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MEDIA LITERACY AND FACT CHECKING: PART TWO

This is the second part of the author's study from the Michigan State University, devoted to the problems of identification and description of the disinformation crisis in the media and social media. The modern media field is increasingly filled with false information. The term "fake news" today includes a wide range of manipulative technologies: "computational propaganda", "puppet networks", "troll armies", anonymous source, alternative fact, gossip, deceit, rumors, false context, etc. Problems are exacerbated at a high pace. The development of technological processes and the shift in global communication discourse to social networks and the Internet.

The purpose of the article is to study the history and evolution of the disinformation crisis, which is a serious threat to open societies around the world. The author proposes to activate critical thinking among young people, to teach the audience to intellectually recognize and process fake news, to understand the need for a critical and independent analysis of incoming news and background information.

The author also believes that media literacy helps to understand the role of the media in society, as well as the acquisition of important research and expression skills needed by the audience. Media literacy skills also include the ability to access media, analyze content, evaluate messages, and create media for communication and expression. Learning how to verify facts is an important component of media literacy training, a way to protect against manipulation and fake news.

Key words: media literacy, fact-checking, manipulation, propaganda, misinformation.

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Медиа сауаттылық және фактілерді тексеру: екінші бөлім

Бұл нөмірде Мичиган мемлекеттік университеті профессорының бұқаралық ақпарат құралдары мен әлеуметтік медидағы жалған ақпарат пен дезинформациялық дағдарысты анықтау мен сипаттауға арналған авторлық зерттеуінің екінші бөлімі жарияланды.

Қазіргі медиа күннен күнге жалған ақпаратпен толыға түсуде. Бүгінгі күні «жалған жаңалықтар» термині көптеген манипуляциялық технологияларды қамтиды: «есептік насихат», «жасанды желілер», «тролльдік топ», белгісіз дереккөз, балама факт, өсек, алдау, қауесет, жалған контекст және т.б. Бұл мәселе технологиялық үдерістердің дамуы мен ғаламдық коммуникациялық дискурстың әлеуметтік желілер мен Интернетке ауысуы нәтижесінде қордалана түсуде.

Мақаланың мақсаты – бүкіл әлемде ашық қоғамға қауіп төндіретін дезинформациялық дағдарыстың тарихы мен эволюциясын зерттеу. Автор жастар арасында сыни ойлауды күшейтуді, көрермендерге жалған жаңалықтарды интеллектуалды тануды және өңдеуді үйретуді, берілетін жаңалықтар мен негізгі ақпараттарды сыни тұрғыда және тәуелсіз талдау қажеттілігін түсінуді ұсынады.

Сондай-ақ, автор медиасауаттылық қоғамдағы бұқаралық ақпарат құралдарының рөлін түсінуге, сонымен қатар аудиторияға қажетті маңызды зерттеулер мен экспрессивті дағдыларды игеруге көмектеседі деп санайды. Медиа сауаттылықты игеру дағдыларына ақпарат құралдарына қол жетімділік, мазмұнды талдау, хабарламаларды бағалау және байланыс пен пікір білдіруді қамтиды. Фактілерді растауды үйрену медиа сауаттылықты оқытудың маңызды құрамдас бөлігі, бұл жалған жаңалықтардан, манипуляциядан қорғанудың ең басты әдісі болып табылады.

Түйін сөздер: медиа сауаттылық, факт-чекинг, манипуляция, насихаттау, жалған ақпарат.

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Медийная грамотность и проверка фактов: часть вторая

В данном выпуске публикуется вторая часть исследования автора из Мичиганского университета, посвященного проблемам идентификации и описания дезинформационного кризиса в СМИ и социальных медиа. Термин «фейковые новости» сегодня включает в себя широкий спектр манипулятивных технологий: «вычислительную пропаганду», «марионеточные сети», «армии троллей», анонимный источник, альтернативный факт, сплетни, обман, слухи, ложный контекст и др. Современное медиаполе все больше заполняется недостоверной информацией. Проблема усугубляется высокими темпами развития технологических процессов и смещением глобального коммуникационного дискурса в социальные сети и интернет.

Цель статьи – изучить историю и эволюцию дезинформационного кризиса, представляющего серьезную угрозу открытым обществам по всему миру. Автор предлагает активизировать критическое мышление у молодежи, научить аудиторию интеллектуально распознавать и обрабатывать фальшивые новости, понимать необходимость критичного и независимого анализа поступающих новостей и фоновой информации.

Автор исследования считает, что медийная грамотность способствует пониманию роли СМИ в обществе, приобретению важных навыков исследования и самовыражения, необходимых аудитории. Навыки медиаграмотности также включают способность получать доступ к медиа, анализировать контент, оценивать сообщения и создавать медиа для общения и самовыражения. Обучение тому, как проверять факты, является важным компонентом обучения медиаграмотности, способом защиты от манипуляций и фальшивых новостей.

Ключевые слова: медийная грамотность, фактчекинг, манипуляция, пропаганда, дезинформация.

Introduction

An International Center for Journalists study about the history of fake news decried ‘the evolution of the disinformation crisis now threatening open societies around the world’. It said:

‘Fake news’ is not new. In fact, the recorded history of ‘disinformation wars’ dates back to ancient Rome. But the 21st century has seen the weaponization of information on an unprecedented scale. Powerful new technology makes the manipulation and fabrication of content simple; and social networks dramatically amplify falsehoods peddled by anti-democratic governments, populist politicians and dishonest corporate entities.

We now inhabit a world where malicious actors and state propagandists can use ‘computational propaganda’, ‘sock-puppet networks’, ‘troll armies’ and technology that can mimic legitimate news websites and seamlessly manipulate audio and video to impersonate legitimate sources. Then, there are the profiteers making a living from creating fraudulent content for viral distribution on social platforms.¹

Justification of the choice of articles and goals and objectives

¹ Posetti & Matthews, p. 2 2018.

Key terms and concepts. Here are other key words and phrases you should understand and that will be helpful in using this handbook. These definitions are adapted from UNESCO, media literacy NGOs, news organizations, dictionaries and educational researchers. Other chapters will explain more about these concepts and how to use them in teaching students and providing citizenship education. These concepts sometimes overlap:

Alternative facts: Demonstrable falsehoods, lies or inaccurate information that is offered to counter real facts. They are presented as being true, usually for political expediency.

Anonymous source: A person who provides information but is not identified or named in an article or broadcast. News sources sometimes ask for anonymity from fear of embarrassment, retaliation, or punishment for talking to the media. At other times, sources want anonymity to shield them when disseminating misinformation, disinformation or mal-information. The use of anonymous sources by the press raise questions about bias, accuracy and manipulation of news stories.

Clickbait: Typical news headlines (‘President Trump gives speech to United Nations in New York’) tell the reader what’s in the story. They provide readers with the ‘who, what, when, where, why and how’. In

contrast, clickbaits use omission and sensationalism to draw readers. Clickbait headlines usually invoke ‘forward-referencing’ to create ‘curiosity gaps’ in readers’ minds. Forward-referencing means the use of empty or vague references to forthcoming parts of a story (for example, ‘This man was stopped by the police. You won’t believe what he did next’) that are intended to provoke curiosity and entice readers into clicking to read more.

Counterfeit websites: Websites whose design and appearance closely resemble those of legitimate news organizations.

Credibility: Whether the source of information and the information itself are believable or trustworthy. A credible source of information, opinion, statement or analysis – such as a person, government ministry, organization or business – must have recognized expertise in the subject. A credible news organization – such as a website, TV channel, magazine or newspaper – must have a reputation for fairness, accuracy and ethical behavior.

Deepfakes: The use of breakthroughs and news discoveries in artificial intelligence to create realistic-looking fake images, video and audio.

Defamation, libel or slander: False information that damages the reputation of a person, business or organization. In some countries it is a civil matter, meaning that a victim can sue for monetary damages. In other countries it may also be a criminal violation and could lead to prison and fines.

Disinformation: Information that is false, and the person who disseminate it knows it is false. It is an intentional lie for malicious purposes.

Fabricated content: A story or image (photo, graphic, drawing, cartoon, map) that is entirely made up and designed to cause harm and deceive the audience.

Fact: A piece of information that can be checked and supported by evidence.

Fact-checking: The process of verifying the factual accuracy of an article, speech, report, statement or other piece of nonfiction. Ideally, journalists will fact-check their articles before they are published, posted or broadcast. After publication, posting or broadcast, articles may be fact-checked by media critics or independent organizations that report about errors, manipulation, disinformation, misinformation and mal-information. It is intended to correct public misperceptions and discourage politicians and others from continuing to disseminate fake news. For example, the NGO Factcheck.kz says it attempts to counteract ‘post-truth politics’ and to

increase the ‘media culture level in Kazakhstan, namely mass media (journalism and blogging), production and retransmission of information, and consumption of information by the population (cultivation of conscious and critical perception of information)’.²

Fake news: False information, stories or propaganda that pretends to be authentic news. It is usually an attempt to mislead consumers about the content, influence political views and spread misinformation through social networks and word-of-mouth. The editor of PolitiFact, a U.S.-based nonprofit fact-checking project, offered this definition: ‘Fake news is made-up stuff, masterfully manipulated to look like credible journalistic reports that are easily spread online to large audiences willing to believe the fictions and spread the word’.³ Sometimes fake news is meant to be a joke or satire, although some readers, viewers or listeners believe it to be true.

False connection: When the content of a story does not match a headline, caption or visual.

Hate speech: Hate speech attacks an individual or group based on such characteristics as race, religion, gender identity, ethnic origin, disability, nationality, national origin, sex, disability and sexual orientation. It may be expressed in words, sounds or images and is intended to incite discrimination, violence and intolerance.

Hoax: An act designed to trick or dupe the public and that is accepted or established by fabrication or fraud. The creator’s intent may be humorous or malicious.

Imposter content: When genuine information sources are impersonated as when a phony website or Twitter handle closely resembles the website or Twitter or a legitimate newspaper or organization.

Journalistic ethics: Professional standards and best practices that journalists and news organizations are expected to follow. They include a commitment to balance, fairness, accuracy and honesty in gathering and reporting news. In many countries, journalism organizations, journalism schools and media companies have codes of ethics for their staffs and members.

Junk news or junk food news: A satirical term for news stories that may be accurate but are about trivial or inconsequential events. Such stories may be sensationalized, are usually spread by social media and often are about celebrities.

² Factcheck.kg.

³ Holan, 2016.

Legacy media: Long-established and respected traditional news organizations such as newspapers, news magazines, television channels and radio networks.

Mal-information: Information based on reality but used to inflict harm on a person, organization, business or country. Therefore, even if the content is accurate, the intent is to commit damage, usually to the reputation of an individual or business.

Media bias: Perceived or actual bias of news organizations and journalists in how they select what news to report and how they cover those stories. Common motives for actual bias include political favoritism, commercial advantage or pleasing sponsors and advertisers. Media bias is often shown by one-sided stories that omit other perspectives and opinions, by interviews with only biased sources, by the lack of fairness and by use of photographs and videos that deliberately make some people look bad and unattractive.

Media diversity or media plurality: Multiple sources of news and information that provide citizens with a diversity of viewpoints and prevent any single media owner or media outlet from exercising too much influence over the political agenda and public opinion. A media system that allows a diversity of ideas and helps hold government and other powerful interests accountable is critical for a strong democracy.

Media manipulation: Techniques used by partisans to create images or arguments supporting their interests. Media manipulation ranges from the use of traditional public relations methods to deliberately providing the press with false or misleading information and supplying altered or phony photos and videos. It may suppress opposing viewpoints and use technology to deceive journalists and news organizations.

Media monitoring: The process of systematically watching, reading or listening to the content of print, broadcast and online material, then identifying, saving and analyzing content that contains particular keywords or topics. Continuous surveillance of media performance enables critical evaluation of content and helps identify changes in content over time. Public relations firms also use media monitoring to track how their clients are covered in the media.

Misinformation: Information that is false, but the person who disseminates it believes it is true. It may or may not be intentional.

Native advertising: This is a type of paid media

where the advertising experience follows the natural form and function of the user experience in which it is placed. Native advertising looks like news but it is paid for. Usually it has a disclaimer to identify it as advertising but there is no standardized form of disclaimer so it has the potential to deceive readers – and often does.

News media: Organizations and companies that print, broadcast or post what they claim to be accurate news and information. Most news media are owned privately by business, by government or by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs).

Opinion: A point of view, judgment or belief that is not necessarily based on fact or knowledge. An opinion cannot be proven to be true or false.

Original source: Where information first came from. This is usually a person, nongovernmental organization (NGO), professional association, research study or report, government office or business.

Propaganda: Information, particularly if biased or misleading, used to promote a political point of view or political cause and to influence public opinion. Propaganda may include selected facts to encourage a specific perspective and may use particular words and images to generate an emotional rather than logical response to the material. The source is usually a government, political party or organization.

Satire or parody: The use of humor, ridicule, irony or exaggeration for criticism, often to make a political point or to shame well-known personalities, governments, organizations or businesses to make improvements. There is no intent to cause injury but it may have that effect. Although satire has historically been a significant contributor to accountability journalism, some social media users disseminate it like straight news.

Sensationalism: Presentation of information, including accurate information, in ways that are shocking or overly excited as a way to attract audiences and create biased impressions. It is often seen in invasions of privacy, often involving celebrities and public figures, and in coverage of trivial events.

Bias in the News Media

There are differences between bias of selection (what stories to cover) and presentation (how a story is presented). Mourão and Robertson observed that some studies have found ‘that the more partisan, biased, or divisive news articles are, the more likely they are to generate engagement on social media’

and ‘negative sentiments and biased language in news text lead to greater engagement on social media’. They wrote:

Bias in news content is characterized by statements and language which indicate or suggest a tendency on the part of the writer to support one point of view over another...as opposed to balance, a core news norm. [Prior research] points to three types of bias in news coverage: gatekeeping bias, coverage bias, and statement bias. Gatekeeping bias refers to biases in the selection of stories to cover. Coverage bias refers to the amount of coverage given to different sides in a debate and is often measured in studies by analyzing physical column inches or numbers of statements for and against different points of view. Statement bias, meanwhile, assesses whether favorable or unfavorable opinions are present in a news story. Statement bias is assessed ‘in a global manner’ with researchers looking for an overall slant in coverage...’

They also talk about a ‘global view of statement bias which considers the overall thrust of a news article – the overall “personal inclination or preference to favor a particular viewpoint” or the “favorable or unfavorable inclination (or lack of inclination) expressed by the journalist in his or her article” and which places weight on overtly biased statements made about political actors, ideologies, and political issues’.⁴

Results and discussion

Directions of media education. To understand the challenges in developing effective media and information literacy, it is important to consider the history of media education, which provides theoretical insights into constantly changing media landscapes from a historical vantage point. According to the Department of Communication and Media at Lund University in Sweden:

It is useful for those who already work within, or are considering a career within, the media industry – or any industry, for that matter. The trend is that our daily lives are becoming increasingly affected by the media and their content, in our private, civic as well as professional sphere. For that reason, the ability to adopt critical perspectives on the logics of the media and on the strategies of media agencies is important.⁵

The Lund University Department of Communication and Media goes on to say, ‘**The fundamental assumption of media history** is that history is needed in order to understand the media, but also that the media are necessary in order to understand history’.

In our view, however, the benefits of understanding media history go beyond career needs, whether in journalism, media or any other field. We believe that such an understanding is helpful to citizens who wish to participate intelligently in public affairs in their communities and countries, such as voting, running for office or communicating with government officials about issues that matter to the citizenry.

As a librarian at Brown University in the U.S., wrote:

Beyond forging connections of the past to the present, exploring the history of the field can deepen intellectual curiosity and understanding for those who work in media literacy education, ignite interest in others and drive investigation into understanding the relationships of the facets and fundamentals of media literacy from past to present and into the future. The theme of leadership emerges from questions such as: How do people build programs? How does information get disseminated? What were the challenges? Who were the learners? Who were the teachers? What were the tools? The discussions lead to questions about the influence of changes in society and technology over time to media literacy education.⁶

It is also essential to recognize that ‘the history of media education cannot be told without correlating it with the rise and development of the mass media themselves,’ as the Media Literacy Clearinghouse observed. It referred to such technological advances as cameras, radio, movies, television and most recently the Internet and social media.

The history – and success or failure – of media education and media literacy efforts varies from country to country, and there is more than one way to trace that history. To be effective as a practical matter, that means trainings, curricula and workshop materials must reflect the realities of a country, including its level of media development, the Internet access or penetration rate, the general literacy levels of the population, languages spoken, financial resources for media literacy, and degree of freedom of speech, the press and expression.

⁴ Mourão & Robertson, 2019.

⁵ Lund University Department of Communication and Media.

⁶ Bordac, 2014, p. 1.

Alexander Fedorov, a Russian professor and editor of *Media Education Journal*, has identified 6 main directions in media education since the 1920s:

- media education of future professionals in journalism, cinema, video and the Internet.
- media education of future teachers and professors
- media education for secondary schoolchildren integrated into the curriculum, special courses or school activities.
- ‘out-of-school’ media education for children at leisure centers, clubs and extracurricular activities
- distance media education for children, university students and adults through print publications, broadcasts, videos and the Internet
- independent, continuous ‘theoretically life-long’ mediaeducation.⁷

Writing for the Center for Media Literacy, a U.S. audio-visual specialist observed that the 1st period of media education began thousands of years ago and lasted through the 1960s: ‘The methodology was simple: educators ignored the media’. For example, Students studied ancient Greek myths rather than contemporary cultural myths, ‘newspapers were not only ignored, but actually confiscated if a student had the audacity to bring them to class. Books were the only medium worth time and effort’ to study. The next period began when ‘teachers injected mass media into their courses to show how empty, silly and value-less it was’. That approach made fun of popular media and tried to ‘point out how worthless it was’, according to Walsh. He identified the third phase when educators tried using popular media to lure students into areas that teachers felt were ‘really worthy of study’. Now, he says. ‘We are moving education about the media into at least the 20th (if not the 21st) century, and teaching students about and with the media they know and use every day’.

In truth, media and literacy education should start at an early age. As a UK media researcher explained, ‘The biggest challenge that faces us is how to establish media education as a normal part of schooling for every child from the very beginning of schooling. I see the way to achieving this as being through the transformation of the literacy curriculum so that all children learn about books, films, broadcasting, photography, computer games, social networking and whatever other media forms may evolve, as an everyday part of their schooling’.⁸

⁷ Fedorov, 2008.

⁸ Morganthaler, 2010.

Youth as a global media audience

Most young people have an innate ability to rapidly accept and master evolving and new communications technologies. We see schoolchildren and older students walk around with smartphones in their hands, many wearing earbuds, as they watch YouTube and other videos, check email, send text messages to friends and sometimes even talk to people by phone. At a higher level, ‘more students enter universities as digital natives, or learners who have grown up in a world with social media and expect it to be integrated into all of their experiences’.⁹

In addition, media exposure seems to begin at younger and younger ages. We see parents place smartphones and tablets in front of toddlers strapped into high chairs and strollers. Parents of today want to entertain them and keep them occupied with online cartoons, much as earlier generations of parents sat their children in front of television sets for the same reason.

While this may be good preparation for the communication realities these young people will encounter for the rest of their lives, it also raises questions about how they will learn to communicate effectively and with confidence in face-to-face conversations at school, at work, on the playground, in clubs, in their communities –even at family meals. In other words, how well will they engage in actual personal dialogues rather than simply being observers or online conversationalists?

Another social concern is the question of equal opportunity. Economic and infrastructure constraints make it more difficult for young people in remote and rural regions or from low-income families to afford and have easy access to smartphones, personal computers, tablets and the Internet. Thus teenagers from a mountain village may be disadvantaged in learning how to use computer telecommunication technologies compared to their counterparts in cities and suburbs. That may be reflected in poorer research skills, poorer writing skills, less understanding of the risks and responsibilities of electronic communication, lower grades in national examinations and less preparation for university-level studies after completing secondary school.

Here is another concern, expressed by an Australian professor and media literacy pioneer. She worries about a lack of creativity among children

⁹ Freberg & Kim, 2018.

who have easy access to so much material and don't see a need to develop their own:

There is so much emphasis on the kids getting their work to look really good and polished that you see a lot of derivative work – instead of creating something new and exciting, they are copying the forms they see in the popular media and trying to get them looking as polished as feature films, music videos, etc. So I don't see much of creative imagination or using the media as a form of critical analysis or analysis of the media itself. So the pressure to get a highly polished piece of work out is very strong but I'm not sure you learn as much with that focus as you do with trying to break the rules instead of trying to copy the rules. What students are doing is internalizing the conventions and very rarely challenging them.¹⁰

Considering the importance of media and news literacy and the role that young people will play as citizens in their own societies and globally, it is fortunate that scholars around the world are studying how youth use social media and what they understand – or don't understand – about critical and analytical thinking.

A study conducted in Central Asia analyzed the relationship between media consumption by youth in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan and confidence in the integrity of the electoral process – whether elections are fair and free – in those countries. The authors said, 'The patterns of youth's media habits and political behavior merit further academic attention because the young generation growing up in the post-Soviet period has the potential to act as an agent of social change and bring about dramatic political transformations in the region'. They also pointed out that opinion polls 'consistently show that young people are the most active Internet users'. And while television remained the principal source of political news for almost 80 percent of youth in both countries, informal social networks were their second-most popular source of political news is an informal social network. The study found that 'exposure to web-based news produces a significant negative impact on youth's confidence in electoral institutions in Kazakhstan, while online news consumption is weakly associated with young people's confidence in the integrity of the electoral process in Kyrgyzstan'.

¹⁰ Jolls, 2011.

That is important because public confidence or lack of confidence in the electoral process may affect whether citizens choose to vote or not to vote.¹¹

Internet and social media use affects more than youth's political participation, as a study in Kyrgyzstan discovered. The author concluded that youth who use the Internet are 'catalyzed by their ability to carry out searches and to maintain social connections online (and) are placing their cultural inheritance in a global context and questioning "tradition" as few Kyrgyz have done before'.¹² In other words, online access can have widespread societal impacts.

In the Netherlands, a researcher investigated news consumption and literacy from the perspective of early adolescents, ages 12 to 15, and found a simultaneous 'abundance of information sources and the decline of youth news audiences'. The study cautioned against accepting stereotypes about young people, saying, 'Although adolescents are seen as digital natives, recent research found that they have difficulties distinguishing real and fake information and evaluating the accuracy and trustworthiness of information'. As the researcher observed, 'To function as well-informed citizens in democracy, early adolescents should become more news literate. This is not a simple task in this time of fragmented media use and evolving conceptions of the (importance and relevance of) news'.¹³

Research about the emergence of digital activism in Singapore, an 'authoritarian democracy', found that Information and Communication Technologies goes beyond its function as a tool and becomes an important component of the political lexicon of young activists.¹⁴ In our opinion, that is a good thing because we believe it is essential for young people to take an interest in the politics and governance of their country – but that activism should be based on well-informed and analytical thought about the issues and problems of the day, not on uninformed emotion and fake news.

Research in India has highlighted linkages between youths' use of social media, their

¹¹ Nikolayenko, 2015.

¹² Ibold, 2010.

¹³ Tamboer. 2018. Citing Wineburg, S., McGrew, S., Breakstone, J., & Ortega, T. (2016). *Evaluating information: The cornerstone of civic online reasoning* [Executive summary]. Available at <https://sheg.stanford.edu/upload/V3LessonPlans/Executive%20Summary%2011.21.16.pdf>

¹⁴ Zhang, 2013.

socioeconomic status, level of civic engagement and their political participation on non-participation.

The author said youth's participation in development processes is necessary to bring change in the country's socio-economic structure, increase the flow of information among young people, create networking opportunities, empower youth and improve the quality of life.¹⁵

Another study looked at how U.S. university students engage with social and mobile media news. The authors asked students in focus groups such questions as 'Do you regard social media as your primary source of news? How often do you find yourself reading the complete story on Facebook? 'Do you think about stories you read on social media or do they disappear from your memory after a while?' and 'How much do you think you learn from reading news stories on social media?'

They concluded that mobile and social media are an 'imperfect but unavoidable convenience', that students show 'a general hesitation to engage publicly with news content', have 'a sense of

awareness of but not learning from news' and are 'passive' consumers of news.¹⁶

Conclusion

To us as the authors of this handbook, those are troubling findings but can sound an alarm to teachers about the importance of media and information literacy.

Discussion questions:

- Do you think the government should regulate the content of social media and Internet postings? If so, how should the government decide what standards to apply?
- What types of messages do you think would be most effective to help young children learn about responsible use of social media? What types of messages would be most effective for secondary school students? How about for university students?
- Have you ever used social media to share fake news with friends? If so, what was your reason?
- How do you decide whether an Internet or social media site is fair, accurate and balanced? What do you do if you decide it isn't fair, accurate and balanced?

¹⁵ Balgaonkar & Jare, 2018.

¹⁶ Oeldorf-Hirsch & Srinivasan, 2018.

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