Fact-checking in TikTok. Communication and narrative forms to combat misinformation

Espacios de verificación en TikTok. Comunicación y formas narrativas para combatir la desinformación

Pavel Sidorenko Bautista. Universidad Francisco de Vitoria. Spain.
pavel.sidorenko@ufv.es
[CV] ⓘ 🎓 Rᴳ 🔵 Ⓓ
Nadia Alonso-López. Universitat Politècnica de València. Spain.
naallo1@har.upv.es
[CV] ⓘ 🎓 Rᴳ Ⓓ
Fábio Giacomelli. Universidad Beira Interior. Portugal.
fabio@ubi.pt
[CV] ⓘ 🎓 Rᴳ

ABSTRACT
Introduction. Since 2020, TikTok has turned into a global trending social network. It has become a digital environment where ephemeral, highly stimulating, and visual communication reigns from being initially a platform for teenagers. Today, it brings together a wide range of broadcasters, including the media and journalists. And, as it occurs in social networks, in a context of hyperconnectivity, false information is easily made viral, thus contributing to the development of disinformation. **Methodology.** From a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques, such as case studies, content analysis, in-depth interviews, and surveys, the communication of fact-checkers with an active profile on TikTok is analyzed to determine the keys to debunking hoaxes and combating disinformation on such a particular social network, where users apparently go to have fun and distract themselves. **Discussion and conclusions.** It is evident the relevance and needs for media, journalists, and the verification media to carry out their work through new scenarios such as TikTok. Not only to ensure a message reaching increase to new audience segments, but also as an innovative process to attack the phenomenon of disinformation, such as fake news and speculation that is increasingly decentralized through digital channels. TikTok has been a narrative challenge based on message synthesis and visual creativity.

KEYWORDS: Verification journalism; Misinformation; Fact-checking; Fake-news; New narratives; TikTok; Ephemeral communication.

RESUMEN

Introducción. Desde 2020, TikTok se ha convertido en red social tendencia a escala global. De ser inicialmente una plataforma para adolescentes, se ha convertido en un entorno digital donde impera la comunicación efímera, muy estimulante y visual. Hoy confluyen en ella una amplia diversidad de emisores, entre los cuales se encuentran medios y periodistas. Y, como ocurre en las redes sociales, en un contexto de hiperconectividad las informaciones falsas se viralizan con facilidad, contribuyendo así al desarrollo de la desinformación. **Metodología.** A partir de la combinación de técnicas de carácter cualitativo y cuantitativo, tales como estudio de casos, análisis de contenidos, entrevistas en profundidad y encuestas, se analiza la comunicación de los *fact-checkers* con perfil activo en TikTok, con el fin de determinar las claves para desmentir bulos y luchar contra la desinformación en una red social tan particular, donde aparentemente los usuarios acuden para divertirse y distraerse. **Discusión y conclusiones.** Queda en evidencia la pertinencia y la necesidad de que medios, periodistas y, específicamente, medios de verificación lleven a cabo su labor a través de nuevos escenarios como lo es TikTok, no solo para poder asegurar un incremento del alcance del mensaje de cara a nuevos segmentos de audiencia, sino como un proceso innovador para atacar el fenómeno de la desinformación, noticias falsas y especulaciones cada vez más descentralizado a través de los canales digitales. TikTok ha supuesto un reto narrativo a partir de la síntesis del mensaje y la creatividad visual.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Periodismo de verificación; Desinformación; *Fact-checking*; Noticias falsas; Nuevas narrativas; TikTok; Comunicación efímera.

CONTENT
1. Introduction. 2. Theoretical framework. 2.1. Fake news, disinformation, and hoaxes. 2.2 Combating disinformation: fact-checking. 2.3 TikTok and fact-checking journalism.   3. Methodology. 4. Results. 5. Discussion. 6. Conclusions 7. Bibliography 8. Curriculum Vitae

Translation by **Paula González** (Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, Venezuela)

1. Introduction

Post-truth was voted word of the year in 2016 by the Oxford dictionary. In its definition of this word, it explains that it denotes circumstances in which events that are emotionally charged and involve one's personal beliefs influence society more than the objective events themselves. Post-truth is a society that prefers to flee from the truth (Tesich, 1992), where manipulation and lies operate as protection mechanisms.

For his part, Keyes (2004) refers to the Post-truth Era at a time of expansion of the Internet and the new Information and Communication technologies in which users can construct, reinterpret, and participate in their own stories, moving towards an online culture in which it is increasingly difficult to distinguish between reality and fiction (Coughland, 2017).

In a context of hyperconnectivity and technological development, false information can become viral and it is highly difficult to deny it due to the volume of the audience reached and the affinity that it can generate if it is distributed through circles that provide credibility and emotional weight (Rodríguez-Fernández, 2021).

In this sense, social networks acquire a relevant role as vehicles for false information. But that potential can also be used to verify this misinformation content. In fact, various verification agencies

have a presence on social networks from where they deny fake news, hoaxes, and other misinformative content.

2. Theoretical framework

Disinformation and post-truth are linked to the current media ecosystem marked by hyperconnectivity, technological development, new media, and the expansion of social networks.

This has led to a variation in the communication flow and an unprecedented increase in information sources, leaving the media in many cases displaced by social networks as the primary source of information (Coleman, Morrison, & Anthony, 2012; Alonso, 2019), which contributes to the dissemination and viralization of fake content (Ceron, De Lima-Santos, and Quiles, 2021; Jang and Kim, 2018). For this reason, and despite not being a new phenomenon (Salas, 2019; Vizoso and Vázquez, 2019), disinformation has acquired a massive dimension in recent years, constituting a more important problem than it was in the past (Burkhardt, 2017; Guallar et al, 2020) as the possibilities of disseminating misinformative content increase and, therefore, the difficulties in determining the certainty or not of information (Blanco, García, and Tejedor, 2019).

2.1. Fake news, disinformation, and hoaxes

In 2017, a year after post-truth was declared word of the year, such consideration passed to the term fake news. The popularity of the term increased after the electoral processes in the United States in 2016 that led to the presidency of Donald Trump and the Brexit process that led to the separation of the United Kingdom from Europe (Allcott and Gentzkow, 2017; López-Borrull, 2020), these periods being ranked by various studies (Cabezuelo and Manfredi, 2019; MacKenzie and Bhatt, 2020, Pérez-Dasilva, Meso-Ayerdi, and Mendiguren-Galdospin, 2020) as among the most prolific in terms of fake news production.

In this sense, it is worth taking into account definitions such as the one made by Amorós (2018) in which fake news is attributed the purpose of obtaining a political or another benefit. For their part, Salaverría et al (2020) opt for 'hoax' to refer to these false contents deliberately created and disseminated with an intention that ranges from jokes or parody to deliberate deception.

Due to its sensationalist nature but also because of the emotional involvement that they entail according to the pre-existing beliefs of users (Albright, 2017; Mazaira, Rúas, and Puentes, 2019; Preston et al., 2021), fake news items obtain greater credibility, are spread very quickly, and are 70% more likely to be replicated, "reaching further, faster and deeper, and wider than the truth in all categories of information." (Rodríguez-Fernández, 2021: 39).

Regarding the term disinformation, it refers to a broader and more difficult to identify phenomenon (Salaverría, 2020; Del Fresno, 2019) that encompasses all fake, inaccurate, or misleading content whose dissemination is intentional to deceive, cause harm, and obtain some benefit (European Commission, 2018; Lazer et al. 2018).

Therefore, fake news can be understood as a genre of disinformation and an instrument for the delegitimization of journalism (Egelhofer et al. 2020; McNair, 2017) at a time of loss of trust of users in politics and the traditional media (Pérez-Curiel and Velasco-Molpeceres, 2020) in which the dissemination of fake information through social networks constitutes a potential threat to democracy and society (Allcott, Gentzknow, and Yu, 2019).

2.2. Combating disinformation: fact-checking

Given the mistrust of information from traditional media and the exponential growth of misinformation on the Internet, there is a need for verification mechanisms that contribute to improving access to information for citizens (Palau-Sampio, 2018; Nyhan and Reiffler, 2015).

For this reason, in recent years there has been an important growth in fact-checking with national and international initiatives (Alonso, 2019; Ufarte, Peralta, and Murcia, 2018). Thus, fact-checking can be defined as the mechanism to analyze, contrast, and verify information that presents doubtful veracity (García-Vivero and López, 2021), constituting the most effective tool to combat the spread of fake information (Amorós, 2018).

Furthermore, in reference agencies and media, such as the Washington Post, Le Monde, the BBC, Channel 4, the EFE agency, and Reuters, among others, independent means of verification have been emerging so that users can check if a news item is true or false (Vázquez, Vizoso, and López, 2019). Likewise, initiatives such as *The Trust Project* represent a commitment to truthfulness and impartiality in the information that digital newspapers adhere to. And the computer tool *TjTool*, implemented by the newspaper Público.es (Spain), shows users the traceability of the informative content it publishes (Terol and Alonso, 2020).

From the institutional sphere, strategies such as the Action Plan against Disinformation proposed by the European Union -in force since 2019-, the creation of verification groups to locate misinformative content on social networks, the creation of the European Digital Media Observatory (EDMO), and the International Data Verification Network (IFCN) of the Poynter Institute in the United States stand out.

Also, the increase in fake information that occurred due to the pandemic caused by Covid-19 (Sánchez and Magallón, 2020) urged social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, and TikTok to implement coordinated actions to deny fake content on their own platforms.

2.3. TikTok and verification journalism

The social network TikTok is characterized by a logic of content based on entertainment with large amounts of visual stimulation, a lot of dynamism, creative demand, and speed of production and consumption of publications mainly determined by playbacks, funny stories, and "relaxing for the mind" content (Li, Xiaohui, and Zhegwu, 2019; Shuai, Yuzhen, and Yifang, 2019; Yu-Liang, Chun-Chin, and Shu-Ming, 2019). It is the consequence of a communication context where the unidirectionality of the message is abolished, as well as the pre-established roles from the passivity of senders and receivers (Torres and Villena, 2020).

In other words, it is a digital environment that constantly invites user action and involvement, whose community is largely made up of 'Generation Z' (Rapkin, 2017; Shuai et al., 2019) although the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic caused a significant number of Millennials and 'Generation X' users to join this route not only to consume content but to produce it in a similar proportion.

Its mobile app has been the most downloaded of 2020 (Ditrendia, 2020) and its rapid popularity motivated broadcasters of a very diverse nature, including media and journalists (Sidorenko et al., 2020; Vázquez et al., 2020), to try to innovate by quickly adapting to the particular code of the message.

In fact, it has been a very important digital channel in the distribution of information related to the Covid-19 pandemic (Basch, Hyllyer, and Jaimie, 2020) not only because the World Health Organization, the Red Cross, and other official actors began to act very early through it, but also through the use of certain hashtags used by many private users. This has allowed specialists a better approach to the habits of users related to the pandemic, with the misinformation impressions and risks that this type of digital environment entails.

Despite the eventual impression about the superficiality that many publications that circulate with success and popularity through this channel can report, Van den Bremer and Siebelink (2020) appreciate that TikTok users have a more critical vision and participation in the contents only when they are truly interested in the subject. One of the most common practices in this regard is the review of the comment box to contrast the content.

On TikTok, most users care a lot about their image and personal brand so on many occasions they think about what they are going to post (Vogel and Rose, 2016; Omar and Dequan, 2020). This may - although it is not necessarily the case- affect the veracity of the stories.

However, given the sustained rise in activity on this platform since 2020 (Ditrendia, 2020), those responsible for the social network have tried to control the flow of speculative and tendentious videos (Ballesteros, 2020; Pérez, 2021). In the same way that has been happening in other digital platforms, TikTok has begun to report a significant flow of content that accidentally, but, above all, also intentionally, encourages misinformation.

Since 2021, denoting the importance of the user community, the social network has determined to immediately eliminate the publications that are reported as 'hoaxes' and 'fake news' (Pérez, 2021).

3. Methodology

The studies by Sidorenko, Herranz, and Cantero (2020) and Vázquez, Negreira, and López (2020) have revealed the work of various global media through TikTok, despite the narrative particularities that said network may suppose.

Faced with this need to increase the scope of the message and be able to reach new audience segments, as well as to fight against misinformation, journalism has begun to have a presence on TikTok through so-called verification journalism, which is increasingly active in the face of high flow of misinformation, hoaxes, speculation, and fake news that circulate through various digital channels.

This research proposes to show how these fact-checkers communicate in a social network where ephemeral and fast content prevails with a high degree of visual stimuli. To do this, the following research questions are posed:
    RQ1: What topics do fact-checkers address in TikTok posts?
    RQ2: How is the content that fact-checkers build on this social network?
    RQ3: How does the user community react to this content?
    RQ4: Is TikTok a fad for fact-checkers or, on the contrary, is it one more way to attack misinformation?

From these questions, the following hypotheses are established:
    H1. The work of fact-checkers on TikTok is incipient and limited in terms of actors.

H2. The particularity of the message code on TikTok limits the work of fact-checkers on the social network.

H3. The Covid-19 pandemic and political instability in various countries have increased the work of fact-checkers on TikTok around these two topics.

H4. The work of fact-checkers through TikTok has focused on verifying and debunking hoaxes and fake news.

H5. Despite the importance of the user community in the dynamics of TikTok, fact-checkers interact little with their audience.

To answer the questions and hypotheses raised, and given that TikTok is a growing social network and relatively unexplored from an academic perspective, a study methodology adapted to the particularity of the social network is proposed, which consists of a combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques (Gaitán and Piñuel, 1998: 286; Soler and Enríquez, 2012: 887) based on the tracking of media outlets and fact-checkers with an active profile on TikTok. The selection has been made based on the list presented by the Gabo Foundation (2020, April, 2nd) on media that have been contrasting and verifying information against the Covid-19 infodemic and the list of media that make up the International Fact-Checkers Network (IFCN, nd). Media outlets in the process of affiliation review by the IFCN are excluded from the sample.

After a review among more than one hundred names until February 28th, 2021, the fact-checkers with activity on TikTok proposed for study are:
- Bolivia Verifica @boliviaverifica (Bolivia)
- Agencia Lupa @agencialupa (Brazil)
- Mala Espina @malaespinacheck (Chile)
- Maldito Bulo @malditobulo (Spain)
- Newtral @newtraltiktok (Spain)
- Politifact @politifact (United States of America)
- France Info @franceinfo (France)
- Newscheckerin @newscheckerin (India)
- The Quint @thequint (India)
- Kompas.com @kompascom (Indonesia)
- Tempo.co @tempodotco (Indonesia)
- Africa Check @africacheck (South Africa)
- Factcheckvn @factcheckvn (Vietnam)

From the information obtained and to know the activity and scope of each profile, an analysis table has been created that allows visualizing variables such as: number of followers, total 'likes', and total content published since the start of activities on TikTok until the proposed observation deadline.

An analysis of the content of each medium and fact-checkers has been carried out to determine if their proposal adapts to the "TikTok narrative" and constitutes a differentiated task regarding the content they develop through other digital platforms. Likewise, an attempt has been made to define what type of topics are most frequently addressed through this particular platform.

The contents found have been categorized as:
- TikTok content - TC
- Reply to comments on TikTok or other social networks - RC
- Content from another platform - CAP

'TikTok content' (TC) is understood to be that which has been developed in a vertical narrative, as established by the social network. For its part, the 'Reply to comments on TikTok or other social networks' (RC) are those publications that respond in a video to a comment from a user in a previous one (TikTok case) or that expressly refer to a query made to the media outlet through alternative channels such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, or YouTube, for example. Finally, the 'Content from another platform' (CAP) is that which does not respect the TikTok narrative and has been published through this channel in a horizontal, square, or another dimension corresponding to another digital platform.

This last category defines whether the media outlet makes an effort to carry out a differentiated communication adapted to TikTok or simply develops base content and publishes it under similar conditions through the desired digital channels.

Likewise, to know on which topics the studied fact-checkers place greater emphasis, the following categories have been established:
- Political issues - A
- Health issues - B
- Topics of social interest - C
- Sports - D
- Disinformation and Fake News in general - E
- Own information - F
- Other topics - G
- Compilation of various topics – H

On the other hand, structured interviews have been carried out with those responsible for some of these profiles to find out their motivations and strategies to face the fight against disinformation on a platform with a message code as particular as TikTok. Thus, it was possible to obtain the considerations of Maldita.es (Spain), Newtral (Spain), Mala Espina (Chile), Agencia Lupa (Brazil), and Cotejo (Venezuela), the latter as a fact-checker outside the social network but immersed in a national reality with a high flow of disinformation. This testimony allows us to understand the possible importance of TikTok even if they do not have active participation at the moment.

Likewise, in a complementary manner and to contrast and/or complement the data obtained through the study of the selected profiles, as well as the information received from the interviews, it was carried out with a merely referential intention and without the data obtained being decisive, a survey that had the participation of 400 people in Spain, Brazil, and Portugal. The surveys were conducted during the first quarter of 2021 to people of different audience profiles in possession of a mobile communication device. The first step was to characterize, in a purely referential way, the public that participated in the survey, making a separation by age (Chart 1) to delimit the level of knowledge of users about the term fact-checking and its implications, the scope fact-checkers have through the TikTok platform, and know the interests of the users in this social network to specify the extent to which these verification tasks are relevant through this platform.
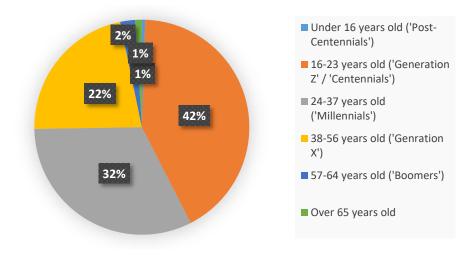
Chart 1: *Age distribution of the respondents for the research*
Source: Self-made

As a final clarification note, the content reviews of the Indian, Indonesian, and Vietnamese media have been conducted with the assistance of online translators in real-time.

4. Results

Except for some cases, in the first instance, it is possible to appreciate that the majority of fact-checkers began their work through TikTok in the context of the first year of the Covid-19 pandemic (Table 1), that is, at the time in which the social network became a global trend, thus confirming the first hypothesis of the research.

Table 1: *Metrics of the fact-checkers profiles on TikTok from the first publication until February 28th, 2021*

Fact-checker ID and start date on TikTok	Nº. of followers	Total 'likes'	Nº. of contents until January 30th, 2021
Bolivia Verifica @boliviaverifica 10/02/2021	127	269	7
Agencia Lupa @agencialupa 07/09/2020	11.600	72.411	106
Mala Espina @malaespinacheck 21/07/2020	19	276	11
Maldito Bulo @malditobulo 03/07/2019	7394	69.699	115
Newtral @newtraltiktok 19/10/2020	596	950	55
Politifact @politifact 30/08/2020	823	4558	15
France Info @franceinfo 11/11/2020	58.600	855.603	75
Newscheckerin @newscheckerin 18/06/2020	149	140	10
The Quint @thequint 16/10/2019	20.700	20.700	220
Kompas.com @kompascom 26/08/2020	141.700	136.317	293
Tempo.co @tempodotco 12/02/2020	315.200	2.766.891	398
Africa Check @africacheck 30/03/2020	697	1834	16
Factcheckvn @factcheckvn 28/03/2020	85.700	336.912	79

Source: Self-made

The engagement obtained through the 'like' button is an irregular variable among the different fact-checkers consulted, as has also been the number of publications. In fact, some have not posted on TikTok for some time (until the date of the observation) while on other social-type platforms or websites they have an updated activity:

- Politifact has not published since Dec 17th, 2020.
- Mala Espina has not published since October 15th, 2020.
- Newscheckerin has not published since June 19th, 2020.
- The Quint has not published since June 28th, 2020.
- Africa Check has not published since November 25th, 2020.

Regarding the narrative topic, it was possible to identify the activity of the fact-checkers according to the following indicators:

Table 2: *Types of content and topics addressed by fact-checkers on TikTok from the first publication until February 28th, 2021*

Fact-checker	Type of content	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Verification videos	Informational/ educational videos
Bolivia Verifica @boliviaverifica	TC	6	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	7
	RC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	CAP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agencia Lupa @agencialupa	TC	20	23	1	-	6	28	6	20	60	44
	RC	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
	CAP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mala Espina @malaespinacheck	TC	7	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	7
	RC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	CAP	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Maldito Bulo @malditobulo	TC	3	31	12	2	20	7	20	4	41	58
	RC	-	9	1	-	1	-	2	-	11	2
	CAP	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	3
Newtral @newtraltiktok	TC	5	5	5	-	3	2	9	3	11	21
	RC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	CAP	3	8	6	-	-	2	6	-	-	25
Politifact @politifact	TC	7	2	-	-	-	3	1	1	10	4
	RC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	CAP	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
France Info @franceinfo	TC	4	13	31	-	-	1	23	1	17	56
	RC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	CAP	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Newscheckerin @newscheckerin	TC	-	8	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	10
	RC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	CAP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The Quint @thequint	TC	2	13	25	-	-	2	19	1	20	42
	RC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	CAP	6	13	62	1	-	2	73	1	-	158
Kompas.com @kompascom	TC	50	24	72	5	1	2	135	1	10	280
	RC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	CAP	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3
Tempo.co @tempodotco	TC	136	42	91	1	-	16	95	18	32	367
	RC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	CAP	3	6	13	-	-	-	9	-	-	31
Africa Check @africacheck	TC	-	6	-	-	8	1	-	-	4	11
	RC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	CAP	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Factcheckvn @factcheckvn	TC	10	29	14	-	1	1	22	1	76	2
	RC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	CAP	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
TOTAL		266	238	337	9	42	69	422	51	300	1.134

(TC) TikTok content | (RC) Reply to comments on TikTok or other social networks | (CAP) Content from another platform

A) Political issues | B) Health issues | C) Topics of social interest | D) Sports | E) Disinformation and Fake News | F) Own information | G) Other topics | H) Compilation of various topics

Source: Self-made

According to the data in Table 2 and Chart 2, and responding to RQ1, the largest flow of content addressed by the studied fact-checkers corresponds to category "G" that refers to "Other topics", among which there is information of an economic, climatic, and technological nature, among others. Next, topics of social interest ("C") and political ("A") and health issues ("B"), in that order, constitute the other topics with the highest volume of dedicated content.
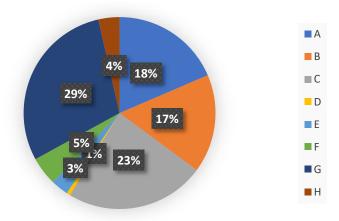

Chart 2: *Total topics addressed on TikTok by fact-checkers from their first publication until February 28th, 2021*
Source: Self-made

Regarding H3, according to data in Table 2 and Chart 3, 12 of the 13 studied fact-checkers prepared content on TikTok focused on the health issue, the situation of Covid-19 being one of the main variables and consequences of the production of publications focused on this field. Thus, the Spanish

fact-checkers Maldito Bulo and Newtral stand out, as well as the Brazilian Agencia Lupa and the Vietnamese Factcheckvn, who have focused their attention to a greater extent on the health issue, strongly influenced by this pandemic.

For its part, Newscheckerin, from India, has only produced content on TikTok focused on the issue of Covid-19, while The Quint, also from India, despite having a significant production of content influenced by this health situation, has focused its efforts on the social issue, also importantly determined by the pandemic.

Likewise, 11 of the 13 profiles published content on political issues, both of national and international interest.

Indonesian fact-checkers mainly concentrated their efforts on political and social issues, such as complaints about corruption cases, alleged abuses of power in local administrations, demonstrations, displaced persons, migrants, and social exclusion, among others.

Chart 3: *Production of content on the three main topics: Politics, Health, and Social by fact-checkers on TikTok from their beginning of activities on the social network until February 28th, 2021*
Source: Self-made

Most of the fact-checkers studied on TikTok make content where they show their work routines and the work they carry out around misinformation and fake news. Many of these videos are humorous, perfectly adapted to the aesthetics and code of the message of the social network.

However, cases such as Maldito Bulo (22 content pieces), Africa Check (8 content pieces), Agencia Lupa (6 content pieces), Newtral (3 content pieces), Newscheckerin (1 content piece), Kompas.com (1 content piece), and Factcheckvn (1 content piece) have also invested time and efforts -some much more than others as shown in Table 2 and Chart 4- in producing content that seeks to educate on the phenomenon of misinformation, fake news, hoaxes, and speculations that abound especially through digital pathways.
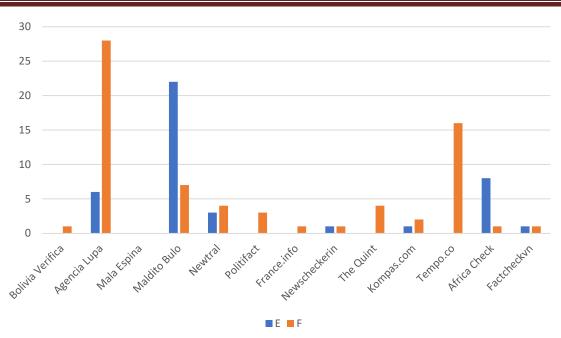
Chart 4: *Educational and guidance content on disinformation and fake news, and promotional content of the work of fact-checkers from the start of activities on TikTok until February 28ᵗʰ, 2021*
Source: Self-made

Given what is indicated in Chart 5, except for Agencia Lupa (Brazil) and Factcheckvn (Vietnam), fact-checkers publish on TikTok more with informative and guiding intention than for the verification of hoaxes, misinformation, and fake news, with which the H4 is not fulfilled.
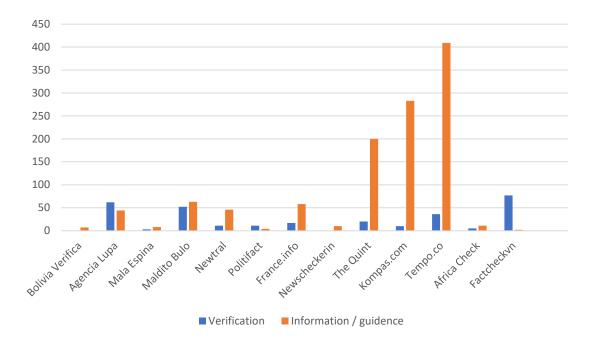

Chart 5: *Intention of the fact-checkers publications on TikTok from their start of activities on the social network until February 28ᵗʰ, 2021*
Source: Self-made

On the other hand, regarding the type of work carried out by fact-checkers on TikTok and in reference to RQ2, according to data in Table 2 and Chart 6, it is evident that the contents adapted to the aesthetic and narrative characteristics of the social network constitute the largest percentage of the work, being far below those that are responses to comments from followers or content from other digital platforms that have been redirected or recycled on TikTok. In this way, H2 is not fulfilled and H5 is.
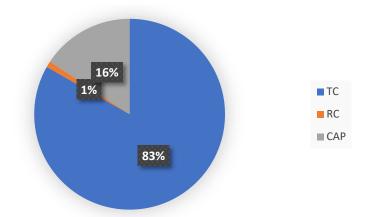

Chart 6: *Total type of content published by fact-checkers on TikTok since their first publication until February 28th, 2021*
Source: Self-made

However, there are exceptions such as The Quint, whose multimedia production on TikTok comes from other digital platforms, especially from Instagram.

Regarding the surveys, 383 respondents spoke out about following media or journalistic profiles on TikTok. Of them, 342 (89%) denied doing so (Chart 7).
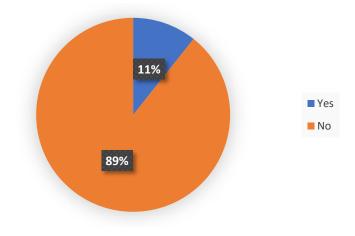

Chart 7: *Do you follow media or journalistic profiles on TikTok?*
Source: Self-made

Faced with the specific question about whether they knew what fact-checking consisted of, of the 382 that responded, only 170 (45%) did so in the affirmative (Chart 8), while the majority answered that they did not know.
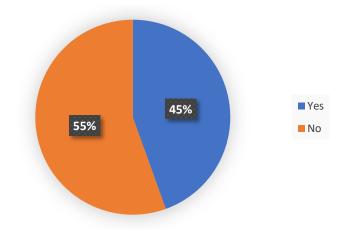
Chart 8: *Do you know what fact-checking consists of?*
Source: Self-made

When asked if they followed any account that referred to fact-checking processes on TikTok, of 379 responses, 370 (98%) were negative (Chart 9). Among the names referred to in the few positive responses are: Maldito Bulo and Newtral in Spain, and Agencia Lupa in Brazil.
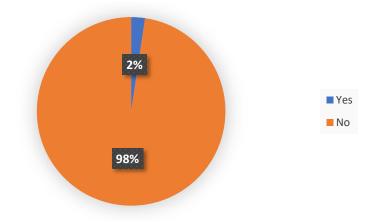

Chart 9: *Do you follow profiles on TikTok that refer to fact-checking processes?*
Source: Self-made

Finally, when asked about content consumption habits on TikTok, 218 participants indicated the reasons why they go to this social network. In this sense, the greatest motivation is seeking entertainment (41%), followed by learning recipes (15%) and discovering new tourist destinations (11%) (Chart 10).
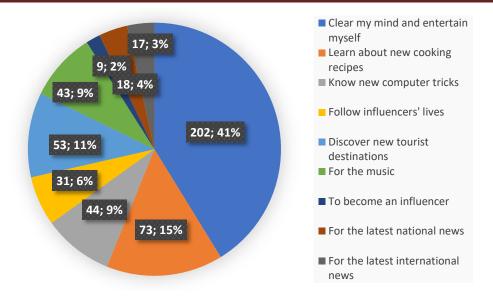
Chart 10: *What do you commonly use TikTok for?*
Source: Self-made

5. Discussion

Beyond fact-checkers with activity on TikTok, the engagement and followers that these profiles and their content receive, in general, are low compared to some news media of global scope such as The Guardian (more than 3000 followers and more than 2000 'likes'), USA Today (almost 1 million followers and more than 23 million 'likes'), BuzzFeed News (more than 5000 followers and more than 220 thousand 'likes'), Huffington Post (more than 50 thousand followers and more than 30 thousand 'likes'), and NBC News (more than 600 thousand followers and almost 20 million 'likes').

However, there are exceptions such as Agencia Lupa (Brazil), France.info (France), Kompas.com (Indonesia), and Tempo.co (Indonesia) that have a significant audience base that reacts to their work, helping the visibility of the contents facing the algorithm of the social network.

These results contrast with the case of the Spanish verification agency Maldito Bulo, which, despite having fewer followers than previous cases, accumulates greater engagement. This indicates that its work is proving of interest and usefulness and, therefore, it is an effective case.

In this way, as has been pointed out, the first hypothesis raised about the fact that still in 2021 the work of these fact-checkers is incipient and limited as actors in TikTok, with the indicated exceptions, is confirmed.

At first, this can be considered as a sign that the verification work of the media and journalists is focused on mere experimentation. This is corroborated by some of the contents studied, such as those published by fact-checkers Tempo.co (Indonesia) and The Quint (India). In these, there is a high volume of content corresponding to 2020 that are not adapted to the narrative proposed by TikTok, which indicates the urgency of some media to join efforts through the trending digital platform of the year, with the eventual little understanding of the message code that this implies. In fact, some content has very little engagement, such as an interview with a doctor (see http://bit.ly/3qCMDG9) that corresponds to an IGTV video (see https://bit.ly/2N2f7LS).

Specifically, the contents of Tempo.co are in a strict vertical format, but it is not content produced from TikTok's own editing tools, but has been previously worked externally and lacks the dynamism and visual stimulus that demands the community of users of the social network (for example, see http://bit.ly/3vaFSzb). On other occasions, they also edit the content vertically through an external tool, but they insert horizontal videos that, due to the TikTok format, do not fit correctly with the screen layout, resulting in a smaller multimedia proposal and, therefore, oblivious to the aesthetics and message code of the social network (see http://bit.ly/3ewil5Q).

As for The Quint (India), its publications are comical and entertaining, but many videos, due to their dimensions, do not seem like native TikTok content but rather from alternative platforms such as YouTube or Instagram. This type of proposal seems to be following the tastes and pretensions of the audience through this social network, which comes to it to relax and entertain themselves.

However, if we refer to the creative understanding of the 'TikTok format' in Agencia Lupa (Brazil), from publications titled 'Caiu na Rede', it collects and submits to verification in 60 seconds, information of various kinds that circulates in the popular communities, (for example, see http://bit.ly/3ePiXna). This fact-checker has also carried out news verification from a dance-based aesthetic proposal (see http://bit.ly/2Oe0F3X).

Similarly, Factcheckvn (Vietnam) has developed several raps (see http://bit.ly/3cqaZhz and http://bit.ly/3lfunS9) to innovate in this type of process, although it is striking that they are not the videos with the highest engagement and, without a doubt, they are quite disruptive for the journalistic proposal in question. Both cases are clear attempts by these media outlets to adapt and develop new strategies regarding the TikTok message code used by younger audiences.

Also worth mentioning again, is Maldito Bulo (Spain). In its verification proposal, it sometimes addresses popular culture issues such as mechanisms to "avoid crying" when cutting an onion (see http://bit.ly/3bo7n0b), which is adapted to the proposals that are trending on TikTok, in this case concerning the format of 'micro-tutorials', a narrative style typical of the social network derived from its own characteristics of short-format videos.

For its part, Kompas.com (Indonesia) applies "reverse verification" in mainstream topics, alluding to content about uncertain situations or counterproductive examples due to irresponsibility. A video shows (see http://bit.ly/3l3PAP4) a woman commenting on TikTok that she has glued her hair with a certain glue to give it greater fixation. The journalist, while contextualizing the event, indicates the counterproductive effects, even citing recommendations from the product manufacturer to prevent others from supporting the action. Again, it is a narrative that has to do with the particularities of the social network itself, since in TikTok the idea of a user community often falls on the logic of the "challenge", imitating the actions or situations of others.

Africa Check (South Africa) (see http://bit.ly/3rDb0F5) stands out for making the most of all the native resources for editing and multimedia creation of the platform, even exploiting the musical resource, which is one of the variables of the algorithm to enhance the visibility of content in the main feed. The journalists who intervene in the publications of this media outlet establish dialogues and choreographies defined by the community of TikTok users, so their proposal is very organic and consistent with the established message code.

From the aforementioned, it is possible to affirm that, regardless of the topics, the country or the type of media, verification journalism has interesting and innovative ways to increase its reach without the need to fall into sensationalist practices. Therefore, the second hypothesis is not confirmed, since

TikTok's own narrative does not limit the activity of fact-checkers, but rather constitutes another way to access other audience segments.

In this sense, Pablo Hernández from Maldito Bulo highlights that "the phenomenon of disinformation is transversal, it reaches all segments of the population and uses all social networks. That is why it is important to be present in all of them, including TikTok (…) Disinformation has reached TikTok and the best place to combat it is where it spreads". Hernández especially highlights the young audience that uses this social network, which can be especially vulnerable to hoaxes.

From Newtral they argue that "any social network that accumulates a massive number of users will always have to carry out, as growth increases, a greater moderation work if it wants to avoid the expansion of harmful content, and not only related to misinformation". From the media, they affirm that for this reason, they have become partners of TikTok in Spain, to try to stop fake news within the platform in time.

From another perspective, from Mala Espina (Chile) they affirm that the intention of their work has been in an attempt to reach new audiences, as well as to try different platforms. In other words, it is, for the moment, an experimentation process, an aspect on which Karla Torres (Cotejo) affirms that it is an important reason to think well about the participation of the media in the platform since those who are in charge of carrying the profile and carry out eventual monitoring of content in it must be very familiar with its particular style and code of the message.

In reference to the third hypothesis raised in the research, it is observed that the thematic area with the most presence in the verifiers studied on TikTok is politics, followed by content related to health, and social issues. In the case of fact-checkers such as Mala Espina (Chile), Politifact (United States), Tempo.co (Indonesia), and Bolivia Verifica (Bolivia), there are many informative and verification publications on topics of political interest according to aesthetics and multimedia elements of TikTok, such as music and animations in vertical format (see http://bit.ly/3elf610). Likewise, in several publications of the TikTok profile of Tempo.co (Indonesia), attention to political issues transcends the international level, with the US elections at the end of 2020 being one of the recurring themes in this regard in the studied period.

The presence of health issues is related to the Covid-19 pandemic in the Lupa Agency (Brazil), Africa Check (South Africa), Newscheckerin (India), and The Quint (India). For their part, the Spanish Maldito Bulo and Newtral have also addressed issues of sex education, skincare, and wound healing, among others, such as the case of a response to a comment by a user about the veracity of urine as a remedy to jellyfish stings (see http://bit.ly/3ekaGr5). In this specific content, the journalist from Maldito Bulo not only refers to the mainstream of television entertainment but also references scientific sources about the most appropriate actions to take into account in this situation.

However, in general proportion, the category "other topics" is the one that most abounds in the production of content from these broadcasters through TikTok. In this regard, it is possible to appreciate verifications or informative/guiding content on climatic, technological, local and international entertainment issues, or any other subject that does not fall into the pre-established categories for this study. In other words, in most of the studied fact-checkers, despite placing great emphasis on verifying or denying political, health, economic, or social issues, it is common to observe more diverse types of content.

In this way, according to the evidence presented here and taking into account the assumptions of the third hypothesis, as pointed out in previous lines, it can be affirmed that, to a large extent, in the fact-

checkers under study, both the situation of the Covid-19 and political episodes on a global scale dominated the publications, as they are topics that have been very susceptible to feeding an enormous flow of information in many cases questionable or speculative (López, 2020; Sidorenko, Herranz, and Cantero, 2020; Pappapico, 2020).

Despite the implicit idea that the Anglicism 'fact-checkers' can give, these journalistic means of verification of information, far from having an activity exclusively focused on contrasting news and rumors, also publish as generalist media and journalism educators.

Although verification is present in most of the profiles observed, only in the multimedia production of Agencia Lupa (Brazil) and Factcheckvn (Vietnam) this journalistic process exceeds the creation of informative/guidance content. Likewise, it is clear that Bolivia Verifica (Bolivia) and Newscheckerin (India) have only focused on producing based on this second premise, which also seeks to mitigate misinformation by raising specific information in advance about various events or situations and, thus, reduce the possibility that hoaxes or speculations arise in this regard.

In the particular case of The Quint (India), its approach has been largely oriented to repeatedly promoting its work routines and verification strategies in an entertaining tone, as already indicated. For its part, Maldito Bulo (Spain) has a lot to do with education and guidance on dealing with misinformation and fake news or developing content where they advise how to act, for example, with a family member who usually publishes through messaging apps content that is not verified (see http://bit.ly/3v78U2D).

Therefore, the fourth hypothesis is not fulfilled in most of the studied cases, since the work of fact-checkers through TikTok has not focused exclusively on verifying and denying hoaxes and fake news. In fact, the two exceptions mentioned above may eventually lead to some confusion among users who still do not know what the news verification process consists of or the purpose of a fact-checker.

In this sense, reference is made to a particular example of Maldito Bulo, where the media answered precisely this last question (see http://bit.ly/3chRGqK). In this regard, Pablo Hernández (Maldito Bulo), stresses that "besides reacting to misinformation to remove it, you have to act by creating denials in TikTok format but also giving truthful information through the same social network."

Regarding the fifth and last hypothesis of the research, it is evidenced that fact-checkers interact little with their audience despite the importance of the user community in the dynamics of TikTok. This work of creating a community is relevant to increase the reach and relevance of the verified content and that it approaches that of the fake information itself, thus becoming an alternative to stimulate the educational, guidance, and verification work, not only on TikTok but also on other social networks such as Twitter (Magallón-Rosa, 2018) and Facebook (Andersen and Søe, 2020). This is thought-provoking given the importance of the user community on Tiktok.

However, in attention to particular cases, among the studied profiles, Maldito Bulo (Spain) and The Quint (India) are the ones that report the most interactions with their users, thus narrowing the relationship between media and audience. As an additional note, Maldito Bulo has explored this interaction using the 'duet'[1] resource to react to another video within the same social network (see http://bit.ly/3kVspGt).

---

[1] TikTok allows the screen to be divided into two from the duets, having on the left side the profile that reacts to content and on the right the original video on which you want to comment.

From Agencia Lupa (Brazil) they affirm that most of the content that they verify and about which they publish on TikTok, as well as through other social networks, comes largely from the contribution of Internet users, which raises another type of interactions, in this case of the audience with the media outlet.

You might think that with few fact-checkers on TikTok, those who are active could become a benchmark for verification journalism. However, the data from the surveys still show the lack of knowledge that exists about the work of these actors or their simple presence in the social network since it is not yet related to the environment conducive to accessing this type of content and messages.

6. Conclusions

Through this research, it has been possible to delve into the narrative forms and communication carried out by verification agencies from different parts of the world on TikTok and verify the high potential of this social network to combat misinformative content. In fact, due to the proliferation of videos with misleading content during the global pandemic of Covid-19, various health and humanitarian institutions such as the WHO, the Red Cross, or Unicef used this social network to deny fake content and report prevention measures against the coronavirus (Ballesteros, 2020; Fingas, 2020; Sidorenko, Herranz, and Cantero, 2020), as well as private users, mostly health professionals.

Beyond the humanitarian and health field, the verification agencies of different countries periodically publish on TikTok on different issues such as politics, the economy, and social issues. In fact, fact-checkers such as Agencia Lupa (Brazil), Newtral (Spain), and Cotejo (Venezuela) consider that TikTok may eventually be a digital platform with significant potential for the circulation of fake news and speculation that forces fact-checking specialized media outlets, generalist news media, and journalists to focus their attention on this fake content and act to combat misinformation.

This activity of verification of information and denials on TikTok by fact-checkers adapts to the narrative of the social network in most of the cases studied, using vertical video, TikTok's own editing tools, and formats such as micro-tutorials. This can be attributed to the competition to capture the attention of users on the social network with more entertaining and visual content. If users ignore them, the algorithm of the social network chooses not to continue showing them in the main feed.

Likewise, there is a lack of interaction between the profiles of the verification platforms and the audience, which is fundamental for the development of fact-checking (Elizabeth and Mantzarlis, 2016). The logic of communication through TikTok is based on a constant call to action, either through engagement or by emulating actions and content by third parties given the importance of the user community on TikTok. This must be an element on which many issuers must influence more.

Greater communication with the audience could contribute to increasing the engagement of verification agency profiles on TikTok, as well as a more regular presence at a time when fact-checking journalism in countries like Spain is still in an incipient phase (López and Rodríguez, 2020).

Thus, the work of fact-checkers, media, and journalists on TikTok is to create attractive, dynamic, and visually stimulating content that competes with the vast production of creativity that abounds in the platform, without detracting from, resenting, or impairing from the journalism made. In other words, verification journalism has a place and will endure on TikTok as long as it seeks and develops

new storytelling skills, taking into account the constant evolution of the platform in terms of trends and user groups.

On the other hand, the presence of verification agencies on TikTok is essential to reach a greater number of users, especially young people, a segment of the population that is especially vulnerable to hoaxes, as has been pointed out in the research. Therefore, a greater expansion in this social network of these contents so necessary in post-truth society would be desirable, but it must be taken into account that it is not usual for TikTok users to expressly go to a special profile to consume their content, since the visual stimuli of the platform focus -and force users to focus their attention- on the main feed.

At the same time, work should be done on media literacy and citizen responsibility (Aguaded and Romero, 2015; Pabón-Montealegre, 2020) to control the spread of fake information, besides turning to reliable sources for information (Guallar et al, 2020; Palomo and Sedano 2018). The media and journalists should maintain and increase educational efforts on the danger posed by disinformation and the importance of various mechanisms to counter it.

Likewise, TikTok's narrative and codes, as well as its audience and engagement elements, differentiate it from other social networks such as Facebook and Twitter, which has meant a limit in the research to establish a possible comparison with the presence and activity of fact-checkers on these social networks. It would be interesting to carry out a comparison in future research, delimiting a specific period or the verification of a specific topic by fact-checkers in the different social networks.

In short, TikTok is considered to have great potential for verification journalism working from the narrative of the social network and fostering interaction with the audience. In this sense, it would also be interesting to focus future research on the content analysis of these interactions and the engagement in the verification profiles present on TikTok.

7. Bibliography

Aguaded, I. y Romero R., L. M. (2015). Mediamorfosis y desinformación en la infoesfera: Alfabetización mediática, digital e informacional ante los cambios de hábitos de consumo informativo. *Education in the Knowledge Society, 16*(1), 44-57.

Albright, J. (2017). Welcome to the Era of Fake News. *Media and Communication, 5* (2), 87-89. http://dx.doi.org/10.17645/mac.v5i2.977

Allcott, H., Gentzknow, M. y Yu, C. (2019). Trends in the diffusion of misinformation on social media. *Research & Politics, (6)*, 2, 1-8. https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168019848554

Allcott, H. y Gentzkow, M. (2017). Social media and fake news in the 2016 election. *Journal of Economic Perspectives, 31*(2), 211–236.

Alonso G., Marián (2019). Fake News: desinformación en la era de la sociedad de la información. En: *Ámbitos. Revista internacional de Comunicación*, 45. 29-52. http://dx.doi.org/10.12795/Ambitos.2019.i45.03

Amorós G., M. (2018). *Fake News. La verdad de las noticias falsas*. Plataforma Editorial.

Andersen, J. y & Søe, S. O. (2020). Communicative actions we live by: The problem with fact-checking, tagging or flagging fake news – the case of Facebook. *European Journal of Communication*, *35*(2), 126–139. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323119894489

Ballesteros H., C.A. (2020). La propagación digital del coronavirus: Midiendo el *engagement* del entretenimiento en la red social emergente TikTok. *Revista Española de Comunicación en Salud*. Suplemento 1, 171-185. https://doi.org/10.20318/recs.2020.5459

Basch, C. H., Hillyer, G. C. y Jaimie, C. (2020). COVID-19 on TikTok: harnessing an emerging social media platform to convey important public health messages. *International Journal of Adolescent Medicine and Health,* 1-3. https://doi.org/10.1515/ijamh-2020-0111

Blanco A., I., García G., C., y Tejedor C., S. (2019). El impacto de las fake news en la investigación en Ciencias Sociales. Revisión bibliográfica sistematizada. *Historia Y Comunicación Social*, *24*(2), 449-469. https://doi.org/10.5209/hics.66290

Burkhardt, J. M. (2017). Chapter 1. History of Fake News. *Library Technology Reports, 53*(8), 5–9.

Cabezuelo L., F. y Manfredi, J. L. (2019). Posverdad, fake-news y agenda política en el discurso de Trump en Twitter. *Historia y comunicación social, 24* (2), 449-483.

Ceron, W., De-Lima-Santos, M.F. y Quiles, M. G. (2021), Fake news agenda in the era of COVID-19: Identifying trends through fact-checking content, *Online Social Networks and Media*, *21*, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.osnem.2020.100116

Coleman, S., Morrison, D. E. y Anthony, S. (2012). A Constructivist Study of Trust in the News. *Journalism Studies*, 13, (1). 37-53. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2011.592353

Coughlan, S. (2017, 12 de enero). What does post-truth mean for a philosopher? *BBC News*. Consultado el 11 de marzo 2021 en: https://www.bbc.com/news/education-38557838

Del Fresno G., M. (2019). Desórdenes informativos: sobreexpuestos e infrainformados en la era de la posverdad. *Profesional de la información, 28* (3), e280302. https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2019.may.02

Ditrendia (2020). Móviles en España y en el Mundo 2020. Consultado el 15 de febrero 2021 en: https://bit.ly/3iY6iwV

Egelhofer, J.N., Aaldering, L., Eberl, J.M., Galyga S. y Lecheler, S. (2020) From Novelty to Normalization? How Journalists Use the Term "Fake News" in their Reporting. *Journalism Studies*, *21*(10), 1323-1343. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2020.1745667

Elizabeth, J. y Mantzarlis. A. (2016, 6 de julio). The fact is, fact-checking can be better. *American Press Institute.* Consultado el 10 de marzo 2021 en: https://www.americanpressinstitute.org/fact-checking-project/fact-not-fact-checking-great/

European Commission (2018). A multi-dimensional approach to disinformation. Report of the independent High-Level Group on Fake News and Online Disinformation. Directorate-General for Communication Networks, Content and Technology. Unión Europea.

Fingas, J. (2020, 3 de marzo). La OMS se une a TikTok para combatir la desinformación del coronavirus. *Entrepeneur.* Consultado el 15 de marzo 2021 en: https://www.entrepreneur.com/article/347084

Fundacion Gabo. (2020, Abril, 2). Más de 100 sitios para verificar desinformación sobre Covid-19. Consultado el 14 de junio 2021 en: https://fundaciongabo.org/es/noticias/mas-de-100-sitios-para-verificar-desinformacion-sobre-el-covid-19

Gaitán, J. A. y Piñuel, J. L. (1998). *Técnicas de investigación en Comunicación Social*. Síntesis.

Guallar, J., Codina, Ll., Freixa, P. y Pérez M., M. (2020). Desinformación, bulos, curación y verificación. Revisión de estudios en Iberoamérica 2017-2020. *Telos: revista de Estudios Interdisciplinarios en Ciencias Sociales, 22* (3), 595-613. https://doi.org/10.36390/telos223.09

IFCN. (n.d). Verified signatories of the IFCN code of principles. Consultado el 14 de junio 2021 en: https://ifcncodeofprinciples.poynter.org/signatories

Jang, S. y Kim, J.K. (2018). Third person effects of fakenews: Fakenews regulation and media literacy interventions. *Computers in human Behavior*, *80*, 295-302.

Keyes, R. (2004). *The Post-truth Era: Dishonesty and deception in contemporary life*. St. Martins Pr.

Lazer, D. M. J., Baum, M. A., Benkler, Y., Berinsky, A. J., Greenhill, K. M., Menczer, F., Metzger, Miriam J., Nyhan, B., Pennycook, G., Rothschild, D., Schudson, M., Sloman, Steven A., Sunstein, C. R., Thorson, E. A., Watts, Duncan J., Zittrain, J. L. (2018). The science of fake news. *Science*, v. 359, n. 6380, 1094-1096. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aao2998

Li, X., Xiaohui, Y. y Zhengwu, Z. (2019). Research on the causes of the "TikTok" app becoming popular and the existing problems. *Journal of advanced management science*, 7(2), 59-63. https://doi.org/10.18178/joams.7.2.59-63

López, E. (2020). Las pandemias en el siglo XXI: Un desafío para la salud pública. *Actualización en Nutrición*, 21 (1), 1-3

López-Borrull, A. (2020). Fake news e infodemia científica durante la Covid-19, ¿dos caras de la misma crisis informacional?. *Anuario ThinkEPI*, *14,* e14e07

López P., F., y Rodríguez R., J. (2020). El *Fact-checking* en España. Plataformas, prácticas y rasgos distintivos. *Estudios Sobre El Mensaje Periodístico, 26*(3), 1045-1065. https://doi.org/10.5209/esmp.65246

Magallón-Rosa, R. (2018). Nuevos formatos de verificación. El caso de Maldito Bulo en Twitter. *Sphera Publica, 1* (18), 41-65.

MacKenzie, A. y Bhatt, I. (2020) Lies, Bullshit and Fake News. *Postdigit Sci Educ 2*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s42438-019-00085-4

McNair, B. (2017). *Fake News: Falsehood, Fabrication and Fantasy in Journalism*. Routledge.

Mazaira C, A., Rúas A., J. y Puentes R., I. (2019). *Fact-checking* en los debates electorales televisados de las elecciones generales de 2015 y 2016. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 74, 748 a 766. http://dx.doi.org/10.4185/RLCS-2019-1355

Nyhan, B. y Reifler, J. (2015), The Effect of Fact-Checking on Elites: A Field Experiment on U.S. State Legislators. *American Journal of Political Science, 59*, 628-640. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12162

Omar, B. y Dequan, W. (2020). Watch, Share or Create: The Influence of Personality Traits and User Motivation on TikTok Mobile Video Usage. *International Journal of Interactive Mobile Technologies,* 14 (4), 121-137. https://doi.org/10.3991/ijim.v14i04.12429

Pabón-Montealegre, M. V. (2020). Criterio para navegar en la desinformación. La WebQuest como herramienta de aprendizaje para formar a los maestros. *Universitas Científica*, *16*(1), 18-21.

Palau-Sampio, D. (2018). *Fact-checking* y vigilancia del poder: La verificación del discurso público en los nuevos medios de américa Latina. *Comunicación y Sociedad, 31* (3), 347-365.

Palomo, B., y Sedano A., J. A. (2018). WhatsApp como herramienta de verificación de fake news. El caso de B de Bulo. *Revista Latina*, (73), 1384-1397. https://doi.org/10.4185/RLCS-2018-1312

Papapicco, C. (2020). Informative contagion: The Coronavirus (COVID-19) in italian journalism. *Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies*, 10 (3), 1- 12

Pérez, S. (2021, 3 de febrero). TikTok to flag and downmark 'unsubstantiated' claims fact checkers can't verify. *TechCruch.* Consultado el 11 de marzo 2021 en: https://tcrn.ch/3w3G5nY

Pérez-Curiel, C., y Velasco-Molpeceres, A. M. (2020). Impacto del discurso político en la difusión de bulos sobre Covid-19. Influencia de la desinformación en públicos y medios. *Revista Latina, (78)*, 86-119. https://doi.org/10.4185/RLCS-2020-1469

Pérez-Dasilva, J.A., Meso-Ayerdi, K. y Mendiguren-Galdospín, T. (2020). Fake news y coronavirus: detección de los principales actores y tendencias a través del análisis de las conversaciones en Twitter. *Profesional de la información, 29* (3). https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2020.may.08

Preston, S., Anderson, A., Robertson, D.J., Shephard, M.P. y Huhe, N. (2021). Detecting fake news on Facebook: The role of emotional intelligence. *PLoS ONE, 16*(3). https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0246757

Rapkin, M. (2017, 1 de noviembre). The social media platform that has Gen Z obsessed. *Wall Street Journal Magazine.* Consultado el 15 de marzo 2021 en: https://on.wsj.com/2YVWhZj

Rodríguez-Fernández, L. (2021). *Propaganda digital. Comunicación en tiempos de desinformación*. Barcelona: UOC.

Salas A., C. (2019). La primera fake news de la historia. *Historia y comunicación social, 24* (2), 411-431. https://dx.doi.org/10.5209/hics.66268

Salaverría, R., Buslón, N., López P., F., León, B., López G., I., Erviti, M. C. (2020). Desinformación en tiempos de pandemia: tipología de los bulos sobre la Covid-19. *Profesional de la información, 29* (3). https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2020.may.15

Salaverría, R. (2020). Claves para hacer frente a la desinformación. *Biko INSIGHTS.* 52-61.

Sánchez D., J.M. y Magallón R., R. (2020). Infodemia y COVID-19. Evolución y viralización de informaciones falsas en España. Revista Española de Comunicación en Salud. Suplemento 1. 31-41. https://doi.org/10.20318/recs.2020.541

Shuai, Y., Yuzhen, Z. y Yifang, M. (2019). Analysis of the reasons and development of short video application – Taking Tik Tok as an example. 9th International Conference on Information and Social Science (ICISS 2019). *Francis Academic Press*, 340-343. https://doi.org/10.25236/iciss.2019.062

Sidorenko B., P., Herranz, J. M. y Cantero, J. I. (2020). Use of new narratives for COVID-19 reporting: from 360º videos to ephemeral TikTok videos in online media. *Tripodos*, 47(1), 105-122

Soler, P., Enríquez, A. M. (2012). Reflexión sobre el rigor científico en la investigación cualitativa. *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, *18,* 879-888. https://doi.org/ggvt53

Terol B., R. y Alonso- L., N. (2020). La prensa española en la Era de la Posverdad: el compromiso de la verificación de datos para combatir las Fake News. *Revista Prisma Social*, (31), 304-327

Tesich, S. (1992). A goverment of lies. *The Nation, 254*(1)

Torres M., J. L. y Villena A., E. (2020) Usos y recursos de TikTok como herramienta de comunicación. En, Herrero G., J., Segarra S., J. e Hidalgo M., T. (coords.) *La narrativa audiovisual. Del concepto a la alfabetización mediática* (259-269) Madrid: Fragua.

Ufarte, M.J., Peralta, L., Murcia, F.J. (2018). *Fact-checking*: un nuevo desafío del periodismo. *Profesional de la Información*, 27(4), 733-741. https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2018.jul.02

Vásquez H., J., Negreira R., M. C. y López G., X. (2020). Let´s dance the news! How the news media are adapting to the logic of TikTok. *Journalism*, 1-19. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1464884920969092

Vázquez H., J., Vizoso, Á. y López G., X. (2019). Innovación tecnológica y comunicativa para combatir la desinformación: 135 experiencias para un cambio de rumbo. *El profesional de la información,* 28(3). https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2019.may.01

Van Den Bremer, A. J, M. y Siebelink, R. (2020). Critical Thinking on TikTok. Tesis sin publicar. Universidad de Utrecht.

Vizoso, A. y Vázquez H., J. (2019). Plataformas de *fact-checking* en español. Características, organización y método. *Communication & Society, 32*(1), 127-144. https://doi.org/10.15581/003.32.1.127-144

Vogel, E. A. y Rose, J. P. (2016). Self-reflection and interpersonal connection: Making the most of self-presentation on social media. *Translational Issues in Psychological Science*, 2, 294-302. https://doi.org/10.1037/tps0000076

Yu-Liang, F. Y. L., Chun-Chin, C. y Shu-Ming, W. (2019). Evaluation of charm factors of short video user experience using FAHP – a case study of TikTok app. *IOP Conference Series: Materials Science and Engineering*, 688, 1-5. https://doi.org/10.1088/1757-899X/688/5/055068

AUTHORS:

Pavel Sidorenko Bautista
Ph.D. from the Faculty of Communication of the Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha. Professor at the Faculty of Communication Sciences of the Universidad Francisco de Vitoria and the Master's Degree in Communication and Corporate Identity of the Universidad Internacional de La Rioja. He researches new narratives and new technologies applied to communication and journalism. He belongs to the 'DiploCity' research group.
pavel.sidorenko@ufv.es
Índice H: 5
Orcid ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8094-3089
Google Scholar: https://scholar.google.es/citations?hl=es&user=NZkQkeEAAAAJ
ResearchGate: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Pavel-Sidorenko-Bautista
Scopus ID: https://www.scopus.com/authid/detail.uri?authorId=57211801795
Academia.edu: https://ufvitoria.academia.edu/PavelSidorenkoBautista

Nadia Alonso López
Ph.D. in Communication from the UV and Master's Degree in Management of Audiovisual Production and Marketing and Digital Communication. She is a professor at the Department of Audiovisual Communication, Documentation, and Art History at the Universitat Politècnica de València. She belongs to the ArtiCom research group and is a member of the Spanish Association for Communication Research (AE-IC) and the Spanish Society of Journalism (SEP).
naallo1@har.upv.es
Índice H: 3
Orcid ID: http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5220-2232
Google Scholar: https://scholar.google.es/citations?user=77kOgs8AAAAJ&hl=es
ResearchGate: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Nadia-Alonso-Lopez
Academia.edu: https://upv-es.academia.edu/NadiaAlonsoL%C3%B3pez

Fábio Giacomelli
Journalist. Ph.D. student in Communication Sciences and Researcher associated with LabCom.CA at the Universidad Beira Interior. Funded by an FCT doctoral fellowship with reference SFRH/BD/143944/2019.
fabio@ubi.pt
Índice H: 1
Orcid ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3261-0041
Google Scholar: https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=ZRC7_6wAAAAJ&hl=pt-BR&oi=ao
ResearchGate: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Fabio-Giacomelli-3
Academia.edu: http://www.ubi.academia.edu/fabiogiacomelli