

The background features a stylized American flag with a grid overlay. The top half shows the stars and stripes, while the bottom half is mostly black with some red and white stripes. In the foreground, there are silhouettes of several people looking towards the right.

**GDI**

Global  
Disinformation  
Index

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**U.S. Media**  
and Perceptions of  
Disinformation Risk

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The Global Disinformation Index is a UK-based not-for-profit that operates on the three principles of neutrality, independence and transparency. Our vision is a world in which we can trust what we see in the media. Our mission is to restore trust in the media by providing real-time automated risk ratings of the world's media sites through a Global Disinformation Index (GDI). The GDI is non-political. Our Advisory Panel consists of international experts in disinformation, indices and technology. For more information, visit [www.disinformationindex.org](http://www.disinformationindex.org)



# Table of contents

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<b>Executive Summary</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Section 1:</b> Positive and negative perceptions of news sites	<b>6</b>
<b>Section 2:</b> Disinformation risk flags and perceptions	<b>8</b>
<b>Section 3:</b> Readers' profiles and perceptions	<b>10</b>
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Annex</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>Endnotes</b>	<b>21</b>

# Executive Summary

**The following report is a look at informed online readers' perceptions of disinformation risks for some of the most popular media sites in the United States.**

The Global Disinformation Index (GDI) commissioned YouGov to conduct an independent survey of more than 1000 informed readers in the U.S.<sup>1</sup> Respondents were asked to assess up to 10 news sites against a series of questions which served as proxies for understanding the perceived disinformation risks of news publishers.<sup>2</sup> Respondents were also asked to self-identify politically (left, centre or right) and provide other demographic data. The sample of news sites was developed in partnership with the University of Washington and is based on some of America's highest traffic sites and those with the most followers on social media.<sup>3</sup> The U.S. media market sample also included key regional news outlets, national and cable television networks, and niche sites (for different political and demographic groups).<sup>4</sup>

Based on this assessment, the key findings show that:

***Readers' trust in a news site is correlated with the site's perceived disinformation risks.***

- There is a statistically significant correlation between a respondent's overall positive (or negative) perception of a news outlet and the perceived disinformation risks for that site.
- These risk factors include perceptions of a site's overall accurate news coverage, use of clickbait, the labelling of news versus opinion stories, and the correction of errors when found.

***Across all news outlets, perceptions of a site's accuracy vary by political affiliation.***<sup>5</sup>

- There was zero overlap among the top five news publishers which each political group perceived as having accurate news coverage.
- On average, when more left-leaning respondents perceived a news outlet to be accurate, then fewer right-leaning respondents did.
- The greatest left-right divide is found for mainstream media outlets such as Fox News, CNN and The New York Times.

***Perceptions of a news publisher's accuracy differ between self-identified men and women.***

- Among this sample of informed readers who self-identified their gender, female respondents were slightly more likely to rate news publishers in the sample as being accurate (56 percent) than male respondents (50 percent).
- There was almost no overlap among the top five news publishers rated as "accurate" by men and women, with only one site cited by both groups.

***Respondents trust different news publishers for different types of news.***

- The respondents turn to different sites for trusted news on politics, health, and the environment.
- These findings are a good proxy for understanding which sites respondents trust for news on U.S. elections, climate change and COVID-19 coverage, and how these information sources shape their policy views.
- The lack of overlap in sites across the political spectrum signals the challenges ahead of building policy consensus on these critical issues.

The study's findings do much to support past research on how political polarisation has influenced Americans' perceptions,<sup>6</sup> including their understanding of the disinformation discourse.<sup>7</sup> However, the study goes further to look at the relationships that exist between perceptions of disinformation risk and trust in specific news sites. This analysis considered disinformation risks based on informed readers' perceptions of a news publisher's credibility, reliability and reputation. These findings are covered in the sections that follow.

While the analysis is based on U.S. respondents, the study offers potential insights into how politicisation and polarisation affect perceptions of a news publishers' disinformation risk more generally. We hope that the findings are used in that spirit.

# Section 1: Positive and negative perceptions of news sites

The following study focuses on the factors which account for how informed readers perceive disinformation risks and form their brand perception of a news publisher.

Figure 1 shows the overall positive and negative perceptions of the 63 news outlets assessed in this study.<sup>9</sup>

It shows the percentage of respondents who had an overall positive or negative view of a news publisher. One key finding is that many news publishers have both positive and negative reputations among the respondents.

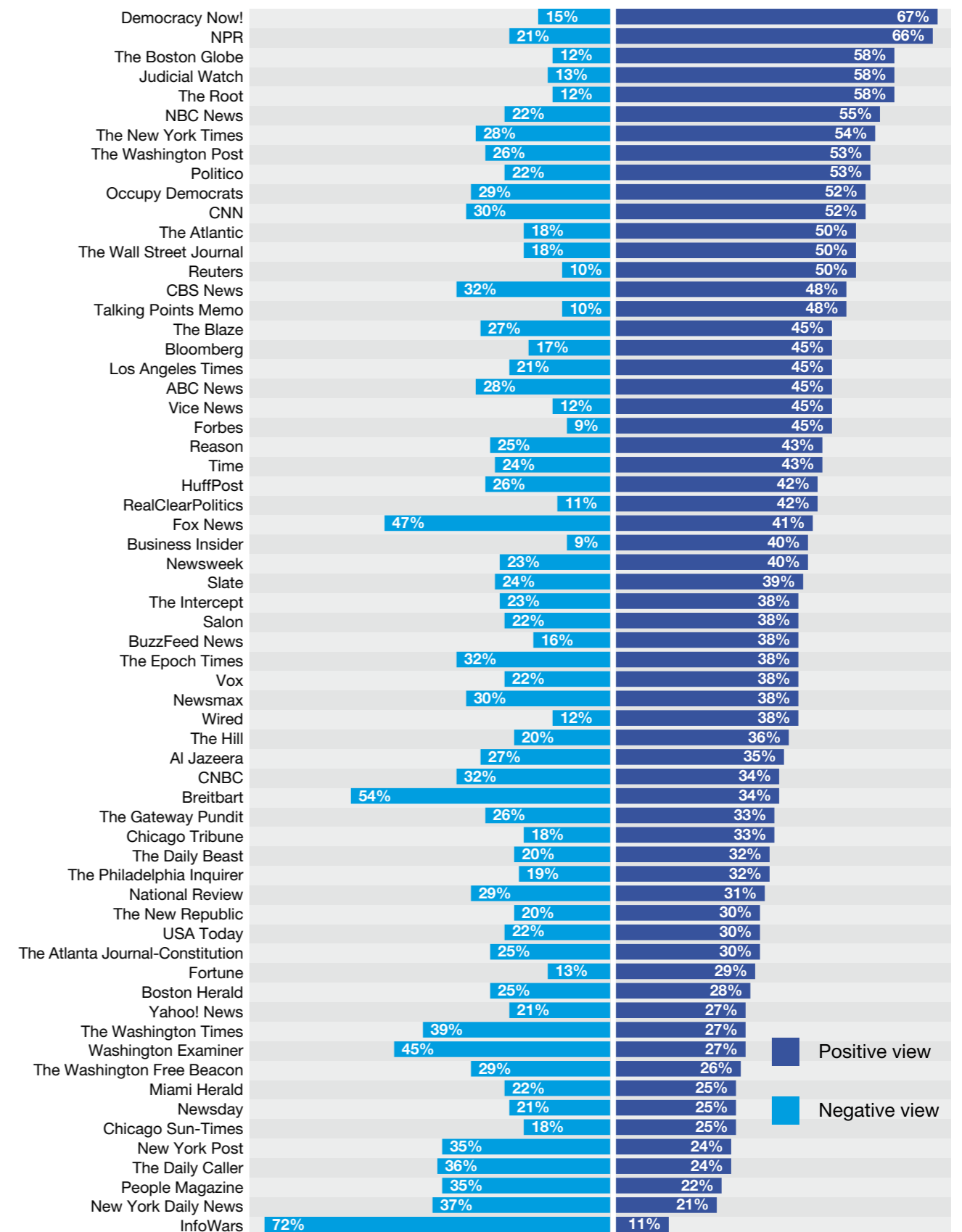
For example, 41 percent of respondents had an overall positive opinion of Fox News while 47 percent had an overall negative opinion.

Similarly CNBC's ratings were fairly equally split among respondents who had a positive (34 percent) and negative view (32 percent) of the site.

Across news publishers in the survey, ten have higher levels of overall negative perceptions than positive perceptions (see Figure 1).<sup>9</sup> These sites include some news publishers that the GDI has previously flagged as peddling disinformation related to electoral fraud, as well as COVID-19 conspiracies, white supremacy and anti-Semitism.<sup>10</sup>

There are also four sites where the difference between the percentage of respondents who held positive and negative opinions of the site is greater than 45 percentage points (see Figure 1).<sup>11</sup>

Figure 1. Respondents' opinions of sites: positive and negative



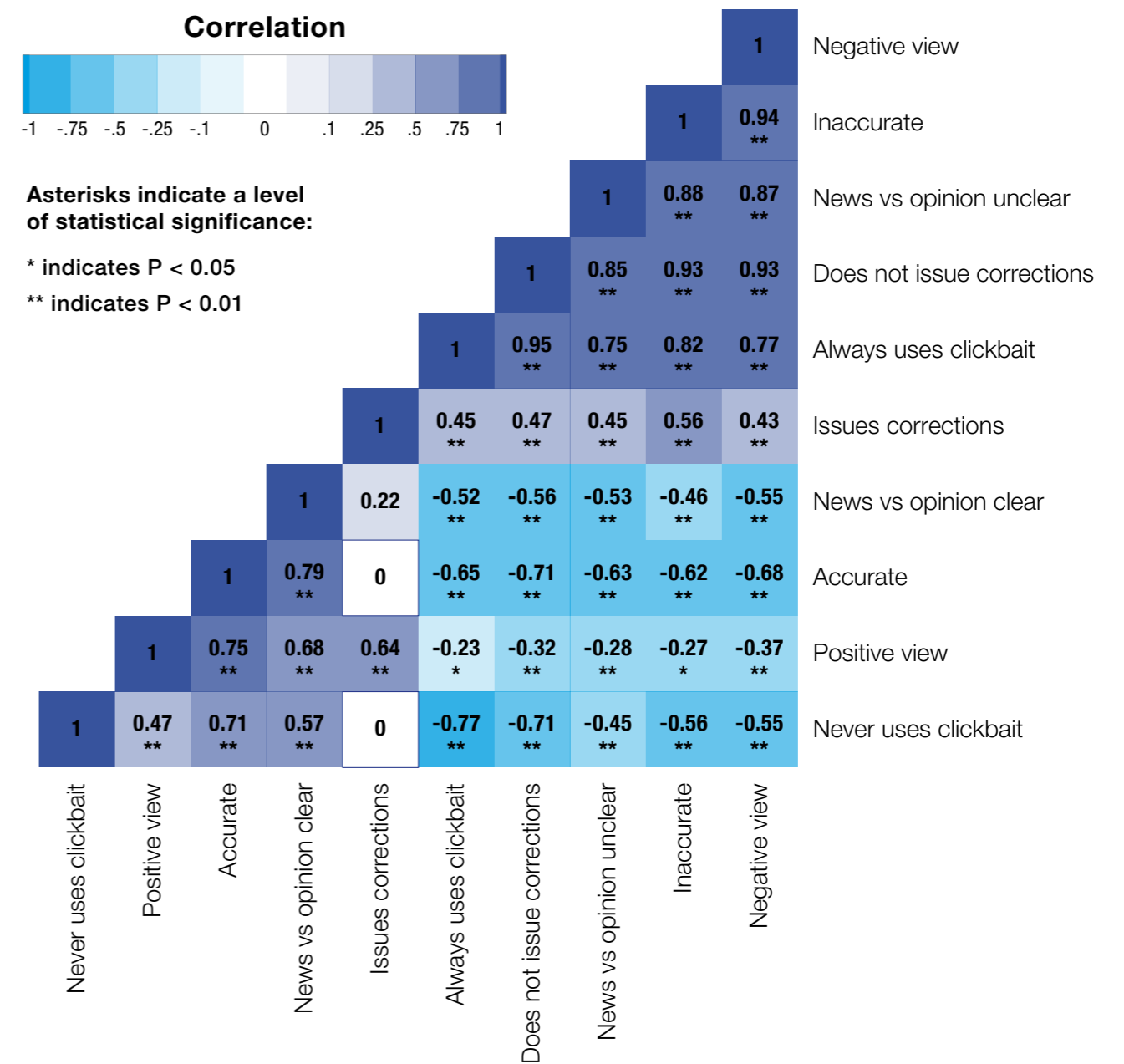
# Section 2: Disinformation risk flags and perceptions

Within the scope of the study, the GDI asked an additional set of questions which target specific disinformation risk flags:

- **The site's level of accuracy in covering news events;**
- **How easy it is to differentiate between opinion and news articles on the site;**
- **How frequently a site employs clickbait headlines; and**
- **How often a news site issues corrections when a story is found to be inaccurate.**

Figure 2 shows the correlations between these risk flags and informed readers' positive or negative opinions of the 63 news publishers. The higher the correlation coefficient (the number in the block), the stronger the relationship (negative or positive) between the risk factors. The findings show that there is a statistically significant correlation between a respondent's overall positive (or negative) opinion of a news outlet and their perceptions of the site's disinformation risks.

Figure 2. Correlation between respondents' opinions of sites and perceived risks



There are some risk flags that show the strongest relationships. The flag most strongly correlated with informed readers' perceived positive opinions of a site is their perception that the site provides accurate news coverage. Conversely, respondents' overall negative

opinions of a news outlet are most strongly correlated with their perceptions that the site covers news inaccurately. The next strongest correlation is between informed readers' negative opinions of a site and their perception that an outlet rarely issues corrections.

# Section 3: Readers' profiles and perceptions

## Perceptions of accurate news coverage.

Within the scope of the study and survey questions, the findings show that perceptions of a news publisher's accuracy differ based on respondents' self-identification in terms of politics and demographics.

### Perceptions of accuracy differ by political affiliation across all news outlets.

Respondents self-identifying as "left-leaning" were more likely to perceive media to be accurate than their "right-leaning" counterparts. On average, 60 percent of left-leaning respondents found the news publishers in the sample accurate, nearly double the fraction of right-leaning respondents (34 percent). Moreover, there was zero overlap among the top five news publishers which each group perceived as accurate.

### Perceptions of a news publisher's accuracy differ between men and women.

Among this sample of informed readers, female respondents were slightly more likely to rate news publishers in the sample as being accurate than were male respondents (56 percent versus 50 percent, respectively). There was almost no overlap among the top five news publishers rated as "accurate" by men and women, with only one site cited by both groups.<sup>12</sup>

Table 1 shows the five news sites perceived to be most accurate, split by demographic and political affiliation.

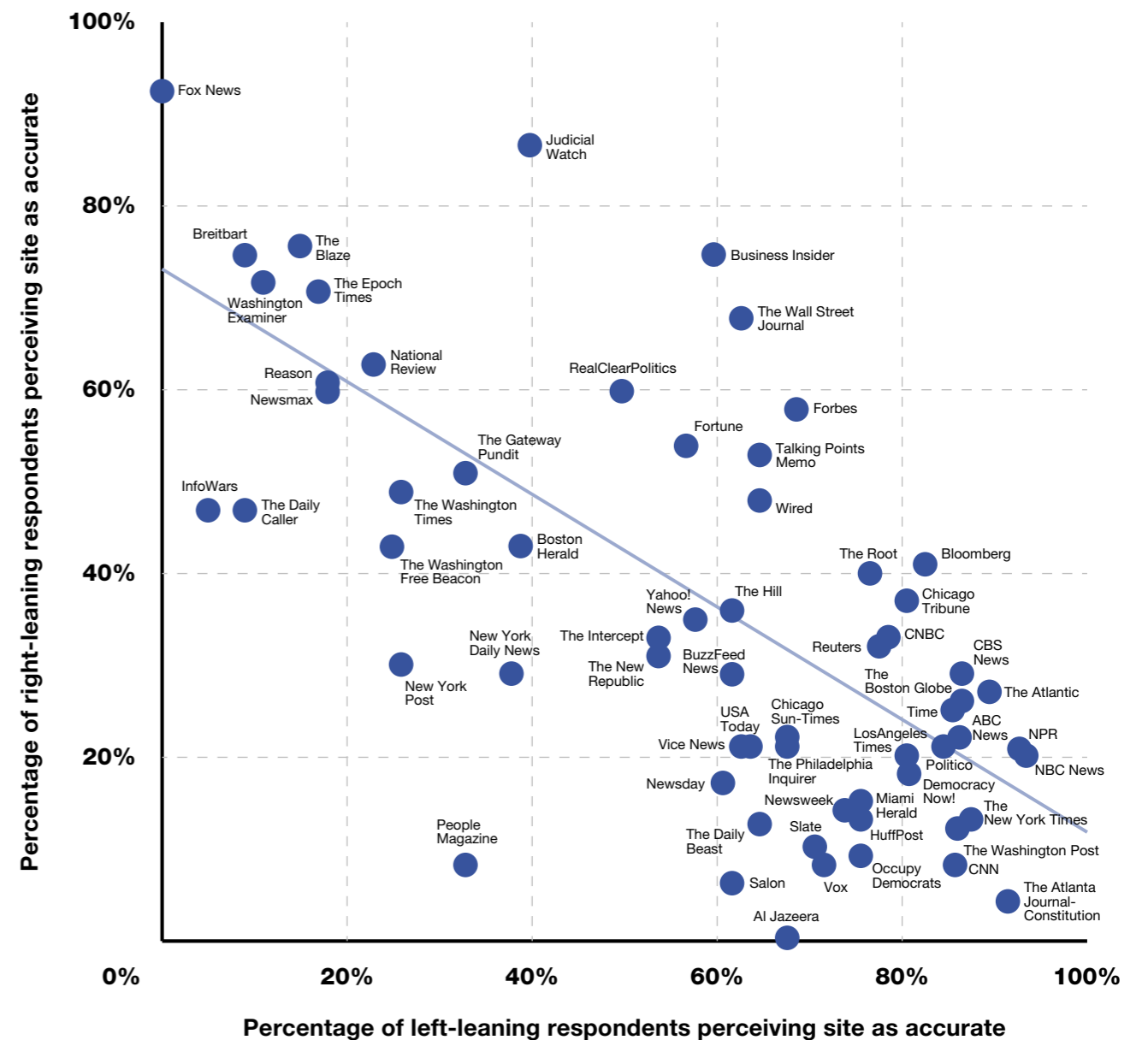
**Table 1.** Five most accurate news sources by group

	Overall	Women's responses	Men's responses	Left-leaning	Right-leaning	Center
1	The Boston Globe	NPR	The Wall Street Journal	NBC News	Fox News	NPR
2	The Wall Street Journal	The Boston Globe	The Boston Globe	NPR	Judicial Watch	The Wall Street Journal
3	NPR	Politico	Judicial Watch	The Atlanta Journal-Constitution	The Blaze	The Boston Globe
4	Judicial Watch	The New York Times	Forbes	The Atlantic	Breitbart	Reuters
5	NBC News	NBC News	Bloomberg	The New York Times	Business Insider	Reason

When respondents' political identification is taken into account, there is a statistically significant negative relationship between the news publishers which left-leaning respondents find accurate and those which right-leaning respondents find accurate, as shown in Figure 3.

**On average, the higher the proportion of left-leaning respondents who find a news outlet accurate, the lower the proportion of right-leaning respondents who perceive the site to be accurate.**

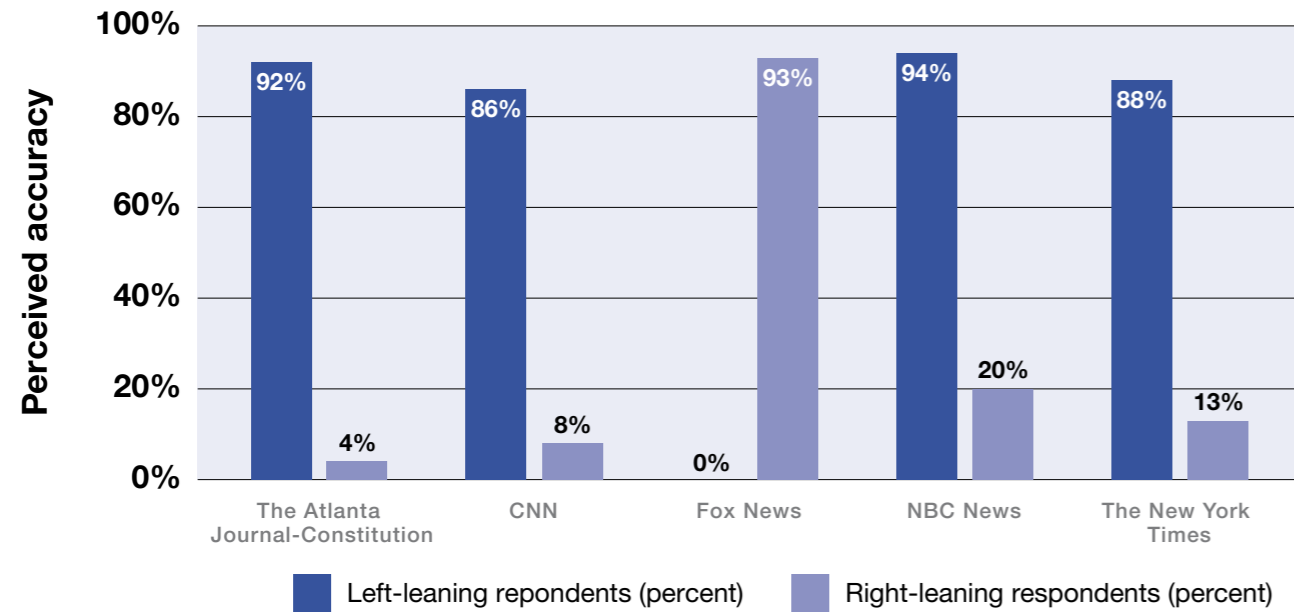
**Figure 3.** Perceptions of accuracy: Share of left- vs. right-leaning respondents



The greatest left-right divide in perceived accuracy lies around the "big-name" media outlets such as Fox News and CNN. For example, while 93 percent of right-leaning respondents found Fox News to have news coverage

that was either "extremely accurate" or "accurate," not a single left-leaning respondent found this to be the case. Figure 4 highlights the greatest differences between respondents.

**Figure 4.** Widest left-right divide on perceived news accuracy by site



**Perceptions of inaccurate news coverage.**

The GDI also wanted to determine the factors which correlate with respondents' perceptions that a news publisher is inaccurate.<sup>13</sup>

**Similar to respondents' perceptions of accuracy, there is a strong, significant and nearly one-to-one relationship between the share of respondents who perceive sites as carrying inaccurate news and the share of respondents who hold negative opinions of the site.**

As with perceptions of accuracy, perceptions of inaccuracy vary by how respondents self-identify demographically and politically. As compared to the site findings for perceptions of accuracy, the degree of overlap is higher among those who are similar demographically and identify in the political centre (see Table 2). Infowars, Breitbart and Fox News are among the top sites perceived to have inaccurate news coverage by these respondent groups.

**Table 2.** Five most inaccurate news sources by group

	Overall	Women's responses	Men's responses	Left-leaning	Right-leaning	Center
1	InfoWars	InfoWars	InfoWars	Fox News	Occupy Democrats	InfoWars
2	Breitbart	Fox News	Breitbart	InfoWars	CNN	Breitbart
3	Fox News	Breitbart	Fox News	Breitbart	The Washington Post	Fox News
4	Washington Examiner	The Washington Times	CNN	The Epoch Times	Al Jazeera	Washington Examiner
5	The Daily Caller	The Epoch Times	Washington Examiner	The Daily Caller	Slate	The Daily Caller

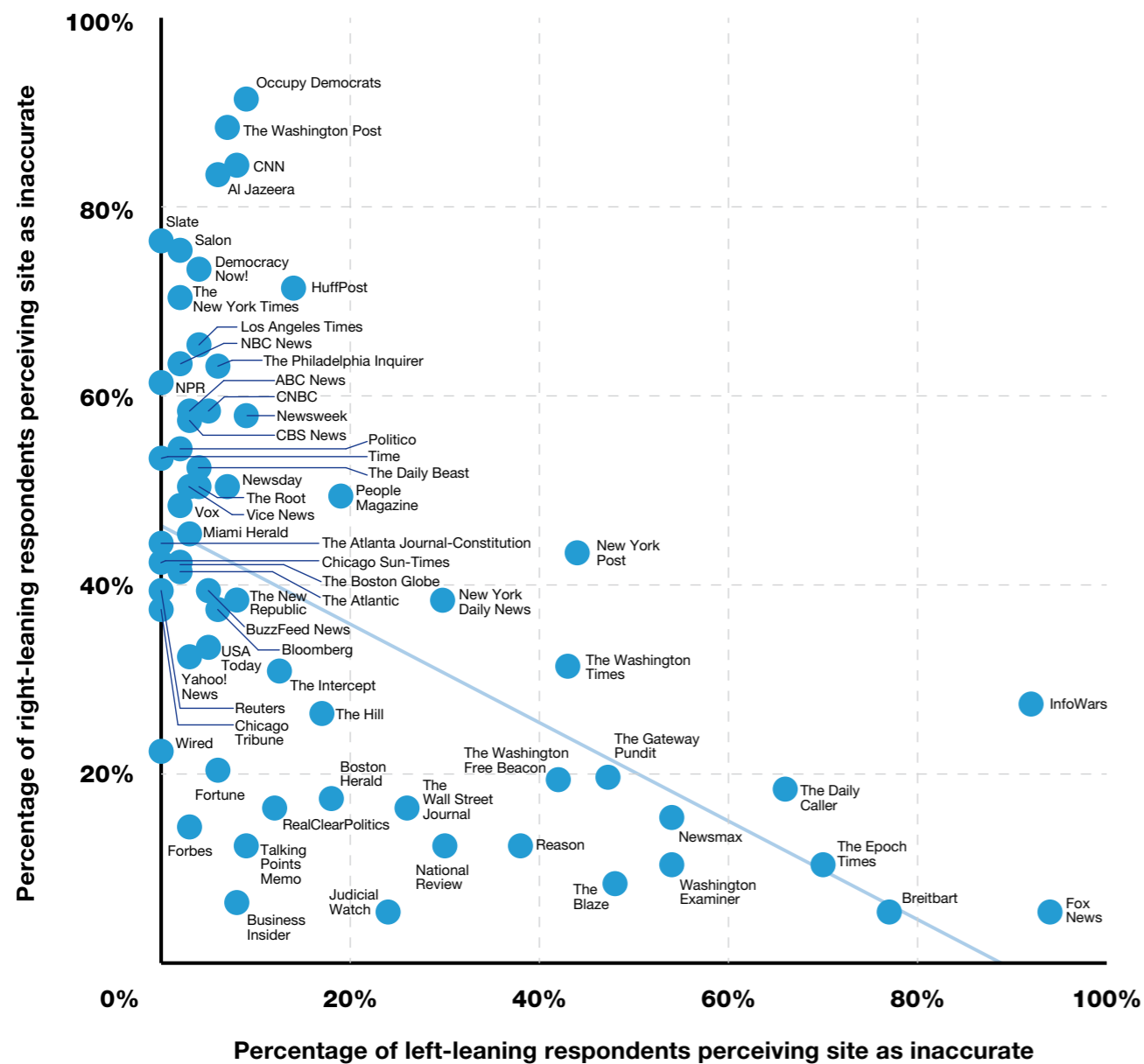
As seen in Figure 5, a large share of right-leaning respondents considers many of the news outlets in the sample to be inaccurate. This is in sharp contrast to left-leaning respondents' perceptions of these same sites.<sup>14</sup>

The cluster of sites in the top left quadrant clearly demonstrates this relationship. On average, there is a gap of 41 percentage points between the share of left- vs. right-leaning respondents who found a given news publisher in the sample to be inaccurate. This is

almost double the difference that was found between right-leaning and left-leaning respondents when it comes to their perceptions of sites being accurate (23 percentage points).<sup>15</sup>

If one's perception of a site's inaccuracy was unaffected by political identification, we would expect to see sites grouped along a straight line running in the opposite direction, from the bottom left to the top right of Figure 5.

Figure 5. Perceptions of inaccuracy: share of left- vs. right-leaning respondents

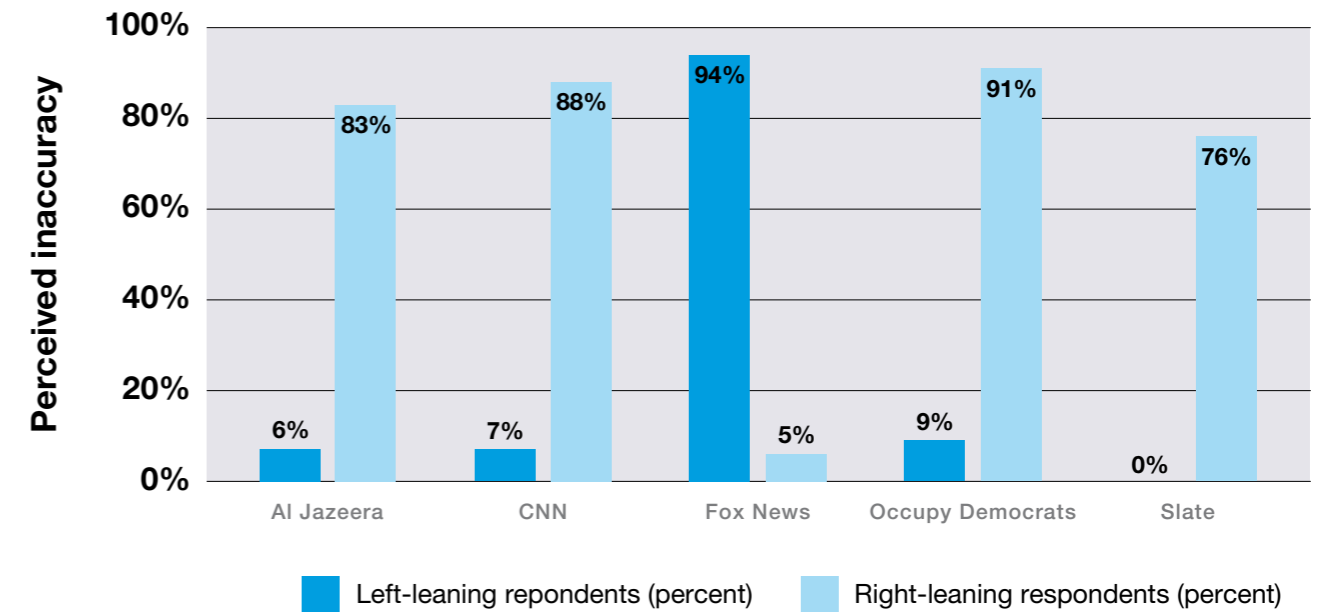


Five sites have extremely wide gaps between left- and right-leaning respondents' perceptions of their inaccuracy (see Figure 6).

Of this group, Fox News is where the gap was widest: 94 percent of left-leaning respondents assessed Fox News as inaccurate, as compared to only 5 percent of right-leaning respondents.

This is nearly the inverse for how left-leaning and right-leaning respondents in the survey perceived Fox News to be accurate: 93 percent of right-leaning respondents assessed it as "accurate" while no left-leaning respondent did.

Figure 6. Widest left-right divide on perceived news inaccuracy by site



Perceptions of trust in news topic coverage.

GDI also looked at whether respondents across the political spectrum trust the same sites for specific areas of news coverage. The findings show that left- and right-leaning respondents turn to different U.S. media outlets when they want trusted news on politics, health, or the environment. These news topics serve as proxies to understand which sites respondents have trusted the most for news on the 2020 U.S. elections, COVID-19 and climate change.

As Table 3 shows, left- and right-leaning respondents have very different top picks for media outlets they trust for each of these three news topics.<sup>16</sup>



**Table 3.** Top sites for trusted news on politics, health and environment by group

**Politics**

	Overall	Left-leaning	Right-leaning	Center
1	RealClearPolitics	The Atlantic	Judicial Watch	RealClearPolitics
2	Talking Points Memo	CNN	The Blaze	Reuters
3	Judicial Watch	Politico	Fox News	Politico
4	Politico	ABC News	Washington Examiner	The Boston Globe
5	Reuters	The New York Times	Breitbart	Reason

**Health**

	Overall	Left-leaning	Right-leaning	Center
1	The Boston Globe	NBC News	Fox News	The Boston Globe
2	Reuters	The Boston Globe	Breitbart	Reuters
3	NPR	NPR	The Epoch Times	NPR
4	NBC News	ABC News	Washington Examiner	Chicago Tribune
5	Chicago Tribune	The Washington Post	The Blaze	NBC News

**Environment**

	Overall	Left-leaning	Right-leaning	Center
1	NPR	NPR	Fox News	NPR
2	The Boston Globe	The New York Times	Washington Examiner	The New York Times
3	Democracy Now!	NBC News	The Blaze	NBC News
4	Reuters	The Atlantic	Reason	The Atlantic
5	The Atlantic	The Washington Post	The Wall Street Journal	The Washington Post

This finding reinforces the argument that there are very different information ecosystems for informed readers on the right, centre and left of the U.S. political spectrum. The lack of overlap in perceived trusted news sources for information on politics, health and the environment likely creates a barrier<sup>17</sup> when it comes to policy discussions and government action on these topics.<sup>18</sup>

Inversely, some of the sites cited by left-leaning and right-leaning respondents as being trustworthy on these topics are the same sites which each group perceives as being inaccurate for news (as noted above).<sup>19</sup>

# Conclusion

The study has attempted to look more closely at over 1,000 responses from informed readers who assessed 63 U.S. news publishers from across the country that cover a wide range of political viewpoints.

The findings show that perceptions of trust and brand reputation are connected to a series of factors that GDI has identified as part of its disinformation risk flags. These risk factors are based on respondents' perceptions of:

1. The site's level of accuracy in covering news events;
2. How easy it is to differentiate between opinion and news articles on the site;
3. How frequently a site employs click-bait headlines; and
4. How often a news site issues corrections when a story is found to be inaccurate.

Based on the survey data, these relationships are statistically significant and strong across the site sample and respondents. The study's findings are seen as representative of the views held by informed readers across the U.S., as was defined by the survey sample.

When looking at specific sites, the survey data shows that respondents' opinions of sites vary based on political and demographic factors. These factors reflect major differences in what sites the survey respondents turn to for information, particularly for those respondents on the left and right of the U.S. political spectrum.

People's perceptions of trust in a news publisher also vary by news topic. Different sites are perceived as the most trustworthy for politics, health and the environment. Moreover, depending on the respondents' political affiliation, there is little overlap between what left- or right-leaning respondents consider to be the most trustworthy sites for news on these topics.

This study offers additional insights into the factors that are correlated to perceptions of brand trust and disinformation risks for some of the top U.S. news sites. The findings show how one's political affiliation and demographics shape informed readers' opinions of news sites and their perceived disinformation risks. It offers further evidence of the deep political divides within the U.S.'s news ecosystem and how these fissures can undermine trust in key government policy responses in the areas of politics, health and the environment.

# Annex

## Scope of Perceptions Data and Research Analysis

To understand perceptions of disinformation risk and brand trust, the GDI externally commissioned YouGov to complete a survey of 1003 informed readers, selected across the political spectrum (left, centre, and right).<sup>20</sup> The survey was carried out by YouGov from June 2-11 2020. Although the data are over six months old, GDI has found that perceptions and findings from this data line up with those from more recent studies and surveys. This includes the Pew Research Center’s survey on American News after the U.S. presidential elections in November 2020.<sup>21</sup>

The original YouGov survey from June 2020 gauged perceptions across 81 media outlets. For the purpose of this analysis, we opted to focus on outlets where the number of informed respondents was equal to or greater than one standard deviation below the average number of respondents. This made at least 87 or more informed responses the cut-off for the inclusion of any of the sites. As a result, the study focuses on 63 relevant media outlets for analysis (77 percent of the original media site sample). This restriction was necessary in order to mitigate biases that might be introduced when considering news publishers with few respondents, which could skew the overall analysis of trends and relationships. All findings are at a 95 percent confidence level with a margin of error of ±3 percent for the entire sample.<sup>22</sup>

Table A.1 shows the full list of news outlets, and the 63 used in this analysis.

**Table A.1.** News outlets in the survey and the number of respective informed readers

### Included in this analysis

News outlet	Informed respondents	News outlet	Informed respondents
The Atlantic	136	The Intercept	133
Bloomberg	135	Wired	133
CNN	135	Al Jazeera	132
The Epoch Times	135	The Boston Globe	132
Fox News	135	HuffPost	132
The New Republic	135	RealClearPolitics	132
New York Post	135	Reuters	132
NPR	135	The Blaze	132
Politico	135	The Hill	132
Slate	135	USA Today	132
Vox	135	The Wall Street Journal	132
Yahoo! News	135	The Washington Post	132
ABC News	134	The Daily Caller	131
Breitbart	134	Democracy Now!	131
BuzzFeed News	134	InfoWars	131
Forbes	134	Judicial Watch	131
National Review	134	Los Angeles Times	131
The New York Times	134	NBC News	130
People Magazine	134	Newsmax	130
Reason	134	Newsweek	129
Talking Points Memo	134	The Gateway Pundit	124
Time	134	Chicago Tribune	120
Vice News	134	The Washington Free Beacon	119
The Washington Times	134	The Root	113
Business Insider	133	Newsday	111
CBS News	133	Boston Herald	109
CNBC	133	The Philadelphia Inquirer	109
Fortune	133	The Atlanta Journal-Constitution	108
New York Daily News	133	Chicago Sun-Times	105
Occupy Democrats	133	Miami Herald	99
Salon	133	Washington Examiner	98
The Daily Beast	133		

### Not included in this analysis

News outlet	Informed respondents	News outlet	Informed respondents
Jacobin	83	SFGATE	67
The Dallas Morning News	82	Star Tribune	67
The Denver Post	80	The Forward	62
The Seattle Times	79	Tampa Bay Times	60
The Western Journal	79	The Orange County Register	57
Houston Chronicle	76	The San Diego Union-Tribune	56
Boston.com	71	NJ.com	51
The Plain Dealer (Cleveland)	71	The Arizona Republic	44
The Mercury News	68	Las Vegas Review-Journal	39

YouGov uses a Catalyst sample for this survey, which is composed of 1003 respondents across the political, gender and age spectrum. This “catalyst audience” is a group that YouGov defines as the top 10 percent of its survey panel for a country. It is composed of “change-makers drawn from civil society, business, politics, media, the third sector and beyond.” They are defined by their recent activities which include entrepreneurialism, leadership and activism. Typical roles in this group include business & social entrepreneurs, organisational leaders, and political activists. This group is interesting given that it is a group that is supposedly more informed and connected with decision-making. The level of polarisation at this level provides an interesting reflection of how this may be impacting related policy, business and social decisions.

The distribution of respondents by self-identified gender and political affiliation is shown in Table A.2.

**Table A.2.** Demographic distribution of respondents (self-identified)

Male		Female	
Political leaning	Number of respondents	Political leaning	Number of respondents
Left	180	Left	160
Middle	260	Middle	138
Right	190	Right	51
Don't Know	11	Don't Know	10

While perceptions constitute just one part of disinformation risk, perceptions also inform trust levels and reputations. As noted in the introduction, because of the extremely polarised nature of the American media landscape, this perception data based on U.S. readership in the U.S. media market presented a perfect opportunity to look more deeply into just how politicised the landscape is. The main analysis revolved around splitting the data by political affiliation to examine how political affiliation relates to perceptions of accuracy, inaccuracy and other factors that influence a reader’s overall perception of a news outlet and its perceived disinformation risks. Future analysis could also dig down further to examine how this plays out when political considerations are overlaid with those of gender. Some research has suggested there may be a relationship between gender, political affiliation, and the degree of political polarisation, while other research suggests this is not the case.<sup>23</sup>

For most questions on the survey, the respondents were given a Likert type scale of answer options to choose from as their response, which must be taken into account when analysing these data. For this reason, we looked at the frequency of the distribution of the responses in this report.

## Endnotes

**1** YouGov is a global public opinion and data company. See YouGov.co.uk. The informed readers sample used by GDI is based on YouGov’s “catalyst audience”: a group considered to be the top 10 percent of its country panel, drawing change-makers from civil society, business, politics, media, the third sector and beyond. They are defined by their recent activities which include entrepreneurialism, leadership and activism. Typical roles in this group include business & social entrepreneurs, organisational leaders, and political activists. For the U.S. study, the U.S. sample is 1003 respondents, making the margin of error +/- 3 percent. The group was provided with pre-determined and narrowly set demographic identification categories that do not represent the full spectrum of political or gender identities.

**2** For the full survey, 81 sites were presented, of which the respondents identified up to 10 which they were familiar with to assess a variety of questions. For this report, we present the findings for 63 sites that had the highest number of respondents. We dropped any sites that had fewer respondents than one standard deviation from the mean, with the cut-off at 87 or fewer respondents. The methodology is outlined in the Annex.

**3** These metrics were a site’s Alexa ranking in the U.S. ([www.alexa.com](http://www.alexa.com)) and its number of Twitter and/or Facebook followers.

**4** For the full list of sites included in the original survey and used for this report, see the Annex. For national and cable television networks, respondents were provided with the URL for these news sites.

**5** It is important to note that the political identification of “left wing,” “centre,” and “right wing” are based on respondents self-identifying themselves as such in the survey.

**6** See: <https://indiaeducationdiary.in/arizona-state-university-researchers-find-broad-impacts-from-political-polarization/>.

**7** See, for example, M. Hameleers and T. van der Meer, “Misinformation and Polarization in a High-Choice Media Environment: How Effective Are Political Fact-checkers?”, Communication Research 47(2) 2270259, 2019.

**8** The survey question was “Of these sites that you know, how strongly held are your opinions about them?” Respondents were given five options: 5- Strongly held positive opinion; 4- Somewhat positive opinion; 3- Neutral; 2- Somewhat negative opinion; 1- Strongly held negative opinion. The top and bottom responses were combined to assess an overall “positive” or “negative” opinion of a site.

**9** The ten sites where respondents’ negative views exceed respondents’ positive views by the greatest difference are (in order from largest to smallest difference): 1. InfoWars (11% positive, 72% negative), 2. Breitbart (34% positive, 54% negative), 3. Washington Examiner (27% positive, 45% negative), 4. New York Daily News (21% positive, 37% negative), 5. People Magazine (22% positive, 35% negative), 6. The Washington Times (27% positive, 39% negative), 7. The Daily Caller (24% positive, 36% negative), 8. New York Post (24% positive, 35% negative), 9. Fox News (41% positive, 47% negative) and 10. The Washington Free Beacon (26% positive, 29% negative). Note that for these 10 sites, the margin of error is between 8 and 10 percent.

**10** For more information, see: <https://disinformationindex.org/2020/10/how-can-advertisers-disrupt-disinformation-dont-fund-it/> and <https://disinformationindex.org/2020/10/how-brands-can-disrupt-disinformation-in-the-u-s-elections/>.

**11** Four news publishers with the largest gap between respondents’ positive and negative opinions of the same site are: 1. Democracy Now! (67% positive; 15% negative), 2. The Boston Globe (58% positive; 15% negative), 3. The Root (57% positive; 11% negative) and 4. Judicial Watch (59% positive; 13% negative).

**12** This representative sample of “informed readers,” as constructed by YouGov, is based on 1003 respondents, of which 644 were men (64%) and 359 women (36%).

**13** The structure of the survey question gave respondents the option to rate a site as either accurate, neutral or inaccurate. In reviewing this data, the GDI wanted to determine what differences and factors made readers decide to rate sites as inaccurate.

**14** This quadrant corresponds to low levels of perceived inaccuracy by left-leaning respondents, and high levels of perceived inaccuracy by right-leaning respondents.

**15** Twenty-five percent or more of right-leaning respondents assessed two-thirds of the sites in the sample as “extremely inaccurate” or “inaccurate” (total of 43 sites). In contrast, 25 percent or more of left-leaning respondents rated only one-fourth of the sample’s sites as such (total of 16 sites).

**16** Across all respondents at the aggregate, there were five sites that were most frequently cited as not to be trusted for any of these topics (in order of frequency): InfoWars, People Magazine, Breitbart, The Daily Caller and The Washington Times.

**17** This is an area where further research is merited and should be explored by looking at other perception data around government policies and actions.

**18** For the impacts of misinformation and disinformation on policy responses and actions, see the following: on the sciences: “Science audiences, misinformation, and fake news”, Dietram A. Scheufele and Nicole M. Krause. PNAS April 16, 2019 116 (16) 7662-7669; first published January 14, 2019; <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1805871115>. Edited by Baruch Fischhoff, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA, and approved November 9, 2018 (received for review June 18, 2018); <https://www.pnas.org/content/116/16/7662>; health: “Misinformation During a Pandemic”, Leonardo Bursztyrn, Aakaash Rao, Christopher Roth, David Yanagizawa-Drott. Working Paper 2020-44, September 2020. University of Chicago, [https://bfi.uchicago.edu/wp-content/uploads/BFI\\_WP\\_202044.pdf](https://bfi.uchicago.edu/wp-content/uploads/BFI_WP_202044.pdf); politics/elections: Ognyanova, K., Lazer, D., Robertson, R. E., & Wilson, C. (2020). Misinformation in action: Fake news exposure is linked to lower trust in media, higher trust in government when your side is in power. Harvard

Kennedy School (HKS) Misinformation Review. <https://doi.org/10.37016/mr-2020-024>; “Causes and consequences of mainstream media dissemination of fake news: literature review and synthesis” Yariv Tsfati, H. G. Boomgaarden, J. Strömbäck, R. Vliegenthart, A. Damstra & E. Lindgren, Pages 157-173 | Received November 24, 2019, Published online: May 19, 2020: <https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2020.1759443>. Also see: Jenna Marina Lee, “How Fake News Affects U.S. Elections, UCF Lecturer Chrysalis Wright, who was appointed to the UN’s Communications Coordination Committee, shares insight on one of the threats to our democracy.” October 26, 2020, <https://www.ucf.edu/news/how-fake-news-affects-u-s-elections/>.

**19** From the list in Table 3, Fox News, Breitbart and The Epoch Times are rated as inaccurate overall by left-leaning respondents. Meanwhile, CNN and The Washington Post are perceived as carrying inaccurate news by right-leaning respondents.

**20** The survey was carried out by YouGov between June 2 and 11, 2020. Although at the time of publishing the data is over six months old, GDI has found that perceptions and findings from this data line up with those from more recent studies and surveys such as the Pew November 18-29, 2020 survey on American News (this can be accessed at <https://www.pewresearch.org/pathways-2020/>).

**21** Please see: <https://www.pewresearch.org/pathways-2020/>.

**22** At the site level, the margin of error is slightly higher at 8-10 percent for the 63 sites analysed in the study.

**23** For example, see Pew Research from December 2019; <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2019/12/17/in-a-politically-polarized-era-sharp-divides-in-both-partisan-coalitions/>.



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