MODULE 5
Fact-checking 101

by Alexios Mantzarlis

Synopsis

From politicians to marketers, from advocacy groups to brands — everyone who seeks to convince others has an incentive to distort, exaggerate or obfuscate the facts. This module seeks to equip participants with a methodology to detect fact-checkable claims and evaluate evidence critically, in line with ethical norms and standards.

Outline

History and semantics of fact-checking as a form of accountability journalism

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, U.S. Senator for the state of New York and Ambassador to India and the United Nations (1927-2003) famously said: "Everyone is entitled to his own opinion, but not to his own facts."[144]

The term "fact-checking" can mean two different things in journalism. Traditionally, fact-checkers were employed by newsrooms to proofread and verify factual claims made by reporters in their articles. This genre of fact-checking evaluates the solidity of the reporting, double-checks facts and figures, and serves as an overall round of quality control for a news outlet's content before publication. The dawn of this practice in modern journalism — at least in the West — is attributed to major U.S. weekly magazines like *TIME* in the 1920s.[145]

The economic contraction experienced by most news organisations around the world since the turn of the 21st century[146] has meant that fact-checking departments have shrunk, been merged with copy-editing desks, or eliminated altogether. Today, it is primarily high-brow weekly magazines like *The New Yorker* in the United States or *Der Spiegel* in Germany that still employ dedicated editorial fact-checkers.[147]

The type of fact-checking which will be the focus of this module happens not before something is published but after a claim becomes of public relevance. This form of "ex

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144 Moynihan, D. & Weisman, S. (2010). *Daniel Patrick Moynihan*. New York: PublicAffairs.

145 Scriber, B. (2016). *Who decides what's true in politics? A history of the rise of political fact-checking*. [online] Poynter.
     Available at: https://www.poynter.org/news/who-decides-whats-true-politics-history-rise-political-fact-checking [accessed 28/03/2018].

146 See Module Three

147 Bloyd-Peshkin, S. & Sivek, S. (2017). *Magazines find there's little time to fact-check online*. [online] Columbia Journalism Review.
     Available at: https://www.cjr.org/b-roll/magazine-fact-checking-online.php [accessed 28/03/2018].

post" fact-checking seeks to make politicians and other public figures accountable for the truthfulness of their statements. Fact-checkers in this line of work seek primary and reputable sources that can confirm or negate claims made to the public.

"Ex post" fact-checking concentrates primarily (but not exclusively) on political ads, campaign speeches and party manifestos. Early projects dedicated to this form of political fact-checking include Factcheck.org, a project of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania, launched in 2003, and Channel 4 Fact Check, launched in 2005.

Fact-checking has grown in relevance and has spread around the world in the recent decade.

Two moments were particularly significant to the growth of this journalistic practice. A first wave was kick-started by the 2009 Pulitzer Prize for national reporting, assigned to PolitiFact, a fact-checking project launched just over a year earlier by the *St Petersburg Times* (now *Tampa Bay Times*) in Florida. PolitiFact's innovation was to rate claims on a "Truth-O-Meter," adding a layer of structure and clarity to the fact checks. (To critics, ratings introduce subjectivity to the process.) This structured approach made it very clear to audiences what political fact-checking was about — and clarified the role of the instrument as a journalistic tool meant to make public figures accountable for their words — in the process, inspiring dozens of projects around the world.[148]

The second wave of fact-checking projects emerged following the global surge in so-called 'fake news'. The term, now co-opted and misused, describes entirely fabricated sensationalist stories that reach enormous audiences by using social media algorithms to their advantage. As it became clear over the course of 2016 that the online information infrastructure was particularly permeable to disinformation and misinformation, more and more groups decided to turn their attention to fact-checking.

This second wave often concentrated as much on fact-checking public claims as debunking these viral hoaxes. Debunking is a subset of fact-checking and requires a specific set of skills that are in common with verification (especially of user-generated content known as UGC - see Venn diagram below). This module will concentrate on fact-checking as defined below, while the next module will tackle verification of digital content and sources.[149]

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148 Mantzarlis, A. (2017). *In its first decade, PolitiFact helped define political fact-checking far beyond Washington, D.C.* [online] Poynter. Available at: https://www.poynter.org/news/its-first-decade-politifact-helped-define-political-fact-checking-far-beyond-washington-dc [accessed 28/03/2018].
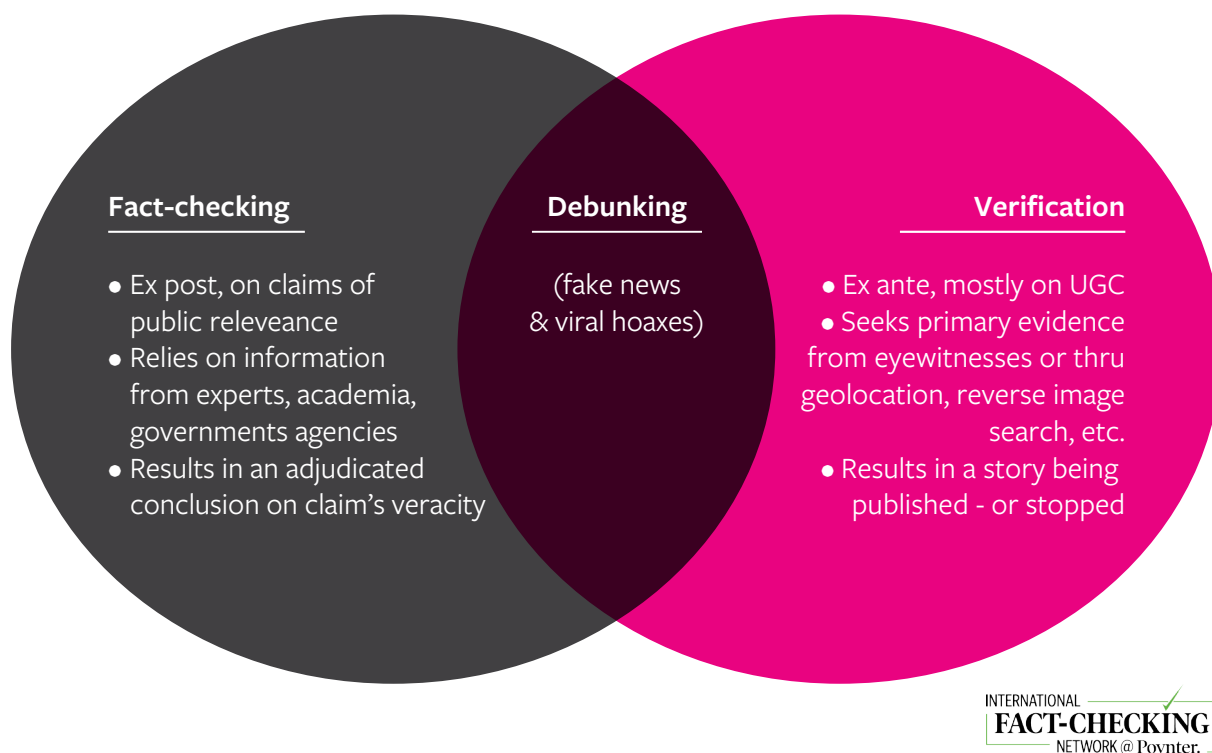
149 See Module Six

Figure 5: The difference between Fact-checking and Verification

Examples of fact-checking organisations around the world

According to the Duke Reporters' Lab, there were 137 fact-checking projects active in 51 countries in December 2017[150].

While the United States is the largest market for fact-checking, some of the most thoughtful and innovative work in this field is happening in the rest of the world. Instructors may want to familiarise themselves with projects such as Africa Check (South Africa, Senegal, Nigeria and Kenya), Chequeado (Argentina), Les Décodeurs (France), Faktisk (Norway) and Full Fact (United Kingdom).

For instructors who want to concentrate on specific countries or regions, the following resources may be helpful:

▷ **Brazil:** "Fact-checking booms in Brazil," an article by Kate Steiker-Ginzberg for Poynter, available at: https://www.poynter.org/news/fact-checking-booms-brazil

▷ **Europe:** "The Rise of Fact-Checking Sites in Europe" a report by Lucas Graves and Federica Cherubini for the Reuters Institute at the University of Oxford, available at http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/our-research/rise-fact-checking-sites-europe#overlay-context=

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150 Stencel, M. (2017). *Fact-checking booms as numbers grow by 20 percent*. [online] Duke Reporters Lab. Available at: https://reporterslab.org/big-year-fact-checking-not-new-u-s-fact-checkers/ [accessed 28/03/2018].

▷ **Japan:** "A new fact-checking coalition is launching in Japan" an article by Masato Kajimoto for Poynter, available at https://www.poynter.org/news/new-fact-checking-coalition-launching-japan

▷ **South Korea:** "What's behind South Korea's fact-checking boom? Tense politics and the decline of investigative journalism," an article by Boyoung Lim for Poynter, available at http://www.poynter.org/2017/whats-behind-south-koreas-fact-checking-boom-tense-politics-and-the-decline-of-investigative-journalism/463655/

▷ **Latin America:** "Lack of access to information is driving Latin America's fact-checking boom" an article by Ivan Echt for Poynter, available online at https://www.poynter.org/news/lack-access-information-driving-latin-americas-fact-checking-boom

▷ **United States of America:** "Deciding What's True: The Rise of Political Fact-Checking in American Journalism" a book by Lucas Graves or its review by Brad Scriber on Poynter, available online at: https://www.poynter.org/news/who-decides-whats-true-politics-history-rise-political-fact-checking

Methodology and ethics of fact-checking

Fact-checking is not rocket science. It *is* scrupulous analysis driven by one basic question: "How do we know that?" At the same time, fact-checking is not spell-checking. There is not a dictionary-style guidebook with all the facts, nor a simple software that will examine documents and flag anytime something has been misstated as fact.

Generally speaking, fact-checking is composed of three phases:

1. **Finding fact-checkable claims** by scouring through legislative records, media outlets and social media. This process includes determining which major public claims (a) can be fact-checked and (b) ought to be fact-checked.

2. **Finding the facts** by looking for the best available evidence regarding the claim at hand.

3. **Correcting the record** by evaluating the claim in light of the evidence, usually on a scale of truthfulness.

Trustworthy fact-checking organisations explain their process in public methodologies. Instructors may want to walk students through one or more of the following:

1. Africa Check's "*How We Work*" page (accessible at https://africacheck.org/about-us/how-we-work/) as well as the infographic in the Materials section

2. Chequeado's "*Metodo*" (accessible in Spanish at: http://chequeado.com/metodo/)

3. Pagella Politica's "*Metodologia*" and "*Come funzioniamo*" (accessible in Italian at https://pagellapolitica.it/progetto/index)

4. PolitiFact's *"The Principles of PolitiFact"* (accessible at http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2013/nov/01/principles-politifact-punditfact-and-truth-o-meter/)

The International Fact-Checking Network (IFCN)[151] has also developed a code of principles that guide conscientious fact-checkers in their everyday work.

Fact-checking organisations apply to become verified signatories of the IFCN code of principles. This requires an external assessment that evaluates the effective implementation of these standards. Instructors may want to familiarise themselves with the code and find assessments made on fact-checking organisations from their country[152] and discuss whether the students find that these make them more likely to trust the fact-checkers or not.

These principles have been developed to help readers discern good fact-checking from bad. For an example of misinformation masquerading as fact-checking, instructors may want to share the examples in these two articles:

▷ *These fake fact-checkers are peddling lies about genocide and censorship in Turkey* (Poynter) https://www.poynter.org/news/these-fake-fact-checkers-are-peddling-lies-about-genocide-and-censorship-turkey

▷ *In the post-truth era Sweden's far-right fake fact checker was inevitable*. (The Guardian) https://www.theguardian.com/media/2017/jan/19/in-the-post-truth-era-swedens-far-right-fake-fact-checker-was-inevitable

What gets in the way of facts

Before diving into the practical aspects of fact-checking, students need to be aware of its limitations — and their own.

Some commentators have declared that we have entered a "post-truth" or "post-fact" era. These terms featured in headlines all over the world in 2016 and were selected as

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151 The author, Alexios Mantzarlis, leads the International Fact Checking Network

152 Available at https://www.poynter.org/international-fact-checking-network-fact-checkers-code-principles. [accessed: 28/03/2018].

the "Word of the Year" by, respectively, the Oxford English Dictionary and the Society for the German Language. The argument made by the "post-truthers" is that politics and the media have become so polarised and tribal that citizens flat-out reject any facts that they disagree with.

That does not quite square with a growing body of research that has found that when corrected especially through reference to authorities deemed credible by the audience, people become (on average) better informed. Instructors may want to read and discuss the following studies with their students:

> Swire, B., Berinsky, A. J., Lewandowsky, S. & Ecker, U. K. H. (2017). *Processing political misinformation: comprehending the Trump phenomenon* (1 March 2017). Available at http://rsos.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/4/3/160802 [accessed 28/03/2018].

> Nyhan, B. & Zeitzoff, T. (2018). *Fighting the Past: Perceptions of Control, Historical Misperceptions, and Corrective Information in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. Available at: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/pops.12449/abstract. [accessed 28/03/2018].

> Wood, T. & Porter, E. (2016). *The Elusive Backfire Effect: Mass Attitudes' Steadfast Factual Adherence* (August 5, 2016). Available at: https://ssrn.com/abstract=2819073. [accessed 28/03/2018].

At the same time, it would be absurdly simplistic to suggest that facts are perfect characterisations of the world and that humans are entirely rational beings who incorporate new facts flawlessly regardless of previous belief and personal preferences. Each of us comes with cognitive and other biases — essentially mental obstacles — that can get in the way of absorbing new factual information. It is crucial to stress that this is not something that happens to other people, it happens to all of us.

Instructors should discuss some of these biases in the classroom.

Confirmation bias [*From the Encyclopaedia Britannica* — https://www.britannica.com/topic/confirmation-bias [accessed 28/03/2018]: the tendency to process information by looking for, or interpreting, information that is consistent with one's existing beliefs. This biased approach to decision making is largely unintentional and often results in ignoring inconsistent information. Existing beliefs can include one's expectations in a given situation and predictions about a particular outcome. People are especially likely to process information to support their own beliefs when the issue is highly important or self-relevant.

Motivated reasoning [*From Discover Magazine* — http://blogs.discovermagazine.com/intersection/2011/05/05/what-is-motivated-reasoning-how-does-it-work-dan-kahan-answers/#.WfHrl4ZrzBI [accessed 28/03/2018]. Motivated cognition refers to the unconscious tendency of individuals to fit their processing of information to conclusions that suit some end or goal. Consider a classic example. In the 1950s, psychologists asked experimental subjects, students from two Ivy League colleges, to watch a film that featured a set of controversial officiating calls made during a football game between teams from their respective schools. The students from each school were more likely to see the referees' calls as correct when it favoured their school than when it favoured their rival. The researchers concluded that the emotional stake the students had in affirming their loyalty to their respective institutions shaped what they saw on the tape.

Availability heuristic [*From Oxford University Press A Dictionary of Psychology* — http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199534067.001.0001/acref-9780199534067-e-830 [accessed 28/03/2018]. A cognitive heuristic through which the frequency or probability of an event is judged by the number of instances of it that can readily be brought to mind. This can lead people to view an incorrect claim as true purely because they can recall it easily. In an experiment conducted by Lisa Fazio at Vanderbilt University, people who were asked to repeat the claim "a sari is a kilt" six times were found to believe this blatant falsehood more than those who repeated it only once. Journalism can turn itself into a vector for falsehoods to become believed by covering them uncritically. Media coverage of conspiracies around Barack Obama's place of birth, for instance, may have played a role in spreading a belief that the former U.S. President was not actually born in Hawaii.

Fact-checking itself, it should be noted, is an imperfect instrument. Something can be 100% accurate, and yet still leave out important context.[153] Facts are invariably constructed, ordered and reordered meaningfully within broader narrative structures which can provide different significance to the same basic facts. The truth, moreover, is more than a collection of facts. Fact-checking is not a tool to be deployed to shut down alternative interpretations as much as underwriting a series of facts that can impact on narrative and individual predispositions, so as to ground rational debate.

Module aims

▷ To improve familiarity with emerging good practice in fact-checking globally

▷ To raise awareness of the cognitive biases that can get in the way of factual understanding.

▷ To improve critical analysis skills

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153   See example Yanofsky, D.(2013). *The chart Tim Cook doesn't want you to see*. Available at https://qz.com/122921/the-chart-tim-cook-doesnt-want-you-to-see/. [accessed 28/03/2018].

Learning outcomes

1. An understanding of the emergence of fact-checking as a distinct form of journalism as well as the ethics and methodology of the practice

2. An understanding of the questions to ask when assessing the quality of evidence

3. Improved capacity to distinguish fact-checkable claims from opinions and hyperbole

4. A basic conceptualisation of the cognitive biases that can get in the way of factual understanding

Module Format

The theoretical track of this lesson looks at:

1. History and semantics

2. Methodology and ethics

3. What gets in the way of facts.

The practical track is divided into two activities

1. Finding fact-checkable claims

2. Finding the facts

The assignment is focused on correcting the record.

Linking Plan to Learning Outcomes

A. Theoretical

Module Plan	Number of hours	Learning Outcomes
1. History and semantics	20 mins	1
2. Methodologuy and ethics	20 mins	1
3. What gets in the way of facts	20 mins	4

B. Practical

Module Plan	Number of hours	Learning Outcomes
Activity 1: Finding fact-checkable claims	30 mins	3
Activity 2: Finding the facts	1 hour	2

i) Finding fact-checkable claims

Fact-checking concentrates on claims that contain at least one fact or figure whose truthfulness can be objectively verified. Fact-checking does not assess the truthfulness of opinions and predictions, hyperbole, satire and jokes.

Activity 1: Have students read the following excerpts of speeches by four public figures and highlight in one colour the factual (GREEN) statements that could be fact-checked, in another the opinions that can't be (RED) and in a third colour the parts that lie somewhere in between (ORANGE). After the students have handed in their annotated excerpts, walk through each of them and discuss what makes for a "fact-checkable" claim.
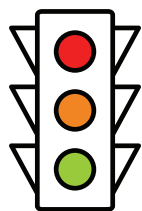
GUIDE
Red – statements can't be fact checked
Orange – statements are in between
Green – statements can be fact checked

Michelle Bachelet, former President of Chile

While we have made significant progress in that direction, we are aware that we must address another threat to marine ecosystems — plastics. Year after year, 8 million tons of plastic make their way to the ocean, remaining there for hundreds of years and making a huge negative impact. To tackle that problem, we participate in the Clean Seas campaign of the United Nations Environment Programme. Meanwhile, at the local level, we will present a draft bill to ban the use of plastic bags in coastal cities within 12 months. That law will permit citizens to contribute to the protection of the oceans. We will thus be the first country in America to implement that type of law, and we call on other countries to assume that responsibility. Additionally, it is now 30 years since the adoption of the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer, which enabled the ozone layer to recover. On this thirtieth anniversary, I would like to announce that my country has just deposited its ratification of the 2016 Kigali Amendment to the Montreal Protocol, which aims to prevent 0.5°C of global warming. Chile thereby becomes one of the first countries to ratify that new agreement. But that

is not all. With the creation of a network of parks in Patagonia, we have also added 4.5 million hectares of green areas, rich in biodiversity, which will now be protected by the State for public use.

Jacob Zuma, former President of South Africa

The current structure of the global economy continues to deepen the divide between the global north and global south. While a few enjoy the benefits of globalisation, the majority of the peoples of the world still live in abject poverty and hunger, with no hope of ever improving their living conditions. Even within the developed countries, the gap between rich and poor remains wide and is of serious concern. We need the political will and commitment from global leaders to address the challenges and obstacles posed by this untransformed structure of the global economy, if we hope to achieve the goals and ambitions of Agenda 2030. These unequal and unjust economic power relations manifest themselves sharply in Africa. For example, our continent is endowed with mineral resources, but it still has the highest number of least developed countries.

Sigmar Gabriel, former Foreign Minister of Germany

We have to provide the United Nations with the means it needs to fulfil its mandate. At present, however, the figures tell a different story:

The World Food Programme receives less than 50% of the funding needed to combat the world's hunger crises today. The World Development Programme receives a mere 15% of its contributions as voluntary, non-tied payments today, in 2011 it was still 50%. And things do not look any better with respect to other UN aid programmes.

It cannot be that those in positions of responsibility at the United Nations spend more time distributing begging letters to find the necessary funding than in organising effective assistance. We have to change course here. We have to grant the United Nations the right level of funding as well as more freedom. In return, we need more efficiency and transparency with regard to how the funding is used.

Germany, at any rate, intends to maintain its financial support for the United Nations.

As the fourth biggest provider of assessed contributions and far beyond that, for example as one of the biggest donors of humanitarian assistance around the world, we want to continue making a substantial input.

Mark Zuckerberg, CEO of Facebook

Facebook is an idealistic and optimistic company. For most of our existence, we focused on all the good that connecting people can bring. As Facebook has grown, people

everywhere have gotten a powerful new tool to stay connected to the people they love, make their voices heard, and build communities and businesses. Just recently, we've seen the #metoo movement and the March for Our Lives, organized, at least in part, on Facebook. After Hurricane Harvey, people raised more than $20 million for relief. And more than 70 million small businesses now use Facebook to grow and create jobs.

ii) Finding the facts

Activity 2: Break the class into groups. Have each group choose one "green" claim from the ones listed above to fact-check (or choose from a list of your own).

Ask the groups to search for evidence that backs up or refutes the findings. Before they do so, encourage them to evaluate the sources they find according to the following parameters.

Proximity: How close is the evidence to the phenomenon? *E.g. A news organisation reporting the latest unemployment statistics is usually less proximate to the data — and therefore less valuable — than the national statistical body that actually measures employment figures.*

Expertise: What credentials indicate the quality of the producer of the evidence? *E.g. The author of a book has a PhD in the topic and is highly cited in his/her field.*

Rigour: How was the evidence collected? *E.g. Data on violence against women is often collected by survey.*[154] *This can make generalisations invalid, and international comparisons difficult given that women's willingness to respond and conceptualisation of sexual harassment may vary including from country to country. This is not to diminish the seriousness of violence against women, but to advocate for rigour to underpin specific claims being made.*

Transparency: What do you know about the evidence? *E.g. A scientific study has published all the data on which it bases its conclusions online for other researchers to scrutinise.*

Reliability: Is there a track record to evaluate? *E.g. Transparency International has been publishing the Corruption Perceptions Index for more than 20 years. This has given plenty of time to experts to spot its limitations.*[155]

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154 See indicator (48) of the UN Gender Statistics https://genderstats.un.org/#/downloads

155 Hough, D. (2016) *Here's this year's (flawed) Corruption Perception Index. Those flaws are useful.* The Washington Post. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/01/27/how-do-you-measure-corruption-transparency-international-does-its-best-and-thats-useful/?utm_term=.7ff90ea289of [accessed 23/03/2018].

Conflict of interest: Is a source's personal or private interest also served by the evidence being what it is? *E.g. A study on the alleged health benefits of pasta was partly conducted and funded by a major pasta-maker.*[156]

Instructors may want to print the following table and have students use it to evaluate each source.

	Poor	Medium	Strong
Proximity			
Expertise			
Rigour			
Transparency			
Reliability			
Conflict of Interest			

Suggested Assignment

Correcting the record

Using the evidence evaluated in the tutorial, participants should write a fact check report (approximately 1200 words), reaching a conclusion on the relative truthfulness of the statement they chose.

They should develop their own ratings scale to grade the fact-checked claim. For example, PolitiFact hands out the following ratings:

True – The statement is accurate and there's nothing significant missing.

Mostly True – The statement is accurate but needs clarification or additional information.

Half True – The statement is partially accurate but leaves out important details or takes things out of context.

Mostly False – The statement contains some element of truth but ignores critical facts that would give a different impression.

False – The statement is not accurate.

Pants on Fire – The statement is not accurate and makes a ridiculous claim.

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156   This is a real example. More here: http://www.healthnewsreview.org/2016/07/study-really-find-pasta-opposite-fattening/.
       [accessed 23/03/2018].

Ratings scales do not have to be linear like the ones used by PolitiFact, where the ratings get progressively worse on a scale from True to Pants on Fire. For instance, *El Sabueso* in Mexico[157] includes ratings like "It can't be proven" for claims where there is not any evidence one way or another or "Debatable" for claims whose veracity depends on the methodology chosen. Encourage students to get creative with their scales as a way to address the range of qualifications that we can give to a statement of fact. Depending on the time and resources available, instructors may also want to invite students to prepare the fact check in a format that goes beyond text. Memes, short videos, GIFs, Snapchat — all are potentially good instruments to fight falsehoods. In fact, one study even indicated that the same fact check is more effective when presented as a humorous video than as an article.[158]

For a few examples on creative formats, instructors may want to look at the following articles from Poynter:

Mantzarlis, A. *(2016)*. *Fact-checkers experiment with Snapchat, GIFs and other stuff millennials ♥*. Available at https://www.poynter.org/news/fact-checkers-experiment-snapchat-gifs-and-other-stuff-millennials [accessed 28/03/2018].

Mantzarlis, A. *(2016)*. *How (and why) to turn a fact check into a GIF*. [accessed 28/03/2018. Available at https://www.poynter.org/news/how-and-why-turn-fact-check-gif [accessed 28/03/2018].

Reading

In addition to the readings listed, Poynter has a dedicated fact-checking section available at https://www.poynter.org/channels/fact-checking that is updated several times a week. Here are some current, useful resources, primarily drawn from there.

Poynter (2018). *How to fact-check a politician's claim in 10 steps*. Available at https://factcheckingday.com/articles/5/how-to-fact-check-a-politicians-claim-in-10-steps. [accessed 06/04/2018].

Van Ess, H. (2017). *The ultimate guide to bust fake tweeters: A video toolkit in 10 steps* Available at https://www.poynter.org/news/ultimate-guide-bust-fake-tweeters-video-toolkit-10-steps. [accessed 06/04/2018].

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157 AnimalPolitico (2015). Available at http://www.animalpolitico.com/blogueros-blog-invitado/2015/01/28/el-sabueso-un-proyecto-para-vigilar-el-discurso-publico/. [accessed 6/04/2018].

158 Young, D., Jamieson, K., Poulsen, S. and Goldring, A. (2017). *Fact-Checking Effectiveness as a Function of Format and Tone: Evaluating FactCheck.org and FlackCheck.org*. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 95(1), pp.49-75

Mantzarlis, A. (2015). *5 things to keep in mind when fact-checking claim about science.* Available at https://www.poynter.org/news/5-things-keep-mind-when-fact-checking-claims-about-science. [accessed 06/04/2018].

Mantzarlis, A. (2016). *5 tips for fact-checking claims about health.* Available at https://www.poynter.org/news/5-tips-fact-checking-claims-about-health. [accessed 06/04/2018].

Mantzarlis, A. (2015). *5 tips for fact-checking datasets.* Available at https://www.poynter.org/news/5-tips-fact-checking-datasets. [accessed 06/04/2018].

Mantzarlis, A. (2015). *5 studies about fact-checking you may have missed last month* (Poynter). Available at https://www.poynter.org/news/5-studies-about-fact-checking-you-may-have-missed-last-month. [accessed 06/04/2018].

Mantzarlis, A. (2017). *Repetition boosts lies — but it could help fact-checkers too* Available at https://www.poynter.org/news/repetition-boosts-lies-could-help-fact-checkers-too. [accessed 06/04/2018].

Mantzarlis, A. (2017). *French and American voters seem to respond to fact-checking in a similar way.* Available at https://www.poynter.org/news/french-and-american-voters-seem-respond-similar-way-fact-checking. [accessed 06/04/2018].

Funke, D. (2017). *Where there's a rumour, there's an audience. This study sheds light on why some take off.* Available at https://www.poynter.org/news/where-theres-rumor-theres-audience-study-sheds-light-why-some-take. [accessed 06/04/2018].

Funke, D. (2017). *Want to be a better online sleuth? Learn to read webpages like a fact-checker.* Available at https://www.poynter.org/news/want-be-better-online-sleuth-learn-read-webpages-fact-checker. [accessed 06/04/2018].

Funke, D. (2017). *These two studies found that correcting misperceptions works. But it's not magic.* Available at https://www.poynter.org/news/these-two-studies-found-correcting-misperceptions-works-its-not-magic. [accessed 06/04/2018].

Mantzarlis, A. (2017). *What does the "Death of Expertise" mean for fact-checkers?* Available at https://www.poynter.org/news/what-does-death-expertise-mean-fact-checkers. [accessed 06/04/2018].

Mantzarlis, A. (2017). *Journalism can't afford for corrections to be the next victim of the fake news frenzy.* Available at https://www.poynter.org/news/journalism-cant-afford-corrections-be-next-victim-fake-news-frenzy. [accessed 06/04/2018].

Mantzarlis, A. (2016). *Should journalists outsource fact-checking to academics?* Available at https://www.poynter.org/news/should-journalists-outsource-fact-checking-academics. [accessed 06/04/2018].

Books

Ball, J. (2017). *Post-Truth: How Bullshit Conquered the World*. London: Biteback Publishing.

Gladstone, B. (2017). *The Trouble with Reality: a Rumination on Moral Panic in Our Time*. New York: Workman Pu.

Graves, L. (2016). . *Deciding What's True: the Rise of Political Fact-Checking Movement in American Journalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Online resources

The International Fact-Checking Day role-playing card game lesson plan (designed for students aged 14-16) is available at the following link: http://factcheckingday.com/lesson-plan. The website also contains tip sheets, a link to an online course for university students and a reading list on facts and fact-checking.