

Information-Seeking Behaviour During the COVID-19 Pandemic in Karnataka

Rajeshwari R PhD

Associate Professor

Dept. of Electronic Media

Bangalore University

Bengaluru-560056

DOI: 10.56201/rjmcit.vol.11.no8.2025.pg119.129

Abstract

During the COVID-19 pandemic, when uncertainty and fear dominated public life, information-seeking behaviour became especially critical as individuals relied heavily on media to stay informed, safe, and connected. Information-seeking behaviour (ISB) in media refers to the deliberate effort's individuals make to locate, access, and utilise information through various media channels to satisfy specific needs or goals. The COVID-19 pandemic created an unprecedented global health crisis that disrupted everyday life and generated an urgent demand for accurate, timely, and accessible information. Understanding information-seeking behaviour (ISB) in this context is particularly significant, as the way individuals' access and interpret information has a direct impact on their knowledge, attitudes, and practices related to health, safety, and social responsibility.

In this background, the study was conducted to identify the most preferred media for information-seeking, to examine the information-seeking behaviour, and to examine the perception of the audience on the role of the Media during the COVID-19 pandemic. The study used a structured questionnaire to find the answer to the above objectives. A survey was conducted with 465 samples, and the convenience and snowball sampling methods were used to select the samples. This study will help policymakers to adapt practical interventions that enhance the resilience of individuals and communities when confronted with crises like the COVID-19 pandemic.

Key Words: *Information seeking, Behaviour, COVID-19, Media, People.*

Introduction

During the COVID-19 pandemic, when uncertainty and fear dominated public life, information-seeking behaviour became especially critical as individuals relied heavily on media to stay informed, safe, and connected. Information-seeking behaviour (ISB) in media refers to the deliberate effort's individuals make to locate, access, and utilise information through various media channels to satisfy specific needs or goals.

Information-seeking behaviour encompasses both active searching, where individuals purposefully seek information, and passive reception, where information is encountered incidentally. Traditional media such as television, newspapers, and radio have long played a role in shaping these behaviours, but the rise of the internet and social media has profoundly transformed the process. Digital platforms now offer instant access to vast pools of information, though they also present challenges such as information overload, misinformation, and difficulties in assessing source credibility.

People seek information for varied reasons, such as keeping updated on current events, gaining knowledge, entertainment, relaxation, social interaction, or self-expression. Social

media platforms emerged as vital tools during the pandemic, providing quick and diverse content. Yet, their unregulated flow of information also gave rise to misinformation and unreliable sources.

The effectiveness of information seeking depends not only on media availability but also on internal and external factors such as prior knowledge, cognitive ability, motivation, cultural norms, and social ties. Constraints such as time pressure or digital distractions further influenced how efficiently people engaged with information. In Karnataka, a culturally and linguistically diverse state, these dynamics played out in unique ways, as people turned to both traditional media and digital platforms to make sense of the rapidly changing realities of the COVID-19 crisis.

Significance of the study

The COVID-19 pandemic created an unprecedented global health crisis that disrupted everyday life and generated an urgent demand for accurate, timely, and accessible information. Understanding information-seeking behaviour (ISB) in this context is particularly significant, as the way individuals' access and interpret information has a direct impact on their knowledge, attitudes, and practices related to health, safety, and social responsibility. This study, focused on Karnataka, holds importance on several levels. This study is significant not only for advancing theoretical perspectives on media and ISB but also for informing practical interventions that enhance the resilience of individuals and communities when confronted with crises like the COVID-19 pandemic.

Theoretical Perspective

This study is grounded in two key theoretical frameworks, Media Dependency Theory and Uses and Gratifications Theory, which provide a comprehensive lens for understanding information-seeking behaviour during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Media Dependency Theory (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976) posits that individuals depend on media to satisfy their needs for information, orientation, and entertainment. The level of dependency increases during periods of uncertainty, conflict, or crisis, when alternative sources of reliable information are limited. In the context of COVID-19, individuals in Karnataka turned to both traditional and digital media to understand the spread of the virus, government policies, health precautions, and social restrictions. This heightened reliance on media highlights how dependency relationships intensified during the pandemic, making media a critical tool for decision-making and coping with uncertainty.

Uses and Gratifications Theory (Katz, Blumler & Gurevitch, 1974) complements this perspective by emphasising the active role of audiences in selecting media based on their motivations and needs. Individuals are not passive recipients of information; rather, they choose media platforms that align with specific purposes such as staying updated, reducing anxiety, seeking social connection, or expressing opinions. During the pandemic, audiences in Karnataka used television, newspapers, online news portals, and social media for different gratifications ranging from factual updates about COVID-19 to emotional support and community engagement.

Together, these frameworks explain not only the heightened dependence on media during a crisis but also the selective and purposeful nature of media use. Media Dependency Theory explains the structural conditions, such as the uncertainty and limited alternatives, that increase reliance on media, while Uses and Gratifications Theory explains the psychological motivations that shape how individuals navigate diverse platforms.

By applying these theories, the study offers a nuanced understanding of how people in Karnataka sought, consumed, and evaluated information during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Literature Review

Information-seeking behaviour (ISB) refers to how individuals search for, access, and utilise information to meet specific needs. Wilson (1999) conceptualised ISB as a complex process shaped by personal, social, and contextual factors. With the growth of communication technologies, ISB has extended beyond traditional sources such as print and broadcast media to include digital platforms, social networks, and online databases. Research suggests that individuals engage in both active searching, deliberate efforts to find information, and passive reception, where information is encountered incidentally (Case & Given, 2016).

Traditional media, such as newspapers, radio, and television, have historically served as primary information sources during crises, offering credibility and structured narratives. However, with the rise of digital media, information-seeking patterns have shifted toward instant, interactive, and participatory platforms (Lowrey, 2004). Studies indicate that media framing and agenda-setting significantly influence what individuals consider important, shaping not only their information needs but also their perceptions of reality (McCombs & Reynolds, 2009).

The expansion of the internet and social networking sites has transformed ISB by offering immediacy, diversity, and personalisation of content. Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp became crucial during the COVID-19 pandemic for disseminating updates and facilitating peer-to-peer communication (Cinelli et al., 2020). However, scholars caution that these platforms also amplify misinformation, rumours, and filter bubbles, complicating the credibility and accuracy of information (Pennycook et al., 2020).

Past research demonstrates that health crises intensify media dependency. According to Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur's (1976) Media Dependency Theory, reliance on media heightens in situations of uncertainty. For example, during the SARS outbreak and Ebola crisis, individuals turned to the media for guidance, reassurance, and preventive measures (Chew & Eysenbach, 2010). The COVID-19 pandemic further highlighted this dependency, with studies showing that individuals actively sought information on infection rates, government regulations, vaccination updates, and safety protocols (Islam et al., 2020).

Katz, Blumler, and Gurevitch's (1974) Uses and Gratifications Theory highlights the active role of audiences in media consumption. Research during COVID-19 demonstrates that individuals sought information not only for health updates but also for emotional coping, entertainment, social connectedness, and reducing uncertainty (Apuke & Omar, 2021). Social media, in particular, fulfilled needs for immediacy and interaction, while traditional media retained importance for perceived reliability.

Cultural and linguistic factors also shape ISB. Karnataka, as a multilingual and socio-culturally diverse state, provides a unique context where individuals rely on both regional-language media and national/international platforms. Prior studies emphasise that local media outlets play a crucial role in making health information accessible to diverse populations (Nair & Bhat, 2019). The digital divide, differences in internet access and digital literacy, further influence how individuals across urban and rural areas engage with information (Van Deursen & Helsper, 2018).

Information seeking and sharing are also important coping strategies used for alleviating stress during a crisis event, as acquiring information reduces uncertainty (Jin et al., 2016; Lachlan et al., 2009).

In times of crisis, new technologies and communication platforms are not only used for communication seeking but also act as a vehicle for information sharing to those who might need it regarding any prevailing crisis at hand (Ishengoma, 2014).

Effective communication is very important during crises, and social media platforms seem very efficient in doing so in the shortest period, with even a guarantee of the information

becoming viral (Simon et al., 2014).

Sridhar (cited in Nkomo et al., 2010) identifies three key factors influencing users' information-seeking behaviour: psychological factors, the effectiveness of available services, and the characteristics of the user and their environment. These elements collectively shape how individuals search for, access, and utilise information, particularly during crises.

In a study by Bright Heber et al. (2022) conducted in India, it was found that the general population in India has increased its online health information-seeking behaviour during the pandemic, and this may be due to an underlying health anxiety due to COVID-19.

A study conducted by Rino Falcone and Alessandro Sapienza (2021) in Italy shows how the role of information was fundamental in dealing with COVID-19. Citizens have been able to appreciate the fundamental role played by science in modern societies. Even the information coming from scientists has had a dynamic (with some contradictory positions) strictly linked to the awareness that science has acquired over time on the phenomenon in question.

Research Gap

Although a considerable amount of research has examined information-seeking behaviour during health crises, many of the existing studies have been conducted at the global or national level, with limited attention to regional contexts such as Karnataka. This is a significant omission, as the state's linguistic, cultural, and geographic diversity shapes how individuals' access and engage with information. In particular, the role of regional-language media, including Kannada newspapers, television, and radio, remains underexplored, even though these outlets are primary sources of information for large sections of the population. While several studies have emphasised the rise of digital and social media during the COVID-19 pandemic, there is limited understanding of how audiences in Karnataka balanced traditional and digital platforms to meet their information needs. Further, the challenges of misinformation, information overload, and credibility assessment have been widely acknowledged at a global level, but little is known about how individuals in Karnataka navigated these issues in practice. The digital divide adds another layer of complexity, as disparities in access to the internet, smartphones, and digital literacy between urban and rural populations likely influenced patterns of information seeking, yet empirical evidence on this aspect remains scarce. Although Media Dependency Theory and Uses and Gratifications Theory have been widely applied to crisis communication in international contexts, their applicability within India's regional and socio-cultural settings has not been adequately tested. These gaps highlight the need for a region-specific, theoretically grounded study that explores the interplay of traditional and digital media, examines credibility concerns, and situates information-seeking behaviour within Karnataka's diverse socio-cultural context during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Objectives of the Study

To identify the most preferred media for information-seeking

To examine the information-seeking behaviour

To examine the perception of the audience on the role of the Media during the COVID-19 pandemic

Research Method

The study is quantitative, and a survey was adopted to collect the data. The data is collected with a structured questionnaire. The questionnaire is given to respondents who are willing to fill out the questionnaire and respond to the questions.

For the survey, the researcher has selected 465 samples. By using the formula given by Krejcie and Morgan (1970), the researcher obtained a sample size of 385 for the survey. The

confidence level is 90% with a sampling error margin rate of +5%, and the population proportion is 50%. The obtained sample is the minimum sample for the research. The researcher has selected 465 samples to give equal representation for all the districts in Karnataka, and the present study considers the entire state as the sampling area. The researcher adopted a convenience and snowball sampling method to select the samples.

Data Analysis and Discussion

Among the 465 respondents, 232 (49.9%) were female, and 233 (50.1%) were male. The researcher aimed to ensure equal representation of both genders, with each district contributing 15 samples, resulting in a total of 465. Consequently, the difference in the representation of genders is minimal.

Among the respondents, 50.1% are from rural areas and 49.9% are from urban areas. The study's equal representation of rural and urban respondents aligns with Karnataka's demographic distribution. According to the 2011 Census, 61.33% of Karnataka's population resides in rural areas, while 38.67% live in urban areas. This distribution is reflected in the study's sampling strategy, which aimed to ensure equal representation from both rural and urban districts.

The respondents are from various age groups. There are 160 respondents (34.4%) aged 21 to 30, 149 respondents (32.1%) aged 31 to 40, 120 (25.8%) aged 41 to 50, and only 36 respondents (7.7%) aged 51 years and older. The 11 to 30 age group represents the majority (34.4%) of the respondents.

Among the respondents, 323 (69.5%) are married, 140 (30.1%) are unmarried, and only 0.4% preferred not to disclose their marital status.

Respondents come from different educational backgrounds. Among them, 202 (43.5%) have pursued a post-graduate degree or higher, 86 respondents (18.4%) have completed professional courses, 97 respondents (20.9%) hold a bachelor's degree, 50 respondents (10.8%) have completed pre-university courses, and 30 respondents (6.4%) have education up to the 10th grade. The majority of the respondents (43.5%) hold a post-graduate degree or a higher level of education.

Like diverse educational backgrounds, respondents are involved in various professions. Among them, 33 (7.1%) are involved in agriculture, 224 (71.9%) are working in private sectors, 33 (7.1%) are working in government sectors, 12 (2.5%) are homemakers, 5 (1.1%) are senior citizens, and 48 (10.3%) respondents are students. The majority (71.9%) of the respondents are working in the private sector/jobs.

About 80 (17.2%) respondents are from below Rs. 10000 income group, 248 (53.3%) are getting Rs. 10001 to 30000 as their monthly income, 90 (19.3%) are in the Rs. 30,001 to 60,000 group, 19 (4.1) are getting Rs. 60,001 to 90,000 income per month and 28 (6.1%) are getting Rs. 90001 and above per month as their income. The majority (53.3%) of the respondents are from the Rs. 10001 to 30000 income group.

Respondents preferred many media outlets to get the information during COVID-19. 20 of them preferred newspaper, 4 of them favoured newspaper and mobile, same number of the respondent chose newspaper and radio, radio, TV, newspaper and radio, 153 selected social media, 14 of them said social media and newspaper, 129 selected social media and TV, 21 favoured social media, TV, newspaper and radio, 6 chose social media, TV and radio, 50 watched only TV and 3 watched TV along with newspaper. The majority (80.9%) of the respondents preferred social media along with newspaper, TV, and radio.

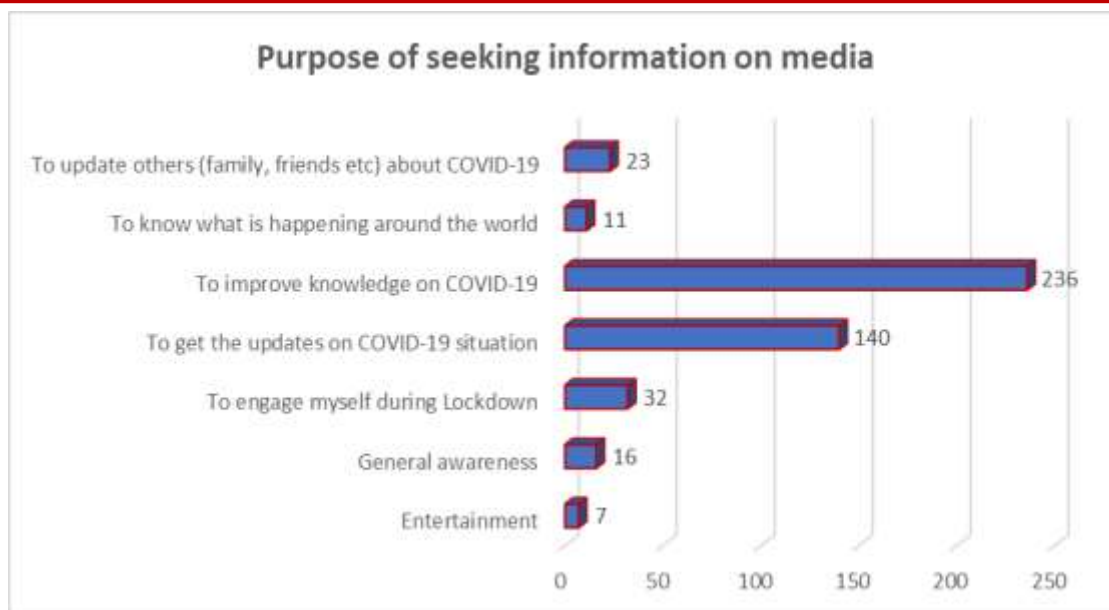


Figure 1: Respondents' purpose of seeking information on the media

The researcher also wanted to know the purpose of information seeking. 7 (1.5%) of them said for entertainment. 16 (3.4%) replied for general awareness, 32 (6.9%) said to engage themselves during lockdown, 140 (30.1%) answered to get the updates on lockdown situation, 236 (50.8%) responded to improve their knowledge on COVID 19 pandemic, 11 (2.3%) reacted to know what is happening around the world, 23 (5.0%) replied to update others about COVID 19. It is found that the majority (50.8%) of the respondents sought the information to improve their knowledge on the COVID-19 pandemic.

This suggests that the dominant motivation for media usage was educational and health-related, highlighting people's need for accurate and timely information during a global health crisis.

Table 1: Types of information preferred by the respondents

	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percent
Advertisements	4	0.9%	0.9
Government website information	283	60.9%	61.8%
Online Newspapers	6	1.3%	63.1%
Social Media	132	28.3%	91.4%
Television news	40	8.6%	100%
Total	465	100.0%	

Respondents also preferred different types of news. 4 (0.9%) of them preferred the information from the advertisement, 283 (60.9%) believed in government website information, 6 (1.3%) selected online newspapers, 132 (28.3%) chose social media, and 40 (8.6%) trusted television news. The majority (60.9%) of the respondents preferred information given by the government websites during COVID-19.

This suggests that people sought credible, authoritative, and direct sources of information, likely due to the urgency and seriousness of the pandemic.

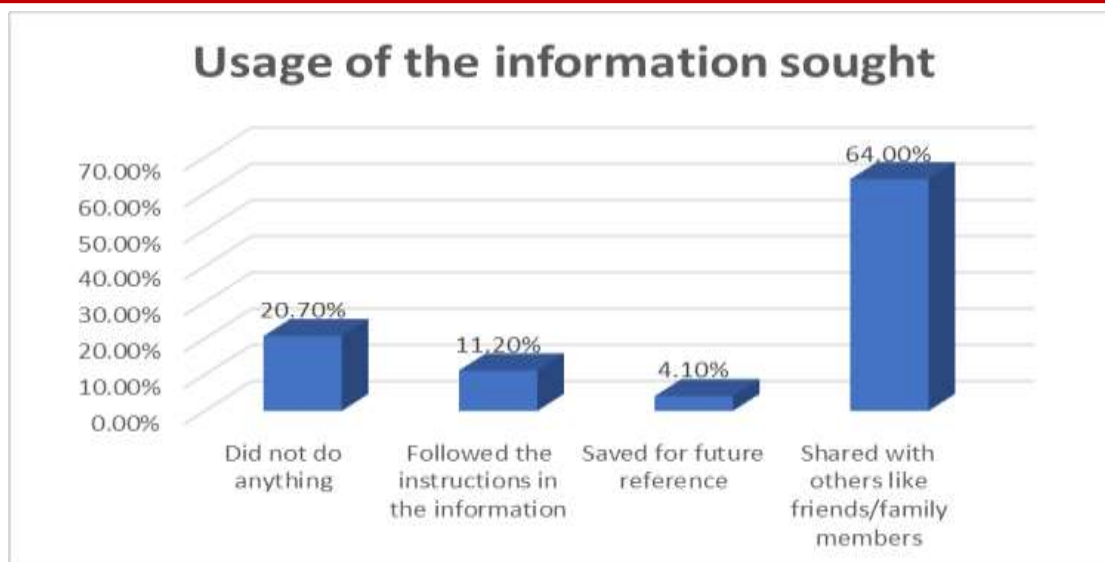


Figure 2: Respondents' usage of the information sought from the media

Respondents used the sought information for many purposes. 96 (20.7%) of them did not do anything with the information, they just pursued the information on media, 52 (11.2%) said they followed the instructions which was there in the sought information, 19 (4.1%) saved the information for future reference and 298 (64%) of them shared the information with others like friends and family members. The majority (64%) of the respondents shared the information with others, like friends and family members, as everyone was eager to know about what was happening regarding the pandemic.

Overall, the findings highlight that the media played a crucial role not only in informing individuals but also in enabling wider community awareness and preparedness during the crisis.

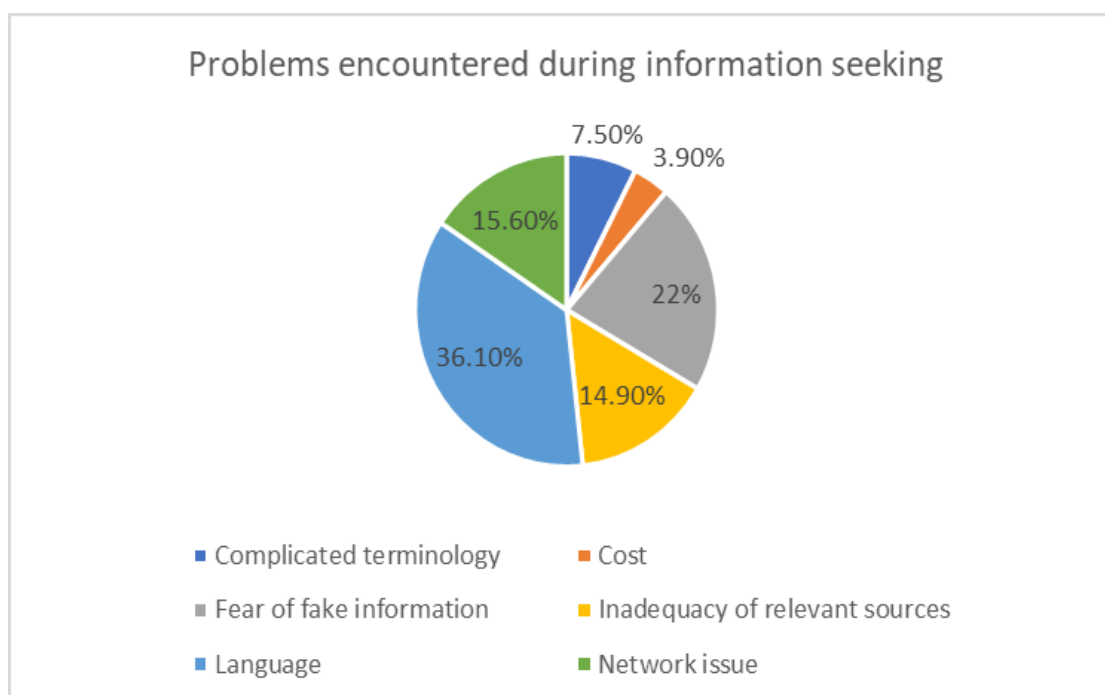


Figure 3: Challenges encountered during information seeking by the respondents

While seeking information, respondents encountered many challenges. 35 (7.5%) of them

were not able to understand the complicated terminology used in the information, 18 (3.9%) replied subscription fee was an issue to access the information, 102 (22%) reacted they feared of fake information, 69 (14.9%) answered inadequacy of relevant sources, 168 (36.1%) responded language was the big barrier to seek information, 73 (15.6%) opined network issue was the challenge for them. The majority (36.1%) of the respondents felt that language is a big challenge in seeking information on various media platforms.

These challenges underscore the need for clear, accessible, and multilingual communication, especially during public health crises.

Discussion

The demographic profile of the respondents reveals that the study achieved a balanced representation across gender and residential backgrounds, ensuring the reliability of the findings. With nearly equal proportions of male (50.1%) and female (49.9%) respondents, and a well-distributed rural–urban representation, the sample reflects inclusivity and minimises bias. While Karnataka’s 2011 Census indicates a rural majority, the study opted for proportional representation between rural and urban participants, thereby allowing comparative insights into information-seeking behaviour across different demographic contexts.

Age distribution shows that younger and middle-aged groups dominated the sample, with the highest concentration in the 21–30 and 31–40 categories. This suggests that active and working-age populations were more accessible to the study and perhaps more engaged in information-seeking behaviour during the pandemic. Conversely, older respondents were underrepresented, possibly due to accessibility challenges or lower engagement with digital media platforms.

The study also highlights important behavioural patterns in media usage during COVID-19. Social media emerged as the dominant medium, either individually or in combination with other platforms such as TV, radio, and newspapers. This reflects the increasing reliance on interactive and real-time platforms for information, particularly in times of uncertainty. However, the preference for government websites (60.9%) as the most credible source of information demonstrates that, despite social media’s popularity, people gravitated towards authoritative and reliable information during the pandemic. This duality underscores the coexistence of immediacy (via social media) and credibility (via government sources) in information-seeking behaviour.

The primary motivation behind information seeking was knowledge enhancement related to COVID-19 (50.8%), followed by updates on lockdown measures (30.1%). This suggests that the public’s information needs were largely health- and safety-oriented, aligning with the context of a global health crisis. Only a small fraction of respondents sought information for entertainment or leisure, which further highlights the seriousness with which people approached media consumption during this period.

Interestingly, the study also reveals how respondents used the information they accessed. A majority (64%) shared information with friends and family, underscoring the role of media not just in individual knowledge acquisition but also in fostering collective awareness and community preparedness. This reflects the social utility of media and aligns with the concept of “two-step flow of communication,” where information is circulated through interpersonal networks.

Despite the extensive use of media, respondents encountered significant challenges. Language barriers were the most prominent (36.1%), followed by concerns about misinformation (22%) and network issues (15.6%). These findings emphasise the need for multilingual, simplified, and accessible communication strategies during health crises. The fear of fake information highlights growing concerns about credibility in digital spaces,

reinforcing the importance of promoting media literacy among citizens.

Overall, the discussion underscores that during COVID-19, the media played a critical role in fulfilling both informational and social needs. While digital and social platforms facilitated instant access, government and institutional sources remained the benchmark of credibility. At the same time, structural challenges such as language, misinformation, and access inequalities complicated the information-seeking process. These findings suggest the necessity for policymakers, media institutions, and public health agencies to design inclusive, accessible, and trustworthy communication frameworks that bridge the gap between immediacy and credibility in times of crisis.

Theoretical Implications

The findings of this study can be interpreted within the framework of Media Dependency Theory (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976). According to the theory, individuals' reliance on media increases during times of social disruption, uncertainty, or crisis, as media becomes the primary channel to obtain information, make decisions, and reduce ambiguity. The high dependency on media during COVID-19, particularly for knowledge enhancement (50.8%) and updates on lockdown measures (30.1%), reflects the heightened salience of media in fulfilling informational needs when traditional interpersonal networks were restricted due to lockdowns and social distancing. The fact that respondents actively shared information (64%) further supports the dependency model, showing how media became central to both personal and community-level coping strategies.

At the same time, the findings resonate with Uses and Gratifications Theory (Katz, Blumler & Gurevitch, 1974). Respondents did not use media randomly; rather, they approached different platforms with specific goals. The dominant gratifications sought were cognitive (to improve knowledge and awareness), followed by social integrative (to share information with others), and tension release (to engage themselves during lockdown). The limited use of media for entertainment (1.5%) indicates that, in crisis contexts, utilitarian and informational gratifications overshadow hedonic ones. The selective preference for government websites as a trusted source (60.9%) further illustrates how audience choices were shaped by the perceived credibility of the medium.

The findings also relate to Framing Theory (Goffman, 1974; Entman, 1993). Respondents' preference for government sources highlights the power of institutional framing in shaping public perceptions. Governmental agencies framed information as authoritative and credible, which made them the most trusted source during the pandemic. Conversely, social media, though widely used for immediacy, carries the risk of misinformation, which respondents identified as a major challenge (22%). This reflects how different media frames influenced not only the accessibility of information but also its perceived trustworthiness.

Another important theoretical implication emerges in terms of Information-Seeking Behaviour (ISB) models, which emphasise the role of personal, situational, and structural factors in shaping how people search for and use information. The challenges faced by respondents, particularly language barriers (36.1%) and network issues (15.6%), illustrate how structural inequalities can constrain effective information-seeking. This aligns with the Digital Divide perspective, which argues that disparities in access, literacy, and language hinder equitable participation in digital information environments.

Taken together, these theoretical perspectives highlight that media dependency during COVID-19 was not uniform but mediated by purpose, trust, accessibility, and the structural realities of respondents' lives. Media Dependency Theory explains the overall rise in reliance; Uses and Gratifications Theory clarifies the motivations; Framing Theory reveals how credibility was constructed; and ISB models expose the barriers to effective information access. By integrating these perspectives, the study provides a comprehensive understanding

of how individuals navigated a complex information ecosystem during a global health crisis.

Conclusion

Media played a vital role not only in providing timely and reliable information but also in facilitating social connectedness during the COVID-19 crisis. While social media offered immediacy, government websites became the most trusted sources, reflecting a balance between speed and credibility. Respondents' motivations for seeking information were largely knowledge-driven, and their active sharing behaviour extended the impact of media beyond individuals to entire communities. However, challenges such as language barriers, misinformation, and network limitations underline the need for more inclusive and accessible communication strategies. The study's findings reaffirm the relevance of established communication theories in understanding media behaviour during crises. Media Dependency Theory explains the heightened reliance on information sources; Uses and Gratifications Theory highlights the purposeful selection of media to meet cognitive and social needs; Framing Theory illustrates how credibility and trust were shaped; and ISB models reveal the structural barriers in accessing and processing information. Together, these frameworks provide a holistic lens to interpret the complex interplay between media, individuals, and society during the COVID-19 pandemic. This theoretical grounding sets the stage for drawing broader insights and recommendations in the subsequent chapter.

References

- Apuke, O. D., & Omar, B. (2021). Social media affordances and information-seeking behaviour during the COVID-19 pandemic: An empirical study of social media use by Gen Z in Nigeria. *Health Education Research*, 36 (5), 575–589.
- Ball-Rokeach, S. J., & DeFleur, M. L. (1976). A dependency model of mass-media effects. *Communication Research*, 3(1), 3–21.
- Case, D. O., & Given, L. M. (2016). *Looking for information: A survey of research on information seeking, needs, and behaviour*. (4th ed.). Emerald Group Publishing.
- Chew, C., & Eysenbach, G. (2010). Pandemics in the age of Twitter: Content analysis of Tweets during the 2009 H1N1 outbreak. *PLoS ONE*, 5(11), e14118.
- Cinelli, M., Quattrocioni, W., Galeazzi, A., Valensise, C. M., Brugnoli, E., Schmidt, A. L., & Scala, A. (2020). The COVID-19 social media infodemic. *Scientific Reports*, 10(1), 16598.
- Islam, M. S., Sarkar, T., Khan, S. H., Mostofa Kamal, A. H., Hasan, S. M. M., Kabir, A., ... & Seale, H. (2020). COVID-19-related infodemic and its impact on public health: A global social media analysis. *The American Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene*, 103(4), 1621–1629.
- Katz, E., Blumler, J. G., & Gurevitch, M. (1974). Utilisation of mass communication by the individual. In J. G. Blumler & E. Katz (Eds.), *The uses of mass communications: Current perspectives on gratifications research* (pp. 19–32). Sage.
- Lowrey, W. (2004). Media dependency during a large-scale social disruption: The case of September 11. *Mass Communication & Society*, 7(3), 339–357.
- McCombs, M., & Reynolds, A. (2009). How the news shapes our civic agenda. In J. Bryant & M. B. Oliver (Eds.), *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (3rd ed., pp. 1–16). Routledge.
- Nair, S., & Bhat, R. (2019). Regional language media and health communication: The case of Kannada newspapers in Karnataka. *Journal of Media Studies*, 34(2), 45–60.
- Pennycook, G., McPhetres, J., Zhang, Y., Lu, J. G., & Rand, D. G. (2020). Fighting COVID-19 misinformation on social media: Experimental evidence for a scalable accuracy nudge intervention. *Psychological Science*, 31(7), 770–780.
- Van Deursen, A. J., & Helsper, E. J. (2018). Collateral benefits of Internet use: Explaining the diverse outcomes of engaging with the Internet. *New Media & Society*, 20(7), 2333–2351.
- Wilson, T. D. (1999). Models in information behaviour research. *Journal of Documentation*, 55(3), 249–270.