Beyond Information: Online Participatory Culture and Information Disorder

NINA LUTZ* and STEPHEN PROCHASKA*, University of Washington LAURA KUREK, University of Michigan MARIANNE AUBIN LE QUÉRÉ, Cornell University JASON GREENFIELD, New York University JOSEPH S. SCHAFER, University of Washington PHIL TINN, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, SINTEF DANIEL SCHROEDER, Metropolitan University of Oslo, SINTEF SHIVA DARIAN, New Mexico State University SUKRIT VENKATAGIRI, Swarthmore College AHMER ARIF, University of Texas at Austin ANIRBAN SEN, Ashoka University JOYOJEET PAL, University of Michigan KATE STARBIRD, University of Washington

Information disorder (i.e. the proliferation of misinformation, disinformation, propaganda, and hate speech) is contributing to intensifying global democratic backsliding, and diminished abilities to understand and address difficult challenges across diverse domains, such as health, migration, and climate science. A contributing factor to information disorder is the internet's participatory, collaborative, and remix culture, with platforms creating pathways for online audiences to create and spread problematic information. Researchers studying information disorder have become targets of disinformation and harassment campaigns, increasing burnout and underscoring the pressing need and ongoing challenges of conducting this research. These challenges stress the importance of scholars from diverse backgrounds coming together to build networks that increase both the quality of scholarship and capacities to protect and care for targeted researchers. In this CSCW workshop, attendees will identify which directions of empirical research, methods, perspectives, interventions, public communications, and other actions should be prioritized as the community seeks to continue combating information disorder in this difficult climate. Scholars will then share and reflect upon concerns and harms they have endured in pursuing this work, sharing resources that have helped them through these challenges, identifying new potential resources, and opportunities to support one another.

CCS Concepts: • Human-centered computing → Collaborative and social computing.

Additional Key Words and Phrases: Infomation Disorder, Workshop, Misinformation, CSCW

Authors' Contact Information: Nina Lutz, ninalutz@uw.edu; Stephen Prochaska, sprochas@uw.edu, University of Washington; Laura Kurek, University of Michigan; Marianne Aubin Le Quéré, Cornell University; Jason Greenfield, New York University; Joseph S. Schafer, University of Washington; Phil Tinn, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, SINTEF; Daniel Schroeder, Metropolitan University of Oslo, SINTEF; Shiva Darian, New Mexico State University; Sukrit Venkatagiri, Swarthmore College; Ahmer Arif, University of Texas at Austin; Anirban Sen, Ashoka University; Joyojeet Pal, University of Michigan; Kate Starbird, University of Washington.

Permission to make digital or hard copies of all or part of this work for personal or classroom use is granted without fee provided that copies are not made or distributed for profit or commercial advantage and that copies bear this notice and the full citation on the first page. Copyrights for components of this work owned by others than the author(s) must be honored. Abstracting with credit is permitted. To copy otherwise, or republish, to post on servers or to redistribute to lists, requires prior specific permission and/or a fee. Request permissions from permissions@acm.org.

© 2025 Copyright held by the owner/author(s). Publication rights licensed to ACM. ACM XXXX-XXXX/2025/5-ART https://doi.org/XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

^{*}Both authors contributed equally to this research.

ACM Reference Format:

1 Introduction

1.1 Motivation and Background

Information disorder, which consists primarily of the spread of harmful misinformation, disinformation, propaganda, and hate speech [102], has contributed to major challenges around the world, including democratic backsliding [7, 9, 10, 12, 72] climate crisis denial [75], responses to migration [24, 35, 38], and health policy and access [8, 68]. Within these domains, information disorder has made it more difficult to understand and respond to already complex challenges, muddied public understanding of scientific outcomes and contributed to lowered trust in democratic institutions [21, 99]. Critically, these challenges are not geographically constrained and are visible globally, with researchers highlighting challenges in the Philippines [72, 73], Brazil [77, 88, 91], the U.S. [9, 69, 75, 94], Germany [29], Italy [79], India [3, 13], the Central African Republic [66], and other locations.

Information disorder has played a significant role in shaping recent conversations surrounding how governments, and government processes, are viewed by the publics they purport to represent. These conversations often involve a strong anti-establishment or anti-elite, populist tone that has been documented in Argentina [25, 26, 36], the U.S. [42, 43], and India [42], among other countries [55]. These narratives have acted as effective vehicles for allegations that elections are fraudulent or untrustworthy in recent elections in Brazil [88] (Rossini et al., 2023), the U.S. [83, 94], and Argentina [14, 26], that journalists are alternately corrupt propagandists or the enemy of the state [43, 61], that elites such as George Soros are interfering in elections or government [52, 82], and/or illegal immigrants are intentionally being allowed to vote [16, 37, 67], among other claims. Critically, the outcomes of these narratives are not constrained to the borders of a particular country. Instead, the success of a politician pushing one of these narratives may have ramifications for foreign policy and international alliances. For example, Donald Trump's 2024 election victory in the U.S. has already catalyzed shifts (e.g. [33]) due to wavering U.S. support for Ukraine [49], threats toward Canada, Greenland, and Panama [23], proposal to colonize Gaza [11], and the amplification of Russian propaganda by Trump, including false claims that Ukraine started the war or that President Volodymyr Zelenskyy is a dictator [92].

Modern information disorder is heavily participatory and leverages the incentives of the "attention economy" alongside affordances of online systems to spread messaging. Digital platforms have historically facilitated a wide range of collective action, ranging from "hashtag activism" [27] to election interference [46] to insurrection [56]. The same affordances and technical systems that enabled pro-social participation [47, 100] have increasingly been utilized to contribute to and intensify information disorder. For example, recent disinformation campaigns have effectively gamed technical affordances to mislead audiences by taking advantage of Google Scholar's citation algorithms, or by priming audiences to interpret hashtag limitations in a misleading way [98]. Moreover, the political right wing in the U.S. has integrated offline infrastructures into online spaces that capitalize on activist networks who facilitate the digital dissemination of false and misleading "evidence" of election fraud [83, 85]. This participation is possible because social media has created a unique space where audiences, political elites, and influencers can easily access one another. This access facilitates collaboration that combines offline infrastructures with digital storytelling, creating pathways of participation that simultaneously amplify and reinforce propaganda narratives [31, 85].

Numerous interventions and moderation strategies have been proposed to help mitigate the effects of information disorder. Several scholars have investigated the effectiveness of "pre-bunking" [62, 87], accuracy

nudges [17, 57], fact checks or context notes [20, 22, 51, 101], moderation focused on removing false posts or banning accounts [40, 41], and media literacy [28, 44] - among other avenues to reduce the impact of information disorder. Each of these strategies has pros and cons. For example, fact-checking can potentially mitigate the spread of misinformation while simultaneously documenting evidence that challenges misleading information. However, it is limited by the sheer scope and speed of false and misleading claims present online, which could lead to an "oracle problem" [6] in relying on outside information for ground truth. This problem is exacerbated by the perceived and/or real ideological alignment and agendas of fact-checkers, which can influence the fact checks they provide or allow their fact checks to be dismissed because of their political or ideological stance [53]. Additionally, individual pieces of information are often difficult to fact-check and don't fall neatly into a bucket of "true" or "false", often containing grains of truth [18]. Instead, false and misleading information is often ambiguous and relies on an in-group to know what frame to use when interpreting a piece of content [95]. Similarly, some interventions may struggle to be effective outside of experimental settings, although there is evidence that combining interventions is more effective than a single intervention on its own [5].

Complicating conversations about intervention strategies is the fact that many proposed interventions, most noticeably those relying on moderation of harmful content, require digital platforms to be willing and able to implement them. This platform reliance has historically posed challenges when government agendas clash with platform interests or policies, such as in India [54, 65], Myanmar [64, 81] and other nations. Recent events have seen social media platforms and technology companies roll back trust and safety teams and content moderation efforts [70, 80], instead embracing a "free speech absolutist" stance [58]. In some cases, this backtracking appears to be partly due to a desire to benefit from the communication power of social media. For example, in the U.S., X owner Elon Musk has used his platform to promote his political views and delegitimize political opponents [76, 90], including by amplifying false or misleading information that serves to support the efforts of DOGE, the organization currently dismantling American governmental institutions [39, 45]. These effects are not simply due to platform policy, however. Offline forces such as the lack of platform regulation or restrictions on researcher access to platform data appear to exacerbate already problematic dynamics, a contrast that becomes clear when comparing regulations around privacy and data in the European Union vs. the U.S. [15, 19, 30].

Researchers have also had to deal with challenges in performing and communicating about their work as scholars working to understand and mitigate information disorder have faced attacks (personal, professional, and institutional) and cutbacks [1, 50, 63, 71, 74]. These attacks are not just reserved for scholars, and appear to be designed to have a cooling effect on the ability of targets to continue their work, such as bogging them down in legal proceedings while simultaneously fishing (e.g. through weaponized FOIA requests) for "evidence" of alleged wrongdoing that can be amplified and tied to existing, often false or misleading, propaganda narratives [104]. In the U.S., these attacks have broadened to include almost all scientific research as the administration cuts funding for research across the board [78]. As scholars are increasingly drawn into the dynamics they study, it is imperative to consider how to continue to perform this work safely and objectively.

CSCW Workshop Goals

CSCW is an ideal venue for further examining these issues because of the deeply collaborative and interdisciplinary nature of the problem. Although information disorder spans legacy media, community spaces, and digital platforms, computational systems are increasingly used to facilitate the collaboration driving disordered information [9, 83, 84]. CSCW has a history of scholarship examining collaborative work, highlighting how online communities come together to form social movements [32, 97, 103] or engage in collective sensemaking around crisis events [48, 60, 96], among other areas [34, 59, 86, 89, 100]. This foundational focus on collaboration has been critical in drawing attention to the participatory nature of disinformation, propaganda, and other content associated with information disorder [2, 4, 83, 93].

We see the strengthening of scholar networks via convenings such as this workshop as essential for ensuring that efforts to resist strategic disinformation can continue while simultaneously increasing research outcomes by facilitating cross-disciplinary and cross-cultural collaboration. We aim to bring together CSCW scholars from diverse disciplinary, geographic, and cultural backgrounds to critically examine the strengths and weaknesses of previous work and identify new priorities for moving forward. We seek to do so while engaging in the CSCW tradition of performing our own computer-supported cooperative work while simultaneously examining how cooperative work can, and has, played a critical role in the proliferation of disordered information. To these ends, our workshop has three key objectives:

- (1) Developing and strengthening a network of researchers studying participatory online dynamics and information disorder within and adjacent to the CSCW community.
- (2) Identifying, based on successes and shortcomings of previous work, what empirical research, interventions, frameworks, perspectives, designs (both technological and otherwise), and other actions (e.g. policy work or public communications) should be prioritized at this moment.
- (3) Sharing experiences, resources, and best practices as well as ideating on new ones that can support the ability to continue doing this work under threats to researchers, institutions, and the field at large. This includes tangible steps that the conveners may take after this workshop to support each other in continuing this work.

2 Workshop logistics

Given increasing travel uncertainties and CSCW's approach to having a 1 day virtual attendance day instead of a hybrid experience, we currently plan to hold the workshop in two sessions: one fully online session in early to mid October (exact date to be announced on the website when closer) and a second in-person session. At the end of the in-person session, during Activity 3, we will offer an opportunity for online attendees from the previous session to come in for these last reflections. In the spirit of connecting our community, we intend this to be a place for thinking about how we can support each other moving forward.

We do this to balance facilitating the ability to have candid conversations about potentially sensitive topics, build community, and ensure holistic and focused participation and still include individuals from our community who cannot physically travel.

For the in person gathering, the organizers will provide all materials (i.e. post its, pens) and manage A/V needs. The online session will be hosted via the university Zoom of the first co-organizers. We plan on including up to 20 participants a session, excluding organizers.

2.1 Workshop Schedule

This workshop will run from 10am to 5pm, with lunch and other breaks. We outline a planned schedule for the in person in Table 1. However, based on the nature of workshop submissions, the number and interests of attendees, and current events, adjustments to these activities may occur. The online session will be a slightly shorter version of this, with logistical changes such as abbreviated breaks.

2.2 Welcome and Establishing Direction and Structure

Facilitators will begin the workshop by welcoming the group, reviewing the agenda, and establishing norms and goals for the day based on the attendees and interests represented. In the first session, attendees will introduce themselves and give lightning talks of their workshop submissions. The timing of lightning talks will depend on the number of presentations, and attendees will be informed at least 2 weeks in advance.

We will then develop initial ideas for the afternoon activities by having attendees put post-its on two activity boards. On the first board, "Priorities", attendees will leave post-it notes about initial, early ideas of what they would

Table 1. Workshop schedule

Time	Activity and Description
10am - 11:30am	Welcome and Introductions
	Facilitators will review the agenda for the day and norms for the session. Attendees
	will introduce themselves and present their lightning talks of their provocation for
	the workshop.
11:30am – 12pm	Establishing Direction and Structure
	Facilitators will explain the upcoming activities and attendees will engage in initial
	ideation to develop topics and themes for each of the two interactive activities via
	post-it notes on established boards.
12pm – 1:15pm	Lunch
	Lunch will be ordered in or eaten near the venue, giving social time for attendees.
1:15pm – 2:15pm	Activity 1: Identifying Priorities
	In this activity, attendees will work in small groups to identify key priorities in
	previously established categories alongside additional recommendations for what the
	field should focus on moving forward. Each group will share one priority and one
	new category to consider for this prioritization.
2:15pm - 2:30pm	BREAK
2:30pm - 3:00pm	Activity 1 Part 2: Whole Group Priorities
	After the break, the entire group will discuss priorities, voting collectively to uplift a
	priority from each category and a new category to consider.
3:00pm - 4:00pm	Activity 2: Sustaining and Supporting this Work
	As a group, we will focus on and reflect upon the difficulties researchers face and the
	resources that have helped them persevere – and ideate new or needed resources.
4:00pm – 4:15pm	BREAK
4:15pm – 5:00pm	Activity 3: Where to go from here
	We will take this last bit of time together to reflect and highlight specific resources,
	priorities, and ways to sustainably support one another in achieving these priorities.

like the field to prioritize moving forward in the beginning categories of empirical research, methods, perspectives, interventions, and translating research to the public (i.e. community education, public communication, policy). Attendees will also propose new categories, which may be used to guide this activity. On the second board, "Sustaining and Supporting this Work", attendees will leave initial notes about worries, issues faced (i.e. burnout, harassment, threats), and resources that have helped them manage these challenges or resources they could have benefited from having.

We will then have lunch for socialization amongst the group while the facilitators organize the initial shared ideas to inform and guide the afternoon activities. This will allow facilitators to adjust the upcoming activities based on these initial ideations and attendee interests.

2.3 Activity 1: Identifying priorities

Our first activity will focus on identifying what we should prioritize in our field moving forward given the current state of the world. Attendees will be presented with a list of categories to ideate priorities within, using our initial categories of: empirical research, methods, perspectives, interventions (i.e. proactive design approaches), and translating research to the public (i.e. community education, publication communications, policy) combined with emergent categories from the initial ideation that should be prioritized.

Attendees will be split into smaller groups to work through each category together – generating ideas and developing their top priorities for each category. In addition, each group will propose a new categorical priority. Groups will share these priorities and their new categories at the end of this session. Attendees will be given templates such as power and asset mapping to help work through these categories but will have flexibility based on their interests and the identified norms and goals for the day.

After a break, this activity will resume with a whole group discussion building on the identified priorities and categories – and tensions that may arise from them. This conversation will be closed by a vote to identify the top priorities for each category from the group – and the top new category or categories the field should consider moving forward.

2.4 Activity 2: Sustaining and supporting this work

Our next activity will focus on sustaining and supporting this work. First, attendees will be invited to submit descriptions of difficulties they have faced in doing this work (i.e. burnout, threats, etc) in an anonymous online form. Facilitators will collaboratively and in real time, categorize these difficulties with the group – distilling common issues faced, alongside power, stakeholder, and resource relationships within these issues. This will allow for a conversation about these difficulties without attendees needing to share their personal experiences, while still acknowledging these very real challenges and risks.

This will transition us to the second half of the conversation, where we will have attendees share resources via post-its (or anonymous online form, depending on attendees' preferences) that have helped (or not helped) them persevere despite these issues— or identify missing resources needed to continue this work. In doing so, we hope to ideate pragmatic asks that attendees can make to their institutions or, in the absence of institutional support, try to implement via other mechanisms to help them sustain this work.

2.5 Activity 3: Where we go from here and wrapping up

After another break, given the heavy nature of Activity 2, the group will come back together to collectively reflect upon both activities. This is where we will have interested online attendees also join via Zoom. We will highlight and summarize specific resources, priorities, and ways that attendees can move forward to support one another in pursuing these priorities and resources. At this time, attendees will work together to determine guidelines about what outputs and observations from the workshop will be shared in different ways and levels of visibility – such as a public list of resources, a private social media group for attendees, and other outputs.

2.6 Post-Workshop activities and outputs

Agreed-upon outputs will be outlined on the workshop website and in other distributional methods. This workshop hopes to start future collaboration opportunities and real resource sharing as researchers seek to continue this work in an adversarial environment. Furthermore, we hope this will foster an ongoing CSCW community of information disorder researchers and future convenings.

3 Submission and recruitment for workshop

We welcome short submissions (2-6 pages before references and appendices) in the ACM single-column format (of which we will provide templates on our workshop website). All submissions should include an abstract (up to 300 words), which they can opt-in to having posted on the workshop website before the workshop. We will perform a single-blind review of submissions, evaluating them for relevance, originality, quality, and potential to foster conversation.

Contributions may include position papers, theoretical frameworks, literature reviews, a "prequel" or early findings of empirical work, "coda" work expanding on previously-published work, or other original submissions promoting conversation about information disorder and participatory online culture. Submissions may have multiple authors, but at least one author must attend the workshop and give a brief lightning talk about the work. We welcome various methods and epistemologies in submissions - community-based, quantitative, qualitative, policy, design-based work, and more.

We actively welcome submissions from contributors who are not "traditional academics" but practitioners from industry (i.e. Trust & Safety, technologists, journalists, fact-checkers, etc), governmental, nonprofit, or activist organizations. We also encourage contributions from individuals studying participatory online culture outside of the "problematic information" space - particularly those focused on social movements and activism.

Organizers plan to recruit from our professional and personal networks, social media channels, professional mailing lists and boards, and via targeted emailing of relevant organizations.

4 About the Organizers

Nina Lutz* is a PhD student at the University of Washington working with the Center for an Informed Public. Her work focuses on visual media's role in "problematic information" (mis- and disinformation, scams, online hate, image-based abuse) and how participatory visual culture becomes part of information environments and operations - targeting high-stakes situations and core identities (i.e. elections, migration, religion).

Stephen Prochaska* is a PhD candidate examining how disinformation targeting U.S. elections integrates offline infrastructures into online spaces to disrupt collective sensemaking processes while simultaneously mobilizing audiences to contest unfavorable election results. He highlights how influencers and political elites collaborate with online audiences in continuous storytelling, adapting to current events by providing frames that integrate those events into an ongoing deep story surrounding American identity.

Laura Kurek is a PhD candidate at the University of Michigan School of Information. Her research examines how state actors, particularly Russia, attempt to manipulate online information environments. Her work employs both quantitative and qualitative methods, and has involved data from social media platforms as well as peerproduction knowledge sites.

Marianne Aubin Le Quéré is an Information Science PhD candidate at Cornell Tech. Marianne's work spans computational social science, social computing, and communication, and her research examines how AI and emerging technologies impact news and civic information ecosystems.

Jason Greenfield is a Research Engineer at the Center for Social Media and Politics at NYU. His research examines harmful content in digital and social media with a particular interest in how humor helps hate spread online.

Joseph S. Schafer is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Washington, working with the Center for an Informed Public. His work broadly focuses on the roles of influencers and sudden attention in impacting online information ecosystems and user behaviors, particularly as they relate to online news.

Phil Tinn is a Research Scientist at SINTEF and Research Advisor to the MIT Ukraine program at MIT, where he leads the development of its new research program on countering Influence Operations (IOs). He is interested in developing building blocks for war gaming IOs and associated hybrid threat scenarios as a training tool for improving collaborative defense capacity across heterogeneous stakeholders.

Daniel Schroeder, PhD Daniel Thilo Schroeder, Research Scientist and Associate Professor, excels in big data, complex networks, and digital communication. With SINTEF's Smart Data group, he improves AI with sustainable data processing. His research at Oslo Metropolitan links digital communication to African conflicts.

Shiva Darian, PhD is an assistant professor of computer science at New Mexico State University. They research how organizations and their clients navigate politicized data work. Their work spans studies on information disorder in electoral contexts, activist data practices that amplify lived experiences, as well as perceptions of data, technology, and surveillance in asylum and immigration contexts.

Sukrit Venkatagiri, PhD Sukrit is an assistant professor of computer science at Swarthmore College. His research examines ways to help people resist technologically-mediated harm, ranging from strategic misinformation and hate speech to privacy violations; build sociotechnical systems to repair trust in each other and our institutions; and empower people to advocate for their rights while refusing harmful data and labor practices.

Ahmer Arif, PhD is an assistant professor at UT Austin's School of Information. His research focuses on understanding the spread of misinformation and designing community-based responses to that spread.

Anirban Sen, PhD is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Computer Science at Ashoka University. His primary research interest is Computational Social Science, with a focus on analysis of large-scale media data. His research examines policy discourse in national and regional news sources, and characteristics and evolution of misinformation communities on social media.

Joyojeet Pal, PhD is a Professor of Information at the University of Michigan. His work examines how social media is used in political campaigns in India, and the specific role of social media influencers in mainstream politics. His work has covered the use of coordinated social media outreach and misinformation, and the broader intersection of technology and populism in current day India.

Kate Starbird, PhD is a Professor at the Department of Human Centered Design & Engineering at the University of Washington (UW). She is also a co-founder of the UW Center for an Informed Public. Dr. Starbird's research sits at the intersection of human-computer interaction and crisis informatics. Currently, she focuses on the production and spread of online rumors and disinformation during crises, including disasters and political disruptions.

References

- [1] Zara Abrams. 2022. Inside a Misinformation Offensive. American Psychological Association (2022). https://www.apa.org/news/apa/2022/news-anatomy-misinformation
- [2] Zhila Aghajari. 2023. Adopting an Ecological Approach to Misinformation: Understanding the Broader Impacts on Online Communities. In Computer Supported Cooperative Work and Social Computing. ACM, Minneapolis MN USA, 417–420. doi:10.1145/3584931.3608915
- [3] Syeda Zainab Akbar, Anmol Panda, Divyanshu Kukreti, Azhagu Meena, and Joyojeet Pal. 2021. Misinformation as a Window into Prejudice: COVID-19 and the Information Environment in India. Proc. ACM Hum.-Comput. Interact. 4, CSCW3 (Jan. 2021), 249:1–249:28. doi:10.1145/3432948
- [4] Ahmer Arif, Leo Graiden Stewart, and Kate Starbird. 2018. Acting the Part: Examining Information Operations Within #BlackLivesMatter Discourse. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 2, CSCW (Nov. 2018), 1–27. doi:10.1145/3274289
- [5] Joseph B. Bak-Coleman, Ian Kennedy, Morgan Wack, Andrew Beers, Joseph S. Schafer, Emma S. Spiro, Kate Starbird, and Jevin D. West. 2022. Combining interventions to reduce the spread of viral misinformation. *Nature Human Behaviour* 6, 10 (Oct. 2022), 1372–1380. doi:10.1038/s41562-022-01388-6
- [6] Earl T Barr, Mark Harman, Phil McMinn, Muzammil Shahbaz, and Shin Yoo. 2014. The oracle problem in software testing: A survey. *IEEE transactions on software engineering* 41, 5 (2014), 507–525.
- [7] Frederico Batista Pereira, Natália S. Bueno, Felipe Nunes, and Nara Pavão. 2022. Fake News, Fact Checking, and Partisanship: The Resilience of Rumors in the 2018 Brazilian Elections. *The Journal of Politics* 84, 4 (Oct. 2022), 2188–2201. doi:10.1086/719419
- [8] Andrew Beers, Sarah Nguyn, Kate Starbird, Jevin D. West, and Emma S. Spiro. 2023. Selective and deceptive citation in the construction of dueling consensuses. Science Advances 9, 38 (Sept. 2023), eadh1933. doi:10.1126/sciadv.adh1933 Publisher: American Association for the Advancement of Science.
- [9] Yochai Benkler, Robert Faris, and Hal Roberts. 2018. Network Propaganda: Manipulation, Disinformation, and Radicalization in American Politics. Oxford University Press, New York. doi:10.1093/oso/9780190923624.001.0001
- [10] Yochai Benkler, Casey Tilton, Bruce Etling, Hal Roberts, Justin Clark, Robert Faris, Jonas Kaiser, and Carolyn Schmitt. 2020. Mail-In Voter Fraud: Anatomy of a Disinformation Campaign. (Oct. 2020). https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/37365484 Accepted: 2020-10-02T12:20:27Z Publisher: Berkman Klein Center for Internet & Society.
- [11] Brian Bennett. 2025. Trump Proposes U.S. Take Over Gaza, Level It and Build Resorts. https://time.com/7212848/trump-gaza-own/
- [12] W Lance Bennett and Steven Livingston. 2018. The disinformation order: Disruptive communication and the decline of democratic institutions. *European Journal of Communication* 33, 2 (April 2018), 122–139. doi:10.1177/0267323118760317

- [13] Prashanth Bhat and Kalyani Chadha. 2022. The Mob, the State and Harassment of Journalists via Twitter in India. Digital Journalism 11, 10 (2022), 1788-1808. doi:10.1080/21670811.2022.2134164
- [14] David Biller and Daniel Politi. 2023. Milei echoes Trump with fraud claims that inject uncertainty into Argentina's presidential runoff. https://apnews.com/article/argentina-milei-massa-fraud-election-runoff-683332bb71bc2084c604e22c5919e144 Section: World News.
- [15] Megan A. Brown, Josephine Lukito, and Kai-Cheng Yang. 2024. What Does CrowdTangle's Demise Signal for Data Access Under the DSA? | TechPolicy.Press. https://techpolicy.press/what-does-crowdtangles-demise-signal-for-data-access-under-the-dsa
- [16] Kathleen Bush-Joseph. 2024. Explainer: Noncitizen Voting in U.S. Elections. Migration Policy Institute (September 2024). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jean.2024. //www.migrationpolicy.org/content/noncitizen-voting-us-elections
- [17] Lucy H. Butler, Toby Prike, and Ullrich K. H. Ecker. 2024. Nudge-based misinformation interventions are effective in information environments with low misinformation prevalence. Scientific Reports 14, 1 (May 2024), 11495. doi:10.1038/s41598-024-62286-7
- [18] Ryan Calo, Chris Coward, Emma S Spiro, Kate Starbird, and Jevin D West. 2021. How do you solve a problem like misinformation? Science advances 7, 50 (2021), eabn0481.
- [19] Mateus Correia de Carvalho. 2024. Researcher Access to Platform Data and the DSA: One Step Forward, Three Steps Back | TechPol $icy. Press.\ https://techpolicy.press/researcher-access-to-platform-data-and-the-dsa-one-step-forward-three-steps-back$
- [20] Michael Caster. 2024. Confronting Digital Authoritarianism Through Digital Democracy: Lessons From Taiwan. https://thediplomat. com/2024/01/confronting-digital-authoritarianism-through-digital-democracy-lessons-from-taiwan/
- [21] Pew Research Center. 2024. Public Trust in Government: 1958-2024. https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2024/06/24/public-trust-ingovernment-1958-2024/
- [22] Yuwei Chuai, Haoye Tian, Nicolas Pröllochs, and Gabriele Lenzini. 2024. Did the Roll-Out of Community Notes Reduce Engagement With Misinformation on X/Twitter? Proc. ACM Hum.-Comput. Interact. 8, CSCW2 (Nov. 2024), 428:1-428:52. doi:10.1145/3686967
- [23] Stephen Collinson. 2025. Analysis: Trump's threats to Greenland, Canada and Panama explain everything about America First | CNN Politics. https://www.cnn.com/2025/01/08/politics/trump-greenland-canada-panama-analysis/index.html
- [24] Gabriele Cosentino. 2020. From Pizzagate to the Great Replacement: The Globalization of Conspiracy Theories. In Social Media and the Post-Truth World Order: The Global Dynamics of Disinformation, Gabriele Cosentino (Ed.). Springer International Publishing, Cham, 59-86. doi:10.1007/978-3-030-43005-4_3
- [25] José Pablo Criales. 2023. Javier Milei: The ultra-right libertarian and 'anarcho-capitalist' who represents angry Argentina. https://english.elpais.com/international/2023-08-14/javier-milei-the-ultra-right-libertarian-and-anarcho-capitalist-whorepresents-angry-argentina.html
- [26] Mar Centenera Criales, José Pablo. 2023. Argentina's presidential campaign enters the muck of electoral fraud allegations. https://english. elpais.com/international/2023-11-11/argentinas-presidential-campaign-enters-the-muck-of-electoral-fraud-allegations.html
- [27] Caroline Dadas. 2017. Chapter 1. Hashtag Activism: The Promise and Risk of "Attention". In Social Writing/Social Media: Publics, Presentations, and Pedagogies, Douglas M. Walls and Stephanie Vie (Eds.). The WAC Clearinghouse; University Press of Colorado, 17-36. doi:10.37514/PER-B.2017.0063.2.01
- [28] Theodora Dame Adjin-Tettey. 2022. Combating fake news, disinformation, and misinformation: Experimental evidence for media literacy education. Cogent Arts & Humanities 9, 1 (Dec. 2022), 2037229. doi:10.1080/23311983.2022.2037229 Publisher: Cogent OA eprint: https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2022.2037229.
- [29] Philipp Darius and Fabian Stephany. 2022. How the Far-Right Polarises Twitter: 'Hashjacking' as a Disinformation Strategy in Times of COVID-19. In Complex Networks & Their Applications X, Rosa Maria Benito, Chantal Cherifi, Hocine Cherifi, Esteban Moro, Luis M. Rocha, and Marta Sales-Pardo (Eds.). Springer International Publishing, Cham, 100-111. doi:10.1007/978-3-030-93413-2_9
- [30] Ruben De Bruin. 2022. A Comparative Analysis of the EU and US Data Privacy Regimes and the Potential for Convergences. Hastings Sci. & Tech. LJ 13 (2022), 127.
- [31] P. Dhawka*, N. Lutz*, and K. Starbird. 2025. Data Visualizations as Propaganda: Tracing Lineages, Provenance, and Political Framings in Online Anti-Immigrant Discourse. Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction CSCW (2025). Under review. Submitted for publication to Conference on Computer-Supported Cooperative Work and Social Computing, October 2025.
- [32] Jill P. Dimond, Michaelanne Dye, Daphne Larose, and Amy S. Bruckman. 2013. Hollaback! the role of storytelling online in a social movement organization. In Proceedings of the 2013 conference on Computer supported cooperative work (CSCW '13). Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 477-490. doi:10.1145/2441776.2441831
- [33] Chandelis Duster. 2025. Some European countries and Canada issue advisories for travelers to the U.S. NPR (March 2025). https:// //www.npr.org/2025/03/22/nx-s1-5336792/european-countries-canada-travel-warnings-us
- [34] Brianna Dym, Jed R. Brubaker, Casey Fiesler, and Bryan Semaan. 2019. "Coming Out Okay": Community Narratives for LGBTQ Identity Recovery Work. Proc. ACM Hum.-Comput. Interact. 3, CSCW, Article 154 (Nov. 2019), 28 pages. doi:10.1145/3359256
- [35] Mattias Ekman. 2022. The great replacement: Strategic mainstreaming of far-right conspiracy claims. Convergence 28, 4 (Aug. 2022), 1127-1143. doi:10.1177/13548565221091983 Publisher: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- [36] Factchequeado. 2023. Quién es Javier Milei, el nuevo presidente electo de Argentina, y qué desinformaciones impulsó durante su $campa \~na \cdot Factcheque ado.com. \ https://factcheque ado.com/teexplicamos/20231121/javier-milei-presidente-electo-desinformaciones/20231121/javier-milei-presidente-electo-desidente-electo-desidente-electo-desidente-electo-desidente-electo-desidente-electo-desidente-electo-desi$

- [37] Center for an Informed Public. 2024. The anatomy of 3 videos alleging that many non-citizens are registered to vote in U.S. elections. Center for an Informed Public (October 2024). https://www.cip.uw.edu/2024/10/09/3-videos-non-citizen-voting-in-u-s-election/
- [38] Institute for Strategic Dialogue. 2024. Quantifying extremism: A data-driven analysis of UK riot-related far-right Telegram networks. https://www.isdglobal.org/digital_dispatches/quantifying-extremism-a-data-driven-analysis-of-riot-related-far-right-telegram-networks/
- [39] David Gilbert. 2025. No, 150-Year-Olds Aren't Collecting Social Security Benefits. Wired (Feb. 2025). https://www.wired.com/story/elon-musk-doge-social-security-150-year-old-benefits/
- [40] Tarleton Gillespie. 2018. Custodians of the Internet: Platforms, Content Moderation, and the Hidden Decisions That Shape Social Media. Yale University Press, New Haven Connecticut.
- [41] Tarleton Gillespie. 2020. Content moderation, AI, and the question of scale. Big Data & Society 7 (2020). doi:10.1177/2053951720943234
- [42] A'ndre Gonawela, Joyojeet Pal, Udit Thawani, Elmer Van Der Vlugt, Wim Out, and Priyank Chandra. 2018. Speaking their Mind: Populist Style and Antagonistic Messaging in the Tweets of Donald Trump, Narendra Modi, Nigel Farage, and Geert Wilders. Comput. Supported Coop. Work 27, 3-6 (Dec. 2018), 293–326. doi:10.1007/s10606-018-9316-2
- [43] Michael Hameleers. 2020. Populist Disinformation: Exploring Intersections between Online Populism and Disinformation in the US and the Netherlands. *Politics and Governance* 8, 1 (March 2020), 146–157. doi:10.17645/pag.v8i1.2478
- [44] Michael Hameleers. 2022. Separating truth from lies: comparing the effects of news media literacy interventions and fact-checkers in response to political misinformation in the US and Netherlands. *Information, Communication & Society* 25, 1 (Jan. 2022), 110–126. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2020.1764603
- [45] Brad Heath and Tim Reid. 2025. DOGE website offers error-filled window into Musk's government overhaul. *Reuters* (March 2025). https://www.reuters.com/world/us/doge-website-offers-error-filled-window-into-musks-government-overhaul-2025-03-04/
- [46] Adam Henschke, Matthew Sussex, and Courteney O'Connor. 2020. Countering foreign interference: election integrity lessons for liberal democracies. *Journal of Cyber Policy* 5, 2 (May 2020), 180–198. doi:10.1080/23738871.2020.1797136 Publisher: Routledge _eprint: https://doi.org/10.1080/23738871.2020.1797136.
- [47] Philip N. Howard, Aiden Duffy, Deen Freelon, Muzammil Hussain, Will Mari, and Marwa Maziad. 2011. Opening Closed Regimes: What Was the Role of Social Media During the Arab Spring? doi:10.2139/ssrn.2595096
- [48] Y. Linlin Huang, Kate Starbird, Mania Orand, Stephanie A. Stanek, and Heather T. Pedersen. 2015. Connected Through Crisis: Emotional Proximity and the Spread of Misinformation Online. In Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing (CSCW '15). Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 969–980. doi:10.1145/2675133.2675202
- [49] Ruxandra Iordache. 2025. European leaders push defense spend amid uncertainty over Trump aid to Ukraine. https://www.cnbc.com/2025/03/07/european-leaders-back-defense-spend-push-amid-uncertainty-over-trump-aid-to-ukraine.html Section: Politics.
- [50] Prithvi Iyer. 2024. Protecting Researchers from Harassment is Critical to Preserve Academic Freedom. *Tech Policy Press* (26 September 2024). https://www.techpolicy.press/protecting-researchers-from-harassment-is-critical-to-preserve-academic-freedom/
- [51] Jigsaw. 2025. Announcing Experimental Bridging Attributes in Perspective API. https://medium.com/jigsaw/announcing-experimental-bridging-attributes-in-perspective-api-578a9d59ac37
- [52] Ivan Kalmar, Christopher Stevens, and Nicholas Worby. 2018. Twitter, Gab, and Racism: The Case of the Soros Myth. In Proceedings of the 9th International Conference on Social Media and Society (SMSociety '18). Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 330–334. doi:10.1145/3217804.3217939
- [53] Aasim Khan and Insiyah Vahanvaty. 2023. Ethno-Nationalist Drivers of the Indian Media Truth-Telling Crisis. In *Re-thinking Mediations* of *Post-truth Politics and Trust*. Routledge. Num Pages: 23.
- [54] Anilesh Kumar and Daya Thussu. 2023. Media, digital sovereignty and geopolitics: the case of the TikTok ban in India. *Media, Culture & Society* 45, 8 (2023), 1583–1599.
- [55] Jordan Kyle and Limor Gultchin. 2018. Populists in Power Around the World. https://institute.global/insights/geopolitics-and-security/populists-power-around-world
- [56] Claire Seungeun Lee, Juan Merizalde, John D. Colautti, Jisun An, and Haewoon Kwak. 2022. Storm the Capitol: Linking Offline Political Speech and Online Twitter Extra-Representational Participation on QAnon and the January 6 Insurrection. Frontiers in Sociology 7 (May 2022). doi:10.3389/fsoc.2022.876070
- [57] Hause Lin, Haritz Garro, Nils Wernerfelt, Jesse Conan Shore, Adam Hughes, Daniel Deisenroth, Nathaniel Barr, Adam J. Berinsky, Dean Eckles, Gordon Pennycook, and David Rand. 2024. Reducing misinformation sharing at scale using digital accuracy prompt ads. (March 2024). https://policycommons.net/artifacts/11370050/osf/12259178/
- [58] Kat Lo. 2022. Elon Musk's Twitter takeover: Five takeaways for content moderation. https://meedan.com/post/five-content-moderation-takeaways-from-elon-musks-twitter-takeover
- [59] Nina Lutz and Cecilia Aragon. 2024. "We're not all construction workers": Algorithmic Compression of Latinidad on TikTok. Proc. ACM Hum.-Comput. Interact. 8, CSCW2, Article 480 (Nov. 2024), 31 pages. doi:10.1145/3687019
- [60] Jim Maddock, Kate Starbird, Haneen J. Al-Hassani, Daniel E. Sandoval, Mania Orand, and Robert M. Mason. 2015. Characterizing Online Rumoring Behavior Using Multi-Dimensional Signatures. In Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative

- Work & Social Computing (CSCW '15). Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 228-241. doi:10.1145/2675133.2675280 [61] Alvaro Marañon. 2023. How Have Information Operations Affected the Integrity of Democratic Elections in Latin America? Lawfare (Jan. 2023). https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/how-have-information-operations-affected-integrity-democratic-elections-latin-america
- [62] Robert McPhedran, Michael Ratajczak, Max Mawby, Emily King, Yuchen Yang, and Natalie Gold. 2023. Psychological inoculation protects against the social media infodemic. Scientific Reports 13, 1 (April 2023), 5780. doi:10.1038/s41598-023-32962-1
- [63] Samuel Mendez. 2024. Anti-Science Harassment Is on the Rise. Inside Higher Ed (14 August 2024). https://www.insidehighered.com/ opinion/views/2024/08/14/anti-science-harassment-rise-opinion
- [64] Victoria Milko. 2021. Why Facebook banned Myanmar's military. AP News. https://apnews.com/article/why-facebook-ban-myanmarmilitary-15f4c26c442c0d8af110594a5bb72c45
- [65] Megha Mishra, Pu Yan, and Ralph Schroeder. 2022. TikTok politics: Tit for tat on the India-China cyberspace frontier. International Fournal of Communication 16 (2022).
- [66] Naomi Miyashita, Zarine Kharazian, Laura De Backer, and Kate Starbird. 2025. How Strategic Information Operations Affect Peacekeeping: Two Case Studies from the Central African Republic. International Peacekeeping 0, 0 (Feb. 2025), 1-43. doi:10.1080/13533312.2025.2470342 Publisher: Routledge _eprint: https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2025.2470342.
- [67] Sean Morales-Doyle. 2024. Courts Confront the Noncitizen Voting Lie. Brennan Center for Justice (30 October 2024). https: //www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/courts-confront-noncitizen-voting-lie
- [68] Rachel E. Moran, Izzi Grasso, and Kolina Koltai. 2022. Folk Theories of Avoiding Content Moderation: How Vaccine-Opposed Influencers Amplify Vaccine Opposition on Instagram. Social Media + Society 8, 4 (Oct. 2022), 20563051221144252. doi:10.1177/20563051221144252
- [69] Rachel E. Moran and Stephen Prochaska. 2022. Misinformation or activism?: analyzing networked moral panic through an exploration of #SaveTheChildren. Information, Communication & Society 0, 0 (Nov. 2022), 1-21. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2022.2146986
- [70] Rachel E. Moran, Joseph S. Schafer, Mert Bayar, and Kate Starbird. 2025. The End of "Trust and Safety"?: Examining the Future of Content Moderation and Upheavals in Professional Online Safety Efforts. In Proceedings of the 2025 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI '25). Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA. Forthcoming.
- [71] Steven Lee Myers and Stuart A. Thompson. 2024. Disinformation Watchdogs Are Under Pressure. This Group Refuses to Stop. The New York Times (Nov. 2024). https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/01/technology/election-disinformation.html
- [72] J. Ong and J. V. Cabañes. 2018. Architects of Networked Disinformation: Behind the Scenes of Troll Accounts and Fake News Production in the Philippines. doi:10.7275/2CQ4-5396
- [73] Jonathan Corpus Ong and Jason Vincent A. Cabañes. 2019. When Disinformation Studies Meets Production Studies: Social Identities and Moral Justifications in the Political Trolling Industry. International Journal of Communication 13, 0 (Nov. 2019), 20. https: //ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/11417 Number: 0.
- [74] OpIndia Staff. 2025. Researcher organises 'conference', sponsored by Michigan University, to peddle anti-India propaganda, had objected to OpIndia's expose of George Soros: Here are the speakers. OpIndia (17 February 2025). https://www.opindia.com/2025/02/joyojeetpal-michigan-university-international-conference-anti-india-propaganda-speakers-mahua-moitra-pratik-sinha-raqib-naik-details/
- [75] Naomi Oreskes and Erik M. Conway. 2011. Merchants of Doubt: How a Handful of Scientists Obscured the Truth on Issues from Tobacco Smoke to Climate Change (reprint edition ed.). Bloomsbury Publishing, New York London Oxford New Delhi Sydney.
- [76] Barbara Ortutay. 2024. How Elon Musk uses his X social media platform to amplify right-wing views. https://www.pbs.org/newshour/ politics/how-elon-musk-uses-his-x-social-media-platform-to-amplify-right-wing-views Section: Politics.
- [77] Joao V. S. Ozawa, Samuel C. Woolley, Joseph Straubhaar, Martin J. Riedl, Katie Joseff, and Jacob Gursky. 2023. How Disinformation on WhatsApp Went From Campaign Weapon to Governmental Propaganda in Brazil. Social Media + Society 9, 1 (Jan. 2023), 20563051231160632. doi:10.1177/20563051231160632 Publisher: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- [78] Erica Pandey. 2025. Trump's funding ax throws colleges into an existential crisis. https://www.axios.com/2025/03/21/colleges-researchfunding-trump-threat
- [79] Irene V. Pasquetto, Alberto F. Olivieri, Luca Tacchetti, Gianni Riotta, and Alessandra Spada. 2022. Disinformation as Infrastructure: Making and Maintaining the QAnon Conspiracy on Italian Digital Media. Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction 6, CSCW1 (April 2022), 84:1-84:31. doi:10.1145/3512931
- [80] Kari Paul. 2023. Reversal of content policies at Alphabet, Meta and X threaten democracy, warn experts. The Guardian (Dec. 2023). https://www.theguardian.com/media/2023/dec/07/2024-elections-social-media-content-safety-policies-moderation
- [81] Grant Peck. 2021. Myanmar's generals ban social media to curb dissent. AP News. https://apnews.com/article/myanmar-censorshipvirtual-private-network-facebook-79fb4cc0c3c4317844d0c00b0be1d9d1
- [82] Peter Plenta. 2020. Conspiracy theories as a political instrument: utilization of anti-Soros narratives in Central Europe. Contemporary Politics 26, 5 (Oct. 2020), 512-530. doi:10.1080/13569775.2020.1781332 Publisher: Routledge _eprint: https://doi.org/10.1080/13569775.2020.1781332.
- [83] Stephen Prochaska, Kayla Duskin, Zarine Kharazian, Carly Minow, Stephanie Blucker, Sylvie Venuto, Jevin D. West, and Kate Starbird. 2023. Mobilizing Manufactured Reality: How Participatory Disinformation Shaped Deep Stories to Catalyze Action during the 2020 U.S. Presidential Election. Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction 7, CSCW1 (April 2023), 140:1-140:39. doi:10.1145/3579616

- [84] Stephen Prochaska, Danielle Lee Tomson, and Kate Starbird. 2024. Making the Case: Evidence Generation Infrastructure in the 2024 Election. https://uwcip.substack.com/p/making-the-case-evidence-generation
- [85] S Prochaska, J. Vera, D. Lew Tan, B. Yamron, S. Venuto, A. Kejriwal, S. Chu, and K. Starbird. 2025. Deep Storytelling: Collective Sensemaking and Layers of Meaning in U.S. Elections. Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction CSCW (2025). Under review. Submitted for publication to Conference on Computer-Supported Cooperative Work and Social Computing, October 2025.
- [86] Yim Register, Izzi Grasso, Lauren N. Weingarten, Lilith Fury, Constanza Eliana Chinea, Tuck J. Malloy, and Emma S. Spiro. 2024. Beyond Initial Removal: Lasting Impacts of Discriminatory Content Moderation to Marginalized Creators on Instagram. Proc. ACM Hum.-Comput. Interact. 8, CSCW1, Article 23 (April 2024), 28 pages. doi:10.1145/3637300
- [87] Jon Roozenbeek, Sander van der Linden, Beth Goldberg, Steve Rathje, and Stephan Lewandowsky. 2022. Psychological inoculation improves resilience against misinformation on social media. Science Advances 8, 34 (Aug. 2022), eabo6254. doi:10.1126/sciadv.abo6254 Publisher: American Association for the Advancement of Science.
- [88] Patrícia Rossini, Camila Mont'Alverne, and Antonis Kalogeropoulos. 2023. Explaining beliefs in electoral misinformation in the 2022 Brazilian election: The role of ideology, political trust, social media, and messaging apps. Harvard Kennedy School Misinformation Review (May 2023). doi:10.37016/mr-2020-115
- [89] Ellen Simpson and Bryan Semaan. 2021. For You, or For"You"? Everyday LGBTQ+ Encounters with TikTok. Proc. ACM Hum.-Comput. Interact. 4, CSCW3, Article 252 (Jan. 2021), 34 pages. doi:10.1145/3432951
- [90] Kanishka Singh and Sheila Dang. 2024. Musk and X are epicenter of US election misinformation, experts say. *Reuters* (Nov. 2024). https://www.reuters.com/world/us/wrong-claims-by-musk-us-election-got-2-billion-views-x-2024-report-says-2024-11-04/
- [91] Felipe Bonow Soares and Raquel Recuero. 2021. Hashtag Wars: Political Disinformation and Discursive Struggles on Twitter Conversations During the 2018 Brazilian Presidential Campaign. Social Media + Society 7, 2 (April 2021). doi:10.1177/20563051211009073
- [92] Paul Sonne. 2025. Trump Elevates Kremlin Talking Points, a Familiar Pattern From His First Term. The New York Times (Feb. 2025). https://www.nytimes.com/2025/02/20/world/trump-putin-russia-ukraine.html
- [93] Kate Starbird, Ahmer Arif, and Tom Wilson. 2019. Disinformation as Collaborative Work: Surfacing the Participatory Nature of Strategic Information Operations. Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction 3, CSCW (Nov. 2019), 127:1–127:26. doi:10.1145/3359229
- [94] Kate Starbird, Renée DiResta, and Matt DeButts. 2023. Influence and Improvisation: Participatory Disinformation during the 2020 US Election. Social Media + Society 9, 2 (April 2023). doi:10.1177/20563051231177943
- [95] Kate Starbird, Stephen Prochaska, and Ben Yamron. 2025. What is going on? An evidence-frame framework for analyzing online rumors about election integrity. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction CSCW* (2025). Conditional acceptance (minor revisions). Submitted for publication to Conference on Computer-Supported Cooperative Work and Social Computing, October 2025.
- [96] Kate Starbird, Emma Spiro, Isabelle Edwards, Kaitlyn Zhou, Jim Maddock, and Sindhuja Narasimhan. 2016. Could This Be True? I Think So! Expressed Uncertainty in Online Rumoring. In Proceedings of the 2016 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI '16). Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 360–371. doi:10.1145/2858036.2858551
- [97] Leo Graiden Stewart, Ahmer Arif, A. Conrad Nied, Emma S. Spiro, and Kate Starbird. 2017. Drawing the Lines of Contention: Networked Frame Contests Within #BlackLivesMatter Discourse. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 1, CSCW (Dec. 2017), 96:1–96:23. doi:10.1145/3134920
- [98] Francesca B. Tripodi, Lauren C. Garcia, and Alice E. Marwick. 2024. 'Do your own research': affordance activation and disinformation spread. *Information, Communication & Society* 27, 6 (April 2024), 1212–1228. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2023.2245869
- [99] Viktor Valgarðsson, Will Jennings, Gerry Stoker, Hannah Bunting, Daniel Devine, Lawrence McKay, and Andrew Klassen. 2025. A Crisis of Political Trust? Global Trends in Institutional Trust from 1958 to 2019. British Journal of Political Science 55 (Jan. 2025), e15. doi:10.1017/S0007123424000498
- [100] Sukrit Venkatagiri, Aakash Gautam, and Kurt Luther. 2021. CrowdSolve: Managing Tensions in an Expert-Led Crowdsourced Investigation. Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction 5, CSCW1 (April 2021), 1–30. doi:10.1145/3449192
- [101] Nathan Walter, Cohen, Jonathan, Holbert, R. Lance, and Yasmin Morag. 2020. Fact-Checking: A Meta-Analysis of What Works and for Whom. Political Communication 37, 3 (May 2020), 350–375. doi:10.1080/10584609.2019.1668894
- [102] Claire Wardle and Hossein Derakhshan. 2017. Information Disorder: An interdisciplinary framework. https://firstdraftnews.org: 443/latest/coe-report/
- [103] Volker Wulf, Kaoru Misaki, Meryem Atam, David Randall, and Markus Rohde. 2013. 'On the ground' in Sidi Bouzid: investigating social media use during the tunisian revolution. In *Proceedings of the 2013 conference on Computer supported cooperative work (CSCW '13)*. Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 1409–1418. doi:10.1145/2441776.2441935
- [104] Kyle Yoder and April Tan. 2024. Election Officials & the Misuse of Public Records Requests. https://electioninnovation.org/research/public-records-requests/

Received 27 March 2025