What Are the Implications for Freedom of Expression?**, Juan Martín Marinangeli y Nicolás Zara (June 2024)
- **Blog - CELE's Activities in Europe and the State of the Debate on the DSA**, Nicolás Zara (July 2024)
- **Blog - News from Across the Sea #1**, Nicolás Zara (September 2024)
- **Submission in response to the Call for Evidence for the development of guidelines for the protection of minors under Article 28 (4) of the DSA**, CELE (September 2024)
- **Submission in response to OFCOM'S Consultation on transparency guidance**, CELE (October 2024)
- **Blog - Some Notes on Academic Freedom**, Ramiro Álvarez Ugarte (October 2024)
- **Blog - Summary of CELE's 2024 Legislative Roundtables**, Francesca Chocano y Matías González Mama (November 2024)
- **Blog - News from Across the Sea #2**, Nicolás Zara (November 2024)
- **Blog - Access to Data for Researchers: The Challenges of Civil Society in the Face of Digital Platforms. A Conversation with Carlos Cortés and Laura Palacio**, Juan Martín Mariangeli (November 2024)

» How Are Theories and Global Frameworks on Freedom of Expression Evolving?

Conference: "Speed, Scope, Scale: In Search of Solutions to the Internet's Challenging Legal Nature"

The conference "Speed, Scope, Scale. In Search of Solutions to the Internet's Challenging Legal Nature" was held in English on August 20, 2024, at the University of Palermo, Buenos Aires. It brought together prominent experts in digital rights, content moderation, and freedom of expression to discuss the challenges posed by the nature of information in the internet era. During the event, speakers addressed the speed, scope, and scale of online content, as well as the legal and ethical issues that these characteristics generate in increasingly complex digital environments.

The day began with an opening session focused on harms unrelated to the content. The session was moderated by Ramiro Álvarez Ugarte, with Agustina del Campo and Nicolás Zara as speakers. They discussed how factors such as volume, speed, and accessibility can lead to harmful effects in digital environments. Santiago Rodríguez Chiantore presented the responsibility of platforms regarding "shadowbanning," while Joan Barata explored the magnitude of online hate speech. Maria Mercedes Schinoni discussed the role of reliable information sources in mitigating the harms caused by misinformation on the internet. Heloisa Massaro and Eduardo Bertoni provided comments for this session.

The second session focused on case studies and began with a presentation by Rushika Dias, who assessed the limitations of content moderation in low-resource languages on Facebook, such as Sinhala and Tamil. Natalie Alkviadou addressed platform liability regarding hate speech in relation to the right to freedom of expression, while Ricardo Rosales Roa examined the treatment of online hate speech by the European Court of Human Rights. Finally, Ricardo Vásquez Dazarola analyzed the challenges of regulating disinformation in the 21st century. Commentaries were provided by Roberto Saba and Paulina Gutiérrez, who offered a critical perspective on the presentations and opened the dialogue on the implications of these practices.

“To me, CELE represents serenity and depth. It is a space where the region's most pressing issues (primarily concerning freedom of expression and internet freedom of expression) are addressed, and it gives back to the region the best academic discussions and research on these topics. Additionally, it is a meeting point and a community.”

Pedro Vaca

Essays, Blog Posts, and Other Presentations

- **Discrimination, Intolerance, and Hate as Limits to Freedom of Expression**, Revista Pensar JusBaires, Agustina Del Campo (May 2024).
- **On the Metaphor of Social Media as a Public Forum in the United States**, Matías González Mama (July 2024).
- **Alternative Solutions to Disinformation: Address the Sources Rather than the Distribution**, Yale ISP, Agustina Del Campo (August 2024).



> Events organized by CELE and activities in which it participated in 2024

Events that CELE organized and/or co-organized

5 Seminars

9 Legislative Roundtables

#CELEWorkshop

Onboarding for the AISur Consortium

15 Years of CELE

Conference: "Speed, Scope, Scale"

CELE Europe

#CELESymposium

Book Launch "Plurality: The Future of Collaborative Technology and Democracy"

» CELE Seminars

The CELE Seminar, launched in 2021, is a bimonthly event organized and facilitated by CELE, where we invite scholars from different countries to discuss their recent work and projects in development. The aim is to bring the latest literature in our field to our regional and global audience. The topics addressed this year include: **"Rethinking rights in social media governance: human rights, ideology and inequality."** Rachel Griffin (March 2024); **"El reproche público como persuasión moral."** Dr. Gustavo A. Beade (April 2024); **"Gobierno de datos e inteligencia artificial, retos y oportunidades."** Beatriz Botero Arcila (April 2024); **"Is that a fully automated decision?"** Lucas Anjos and Diego Machado (August 2024). **"The Politics of Platform Regulation: How Governments Shape Online Content Moderation."** Robert Gorwa (September 2024).



Seminario CELE

Is that a fully automated decision?

07/08 | 18 hs | Online



Diego Machado,
profesor, Universidad Federal de Viçosa.



Lucas Anjos,
investigador, Facultad de Derecho de Sciences Po.



CELE
Centro de Estudios en Libertad de Expresión y Acceso a la Información



Facultad de Derecho

» Diploma in the Right to Freedom of Expression

The Diploma in the Right to Freedom of Expression, co-organized by CELE, the Human Rights Center of the University of Buenos Aires (UBA), and the Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos (IIDH), seeks to train professionals from various disciplines in theoretical and practical tools to address current issues related to freedom of expression. This program emphasizes the relevance of this right in democratic contexts, incorporating international standards and promoting inter-American approaches to protect this fundamental right.

In 2024, the diploma program hosted over 70 participants from various countries, solidifying its role as a learning space that strengthens human rights education. Through virtual classes and a multidisciplinary perspective, it fostered a deep understanding of the responsibilities and limitations of freedom of expression, aligning with the IIDH strategic framework to strengthen inclusive democracies in the Americas.

» Disinformation and Public Officials' Speech

For several years, CELE has worked on the online disinformation phenomenon based on the premise that, while it undermines public debate, it is vital that the actions and measures taken to combat it are respectful of freedom of expression. In 2024, CELE conducted research as part of a project funded by the Wikimedia Foundation Research Fund: Disinformation, Wikimedia and Alternative Content Moderation Models: Possibilities and Challenges. The research carried out in collaboration with Adriana Amado and Gonzalo Sarasqueta has been completed and is currently being drafted for submission to a peer-reviewed journal. In addition, in 2024, CELE developed research on legal standards regarding freedom of expression of public officials, a topic that has seen significant developments in recent years within the Inter-American Human Rights System.

» Regulatory Threats

In recent years, CELE has investigated the use of threats by public officials as a governance mechanism for internet platforms. To address this, we launched our symposium on this persistent mechanism of state control. This event brought together perspectives from leading experts to analyze the relationship between states and internet companies and how regulatory threats impact our digital experience. Daphne Keller reflected on the legal challenges of protecting user rights when states pressure platforms to censor content. Robert Gorwa examined informal pressure methods that governments use to influence platforms, questioning how "observable" this phenomenon truly is. Joan Barata analyzed the threatening dynamics in internet governance, using the Digital Services Act (DSA) in Europe as a case study, highlighting how regulations become tools of state control. Michael Karanicolas analyzed how state discourse can cross the line between persuasion and harassment and its impact on democracy and human rights. Paulina Gutiérrez, in her article, examined how regulatory threats function as informal mechanisms of state influence over digital platforms, highlighting their impact on freedom of expression and the methodological challenges of analyzing these dynamics in depth. Lastly, Paddy Leerksen compared, in his article, how informal threats (jawboning) and formal regulatory pressures (lawboning) shape government-platform relations in the United States and Europe, emphasizing the challenges to freedom of expression and content moderation in both contexts.

CELE, for its part, conducted its own research on the topic with the support of David Turbay, a data specialist who helped compile and analyze databases to determine the visibility of the regulatory threat phenomenon. The final work will consist of empirical research that diagnoses the issue, highlights its prevalence in internet governance dynamics, and proposes possible approaches to address it.

> Book Launch: “Plurality: The Future of Collaborative Technology and Democracy”

In June of this year, the Center hosted the presentation of the book “Plurality: The Future of Collaborative Technology and Democracy” by Audrey Tang, former Minister of Digital Affairs of Taiwan, and Glen Weyl, a researcher at Microsoft Research and founder of RadicalxChange, in Argentina. During the event, we reflected alongside the authors on the challenges democracy faces in the context of rapid technological transformation. The book addresses such topics as decentralized governance, quadratic voting, data dignity, and digital democracy, offering new perspectives to reimagine more inclusive and collaborative democratic processes.



“ I value CELE’s workshop so much that I still keep the notes I took during editions from nine years ago. I reread those notes in preparation for this session. I enjoy seeing how the debates evolve and how certain topics emerge and re-emerge over time.”

Matías Jackson

JOIN CELE

CELE offers university students, young professionals, and researchers the opportunity to join as collaborators and research assistants.

Those interested in topics related to freedom of expression and access to information will find CELE to be a space for expanding their knowledge, debating and exchanging information and ideas, and an opportunity to contribute to research, guidelines, and recommendations in those subjects. Collaborations usually last between two and six months.

To apply, please send a CV and a cover letter (no longer than one page) to cele@palermo.edu with the subject line “convocatoria.”



This year, we celebrated the 15th anniversary of the Center for Studies on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information (CELE) by reflecting on the impact of research and policies on freedom of expression in the region. The panel brought together renowned experts to discuss current and future challenges to freedom of expression in both digital and physical spaces. The panelists included Joan Barata, Senior Research Fellow at the Future of Free Speech Project at Vanderbilt University; Carolina Botero, founder of Fundación Karisma and winner of the Electronic Frontier Foundation Award 2024; and Pedro Vaca Villarreal, Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

During the panel, the speakers reflected on changes in the information ecosystem in Latin America, the fundamental role of freedom of expression in democracy, and the new threats it faces in the digital age. The discussion addressed key topics such as online content regulation, digital rights, and the liability of technology platforms. Attendees participated in a reception at the end, fostering a space for exchange and networking to strengthen future collaborations in the defense and promotion of digital rights in the region.

> 15 YEARS of CELE

> Participation in Panels, Conferences, and Presentations by Our Faculty 2024

» Agustina Del Campo

- **Webinar: "Information Integrity in the G20: Social Media, Human Rights and Democracy"** (March 2024).
- **New Haven, United States: "Propaganda and Emerging Technologies,"** Yale Law School (April 2024)
- **Geneva, Switzerland: "GNI Board Annual Meeting"** (May 2024)
- **Istanbul, Turkey: "Digital Democracy Network,"** Carnegie Endowment (June 2024)
- **Webinar: "AI, Elections, & Speech,"** Center for Democracy & Technology (September 2024)
- **Podcast: "LatAm in Focus: What Brazil's Twitter Ban Tells Us about Internet Laws in Latin America,"** Americas Society/ Council of the Americas (September 2024)
- **Donor Workshop Speaker Briefing: "Can We Safeguard Free Expression And Media Freedom? Donor Support for Locally Led Journalism And Media Advocacy,"** Global Forum for Media Development (GFMD) (September 2024)
- **Seminar: "Libertad de expresión en internet,"** Colegio Público de la Abogacía de la Capital Federal and JusBaires (October 2024)
- **Podcast: "The Global Impact of the Brussels Effect on Human Rights and Democracy & the Importance of Context,"** Information Labs (November 2024)
- **Alianza Regional por la Libertad de Expresión, Posiciones sobre regulación de intermediarios** (November 2024)
- **Masterclass - "7ª edición DiGI 2024,"** Escuela de Posgrados de la UCU (November 2024)
- **Exchange Session: "Uso e impacto de la tecnología en los derechos digitales"** - Ford-LATAM (November 2024)

» Ramiro Álvarez Ugarte

- **Leiden, Netherlands - Seminar: "The promise and perils of human rights for governing digital platforms,"** Global Transformations and Governance Challenges Initiative (January 2024)
- **Webinar: "Global Trends in the Right to be Forgotten,"** Columbia Global Freedom of Expression and ARTICLE 19 Sénégal/ Afrique de l'ouest (March 2024)
- **São Paulo, Brazil: "NetMundial+10,"** cgi.br - Brazilian Internet Steering Committee (April 2024)
- **Chile: "Día Mundial de la Libertad de Prensa,"** UNESCO (May 2024)
- **Chile: "Inteligencia Artificial como Bien Público."** Observacom and FES (May 2024)
- **Santa Fe, Argentina: "IV Encuentro Anual." Argentine Chapter of the International Society of Public Law (ICON S).** School of Legal and Social Sciences, Universidad Nacional del Litoral (August 2024)
- **"Violencia online de autoridades públicas contra periodistas."** Foro de Periodismo Argentino and Universidad Austral (August 2024)
- **New York, United States: UN Summit of the Future,** United Nations (September 2024).
- **New York, United States: Concordia Summit 2024,** (September 2024)
- **Webinar: "Redes sociales, libertad de expresión y cumplimiento de órdenes judiciales. El caso de X en Brasil,"** Universidad de Palermo (September 2024)
- **Nashville, United States: "Global Free Speech Summit 2024,"** The Future of Free Speech Project (October 2024)
- **"Cooperación y confrontación entre partidos políticos. Acuerdos y desacuerdos en las campañas electorales."** Gobierno de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires and National Democratic Institute (October 2024)
- **"Rights in the Digital Age,"** Caribbean Judges' Forum on Human Rights, New Rights, and the Law, UNDP, Port of Spain (November 2024)
- **"Congreso de Derechos Humanos: 10 años del Centro de Derechos Humanos - Panel: Futuro,"** School of Law, University of Buenos Aires (November 2024)
- **"El Rol de la libertad de expresión y de prensa en las democracias contemporáneas."** 3rd International Meeting, UBA Conversations, School of Law, University of Buenos Aires (November 2024)
- **"XX Coloquio Nino,"** Commentator, University of San Andrés, Buenos Aires campus (December 2024)

» Matias Gonzalez Mama

- **I4T Knowledge Network Seminar,** UNESCO (February 2024)
 - **Dubrovnik, Croatia: International Conference on Digital Platform Governance: "Building a Global Forum of Networks,"** UNESCO and Agency for Electronic Media (June 2024)
 - **Dubrovnik, Croatia: Building partnerships of trust for better digital spaces in times of crisis,** I4T Knowledge Network (June 2024)
 - **Counterspeech Training, the Future of Speech** (July 2024)
 - **Global Policy Advocacy Workshop,** Columbia Global Freedom of Expression and Cyrilla Collaborative (August 2024)
 - **Florence, Italy: "Prosocial Tech Design Governance: Exploring Policy Innovations,"** European University Institute (October 2024)
 - **I4T Knowledge Network** (November 2024)
 - **Santiago, Chile: "17ª edición del Foro de Gobernanza de Internet de América Latina y el Caribe LACIGF" and Reunión AISur** (November 2024)
- ### » Francesca Chocano Villanueva
- **"'Retorno a la Base'. Diagnóstico situacional de los fundamentos para el ejercicio del periodismo y la libertad de prensa en el Perú,"** Co-organized by PNUD Peru and the British Embassy in Lima (April 2024)
 - **"Tackling online harms: Policy strategies for a safer world."** Co-organized by the Centre for Law, Technology and Society (University of Ottawa), Hiperderecho and Ius et Veritas (November 2024)

» Nicolas Zara

- **Amsterdam, Netherlands: "DSA and Platform Regulation Conference 2024"** Institute for Information Law (IvIR), University of Amsterdam (February 2024)
- **Brussels, Belgium "5th Edition: Civil Society Roundtable Series,"** Center for Democracy and Technology (EU) (April 2024)
- **Brussels, Belgium: "European Rights & Risks: Stakeholder Engagement Forum,"** Global Network Initiative and Digital Trust & Safety Partnership. Panel "Reflecting on the risks & rights landscape in Europe and around the world" (July 2024)
- **Amsterdam, Netherlands: "Summer Course on European Platform Regulation,"** Institute for Information Law - University of Amsterdam (July 2024)
- **Santa Fe, Argentina: "IV Encuentro Anual," Argentine Chapter of the International Society of Public Law (ICON S),** School of Legal and Social Sciences, Universidad Nacional del Litoral (August 2024)
- **Webinar "GNI Latin America regional call: First Edition"** - Perspective Sharing on European and Global Regulatory Efforts around Platform Governance, Global Network Initiative (August 2024)
- **Webinar "Sesión de Marcos legales de Privacidad/ Datos Personales,"** organized by Crítica (October 2024).
- **Webinar "6th Edition: Civil Society Roundtable Series,"** Center for Democracy and Technology (EU) (November 2024)





> CELE in the media

14/11/2024 | *Tech Policy.Press*

Advocates and Researchers Set Up "Global Majority House" in Brussels to Engage on Digital Services Act.

Agustina Del Campo, CELE Director, discusses digital platform regulation, highlighting Europe's pioneering role in defining key standards such as the Digital Services Act, focusing on its global impact on freedom of expression and digital rights.

30/09/2024 | *Linterna Verde*

September En la Lupa: Elon Musk, soberanía digital y regulación de plataformas.

Carlos Cortés, Executive Director of Linterna Verde, interviews Agustina Del Campo about the X platform ban in Brazil.

19/09/2024 | *American Society - Council of the Americas*

LatAm in Focus: What Brazil's Twitter Ban Tells Us about Internet Laws in Latin America | AS/COA.

Luisa Leme and Chase Harrison interview Agustina Del Campo for the podcast AS/COA "Latin America in Focus."

03/09/2024 | *Chequeado*

Nuevos límites al acceso a la información pública: qué dice el decreto de Javier Milei y por qué los especialistas lo critican.

Ramiro Álvarez Ugarte, lawyer and researcher at CELE, comments "The problem with the decree is that it regulates everything in a restrictive manner. This is the case of the issue of legitimación activa [legal standing], for example, where it imposes requirements that the law does not provide for, beyond the fact that the changes may be reasonable. It does the same with some exceptions, where it clarifies some content of the law."

22/08/2024 | *FOPEA*

Violencia en línea: construcción del civismo para combatirla

"Online violence against journalists in Latin America is tied to two structural social problems in the region, with varying degrees in each country: organized crime, on the one hand, and political polarization, on the other," said Álvarez Ugarte, researcher and Deputy Director of the Center for Studies on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information (CELE). He added: "Organized crime has a large amount of resources at its disposal, and that allows it to threaten and attack journalism that deals with drug trafficking. Polarization divides the public arena into friends and enemies. We have seen this used by left-leaning parties in the early 2000s and now we see it in far-right parties, but the strategy is the same: dividing democratic citizenship in two, something that is useful to win elections."

02/08/2024 | *Xataka*

Argentina quiere mejorar su seguridad al más puro estilo "Minority Report": utilizará IA para "predecir futuros delitos".

The Center for Studies on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information of the School of Law of the University of Palermo explained in a report published in June 2023, prior to this national initiative coming to light, that the practices of Open Source Intelligence (OSINT) "often fail to comply with the principles of legality and transparency." They also add that facial recognition technologies are currently suspended by order of the judiciary in the City of Buenos Aires.

01/08/2024 | *Wired*

El Gobierno de Javier Milei usará IA para patrullar las redes sociales y, según dice, predecir delitos.

The Center for Studies on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information at the University of Palermo recalls that, in the past, facial recognition systems have been used "to profile academics, journalists, politicians and activists." It emphasizes that such programs are judicially prohibited in Buenos Aires. "The intention to use these technologies to identify protesters is in clear conflict with human rights. The lack of transparency and accountability in the acquisition and implementation of technologies are alarming."

01/08/2024 | *Resumen de Noticias*

TEDIC y organizaciones internacionales presentan amicus curiae en defensa de la libertad de expresión en caso Chena vs. Mousques

"Attorney Gisele Mousques is once again seeking to censor RDN and Christian Chena through the Supreme Court. TEDIC, with other organizations, presented an amicus brief to defend freedom of expression and raise awareness about the abuse of Law 5777."

01/08/2024 | *The Guardian*

Argentina will use AI to 'predict future crimes' but experts worry for citizens' rights.

"The Center for Studies on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information stated that these technologies have historically been used to "profile academics, journalists, politicians and activists," which, without oversight, threatens privacy."

30/07/2024 | *El País*

Javier Milei's government will monitor social media with AI to 'predict future crimes' | International.

"CELE stated that its research on cyber-patrolling practices in Argentina and other Latin American countries indicates that "the principles of legality and transparency are often not upheld. The lack of transparency and accountability in the acquisition and implementation of technologies are alarming. In the past, these technologies have been used to profile academics, journalists, politicians, and activists." In this context, "without oversight or checks and balances, privacy and freedom of expression are at risk."

14/06/2024 | *Derechos Digitales*

¡Cuidado, te están vigilando!

! Experts from the Center for Studies on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information (CELE), in an article published during the implementation of the 2020 Protocol, questioned the distinction between "surveillance" and "intelligence" tasks when the state utilizes open sources. They highlighted the local regulations regarding intelligence tasks, framed within the provisions of the National Intelligence Law (25,520), Decree 1311/15 and its amendments, the Internal Security Law, and the National Criminal Procedure Code.

29/02/2024 | *Chequeado*

"Cierre del INADI: ¿cómo trabajan contra la discriminación, la xenofobia y el racismo otros países?"

Agustina del Campo stated, "Undoubtedly, the state has obligations in this area to follow-up, monitor, prevent, and investigate." She added: "If INADI is eliminated, the question that arises is: if this policy (having an agency with this type of powers) is not liked, then what alternative policy will be adopted to address this issue?"

About CELE

The Centro de Estudios en Libertad de Expresión [Center for Studies on Freedom of Expression] (CELE) was created in 2009 within the School of Law of the University of Palermo to carry out studies that become useful tools for sectors of civil society, journalists, government and academic institutions dedicated to the defense and promotion of these rights around the world.

The creation of CELE responds to the need to generate debate spaces devoted to reflecting on the global importance of these rights, their content, and their limits. To this end, the center aims to engage in dialogue and work collaboratively with other academic units, experts, civil society, and forums around the world.



Goals

- To encourage, together with other academic units, in-depth study of issue related to freedom of expression and access to information.
- To develop studies, guidelines, and recommendations tending to generate a concrete impact in the development and understanding of public policies in this matter.
- To generate awareness of the importance of these rights in democratic societies, especially in new generations.

CELE's work is the product of the generosity of



Luminate



Mario Bravo 1050, 7° piso. Ciudad de Buenos Aires

Tel: (54 11) 5199-4500 int. 1204/1213

www.palermo.edu/cele

E-mail: cele@palermo.edu

[@CELEUP](https://twitter.com/CELEUP) | [/CELEUP](https://www.linkedin.com/company/CELEUP)