

Making fact-checks work: Evidence-based recommendations for practitioners

Authors: Michael Hameleers (m.hameleers@uva.nl) & Marina Tulin (m.tulin@uva.nl)

Executive summary (in Dutch)

Desinformatie is een belangrijke bedreiging voor de democratie. Fact-checks kunnen in het algemeen beschouwd worden als een effectieve manier om desinformatie te ontkrachten en meer weerbaarheid onder burgers te stimuleren. Desondanks stuiten fact-checks vaak op weerstand van burgers die het meest vatbaar voor desinformatie zijn. Om de effectiviteit van fact-checks te versterken en mogelijke weerstand te overbruggen, stellen wij vijf specifieke suggesties voor. Deze suggesties zijn gefundeerd in bestaand empirisch onderzoek, en trachten tezamen bij te dragen aan het versterken van de weerbaarheid tegen desinformatie. Deze tips kunnen als volgt worden samengevat:

1. Gebruik een format, stijl en titel die weerstand kan overbruggen.
2. Gebruik een heldere argumentatie die de foutieve claims niet herhaalt maar feiten benadrukt.
3. Behoud en versterk het vertrouwen in betrouwbare informatie.
4. Geef tips en tricks die helpen bij het navigeren van de mediaomgeving.
5. Stimuleer een kritische maar niet wantrouwende houding onder burgers.

Deze tips worden nader toegelicht in dit paper. Alhoewel deze suggesties gebaseerd zijn op bestaand onderzoek, is er meer empirisch bewijs nodig voor de effectiviteit van de verschillende strategieën in de media-omgeving.

Full text (in English)

Introduction

Misinformation and disinformation, which refer to unintentionally false and deliberately misleading information respectively, have been associated with severe democratic and societal ramifications. Among other things, exposure to misinformation can create misperceptions, reinforce societal cleavages, or result in doubts and cynicism regarding



*This project has received funding from the European Union
under Agreement number: INEA/CEF/ICT/A2020/2381738*

the status of facts. Exposure to false information can also reduce audiences' trust in real information. To deal with these potential threats, fact-checking has been introduced as a viable and effective response to the dissemination of mis- and disinformation. Although experiments and meta-analyses have shown that such forms of corrective information can be effective in combating falsehoods (e.g., Walter et al. 2020; Hameleers and Van Der Meer 2020), we currently lack an externally valid overview of how fact-checks should be embedded in the information ecology, and which modes and forms may be most effective under different conditions. For this reason, this white paper reviews the state-of-the-art and recent experimental research collected in real-life settings to offer recommendations on how to make fact-checking more effective. It provides concrete suggestions on the mode of presentation, argument structure, and tailored responses to different forms of mis- and disinformation. Ultimately, this white paper aims to equip practitioners involved in fact-checking, such as journalists and fact-checkers, with evidence-based recommendations for correcting mis- and disinformation.

The need for an integrated perspective on fact-checking

Although corrective information may be effective at times (Walter et al., 2020), we currently lack a forward-looking and integrated perspective on how fact-checking can be used effectively to combat the consequences of false information. Most evidence to date has been based on lab experiments, where perceptions of fact-checking and fact-checking intentions among news users have received little attention. In addition, the effectiveness of fact-checking has mostly been regarded as a short-term impact on lowering misperceptions, or lowering the credibility of false statements. Crucially, extant literature has found that fact-checks may be avoided by citizens that need them the most, as fact-checks are least likely to be selected by those citizens who are most vulnerable to misinformation (Hameleers and van der Meer 2020). Arguably, beyond lowering misperceptions, corrective information should also enhance critical thinking, media literacy and trust in reliable information to be successful in the longer term. Against this backdrop, this paper will (1) review recent literature on news users' perceptions of fact-checking and motivations to engage in verification behaviors, (2) outline the results of studies mapping the effects of corrective information with regard to a variety of outcomes, and (3) offer evidence-based recommendations on how these findings may inform fact-checking practice. As a core aim, this paper aims to offer a toolkit for fact-checkers and journalists to overcome potential resistance to fact-checking, and increase the likelihood that corrections reach vulnerable segments of the population that need them the most.

News users' perceptions of and motivations to consult fact-checks

Who reads fact-checks and what motivates them? This question matters, because fact-checks can only be effective if news users choose to read them. Moreover, fact-checks are arguably most effective if news users are open to having their existing views challenged. Research on the characteristics of fact-check readers finds that individual-level political orientation is an important predictor of positive engagement with fact-checking sites (Robertson, Mourão, and Thorson 2020). Left-leaning individuals compared to more right-leaning individuals are more aware of and positive towards fact-checking. Individuals who are more politically left also find fact-checking sites to be more useful and indicate that they use them more frequently. Unsurprisingly, those who are more politically interested also report higher familiarity and more positive attitudes towards fact-checking sites. These findings point to possible concerns that fact-checks might be “preaching to the choir” if they only reach those who are already interested in and open to corrections. This is in line with a broader concern that news users are selective in our current high-choice media environment, such that they engage in ideological news consumption (Van Aelst et al. 2017). It seems that fact-checking sites, like other media, are susceptible to being consumed along ideological patterns.

Not only are fact-checking sites avoided by certain segments of the population, but existing attitudes towards the fact-checked topic also matter for the effectiveness and accessibility of a fact-check. Several studies show that fact-checks are more likely to be avoided when the fact-checked claim aligns with the news users' ideological beliefs (Edgerly et al. 2020; Hameleers and van der Meer 2020). Because fact-checks might cast doubt on the reader's existing views, readers sometimes choose to strategically avoid them. Moreover, fact-checks are found to be more effective if their verdict confirms what respondents already believe to be true (Hameleers and van der Meer 2020).

Against this background, several studies have sought to investigate how resistance to fact-checking can be overcome. The use of humor in fact-check articles has been explored as one route to lowering resistance. When comparing regular fact-checks and fact-checks containing satire, the latter were found to be overall more successful in lowering false beliefs (Boukes and Hameleers 2022). Interestingly, regular fact-checks in this study were only successful among those whose attitudes were already incongruent with the false information, while satirical fact-checks were successful at lowering resistance to belief correction among those whose attitudes were initially congruent with the ideological stance of the false information. At the same time, this study also found evidence for an unintended backfire effect. Fact-checks using satire made individuals perceive outgroup



members (i.e., individuals who vote for a different party than they do) more negatively, thus contributing to polarization.

Another example of using humor in fact-checking comes from a study that employed cartoon characters, so-called *Tooties* (see *Image 1*), as messengers of fact-checks (Opgenhaffen 2022). What is special about this study is that it tested so-called direct content interventions on social media platforms. Concretely, this means that the fact-checks were posted in direct response to false claims by users on Twitter and Facebook. These direct content interventions were shown to be effective in correcting false beliefs. Fact-checks provided by the cartoon characters were also perceived positively in terms of accuracy and credibility, and they did not seem to increase polarization and trigger debates or anger. Overall, the cartoon characters were perceived more positively than fact-checks by a public broadcaster. However, the cartoon characters were not superior to fact-checks by a regular fact-checking organization. Given the current state of mixed evidence on the use of humor in fact-checks, it is too early to recommend or discourage this strategy. That said, the above studies do point to a number of important issues for fact-checkers, namely the challenge of overcoming resistance to corrective information, the importance of considering news users' motivations to seek out fact-checks, and the possibility of unintended consequences of fact-checking.



Image 1: Tooties as messengers of fact-checks in direct content interventions as used in Opgenhaffen (2022)

Promises and unintended consequences of fact-checking

While the majority of fact-checking studies focus on the potential of fact-checking to correct false beliefs, this is by no means the only outcome of fact-checking. As some of the above studies already alluded to, there are both a number of other benefits, but also concerns about unintended consequences of fact-checking.

Among the unintended consequences are concerns around post-factual relativism (e.g., Van Aelst et al., 2017). In recent years, the lines between factual information and opinions are perceived to be blurring. Increasingly, “truth” does not seem to be a matter of evidence and facts, but something that is up for debate. Even though fact-checks seek to unveil the truth, by doing so, they also alert readers that not all information can be trusted. In one recent study, individuals who received content warnings with simple instructions on how to spot false information (like “If shocking claims in the headline sound unbelievable, they probably are”) were found to be more skeptical not only of false information but also accurate information (Guess et al. 2020). Like content warnings, fact-checks can unintentionally play into post-factual relativism and instill skepticism towards information, even when it is coming from trustworthy sources. Moreover, in the post-truth era, the accusation that someone is uncredible or deliberately spreading false information has become weaponized, for example, to discredit traditionally trusted knowledge institutions, like universities and professional journalism. Analyses of online posts show that negative perceptions of fact-checking services are often questioning the integrity of fact-checking services, accusing them of a left-wing bias or lack of expertise (Brandtzaeg and Følstad 2017). This is echoed by another study on social media posts showing evidence that readers express hostility towards fact-checkers in an attempt to discredit them (Shin and Thorson 2017).

While fact-checkers need to take care not to further consolidate skepticism and cynicism, fact-checks also have the potential to promote important media literacy skills and rebuild public trust. As such, fact-checking may transgress short-term belief correction and contribute to more resilience against false information. One way to rebuild trust in credible information is via transparency (Humprecht 2020). Fact-checks pave a roadmap in this regard as they tend to be meticulous in critically verifying sources, documenting the process of gathering sources and reporting accurately. In addition to pointing readers towards more reliable sources and informing about verification processes for specific claims, fact-checks can also successfully be combined with media literacy messages. One recent study tested the effects of reading a factcheck in conjunction with a brief media literacy intervention informing readers to check sources, and focus on facts as well as the logic of the argumentation (Hameleers 2022). Results showed that such a combination was more effective than either of the interventions separately when it comes to lowering issue agreement with misperceptions propagated in a misinformation article. Despite challenges and unintended consequences, the benefits of fact-checking might go beyond belief correction and have effects on other critical behaviors that help people to navigate information in their newsfeed.

Recommendations

Based on the review of the literature and empirical evidence on the effectiveness of fact-checking, we suggest the following key recommendations to fact-checking professionals:

1. Present fact-checking in a format and header that overcomes avoidance and resistance

The most important recommendation is to increase the likelihood that fact-checks are selected by citizens who are vulnerable to misinformation. Based on the reviewed literature and evidence, it can be concluded that citizens are most likely to avoid fact-checks when they attack their existing (misinformed) beliefs (see Hameleers & van der Meer, 2020). Many individuals have already made up their minds about many issues and they have reached their conclusions not only based on facts, but also personal experience, emotions and heuristics (Krause et al. 2020). Moreover, fact-checking institutions may be regarded as part of the untrustworthy elites by citizens who are most likely to fall prey to misinformation. Hence, fact-checkers may be deemed as ‘fake news’ sources, and all content disseminated by them may be systematically avoided or counter-argued by citizens distrusting the establishment (Primig 2022).

To overcome resistance, we first of all suggest fact-checks to present corrections on similar sources or platforms used by news users that may expose themselves to misinformation (e.g., ordinary people, sources with a personalized identity matching regular news users). As an example, instead of presenting fact-checks on independent platforms of established media or fact-check websites, fact-checks may be embedded on the social media platforms or online communities used by citizens who are vulnerable to misinformation. This can take the shape of short links and warning flags in which citizens are forwarded to the more comprehensive correction. Thus, it may be effective to present fact-checks on platforms that are prone to misinformation, which increases the likelihood that people encountering misinformation also encounter corrections.



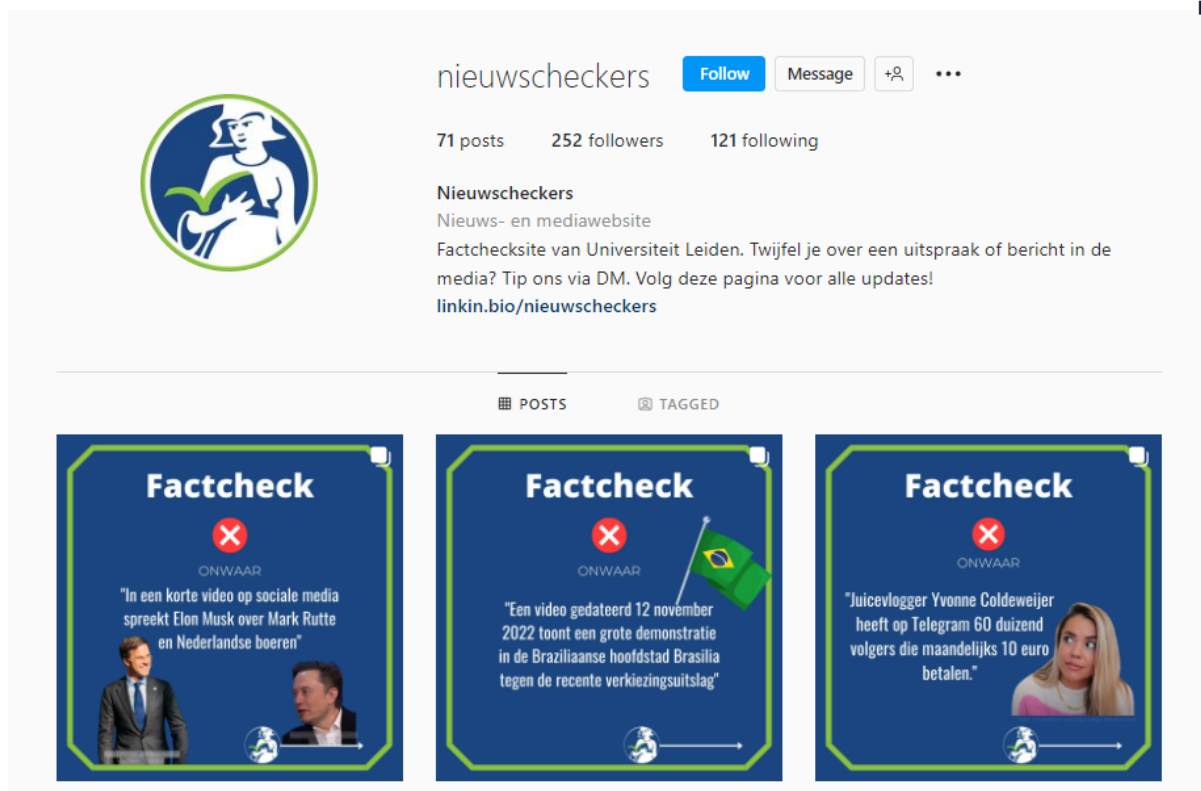


Image 2: Screenshot of Nieuwscheckers' Instagram page (source: <https://www.instagram.com/nieuwscheckers/?hl=en>)

In practice, several fact-checking professionals already apply this technique, like the Dutch fact-checkers *Nieuwscheckers* who share their fact-checks on Instagram (see *Image 2*). As such, fact-checks are placed on the same platform where false information is likely to occur. The fact-checks are bite-sized versions of the more comprehensive fact-checks published on the Nieuwscheckers website (nieuwscheckers.nl).

Another practice example comes from the Belgian fact-checking organization *deCheckers*, which engages in direct content interventions on Twitter (see *Image 3*). This means that they directly respond to users who share false claims. Typically, they alert the user that the information they shared is inaccurate and they share a link to an article that has already fact-checked the false claim. *Image 3* shows a screenshot of a Twitter user sharing a video of a conglomeration of people claiming that it shows protests related to the recent election results, which the mainstream media fail to report on. In their response, *deCheckers* state that this video was taken before the elections and link to a fact-check article that has verified that the video was taken at the celebrations of the Brazilian Independence Day weeks before the elections.



Image 3: Screenshot of deCheckers engaging in a direct content intervention on Twitter (source: <https://mobile.twitter.com/markdehollander/status/1592948318736642049>)

 This project has received funding from the European Union under Agreement number: INEA/CEF/ICT/A2020/2381738

In this first recommendation on overcoming resistance, we also consider the importance of formulating headers and titles. Mentioning a preferred political source that is responsible for falsehoods can trigger resistance among people supporting this political source, whereas a more neutral formulation of the corrected falsehood may sidestep such resistance (i.e., “crime rates are not increasing, but decreasing” instead of “politician X was wrong about crime rates”).

In the argument structure of fact-checks, it may also be important to speak to the perceptions and feelings of people vulnerable to misinformation. That is, the fact-check should not be presented as an attack on people’s beliefs (“you are wrong”) but instead acknowledge existing uncertainty and unclarity before guiding people towards the factually accurate information. As an example, related to the COVID-19 pandemic, it may be important to acknowledge that people can be exposed to conflicting information, and that the information ecology can result in fear, uncertainty and a lack of control. This way, a larger group of citizens may feel heard and acknowledged by corrective information, instead of experiencing an attack on their identities.

2. Use a clear argument structure that avoids repetition of false information.

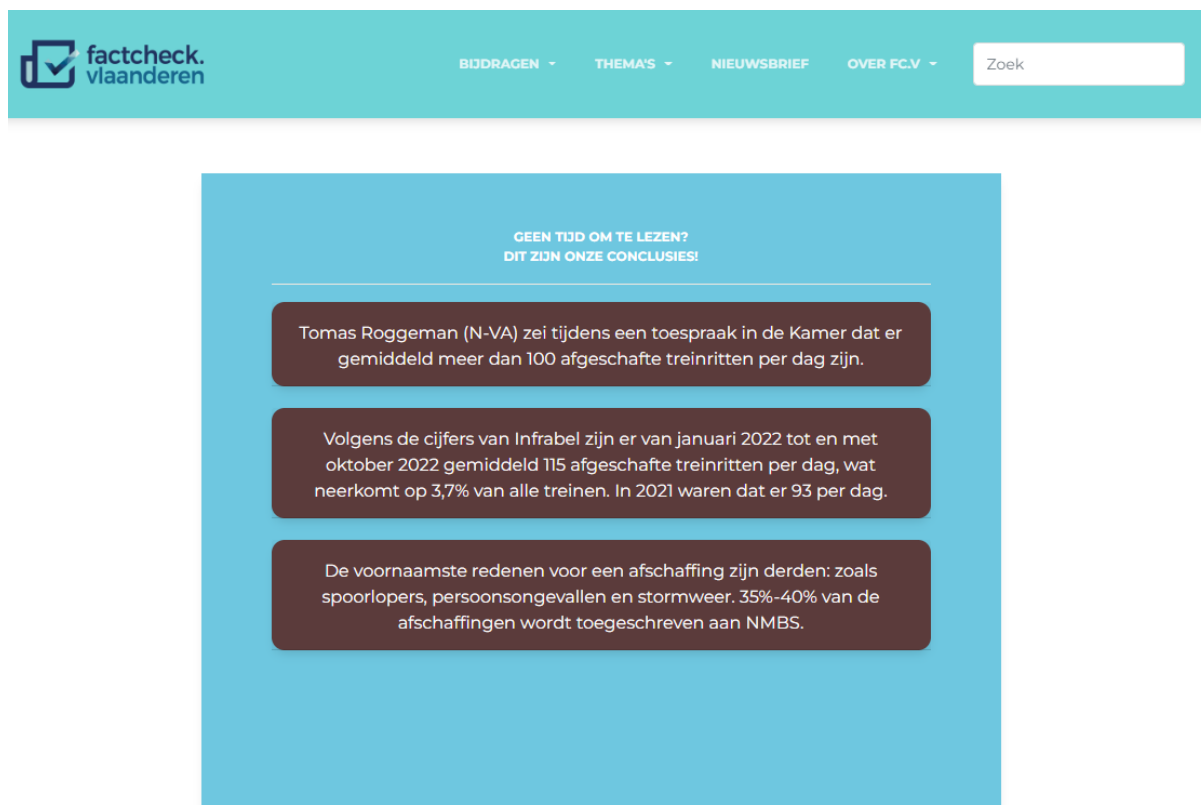
The repetition of false information has been found to enhance its effectiveness, as it may create an illusion of truth (Pennycook, Cannon, and Rand 2018). Therefore, it is important to not emphasize the false claim that was corrected, and rather point people directly to the truth and the actual correction. Concretely, it may be helpful to frame the title of a fact-check in terms of the actual reality. Asking questions about the veracity of false statements may unintentionally prime misinformation, and strengthen rather than lower misperceptions among people who are not motivated to read the full fact-check.

Next to this, fact-checks should present the argumentation in an accessible and clear style (see, for example, Graves 2017). Ideally, the verdict of the fact-check and reasons for fact-checking (i.e. why the claim was marked as suspicious and in need of checking) should become clear in the first sentences of the correction. Several studies suggest that transparency with regard to fact-checkers’ journalistic practices is an important pathway towards gaining readers’ trust (e.g., Humprrecht 2020). Communicating the verdict early in the fact-check is important because citizens typically spend little time and attention to corrective information, which may be experienced as a time-consuming task (Kartal, Guvenen, and Kutlu 2020). To this end, it may be useful to offer a bullet-point or graphical depiction of the rating (Amazeen et al. 2018) and the reasons for verifying the statement before offering more details on how the claims were investigated since additional



explanation rather than refutations alone were shown to be more effective (Ecker et al. 2020). Additional information can be presented as a ‘read more’ option, for example.

A best-practice example can be found on the website of the Belgian fact-checkers *Factcheck.Vlaanderen*, who provide a summary of the take-aways of their fact-check articles in 2-3 points before presenting the full text (see *Image 4*). The summary is introduced with the words: “No time to read? Here are our conclusions!”



Tijdens een toespraak in de Kamer op 27 oktober 2022 sprak Tomas Roggeman (kamerlid voor N-VA) over het aantal afgeschafte treinen in België: er zijn "gemiddeld meer dan 100 afgeschafte ritten per dag". Dat valt vooral te wijten aan een gebrek aan personeel en geld, aldus Roggeman in een vraag gericht aan minister van mobiliteit Georges Gilkinet.

GEMIDDELD 115 AFGESCHAFTE TREINEN PER DAG VAN JANUARI TOT OKTOBER 2022

Image 4: Screenshot of the website of Factcheck.Vlaanderen (source: <https://factcheck.vlaanderen/factcheck/gemiddeld-115-afgeschafte-treinen-per-dag-van-januari-tot-oktober-2022>)

Using a very short and accessible format may also help to embed the verdict on social media posts promoting the fact-check. This way, people do not have to click on the full report of the fact-check in order to be informed on the refutation. This enhances the likelihood that the correction is consumed by a larger share of the population. In line with this, Young and colleagues (2018) show that video-based fact-checking is a viable way of

 This project has received funding from the European Union under Agreement number: INEA/CEF/ICT/A2020/2381738

resolving confusion and increasing attention to fact-checking. A practice example comes from the Dutch investigative journalism platform *Pointer*, which publishes short TikTok videos on uncertain or unresolved issues, focusing on topics that are particularly relevant to young audiences (see *Image 5*).



Specialistische GGZ-klinieken sluiten de deuren. Wat betekent dat voor mensen die ernstig psychisch in de knel zitten? #ggz #nieuws #ggzstrijders #pointer #kroncrv #ggzkliniek #mentalhealth

🎵 Stories 2 - Danilo Stankovic



Volgen

Image 5: Screenshot of a TikTok video by the investigative journalism platform Pointer

3. Consolidate and enhance trust in reliable information.

The problem of false information is typically concentrated around specific topics, media and users, and therefore the first two recommendations focused on how to reach those who are most vulnerable to false information. Fact-checkers' efforts on issues, communities, users and topics that are characterized by higher levels of mis- and disinformation. Hence, some issues (i.e., COVID-19, armed conflicts) are more susceptible to mis- and disinformation, which also means that corrective information could be most efficient when vulnerable locations of falsehoods are identified. More research that contextualizes the threats of mis- and disinformation is needed to identify such vulnerable locations in detail.

That said, interventions may not only focus on the flagging and correction of false information, but should also guide people towards trustworthy information. As misinformation is expected to be a marginal phenomenon in the average news diet of most people (<1%), it may be more fruitful at times to enhance the acceptance of reliable information than to fight misinformation (Acerbi, Altay, and Mercier 2022).

This task could potentially be part of the argument structure used by fact-checks. More specifically, next to refuting false claims with evidence, fact-checks may focus on factually accurate information about the topic that is corrected, and inform people on how to rate the reliability of factually accurate sources of information. Research shows that while audiences value transparency and other markers of credibility in journalism, they do not always pay attention to such features when consuming news items (Koliska 2022). As such, readers might benefit from being nudged towards credibility features. To achieve this, fact-checks can include an argument why factually accurate information is more reliable and trustworthy than the corrected false claims, and convince receivers on the evidence that exists for the factually accurate sources of information that are referenced.

Fact-checks can also inform users about the importance of verified sources of factual information, contextual details on the uncertainty of claims, or the relevance of expert knowledge. In addition, it may be helpful to suggest that news users should consult additional information when in doubt. This approach is useful as research indicates that warning too much about disinformation without consolidating trust in 'real' news may harm overall media trust (e.g., Hameleers 2022).

Next to this, it may be important to bring forward arguments why certain information sources and evidence can be considered reliable, even though it may be uncertain or unintentionally false at times. Rather than dismissing (rational and reasonable) doubt among news consumers, it may be effective to acknowledge it. This can be achieved by

addressing how evidence and expert information is created, and that a degree of uncertainty is inevitable in the production of knowledge. Unwarranted fake news accusations and ungrounded beliefs that false information are disseminated intentionally may diminish as news users gain more knowledge about the process of evidence gathering and news production.

4. Help news users to navigate their information environment

Another strongly related recommendation is to offer alternative sources of reliable information to news users when refuting untrustworthy information and sources. News users find it difficult to distinguish between factually accurate and deceptive information (Guess et al. 2020), and are in need of clear guidance on how to recognize reliable information (and not just mis- or disinformation). For this reason, fact-checkers may play an important role in suggesting sources of information that news users can consult to be informed in a reliable and trustworthy manner. They can also provide guidance on how news users may themselves judge the reliability and truthfulness of information. While fact-checkers do not have the capacity to correct the majority of all misinformation statements, they can invest in directing news users to sources of information that do report accurately on the topic in question.

Concretely, fact-checkers may offer a short list of links at the end of the verdict and present this as 'suggested further readings on this issue'. This way, news users are not forced to consume certain sources of information, but are rather offered a suggestion on where more information on the disputed issue can be found. Here, it is important to suggest sources that are widely accessible, easy to comprehend, and diverse with regard to ideological leanings. As a concrete suggestion, fact-checks may offer reading tips on more information on the issue in accessible news media sources, popular science blogs or other journalistic products. Although these sources may be difficult to locate for some citizens, guidance offered in reading tips can help people to navigate trustworthy sources in an overburdened media ecology.

5. Stimulate critical media literacy skills (news users as fact-checkers)

The correction of misinformation takes substantially more time than the dissemination of misinformation. In addition, misinformation is found to be substantially more popular than its correction (Vosoughi, Roy, and Aral 2018) - which indicates that it is extremely hard to cancel out the effects of false information. It is practically impossible for fact-checkers to keep up with the flow of false information, and even if they do, they may not reach the same audience size as the misinformation they aim to correct. For this reason, it is



important to look at the effects of fact-checks beyond the correction of misinformed beliefs. More specifically, to maximize the impact of fact-checks, their effects should spill-over to the verification of unrelated narratives by stimulating critical media literacy skills among readers. Therefore, we recommend fact-checkers to include specific recommendations on how news users themselves can verify information, and discern misinformation from reliable information.

As a concrete suggestion, fact-checks may present or embed short media literacy messages tailored to the issue or topic they are verifying. This could, for example, be presented as a short ‘manual’ on how news users should check information themselves (see, for example the checktips of *Nieuwscheckers* [here](#)). As another example, fact-checks could include a short paragraph with bullet-point tips and tricks on how information can be verified, and which steps the fact-checkers themselves have taken to check the truthfulness and reliability of information. This short summary can also link to a more comprehensive manual or list of suggestions. Of course ordinary citizens will not be able to perform the same level of rigorous fact-checking as journalists or fact-checking professionals. However, exposure to different fact-checks on different issues and fact-checking techniques may create more awareness among news users on how to judge the reliability of information, which might ultimately result in more resilience to false information. Fact-checkers, such as *Nieuwscheckers*, already offer a justification and explanation of how they verified statements. Translating this into easy to apply suggestions for news users may be an effective manner to stimulate critical media literacy skills.

Conclusion

This white paper aimed to reflect on current challenges faced by fact-checking professionals and provide recommendations based on recent scientific studies. In a media environment that is characterized by high choice and polarization, news users are able to avoid information that might cast doubts on their existing views. Fact-checkers occupy a unique position in such an environment because their work has the power to counteract incorrect beliefs, point individuals towards more reliable sources, and stimulate critical media literacy skills. The five recommendations provided in this paper aim to support fact-checking professionals in achieving these important aims, while being mindful of potential unintended consequences.



References

- Amazeen, Michelle A., Emily Thorson, Ashley Muddiman, and Lucas Graves. "Correcting political and consumer misperceptions: The effectiveness and effects of rating scale versus contextual correction formats." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 95, no. 1 (2018): 28-48. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699019864680>
- Graves, Lucas. "Anatomy of a fact check: Objective practice and the contested epistemology of fact checking." *Communication, culture & critique* 10.3 (2017): 518-537." *Information, Communication & Society*, 25(1), 110-126.
- Kartal, Yavuz Selim, Busra Guvenen, and Mucahid Kutlu. "Too many claims to fact-check: Prioritizing political claims based on check-worthiness." arXiv preprint arXiv:2004.08166 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0000465>
- Primig, F. (2022). The Influence of Media Trust and Normative Role Expectations on the Credibility of Fact Checkers. *Journalism Practice*, 1-21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2019.1668894>
- Acerbi, Alberto, Sacha Altay, and Hugo Mercier. 2022. "Research Note: Fighting Misinformation or Fighting for Information?" *Harvard Kennedy School Misinformation Review*, January. <https://doi.org/10.37016/mr-2020-87>.
- Amazeen, Michelle A., Emily Thorson, Ashley Muddiman, and Lucas Graves. 2018. "Correcting Political and Consumer Misperceptions: The Effectiveness and Effects of Rating Scale Versus Contextual Correction Formats." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 95 (1): 28–48. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699016678186>.
- Boukes, Mark, and Michael Hameleers. 2022. "Fighting Lies with Facts or Humor: Comparing the Effectiveness of Satirical and Regular Fact-Checks." *Communication Monographs*, 24.
- Brandtzaeg, Petter Bae, and Asbjørn Følstad. 2017. "Trust and Distrust in Online Fact-Checking Services." *Communications of the ACM* 60 (9): 65–71. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3122803>.
- Ecker, Ullrich K. H., Ziggy O'Reilly, Jesse S. Reid, and Ee Pin Chang. 2020. "The Effectiveness of Short-Format Refutational Fact-Checks." *British Journal of Psychology* 111: 36–54.
- Eggerly, Stephanie, Rachel R. Mourão, Esther Thorson, and Samuel M. Tham. 2020. "When Do Audiences Verify? How Perceptions About Message and Source Influence Audience Verification of News Headlines." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 97 (1): 52–71. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699019864680>.
- Graves, Lucas. 2017. "Anatomy of a Fact Check: Objective Practice and the Contested Epistemology of Fact Checking: Anatomy of a Fact Check." *Communication, Culture & Critique* 10 (3): 518–37. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cccr.12163>.
- Guess, Andrew M., Michael Lerner, Benjamin Lyons, Jacob M. Montgomery, Brendan Nyhan, Jason Reifler, and Neelanjan Sircar. 2020. "A Digital Media Literacy Intervention Increases Discernment between Mainstream and False News in the United States and India." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 117 (27): 15536–45. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1920498117>.



- Hameleers, Michael. 2022. "Separating Truth from Lies: Comparing the Effects of News Media Literacy Interventions and Fact-Check," 18.
- Hameleers, Michael, and Toni G.L.A. van der Meer. 2020. "Misinformation and Polarization in a High-Choice Media Environment: How Effective Are Political Fact-Checkers?" *Communication Research*, 24.
- Humprecht, Edda. 2020. "How Do They Debunk 'Fake News'? A Cross-National Comparison of Transparency in Fact Checks." *Digital Journalism* 8 (3): 310–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2019.1691031>.
- Kartal, Yavuz Selim, Busra Guvenen, and Mucahid Kutlu. 2020. "Too Many Claims to Fact-Check: Prioritizing Political Claims Based on Check-Worthiness." *ArXiv:2004.08166 [Cs]*, April. <http://arxiv.org/abs/2004.08166>.
- Koliska, Michael. 2022. "Trust and Journalistic Transparency Online." *Journalism Studies* 23 (12): 1488–1509. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2022.2102532>.
- Krause, Nicole M., Isabelle Freiling, Becca Beets, and Dominique Brossard. 2020. "Fact-Checking as Risk Communication: The Multi-Layered Risk of Misinformation in Times of COVID-19." *Journal of Risk Research* 23 (7–8): 1052–59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13669877.2020.1756385>.
- Opgenhaffen, Michael. 2022. "Fact-Checking Interventions on Social Media Using Cartoon Figures: Lessons Learned from 'the Tooties.'" *Digital Journalism* 10 (5): 888–911. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2021.2011758>.
- Pennycook, Gordon, Tyrone D. Cannon, and David G. Rand. 2018. "Prior Exposure Increases Perceived Accuracy of Fake News." *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 147 (12): 1865–80. <https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0000465>.
- Primig, Florian. 2022. "The Influence of Media Trust and Normative Role Expectations on the Credibility of Fact Checkers." *Journalism Practice*, May, 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2022.2080102>.
- Robertson, Craig T., Rachel R. Mourão, and Esther Thorson. 2020. "Who Uses Fact-Checking Sites? The Impact of Demographics, Political Antecedents, and Media Use on Fact-Checking Site Awareness, Attitudes, and Behavior." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 25 (2): 217–37. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161219898055>.
- Van Aelst, Peter, Jesper Strömbäck, Toril Aalberg, Frank Esser, Claes de Vreese, Jörg Matthes, David Hopmann, et al. 2017. "Political Communication in a High-Choice Media Environment: A Challenge for Democracy?" *Annals of the International Communication Association* 41 (1): 3–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2017.1288551>.
- Vosoughi, Soroush, Deb Roy, and Sinan Aral. 2018. "The Spread of True and False News Online." *Science* 359 (6380): 1146–51. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aap9559>.
- Walter, Nathan, Jonathan Cohen, R. Lance Holbert, and Yasmin Morag. 2020. "Fact-Checking: A Meta-Analysis of What Works and for Whom." *Political Communication* 37 (3): 350–75. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2019.1668894>.
- Young, Dannagal G., Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Shannon Poulsen, and Abigail Goldring. 2018. "Fact-Checking Effectiveness as a Function of Format and Tone: Evaluating FactCheck.Org and FlackCheck.Org." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 95 (1): 49–75. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699017710453>.
- Young, Dannagal G., et al. "Fact-checking effectiveness as a function of format and tone:

Evaluating FactCheck. org and FlackCheck. org." Journalism & Mass
Communication Quarterly 95.1 (2018): 49-75.

