NORDIS – NORdic observatory for digital media and information DISorders

# Report on National Surveys in the NORDIS Countries on Audiences' Experiences of Media Trust and Disinformation

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# Executive Summary

This NORDIS study, co-funded by [the C.V. Åkerlund Media Foundation](#), focuses on **Nordic audiences' experiences** of media trust and experiences of disinformation, based on nationwide, representative surveys in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden in May-June 2023.

The results indicate that while some robust and similar traditions of the national media systems still remain, NORDIS countries are simultaneously highly digitalized and showcase the importance of content consumption online and on mobile devices. The top five most used content sources are the same in all countries: social media, television, streaming services, news media websites/apps, and instant messaging. Similarly, the most important news sources are the same in all countries: News media websites and apps are number one everywhere, followed by television. Radio and social media followed, and, surprisingly, home-delivered printed newspapers still ranked 5th or 6th in importance.

The long legacy of including media freedom, and a robust trust in journalism, are present in the NORDIS countries: the media audiences generally trust legacy media and are weary of social media content. At the same time, most survey respondents say they encounter disinformation frequently. They are also cautious about the commercial pressures of legacy media. The responses to the statements about what builds trust in journalistic media show that from the audience's perspective, trust is composed of many factors. However, the top two responses in the NORDIS countries were the accuracy of the information and the use of clear and informative language. The respondents also recognise factors that threaten their trust in mediated contents: information warfare, the spread of disinformation, the impact of social media on the information one is exposed to, and the overflow of information in society are some of their greatest worries pertaining to their national media landscapes and their own media consumption.

# Background

Problems in democratic decision-making, increasing inequality, the power of global platforms, social segregation, political polarization, and the weakening of the sense of national unity are interconnected phenomena that have worried all Nordic countries in recent years. Both the COVID-19 crisis and the conflict in Ukraine have also challenged Nordic societies. It has been suggested that despite the indicators placing the Nordics at the top of democracy and freedom of the press rankings, these countries are still plagued with symptoms of the so-called information disorder, that is, different forms of false content, hate speech, propaganda, and other harms typical to online environments.[1]

Indeed, studies confirm that, on the one hand, the Nordic countries excel in media literacy, and trust in traditional media is still relatively high. On the other hand, the role of social media as a news source is growing, harassment of journalists is increasing, and media consumption is becoming more segmented, just like political polarization.[2]

Furthermore, the so-called transformation of the "Nordic media welfare state"[3] has recently been much debated in academic and public arenas. The Nordic media welfare state model has traditionally been a cornerstone of education, civic participation, national security, and unity, including principles such as a mixed media system with consensus on media policies, editorial freedom, and universal access to media. Central to this Nordic model is a free and diverse national media that is strongly trusted. However, there has been a growing concern about whether this model still reflects reality.[4]

There is an ongoing discussion about how to maintain and strengthen the media welfare state in the Nordic strategy: Since the Nordic countries share a common value base and have similar national media systems, what can they learn about citizen trust experiences and building trust in national media? As an example, a Think Tank for Tech and Democracy of the Nordic Council of Ministers has addressed the threats to national democratic debates in the Nordics and called for, among other things, more research on the state-of-the-art democratic communication in the different countries and the region, as a whole. Similarly, during the two first years of the NORDIS project (2021-2023), an urgent need for research has emerged regarding Nordic audiences, media trust, and experiences of disinformation.

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[1] Wardle, C., & Derakhshan, H. (2018). Information disorder: Toward an interdisciplinary framework for research and policymaking. Council of Europe. https://rm.coe.int/information-disorder-report-version-august-2018/16808c9c77

[2] E.g., Horowitz, M. (2022). Assessing Information Disorder in the Digital Media Welfare State: A Rights-Based Approach. EDMO/NORDIS.

[3] Syvertsen, T., Enli, G., Mjos O. & Moe, H. (2014). Media Welfare State. Nordic Media in the Digital Era. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

[4] E.g., Ala-Fossi, M. (2020). Finland: Media welfare state in the digital era? Journal of Digital Media & Policy, 11(2), 133-150.

## Objectives and Research Questions

We know some key aspects of Nordic media markets and communication policies (e.g., NORDICOM reports[5]) and news journalism consumption (e.g., the Reuters Digital News Reports[6]). However, we know less about how the multifaceted experience of media power and trust appears in different Nordic countries today and how crisis reporting in recent years has been perceived in different countries. This research examines citizens' views on media power and trust in the media, **focusing on the NORDIS countries: Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.**

The research questions include:

1. **How do audiences perceive media power and authority today?**
2. **What is the level of trust in traditional media and social media as news sources?**
3. **How have recent crises affected trust in the media?**
4. **How are disinformation and other information harms perceived in different NORDIS countries?**
5. **How do NORDIS countries differ from each other; what are the national "pain points" regarding trust?**

## Research Design

The above questions have been operationalized into a 14-question national survey of the four NORDIS countries conducted in May-June 2023.

The design has drawn from several earlier Finnish research efforts to address questions of media trust,[7] and modified several questions from the Eurobarometer surveys on disinformation.[8] Several questions correspond to a Finnish survey on editors-in-chief of journalistic organisations, in order to provide ideas for future research on the key insights for media trust and influence from both the journalists' and audiences' perspectives. (See the English translation of the questionnaires in the Appendix.)

The data for Finland was collected as the pilot phase between 17 and 25 May 2023 with 1000 respondents. The collection was conducted by the national internet panel of Taloustutkimus,

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[5] https://www.nordicom.gu.se/en/facts-analysis/nordic.

[6] https://www.digitalnewsreport.org/.

[7] See, Horowitz, M., Ojala, M., Matikainen, J. and Jääsaari, J. (2021). The Multidimensionality of Trust: Assessing Finnish Audiences' Views on the Trustworthiness of Digital News. Global Perspectives 2 (1); Ojala, M. (2021). Is the Age of Impartial Journalism Over? The Neutrality Principle and Audience (Dis)trust in Mainstream News, Journalism Studies, 22:15, 2042-2060.

[8] Standard Eurobarometer 96 - Winter 2021-2022 https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2553, Media & News Survey 2022 https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2832.

an independent full-service market research company. The results were weighted to represent the population of mainland Finland aged between 16 and 79 according to age, gender, and place of residence. The margin of error varied between 0.8% and 2.9%, depending on the specific result.

The data for Denmark, Norway, and Sweden was collected between 19 and 27 June 2023, with 1000 respondents in Denmark, 1025 in Sweden, and 1045 in Norway in Norstat panel used by Kantar Public. The age range was 15 to 79. The results were weighted according to age and gender per country. Sampling was made nationally representative. The margin of error varied between 1.3 % and 3.1%, depending on the specific result. While not fully identical in execution, the pilot data on Finland and the data on Denmark, Norway, and Sweden are comparable in terms of the results.

## Earlier Surveys: Robust Trust

Based on earlier surveys, the Nordic countries seem to embody trust in legacy forms of media as mediators of information and arenas of debate – even in the global context of diminishing societal and media trust.

For example, in Europe in 2022, trust in television ranged from 82% in Iceland to 26% in Greece. The global average of trust in news in all media, based on 44 media markets, was 42% in 2022. In contrast, the NORDIS countries ranged from 50% in Sweden to 69 % in Finland. Conversely, trust in social media and news via social media was remarkably low in the NORDIS countries. There was also very little variation between these countries, whereas, in Europe, trust in social media ranged from 42% in Poland to 7% in Sweden.[9] Figure 1 depicts the proportion of people that "tend to trust" various media outlets, and "trust news most of the time":

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[9] Eurobarometer (2022). Media and News Survey 2022.
https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2832.

**Figure 1. Trust in types of media and news in NORDIS countries in 2022 (%)[10]**



Overall, in the NORDIS countries, the levels of trust in news media have remained relatively high and even slightly increased in Norway and Sweden from the mid-2010s to 2022. Public service media (PSM) are a key feature in these media systems and are each country's most trusted news brands. Trust equals reach: In the NORDIS countries, PSM organisations are among the most popular news online and offline.[11]

Yet another dimension of PSM in the Nordic countries is the high regard for the importance of PSM organisations in the respective societies. In a study of 19 countries around the world, Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden ranked the highest in terms of audiences' trust and their perceptions of the personal and societal importance of PSM (**Figure 2**).[12] This suggests, as has been argued elsewhere, that these organisations support key normative foundations of media welfare in the Nordics.[13]

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[10] Sources: European Broadcasting Union  (2022). Trust in Media 2022 Dataset,  Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Robertson, C., Eddy, K., & Nielsen, R.K. (2022). Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2022. The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/digital-news-report/2022

[11] Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Robertson, C., Eddy, K., & Nielsen, R.K. (2022). Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2022. The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/digital-news-report/2022

[12] Nielsen, R.K. & Newman, N. (2023). The importance of public service media for individuals and for society. The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/digital-news-report/2023/importance-public-service-media-individuals-society

[13] Jakobsson, P., Lindell, J., & Stiernstedt, F. (2023). Normative foundations of media welfare: Perspectives from the Nordic countries. Media, Culture & Society 2023, Vol. 45(2),  305–322. https://doi.org/10.1177/016344372211119

**Figure 2. Trust in PSM and the Net Importance Index in the NORDIS Countries (%)[14]**
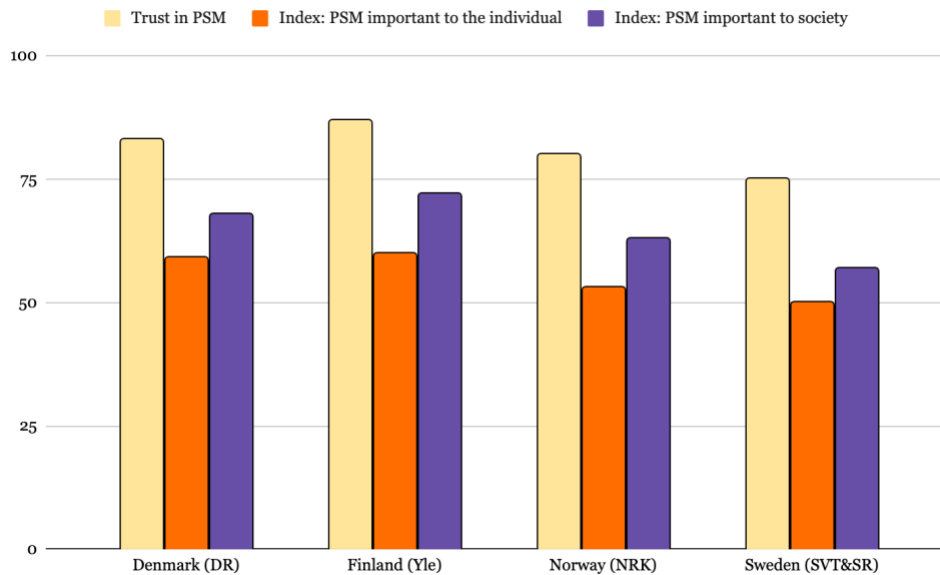


In addition to a high degree of media trust documented in earlier studies, audiences in the NORDIS countries express a high degree of awareness of disinformation as a problem. According to Eurobarometer,[15] in 2021, approximately 80% of respondents in each country considered disinformation a problem for democracy in general. In Norway, almost 80% find it is a problem in their own country, in Sweden, 76% consider it to be a challenge for Swedes, and over 60% of Danish respondents think it is a problem in Denmark, but only a little over 50% of Finns think it is a problem in Finland. They are also relatively confident in their abilities to detect disinformation, ranging from 77% in Denmark and Finland and 74% in Sweden to 61% in Norway.

Still, global social media platforms play a significant role for audiences in the NORDIS countries, as Figure 3 illustrates for 2022. While Meta's Facebook was the most popular social media site in all countries, there were also slight differences. Facebook Messenger was popular in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden but not as much in Finland. In contrast, Finns preferred the WhatsApp messenger service as much as Facebook. LinkedIn was among the top six most-used platforms in Denmark, and SnapChat had high penetration in Norway. Furthermore, these platforms are relatively significant news sources. However, the

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[14] Source:  Nielsen, R.K. & Newman, N. (2023). The importance of public service media for individuals and for society. The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/digital-news-report/2023/importance-public-service-media-individuals-society Note: Net importance is the proportion (%) that said public service media is important minus the proportion that said it is unimportant.

[15] Eurobarometer, (2022). Eurobarometer (2022). Standard Eurobarometer 96 – Winter 2021-22. Europa.eu. https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2553

prominence of Facebook as a source is clear: In 2022, the social network was used for getting news by approximately one-third of news consumers in each country. News is also shared on these platforms: 15% of people in Denmark, 27% in Sweden, 25% in Norway, and, remarkably, 29% in Finland shared the news via social media, messaging apps, and email in 2022.

**Figure 3. Most popular social media platforms in NORDIS countries in 2022 (per country, %)[16]**
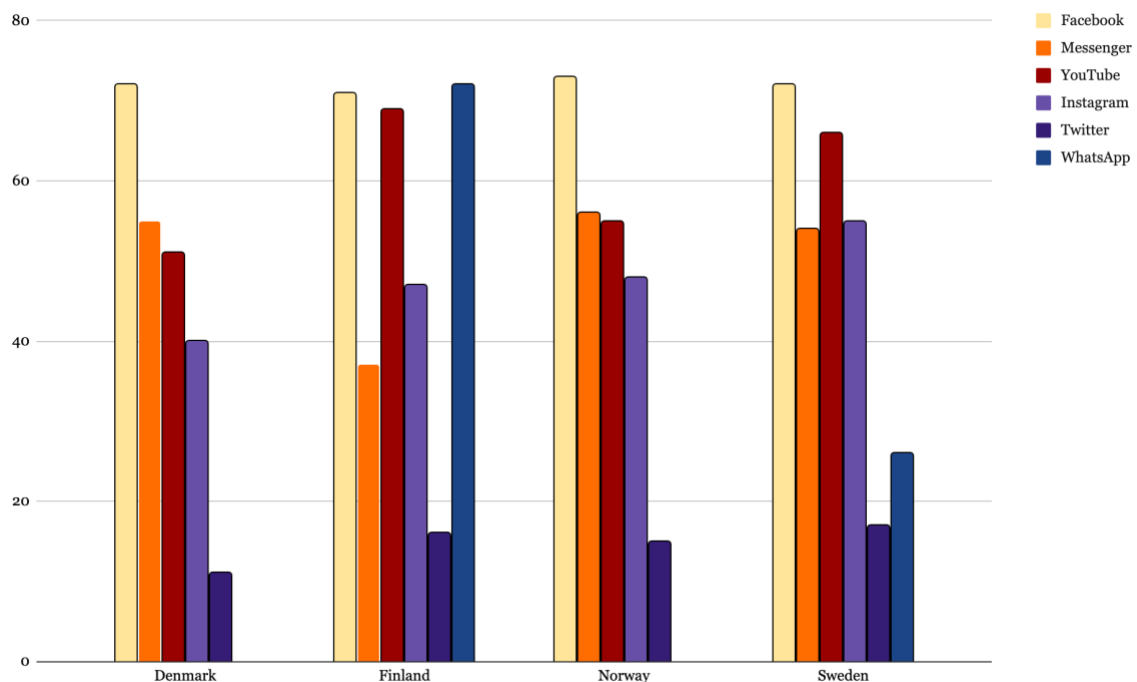


These statistics speak to certain similarities between the Nordic countries, at least regarding the relative stability of the national media landscape and the broad culture of (mediated) trust, even with the strong presence of global platforms in the everyday life of audiences. However, none of these nor other recent surveys have focused on the region specifically to distill country-specific differences or possible problem areas typical to the Nordics.

## NORDIS Surveys: Overview

The following reports the basic key findings of the survey data. The focus is on providing a NORDIS overview rather than a deep dive into specific countries. In certain questions,

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[16] Source: Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Robertson, C., Eddy, K., & Nielsen, R.K. (2022). Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2022. The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/digital-news-report/2022

background variables such as respondents' age and political leaning, are discussed. Even this basic, descriptive outlook of the data reveals trends that are shared in Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden:

## Use of Media and Online Services
*(Q1 Frequency of following media and online services and Q2 Most important news sources)*

The survey seems to point to the robust and similar traditions of the national media systems in the NORDIS countries that, simultaneously are highly digitalized and showcase the importance of content consumption online and on mobile devices.

The most important news sources are the same in all countries, as depicted in Figure 4: The respondents were to choose the three most trusted sources, and their choices are clear: News media websites and apps are number one everywhere, followed by television. Radio and social media followed, and, surprisingly, home-delivered printed newspapers still ranked 5th or 6th in importance.

**Figure 4. Most important news sources (%)**
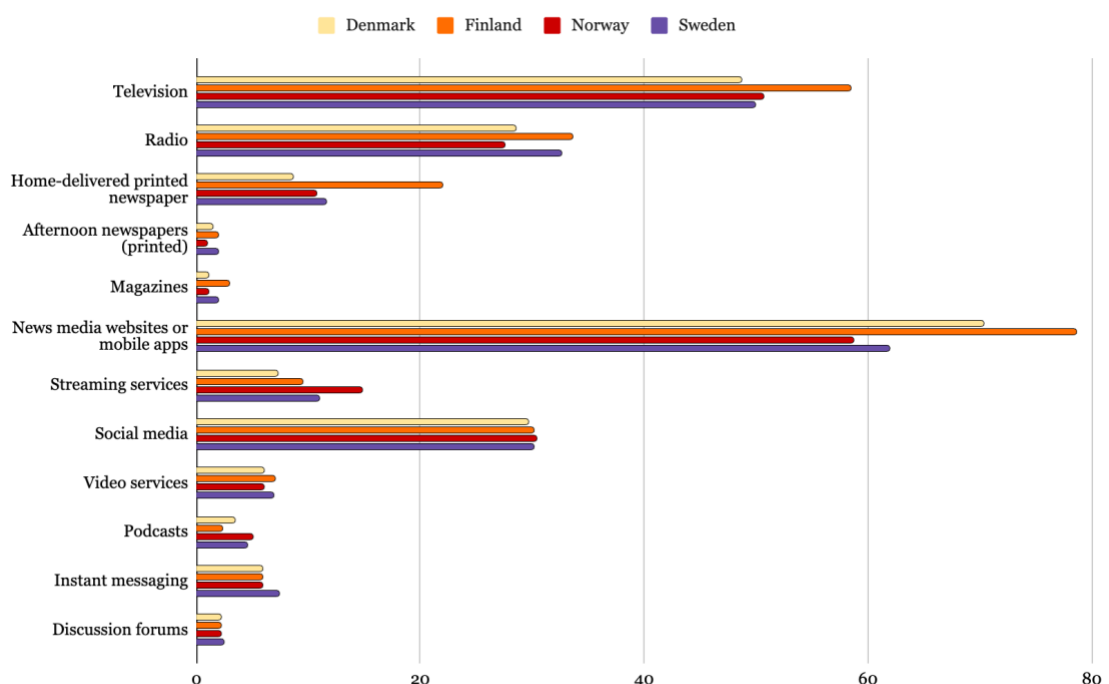


Similarly, while the order varies, the top five most used content sources are the same in all countries: social media, television, streaming services, news media websites/apps, and

instant messaging. The role of digital convenience and mobility of consumption is evident in **Figure 5** – but so is the enduring, relatively significant role of television.

**Figure 5. Frequency of following media and online services (%)**
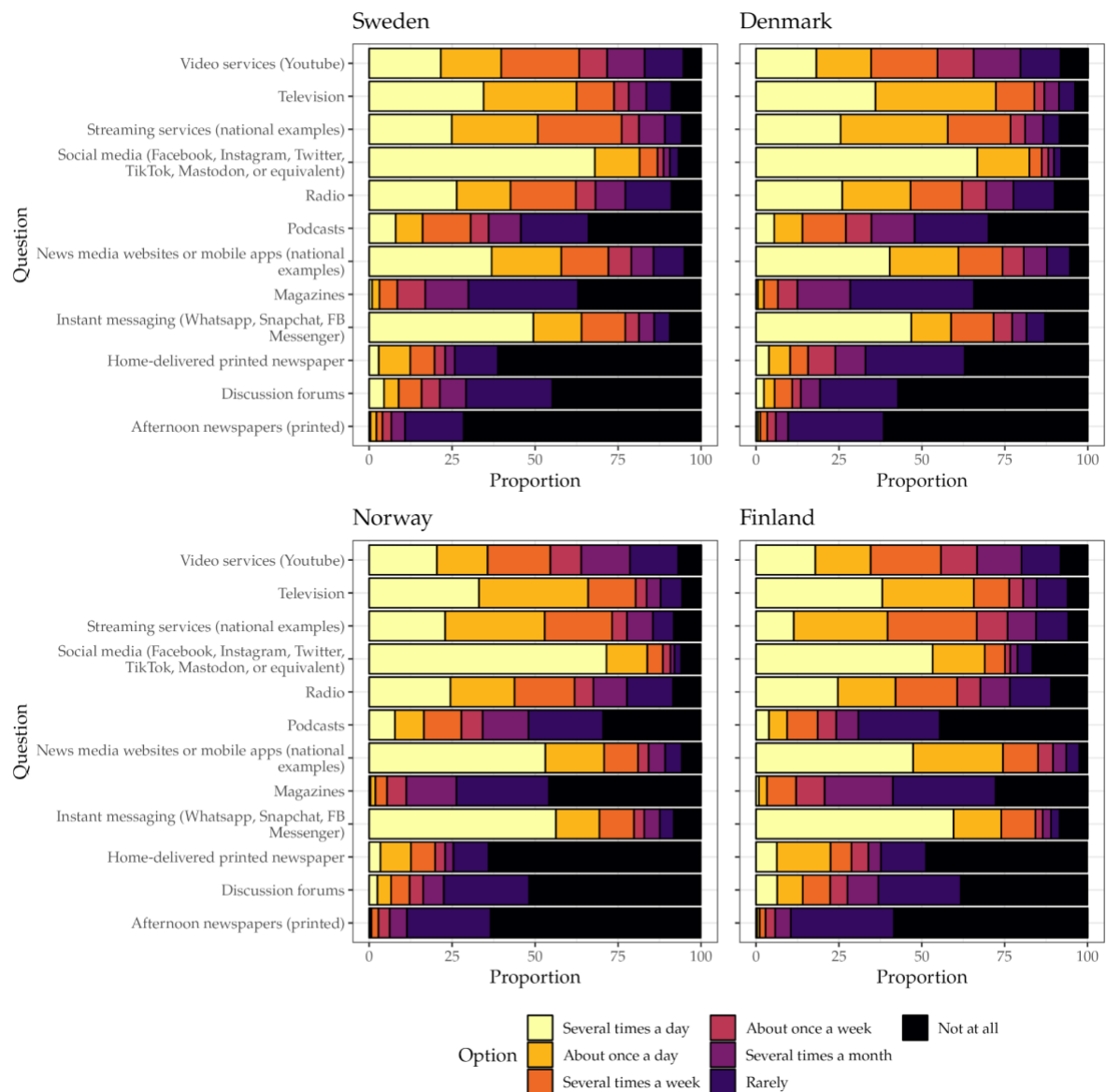
## Power and Accountability

*(Q3: Statements about the role of the media: How much do you agree or disagree with these statements?  Q4: What are the roles of media in producing information and supporting people's societal participation?  Q5: How much influence do the following individuals and entities have on media operations?  Q7: Statements about media/platform governance and accountability: How much do you agree or disagree with these statements?)*

When responding to various statements about the media's power in their societies, the respondents in the NORDIS countries agree specifically on the media's impact in politics: both on the decision-makers and on people's political opinions in general  (**Figure 6**):

**Figure 6. Statements: The media impacts the political opinions of the public; The media impacts political decision-making, agree or partially agree (%)**
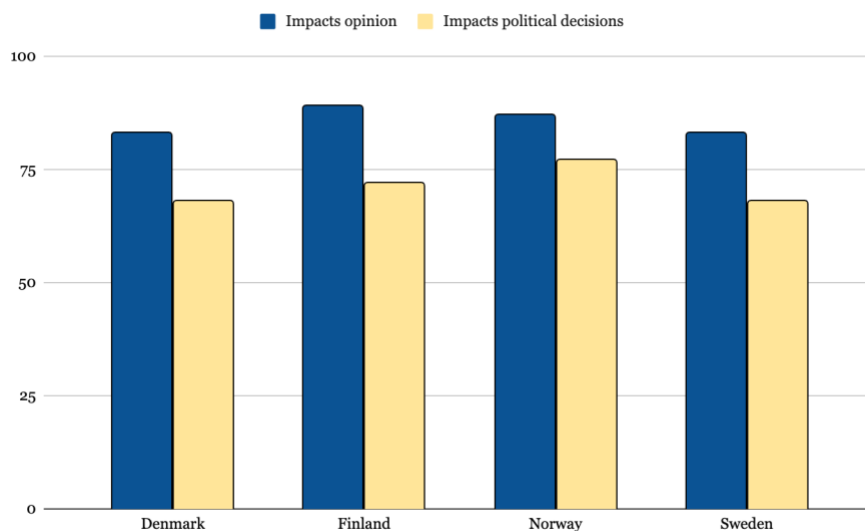


While the NORDIS countries seem to view the power of the media rather similarly, opinions other than about the media's political influence are not quite as uniform within individual countries. Still, a significant proportion of the respondents, ranging from 38% in Denmark to 60% in Norway, do not agree with the statement that the news media is free of outside influence. Similarly, the objectivity of journalism is questioned by some 40% of respondents in each country.

Perhaps surprisingly, only approximately half of the respondents in each country agree that women have equal opportunities to have a voice in the media than men. Over half of the respondents agree that journalists often color news according to their opinions. As **Figure 7** depicts, at the same time, a majority of the respondents in each country agree or partially agree that the media provides space for various societal perspectives.

**Figure 7. Statements about the power of the media (%)**
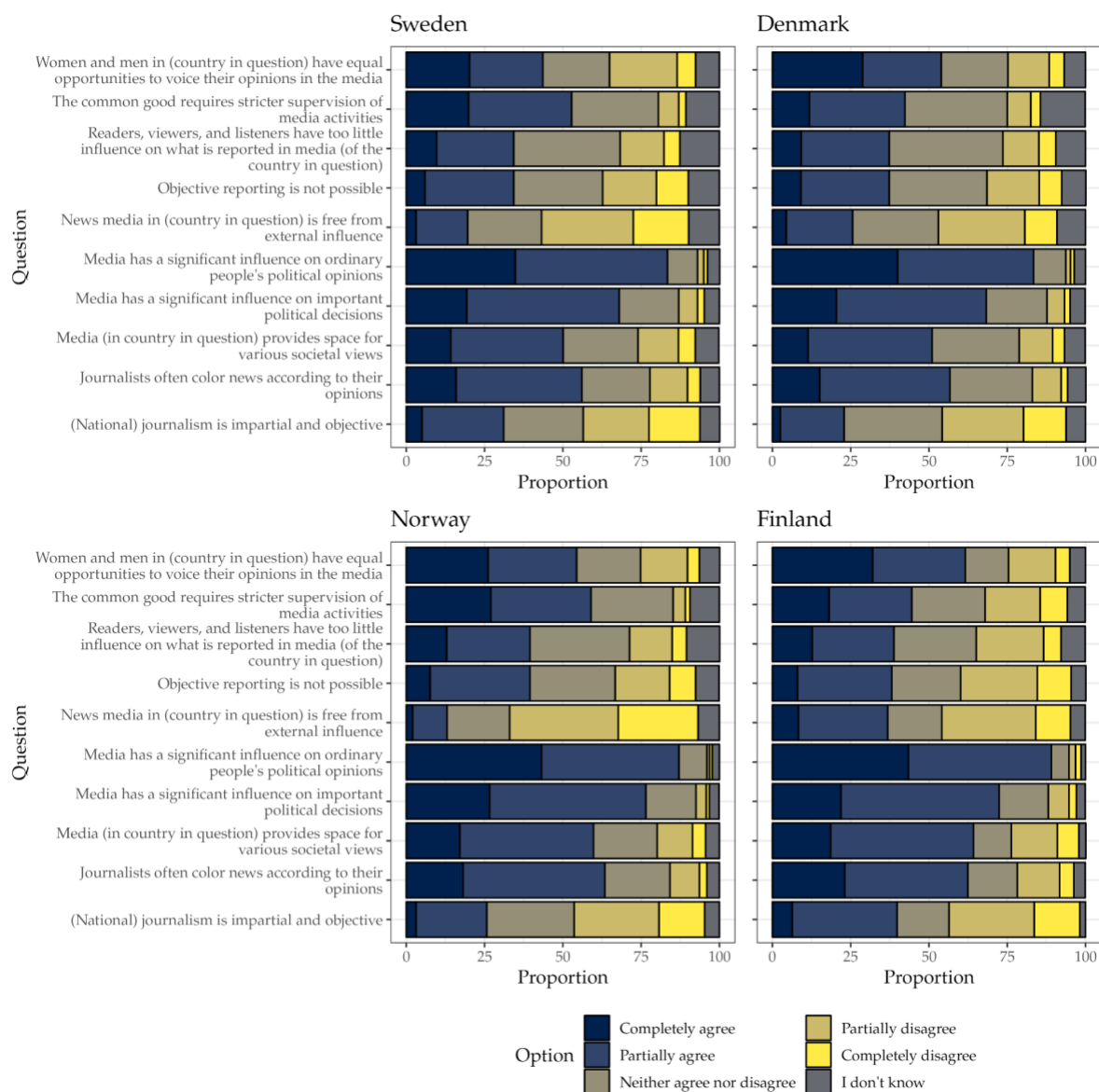
In all countries, the question about the role that the media should have in society receives in many cases almost identical responses: reporting on current events, fact-checking, and analyzing and commenting on current issues are seen as the most important functions of the media in producing information and supporting people's societal participation. The exception to the consensus is, however, that in Finland, the majority (55%) of the respondents consider the role of the media to be to support the actions of authorities and decision-makers. In contrast, in other countries, only 26–35% of the respondents agree with this statement.

Regarding the statements about outside influence in the media, in all countries, business objectives, owners, and media executives are seen to have the most power over the media. Here, again, Finland seems to differ slightly from the other countries, in that the respondents

see more influence in the media by various stakeholders and issues, than those in the other NORDIS countries (**Figure 8**).

When these responses are analyzed based on the respondents' political leanings, there are indications that those on the right end of the political spectrum tend to believe in personal opinions of journalists having an impact. In contrast, those on the left tend to see that business goals have an influence on the media. These trends are apparent in all NORDIS countries, albeit to differing degrees. Also, in each country, young respondents seem to be less worried about the questions of ownership and the business side of the media than those 18 and above.

**Figure 8. Influence of different individuals and other factors in the media (%)**
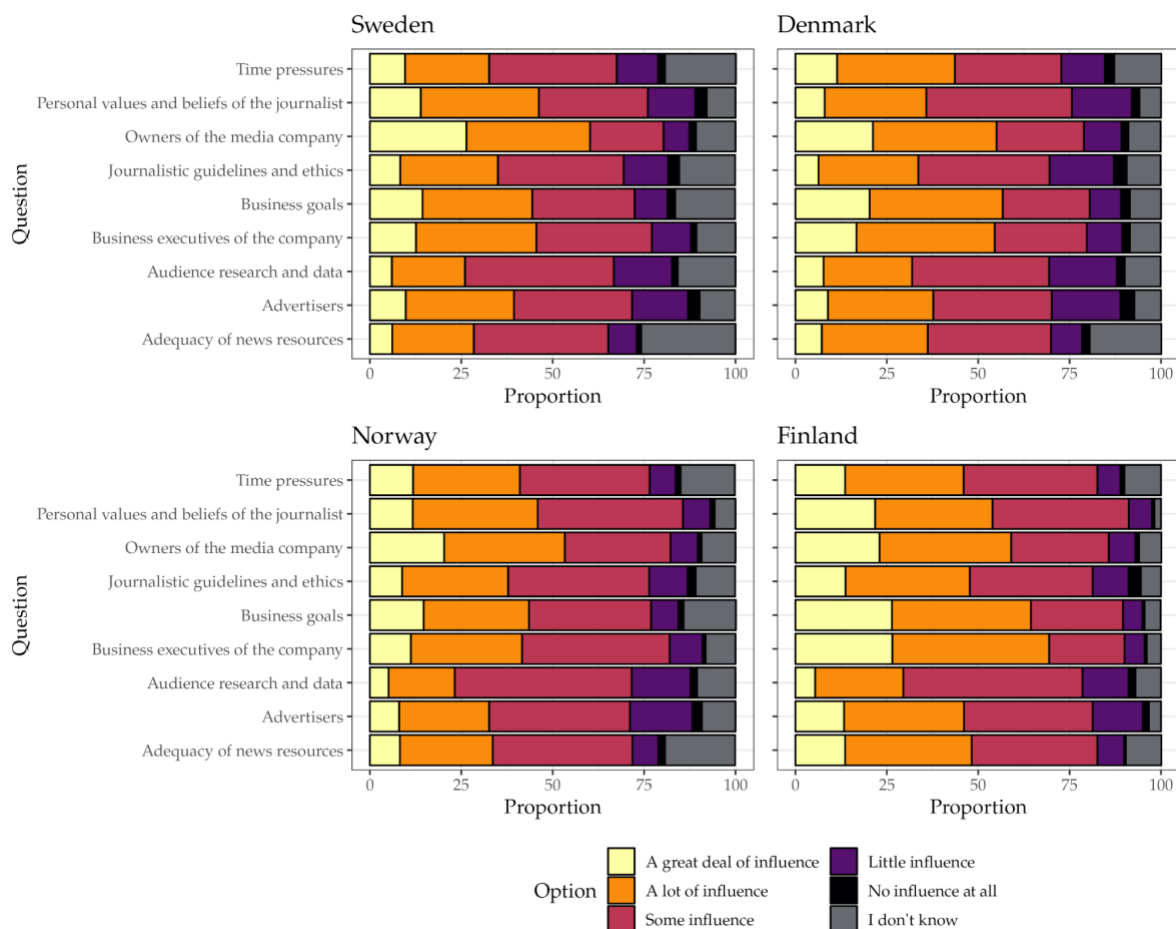


The statements about accountability reveal somewhat differing opinions, except for the user's role: In all countries, the user is seen as responsible for the information they share on platforms. In Finland: 91%, in Denmark and Norway, 80%, and in Sweden, 76% of the respondents agree or partially agree with this statement. A clear majority in every country also agrees that there should be an age limit for using platforms and services. In Denmark, Finland, and Norway, a little over 50% of the respondents disagree with the statement that platforms are not responsible for the content they distribute, while in Sweden, 38% disagree,

and 37% agree with that statement. Finally, in Finland, over 50% of the respondents believe that the state should have the right to restrict platform operations. At the same time, in the other countries, the percentage is around and slightly over 40% (**Figure 9**).

**Figure 9. Statements about accountability regarding the online and legacy media (%)**
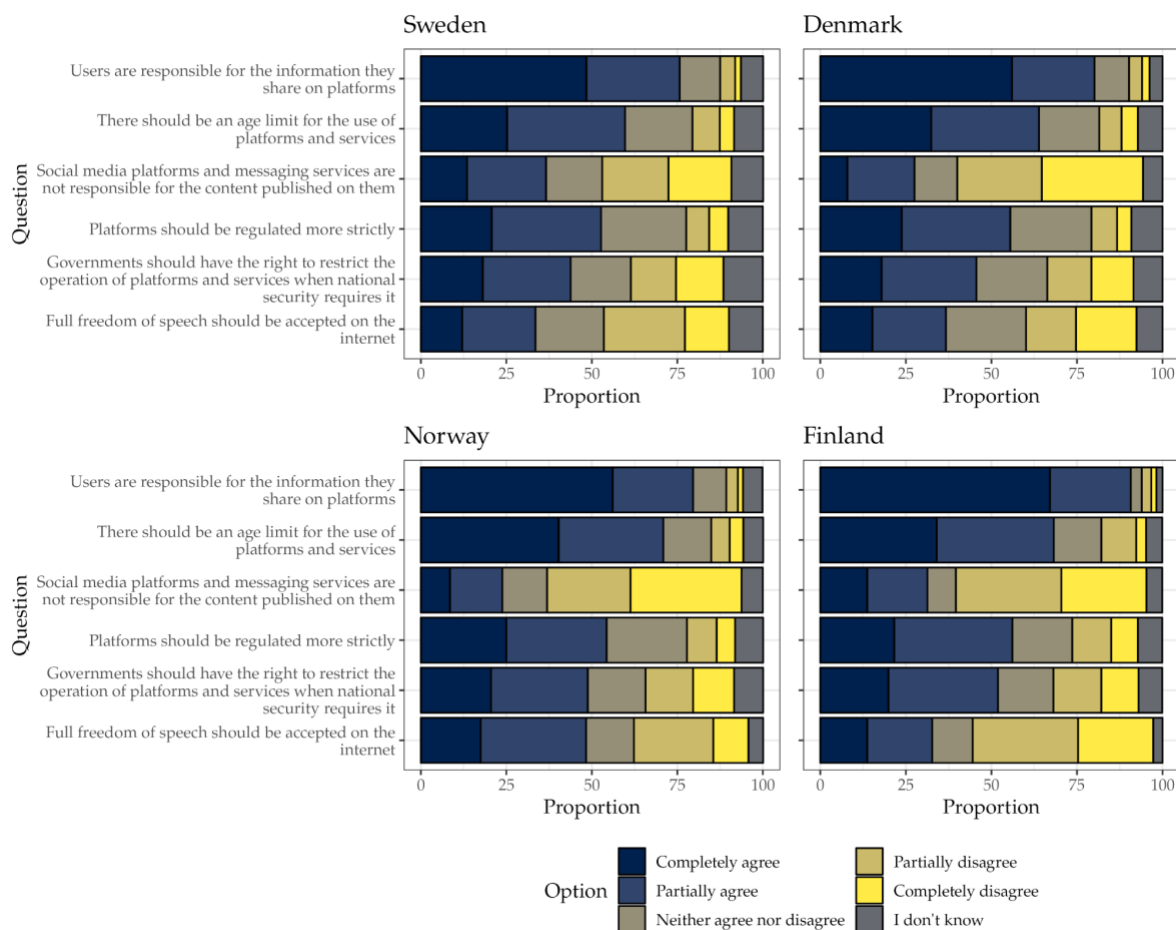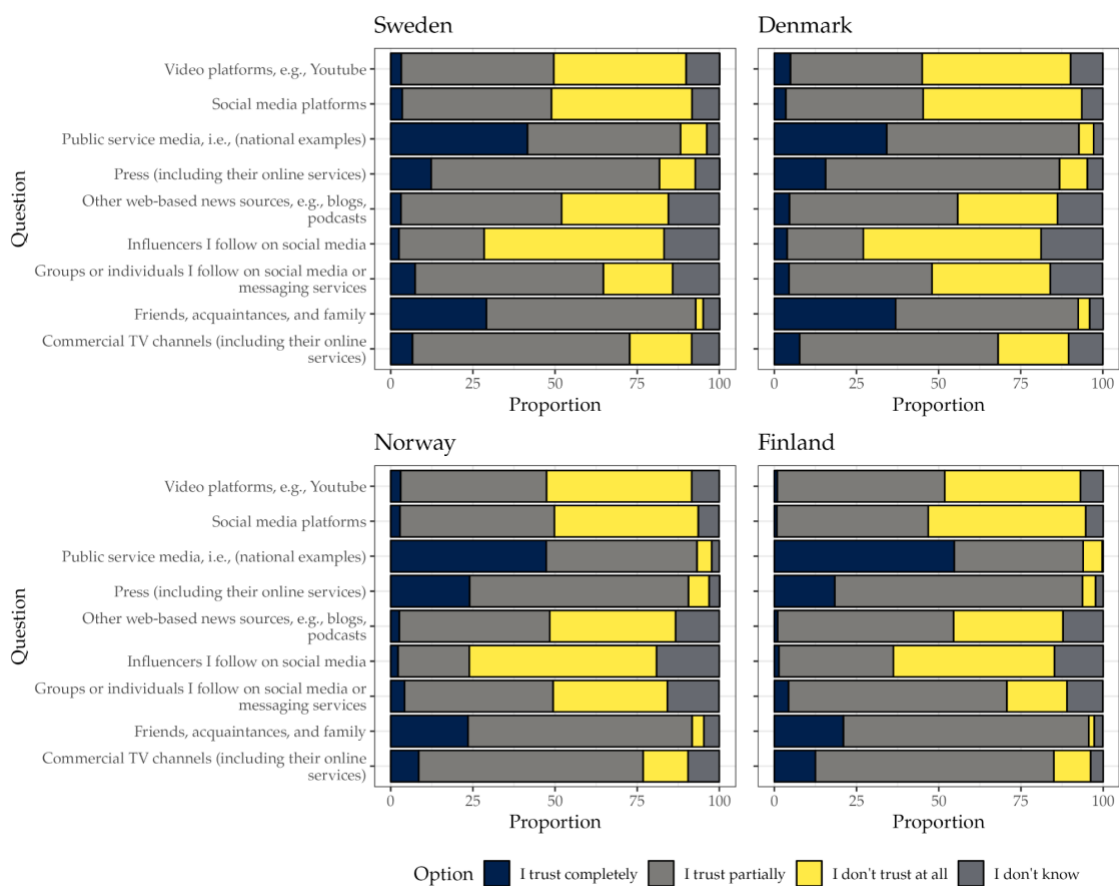


## Trust

*(Q6 What do you believe audience trust in journalistic media is built upon? Q8 How much do you trust the following news sources? Q9: Statements about the media and online environment. How much do you agree or disagree with these statements? Q10. Statements on the reliability of online content. How much do you agree or disagree with each of them?)*

The question about trust in various news sources indicates the strong legacy of the national news media in the NORDIS countries, also documented in earlier studies. Trust in all traditional news sources is significantly higher in all countries than trust in non-traditional sources.

Figure 10 illustrates that according to the NORDIS surveys, the most trusted media sources in 2023 are public service media (PSM) and the press: Those who trusted or partially trusted these sources amounted from 80% to well over 90% of all respondents. These trusted media were followed by commercial TV channels. However, friends, acquaintances, and family were the most trusted sources overall, scoring over 90% of trust in every country. In contrast, social media influencers were the least trusted sources in every country.

**Figure 10. Trust in various media and platforms (%)**



The responses to the statements about what builds trust in journalistic media indicate, as illustrated in **Figure 11**, that from the audience's perspective, trust is composed of many factors. However, the accuracy of information is important, as is the political independence of journalists, the use of clear and informative language. Finns seem to care slightly more than their NORDIS counterparts about "fair treatment of topics" and the disclosure of ownership information.

**Figure 11. Aspects that impact media trust (%)**
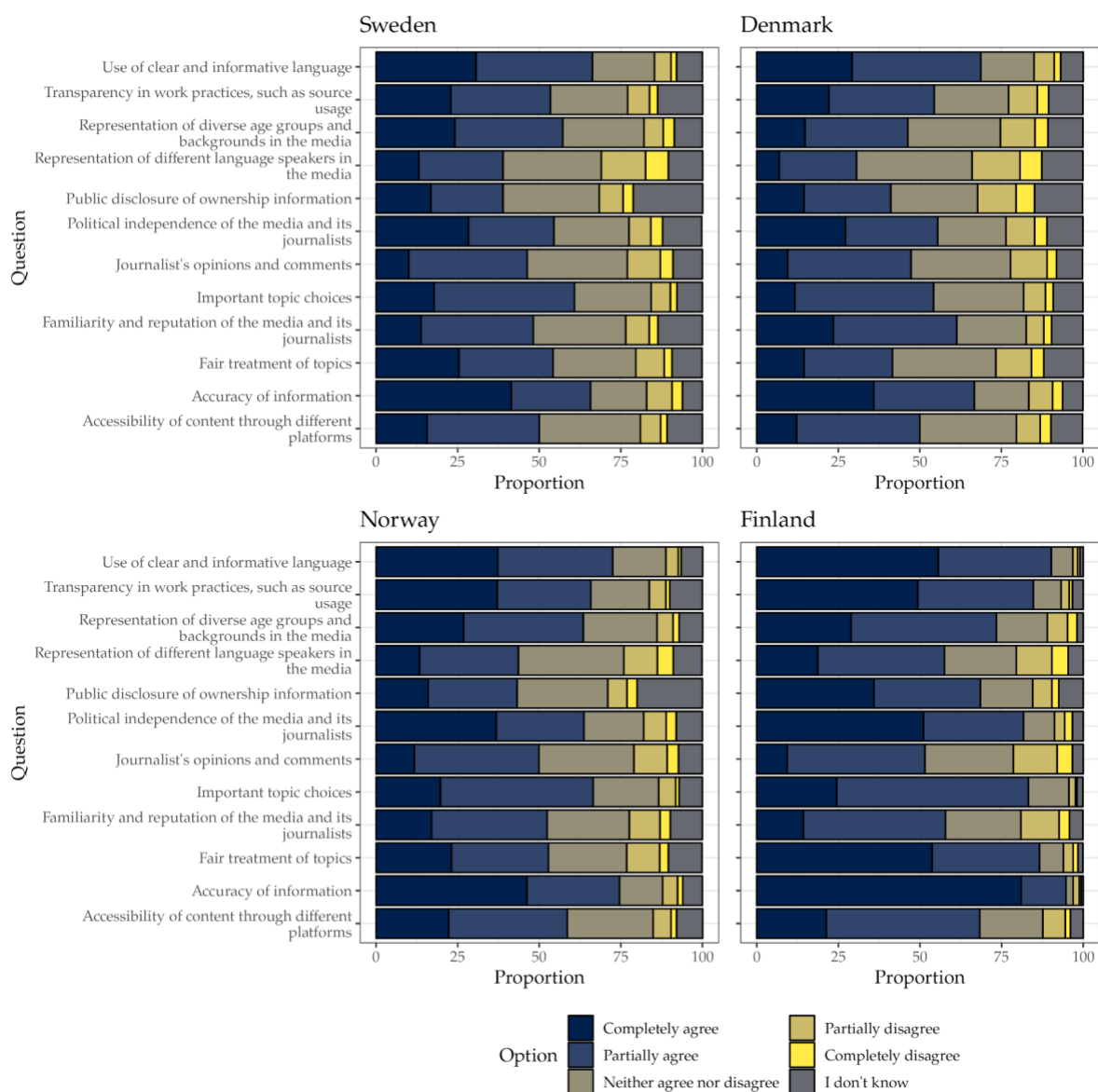


The respondents also recognise factors threatening their trust in mediated contents. **Figure 12** features the most significant worries: information warfare, the spread of disinformation, the impact of social media on the information one is exposed to, and the overflow of information in the multimedia society:

**Figure 12. Statements: Information warfare can change people's opinions; I am worried about "fake news"; Social media has too much impact; I am exposed to too much information, agree or partially agree (%)**
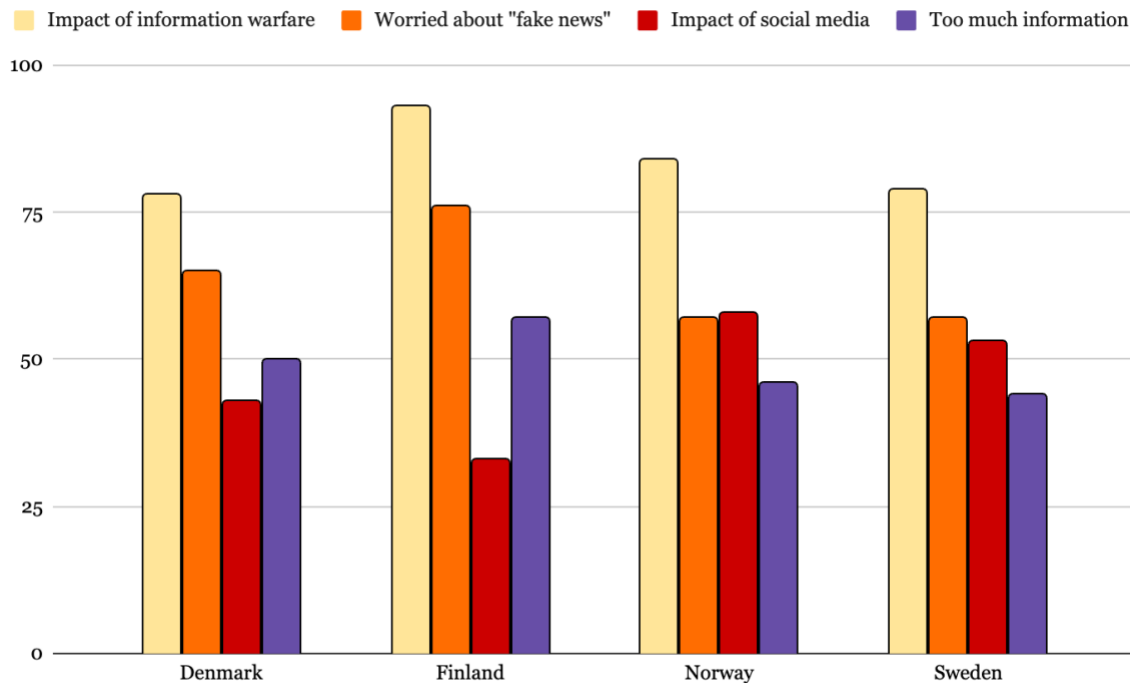


Regarding the online contents specifically, respondents in all countries agree that assessment of the reliability of content has become more difficult (68% of the respondents in Denmark, 78% in Finland, 66% in Norway, and 64% in Sweden agree or partially agree). Similar proportions of respondents also find that the producer author has the most influence on the reliability of online content (**Figure 14**).

**Figure 14. Statements about the reliability of online material (%)**
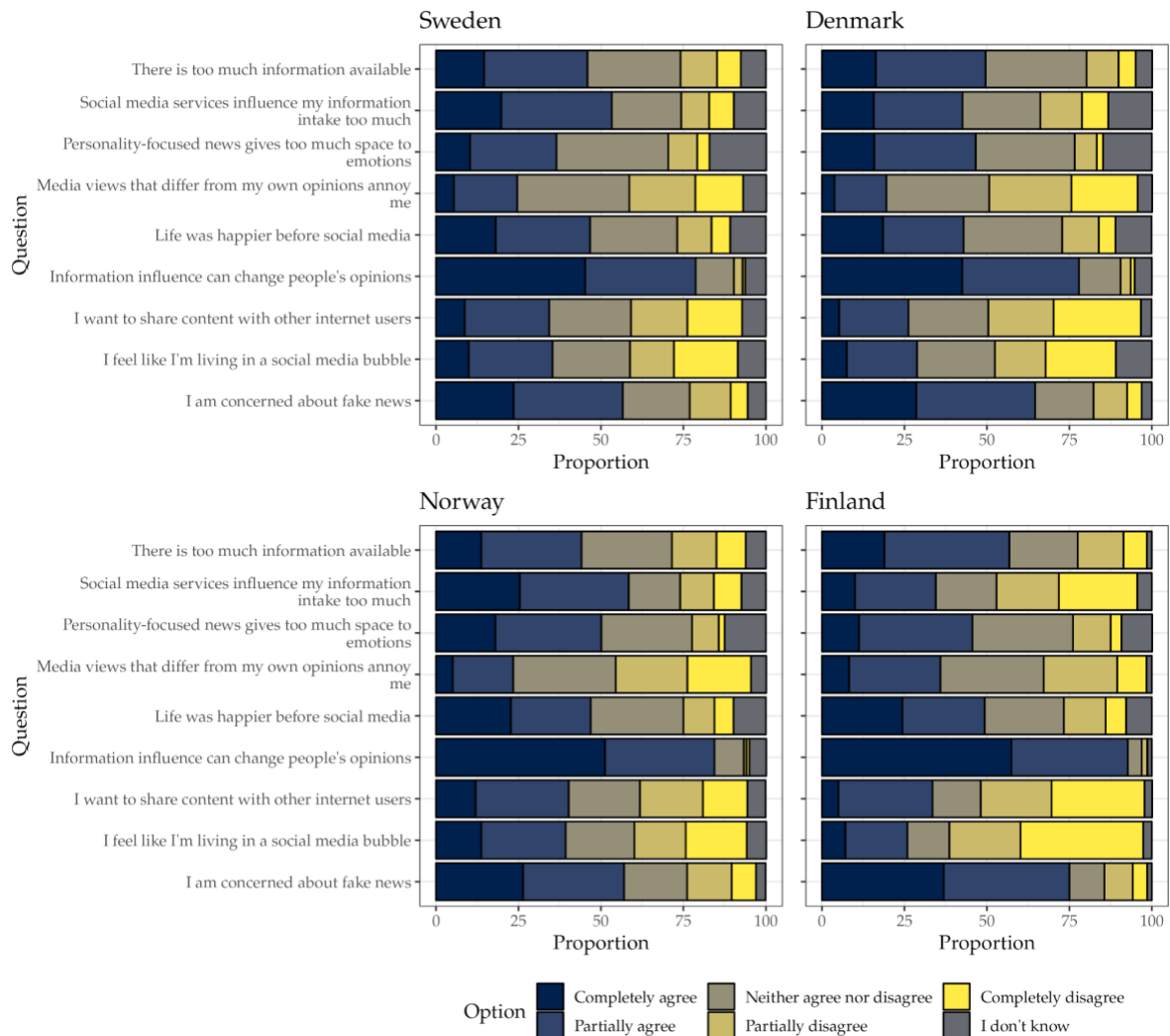


*Disinformation*[17]

*(Q11 How often have you personally encountered false media or online content (i.e., disinformation, fake news) in the past month? Q12 How often have you encountered false or misleading information in the content of the following media and online platforms in the past month? Q13 What is your opinion on the following statement: I believe I can recognize false*

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[17] Here, the term *disinformation* is used to indicate false content that the respondent can identify, including the so-called *malinformation* that can be content taken out of context in order to mislead the recipient, see: Wardle, C., & Derakhshan, H. (2018). Information disorder: Toward an interdisciplinary framework for research and policymaking. Council of Europe. https://rm.coe.int/information-disorder-report-version-august-2018/16808c9c77

*media and online content (i.e., disinformation, fake news) that I encounter. Q14 Regarding which of the following themes have you encountered disinformation?)*

Based on this survey, the experience of countering disinformation is a recurring phenomenon for audience-users in the NORDIS countries. That said, as **Figure 15** illustrates, a significant percentage of the respondents in each country had also chosen the option "I don't know":

**Figure 15. Frequency of encountering disinformation (%)[18]**
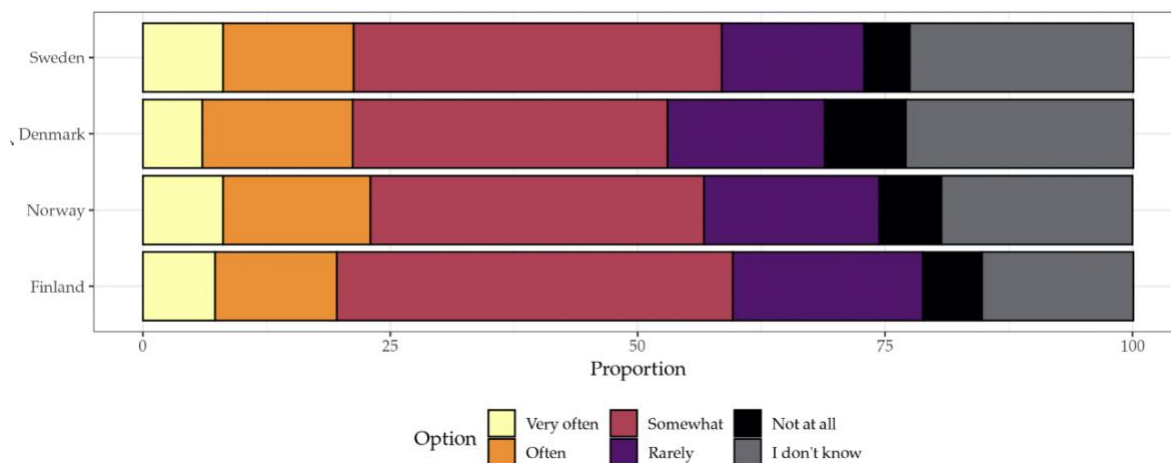


Indeed, in this survey, the confidence in one's ability to detect disinformation appears somewhat lower than in the Eurobarometer study of 2021:[19] 49% in Denmark (Eurobarometer 2021: 77%), 54% in Sweden (2021: 74%), and 56% in Norway (2021: 61%). Only in Finland, the results of this study are similar to the earlier Eurobarometer: 77% in 2021 and 73% in 2023 agreed or partially agreed with the statement: I feel I can identify false media and online content (so-called disinformation, fake news) that I encounter.

The most common themes respondents had encountered disinformation about were, in Denmark and Norway, wars and conflicts, and in Finland and Sweden, immigration. Well over 50% of respondents in every country indicate that they have personally encountered disinformation in legacy media or online content in the past month, to some extent, often, or very often. Disinformation is encountered in every country most often on Facebook. Surprisingly, according to the respondents' view, there is also a significant amount of disinformation in "traditional" media **Figure 16**):

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[18] Q: 11 How often have you personally encountered false media or online content (i.e., disinformation, fake news) in the past month?

[19] The question in this survey was modified from the Eurobarometer (2022): Standard Eurobarometer 96.3. Winter 2021-2022. https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2553.

**Figure 16. Disinformation encountered in legacy media to some extent, often, or very often (%)**
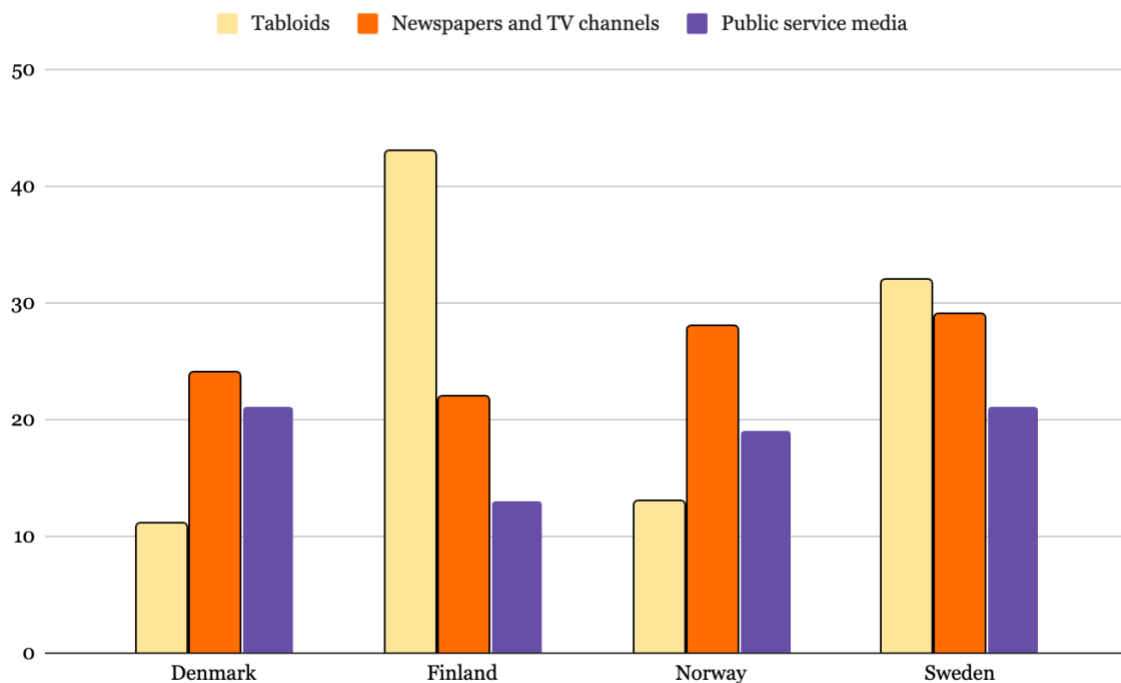


There are some indications that respondents with particular political leanings view the question of disinformation in a specific way. In all countries, respondents affiliating themselves with the populist right – Sverigedemokraterna in Sweden, Nye Borgerlige and also Dansk Folkeparti in Denmark, Fremskrittspartiet in Norway, and Perussuomalaiset in Finland – stand out in that their view of traditional media, especially public service media, is notably more suspicious regarding than by other respondents. They note encountering disinformation in PSM content significantly more often than respondents with other political leanings.

The differences between countries, as seen in **Figure 16**, may signify slightly different media markets: For instance, tabloid media, known for their clickbait headlines and gossipy content, are doing well in Finland but experiencing significant financial difficulties in Denmark.[20] Similarly, experiences of countering disinformation can indicate how different audience segments – defined, for instance, by political leanings – view different national legacy media.

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[20] See, e.g., Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Robertson, C., Eddy, K., & Nielsen, R.K. (2023). Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2023. The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/digital-news-report/2023

## Summary Discussion: Reflections on the Research Questions

This report is the first overview of the rich survey data and more detailed academic analyses will be conducted in late 2023 - Spring 2024. Even so, some key observations can be made regarding the broad research questions that have guided this study:

### How do audiences perceive media power and authority today?

The respondents in each NORDIS country see the media as a significant societal force, influencing public opinion and political decision-making. Here, it is important to note that the respondents do not necessarily make a distinction between legacy and social media generally assessing its impact. When it comes to the role that the media should have in society, the respondents refer to legacy outlets when noting that reporting on current events, fact-checking, and analyzing and commenting on current issues are the most central tasks of the media.

### What is the level of trust in traditional media and social media as news sources?

The distinction between legacy and social media becomes evident when examining people's experiences and views on trust. While digitalization has meant that news consumption goes online and mobile, legacy media are the key news sources in all NORDIS countries. It is notable that public service media organizations fare the highest in audiences' trust, reflecting the strong tradition of public broadcasting in the Nordic media welfare state model and practice. Even so, the role of one's family and friends plays, in practice, an equally important role in the experiences of trust.  There is an interesting duality in the respondents' views: On one hand, legacy media are trusted, yet critically viewed in terms of how different outside factors influence media content and other functions. One explanation might be the role of media literacy education, prominent in all NORDIS countries, that highlights the importance of critical examination of underlying motivations and contexts of media contents. This awareness may also be connected to the trusted role of legacy media itself, in that audiences set high expectations for the national legacy news and journalism sources.

### How have recent crises affected trust in the media?

Even though this survey alone cannot address the change in trust in media, one indicator that the recent crises may have impacted the ways in which the media and news are viewed could be that the respondents in all NORDIS countries view information warfare as a risk. This is especially pronounced in Finland. When asked (Q10), respondents in all countries tend to agree that assessment of the reliability of content has become more difficult.

### How are disinformation and other information harms perceived in different NORDIS countries?

Experiences of not being able to verify the veracity of content have become common. Half of the respondents in every NORDIS country indicate that they have personally encountered

false legacy media or online content in the past month, to some extent, often, or very often. While Facebook is the most common platform for countering disinformation, it is notable that disinformation is seen to also appear in legacy media. This is yet another interesting contrast to the high level of trust in legacy media and perhaps an indicator of the awareness of the possibility of disinformation, as well as a sign of a degree of polarization and fragmentation of media consumption.

## *How do different NORDIS countries differ from each other; what are the national "pain points" regarding trust?*

Based on the survey, the audiences' experiences of media, trust, and disinformation in the four NORDIS countries are almost identical. One explanation is the legacy Nordic Media Welfare State model and its principles of a mixed media system with consensus on media policies, editorial freedom, and universal access to media. As has been argued elsewhere,[21] this model may no longer exist, and phenomena partly connected to digitalisation and platformisation – such as a rapid increase in information disorders, diminishing trust in knowledge institutions, political polarization, and fragmentation of news consumption habits[22] – could also be interpreted to have some manifestations in the survey results. The good news is that all in all, this study does not indicate major pain points – if compared to most other European countries.[23] Still, the relative distrust of right-wing populist parties in NORDIS countries in legacy media, and public service media in particular, is an observation from this data that should be researched further.

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[21] Ala-Fossi, Marko (2020). Finland: Media welfare state in the digital era? Journal of Digital Media & Policy, 11(2), 133–150.

[22] See, e.g., the overview on platformisation in Finland, Sirkkunen, E. et al. 2020. (2021). Media Platformisation and Finland: How platforms have impacted the Finnish mediasphere and public life. Tampere University, Erillisteokset ja sarjajulkaisut [1128]. http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-03-2110-9.

[23] Eurobarometer (2022). Media and News Survey 2022. https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2832, Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Robertson, C., Eddy, K., & Nielsen, R.K. (2022). Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2022. The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/digital-news-report/2022

# Appendix: Questionnaire in English

**Respondent Background Information**
> Gender
> Age
> Residential municipality
> Education
> Occupation
> Which party did you vote for in the last parliamentary elections?

**Q1 How often do you use the following media and online services?**

Television
Radio
Home-delivered printed newspaper
Afternoon newspapers (printed)
Magazines
News media websites or mobile apps (newspapers, national broadcasting)
Streaming services (national examples)
Social media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, TikTok, Mastodon, or equivalent)
Video services (Youtube)
Podcasts
Instant messaging (Whatsapp, Snapchat, FB Messenger)
Discussion forums

1 Several times a day
2 About once a day
3 Several times a week
4 About once a week
5 Several times a month
6 Rarely
7 Not at all

**Q2 Which communication medium is the most important news source for you? Mention the top three news sources.**

Television
Radio
Home-delivered printed newspaper

Afternoon newspapers (printed)
Magazines
News media websites or mobile apps (national examples.)
Streaming services (national examples)
Social media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, TikTok, Mastodon, or equivalent)
Video services (Youtube)
Podcasts
Instant messaging (Whatsapp, Snapchat, FB Messenger)
Discussion forums


**Q3 Next, there are some statements about media and journalism. How much do you agree or disagree with these statements?**

Media has a significant influence on ordinary people's political opinions
Media has a significant influence on important political decisions
(National) journalism is impartial and objective
Objective reporting is not possible
Journalists often color news according to their opinions
News media in (country in question) is free from external influence
The common good requires stricter supervision of media activities
Media (country in question) provides space for various societal views
Women and men in (country in question) have equal opportunities to voice their opinions in the media
Readers, viewers, and listeners have too little influence on what is reported in media  (of the country in question)

1 Completely disagree
2 Partially disagree
3 Neither agree nor disagree
4 Partially agree
5 Completely agree
6 I don't know


**Q4 Next, there are some statements about the roles of media and journalism in producing information and supporting people's societal participation. What do you think are the roles of media in producing information and supporting people's societal participation?**

Serve the residents of our region
Report on current issues
Highlight the experiences of local residents

Build and support local community spirit
Encourage people to participate in discussions and public activities
Provide information for forming political opinions
Allow people to express their opinions
Speak for minorities and other marginalized individuals
Handle issues and phenomena in a human-centered way
Analyze and comment on current issues
Provide solutions to everyday problems
Help deal with emotions raised by news
Support the actions of authorities and decision-makers
Critically examine the actions of authorities and officials
Critically examine the actions of other media
Check the truthfulness of information and claims, i.e., fact-checking

1 Completely disagree
2 Partially disagree
3 Neither agree nor disagree
4 Partially agree
5 Completely agree
6 I don't know

**Q5 How much influence do the following individuals and factors have on the functioning of the media, in your opinion?**

Personal values and beliefs of the journalist
Business executives of the company
Owners of the media company
Advertisers
Business goals
Audience research and data
Adequacy of news resources
Time pressures
Journalistic guidelines and ethics

1 No influence at all
2 Little influence
3 Some influence
4 A lot of influence
5 A great deal of influence
6 I don't know

**Q6 What do you believe the audience's trust in journalistic media is built upon?**

Important topic choices
Accuracy of information
Accessibility of content through different platforms
Journalist's opinions and comments
Use of clear and informative language
Representation of diverse age groups and backgrounds in the media
Representation of different language speakers in the media
Fair treatment of topics
Public disclosure of ownership information
Familiarity and reputation of the media and its journalists
Transparency in work practices, such as source usage
Political independence of the media and its journalists

1 Completely disagree
2 Partially disagree
3 Neither agree nor disagree
4 Partially agree
5 Completely agree
6 I don't know

**Q7 Next, there are some statements about social media and messaging services. How much do you agree or disagree with these statements?**

Social media platforms and messaging services are not responsible for the content published on them
There should be an age limit for the use of platforms and services
Full freedom of speech should be accepted on the internet
Governments should have the right to restrict the operation of platforms and services when national security requires it
Users are responsible for the information they share on platforms
Platforms should be regulated more strictly

1 Completely disagree
2 Partially disagree
3 Neither agree nor disagree
4 Partially agree
5 Completely agree
6 I don't know

**Q8 How much do you trust the following news sources?**

Public service media, i.e., (national examples)
Press (including their online services)
Commercial TV channels (including their online services)
Social media platforms
Video platforms, e.g., Youtube
Other web-based news sources, e.g., blogs, podcasts
Groups or individuals I follow on social media or messaging services
Influencers I follow on social media
Friends, acquaintances, and family

1 I don't trust at all
2 I trust partially
3 I trust completely
4 I don't know

**Q9 The following are various statements about the media and online environment. How much do you agree or disagree with these statements?**

I want to share content with other internet users
There is too much information available
Social media services influence my information intake too much
I feel like I'm living in a social media bubble
I am concerned about fake news
Information influence can change people's opinions
Media views that differ from my own opinions annoy me
Personality-focused news gives too much space to emotions
Life was happier before social media

1 Completely disagree
2 Partially disagree
3 Neither agree nor disagree
4 Partially agree
5 Completely agree
6 I don't know

**Q10 The following are various statements about the reliability of online material. Indicate separately how much you agree or disagree with each?** Material refers to all kinds of online content (online publications, discussions, blogs, images, videos, etc.).

Traditional media sites have reliably reported the latest news.
Traditional media sites report news more slowly than online communities.
The reliability of online material is determined by its content.

Reader-taken photographs or videos increase reliability.
I trust familiar sources or online communities on the internet.
I trust local online materials (e.g., local newspapers).
Online services (country in question) are more reliable than foreign ones.
Through online discussions, I learn about general opinions on issues.
Online discussions are reliable sources of information.
Online materials undermine my trust in traditional media.
Recommendations from other users increase trust. I trust the same online content as my friends or acquaintances.
Evaluating the reliability of news has become more difficult.
The reliability of online material is most affected by its producer or creator (individual or organization).

1 Completely disagree
2 Partially disagree
3 Neither agree nor disagree
4 Partially agree
5 Completely agree
6 I don't know

**Q11 How often have you personally encountered false media or online content (so-called disinformation, fake news) in the last month?**

1 Very often
2 Often
3 Somewhat
4 Rarely
5 Not at all
6 I don't know

**Q12 How often have you encountered false or misleading information in the contents of the following media and online platforms in the last month?**

Facebook
TikTok
Instagram
 Twitter
Messaging services (Snapchat and WhatsApp)
Discussion forums (national examples)
Traditional media (newspapers and commercial TV channels)
Afternoon newspapers
Public service media (national examples)

1 Very often
2 Often
3 Somewhat
4 Rarely
5 Not at all
6 I don't use the service
7 I don't know

**Q13 What do you think of the following statement: I feel I can identify false media and online content (so-called disinformation, fake news) that I encounter?**

1 Completely disagree
2 Partially disagree
3 Neither agree nor disagree
4 Partially agree
5 Completely agree
6 I don't know

**Q14 Regarding which themes have you encountered disinformation?**

Security policy (including NATO, defense forces)
Health and welfare services (e.g., elderly care)
Child protection
Immigration
Wars and conflicts
Economic policy (e.g., state debt)
Elections
Entertainment and public figures
Science
Vaccinations

1 Very often
2 Often
3 Sometimes
4 Rarely
5 Not at all
6 I don't know