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*Disinformation, fake news and post-truth:
a comparative study of general trends,
research papers in academic security
journals and newspaper headlines*

Abstract

This research paper explores the dynamics and evolution of three terms of great relevance in the contemporary communicative landscape, both in Spanish and English: “disinformation”, “fake news” and “post-truth”. Two different examination approaches are implemented for this purpose. Initially, it combines the *Google Trends* tool, which reflects general search trends for each keyword, with an in-depth analysis of headlines from two prominent media outlets, *nytimes.com* and *elmundo.es*. Thus determining how these newspapers have handled and reflected these issues over time. Subsequently, a systematic review of several academic journals on security. Specifically, by looking for the presence of the terms mentioned in the titles, abstracts or keywords of the research papers. This study not only provides a detailed understanding of the significance and treatment of these terms in both academic and journalistic circles, but is also enriched with a wide range of graphs and tables that illustrate and complement the analysis, offering a clear visual perspective of the findings.

Keywords

trend analysis, journal review, Disinformation Governance Board, Order PCM/I030/2020, Google Trends

I. Introduction

When a researcher wants to delve deeper into a topic, one of the first things he or she will probably do is to gather information in order to ascertain the state of play. To the best of their ability, they will collect and review multiple sources of knowledge: academic writing, legislation, newspaper articles, trends on social media or political speeches. In doing so, they will understand and outline how the issue has changed over time, deepening their understanding of the perspective with which it has been treated.

Unlike other historical eras, the current period is characterised by an enormous amount of information so, while it is easy to access databases and search engines of all kinds, the challenge can be to not get lost in the ocean of information. A methodology must therefore be adopted that describes a state of play appropriate to the research claims, defending the paths taken with a logical and rational approach.

Consider the following example, which anticipates the methodology of this study: Is disinformation a contemporary issue? One way to address the matter is to examine the frequency of the term “disinformation” in the EUR-Lex database of EU legal documents as a barometer of institutional and policy interest. In other words, a kind of “literature review” and “state of play” identifying quantitative trends together with a qualitative assessment.

However, when conducting such investigations, it is useful to consider related keywords, such as “fake news” and “post-truth”. Although each has its particularities, they generally address the manipulation or misrepresentation of information to influence public perception.

Thus, the *National Security Strategy 2021* states that “disinformation campaigns” aim to “distort reality through manipulated content” (Consejo de Seguridad Nacional, 2021, p. 60). They are characterised by “the will to generate confusion and undermine social cohesion; the coordinated use of different media for the creation and dissemination of content aimed at broad audiences; and the malicious intent to discredit or influence the target of the attack” (Consejo de Seguridad Nacional, 2021, p. 60). Consequently, they have a “clear impact on National Security” (Consejo de Seguridad Nacional, 2021, p. 60).

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (undated) specifies that a ‘fake news’ is “[n]ews that conveys or incorporates false, fabricated, or deliberately misleading information, or that is characterised as or accused of doing so”.

With regard to “posverdad”, the *Diccionario de la lengua española* (undated) refers to a “[d]istorsión deliberada de una realidad, que manipula creencias y emociones con el fin de influir en la opinión pública y en actitudes sociales” (“[d]eliberate distortion of a reality, which manipulates beliefs and emotions in order to influence public opinion and social attitudes”) as the only meaning. Similarly, *Oxford English Dictionary* (undated-b) specifies “post-truth” as “[r]elating to or denoting circumstances in which

objective facts are less influential in shaping political debate or public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief”.

In short, in one way or another “disinformation”, “fake news” and “post-truth” encompass deception, manipulation and lack of objectivity. This can have a negative impact on society, public opinion and politics, especially if it erodes trust in democratic institutions or interferes with electoral processes. It is therefore of interest for geopolitics, security and defence.

Once the keywords have been selected, working with databases involves two main approaches: investigating the presence of the keywords throughout the content or limiting the search to the title of the records. The former assumes a broader perspective, but is likely to yield tangential results and a long list, complicating the analysis. The second is a very narrow filter, estimating that the keyword in the title is most likely relevant. On the downside, significant results are sure to be omitted. There are no easy decisions when faced with a large volume of data: the advantages and disadvantages of each method must be weighed and the most appropriate chosen.

For this case, the EUR-Lex advanced search, accessible at the URL <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/advanced-search-form.html> was chosen. The keywords “disinformation”, “fake news” and “post-truth” are required in the title only. The main reason for using English terminology is that some of the EUR-Lex content is only available in English, such as *Ares(2017)5489364, Communication on fake news and online misinformation*. Sometimes content is only submitted in one of the official EU languages and only translated into English, such as document *92014E003587, Written question E-003587/14 Sergio Berlato (PPE) to the Commission. Disinformation regarding ritual slaughter for meat production* (also available in Italian). Table I was created using content returned by the search engine.

These search rules show a quantitative preference for the term “disinformation” as “fake news” was only used once in 2017 and “post-truth” does not appear. Focusing the analysis on “disinformation”, there is a long gap with no results between 1996 and 2014. Subsequently, the term appears regularly from 2018 onwards. Qualitatively, before 2018 there are only two entries concerning written questions by MEPs. However, records that can be considered more significant can be found as of that year, such as the communication of 26 April 2018 *The fight against online disinformation: a European approach*, and the joint communication of 5 December 2018 *Action Plan against disinformation*. Which leads to the following deduction: the keyword “disinformation” features regularly in the title since 2018 with more relevant references than the written questions of 1996 and 2014; there is indeed increased interest in disinformation in recent years.

With an interdisciplinary approach, this study investigates disinformation through two paths: delving into general interest and journalistic sources; and academic journals. The first yields a broad and current perspective on the phenomenon, especially if the press is judged as a mirror of society to see how disinformation has been presented to

EUR-Lex Resultados de búsqueda con el criterio «Domain: All, Results containing: disinformation in title, Search language: English», «Domain: All, Results containing: fake news in title, Search language: English» y «Domain: All, Results containing: post-truth in title, Search language: English»				
Fecha	Documento	Tipo de acto	Autor	Título en inglés
12/07/1996 (fecha de envío)	91996E001975	Pregunta escrita	Parlamento Europeo, GOLDSMITH	WRITTEN QUESTION No. 1975/96 by Jimmy GOLDSMITH to the Commission. Disinformation by the European Commission concerning mad cow disease
24/03/2014 (fecha de envío)	92014E003587	Pregunta escrita	Parlamento Europeo, BERLATO	Written question E-003587/14 Sergio Berlato (PPE) to the Commission. Disinformation regarding ritual slaughter for meat production
10/11/2017	Ares(2017)5489364	Evaluación inicial de impacto	Comisión Europea, Dirección General de Redes de Comunicación, Contenido y Tecnologías	Communication on fake news and online misinformation
26/04/2018	52018DC0236	Comunicación	Comisión Europea, Dirección General de Redes de Comunicación, Contenido y Tecnologías	COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS Tackling online disinformation: a European Approach
06/09/2018	EESC-2018-02425-AS	Dictamen provisional	Comité Económico y Social Europeo	Initiative addressing online platform challenges as regards the spreading of disinformation
19/09/2018 (fecha de la votación)	52018AE2425	Dictamen	Comité Económico y Social Europeo	Opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee on 'Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions — Tackling online disinformation: a European Approach' (COM(2018) 236 final)
05/12/2018	52018DC0794	Informe	Comisión Europea, Secretaría General	REPORT FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS on the implementation of the Communication "Tackling online disinformation: a European Approach"
05/12/2018	52018JC0036	Comunicación conjunta	Comisión Europea, Secretaría General	JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS Report on the implementation of the Action Plan Against Disinformation
06/02/2019 (fecha de la votación)	52018R3908	Dictamen de propia iniciativa	Comité Europeo de las Regiones, Comisión de Ciudadanía, Gobernanza y Asuntos Institucionales y Exteriores	Opinion of the European Committee of the Regions on 'Tackling online disinformation: a European Approach'
05/03/2019	EESC-2018-06302-AS	Dictamen provisional	Comité Económico y Social Europeo	Action Plan against Disinformation
20/03/2019 (fecha de la votación)	52018AE6302	Dictamen	Comité Económico y Social Europeo	Opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee on 'Joint Communication to the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions — Action Plan against Disinformation'(JOIN(2018) 36 final)
20/03/2019	EESC-2018-06302-AC	Dictamen aprobado	Comité Económico y Social Europeo	Opinion - European Economic and Social Committee - Action Plan against Disinformation
14/06/2019	52019JC0012	Comunicación conjunta	Comisión Europea, Secretaría General	JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS Report on the implementation of the Action Plan Against Disinformation
10/10/2019 (fecha de la votación)	52019R0031(01)	Resolución	Parlamento Europeo	European Parliament resolution of 10 October 2019 on foreign electoral interference and disinformation in national and European democratic processes (2019/2810(RSP))
05/12/2019 (fecha de la votación)	52019R1053	Dictamen de propia iniciativa	Comité Europeo de las Regiones, Comisión de Ciudadanía, Gobernanza y Asuntos Institucionales y Exteriores	Opinion of the European Committee of the Regions – Action Plan against Disinformation
10/06/2020	52020JC0008	Comunicación conjunta	Comisión Europea, Secretaría General	JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS Tackling COVID-19 disinformation - Getting the facts right
18/06/2020 (fecha de la votación)	52020DP0161	Decisión	Parlamento Europeo	European Parliament decision of 18 June 2020 on setting up a special committee on foreign interference in all democratic processes in the European Union, including disinformation, and defining its responsibilities, numerical strength and term of office (2020/2683(RSÖ))
25/11/2020 (fecha de la votación)	52020IP0320	Resolución de propia iniciativa	Parlamento Europeo, Comisión de Cultura y Educación, Comisión de Libertades Civiles, Justicia y Asuntos de Interior	European Parliament resolution of 25 November 2020 on strengthening media freedom: the protection of journalists in Europe, hate speech, disinformation and the role of platforms (2020/2009(INI))
31/03/2021	Ares(2021)2230395	Hoja de ruta	Comisión Europea, Dirección General de Redes de Comunicación, Contenido y Tecnologías	European Commission Guidance on strengthening the Code of Practice on Disinformation
26/05/2021	52021DC0262	Comunicación	Comisión Europea, Dirección General de Redes de Comunicación, Contenido y Tecnologías	COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS European Commission Guidance on Strengthening the Code of Practice on Disinformation
07/06/2021 (fecha de publicación)	52021SA0009(01)	Anuncio	Tribunal de Cuentas Europeo	Special report No 9/2021 Disinformation affecting the EU: tackled but not tamed 2021/C 215/06
09/12/2021 (fecha de la votación)	52021AE3677	Dictamen	Comité Económico y Social Europeo	Opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee on 'Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions European Commission Guidance on Strengthening the Code of Practice on Disinformation' [COM(2021) 262 final]
09/03/2022 (fecha de la votación)	52022IP0064	Resolución de propia iniciativa	Parlamento Europeo, Comisión Especial sobre Interferencias Extranjeras en Todos los Procesos Democráticos de la Unión Europea, en particular la Desinformación	European Parliament resolution of 9 March 2022 on foreign interference in all democratic processes in the European Union, including disinformation (2020/2268(INI))
10/03/2022 (fecha de la votación)	52022DP0070	Decisión	Parlamento Europeo	European Parliament decision of 10 March 2022 on setting up a special committee on foreign interference in all democratic processes in the European Union, including disinformation (INGE 2), and defining its responsibilities, numerical strength and term of office (2022/2565(RSÖ))
14/02/2023 (fecha de la votación)	52023DP0030	Decisión	Parlamento Europeo	European Parliament decision of 14 February 2023 amending the decision of 10 March 2022 on setting up a special committee on foreign interference in all democratic processes in the European Union, including disinformation (INGE 2), and adjusting its title and responsibilities (2023/2566(RSÖ))

Table I

the public. Subsequently, a review of academic journals adds a rigorous and theoretical approach.

Both paths have a clear geopolitical, security and defence orientation. As an example, it is worth mentioning one of the findings of this work, which will be discussed in detail later on.

Firstly, a particular interest in the term “disinformation” was detected in Spain in November 2020. Upon enquiry, the conclusion is that it was most probably due to *Order PCM/1030/2020*. This order established a Permanent Commission against Disinformation, coordinated by the Secretary of State for Communication and led by the Department of National Security. The National Intelligence Centre is also

included. It thus exposes the strong relationship between geopolitics, security and defence in the fight against disinformation.

Analysing this and other cases, together with reviewing academic security journals, justifies the relevance of this article in a scientific journal on geopolitics, security and defence.

2. Methodology: Keyword selection, based on *Google Trends* and justification of journalistic content analysis through headlines from *nytimes.com* and *elmundo.es*

Firstly, the same three terms are chosen as in the introduction, both in their Spanish and English versions: “disinformation” (“desinformación”), “fake news” (“noticias falsas”) and “post-truth” (“posverdad”). The reason is that they guarantee a focused and manageable analysis.

On that basis, the trend for each keyword provides valuable context by illustrating when its popularity increased. *Google Trends* is a well-established and invaluable digital analysis tool as it gathers search interests for each keyword.

However, in order to interpret quantitative data from *Google Trends* correctly — presented in this article as line graphs— it is important to know that it reflects how many searches have been made for a particular term “relative to the total number of searches on Google”. In other words, they “don’t represent absolute search volume numbers, because the data is normalised and presented on a scale from 0-100, where each point on the graph is divided by the highest point, or 100”. Thus, a line “trending downward means that a search term’s relative popularity is decreasing”, although “not necessarily that the total number of searches for that term is decreasing, but that its popularity compared to other searches is shrinking” (Google News Initiative, undated).

Having obtained *Google Trends* data, we must determine which events led to a rise in popularity for each keyword. In other words, the quantitative aspect has to be clarified with the qualitative. Sometimes, the reason seems obvious. Others, however, it may be difficult to match an increase in interest with a particular event. Therefore, this paper presents possible and probable reasons for an increase in the popularity of keywords. Putting caution first, categorical associations are avoided, hence the extensive use of adverbs indicating probability such as “surely” or “possibly”.

For this qualitative check, newspaper articles from *The New York Times* (*nytimes.com*) and *EL MUNDO* (*elmundo.es*) that feature the keywords assessed in their headlines are included in a table format. This makes it possible to quickly and in an informed manner see the prevailing information environment in each period under analysis. These two media were chosen based on objective criteria related to web traffic. In other words, because of their digital prominence or relevance, which makes both key players in the dissemination of information.

To support these assertions, reference should be made to the digital analysis tool *Similarweb*, which classifies the traffic share of websites by segments. In July 2023, *nytimes.com* ranked ninth globally (Similarweb, 2023c) and second in the US in the category “News and Media” (Similarweb, 2023b). It was second only to *yahoo.com*, which acts primarily as a news aggregator. Meanwhile, *elmundo.es* led the ranking in Spain (Similarweb, 2023a). These data can be found in table II.

Similarweb Sitios web editoriales de noticias y medios de comunicación («News and Media») por cuota de tráfico («traffic share») (julio de 2023)					
En todo el mundo		En Estados Unidos		En España	
Dominio	Cuota de tráfico («traffic share»)	Dominio	Cuota de tráfico («traffic share»)	Dominio	Cuota de tráfico («traffic share»)
yahoo.com	5.63 %	yahoo.com	21.04 %	elmundo.es	6.58 %
yahoo.co.jp	3.16 %	nytimes.com	4.42 %	elpais.com	3.79 %
turbopages.org	1.85 %	cnn.com	4.16 %	abc.es	3.57 %
naver.com	1.83 %	msn.com	2.70 %	elconfidencial.com	3.35 %
qq.com	1.14 %	foxnews.com	2.63 %	lavanguardia.com	3.34 %
globo.com	1.09 %				
msn.com	1.04 %				
news.yahoo.co.jp	1.02 %				
nytimes.com	0.90 %				

Table II

At this point, it is worth explaining why a US newspaper was chosen and in English —*nytimes.com*—, along with one from Spain and in Spanish —*elmundo.es*—. The spectrum of keywords chosen combines Spanish —“desinformación”, “noticias falsas” and “posverdad”— with English —“disinformation”, “fake news” and “post-truth”—. This means that *Google Trends* search trends can be filtered by three regions: “Worldwide”, as the influence of the English language as a lingua franca allows for a global picture; USA for its geopolitical importance; and Spain, because of the particular interest for the Spanish Institute for Strategic Studies.

From there, each media outlet offers complementary geographic perspectives. *nytimes.com* shows, first and foremost, the news environment in the US; In doing so, it helps to determine why the popularity of the terms analysed is growing at certain times in the United States; as does *elmundo.es* for Spain. In terms of the international scene, both have an important external projection, which helps to explain the boom in interest in keywords at global level.

The result is a complementary and enriching vision of the topic addressed. Indeed, the fact that each newspaper has a unique idiosyncrasy, with different media coverage or audiences with different languages and cultures, is not an obstacle; rather, it lends a diversity of perspectives.

In any case, it is important to recognise that every media outlet, regardless of its reputation or reach, usually has an editorial line that determines its coverage to a greater or lesser extent. Selecting *nytimes.com* and *elmundo.es* thus impacts the results, representing a limitation of the study. However, no further newspapers were added due to practical constraints and the need to ensure the feasibility of the analysis. Future research could consider a more diverse sample to provide a more complete picture.

Also note that this study does not intend to assess or judge the integrity of these media outlets, but rather to examine their information deployment based on certain keywords.

Finally, the tables grouping headlines from *nytimes.com* and *elmundo.es* should be explained. The content was crawled through Google using the criterion

“site:website intitle:keyword” —e.g., “site:nytimes.com intitle:disinformation”—. Similarly, DuckDuckGo was used with the operator “”keyword” site:website” —e.g. “”disinformation” site:nytimes.com”—. Both are established search engines with relevant web indexing. They are therefore useful for obtaining information, including journalistic pieces.

Additionally, posts on Twitter —or X— of the profiles of *The New York Times* (@nytimes) and *EL MUNDO* (@elmundoes) with the agreed keywords have been reviewed in order to register links to journalistic pieces with the “keyword” in the headline. The advanced search function located at the URL <https://twitter.com/search-advanced> has been used for this purpose.

The purpose of these three avenues of enquiry has been to gather as many publications as possible. Likewise, we must consider that digital newspaper content is diverse: articles, podcasts, videos..., which can be current affairs, opinion, analysis, technology, etc. All the results collected by Google, DuckDuckGo and Twitter are taken into account for this study, regardless of their type. Thus we can compare general and journalistic trends with academic trends.

To close this section, it is essential to note that data used in the 13 attached graphs, taken from *Google Trends*, were obtained on 4 September 2023. Due to the changing nature of *Google Trends*, queries made at a later date may show different results.

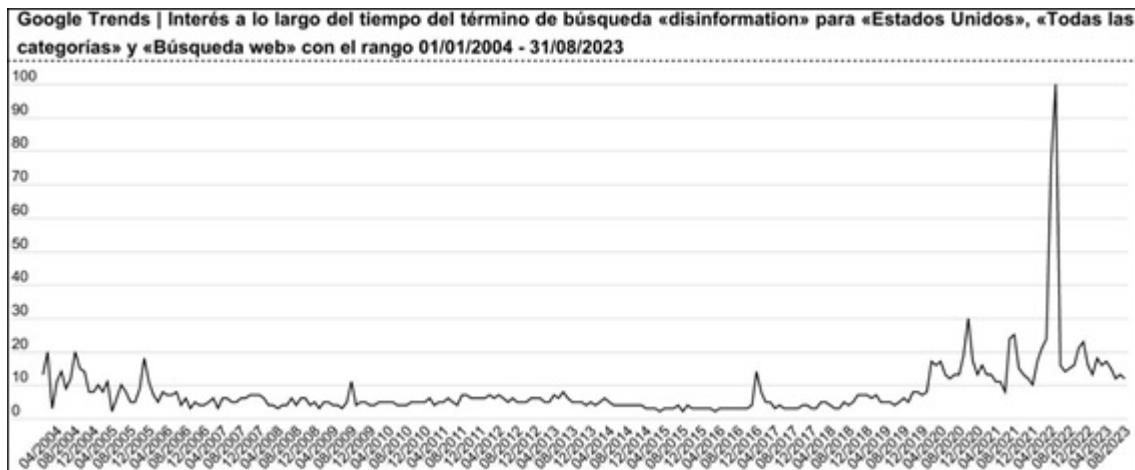
3. Analysis of the general trend of keywords and occurrence in the press

3.1. Analysis of the keyword “disinformation”.

In *Google Trends*, the search term “disinformation”, with the options “Worldwide”, “1/1/04 – 31/8/23”, “All categories” and “Web search”, generates graph 1. With the regional filter activated for “United States”, the trend is very similar, as can be seen in graph 2.



Graph 1



Graph 2

According to Google, improvements to the data collection system were implemented on 1 January 2016 and 1 January 2022. Consequently, the above results may not provide the same confidence, although they are incorporated for information purposes.

The first notable peak was in December 2016, when multiple news reports about the US presidential election held the previous month and possible Russian interference were circulated, probably heightening the sense of suspicion and manipulation.

Similarly, in December 2016 the “SEC. 1287” of the “Public Law No: 114-328” gave the green light to the State Department’s *Global Engagement Center* against disinformation. This set of factors is compiled in table III.

Eventos clave y comunicaciones relacionados con el aumento en la popularidad de «disinformation» en diciembre de 2016				
Fecha	Medio de comunicación/Institución	Autor(es)	Titular/Contenido relevante	Enlace
02/12/2016	CNN	Jim Sciutto y Manu Raju	Democrats want Russian hacking intelligence declassified	https://edition.cnn.com/2016/12/02/politics/democrats-russian-hacking-intelligence/
09/12/2016	The Washington Post	Adam Entous, Elen Nakashima y Greg Miller	Secret CIA assessment says Russia was trying to help Trump win White House	https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/obama-orders-review-of-russian-hacking-during-presidential-campaign/2016/12/09/3106b300-be2a-11e6-94ac-3d324840106c_story.html
09/12/2016	The New York Times	David E. Sanger y Scott Shane	Russian Hackers Acted to Aid Trump in Election, U.S. Says	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/09/us/obama-russia-election-hack.html
09/12/2016	CNN	Tal Kopan, Kevin Liptak y Jim Sciutto	Obama orders review of Russian election-related hacking	https://edition.cnn.com/2016/12/09/politics/obama-orders-review-into-russian-hacking-of-2016-election/index.html
11/12/2016	The New York Times	Mark Mazzetti y Eric Lichtblau	C.I.A. Judgment on Russia Built on Swell of Evidence	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/11/us/politics/cia-judgment-intelligence-russia-hacking-evidence.html
11/12/2016	The Wall Street Journal	Shane Harris	Donald Trump Fuels Rift With CIA Over Russian Hack	https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-blames-democrats-for-reports-of-russia-hacking-1481467907
12/12/2016	The New York Times	Jennifer Steinhauer	Senate and House Leaders Call for Inquiry of Russian Hacking in Election	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/12/us/politics/mcconnell-supports-inquiry-of-russian-hacking-during-election.html
12/12/2016	POLITICO	Brent Griffins	White House rails against Trump for not accepting evidence of Russia hacking	https://www.politico.com/story/2016/12/trump-russia-hacking-white-house-232516
15/12/2016	NBC News	William M. Arkin, Ken Dilanian y Cynthia McFadden	U.S. Officials: Putin Personally Involved in U.S. Election Hack	https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/u-s-officials-putin-personally-involved-u-s-election-hack-n696146
15/12/2016	NBC News	Ken Dilanian	Kremlin Calls NBC Report Putin Directed Hack 'Laughable Nonsense'	https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/kremlin-calls-nbc-report-putin-directed-hack-laughable-nonsense-n696416
16/12/2016	The Washington Post	Juliet Eilperin	Obama says 'we will' retaliate against Russia for election hacking	https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2016/12/15/obama-says-we-will-retaliate-against-russia-for-election-hacking/
23/12/2016	114th Congress		La «SEC. 1287» de la «Public Law No: 114-328» establece el Global Engagement Center con el propósito de «liderar, sincronizar y coordinar los esfuerzos del Gobierno Federal para reconocer, comprender, exponer y contrarrestar la propaganda extranjera estatal y no estatal y los esfuerzos de desinformación dirigidos a socavar los intereses de seguridad nacional de Estados Unidos»	https://www.congress.gov/bills/114th-congress/senate-bill/2943/text
29/12/2016	The New York Times	David E. Sanger	Obama Strikes Back at Russia for Election Hacking	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/29/us/politics/russia-election-hacking-sanctions.html
29/12/2016	DHS y FBI		GRIZZLY STEPPE – Russian Malicious Cyber Activity	https://www.cisa.gov/sites/default/files/publications/JAR_16-20296A_GRIZZLY%20STEPPE-2016-1229.pdf
29/12/2016	DHS, OONI y FBI		Joint DHS, OONI, FBI Statement on Russian Malicious Cyber Activity	https://www.fbi.gov/news/press-releases/joint-dhs-odni-fbi-statement-on-russian-malicious-cyber-activity

Table III

Interest in the term “disinformation” subsequently remained low until 2020. It did not increase during relevant events, such as the joint communication of the European Commission and the High Representative on the *Action Plan against disinformation* (5 December 2018), or the dissemination of the so-called “Mueller report” (dated March 2019).

From 1 January 2017 to 29 February 2020, *nytimes.com* disseminated at least 30 news pieces with “disinformation” in the headline, grouped in table IV. The paper particularly focused on the intervention of two major powers, Russia and China, as well as the weight and responsibility of prominent social media platforms: Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter and YouTube.

Piezas publicadas por <i>nytimes.com</i> con la palabra clave «disinformación» en el titular (1 de enero de 2017 - 29 de febrero de 2020)				
Fecha de publicación	Fecha de actualización	Autor(es)	Titular	Enlace
13/04/2017		David W. Dunlap	Exposing Russian Disinformation Since the 1950s	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/13/insider/exposing-russian-disinformation-since-the-1950s.html
12/12/2017		Linda Qiu	Fingerprints of Russian Disinformation: From AIDS to Fake News	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/12/us/politics/russian-disinformation-aids-fake-news.html
23/08/2018		Kate Conger y Sheera Frenkel	How FireEye Helped Facebook Spot a Disinformation Campaign	https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/23/technology/fireeye-facebook-disinformation.html
16/09/2018		Marc Santora y Julian E. Barnes	In the Balkans, Russia and the West Fight a Disinformation-Age Battle	https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/16/world/europe/macedonia-referendum-russia-nato.html
21/09/2018		Richard Sandimir	Lawrence Martin-Bittman, 87, Master of Disinformation, Dies	https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/21/obituaries/lawrence-martin-bittman-dead.html
19/10/2018		Mike Isaac y Kevin Roose	Disinformation Spreads on WhatsApp Ahead of Brazilian Election	https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/19/technology/whatsapp-brazil-presidential-election.html
26/10/2018		Mike Isaac y Sheera Frenkel	Facebook Removes Iranian Network That Was Spreading Disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/26/technology/facebook-removes-iranian-network-that-was-spreading-disinformation.html
31/10/2018		Kevin Roose	Spotting Disinformation Online Before the Midterm Elections	https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/31/technology/personaltech/disinformation-online-midterm-elections.html
12/11/2018		Adam B. Ellick y Adam Westbrook	Operation Infektion: Russian Disinformation: From Cold War to Kanye	https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/12/opinion/russia-meddling-disinformation-fake-news-elections.html
18/11/2018		Adam B. Ellick	Too Much Information About Disinformation?	https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/18/reader-center/russian-disinformation-video.html
17/12/2018		Renée DiResta	What We Now Know About Russian Disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/17/opinion/russia-report-disinformation.html
31/01/2019		Sheera Frenkel, Kate Conger y Kevin Roose	Russia's Playbook for Social Media Disinformation Has Gone Global	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/technology/twitter-disinformation-united-states-russia.html
19/04/2019		Asha Rangappa	How Barr and Trump Use a Russian Disinformation Tactic	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/19/opinion/mueller-report-barr-trump-russian-disinformation.html
07/06/2019		Cade Metz y Scott Brumenthal	How A.I. Could Be Weaponized to Spread Disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/06/07/technology/ai-text-disinformation.html
03/07/2019		Chris Hamby	Hacking, Glitches, Disinformation: Why Experts Are Worried About the 2020 Census	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/03/us/2020-census-digital.html
25/07/2019		Matthew Rosenberg	Ad Tool Facebook Built to Fight Disinformation Doesn't Work as Advertised	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/25/technology/facebook-ad-library.html
13/08/2019		Steven Lee Myers y Paul Mozur	China Is Waging a Disinformation War Against Hong Kong Protesters	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/13/world/asia/hong-kong-protests-china.html
19/08/2019		Kate Conger	Facebook and Twitter Say China Is Spreading Disinformation in Hong Kong	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/19/technology/hong-kong-protests-china-disinformation-facebook-twitter.html
21/08/2019	22/08/2019	Nicholas Confessore y Justin Bank	In the Trump Era, a Family's Fight With Google and Facebook Over Disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/21/us/facebook-disinformation-loyd-brown.html
22/08/2019	26/08/2019	Kate Conger	YouTube Disables 210 Channels That Spread Disinformation About Hong Kong Protests	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/22/technology/youtube-hong-kong-protests-china-disinformation.html
04/09/2019	05/09/2019	Matthew Rosenberg	Tracing Disinformation With Custom Tools, Bumper Phones and Encrypted Apps	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/04/technology/personaltech/disinformation-politics-reporting.html
26/09/2019		Davey Alba y Adam Satariano	At Least 70 Countries Have Had Disinformation Campaigns, Study Finds	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/26/technology/government-disinformation-cyber-troops.html
29/09/2019		Davey Alba	Ahead of 2020, Facebook Falls Short on Plan to Share Data on Disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/29/technology/facebook-disinformation.html
21/10/2019		Mike Isaac	Facebook Finds New Disinformation Campaigns and Braces for 2020 Torrent	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/21/technology/facebook-disinformation-russia-iran.html
30/10/2019	01/09/2020	Davey Alba y Sheera Frenkel	Russia Tests New Disinformation Tactics in Africa to Expand Influence	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/30/technology/russia-facebook-disinformation-africa.html
21/11/2019		Nick Corasaniti y Matthew Rosenberg	Campaigns Say Google Ad Policy Sidesteps Problem of Disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/21/us/politics/google-ads-disinformation.html
10/12/2019	12/12/2019	Adam Satariano y Anie Tsang	Who's Spreading Disinformation in U.K. Election? You Might Be Surprised	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/10/world/europe/elections-disinformation-social-media.html
15/12/2019		Davey Alba	2020 Campaigns Throw Their Hands Up on Disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/15/technology/2020-campaigns-disinformation.html
20/12/2019		Davey Alba	Facebook Discovers Fakes That Show Evolution of Disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/20/business/facebook-ai-generated-profiles.html
06/01/2020		Raymond Zhong	Akash in Disinformation Before Vote, Taiwan Points Finger at China	https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/06/technology/taiwan-election-china-disinformation.html

Table IV

Increases picked up by *Google Trends* in March and April 2020 were probably linked to the COVID-19 pandemic. In fact, *nytimes.com* launched three stories with “disinformation” headlines in these two months, addressing the new coronavirus in relation to Russia, China and the European Union —incidentally, with a significant geopolitical focus— (table V).

Piezas publicadas por <i>nytimes.com</i> con la palabra clave «disinformation» en el titular (1 de marzo de 2020 - 30 de abril de 2020)				
Fecha de publicación	Fecha de actualización	Autor(es)	Titular	Enlace
28/03/2020	06/10/2020	Julian E. Barnes, Matthew Rosenberg y Edward Wong	As Virus Spreads, China and Russia See Openings for Disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/28/us/politics/china-russia-coronavirus-disinformation.html
24/04/2020	06/01/2021	Matt Apuzzo	Pressured by China, E.U. Softens Report on Covid-19 Disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/24/world/europe/disinformation-china-eu-coronavirus.html
30/04/2020		Matt Apuzzo	Top E.U. Diplomat Says Disinformation Report Was Not Watered Down for China	https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/30/world/europe/coronavirus-china-eu-disinformation.html

Table V

For its part, the October 2020 peak could be linked to the November presidential election. In the video *How Homegrown Disinformation Could Disrupt This U.S. Election*, the newspaper examined the potential and detrimental influence of disinformation in the US electoral arena (table VI).

Piezas publicadas por <i>nytimes.com</i> con la palabra clave «disinformation» en el titular (octubre de 2020)				
Fecha de publicación	Fecha de actualización	Autor(es)	Titular	Enlace
13/10/2020		Emily Bazelon	Free Speech Will Save Our Democracy: The First Amendment in the age of disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/13/magazine/free-speech.html
15/10/2020	20/01/2021	Julian E. Barnes, Eric Schmitt y Maggie Haberman	Trump Said to Be Warned That Giuliani Was Conveying Russian Disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/15/us/politics/giuliani-russian-disinformation.html
16/10/2020		Julian E. Barnes	Trump is said to have been warned that Giuliani was conveying Russian disinformation.	https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/16/us/elections/trump-is-said-to-have-been-warned-that-giuliani-was-conveying-russian-disinformation.html
25/10/2020		Isabelle Niu, Kassie Bracken, Alexandra Eaton, Will Lloyd, Yousur Al-Hlou y Aaron Byrd	How Homegrown Disinformation Could Disrupt This U.S. Election	https://www.nytimes.com/video/stressed-election
25/10/2020		Isabelle Niu, Kassie Bracken y Alexandra Eaton	Russia Created an Election Disinformation Playbook. Here's How Americans Evolved It.	https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/25/video/russia-us-election-disinformation.html
28/10/2020	30/06/2021	Cade Metz	Disinformation Moves From Social Networks to Texts	https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/28/technology/disinformation-moves-from-social-networks-to-texts.html
29/10/2020		Cade Metz	Twitter Bots Poised to Spread Disinformation Before Election	https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/29/technology/twitter-bots-poised-to-spread-disinformation-before-election.html

Table VI

In February and March 2022, *Google Trends* records a rise in interest in the search term “disinformation”, more pronounced worldwide than in the US; probably a consequence of the Russia-Ukraine war. Sanctions, such as those imposed on *RT (Russia Today)* and *Sputnik* by *Council Regulation (EU) 2022/350 of 1 March 2022 amending Regulation (EU)^{No} 833/2014 concerning restrictive measures in view of Russia's actions destabilising the situation in Ukraine*, among other measures, should be taken into account.

In March of that year Russia also made claims of a military-biological programme in Ukraine funded by the US Department of Defence. (MFA Russia, 2022). In response, UN High Representative for Disarmament, Izumi Nakamitsu, informed the Security Council that she was not aware of the existence of biological weapons laboratories in Ukraine (Noticias ONU, 2022). *EU vs DISINFORMATIONⁱ* denied some reports

ⁱ *EU vs DISINFORMATION*, also known as *EU vs Disinfo* or *EUvsDisinfo*, was established in 2015. It describes itself as “the flagship project of the European External Action Service's East StratCom

on the subject, e.g. in *Disinfo: US bio laboratories were involved in creating coronavirus* (EUvsDisinfo, 2022). Table VII shows *nytimes.com* headlines with “disinformation” in the headline during these two months.

Piezas publicadas por <i>nytimes.com</i> con la palabra clave «disinformación» en el titular (1 de febrero de 2022 - 31 de marzo de 2022)			
Fecha de publicación	Autor	Titular	Enlace
01/02/2022	Greg Bensinger	Spotify Backs Joe Rogan's Disinformation Machine	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/01/opinion/spotify-joe-rogan-disinformation.html
14/02/2022	Jay Caspian Kang	Can We Get Smarter About Disinformation?	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/14/opinion/disinformation-rogan-covid.html
02/03/2022	Farhad Manjoo	Putin No Longer Seems Like a Master of Disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/02/opinion/putin-disinformation-social-media.html
07/03/2022	Jay Caspian Kang	Fighting Disinformation Can Feel Like a Lost Cause. It Isn't.	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/07/opinion/fighting-disinformation-education.html
10/03/2022	Edward Wong	U.S. Fights Bioweapons Disinformation Pushed by Russia and China	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/10/us/politics/russia-ukraine-china-bioweapons.html
18/03/2022	Jack Nicas	Brazil Blocks Telegram Over Disinformation Concerns	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/18/world/americas/brazil-bans-telegram.html

Table VII

Most striking, however, is sharp peak in May 2022, both globally and in the US, likely linked to the *Disinformation Governance Board* (DGB). Announced by Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas on 27 April (Betz, 2022), it was confirmed the same day by *POLITICO* (Daniels, Bade y Lizza, 2022) and Nina Jankowicz, who would head it as executive director (Jankowicz, 2022a).

In a “fact sheet”, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) explained its role:

“The Department is deeply committed to doing all of its work in a way that protects Americans’ freedom of speech, civil rights, civil liberties, and privacy. In fact, the Disinformation Governance Board is an internal working group that was established with the explicit goal of ensuring these protections are appropriately incorporated across DHS’s disinformation-related work and that rigorous safeguards are in place. The working group also seeks to coordinate the Department’s engagements on this subject with other federal agencies and a diverse range of external stakeholders. The working group does not have any operational authority or capability” (Homeland Security, 2022a).

Criticism, however, mounted. Since May 2022, no fewer than 16 bills have been introduced to end the DGB, prohibit the use of federal funds to finance it, or prevent the Department of Homeland Security from investing in another such entity (Congress.gov, sin fecha). Although all initiatives are at an early legislative stage, they are a sign of the debate that has been stirred up (table VIII).

On 18 May, Jankowicz (2022b) resigned as executive director because the DGB was put on “pause”. On 24 August, almost four months after its announcement, the Department of Homeland Security, following the recommendation of the Homeland

Task Force”. It aims to “increase public awareness and understanding of the Kremlin’s disinformation operations, and to help citizens in Europe and beyond develop resistance to digital information and media manipulation” (EUvsDisinfo, sin fecha). The special report *Disinformation affecting the EU: tackled but not tamed*, while stating that *EUvsDisinfo* had “been instrumental in raising awareness about Russian disinformation”, raised that its integration within the European External Action Service raised “some questions about its independence and ultimate purpose, as it could be perceived as representing the EU’s official position” (Tribunal de Cuentas Europeo, 2021, p. 5).

Proyectos de ley («bills») que mencionan al Desinformation Governance Board							
Congreso	Identificación del proyecto	Título del proyecto	Título corto del proyecto	Promotor del proyecto	Fecha de introducción en el Senado/Cámara de Representantes	Estado del proyecto	Enlace
117th Congress (2021-2022)	S.4124	To prohibit the use of Federal funds for the Desinformation Governance Board of the Department of Homeland Security, and for other purposes		Sen. Cotton, Tom [R-AR]	02/05/2022	Introduced	https://www.congress.gov/bills/117th-congress/senate-bill/4124
117th Congress (2021-2022)	H.R.7641	To terminate the Desinformation Governance Board of the Department of Homeland Security and to prohibit the use of Federal funds to establish any other similar Board, and for other purposes	Protecting Free Speech Act	Rep. Boebert, Lauren [R-CO-3]	03/05/2022	Introduced	https://www.congress.gov/bills/117th-congress/house-bill/7641
117th Congress (2021-2022)	H.R.7648	To prohibit the use of Federal funds to establish a Desinformation Governance Board		Rep. Johnson, Mike [R-LA-4]	03/05/2022	Introduced	https://www.congress.gov/bills/117th-congress/house-bill/7648
117th Congress (2021-2022)	H.R.7659	To prohibit the use of Federal funds to establish a Desinformation Governance Board		Rep. Pfluger, August [R-TX-11]	03/05/2022	Introduced	https://www.congress.gov/bills/117th-congress/house-bill/7659
117th Congress (2021-2022)	S.4135	To dissolve the Department of Homeland Security Desinformation Governance Board, and for other purposes	Dissolving the Desinformation Governance Board Act	Sen. Hawley, Josh [R-MO]	04/05/2022	Introduced	https://www.congress.gov/bills/117th-congress/senate-bill/4135
117th Congress (2021-2022)	S.4164	To prohibit the expenditure of Federal funds for the establishment or operation of the Desinformation Governance Board in the Department of Homeland Security	Defund the Ministry of Truth Act of 2022	Sen. Paul, Rand [R-KY]	09/05/2022	Introduced	https://www.congress.gov/bills/117th-congress/senate-bill/4164
117th Congress (2021-2022)	H.R.7690	To prohibit the use of Federal funds to establish or carry out the activities of a Desinformation Governance Board of the Department of Homeland Security, and for other purposes		Rep. McCarthy, Kevin [R-CA-23]	10/05/2022	Introduced	https://www.congress.gov/bills/117th-congress/house-bill/7690
117th Congress (2021-2022)	S.4191	To prohibit the expenditure of Federal funds for the establishment or operation of the Desinformation Governance Board in the Department of Homeland Security	Defund the Ministry of Truth Act of 2022	Sen. Paul, Rand [R-KY]	11/05/2022	Introduced	https://www.congress.gov/bills/117th-congress/senate-bill/4191
117th Congress (2021-2022)	H.R.8528	To promote election integrity, voter confidence, and faith in elections by removing Federal impediments to, providing State tools for, and establishing voluntary considerations to support effective State administration of Federal elections, improving election administration in the District of Columbia, improving the effectiveness of military voting programs, and protecting political speech, and for other purposes	American Confidence in Elections Act o ACE Act	Rep. Davis, Rodney [R-IL-13]	27/07/2022	Introduced	https://www.congress.gov/bills/117th-congress/house-bill/8528
117th Congress (2021-2022)	H.R.9448	To prohibit the Federal Government from taking certain action relating to social media companies, and for other purposes	Free Speech Defense Act	Rep. Clyde, Andrew S. [R-GA-9]	07/12/2022	Introduced	https://www.congress.gov/bills/117th-congress/house-bill/9448
118th Congress (2023-2024)	H.R.4367	Making appropriations for the Department of Homeland Security for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2024, and for other purposes		Rep. Joyce, David P. [R-OH-14]	27/06/2023	Introduced	https://www.congress.gov/bills/118th-congress/house-bill/4367
118th Congress (2023-2024)	H.R.4514	To terminate the Desinformation Governance Board of the Department of Homeland Security, and for other purposes	Desinformation Governance Board Prohibition Act	Rep. Bice, Stephanie L. [R-OK-5]	10/07/2023	Introduced	https://www.congress.gov/bills/118th-congress/house-bill/4514
118th Congress (2023-2024)	H.R.4563	To promote election integrity, voter confidence, and faith in elections by removing Federal impediments to, equipping States with tools for, and establishing voluntary considerations to support effective State administration of Federal elections, improving election administration in the District of Columbia, improving the effectiveness of military voting programs, enhancing election security, and protecting political speech, and for other purposes	American Confidence in Elections Act o ACE Act	Rep. Steil, Bryan [R-WI-1]	11/07/2023	Introduced	https://www.congress.gov/bills/118th-congress/house-bill/4563
118th Congress (2023-2024)	H.R.4776	To terminate the Desinformation Governance Board of the Department of Homeland Security and to prohibit the use of Federal funds to establish any other similar Board, and for other purposes	Protecting Free Speech Act	Rep. Boebert, Lauren [R-CO-3]	20/07/2023	Introduced	https://www.congress.gov/bills/118th-congress/house-bill/4776
118th Congress (2023-2024)	H.R.4791	To prohibit Federal employees and contractors from directing online platforms to censor any speech that is protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes	Free Speech Protection Act	Rep. Jordan, Jim [R-OH-4]	20/07/2023	Introduced	https://www.congress.gov/bills/118th-congress/house-bill/4791
118th Congress (2023-2024)	S.2425	To prohibit Federal employees and contractors from directing online platforms to censor any speech that is protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes	Free Speech Protection Act	Sen. Paul, Rand [R-KY]	20/07/2023	Introduced	https://www.congress.gov/bills/118th-congress/senate-bill/2425

Table VIII

Security Advisory Council (HSAC), terminated the *Desinformation Governance Board* (Homeland Security, 2022b).

From 1 April to 31 August 2022 —the period between the announcement and the closure of the DGB— *nytimes.com* published at least eleven news items with

Piezas publicadas por <i>nytimes.com</i> con la palabra clave «desinformación» en el titular (1 de abril de 2022 - 31 de agosto de 2022)				
Fecha de publicación	Fecha de actualización	Autor(es)	Titular	Enlace
15/04/2022		Simon Ostrovsky y Emily Rhyne	Journey to Transnistria: Inside Russia's Disinformation Bubble	https://www.nytimes.com/video/world/100000008272335/russia-disinformation-moldova.html
15/04/2022		Simon Ostrovsky y Emily Rhyne	How Russian disinformation spreads beyond its borders.	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/15/world/europe/russia-disinformation-transnistria.html
20/04/2022		Steven Lee Myers y Cecilia Kang	Barack Obama Takes On a New Role: Fighting Disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/20/technology/barack-obama-disinformation.html
21/04/2022		Neil MacFarquhar y Alina Lobzina	With sunken warship, Russian disinformation faces a test.	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/21/world/europe/russia-moskva-warship-disinformation.html
02/05/2022		Steven Lee Myers y Zolan Kanno-Youngs	Partisan Fight Breaks Out Over New Desinformation Board	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/02/technology/partisan-dhs-disinformation-board.html
18/05/2022		Steven Lee Myers	A Panel to Combat Disinformation Becomes a Victim of It	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/18/technology/disinformation-governance-board.html
09/06/2022		Richard Stengel	Misdirection, Fake News and Lies: The Best Books to Read on Disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/09/books/books-disinformation-fake-news.html
14/06/2022		Steven Lee Myers	Deceptive Mailings, False Billboards: Voting Disinformation Is Not Just Online	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/14/business/voting-disinformation-billboards.html
06/07/2022		Steven Lee Myers y Eileen Sullivan	Disinformation Has Become Another Untouchable Problem in Washington	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/06/business/disinformation-board-dc.html
08/08/2022		Elizabeth Williamson	The Alex Jones Verdict and the Fight Against Disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/08/podcasts/the-daily/alex-jones-sandy-hook-defamation-damages.html
26/08/2022	01/09/2022	Natasha Frost	The Long Tail of Covid-19 Disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/26/world/australia/covid-disinformation-australia-new-zealand.html

Table IX

“disinformation” in the headline. Three dealt with this internal working group: *Partisan Fight Breaks Out Over New Disinformation Board, A Panel to Combat Disinformation Becomes a Victim of It* and *Disinformation Has Become Another Untouchable Problem in Washington* (table IX).

The rise in popularity of the keyword “disinformation” in October and November 2022 may have been influenced by the 12 October conviction of Alex Jones. According to this, the owner of *Infowars* would have to pay USD 965 million “in damages to numerous families of victims of the 2012 Sandy Hook mass shooting for falsely claiming that they were actors who faked the tragedy” (Queen y Thomsen, 2022). It may also have been due to the *Law on the Amendment of the Press Law and Some Other Laws* being passed in Türkiye on 13 October, which stipulates the following:

“Public dissemination of misleading information

ARTICLE 217/A- (1) Any person who publicly disseminates false information about the country’s domestic and foreign security, public order and general health, with the sole aim of creating anxiety, fear or panic among the public, shall be punished by one to three years of imprisonment.” (Resmî Gazete, 2022).

Similarly, the rise may have been linked to Elon Musk’s acquisition of Twitter. On 23 November, the platform discontinued the COVID-19 misleading information policy (Twitter, 2022).

In the interest of offering a comprehensive and current approach, table X shows *nytimes.com* content with “disinformation” in the title from September 2022 to July 2023. The topic was discussed at length, considering its political influence, technological interaction, implication for freedom of expression, international scope and social impact.

Piezas publicadas por <i>nytimes.com</i> con la palabra clave «disinformation» en el titular (1 de septiembre de 2022 - 31 de julio de 2023)				
Fecha de publicación	Fecha de actualización	Autor(es)	Titular	Enlace
20/10/2022		Steven Lee Myers y Sheera Frenkel	How Disinformation Splintered and Became More Intractable	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/20/technology/disinformation-spread.html
31/10/2022	09/11/2022	Steven Lee Myers	Letters, Tweets, TV: How Midterm Disinformation Has Washed Over Pennsylvania	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/31/technology/midterm-disinformation-pennsylvania.html
07/02/2023		Adam Satariano y Paul Mozur	The People Onscreen Are Fake. The Disinformation Is Real.	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/07/technology/artificial-intelligence-training-deepfake.html
08/02/2023	20/06/2023	Tiffany Hsu y Stuart A. Thompson	Disinformation Researchers Raise Alarms About A.I. Chatbots	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/08/technology/ai-chatbots-disinformation.html
09/02/2023		Steven Lee Myers	Free Speech vs. Disinformation Comes to a Head	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/09/business/free-speech-social-media-lawsuit.html
14/02/2023		Steven Lee Myers y Nico Grant	Combating Disinformation Wanes at Social Media Giants	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/14/technology/disinformation-moderation-social-media.html
11/03/2023		Jamelle Bouie	Disinformation Is Not the Real Problem With Democracy	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/11/opinion/local-media-newspapers-democracy.html
05/04/2023	07/04/2023	Farnaz Fassihi	'Outrageous': Russia Accused of Spreading Disinformation at U.N. Event	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/05/world/europe/russia-un-security-council.html
07/04/2023	10/04/2023	Michael Schwartz, Ivan Nechepurenko, Helene Cooper, Eric Schmitt, Matthew Mpoke Bigg, Thomas Gibbons-Neff y Natalia Yermak	The Latest: War in Ukraine: Leak of War Plans Could Be Disinformation, Ukrainians and Russians Say	https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/04/07/world/russia-ukraine-news
04/06/2023		Benjamin Cohen	Einstein and a Theory of Disinformation	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/04/opinion/einstein-disinformation.html
19/06/2023		Steven Lee Myers y Sheera Frenkel	G.O.P. Targets Researchers Who Study Disinformation Ahead of 2024 Election	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/19/technology/gop-disinformation-researchers-2024-election.html
05/07/2023		Michael D. Shear y David McCabe	Ruling Puts Social Media at Crossroads of Disinformation and Free Speech	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/us/politics/social-media-ruling-government.html
05/07/2023		Tiffany Hsu y Stuart A. Thompson	Disinformation Researchers Fret About Fallout From Judge's Order	https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/business/media/disinformation-researchers-judge-restrictions.html

Table X

In conclusion, “disinformation” is a term that first generated substantial interest in December 2016, probably because of controversies surrounding the US presidential election. Popularity resurfaced in spring 2020, when the world was hit by the COVID-19 pandemic, and in October of the same year, in the run up to the US presidential election. In 2022, the term became attractive coinciding with the war in Ukraine. What is most striking, however, is the explosive growth in April and May of that year, almost certainly due to the *Disinformation Governance Board* and the controversy that ensued.

Regarding *nytimes.com* headlines, the links between disinformation, Russia and China, as well as the role of the main digital platforms, were particularly commented. It must be said that these internet giants have taken various measures. For example, to stop “influence operations”, Meta acts against what it calls “coordinated inauthentic behaviour” (Gleicher, 2018). The Twitter Moderation Research Consortium provides data on “information operations” (Twitter, 2023).

3.2. Analysis of the keyword “disinformation”.

In *Google Trends*, the term “disinformation” with the options “Spain”, “1/1/11-31/8/23”, “All categories” and “Web search”, returns graph 3. The time period starts in 2011 because otherwise peaks appear in the 2000s that are difficult to explain. On 1 January 2011, Google implemented an improvement to the geo-assignment system; therefore, that year was determined as the initial year.



Graph 3

Throughout the 2010s there have been several increases in interest, but it is difficult to link them to specific events. The rise in March 2020 was almost certainly a consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic. In this context, in mid-April, the General Staff of the Guardia Civil asked of the commands the “identification, study and monitoring in relation to the situation created by Covid-19 of disinformation campaigns, as well as publications denying hoaxes and fake news likely to generate

social stress and disaffection towards government institutions” (Lázaro, 2020b). Table XI shows headlines for those two months at the start of the pandemic.

Piezas publicadas por <i>elmundo.es</i> con la palabra clave «desinformación» en el titular (1 de marzo de 2020 - 30 de abril de 2020)			
Fecha de publicación o actualización	Autor	Título	Enlace
07/03/2020	María Dolores de Cospedal	La libertad de expresión y la desinformación	https://www.elmundo.es/yodona/festyle/2020/03/07/5e5b5bdf-6c36d38b-4569.html
14/03/2020	María Paz García Vera	Ser un héroe de a pie en el estado de alarma: compromiso, responsabilidad y ojo crítico con la desinformación	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2020/03/14/5e6bec58f6c39a2a8b4663.html
21/04/2020	Vicente Lozano	Estrategia de desinformación	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2020/04/21/5e9da05721efa0d956b8b4626.html
23/04/2020	Fernando Lázaro	Maraska: "Los bulos y la desinformación son los grandes aliados de esta enfermedad"	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2020/04/23/5ea1795069d98128b4586.html

Table XI

Similarly, the November 2020 peak was likely linked to *Order PCM/1030/2020*. It prompted at least three columns in *elmundo.es*, along with criticism from Rafael de Mendizábal, then president of the Commission for Arbitration, Complaints and Ethics in Journalism (table XII).

Piezas publicadas por <i>elmundo.es</i> con la palabra clave «desinformación» en el titular (noviembre de 2020)			
Fecha de publicación o actualización	Autor(es)	Título	Enlace
04/11/2020	Ángel Díaz	El invierno será duro. Con la desinformación que hay en las redes, aún más	https://www.elmundo.es/ciencia-y-salud/salud/2020/11/03/5fa1be0d21efa0181c8b466b.html
05/11/2020	Raúl Piña	Un comité de Moncloa vigilará a los medios y perseguirá lo que considere "desinformación"	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2020/11/05/5fa3c9521efa0d960b458f.html
05/11/2020	David Sanz Ezquerro	Los editores de prensa alertan: el plan contra la desinformación podría vulnerar la Constitución	https://www.elmundo.es/television/medios/2020/11/05/5fa3e546ddfd208b4608.html
05/11/2020	Raúl Piña	Moncloa quiere ahora despolitizar su comité contra la desinformación	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2020/11/05/5fa5ade35d9f863c8b4660.html
05/11/2020	Raúl Piña y Pablo R. Suanzes	Así es la batalla en contra de la desinformación: Europa pide órganos independientes y los países regulan poco	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2020/11/05/5fa5981721efa08f168b4667.html
06/11/2020	Federico Jiménez Losantos	Desinformación, dicen	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/columnistas/2020/11/06/5fa44c9f6c83125e8b45fd.html
07/11/2020	Manuel Arias Maldonado	Desinformación y democracia	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/columnistas/2020/11/07/5fa5373521efa06a1c8b456f.html
07/11/2020	José Ignacio Torreblanca	Desinformación desinformada	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/columnistas/2020/11/07/5fa646fa9d9f8bcb4669.html
08/11/2020	David Sanz Ezquerro	Rafael de Mendizábal: "La orden ministerial sobre la desinformación debe ser recurrida y anulada por el Constitucional"	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2020/11/08/5fa59aa1f6c83c7518b460b.html
12/11/2020	Pablo Herranz	100 expertos piden a España y otros 70 países luchar contra la desinformación de las redes sociales	https://www.elmundo.es/papel/2020/11/12/5fac771221efa099518b45d7.html
13/11/2020	Pablo Herranz	Marieje Schaaak: "Aún es demasiado pronto para saber si ha habido desinformación en las elecciones de EEUU"	https://www.elmundo.es/papel/2020/11/13/5fac825721efa0f048b4639.html

Table XII

Order PCM/1030/2020 designates a “structure” for the “fight against disinformation” composed of the National Security Council, Situation Committee, State Secretariat for Communication, Permanent Commission against Disinformation, competent public authorities, as well as the private sector and civil society.

However, the Permanent Commission against Disinformation, as an inter-ministerial working group, was created in March 2019 (Consejo de Ministros, 2019), coordinated by the State Secretariat for Communication (La Moncloa, 2019). All this on the basis of the *Disinformation Action Procedure*, which responded “to the requirements set out in the Action Plan against disinformation adopted by the European Union in December 2018” (Sala de Prensa - DSN, 2019). Initially, this Permanent Commission was announced as “the link with Europe”, assuring that it would place “special emphasis on the reputational element of Spain linked to the territorial crisis in Catalonia and the upcoming electoral processes” (Consejo de Ministros, 2019).

It should be noted that Supreme Court ruling 3798/2021 specified:

“That with rejection of the ground of inadmissibility invoked by the State Attorney’s Office, the contentious-administrative appeal filed by the representation of CONFILLEGAL EDITORIAL, SL against the Procedure for

Action against disinformation, approved on 6 October 2020 by the National Security Council, published by Order PCM/I030/2020, is dismissed, and we must declare and declare that it is in accordance with the Law, confirming it” (Tribunal Supremo. Sala de lo Contencioso, 2021, p. II).

Moving on, the *National Security Strategy 2021* document published on 4 November of the same year —although approved by *Royal Decree 1150/2021 of 28 December*— included “disinformation campaigns” as “risks and threats” (Consejo de Seguridad Nacional, 2021, p. 60).

The March 2022 peak, visible in graph 3, was probably due to the Russia-Ukraine war. Compare with the headlines in table XIII.

Piezas publicadas por elmundo.es con la palabra clave «desinformación» en el titular (marzo de 2022)			
Fecha de publicación o actualización	Autor(es)	Titular	Enlace
08/03/2022	EFE	Josep Borrell promete medidas para sancionar a “actores de desinformación maligna”	https://www.elmundo.es/internacional/2022/03/08/62278998e4d4d8590b6b459a.html
08/03/2022	EL MUNDO - COPRODUCCIÓN	Discurso íntegro de Borrell sobre la desinformación de Rusia y sus peligros en el Parlamento Europeo	https://videos.elmundo.es/vv/OhXRcX64fg-discurso-integro-de-borrell-sobre-la-desinformacion-de-rusia-y-sus-peligros-en-el-parlamento-europeo
16/03/2022	Editorial	Combatir la desinformación en Rusia es clave	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/editorial/2022/03/16/6230c98fc6c8329768b45cf.html

Table XIII

Throughout 2023, up to July, geopolitical factors such as tension between Russia and the European Union; technological advances, such as artificial intelligence (AI); platform changes, such as Twitter’s policies following its acquisition by Elon Musk; and the settlement whereby Fox agreed to pay \$787.5 million to Dominion Voting Systems to avoid a defamation lawsuit played a notable role, as seen in Table XIV.

Piezas publicadas por elmundo.es con la palabra clave «desinformación» en el titular (1 de enero de 2023 - 31 de julio de 2023)			
Fecha de publicación o actualización	Autor(es)	Titular	Enlace
31/01/2023	Javier Zarzaleros	Cuestiones postjudiciales: la Justicia contra la desinformación	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2023/01/31/63d8e4e366d8f1b9a8b45be.html
10/02/2023	EFE	Los marmolistas también señalan a Cosentino y dicen que hubo una “total desinformación”	https://www.elmundo.es/andalucia/2023/02/10/63e88afe4d4d82e438b45c0.html
17/03/2023	Marín Palomino y Felipe Díaz de Vivar	La desinformación como forma de deterioro de la democracia	https://www.elmundo.es/television/medios/2023/03/17/64143735e454e8b7c8b45de.html
05/04/2023	Clara Gª Sílero, Isabella Carril, Tobias Browne y Miguel Triviño	Tecnología, instituciones, planes estratégicos y castigo a las fake news: estas son las herramientas de la UE contra la perversidad y la desinformación	https://www.elmundo.es/television/medios/2023/04/05/642b4c321efa0fe408b45ba.html
21/04/2023	AGENCIAS	FAPE y DIRCOM se alían frente a la desinformación durante los procesos electorales	https://www.elmundo.es/television/medios/2023/04/21/64428b15e454e879538b4588.html
03/05/2023	Raquel Vilaicija	El avance de la desinformación y la inteligencia artificial amenazan la libertad de prensa en todo el mundo	https://www.elmundo.es/internacional/2023/05/03/64521edde4d4d87c2a8b4595.html
18/05/2023	Victor de la Serna	No sólo los motores de búsqueda: las plataformas también promueven la desinformación	https://www.elmundo.es/papel/firmas/2023/05/17/6464c276e4d4d8d15dbb45a9.html
27/05/2023	AP	Twitter se retira del acuerdo de la UE contra la desinformación	https://www.elmundo.es/tecnologia/2023/05/27/6471d92621efa0b73cb457c.html
28/05/2023	Raúl Piña y Gema Peñalosa	Blindaje contra la desinformación en las elecciones con el contexto más “peligroso” de la democracia	https://www.elmundo.es/elecciones/elecciones-autonomicas/2023/05/28/647200b1e4d4d8a84f8b45b4.html
08/06/2023	Victor de la Serna	Murdock y el millonario precio de la desinformación	https://www.elmundo.es/papel/firmas/2023/04/19/643f8a321efa044618b45c0.html
08/06/2023	Victor de la Serna	La desinformación no esperó a la inteligencia artificial	https://www.elmundo.es/papel/firmas/2023/04/06/6422ce521efa0f368b45b0.html
16/06/2023	HELPMY CASH	Honorarios excesivos y desinformación: ¿cómo evitar los engaños más comunes de las inmobiliarias?	https://www.elmundo.es/economia/ahorro-y-consumo/2023/06/15/6485a57ee4d4d91a708b4595.html
06/07/2023	Federico Jiménez Losantos	La desinformación médica sobre Francia	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/columnistas/2023/07/06/64a6fc3be85ec64228b4579.html
21/07/2023	Malte Pagazaurtundia	Desinformación: el arma rusa contra la UE	https://www.elmundo.es/la-lectura/2023/07/21/64b915468dd8f0c8b456f.html

Table XIV

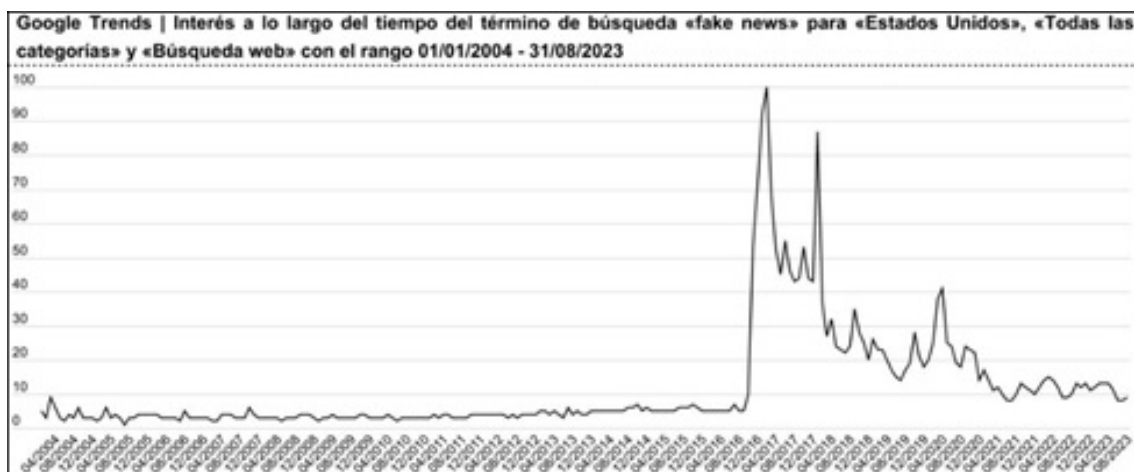
In summary, interest in “disinformation” in Spain increased significantly in March and April 2020, reaching its peak in November with the publication of *Order PCM/I030/2020*. It is striking that in March 2019 there was no significant spike in the popularity of the term when the Permanent Commission against Disinformation was announced. Perhaps the pandemic climate that marked the beginning of the new decade contributed to greater tension in the face of such initiatives. Subsequently, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine almost certainly triggered another upward trend in March 2022.

3.3. Analysis of the keyword “fake news”

In *Google Trends*, the search term “fake news” with the options “Worldwide”, “1/1/04 – 31/8/23”, “All categories” and “Web search” returns graph 4. If the regional filter is set to “United States” we get graph 5.



Graph 4



Graph 5

The focus on fake news clearly began in November 2016, coinciding with the US presidential election and since then, it has never fully faded away. The latter is probably helped by the fact that it is a widely used term, even by non-English speakers.

Graphs 4 and 5 show several high points. The first, in February 2017, was due to the strong inertia that this keyword had been carrying over since November 2016. That autumn month, *The New York Times* launched the editorial *Facebook and the Digital Virus Called Fake News*, claiming that “liars and con artists” had taken over the platform (The Editorial Board, 2016). This initial surge of interest in the term surely contributed to events such as on 11 January 2017, when President-elect Donald Trump told *CNN* reporter Jim Acosta, “You’re fake news” (CNN, 2017).

Analysis of headlines on *nytimes.com* from November 2016 and February 2017 (tables XV and XVI) shows that the newspaper approached this issue from several angles. Among others, its influence on politics and elections; the response of tech giants such as Facebook and Google; global repercussions; examining the “pizzagate” conspiracy theory; and picking up on then Donald Trump adviser Kellyanne Conway’s allusion to the “Bowling Green massacre”.

Piezas publicadas por <i>nytimes.com</i> con la palabra clave «fake news» en el titular (noviembre de 2016)				
Fecha de publicación	Fecha de actualización	Autor(es)	Titular	Enlace
06/11/2016		Jim Rutenberg	Media's Next Challenge: Overcoming the Threat of Fake News	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/07/business/media/medias-next-challenge-overcoming-the-threat-of-fake-news.html
08/11/2016		Katie Rogers y Jonah Engel Bromwich	The Hoaxes, Fake News and Misinformation We Saw on Election Day	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/08/us/politics/debunk-fake-news-election-day.html
14/11/2016		Nick Wingfield, Mike Isaac y Katie Benner	Google and Facebook Take Aim at Fake News Sites	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/15/technology/google-will-ban-websites-that-host-fake-news-from-using-its-ad-service.html
17/11/2016		Paul Mozur y Mark Scott	Fake News in U.S. Election? Elsewhere, That's Nothing New	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/18/technology/fake-news-on-facebook-in-foreign-elections-that-not-new.html
17/11/2016		Gardiner Harris y Melissa Eddy	Obama, With Angela Merkel in Berlin, Assails Spread of Fake News	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/18/world/europe/obama-angela-merkel-donald-trump.html
18/11/2016		John Herman	Fixation on Fake News Overshadows Waning Trust in Real Reporting	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/19/business/media/exposing-fake-news-eroding-trust-in-real-reporting.html
19/11/2016		Mike Isaac	Facebook Considering Ways to Combat Fake News, Mark Zuckerberg Says	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/20/business/media/facebook-considering-ways-to-combat-fake-news-mark-zuckerberg-says.html
19/11/2016		The Editorial Board	Facebook and the Digital Virus Called Fake News	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/20/opinion/sunday/facebook-and-the-digital-virus-called-fake-news.html
20/11/2016		Sapna Maheshwari	How Fake News Goes Viral: A Case Study	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/20/business/media/how-fake-news-spreads.html
21/11/2016		Cecilia Kang	Fake News Onslaught Targets Pizzeria as Nest of Child-Trafficking	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/21/technology/fact-check-this-pizzeria-is-not-a-child-trafficking-site.html
22/11/2016		The Opinion Pages - Room for Debate	How to Stop the Spread of Fake News	https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2016/11/22/how-to-stop-the-spread-of-fake-news
22/11/2016	22/11/2016	Annemarie Dooling	Algorithms Could Help Social Media Users Spot Fake News	https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2016/11/22/how-to-stop-the-spread-of-fake-news/algorithms-could-help-social-media-users-spot-fake-news
22/11/2016		Pui-Wing Tam	Anti-Clinton Fake News Casts Pizzeria as Front for Crime	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/22/technology/anti-clinton-fake-news-casts-pizzeria-as-front-for-crime.html
23/11/2016		Liz Spayd	Condemning 'Fake News,' but Running Fake-News Ads	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/23/public-editor/condemning-fake-news-but-running-fake-news-ads.html
25/11/2016		Andrew Higgins, Mike McIntire y Gabriel J.x. Dance	Inside a Fake News Sausage Factory: 'This Is All About Income'	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/25/world/europe/fake-news-donald-trump-hillary-clinton-georgia.html
28/11/2016		Michael P. Lynch	Fake News and the Internet Shell Game	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/28/opinion/fake-news-and-the-internet-shell-game.html

Table XV

Piezas publicadas por <i>nytimes.com</i> con la palabra clave «fake news» en el titular (febrero de 2017)				
Fecha de publicación	Autor(es)	Titular	Enlace	
01/02/2017	Joe Coscarelli	Bacon Shortage? Calm Down, It's Fake News.	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/01/business/bacon-shortage.html	
05/02/2017	Jim Rutenberg	The Massacre That Wasn't, and a Turning Point for 'Fake News'	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/05/business/the-massacre-that-wasn't-and-a-turning-point-for-fake-news.html	
15/02/2017	Liam Stack	20th Century Fox Used Fake News to Publicize 'A Cure for Wellness'	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/15/arts/fake-news-a-cure-for-wellness-movie.html	
16/02/2017	Andrew Higgins	Fake News, Fake Ukrainians: How a Group of Russians Tilted a Dutch Vote	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/16/world/europe/russia-ukraine-fake-news-dutch-vote.html	
16/02/2017	Sapna Maheshwari	20th Century Fox Gives Real Apology for a Fake News Campaign	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/16/business/20th-century-fox-fake-news-ad-campaign.html	
20/02/2017	Mark Scott y Melissa Eddy	Europe Combats a New Foe of Political Stability: Fake News	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/20/world/europe/europe-combats-a-new-foe-of-political-stability-fake-news.html	
22/02/2017	Neil MacFarquhar	With Big Red Stamp, Russia Singles Out What It Calls 'Fake News'	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/22/world/europe/russia-fake-news-media-foreign-ministry.html	
23/02/2017	Musa Okonjo	Fake News Meets German Racism	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/23/opinion/fake-news-meets-german-racism.html	
24/02/2017	Linda Qiu	Fact Check: Trump Blasts 'Fake News' and Repeats Inaccurate Claims at CPAC	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/24/us/politics/fact-check-trump-blasts-fake-news-and-repeats-inaccurate-claims-at-cpac.html	
26/02/2017	Andrew E. Kramer	To Battle Fake News, Ukrainian Show Features Nothing but Lies	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/26/world/europe/ukraine-key-fake-news.html	

Table XVI

Another peak, especially pronounced in the US, occurred in January 2018, perhaps linked to the “Highly-Anticipated 2017 Fake News Awards”, exposed on the Republican Party’s website (TEAM GOP, 2018). The next significant dates, mainly at global level, were September and October 2018, probably due to the Brazilian general elections on 7 and 28 October (first and second round).

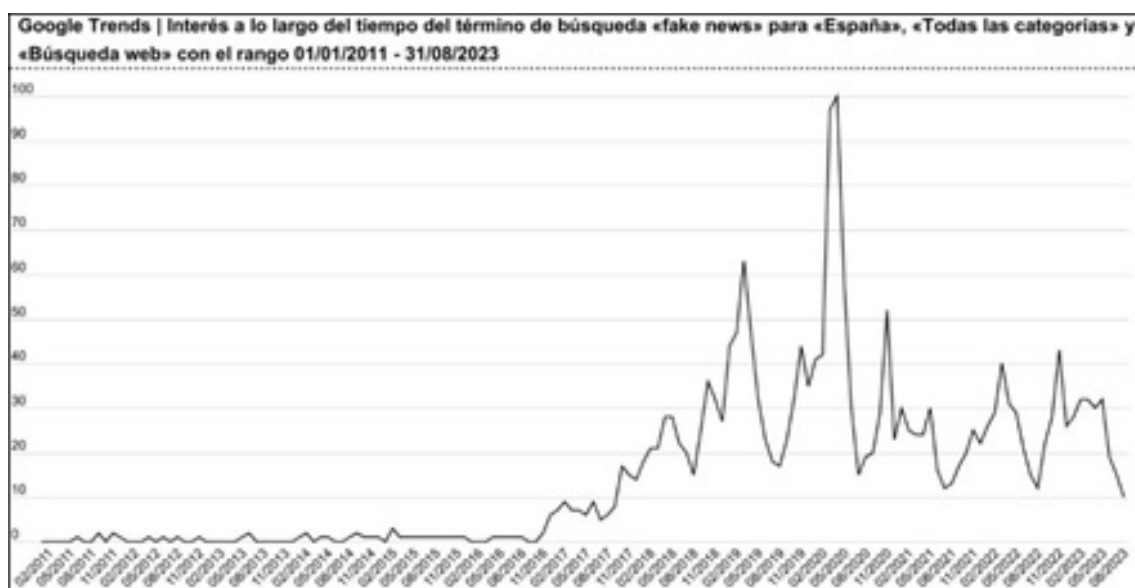
March 2020 also saw a surge in the popularity of “fake news”, especially globally, most likely as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. By March 2022, it is reasonable to think of a connection to the previously discussed Russian claims of biomilitary facilities in Ukraine, as well as the aftermath of the Russian invasion in general.

Globally, the October 2022 peak could be linked to events already cited, such as Alex Jones being sentenced to pay USD 965 million, the Turkish law on the dissemination

of “misleading information” and “false information”, and Elon Musk’s purchase of Twitter. The May 2023 summit is difficult to correlate with any specific event, although the *Disinformation, fake news and hate speech* conference organised by the European Commission’s Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs (DG HOME, 2023) may have played a role.

Finally, it is worth noting that the US recorded an increase in September and October 2020, perhaps related to the November presidential election, although interest was much lower than in 2016.

On the other hand, if the search term “fake news” is set in *Google Trends*, with the options “Spain”, “1/1/11 – 31/8/23”, “All categories” and “Web search”, graph 6 is generated.



Graph 6

Popularity also began in November 2016. There was a peak in October 2017, coinciding with the Catalan independence referendum (known as 1-O), which was suspended as a precautionary measure by the Constitutional Court on 7 September and declared unconstitutional on 17 October. The day after the vote, *english.elpais.com* published the article *There’s fake news in Catalonia too* (Alandete, 2017). A year later, *elmundo.es* published *El referéndum ilegal del 1-O también fue “fake news”* (*The illegal referendum of 1-O was also “fake news”*) (Landaluce, 2018).

The peak in March 2019 may have been due to the proximity of the general election on 28 April. Perhaps the announcement of the Permanent Commission against Disinformation had an influence, although this would be strange as it did not generate interest in the key word “disinformation”.

It seems certain that the peaks in March and April 2020 were the result of the pandemic and its aftermath, and it is possible that Messi’s press coverage of the “fake news” campaign was the reason for his popularity (table XVII). The high point in November 2020 probably had to do with *Order PCM/1030/2020*. A letter to PSOE

militants signed by Pedro Sánchez, the party's secretary general and president of the government, which used the terms “fake news” and “false news” (Sánchez Pérez-Castejón, 2020). It was commented by *elmundo.es* in *Epístola de Pedro a los militantes: el Gobierno, víctima como Trump de las “fake news”* (Pedro's epistle to militants: the Government, victim like Trump of “fake news”) (table XVIII).

Piezas publicadas por <i>elmundo.es</i> con la palabra clave «fake news» en el titular (1 de marzo de 2020 - 30 de abril de 2020)			
Fecha de publicación o actualización	Autor	Titular	Enlace
07/03/2020	Alberto Rojas	'Fake news' como lanzadera de refugiados hacia Europa	https://www.elmundo.es/internacional/2020/03/07/5e625d3f0ad9ff2188b45e9.html
16/03/2020	Immael Mannero	Peste negra y 'fake news': la lección que nunca aprendimos	https://www.elmundo.es/cultura/2020/03/16/5e6b76cc21efa07c058b4572.html
06/04/2020	UE STUDIO	Consejos para no caer en la trampa de las 'fake news'	https://www.elmundo.es/promociones/native/2020/04/06/
09/04/2020	EL MUNDO	Messi estalla contra las 'fake news': "Menos mal que nadie les cree"	https://www.elmundo.es/deportes/futbol/primeradivision/2020/04/09/5e8966621efa062568b464e.html
21/04/2020	Fernando Lázaro	Una orden interna de la Guardia Civil pidió recopilar bulos y 'fake news' "susceptibles" de generar "desafección" al Gobierno	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2020/04/20/5ef1142f6c83389b4599.html

Table XVII

Piezas publicadas por <i>elmundo.es</i> con la palabra clave «fake news» en el titular (noviembre de 2020)			
Fecha de publicación o actualización	Autor(es)	Titular	Enlace
06/11/2020	EL MUNDO - COPRODUCCIÓN	Mariaska destaca la transparencia del plan contra las 'fake news'	https://videos.elmundo.es/index.php/v/27cwtog1Y-mariaska-destaca-la-transparencia-del-plan-contra-las-fake-news
06/11/2020	EL MUNDO	Las declaraciones de Irene Montero sobre las fake news en 2018	https://videos.elmundo.es/v/93jyPIU-Z8-las-declaraciones-de-irene-montero-sobre-las-fake-news-en-2018
07/11/2020	REUTERS	Las 'fake news' en español inundan Internet durante las elecciones en EEUU	https://www.elmundo.es/elecciones/elecciones-estados-unidos/2020/11/07/5fa9971621efa054d8b457d.html
08/11/2020	Victor de la Serna	La realidad derrota al fin las 'fake news'	https://www.elmundo.es/elecciones/elecciones-estados-unidos/2020/11/08/5fa1acb9d0ff8228b4668.html
10/11/2020	EFE	Facebook cierra varias páginas vinculadas a Steve Bannon por propagar 'fake news' sobre las elecciones en EEUU	https://www.elmundo.es/elecciones/elecciones-estados-unidos/2020/11/10/5faa42471d9dfeb958b462d.html
19/11/2020	Rafa Latorre	Epístola de Pedro a los militantes: el Gobierno, víctima como Trump de las 'fake news'	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2020/11/19/5fb6a069d0ff7e578b4695.html

Table XVIII

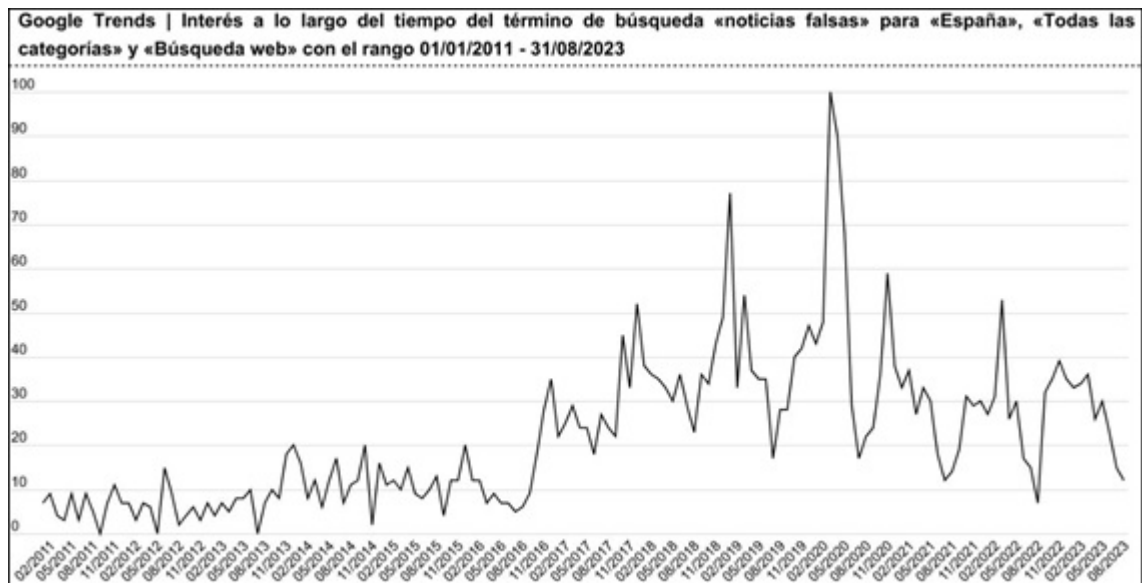
The rise in May 2023 could be attributed to the fact that the municipal and regional elections on the 28th prompted a search for this key word, fully integrated into Spanish politics, with statements such as *Feijóo acusa a Sánchez de generar “fake news” con sus palabras en una “deriva” más propia de “regímenes totalitarios”* (Feijóo accusing Sánchez of generating “fake news” with his words in a “drift” more typical of “totalitarian regimes”) (Europa Press, 2023).

Finally, in the field of security and intelligence, *EL MUNDO* has reported at least three noteworthy items: *El director del CNI [Félix Sanz Roldán]: “Estamos preparados para proteger las elecciones de ciberataques, pero no estamos a salvo de las fake news”* (CNI director: “We are prepared to protect elections from cyber-attacks, but we are not safe from fake news”) (Herraiz, 2019); *El CNI publica la primera guía contra las “fake news” para frenar la desinformación en el ciberespacio* (CNI publishes the first guide against “fake news” to curb disinformation in cyberspace) (Europa Press, 2019); and *La nueva directora del CNI [Paz Esteban] pide más medios para “modernizar” el espionaje ante las “fake news” y los ciberataques* (The new director of the CNI calls for more resources to “modernise” espionage in the face of “fake news” and cyber-attacks) (Lázaro, 2020a).

3.4. Analysis of the keyword “fake news”.

In *Google Trends*, the term “fake news” with the options “Spain”, “1/1/11 – 31/8/23”, “All categories” and “Web search” returns graph 7.

Interest started to increase in late 2016. The October 2017 peak may have been related to the referendum in Catalonia. While the one in December may have been



Graph 7

due to the fact that the Popular Parliamentary Group in Congress (2017) presented a non-legislative proposal before the plenary —rejected during its processing— “on the promotion of the necessary measures to guarantee the veracity of information circulating through services connected to the Internet and to avoid interference that could endanger institutional stability in Spain”.

It is difficult to associate the January 2019 peak with a particular event. However, the spikes in March and November 2020 were probably due to the pandemic, *Order PCM/1030/2020* and the previously mentioned letter to PSOE activists, as it contained the keyword “fake news”. The last major peak in March 2022 may have been driven by the Russia-Ukraine war and its aftermath.

For a broad and current perspective, table XIX lists *elmundo.es* headlines containing “fake news” since 2019.

Piezas publicadas por <i>elmundo.es</i> con la palabra clave «noticias falsas» en el titular (1 de enero de 2019 - 31 de julio de 2023)			
Fecha de publicación o actualización	Autor	Titular	Enlace
09/03/2019	Ángel Juanes Peces	Noticias falsas, ataque al corazón democrático	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2019/03/09/5c825aebfdd9e7208b46ba.html
12/04/2019	Melias G. Rebolledo	Cristina de Middel expone en la Tabacalera de Madrid sus 'verdaderas' noticias falsas	https://www.elmundo.es/cultura/2019/04/12/5caf7cd9f6c8329108b4700.html
12/04/2019	EFE	El Consejo de Europa alerta de la irrupción de 'noticias falsas' en las elecciones	https://www.elmundo.es/television/2019/04/12/5cb0ad2af6c83421e8b4613.html
15/04/2019	Javier Espinosa	Elecciones en Indonesia: hackers, papeletas marcadas y noticias falsas	https://www.elmundo.es/internacional/2019/04/15/5cb49655f6c83e97a8b462e.html
19/04/2019	Pablo Pardo	El otro incendio de Notre Dame: el de las noticias falsas que culpan a los musulmanes y hasta a Macron	https://www.elmundo.es/cultura/2019/04/19/5cbb3a3621efa005198b45a0.html
09/07/2019	Noelia Marín	Francisco Rosell alerta de que los gobiernos pueden ser "cómplices" de las noticias falsas	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2019/07/09/5d24969df6c83d50c8b4643.html
02/04/2020	Germán González	Investigan a un usuario de redes por generar odio sobre menores inmigrantes con noticias falsas	https://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2020/04/02/5e85da5c21efa0f5508b460f.html
30/01/2021	EL MUNDO	Podemos recrudece su ofensiva contra los periodistas con su web de noticias falsas	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2021/01/30/60145cea21efa045178b4641.html
08/04/2021	Luis Torras	Cómo las noticias falsas viralizan y dominan la economía	https://www.elmundo.es/economia/actualidad-economica/2021/04/08/606a8b96c838b288b4574.html
03/05/2021	EFE	Los periodistas reivindican la libertad de prensa y su papel frente a las noticias falsas	https://www.elmundo.es/television/medios/2021/05/03/608fc4c2f6c83cb686b4620.html
05/08/2021	EFE	El Supremo de Brasil investigará a Jair Bolsonaro por difundir noticias falsas y antidemocráticas	https://www.elmundo.es/internacional/2021/08/05/610b11aae44d8e108b45a6.html
20/12/2021	Germán González	La Fiscalía pide 2 años de prisión para usuario de redes por lanzar noticias falsas para generar mensajes de odio sobre menas	https://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2021/12/20/61c039e6e44d829668b4574.html
12/03/2022	Marilisa Palumbo	Así funciona la propaganda de Rusia: cómo crean y amplifican las noticias falsas	https://www.elmundo.es/internacional/2022/03/12/622c5de9e44d846388b45a0.html
16/09/2022	EFE	Una presentadora de la BBC, condenada a tres años de trabajos forzados en Birmania por "difusión de noticias falsas"	https://www.elmundo.es/television/2022/09/16/63242ba4fdd9e9248b45b8.html
01/02/2023	EFE	Rusia condena a ocho años de cárcel a un conocido periodista por difundir noticias "falsas" sobre "la campaña militar"	https://www.elmundo.es/internacional/2023/02/01/63da3c04a5dd999b48b4593.html
15/02/2023	Europa Press	Condenan a seis años de prisión a la periodista rusa Maria Ponomarenko por difundir "noticias falsas" sobre la guerra	https://www.elmundo.es/internacional/2023/02/15/63eccc9d35ddf74908b4578.html

Table XIX

3.5. Analysis of the keyword “post-truth”.

In *Google Trends*, the keyword “post-truth” with the options “Worldwide”, “1/1/04 – 31/8/23”, “All categories” and “Web search” returns graph 8, while the regional parameter set to “United States” yields graph 9.



Graph 8



Graph 9

The most prominent peak of interest was in November 2016 and since then there have been no significant increases. The spectacular heyday was probably related to the distinction that *Oxford Dictionaries* bestowed by choosing “post-truth” as word of the year. This choice was justified by its increased frequency of use, particularly in the context of the referendum on UK membership of the European Union (“Brexit”) and the US presidential election. The joint use of “post-truth politics” (Oxford Languages, 2016) was also noted.

Research using Google —“site:nytimes.com intitle:post-truth”—, DuckDuckDuckGo —“post-truth” site:nytimes.com— and Twitter’s advanced search indicates that *nytimes.com* has published few news pieces with “post-truth” in the headline, compared to “disinformation” and “fake news”. The 23 found and recorded are presented in table XX.

Piezas publicadas por nytimes.com con la palabra clave «post-truth» en el titular (todos los titulares hallados con Google —site:nytimes.com intitle:post-truth—, DuckDuckGo —«post-truth” site:nytimes.com— y la búsqueda avanzada de Twitter)			
Fecha de publicación	Autor(es)	Titular	Enlace
10/10/2004	Gary Hart	'When Presidents Lie': The Post-Truth Presidency	https://www.nytimes.com/2004/10/10/books/review/when-presidents-lie-the-posttruth-presidency.html
22/12/2011	Paul Krugman	The Post-Truth Campaign	https://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/23/opinion/krugman-the-post-truth-campaign.html
23/08/2016	Michael Barbaro (anfitrión), Charlie Sykes, Sarah Ellison y Jim Rutenberg (participantes)	The Post-Truth Media	https://www.nytimes.com/audio/2016/08/23/podcasts/23runup-media.html
24/08/2016	William Davies	The Age of Post-Truth Politics	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/24/opinion/campaign-stops-the-age-of-post-truth-politics.html
06/09/2016	THE LEARNING NETWORK	Summer Reading Contest Winner, Week 10 On 'The Age of Post-Truth Politics'	https://archive.nytimes.com/learning.blogs.nytimes.com/2016/09/06/summer-reading-contest-winner-week-10-on-the-age-of-post-truth-politics/
13/10/2016	Didi Kirsten Tatlow	'Kiss the Boss' Video Highlights Risks of a Post-Truth China	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/14/world/asia/china-kiss-the-boss-video.html
04/11/2016	Timothy Egan	The Post-Truth Presidency	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/04/opinion/campaign-stops-the-post-truth-presidency.html
15/11/2016	Jennifer Schuessler	'Post-Truth' Defeats 'Alt-Right' as Oxford's Word of the Year	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/16/arts/post-truth-defeats-alt-right-as-oxfords-word-of-the-year.html
26/12/2016	Michiko Kakutani	'How Propaganda Works' Is a Timely Reminder for a Post-Truth Age	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/26/books/how-propaganda-works-is-a-timely-reminder-for-a-post-truth-age.html
27/12/2016	Jonathan Mahler	The Problem With 'Self-Investigation' in a Post-Truth Era	https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/27/magazine/the-problem-with-self-investigation-in-a-post-truth-era.html
13/04/2017	Molly Worthen	The Evangelical Roots of Our Post-Truth Society	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/13/opinion/sunday/the-evangelical-roots-of-our-post-truth-society.html
21/06/2017	Finn Cohen	Noah Hawley on Season 3 of ' Fargo ' and a 'Post-Truth World'	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/21/arts/television/fargo-season-3-finale-noah-hawley-interview.html
15/01/2017	Adam Kirsch	Lie to Me: Fiction in the Post-Truth Era	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/15/books/lie-to-me-fiction-in-the-post-truth-era.html
19/01/2017	Katherine Schulten y Amanda Christy Brown	Evaluating Sources in a 'Post-Truth' World: Ideas for Teaching and Learning About Fake News	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/19/learning/lesson-plans/evaluating-sources-in-a-post-truth-world-ideas-for-teaching-and-learning-about-fake-news.html
21/03/2018	Anna Codrea-Rado	Wolfgang Tillmans Explores the Role of Art in a Post-Truth World	https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/21/arts/wolfgang-tillmans-fake-news.html
23/05/2018	Elizabeth Williamson	Truth in a Post-Truth Era: Sandy Hook Families Sue Alex Jones, Conspiracy Theorist	https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/23/us/politics/alex-jones-trump-sandy-hook.html
18/07/2018	Chris Hayes	Chris Hayes Reviews Michiko Kakutani's Book About Our Post-Truth Era	https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/18/books/review/michiko-kakutani-death-of-truth.html
14/09/2018	Bari Weiss	Julia Salazar, the Left's Post-Truth Politician	https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/14/opinion/julia-salazar-socialism-democrats.html
13/03/2018	Adam Popescu	Damien Hirst's Post-Venice, Post-Truth World	https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/13/arts/design/damien-hirst-gagosian-paintings-los-angeles.html
25/10/2018	Ava Kolman	Bruno Latour, the Post-Truth Philosopher, Mounts a Defense of Science	https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/25/magazine/bruno-latour-post-truth-philosopher-science.html
17/04/2019	Charles Homans	Alex Jones Under Oath Is an Antidote to a Post-Truth Age	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/17/magazine/watch-alex-jones-called-to-account-over-sandy-hook-under-oath.html
15/10/2019	Laura Chinchilla	Post-Truth Politics Afflicts the Global South, Too	https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/15/opinion/politics-global-south.html
24/06/2021	Paul Krugman	Economics in a Post-Truth Nation	https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/24/opinion/economy-truth-republicans.html

Table XX

The first came in the context of a review of Eric Alterman’s book *When Presidents Lie: A History of Official Deception and Its Consequences*. Hart (2004) specified that Alterman intended to demonstrate how “one Big Lie leads to the next and then, ultimately and inevitably, results in a “post-truth presidency.” The review was not to the liking of the book’s author, who sent a harsh letter to the publisher (Alterman, 2004).

In *The Post-Truth Campaign*, Krugman (2011) criticised Mitt Romney’s portrayal of then-President Obama “as the second coming of Fidel Castro”; and he “seems confident that he will pay no price for making stuff up”. He went on to state: “Welcome to post-truth politics”. It is interesting to note the use of “post-truth” together with “politics”, as this combination would catch the attention of *Oxford Dictionaries* five years later.

Finally, between 2016 and 2018, there was a significant increase in the number of contents titled with “post-truth”, which slowed down in the following years. The articles covered a variety of topics. For example, how French philosopher, anthropologist and sociologist Bruno Latour argued “What journalists, scientists and other experts fail to grasp is that “facts remain robust only when they are supported by a common culture, by institutions that can be trusted, by a more or less decent public life, by more or less reliable media”” (Kofman, 2018).

3.6. Analysis of the keyword “post-truth”

In *Google Trends*, the term “post-truth” with the options “Spain”, “1/1/11 – 31/8/23”, “All categories” and “Web search” generates graph 10.



Graph 10

Its popularity began in November 2016, as did “post-truth” around the world and the US. However, there are several particularities. Firstly, with regard to the May 2017 peak, it is possible that a TV3 documentary, *Veritats de mentida*, intended to shed light on “what is now called post-truth”, may have contributed (Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals, 2017b). It had an audience of 402,000 viewers (Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals, 2017a).

Piezas publicadas por elmundo.es con la palabra clave «posverdad» en el titular (todos los titulares hallados con Google —«site:elmundo.es intitle:posverdad»—, DuckDuckGo —«posverdad” site:elmundo.es»— y la búsqueda avanzada de Twitter) - Parte 1/2

Fecha de publicación o actualización	Autor(es)	Titular	Enlace
05/11/2016	Miquel Urmeneta	La política de la posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2016/11/05/581ccfa4e56dea4e048b462f.html
20/11/2016	Itaki Gil	La posverdad del fin de ETA y otros cuentos	https://www.elmundo.es/cronica/2016/11/20/58301c77e56dea9b788b4575.html
20/11/2016	José Antonio Marina	Zoom sobre la posverdad...	https://www.elmundo.es/cronica/2016/11/20/5825521e2704e86368b45c0.html
21/11/2016	Pedro G. Cuartango	La posverdad de Podemos	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2016/11/21/5831b29e2704e36068b45a2.html
23/11/2016	Luis Oz	Posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/television/2016/11/23/5835e198e2704e987c8b456c.html
11/12/2016	Jordi Sevilla	La 'posverdad' que nos comee	https://www.elmundo.es/economia/2016/12/11/584b0c38468aeb9d098b45e1.html
12/12/2016	Jaime G. Teceño	La posverdad verdadera	https://www.elmundo.es/madrid/2016/12/12/584c3c3446163895b5b4604.html
17/12/2016	Ricardo F. Colmenero	La posverdad 'pemea'	https://www.elmundo.es/baleares/2016/12/17/5854385ce5f6ea82558b466f.html
19/12/2016	Irene Lozano	Posverdad, la fuerza de la superstición	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2016/12/19/5856ce6122601d60a08b4632.html
02/01/2017	Victor de la Sema	Un año de 'posverdad' en el periodismo	https://www.elmundo.es/television/2017/01/02/586a5993e2704e10488b4617.html
04/01/2017	Gari Durán	Populismo y posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/baleares/2017/01/04/586e2b02468aeb238b466b.html
24/02/2017	Cristina Peri Rossi	En el reino de la posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2017/02/24/58af22a458aebf6e8b45a5.html
10/03/2017	Javier García Martínez	Ciencia en el tiempo de la posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2017/03/10/58c1944e2704e32048b456e.html
15/03/2017	Teresa López Pavón	Una 'posverdad' como un templo	https://www.elmundo.es/andalucia/2017/03/15/58c8f9d2e2704e23068b4583.html
05/04/2017	Raúl del Pozo	Posverdad: bolas y bulos	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2017/04/05/58e3e187288e3e9c5c8b4697.html
30/04/2017	Juan Soto Ivars	De la posverdad a la poscensura: obsesionados con no ofender	https://www.elmundo.es/papel/historias/2017/04/30/5901ea48268e3e2c078b45c3.html
05/05/2017	EL MUNDO, EUROPA PRESS y SERVIDIA	Patxi López dice sentirse "víctima de la posverdad" tras la oferta de Pedro Sánchez de unirse a su candidatura	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2017/05/05/590cb2b4e2704e82b8b45e0.html
05/05/2017	EL MUNDO.ES	Patxi López dice sentirse "víctima de la posverdad" tras la oferta de Pedro Sánchez de unirse a su candidatura	https://videos.elmundo.es/vi0_z0o0q3iv-patxi-lopez-dice-sentirse-victima-de-la-posverdad-tras-la-oferta-de-pedro-sanchez-de-unirse-a-su-candidatura
17/05/2017	Rosa Villacastin	Antonio Banderas, atacado por el virus de la posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/blogs/elmundo/extrarosa/2017/05/17/antonio-banderas-atacado-por-el-virus-de.html
18/05/2017	Luis María Anson	La posverdad de Sánchez	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2017/05/18/591c7eba268e3a2a2e8b45e5.html
20/05/2017	Teodoro León Gross	El 'Caso Banderas' y la posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2017/05/20/591f3843ca474173088b4594.html
29/06/2017	EFE	El término 'posverdad' entrará este año en el diccionario de la RAE	https://www.elmundo.es/cultura/literatura/2017/06/29/59553e59268e3e06068b4696.html
03/07/2017	Raúl del Pozo	'Posverdad' al poder	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2017/07/03/59594ca6ca4741807c8b45ce.html
17/09/2017	Rafael Latore	Cataluña se instala en la posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2017/09/17/59bd5b91e58dea5f368b45e2.html
05/11/2017	Héctor Fernández	La 'posverdad' y la mentira	https://www.elmundo.es/comunidad-valenciana/alicante/2017/11/05/596e0515e58dea5608b46a3.html
15/11/2017	Oiga R. Sanmartín	Qatar y Turquía se presentan a sí mismos como víctimas de las noticias falsas y de la posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/internacional/2017/11/15/5a0c3de34616327218b4601.html
15/11/2017	Luis Oz	Tres luces en la era de la 'posverdad'	https://www.elmundo.es/television/2017/11/15/5a0c9c59468aeb2e358b45d9.html
07/12/2017	Impresiones	Un paladín de la posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2017/12/07/5a2841d5e2704e4d748b460a.html
08/12/2017	Rafa Latore	Diario de la posverdad: Ferrov en Bruselas	https://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2017/12/08/5a29ab2946163958b456b.html
09/12/2017	Rafa Latore	Diario de la posverdad: Melancolía	https://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2017/12/09/5a2ac05aca474119628b45a1.html
10/12/2017	Rafa Latore	Diario de la posverdad: El Govern legítim	https://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2017/12/10/5a2a4450468aeb31328b45f4.html
11/12/2017	Rafa Latore	Diario de la posverdad: "Yo, preso político"	https://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2017/12/11/5a2b792e268e3e6f268b45e2.html
12/12/2017	Rafa Latore	Diario de la posverdad: El 'win win' de Sijena	https://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2017/12/12/5a2be2ccca474123358b45d9.html
13/12/2017	Rafa Latore	Diario de la posverdad: La trama en una 'Moleskine'	https://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2017/12/13/5a3029a0268e3e9458b4630.html
14/12/2017	Rafa Latore	Diario de la posverdad: Ganar en las urnas y perder todo lo demás	https://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2017/12/14/5a31800246163fc0298b4631.html

Table XXI

The increase from September to December 2017 may have been due to the referendum in Catalonia and the socio-political climate at the time, with headlines such as *Cataluña se instala en la posverdad* (*Catalonia settles into post-truth*), from *EL MUNDO* (Latorre, 2017). In addition, one should consider the inclusion of the word in the *Diccionario de la lengua española* in December 2017, as announced in June (Real Academia Española, 2017a) and November (Real Academia Española, 2017b).

The last major peak, in February 2018, was influenced by the programme *Chester*, presented by Risto Mejide, which focused on post-truth, with the intervention of Eduardo Inda and Mila Ximénez (Cuatro, 2018). It had an audience of 1,552,000 viewers (FormulaTV, 2018).

As for the *elmundo.es* headlines that contain “post-truth”, the first thing that stands out when looking at tables XXI and XXII is that the Spanish daily has used this word more times than *nytimes.com*, its English equivalent, especially between 2016 and 2019. Catalonia had a prominent place: in 2017, journalist Rafa Latorre signed a series of articles where he offered his analysis and personal perspective in a socio-politically “delicate” moment.

Piezas publicadas por <i>elmundo.es</i> con la palabra clave «posverdad» en el titular (todos los titulares hallados con Google —«site:elmundo.es intitle:posverdad»—, DuckDuckGo —«“posverdad” site:elmundo.es»— y la búsqueda avanzada de Twitter) - Parte 2/2			
Fecha de publicación o actualización	Autor(es)	Titular	Enlace
15/12/2017	Rafa Latorre	Diario de la posverdad: No maten a los sociólogos	https://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2017/12/15/5a32c39646163f58248b4508.html
16/12/2017	Rafa Latorre	Diario de la posverdad: Pobre de mí	https://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2017/12/16/5a3427fca474186d8b4505.html
17/12/2017	Rafa Latorre	Diario de la posverdad: El más brillante socialista catalán	https://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2017/12/17/5a35661e2260166b438b4644.html
18/12/2017	Rafa Latorre	Diario de la posverdad: La caída de la ciudad patriótica	https://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2017/12/18/5a369f022601683208b4589.html
19/12/2017	Rafa Latorre	Diario de la posverdad: El juerqueísmo es amor	https://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2017/12/19/5a3824b468aeb3c5588b4501.html
20/12/2017	Rafa Latorre	Diario de la posverdad: Un número uno para la CUP	https://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2017/12/20/5a3974e04616394e158b45a2.html
21/12/2017	Rafa Latorre	Diario de la posverdad: El último día del bienio suicida	https://www.elmundo.es/cataluna/2017/12/21/5a3abb99468aeb5f028b4697.html
10/02/2018	Rafael Bachiller	Posverdad, relativismo y ciencia	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2018/02/10/5a7d0f71268e3e567a8b4638.html
23/02/2018	Carlos Elias	Prensa en la era de la posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2018/02/23/5a8ef125468aeb28658b4644.html
22/04/2018	Editorial	La posverdad del ‘proceso’ sigue sin ser contestada por Rajoy	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2018/04/22/5adb782e4616394e688b456e.html
04/05/2018	Ana Rosa Sanfeliu	Posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/comunidad-valenciana/castellon/2018/05/04/5aec16dca2704e2c0d9b45ea.html
09/06/2018	Lucía Méndez	De qué hablamos cuando hablamos de posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/papel/historias/2018/06/09/5b1a645a268e3e74c66b45ec.html
13/06/2018	EL MUNDO	La ciencia contra la posverdad y el populismo	https://www.elmundo.es/ciencia-y-salud/ciencia/2018/06/13/5b214780e5f0ea1e4e8b4691.html
26/06/2018	Santiago González	Comunicación y posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/blog/elmundo/elblogdesantiagogonzalez/2018/06/26/comunicacion-y-posverdad.html
19/09/2018	Raúl Conde	La posverdad de Aznar	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2018/09/19/5ba12ec4468aeb495a8b4508.html
19/09/2018	Javier Macho	Mentiras, ‘fake news’ y posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/comunidad-valenciana/alicante/2018/09/19/5ba1342346163f7a888b463b.html
16/10/2018	Arcadi Espada	Mentira y (pos)verdad	https://www.elmundo.es/blog/elmundo/elmundopordentro/2018/10/16/mentira-y-posverdad.html
03/11/2018	Lucía Méndez	Contra nuestra posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2018/11/03/5bdca963468aeb41588b458.html
03/12/2018	John Müller	El Parlamento y la posverdad de la crisis de las cajas	https://www.elmundo.es/economia/macroeconomia/2018/12/03/5c04099965d3f10028b454d.html
02/01/2019	Editorial	Posverdad secesionista	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2019/01/02/5c2bbb821efa0b7a8b4673.html
20/02/2019	Victor de la Serna	Elecciones en tiempos de la posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/papel/fmas/2019/02/20/5cb6c26f06dd8f534e8b4638.html
03/05/2019	Lucía Méndez	‘Posverdad’ y elecciones	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2019/05/03/5ccc7e3c0c83b11e8b4599.html
08/06/2019	Carlos Fresneda	La novela 1984 cumple 70 años en plena era de la posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/cultura/literatura/2019/06/08/5cfa0a721efa018438b458d.html
03/09/2019	M.M.P.	Un curso sobre patrimonio histórico fija su definición y propone huir de la posverdad que rodea sus límites	https://www.elmundo.es/andalucia/2019/09/03/5d9e85470c618172a6b45c3.html
30/10/2019	Raúl del Pozo	Cotorras de la posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2019/10/30/5db9c998fc6c8397308b4634.html
14/12/2019	Lucía Méndez	Los filósofos y la posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/columnistas/2019/12/14/5d3e820fdd8b818b46e5.html
29/12/2019	David Sanz Ezquerro	Cuando la posverdad lo invadió todo	https://www.elmundo.es/papel/futuro/2019/12/29/5e048f445d96b450b4500.html
27/06/2020	Itaki Elkakuria	El Español, frente al abismo: historia de una rebelión contra la posverdad y la asfixia culé	https://www.elmundo.es/deportes/futbol/primera-division/2020/06/27/5ef788c421efa015378b456f.html
28/10/2021	Ignacio García de Leñiz Caprile	Bienvenida a la posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2021/10/28/6179260b6dd94b338b4503.html
31/10/2021	Francisco Pascual	La posverdad de la reforma laboral	https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2021/10/31/617d95866f6c83e9458b460a.html
16/11/2021	Roberto Ruiz Ballesteros	La posverdad de Villarejo	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2021/11/16/619232b21efa00a318b4577.html
23/04/2022	Carlos Fresneda	Guerra y posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/2022/04/23/62627e48f0c83762db458f.html
05/09/2022	Raúl del Pozo	Alertado: odio y posverdad	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/columnistas/2022/09/05/6314a99221efa064a8b4508.html
23/10/2022	Editorial	De la cultura de la cancelación a la posverdad académica	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/editorial/2022/10/23/635437121efa0ff4c8b45a3.html
05/04/2023	Clara Gª Sillero, Isabella Carril, Tobias Browne y Miguel Triviño	Tecnología, instituciones, planes estratégicos y castigo a las fake news: estas son las herramientas de la UE contra la posverdad y la desinformación	https://www.elmundo.es/television/medios/2023/04/05/642b4c8321efa0e408b45ba.html
25/06/2023	Manuel Arias Maldonado	De la posverdad a la posmentira	https://www.elmundo.es/opinion/columnistas/2023/06/25/6496a4adfc6c8340038b4577.html

Table XXII

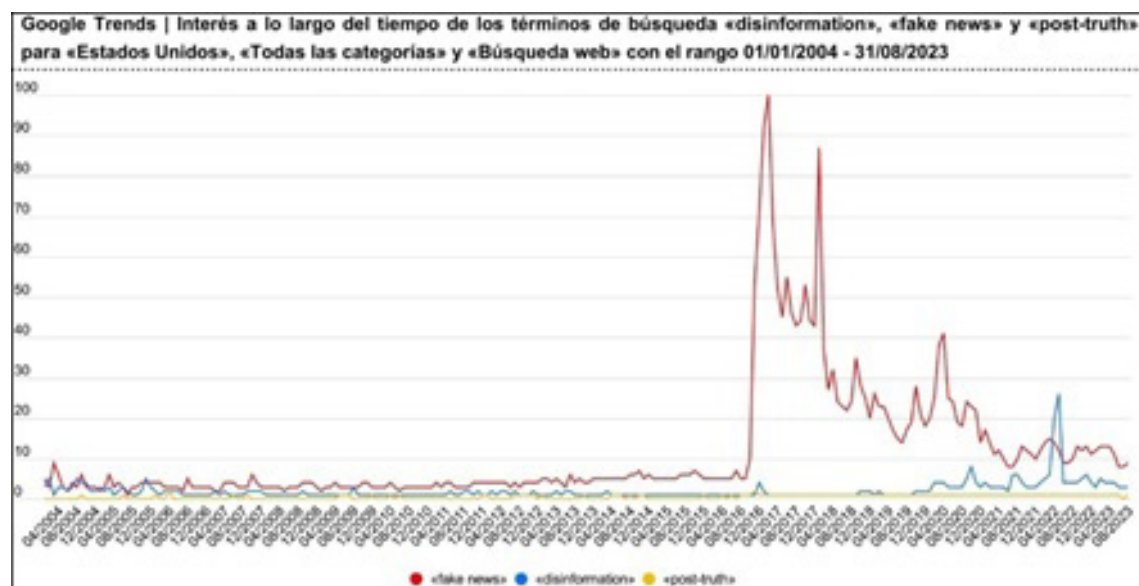
3.7. Comparative analysis of the keywords “disinformation”, “fake news”, “post-truth”, “desinformación”, “noticias falsas” and “posverdad”

To close this first part, a comparative examination, always with the data from *Google Trends*, to find out which is the most popular term worldwide, in the US and Spain.

Among other reasons, this is important because the digital media are likely to take this into account, and it would not be unusual for high interest in a term to lead to a headline with that term. Thus, if it is more common to search for “fake news” instead of “noticias falsas” in Spain, newspapers might be inclined to use the English option due to search engine positioning issues. In turn, this linguistic preference could influence the terminology used by society.

3.7.1. Comparative analysis of the keywords “disinformation”, “fake news” and “post-truth” worldwide

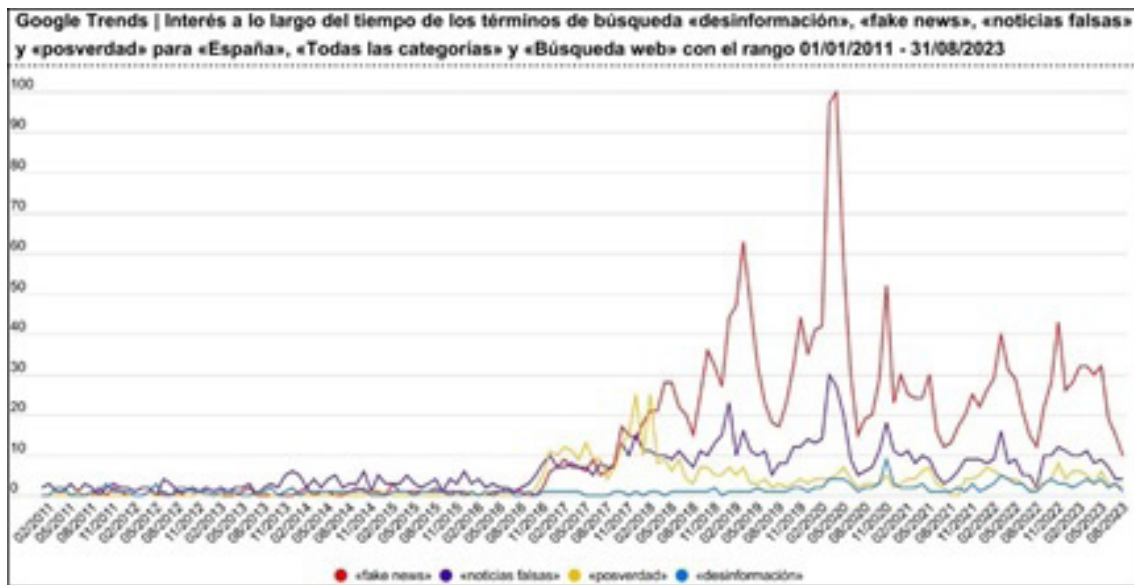
The options “Worldwide”, “1/1/04 – 31/8/23”, “All categories” and “Web search” give rise to graph 11. The enormous popularity of “fake news” is clearly evident. It is interesting to note the peak of “disinformation” in May 2022, coinciding with the *Disinformation Governance Board*.



Graph 12

3.7.2. Comparative analysis of the keywords “disinformation”, “fake news” and “post-truth” in the United States. US

The options “United States”, “1/1/04 – 31/8/23”, “All categories” and “Web search” return graph 12. Again, “fake news” is the main keyword, with the exception of the May 2022 peak, when “disinformation” took the lead.



Graph 13

3.7.3. Comparative analysis of the keywords “desinformación”, “fake news”, “noticias falsas” and “posverdad” in Spain

The options “Spain”, “1/1/11 – 31/8/23”, “All categories” and “Web search” generate graph 13, showing some particularities.

First, while “fake news” has been of considerable interest, in 2017 and 2018 “post-truth” was particularly strong. In this respect, we must not forget that *elmundo.es* has published more content with this term than *nytimes.com* with its equivalent “post-truth”.

Second, between 2016 and 2017, “fake news” and “noticias falsas” generated almost equal interest, but in the end the English alternative prevailed.

Third, in terms of “desinformación”, the only relevant peak was in November 2020, most likely because of the *Order PCM/1030/2020*.

3.8. Conclusions from the trend analysis with a journalistic approach

We can establish that:

1. “fake news” is, in general, the keyword that has generated the most interest around the world, the USA and Spain, according to *Google Trends*. However, in areas such as EUR-Lex there is a preference for “disinformation”.
2. The US presidential election in November 2016 was pivotal in the rise in concern about “fake news”, “noticias falsas”, “post-truth”, “posverdad” and, to a lesser extent, “disinformation”. The atmosphere of mistrust, with allegations of external interference, and Donald Trump’s use of the term “fake news” generated strong interest.

3. Other events catalysing the popularity of the terms include the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as government initiatives aimed at combating misinformation: the *Disinformation Governance Board* in the US, which was eventually cancelled, and *Order PCM/I030/2020* in Spain.
4. Additionally, the headlines of *nytimes.com* and *elmundo.es* highlight three aspects: the role of Russia and China, concerns about the advance of artificial intelligence, and the responsibility of the big tech companies. Of course, they have also commented on relevant political events, such as the situation in Catalonia during 2017 or the “Fake News Awards”, promoted by Trump in January 2018.

4. Selection of academic journals on security with *SCImago Journal Rank* and analysis using the keywords “disinformation”, “fake news” and “post-truth”

First of all, an objective and informed choice of such journals is required. For this purpose, the *SCImago Journal Rank* is used. This indicator expresses “the average number of weighted citations received in the selected year” —2022 for this study—

Revistas académicas sobre «Social Sciences» y «Safety Research» seleccionadas (SCImago Journal Rank 2022)						
Revista	Indicador SCImago Journal Rank	Cuartil	Editor	Cobertura	Última edición al cierre de este estudio	Número de artículos de investigación con «disinformation», «fake news» o «post-truth» en el título, «abstract» o «keywords»
Journal of Peace Research	2.444	Q1	Sage Journals	1964-2023	Volumen 60, número 5 (septiembre de 2023)	2
Surveillance & Society	0.930	Q1	Surveillance Studies Network	2002-2023	Volumen 21, número 2 (julio de 2023)	0
Journal of Global Security Studies	0.928	Q1	Oxford Academic	2016-2023	Volumen 8, número 3 (septiembre de 2023)	2
European Journal of International Security	0.897	Q1	Cambridge Core	2016-2023	Volumen 8, número 3 (agosto de 2023)	2
Journal of Homeland Security and Emergency Management	0.814	Q1	De Gruyter	2004-2023	Volumen 20, número 2 (mayo de 2023)	1
Journal of Cybersecurity	0.812	Q1	Oxford Academic	2015-2023	Volumen 9, número 1 (2023)	1
Frontiers in Political Science	0.578	Q2	Frontiers	2019-2023	Volumen 5 (2023)	4
Asian Security	0.572	Q2	Routledge	2005-2023	Volumen 19, número 1 (2023)	0
Digital Threats: Research and Practice	0.543	Q2	Association for Computing Machinery (ACM)	2020-2023	Volumen 4, número 2 (junio de 2023)	4
Armed Forces and Society	0.526	Q2	Sage Journals	1974-2023	Volumen 49, número 4 (octubre de 2023)	1
Global Governance	0.448	Q2	Brill	1995-2023	Volumen 29, número 2 (junio de 2023)	0
Perspectives on Terrorism	0.443	Q2	International Centre for Counter-Terrorism	2007-2023	Volumen 17, número 2 (junio de 2023)	1
Terrorism and Political Violence	0.438	Q2	Routledge	1989-2023	Volumen 35, número 7 (2023)	0

Table XXIII

Revistas académicas sobre «Social Sciences» y «Safety Research» descartadas (SCImago Journal Rank 2022)			
Revista	Indicador SCImago Journal Rank	Cuartil	Motivo del descarte
Analytic Methods in Accident Research	5.170	Q1	Focalizada en accidentes
Global Food Security	2.173	Q1	Focalizada en las necesidades alimentarias y nutricionales humanas
Crime Science	1.755	Q1	Enfoque demasiado amplio: desde criminología ambiental a economía, ingeniería, geografía, salud pública, psicología y planificación urbana
Safety Science	1.429	Q1	Enfoque demasiado amplio: aborda desde científicos sociales a ingenieros
Progress in Disaster Science	1.194	Q1	Focalizada en catástrofes y desastres
International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction	1.132	Q1	Focalizada en catástrofes y desastres
Journal of Transport and Health	1.050	Q1	Focalizada en transporte y salud
International Journal of Disaster Risk Science	1.015	Q1	Focalizada en catástrofes y desastres
Safety and Health at Work	0.877	Q1	Focalizada en salud y seguridad en el trabajo
IATSS Research	0.854	Q1	Focalizada en transporte
Health security	0.840	Q1	Focalizada en salud
Fire	0.779	Q1	Focalizada en incendios
NanoImpact	0.768	Q1	Focalizada en nanoseguridad, microplásticos y nanoplasticos
Traffic Injury Prevention	0.741	Q1	Focalizada en accidentes de tráfico
Journal of Applied Volcanology	0.731	Q1	Focalizada en vulcanismo
Journal of Transportation Safety and Security	0.717	Q1	Focalizada en transporte
Journal of Safety Science and Resilience	0.665	Q1	Focalizada en catástrofes naturales, peligros medioambientales y de origen humano
Therapeutics and Clinical Risk Management	0.652	Q1	Focalizada en terapéutica clínica
Journal of Occupational Medicine and Toxicology	0.620	Q1	Focalizada en salud
International Journal of Injury Control and Safety Promotion	0.578	Q2	Focalizada en lesiones
ASCE-ASME Journal of Risk and Uncertainty in Engineering Systems, Part B: Mechanical Engineering	0.548	Q2	Focalizada en ingeniería mecánica
European Journal of Risk Regulation	0.547	Q2	Focalizada en la regulación de los riesgos sobre salud, seguridad y medio ambiente en ámbitos políticos
Food Analytical Methods	0.546	Q2	Focalizada en alimentos
International Journal of Occupational Safety and Ergonomics	0.513	Q2	Focalizada en ergonomía y salud laboral
WIMU Journal of Maritime Affairs	0.506	Q2	Focalizada en académicos, investigadores y profesionales de la industria marítima
Perfusion	0.475	Q2	Focalizada en salud
Journal of Disaster Risk Studies: Jambá	0.472	Q2	Focalizada en catástrofes y desastres

Table XXIV

“by documents published in the selected journal in the three previous years” (Scimago Journal & Country Rank, 2023).

Under “Journal Rankings”, “Social Sciences” is chosen as the “subject area” and “Safety Research” as the “subject category”. Thirteen journals are then chosen, which is a balance between comprehensiveness and practicality. To this end, it is crucial to define the interpretative framework of the word “security”. In this study, “security” is understood in its traditional sense, focusing on geopolitical or technological issues. Specific interpretations of the term not in line with the research objective are omitted. “Safety Research” journals dealing with topics such as accidents or food safety are therefore excluded.

Table XXIII compiles the selected journals. The last column reveals the approach to be followed: to analyse research articles that include the words “disinformation”, “fake news” or “post-truth” in the title, abstract or keywords, which are decisive locations in a paper. Table XXIV lists the excluded journals.

Método de búsqueda de las palabras clave «disinformation», «fake news» y «post-truth» en los artículos de investigación de las revistas académicas seleccionadas			
Revista	Método de búsqueda de artículos	¿El buscador permite filtrar por título, «abstract» y «keywords»?	Enlace al buscador o web desde donde se pueden descargar las revistas/artículos para el análisis manual
Journal of Peace Research	Buscador de Sage Journals	Si	https://journals.sagepub.com/search/advanced
Surveillance & Society	Manual. Descarga de «Articles» y «Regular Articles» de cada número de la revista y posterior análisis con la búsqueda avanzada de Adobe Acrobat	-	https://ojs.library.queensu.ca/index.php/surveillance-and-society/
Journal of Global Security Studies	Buscador de Oxford Academic	Si	https://academic.oup.com/jogs/advanced-search
European Journal of International Security	Buscador de Cambridge Core	No	https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/european-journal-of-international-security
Journal of Homeland Security and Emergency Management	Buscador de De Gruyter	No	https://www.degruyter.com/journalkey/jhem.html
Journal of Cybersecurity	Buscador de Oxford Academic	Si	https://academic.oup.com/cybersecurity/advanced-search
Frontiers in Political Science	Buscador de Frontiers	No	https://www.frontiersin.org/journals/political-science/articles
Asian Security	Buscador de Taylor & Francis Online	Si	https://www.tandfonline.com/action/doiSearch?AllField=&SeriesKey=las20
Digital Threats: Research and Practice	Buscador de ACM Digital Library	Si	https://dl.acm.org/search/advanced?SeriesKey=trsp&target=advanced&editQuery=true&litQuickSearch=false
Armed Forces and Society	Buscador de Sage Journals	Si	https://journals.sagepub.com/search/advanced
Global Governance	Buscador de Brill	A medias (incluye por «Title» y «Alternative Title»)	https://brill.com/view/journals/gg/gg-overview.xml
Perspectives on Terrorism	Manual. Descarga de las revistas (Perspectives on Terrorism) y posterior análisis con la búsqueda avanzada de Adobe Acrobat	-	https://pt.icot.nl/
Terrorism and Political Violence	Buscador de Taylor & Francis Online	Si	https://www.tandfonline.com/action/doiSearch?AllField=&SeriesKey=tpv20

Table XXV

There are then two main ways to search for the designated keywords in the research articles of each journal: using a search engine or manually. Table XXV shows how this has been done in each case.

Firstly, the absence of the term “post-truth” is notable, but not surprising. Table I showed no preference for this term in EUR-Lex; table XX showed that *nytimes.com* has a moderate number of articles with this headline; and, as shown in graphs 11 and 12, it does not stand out in popularity either globally or in the US.

It is also remarkable how, after the first article in 2013, with “disinformation” in the abstract, it was not until 2018 that another publication with “fake news” appeared in the same place. Since then, these two terms have been used regularly.

The first academic security journal to appear according to the search criteria described above is *Perspectives on Terrorism*. Dharmawardhane (2013) explores the efforts needed to move forward in post-conflict Sri Lanka, including proper communication to address the problem of disinformation. It addresses how the “Tamil Tigers” accused the Sri Lankan government of “discrimination and ethnic genocide” (p. 32).

Despite the end of the confrontation, Dharmawardhane warns of a powerful external network through which the “Tamil Tigers” produce systematic disinformation campaigns (p. 30). It therefore advises Sri Lankan diplomacy to become more involved

Palabras clave «disinformation» y «fake news» en los artículos de investigación de las revistas académicas sobre seguridad seleccionadas							
Fecha de publicación del artículo de investigación	Revista	Volumen y número de la revista o identificador del artículo	Fecha de la revista	Autor(es) del artículo de investigación	Título del artículo de investigación	Palabra(s) clave (ubicación)	Enlace
12/2013	Perspectives on Terrorism	Volumen 7, número 6	12/2013	Iromi Dharmawardhane	Sri Lanka's Post-Conflict Strategy: Restorative Justice for Rebels and Rebuilding of Conflict-affected Communities	«Disinformation» (+abstract)	https://pt.ict.nl/article/sri-lankas-post-conflict-strategy-restorative-justice-rebels-and-rebuilding-conflict-affected
02/08/2018	European Journal of International Security	Volumen 4, número 1	02/2018	Nicholas Michelsen y Thomas Colley	The field of Strategic Communications: Professionals, a new research agenda for International Security	«Fake news» (+abstract)	https://doi.org/10.1017/eis.2018.9
22/04/2019	European Journal of International Security	Volumen 4, número 2	06/2019	Alexander Lanoszka	Disinformation in international politics	«Disinformation» (título, +abstract, +keywords), «fake news» (+keywords)	https://doi.org/10.1017/eis.2019.6
03/01/2020	Journal of Peace Research	Volumen 57, número 1	01/2020	Hannah Smidt	Mitigating election violence locally: UN peacekeepers' election-education campaigns in Côte d'Ivoire	«Disinformation» (+abstract)	https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343319884993
11/06/2020	Digital Threats: Research and Practice	Volumen 1, número 2	06/2020	Xinyi Zhou, Alishay Jain, Vir V. Phoha y Reza Zafarani	Fake News Early Detection: A Theory-driven Model	«Fake news» (título, +abstract, +keywords), «disinformation» (+abstract, +keywords)	https://doi.org/10.1145/3377478
15/04/2021	Digital Threats: Research and Practice	Volumen 2, número 2	06/2021	Rohit Valecha, Srikrishna Krishnarao Srinivasan, Tejpal Vohry, K. Hazel Kwon, Manish Agrawal y H. Raghav Rao	Fake News Sharing: An Investigation of Threat and Coping: Cases in the Context of the Zika Virus	«Fake news» (título, +abstract, +keywords)	https://doi.org/10.1145/34610025
28/04/2021	Digital Threats: Research and Practice	Volumen 2, número 2	06/2021	Pratim Milton Datta, Mark Whitmore y Joseph K. Nwankpa	A Perfect Storm: Social Media News, Psychological Biases, and AI	«Fake news» (+abstract, +keywords)	https://doi.org/10.1145/3428157
21/07/2021	Frontiers in Political Science	Volumen 3, 685295 (identificador del artículo)	2021	Dolores Palau-Sampio	Pseudo-Media Sites, Polarization, and Pandemic Skepticism in Spain	«Disinformation» (+abstract)	https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2021.685295
07/02/2022	Digital Threats: Research and Practice	Volumen 3, número 3	09/2022	Shehzeen Hussain, Paarth Neekhar, Brian Dolhansky, Joanna Bilton, Cristian Carlton Ferrer, Julian McAuley y Farinaz Koushanfar	Exposing Vulnerabilities of Deepfake Detection Systems with Robust Attacks	«Disinformation» (+abstract), «fake news» (+keywords)	https://doi.org/10.1145/3464307
25/03/2022	Frontiers in Political Science	Volumen 4, 848763 (identificador del artículo)	2022	Viktor Suter, Morteza Shahrezaie y Miriam Meckel	COVID-19 Induced Misinformation on YouTube: An Analysis of User Commentary	«Fake news» (+keywords)	https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2022.848763
28/04/2022	Frontiers in Political Science	Volumen 4, 858093 (identificador del artículo)	2022	Zining Wang y Jing Xu	An Empirical Research on How to Tackle Infodemic in China: Stakeholders and Algorithms	«Disinformation» (+abstract)	https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2022.858093
29/04/2022	Journal of Global Security Studies	Volumen 7, número 2	06/2022	Tobias Lemke y Michael W. Häbegger	Foreign Interference and Social Media Networks: A Relational Approach to Studying Contemporary Russian Disinformation	«Disinformation» (título, +abstract, +keywords)	https://doi.org/10.1093/jogss/ogac004
22/06/2022	Frontiers in Political Science	Volumen 4, 885362 (identificador del artículo)	2022	Rhys Leahy, Nicholas Johnson Restrepo, Richard Sear y Neil F. Johnson	Connectivity Between Russian Information Sources and Extremist Communities Across Social Media Platforms	«Disinformation» (+abstract)	https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2022.885362
19/07/2022	Journal of Global Security Studies	Volumen 7, número 4	12/2022	Tzu-Chieh Hung y Tzu-Wei Hung	How China's Cognitive Warfare Works: A Frontline Perspective of Taiwan's Anti-Disinformation Wars	«Anti-Disinformation» (Título)	https://doi.org/10.1093/jogss/ogac016
10/11/2022	Journal of Peace Research	Volumen 60, número 5	09/2023	Diego A Martín, Jacob N Shapiro y Julia G Ithart	Introducing the Online Political Influence Efforts dataset	«Disinformation» (+abstract, +keywords)	https://doi.org/10.1177/00223433221092815
18/04/2023	Armed Forces & Society	OnlineFirst	OnlineFirst	Andreas Ventset, Sten Hansson, Merril Rockberg y Man-Lis Madisson	Building Resilience Against Hostile Information Influence Activities: How a New Media Literacy Learning Platform Was Developed for the Estonian Defense Forces	«Disinformation» (+abstract, +keywords), «fake news» (+keywords)	https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X231163285
22/05/2023	Journal of Homeland Security and Emergency Management	Online	Online	Brian J. Murphy	In Defense of Disinformation	«Disinformation» (título, +abstract, +keywords)	https://doi.org/10.1515/jsem-2022-0045
24/08/2023	Journal of Cybersecurity	Volumen 9, número 1	2023	Ugochukwu Etudo, Christopher Whyte, Victoria Yoon y Niam Yaraghi	From Russia with fear: fear appeals and the patterns of cyber-enabled influence operations	«Disinformation» (+abstract), «fake news» (+keywords)	https://doi.org/10.1093/cybercty/ady016

Table XXVI

in the use of information and communication technologies to counter the mass dissemination of separatist ideology (p. 46).

Another interesting fact is that, despite their extensive coverage over time, the *Journal of Peace Research* (1964-2023) and *Armed Forces and Society* (1974-2023) did not feature research articles with the terms “disinformation” or “fake news” in their titles, abstracts or keywords until the 2020s. This does not necessarily imply that they did not address this phenomenon beforehand. However, it is striking that these specific words were not used in strategic places until so recently.

From there, Smidt (2020), in the *Journal of Peace Research*, examines the relationship between UN peacekeeping operations (PKOs) and civilians. Specifically, how voter education through these PKOs “reduces violent protests and riots” (p. 199). She argues that while holding credible elections can be a springboard to democratic governance in war-affected countries, they carry a risk of disinformation, i.e. the spread of “false information, rumours and hate speech”, which can legitimise violence (p. 199).

When PKOs are “perceived to be an impartial arbiter, its election-education events have violence-mitigating effects at the individual and subnational levels” (p. 199). Among other benefits, these “election-education events help people resist disinformation campaigns and, consequently, reduce election violence in the forms of violent protests and riots” (p. 200).

Martin, D. A., Shapiro, J. N. & Ilhardt, J. G. (2023), also in the *Journal of Peace Research*, present a dataset on the covert use of social networks to influence policy. This set is based on more than 1,000 media reports and 500 research articles/reports. Its main objective is to analyse how propaganda is promoted, controversial views are defended and disinformation is spread through social networks (p. 1). The most relevant findings include that of the 78 foreign influence efforts identified, 64% were carried out by Russia (p. 2).

Connected to this, Ventsel *et al.* (2023), in *Armed Forces & Society* argue that the “uses of disinformation in international influence activities, such as those propagated by the Russian Federation as a part of its hybrid warfare against its neighbors and NATO allies, pose major challenges to Western democracies” (p. 2). They propose that “military personnel’s motivation to defend their country may be harmed by their exposure to disinformation”. They therefore present a methodological approach as “specific education and training programs should be devised for the military”, building “resilience against information influence activities” (p. 1).

Of course, Russia has attracted disinformation researchers; and to a lesser extent China. Six more articles dealing with these issues are cited below:

1. Lanoszka (2019) examines “the Russian campaign that has targeted the Baltic states since at least the 2014 annexation of Crimea”. Available evidence “strongly suggests that the strategic effects of disinformation are exaggerated”.
2. Lemke & Habegger (2022) investigate how states manipulate social media to spread disinformation, mimicking cultural characteristics to camouflage their intentions and gain followers. They focus on the Twitter activity of two Kremlin-linked media outlets: *RT* and *Sputnik*.
3. Leahy *et al.* (2022) address how Russian information sources feed extremist online communities.
4. Hung & Hung (2022) delve into China’s “cognitive war” over Taiwan. To connect academia with the press, Table IV contains a news item from *nytimes.com*, dated 6 January 2020, entitled: *Awash in Disinformation Before Vote, Taiwan Points Finger at China*.
5. Murphy (2023) argues that disinformation is a politicised and misunderstood term in security disciplines. However, this is not to say that it is not a “demonstrated element of national power”, while states such as Russia “wielded the concept as an effective weapon to undermine and weaken rivals”.

He therefore proposes a framework, based on three criteria, to help identify misinformation and thereby strengthen the term “for security professionals”.

6. Etudo *et al.* (2023) analyse different “influence operations”: political warfare, information warfare, hybrid warfare, disinformation campaigns or election hacking campaigns (p. 3). They describe how they “rely on domestic events tied to a broad macrosocial division (e.g. an act of race violence or protest activity)” (p. 1). The study draws on the “Russian Federation’s coordinated trolling campaign against the USA between 2015 and 2016”. The article notes that, “while strong associations exist between Russian ad emissions on Facebook and societal unrest in the period, those relationships are not statistically causal” (p. 1).

Regarding the COVID-19 pandemic, there are three articles to mention, published in *Frontiers in Political Science*. In the first, Palau-Sampio (2021) examines five “Spanish pseudo-media” that mimic the appearance of the media, “but provide pseudo-information”.

In the second, Suter, Shahrezaye & Meckel (2022) scrutinise the “theoretical linkages between polarization and misinformation”. They then measure “flow of misinformation about COVID-19 in the comment sections of four popular YouTube channels” —*CNN*, *The Epoch Times*, the World Health Organization and *Fox News*— “for over 16 months using big data sources and methods”.

In the third, Wang & Xu (2022) discuss how in China “various algorithms have been applied to new media platforms to help combat COVID-19”, particularly regarding disinformation (p. 1). The study “proposes a theoretical model called Block, Push, and Intervene”, which “calls for the timely blocking of misinformation and disinformation, precisely delivering authentic information to people affected by the infodemic and intervening in some potential issues in advance” (p. 1).

In the context of another virus, Valecha *et al.* (2021) investigate what conditions lead to a preference for fake news and its transmission. To do so, they conducted a content analysis of tweets about the Zika health crisis (p. 2). Among other findings, they mention that tweets with a threatening tone are more likely to be shared as fake news, due to the anxiety provoked (p. 13).

With regard to technology, these three articles stand out:

1. Zhou *et al.* (2020) propose a “theory-driven model for fake news detection”. For this purpose, it considers “news content at various levels: lexicon-level, syntax-level, semantic-level, and discourse-level” (p. 1). This detection is carried out in a “supervised machine learning framework” (p. 1). In addition, researchers explore possible patterns of fake news and study the relationships between fake news, deception/disinformation and clickbaits (p. 1).
2. Datta, Whitmore & Nwankpa (2021) explore how artificial intelligence and social networks amplify psychological biases, leading to the spread of fake news

(p. 2). To address this problem, they recommend a more equitable and fairer dissemination of journalistic information, with AI designs that do not focus solely on prediction (p. 18). In other words, the dissemination of content on social networks should not depend so much on what the user is deemed to prefer.

3. Hussain *et al.* (2022) investigate fake or manipulated videos. They say that although methods of detecting deepfakes have been developed, such as the use of deep neural networks to distinguish fake AI-generated videos from real videos, these systems are vulnerable. They can be circumvented by “adversarial perturbations”, which cause fake videos to be classified as real (p. 1).

Finally, Michelsen & Colley (2019) state that the “threats arising from shifts in the global media space are encapsulated by contemporary buzzwords like post-truth, fake news and hybrid warfare” (p. 1).

They argue that these changes in communication practices have two significant implications for international security. The first is that “states are often inferior to state challengers in harnessing the contemporary communication environment” (p. 1). The second is that “liberal democracies are especially at risk of subversion by opponents using democratically-enshrined freedoms of expression to propagate disinformation, as shown by concerns about Russian hybrid warfare or the impact of fake news on electoral processes” (p. 2).

From this starting point, the study focuses on “strategic communication”, “a mode of thought and practice promising to enhance state communication; encompassing long-established activities including public diplomacy, public relations, nation branding and information operations” (p. 1)².

4.1. Selection of the Revista del Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos and analysis using the keywords “desinformación”, “disinformation”, “noticias falsas”, “fake news”, “posverdad” and “post-truth”

The thirteen academic journals selected based on the *SCImago Journal Rank* provide a broad picture of “safety research” in relation to disinformation and related terms. However, they do have certain limits. One of them is the domination of English, which obviates possible valuable contributions in other languages.

To balance and complement, the *Revista del Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos* (*Revista del IEEE*), published in Spanish and English, is incorporated. It presents a security-focused approach and, in addition, highlights its association with the IEEE,

² *Revista del Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos*, in its issue 2, dealt with “strategic communication” in relation to the war in Afghanistan; specifically, in the article *La comunicación estratégica (StratCom) en los conflictos modernos: el caso de Afganistán* (Rodríguez, 2013).

which is renowned for its dedication to security in its many dimensions. The Institute has a wide repertoire of publications; however, only the journal has been chosen in order to be consistent with the methodology followed so far. Future research could examine other types of work, such as the *Strategy Papers* or the various documents.

The result of the analysis is interesting as it exposes the limits of the established search criteria and helps to incorporate a new keyword for further work. Indeed, after using Adobe Acrobat’s advanced search of IEEE journals from issue 0 (2012) to issue 20 (2022), no article was found that contained at least one of the keywords designated in the title, abstract or keywords section. However, the publication *Manipulación cognitiva en el siglo XXI*, by Luis Astorga González, from issue 16 (2020), is particularly noteworthy. The reason for this is the high presence of keywords (table XXVII).

Palabras clave analizadas en el artículo *Manipulación cognitiva en el siglo XXI*, de Luis Astorga González, publicado en la Revista del IEEE - Número 16

Revista	Fecha de la revista	Autor del artículo	Título del artículo	Palabras clave detectadas, incluyendo referencias bibliográficas y enlaces (veces que aparecen en el artículo)	Palabras clave detectadas, sin incluir referencias bibliográficas ni enlaces (veces que aparecen en el artículo)	¿Las palabras clave aparecen en el título, «abstract» o «keywords»?	Enlace
Revista del IEEE - Número 16	12/2020	Luis Astorga González	Manipulación cognitiva en el siglo XXI	«Desinformación» (13), «fake news» (6), «post-truth» (4)	«Desinformación» (9), «fake news» (2)	No	https://revista.ieee.es/article/view/2208/4210
Revista del IEEE - Número 16	12/2020	Luis Astorga González	Cognitive manipulation in the 21st century	«Disinformation» (9), «fake news» (6), «desinformación» (4), «post-truth» (2)	«Disinformation» (8), «fake news» (2)	No	https://revista.ieee.es/article/view/2208/4211

Table XXVII

Although none of them are located in the places indicated, it is advisable to review the keywords that Astorga González (2020) chose for his article. They are as follows: “comunicación” (“communication”), “manipulación” (“manipulation”), “conducta” (“behaviour”), “redes sociales” (“social networks”), “Al Qaeda”, “IS” and “Gramsci”. Probably the closest approximation to this study is “manipulation”. Consequently, future research could include the term to gain a broader perspective. That said, the publication:

“Explores the effects that can be generated in modern societies by cognitive manipulation using advanced tools, the media (including the Internet and social networks) and theories of social behaviour and cognitive perception. It also describes how al-Qaeda and the Islamic state have used these techniques as part of their overall strategies” (Astorga González, 2020, p. 15).

Other analyses could consider alternative strategies, such as assessing not only the presence of keywords in the above-mentioned sections, but also their frequency in the body of the text. If a term appears significantly, it could indicate the centrality of that concept, even if it is not present in the three initial highlighted sections —title, abstract and keywords—.

4.2. *Conclusions from the analysis of academic journals on security and overall assessment*

The following conclusions can be drawn from this analysis (for more information on the articles, see table XXVI):

1. Russia and its relation to disinformation campaigns or hybrid warfare have attracted a great deal of academic attention. Of the 18 research articles analysed, at least seven (39%) deal extensively with Russia, either because it is the primary subject of study or because it features prominently. Specifically, they are: *Disinformation in international politics*; *Foreign Interference and Social Media Networks: A Relational Approach to Studying Contemporary Russian Disinformation*; *Connectivity Between Russian Information Sources and Extremist Communities Across Social Media Platforms*; *Introducing the Online Political Influence Efforts dataset*; *Building Resilience Against Hostile Information Influence Activities: How a New Media Literacy Learning Platform Was Developed for the Estonian Defense Forces*; *In Defense of Disinformation*; y *From Russia with fear: fear appeals and the patterns of cyber-enabled influence operations*.
2. On China and its “cognitive warfare” over Taiwan, see the article *How China’s Cognitive Warfare Works: A Frontline Perspective of Taiwan’s Anti-Disinformation Wars*.
3. From a technological perspective, addressing the role of social networks and artificial intelligence, it is worth mentioning *Fake News Early Detection: A Theory-driven Model*; *Fake News Sharing: An Investigation of Threat and Coping Cues in the Context of the Zika Virus*; *A Perfect Storm: Social Media News, Psychological Biases, and AI*; and *Exposing Vulnerabilities of Deepfake Detection Systems with Robust Attacks*.
4. The journal *Frontiers in Political Science* published three articles related to the COVID-19 pandemic and disinformation: *Pseudo-Media Sites, Polarization, and Pandemic Skepticism in Spain*; *COVID-19 Induced Misinformation on YouTube: An Analysis of User Commentary*; and *An Empirical Research on How to Tackle Infodemic in China: Stakeholders and Algorithms*.
5. The remaining articles deal with post-conflict disinformation —*Sri Lanka’s Post-Conflict Strategy: Restorative Justice for Rebels and Rebuilding of Conflict-affected Communities*—; “strategic communications” —*The field of Strategic Communications Professionals: a new research agenda for International Security*—; and how election education through peacekeeping operations can help mitigate misinformation and thus potential outbreaks of violence —*Mitigating election violence locally: UN peacekeepers’ election-education campaigns in Côte d’Ivoire*—.
6. The *Revista del IEEE* analysis emphasises the importance of considering other keywords, and even using different search strategies.

That said, academia is credited with aligning with several of the journalistic interests identified by compiling headlines from *nytimes.com* and *elmundo.es*. Recall that Russia appears in many of these headlines, which also mention China. The role of social media and artificial intelligence, as well as disinformation in the context of COVID-19, has also been discussed on multiple occasions in the press.

However, academic articles on Sri Lanka and the “Tamil Tigers”, “strategic communication” and peacekeeping operations as a way of dealing with disinformation have not been echoed in the reviewed press. In this respect, academia appropriately offers a more theoretical and less topical content, based on a scientific methodology with an exhaustive and rigorous review process, which leads to in-depth and objective analyses. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that academic research is constantly evolving, i.e. subject to revisions, extensions and corrections.

Furthermore, the search criteria set and applied to the journals did not detect any articles on the *Disinformation Governance Board*. This is surprising given that it was possibly the cause of a major spike in interest in “disinformation”, both worldwide and in the US, during April and May 2022. It also triggered a cascade of draft legislation (table VIII).

No article referring to *Order PCM/I030/2020* has been detected either, although it probably generated a large increase in the popularity of the word “disinformation” during November 2020 in Spain. These absences are striking, as the US DGB and the “structure” for the “fight against disinformation” in Spain were created from a security-focused position.

In short, academic-journalistic-general interests (the latter measured with *Google Trends*) sometimes coincide. This is the case of concerns about disinformation and COVID-19, which led to both journalistic and academic articles. The same goes for Russia and its role in disinformation campaigns. However, in other instances this link has not been found, and the lack of academic articles on the DGB and *Order PCM/I030/2020* is particularly notable.

Throughout this paper recommendations have been put forward for future research looking to follow a similar direction to the one addressed here. Some of these suggestions include broadening the keyword spectrum, including more journals, consulting academic databases such as ScienceDirect, or exploring alternative search strategies.

Moreover, as there is an emerging academic interrelationship between disinformation and artificial intelligence, interdisciplinary collaboration is essential. Of course, it is important that experts on disinformation, fake news and post-truth keep up to date by regularly reviewing academic literature combining security and technology.

As an ambitious proposal, we suggest the creation of a database of newspaper headlines from around the world based on the keywords used in this analysis. This tool would allow research to be carried out with a significantly larger volume of data, enabling filtering by country, region or language. When and why the press in certain geographical areas increase the frequency of use of these terms in their headlines could thus easily be discerned.

This resource would enhance the development of qualitative research allowing, for example, analysis of what context the media use the word “disinformation”: referring to military conflicts? social media? electoral processes? Indeed, cross-cultural comparisons

could be made and it would be possible to understand how disinformation varies across cultures, political systems and media.

In short, these proposals would enrich the academic field at the theoretical level and provide practical clarity on disinformation, allowing for the development of strategies against it. Targeted digital literacy programmes could be developed, protecting democratic integrity and helping to maintain trust in institutions, among other initiatives.

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