

Information overload in the context of COVID-19 pandemic: A repeated cross-sectional study

Martin Breyton, Émilien Schultz, A. Smith, Alexandra Rouquette, J. Mancini

▶ To cite this version:

Martin Breyton, Émilien Schultz, A. Smith, Alexandra Rouquette, J. Mancini. Information overload in the context of COVID-19 pandemic: A repeated cross-sectional study. Patient Education and Counseling, 2023, 110, 10.1016/j.pec.2023.107672. hal-04122801

HAL Id: hal-04122801

https://hal.science/hal-04122801

Submitted on 22 Sep 2023

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

- 1 Information overload in the context of COVID-19 pandemic: a
- 2 repeated cross-sectional study.

- 4 Martin Breyton^{1,2}, Émilien Schultz^{1,3}, Allan Ben Smith^{4,5}, Alexandra Rouquette^{6,7}, Julien
- 5 Mancini^{1,8}

6

- 7 1 Aix Marseille Univ, INSERM, IRD, ISSPAM, SESSTIM, Cancer, Biomedicine & Society group,
- 8 Equipe Labellisée Ligue 2019, Marseille, France
- 9 2 AP-HM, Marseille, France
- 10 3 CEPED (UMR 196), Université de Paris, IRD, 75006 Paris, France
- 4 Centre for Oncology Education and Research Translation (CONCERT), Ingham Institute for
- 12 Applied Medical Research & South Western Sydney Clinical School, University of New South
- 13 Wales, Liverpool, NSW, Australia
- 14 5 Psycho-Oncology Co-operative Research Group (PoCoG), School of Psychology, University
- 15 of Sydney, Australia
- 16 6 Public Health and Epidemiology Department, AP-HP Paris-Saclay, Le Kremlin-Bicêtre,
- 17 France
- 18 7 Université Paris-Saclay, UVSQ, CESP, INSERM U1018, Villejuif, France
- 19 8 AP-HM, BIOSTIC, Hop Timone, Marseille, France

20

- 21 Corresponding author at:
- 22 Julien Mancini
- 23 UMR1252 SESSTIM (Aix-Marseille Univ)
- 24 Institut Paoli-Calmettes
- 25 232 Bd Ste Marguerite, BP 156
- 26 13273 Marseille Cedex 9, FRANCE
- 27 E-mail: julien.mancini@univ-amu.fr
- 28 Telephone: +33 4 91 22 35 02
- 29 Facsimile: +33 4 91 22 35 04

Abstract 31 32 Objectives: To assess the psychometric properties of the Coronavirus Information Overload scale (CovIO) and explore relationships between CovIO, its predictors and several health 33 34 behaviours related to the COVID-19 pandemic, using Cancer Information Overload (CIO) 35 scale results as a reference for comparison. 36 Methods: 2,003 participants representative of the French adult population answered a self-37 administered questionnaire over two waves of polling (N_{1(June 2020)}=1,003, N_{2(January} 38 ₂₀₂₁₎=1,000). Respondents were randomized to fill CovIO or CIO scale. Psychometric 39 properties of scales were evaluated with Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA). Predictors were 40 assessed using multivariate linear regression. **Results:** CovIO scale showed satisfactory psychometric properties (α =0.86, ω =0.86, 41 42 RMSEA=0.050) without any measurement invariance issue. CovIO increased between waves 43 of sampling and was significantly linked to education, health literacy and trust in institutions 44 among other variables. A negative relationship between information overload and 45 preventive behaviours was also observed. 46 Conclusion: The CovIO scale is a valid tool for assessing COVID-19 information overload. The 47 dynamical formation of information overload and links with theorised predictors, especially, 48 health literacy are confirmed. 49 Practice implications: Longitudinal designs could help better understand the potential 50 detrimental effect of information overload and improving public health campaigns. 51 Interventions to reduce the degree of overload are needed. 52 53 **Keywords**: Cancer information overload; Coronavirus information overload; Health literacy;

Health behaviour; Validation studies; Psychometrics

54

56 **Highlights:**

- The CovIO scale is a valid tool to assess information overload relating to COVID-19
- CovIO is linked to socioeconomic predictors but also related to trust in various media
 and health professionals
- CovIO translates into negative health behaviours just like CIO does
- There is a clear increase in CovIO across the time of the pandemic

1 Introduction

62

63

64

65

66

67

68

69

70

71

72

73

74

75

76

77

78

79

80

81

82

83

84

85

86

87

88

89

90

91

92

The COVID-19 pandemic hit the world at a global scale, with unprecedented media coverage. With it came a continuous flow of rapidly changing information: daily numbers of cases and deaths, updates about progression of the outbreak worldwide, promotion of countermeasures, barrier gestures, vaccines, lockdowns, etc. Citizens were asked to follow health recommendations, some of them enforced by law, that rapidly changed and for some of them were disputed in public space: as in France for lockdown or health pass[1]. Recent research has investigated the impact of information overload on various chronic disease (e.g. cancer, atrial fibrillation)[2–4]. The COVID-19 pandemic offers an unmatched opportunity to study information overload in the context of an acute disease with a high information environment[5]. In this specific context, the huge amount of information available, the high level of uncertainty regarding its validity, and the frequent spread of misinformation[6] might lead to a very high level of information overload. Previous studies of COVID-19 information[7–9] have not validated a scale to capture COVID-19 information overload (CovIO) and studied its predictors in the same population sample. Existing attempts lacked representativeness or adequate methodological rigour, such as a control group. Furthermore, despite a growing body of evidence on health information overload on different topics, there are still discrepancies concerning key covariates, namely health literacy and education in various studies[4]. Our previous work on Cancer Information Overload (CIO)[10], demonstrated the possibility of valid assessment with a 5-item scale and found an association with poorer health related behaviours. We hypothesise that a similar pattern may occur for CovIO, even if little is known about information overload in the context of such a pandemic. In particular, CovIO might evolve rapidly as the epidemiological and informational context changes. A valid tool to measure CoVIO and identify associated health behaviours is needed to better assess and manage the impact of CoVIO in research and practice. The main objectives of our study were: to validate the psychometric properties of the CovIO scale, to study its predictors, and to explore the relationships between CovIO and several health behaviours over the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic in the general public. The same analyses were performed in parallel with the CIO for comparison.

93 94 95 2 Methods 96 97 2.1 Samples 98 We used data from large national repeated cross-sectional surveys conducted by IPSOS[11] 99 in the French general adult population[12,13]. Data was collected in two waves, the first 100 between May 27th and June 5th, 2020 (two weeks after the end of the first lockdown), and the second between January 8th and January 18th 2021 (where a curfew was set at 6PM). 101 102 Participants were selected from an online nationally representative research panel of 103 households of the French general population, and quota sampling was used to match French 104 official census statistics for gender, age, size of the population in the area of residence, and 105 region. At each time of data collection, participants were randomly assigned to receive the 106 CIO scale (CIO group) or its adaptation to capture COVID-19 Information Overload (CovIO 107 group). The study was approved by the Ethics Evaluation Committee of the French national 108 biomedical research Institute (CEEI, IRB 00003888). 109 110 111 2.2 Measures 112 2.2.1 The Information Overload scales 113 The CIO group completed the French version of the 5-item CIO scale (CIO group)[10], while 114 the CovIO group completed an equivalent scale adapted to the context of the pandemic: the 115 Coronavirus Information Overload (CovIO) scale. This adaptation consisted of replacing occurrences of the word "cancer" in the CIO scale with "coronavirus (COVID-19)". For 116 117 example, the first item of the CIO scale: "There are so many different recommendations 118 about cancer, it's hard to know which ones to follow", became "There are so many different 119 recommendations about the coronavirus (COVID-19), it's hard to know which one to follow" 120 (Table 1). The adaptation used both 'coronavirus' and 'COVID-19' terms due to the 121 polysemic use of those designations of the disease, and that SARS CoV2 was seldom 122 used[14]. A 4-point Likert scale (strongly disagree = 1, disagree = 2, agree = 3, strongly agree

= 4) was used for each item and items were summed to produce a total score for each scale ranging from 5 to 20, with higher scores indicating greater information overload.

2.2.2 Other measures

The questionnaire comprised questions regarding: socio-demographics (age, gender, education, rural or urban living area), chronic comorbidities, the occurrence of COVID-19 within the participant's household and level of preoccupation regarding the COVID-19 pandemic and its consequences. Health literacy was assessed using the French version of the HLS₁₉-Q12 questionnaire[15]. A score was computed by summing all twelve 4-point items giving a range between 12 and 48, higher score indicating higher health literacy. Health information seeking behaviour was assessed with a question about general health information seeking in any source (books, magazines, internet, social media...). Trust in institutions was measured with four questions regarding journalists, politicians, scientists, and physicians. Finally, we inquired about several health-related behaviours linked to cancer or COVID-19 prevention. For cancer prevention we asked for: the number of days per week of tobacco use, alcohol consumption, physical exercise (more than 30 minutes), and healthy diet. For COVID-19 we asked for the number of unsafe contacts, i.e. the number of social interactions without respecting barrier gestures (excluding people within the household) during the past week ("None, Only one, Two or three, Between Four and Eight, More than Eight).

2.3 Statistical analyses

Continuous and categorical variables were described using means (±standard deviation) and counts (percentages) respectively. Univariate analyses were performed and significance was measured using chi-square tests, Student t tests or ANOVAs for categorical and continuous variables respectively. Tests were two-sided and the p-values were considered significant when less than 0.05. All the following analyses were conducted for both scales, CovIO and CIO, using R.3.5.2 and RStudio.

153 2.3.1 Score and item responses description 154 Floor or ceiling effects at the scale level were considered to be present if more than 15% of 155 respondents achieved the lowest or highest possible score, respectively[16]. At the item 156 level, these effects were considered to be present if more than 95% endorsed if the lowest 157 or highest response category[17]. 158 159 2.3.2 Internal consistency and structural validity 160 Items were considered redundant if the polychoric inter-item correlation > 0.7 and irrelevant 161 if < 0.2[16]. Reliability was assessed using ordinal Cronbach's alpha (α)[18] and McDonald's Omega (ω)[19], and considered satisfactory if $\geq 0.7[20]$. 162 163 Structural validity was tested using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) with the robust 164 weighted least squares (WLSMV) estimator and Delta parameterization[21,22]. The initial 165 factor structure explored was the unidimensional structure (as determined by Jensen and 166 colleagues for the CIO scale) and modification indices were then examined, if necessary, to 167 allow correlation between items until fit indices were satisfactory[2]. The following fit 168 indices were used: the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (indicating a good fit if 169 RMSEA <0.05, poor fit if ≥0.10, acceptable elsewhere, the Comparative Fit Index and the 170 Tucker-Lewis index (CFI and TLI, indicating a good fit if >0.95, poor fit if <0.90, acceptable 171 elsewhere[23]). 172 173 2.3.3 Measurement invariance 174 After assessing structural validity, measurement invariance was explored using multiple-175 group CFA and nested model comparisons. It was consecutively studied over the following 176 variables: age (<50 and ≥50 years), gender, education level (more than high school or not), 177 and the presence or absence of a *chronic condition*. We used the classic three-step sequence 178 investigating configural, metric and scalar invariance consecutively by fitting and testing 179 three different nested models with increasing constraints[21,24]. To explore gender 180 invariance for example, the same model was initially hypothesized for both groups and the 181 following sequence of nested model tests was constructed: 1) configural invariance: 182 unconstrained factor loadings and item thresholds; 2) metric invariance: factor loadings

constrained to be equal across gender groups and unconstrained item thresholds; 3) scalar

invariance: factor loadings and item thresholds constrained to be equal across gender

183

groups. Each level of invariance was considered to be met if the fit indices difference between two nested models (unconstrained – constrained) was equal or less than 0.01 for Δ CFI and equal or higher than –0.015 for Δ RMSEA[25,26]. When a level of invariance was not met, non-invariant items were identified by reviewing modification indices (essentially the χ^2 value) in order to release equality constraints concerning these items until partial invariance was met.

2.3.4 CIO and CovIO predictors

Candidate variables to be screened as CIO and CovIO predictors were: polling wave, gender, age, education, living area, chronic disease, personal-history of COVID-19, history of COVID-19 within the household, preoccupation with COVID-19, health information seeking behaviour, health literacy, trust in journalists, politics, physicians, and scientists. CovIO and CIO predictors were identified across the two waves using linear regression models stratified with respect to the random assignment to the CovIO (N=1,003) or CIO group (N=1,000). The Akaike Information Criteria[27] and stepwise (forward and backward) methods were used for model selection[28]. Interaction terms between all candidate variables and the *wave* variable were tested using a global F-test comparing models with and without interaction terms. Stepwise regression was then initiated on the model with all candidate variables and, if the global F-test for interaction was significant, all the interaction terms.

2.3.5 CIO, CovIO and Health behaviours

Lastly, relationships between CIO, CovIO and various health related behaviours were investigated by comparing mean levels of overload across several variables. We hypothesized that overload would be systematically associated with detrimental behaviours (e.g. higher levels of CIO would be linked to tobacco use or alcohol consumption, and higher levels of CovIO were expected to be related to higher number of social interactions without barrier gestures in the past week)[10,29]. Every hypothesis was either tested with an ANOVA or Pearson's correlation and considered significant when the p-value was below 0.05.

218 3.1 Samples 219 1,003 participants responded during the first wave of polling and 1,000 during the second. In 220 line with French census statistics, there was an almost equal distribution between men 221 (50.8%) and women (49.2%) in the 2,003 participants who responded to the surveys. The 222 mean age was 46.5 (±15.6) years old. The population was mostly urban (78.9%) and 223 educated with 1,209 participants (60.4%) with a degree higher than high school graduation. 224 Almost half the participants (44.9%) reported at least one chronic condition. Only 128 (6.4%) 225 respondents indicated having been infected by COVID-19, and 180 (9.0%) reported an 226 infection within the household. Those rates were higher in the second wave of the survey 227 (Appendix 1). Except for COVID-19 related variables, participants of the two waves were 228 similar. CovIO and CIO groups were also similar. CovIO was found to be significantly higher 229 than CIO (p<0.01) in both waves with mean CovIO of 14.1 (\pm 3.4) and mean CIO of 13.2 (\pm 3.0). 230 See Appendix 1 for a full description of the samples. 231 232 3.2 Score and item responses description 233 There was no missing data for the CovIO and CIO scales. Item responses and score 234 distributions in the CovIO scale are shown in Figure 1. No floor or ceiling effect was detected 235 at the item level: the highest proportion of response for the lowest and highest response 236 category were respectively 12.7% (N=127) for item 4 and 30.1% (N=301) for item 5. This was 237 also the case at the scale level with a minimum and a maximum total score reached by 8.6% 238 (N=86) and 1.3% (N=13) of the sample respectively. Similar results were observed regarding 239 CIO (cf. Figure 1 and Appendix 3). 240 241 3.3 Reliability and Confirmatory Factor Analysis 242 Internal consistency of CovIO was satisfactory with both Cronbach's alpha = 0.86 and 243 McDonald's Omega = 0.86. All inter-item polychoric correlations were between 0.2 and 0.7. 244 The initial Confirmatory Factor Analysis fitted poorly with a RMSEA=0.128, CFI=0.98 and 245 TLI=0.96, and it was necessary to allow for error-correlation between items 2 and 3 to obtain 246 satisfactory results: RMSEA=0.050, CFI=0.99, TLI=0.99. Similar adequate psychometric 247 properties were observed regarding CIO (Appendix 3).

3 Results

248 249 3.4 Measurement Invariance 250 No measurement invariance issue was found during MGCFA for the CovIO scale across 251 gender, education level, age, and the presence or absence of chronic comorbidity. Similar 252 invariance was observed regarding CIO (Appendix 2). 253 254 3.5 Study of predictors (Table 2) 255 CovIO 256 The result of the global F-test for interaction was significant (F-statistic=2.27, p<0.01), 257 therefore interaction terms were kept in the stepwise procedure. In the retained model 258 (Table 2), CovIO was found to be significantly increased in wave 2 (beta=5.93, p<0.01). The 259 trust in physicians and a history of self-infection by COVID-19 were also significantly 260 associated with higher levels of CovIO (beta=1.08, p=0.014 and beta=2.31, p<0.01 261 respectively). Significant negative interactions were found between wave and health 262 information seeking and between wave and health literacy (Fig 2). Stratified analysis across 263 waves revealed that the negative effects of health information seeking and of health literacy 264 on CovIO were significant only in wave 2 with beta=-1.51 (p<0.01) and beta=-0.10 (p<0.01) 265 respectively. Higher age and higher education were globally associated with less CovIO 266 (beta=-0.02, p=0.006, and beta=-0.63, p=0.004 respectively), and so were the trust in 267 politicians (beta=-1.06, p<0.01) and scientists (beta=-1.28, p<0.01). Lastly, a negative linear 268 relationship between increasing levels of preoccupation for COVID-19 and CovIO was found 269 (beta=-0.65, p=0.047). 270 271 CIO 272 The global F-test for interaction was not significant (p= 0.15). In the final model (Table 2), 273 higher age, education, and preoccupation with COVID-19 were all linked to lower CIO just 274 like with CovIO. Lastly, health literacy and health information seeking were significantly 275 associated with lower CIO, but independently from the sampling period (Fig 2).

3.6 Health behaviours (Table 3)

Mean CovIO levels increased significantly (p<0.001) and monotonously with the number of unsafe social contacts from a mean of 13.4 (\pm 3.3) for "no contact", to 14.8 (\pm 3.5) for "more than 8 contacts". When explored between waves, this trend was only significant at wave 2, in January 2021 (Fig 3). Regarding more general health behaviours, CovIO showed a significant negative correlation with healthy dieting (p<0.01), but no relationship with physical exercise, tobacco use and alcohol consumption. CIO was also significantly negatively correlated with healthy dieting and physical exercise (p=0.042), and close-to-significantly correlated with tobacco use (p=0.070) and alcohol intake (p=0.067).

286

285

277

278

279

280

281

282

283

284

287

288

289

290

291

292

293

294

295

296

297

298

299

300

301

302

303

304

305

306

307

4 Discussion and conclusion

4.1 Discussion

structural validity) to measure the degree of information overload related to COVID-19, exhibiting measurement invariance across gender, education level, age, and presence of chronic illness. As expected, with an enormous amount of often changing and not always valid[30] COVID-19-related information being broadcast across all media channels during the study period and specific controversies over treatments (e.g., efficacy of chloroquine[31]), CovIO was higher than CIO and increased over time in our study (when adjusting for CoVID-19 related variables such as personal infection and preoccupation). While CIO was higher in this sample compared to our previous study in 2016[10], it was stable across the two survey waves and this difference may reflect the fact that our previous study recruited a convenience sample of people specifically interested in cancer research and that participants not affected by cancer were found to have higher CIO than cancer patients or caregivers[10]. In contrast to our previous results[10] the present results suggest that exposure to an acute disease such as COVID-19 (through personal infection) increases information overload, however, this relationship tends to decrease over time, despite an increased number of infection. This can be due to the specific uncertainty about this virus and the fact that some of the available information became rapidly obsolete or learning that COVID-19 reinfection was possible.

In this study the CovIO scale was a reliable and valid tool (good internal consistency and

The study of interactions suggests that the relationship between CovIO (and very likely information overload in general) and some of its predictors is not static. Indeed, the effects of health literacy and health information seeking behaviours became significant only during wave 2. These results might suggest that as the amount and complexity of information about the virus increased as the pandemic progressed, that health literacy helps navigate through it, or, that respondents with active interest for health information developed specific expertise to navigate this specific information. Similarly, the interaction between time and health seeking behaviours suggests that this mass information accumulating through the pandemic is also complex and sometimes contradictory (e.g debates around the vaccination in France) and more proactive information seeking reduces the amount of overload. This is in line with our previous study showing less information overload among intense information seekers[10]. As expected from previous results[10,32,33] and in accordance with the negative relationship with health literacy, higher education was also significantly associated with lower information overload. Both education level and health literacy are key factors to consider when developing health related messages and programs.

This is the first report of age being significantly negatively correlated with information overload[32,34] since its formalization by Jensen et al[2]. Although from a cognitive perspective, this results seems contradictory with the natural decline of cognitive processes and the limited capacity model[35], our samples were relatively young (only 15% over 65 years old) and it's likely that older people have more interest in health questions but may also be more accepting of official health messages. Such a positive relationship with official health messages would be consistent with the negative association between trust in politicians and overload and deemed important if not crucial in the context of a pandemic where the trust in public health measures appears to be central. But this encouraging result should be tempered by a the context of low trust in politicians in general (only 16.6%, Table S1), which could reflect the evolving political decisions throughout the pandemic (for example, masks were not deemed necessary by the minister of health of France at the beginning of the pandemic[36]). Changing political decisions may both increase overload and erode trust in politicians. On the other hand, the trust in scientists being associated with less CovIO with a very high rate of trust in scientists (88.2%) underlines the value of clear health messages emanating from the scientific community. This link to trust suggests that overload

depends on the way individuals select or reject sources of information as credible. However, the most surprising result was about the trust in physicians being linked to higher CovIO when most of the sample declared trusting their physicians (92.7%, Table S1). One speculative explanation could be that individual physicians were also prone to CovIO due to frequent changing recommendations about isolation protocols, systematic screening protocols for contact cases for example or, more generally, an overall feeling of overload (i.e. work overload) about COVID-19 that was sensed by day-to-day patients. Alternatively, this could reveal that people who distrust physicians are engaged in an alternative view of the world with its own set of beliefs which, although false, are firm and less prone to information overload[37] or that people who trust physicians were confronted with conflicting information elsewhere, which caused them to feel overwhelmed. Finally, we've shown that CovIO might translate into health behaviours, just like CIO in previous findings[10]. CovIO was related to risky behaviours such as the increase in the number of unsafe contacts (lacking recommended barrier gestures). This relationship was, again, strongest at wave 2 underpinning the dynamic nature of information overload. Although, the desire to return to a normal life could be a confounding factor not measured in our study that could have interacted with CovIO and the compliance to social distancing. For more general health behaviours, CIO was confirmed to be linked with lower physical activity and less days of healthy diet in the week. The correlations with tobacco use and alcohol consumption were also expected but only close to significance. However, the significant relation between CovIO and non-healthy dieting wasn't expected and lacks any reasonable explanation except for a link to health information overload in general. But overall, these results reinforce the purpose of CovIO, CIO and health information overload in general, in capturing some of the reasons why the general population might not engage in healthy preventive behaviours upon clear health messages.

365

366

367

368

369

370

371

340

341

342

343

344

345

346

347

348

349

350

351

352

353

354

355

356

357

358

359

360

361

362

363

364

The major limitation of our study is that despite a repeated design to study the dynamics of information overload in a pandemic context, the participants in the two samples (in June 2020 and January 2021) are not the same. However, the sampling method was similar and both waves had good statistical power with large sample sizes. Moreover, the comparison between the characteristics of the two samples didn't reveal any major difference. The same limitation holds for the comparison between CovIO and CIO but to limit the burden of the

questionnaire it was not possible to ask sequentially for CovIO and CIO. The questionnaire randomization compensated this limitation. Another limit would be the important number of interactions between the predictors of CovIO discarded. We chose to focus on the interaction with time since it was the main objective of our study. Exploratory analysis on the data, not presented in the article suggested for example many interactions between health literacy and other variables. These interactions should be addressed in later work using, for instance, structural equation modelling with some meaningful constructs (e.g health literacy, trust in various public actors...) yielding results that take in account interactions without losing interpretability. Finally, the context of COVID-19 was marked by specific national contexts of information, with governmental communication and media debates. Especially for CovIO, a joint analysis with available public information at this time would be useful to contextualise the results.

4.2 Conclusion

We have shown that the CovIO scale is a valid instrument to measure the amount of information saturation relating to COVID-19. The huge amount of often changing or conflicting COVID-19 related information in all media appears to have led to greater CovIO than CIO. The relationship to some of its predictors was better characterized and the dynamic nature of its formation revealed.

4.3 Practice implications

Even though monitoring COVID-19 information might be less relevant recently given the evolution of the pandemic and public awareness, our study sheds light on the dynamics of information overload in general. Therefore, longitudinal designs are needed to better understand the potential detrimental effect of information overload and improve the impact of public health campaigns. Future work should also consider interventional studies to decrease health information overload on a selected topic (e.g. through educational lectures, or dedicated medical sessions) and validate the effects on behaviours.

Conflict of interest statement

403 The authors have no conflicts to declare. 404 **Funding** 405 This work benefited from the support of La Ligue Contre le Cancer through the accreditation 406 (LIGUE 2019) of the CANBIOS team. 407 The sponsors had no role in study design; in the collection, analysis and interpretation of 408 data; in the writing of the report; and in the decision to submit the paper for publication. 409 **Authors' contribution** MB: Conceptualization, Formal analysis, Writing – original draft. 410 411 JM: Conceptualization, Investigation, Writing – review and editing, Supervision, Project 412 administration, Funding acquisition. 413 ES: Investigation, Writing – review and editing 414 AR: Investigation, Writing – review and editing 415 BS: Investigation, Writing – review and editing 416 **Acknowledgements** 417 We thank the Réseau Francophone de la Littératie en Santé (REFLIS) network for their 418 collaboration in the European HLS₁₉ survey.

420 Figures and Tables

Figure 1: Item responses and score distributions of the COVID-19 Information overload

422 (CovIO) scale

421

423

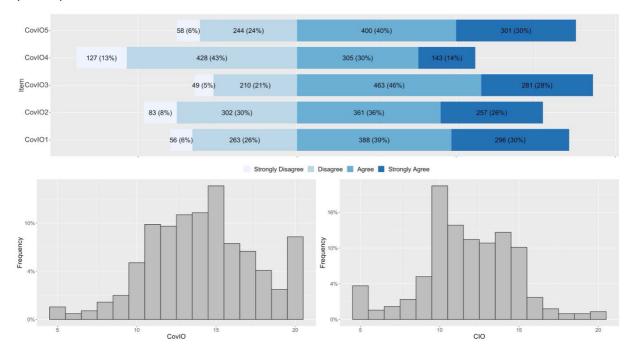
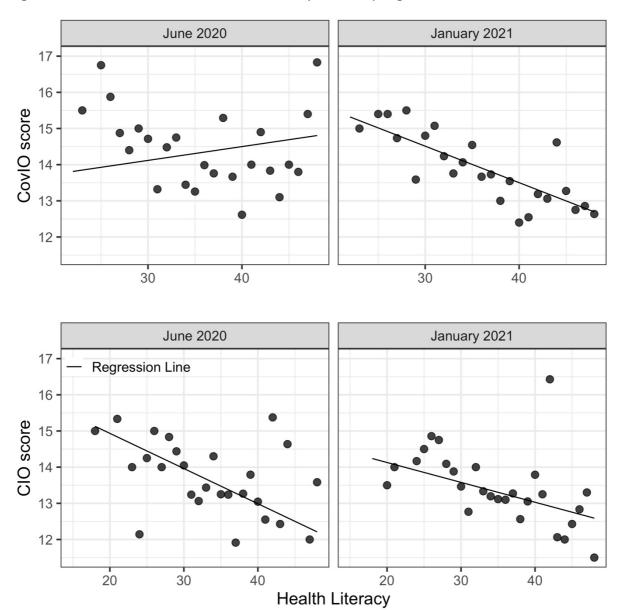


Figure 2: Interactions effects of Health Literacy and sampling Wave on CovIO





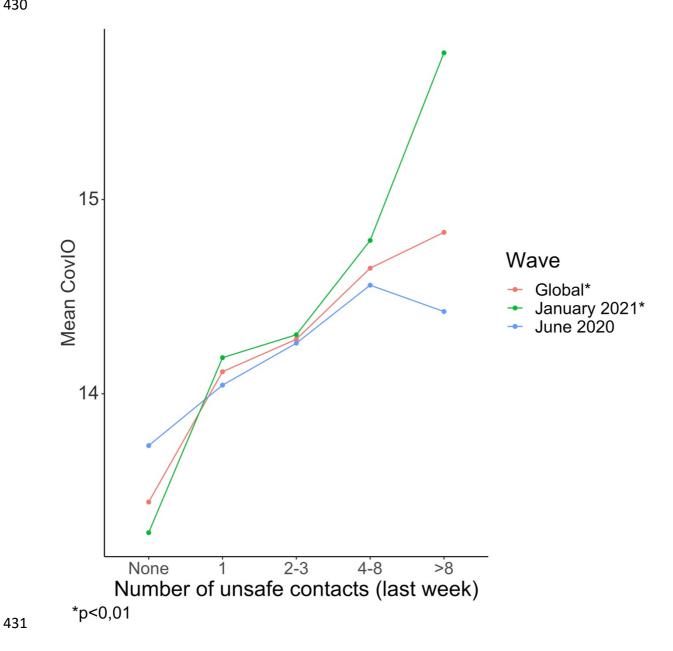


Table 1: CovIO scale translated from French

	CovIO scale adapted from the CIO scale after Costa <i>et al.</i> 2014 (DOI: 10.1016/j.pec.2015.04.020)	French version
1	There are so many different recommendations about the coronavirus (COVID-19), it's hard to know which ones to follow.	Il y a tellement de recommandations différentes concernant le coronavirus (COVID-19) qu'il est difficile de savoir lesquelles suivre
2	There is so much coronavirus (COVID-19) information, I don't even care to hear new things about coronavirus (COVID-19)	Il y a tellement d'informations sur le coronavirus (COVID-19) qu'en avoir des nouvelles ne m'intéresse même plus
3	There is so much information about coronavirus (COVID-19), it all starts to sound the same after a while.	Il y a tellement d'informations sur le coronavirus (COVID-19), qu'au bout d'un moment elles commencent à toutes se ressembler
4	There is so much coronavirus (COVID-19) information, I forget most coronavirus (COVID-19) information right after I learn it.	Il y a tellement d'informations sur le coronavirus (COVID-19), que j'en oublie la plupart aussitôt après les avoir reçues
5	I feel overloaded by the amount of coronavirus (COVID-19) information I am supposed to know.	Je me sens submergé(e) par la quantité d'informations sur le coronavirus (COVID-19), que je suis censé(e) connaitre

Table 2: Linear regressions of CIO and CovIO on their predictors

	Co	vIO	Cl	0
	β	p-value	β	p-value
(Intercept)	14.62	<0.001	18.46	<0.001
Wave 2 (January 2021)	5.93	<0.001	-	-
Male	0.30	0.159	-	-
Age (per 1-year increase)	-0.02	0.006	-0.02	0.007
Higher Education (> Baccalaureate)	-0.64	0.004	-0.40	0.049
Self-history of COVID-19	2.31	0.001	0.83	0.065
Household-history of COVID-19	-	-	0.63	0.106
Health Information seeking	-0.23	0.585	-1.23	<0.001
Health Literacy (per 1-point	0.04	0.181	-0.08	< 0.001
increase)				
COVID-19 preoccupation (per 1-	-0.65	0.047	-0.63	0.036
category increase)				
Urban area	-	-	0.39	0.096
Trust in:				
Journalists	0.01	0.973	-	-
Politicians	-1.067	<0.001	-	-
Physicians	1.08	0.014	-0.57	0.123
Scientists	-1.28	<0.001	-	-
Selected interactions:				
Wave 2 * Self-history of COVID-19	-1.47	0.095	-	-
Wave 2 * Health Information	-1.27	0.026	-	-
seeking				
Wave 2 * Health Literacy	-0.14	<0.001	-	-
Wave 2 * Trust in journalists	-0.81	0.107	-	-

437 Table 3: Univariate links between CIO, CovIO and various health behaviours

Re	esponse	CovIO	p-value	CIO	p-value
		Mean (SD)		Mean (SD)	
Number of unsafe	None	13.4 (3.3) N=384		13.0 (2.9) N=401	
contacts (within	1	14.1 (3.5) N=88		13.6 (2.9) N=88	
the past week)	2-3	14.3 (3.3) N=221	<0.001	13.3 (2.9) N=221	0.15
	4-8	14.6 (3.1) N=150		13.5 (2.9) N=153	
	>8	14.8 (3.5) N=160		13.5 (3.3) N=137	
Number of d	lays in a	r*		r	
typical week with :					
Physical activity		-0.039	0.21	-0.064	0.042
Healthy diet		-0.129	< 0.01	-0.107	<0.01
Toba	cco use	0.048	0.127	0.057	0.070
Alcoho	l intake	0.019	0.544	0.058	0.067

^{*} Pearson's correlation coefficient

Table S1: Sample characteristics between waves

		Both waves	Wave 1	Wave 2	p-value*
Gender	Female	1017 (50.8)	506 (50.4)	511 (51.1)	0.005
	Male	986 (49.2)	497 (49.6)	489 (48.9)	0.805
Age	Mean (SD)	46.5 (15.6)	46.5 (15.3)	46.5 (15.9)	0.946
Education level	Low**	794 (39.6)	411 (41.0)	383 (38.3)	0.220
	High**	1209 (60.4)	592 (59.0)	617 (61.7)	0.238
Comorbidity	None	1103 (55.1)	538 (53.6)	565 (56.5)	0.214
	At least 1	900 (44.9)	465 (46.4)	435 (43.5)	0.214
Work status	Active	1353 (67.5)	665 (66.3)	688 (68.8)	0.252
	Not active	650 (32.5)	338 (33.7)	312 (31.2)	0.252
Self-history of	No	1748 (87.3)	862 (85.9)	886 (88.6)	
COVID-19	Yes	128 (6.4)	50 (5.0)	78 (7.8)	0.032
	Don't know	127 (6.3)	91 (9.1)	36 (3.6)	
History of COVID-19	No	1697 (84.7)	851 (84.8)	846 (84.6)	
within the	Yes	180 (9.0)	58 (5.8)	122 (12.2)	< 0.001
household	Don't know	126 (6.3)	94 (9.4)	32 (3.2)	
Living area	Rural	423 (21.1)	212 (21.1)	211 (21.1)	0.999
	Urban	1580 (78.9)	791 (78.9)	789 (78.9)	0.999
Health information	No	296 (14.8)	136 (13.6)	160 (16.0)	0.14
seeking behavior	Yes	1707 (85.2)	867 (86.4)	840 (84.0)	0.14
Health Literacy	Mean (SD)	35.7 (5.6)	36.0 (5.6)	35.4 (5.6)	0.009
Do you trust:					
Journalists	No	1476 (73.7)	744 (74.2)	732 (73.2)	0.656
	Yes	527 (26.3)	259 (25.8)	268 (26.8)	0.030
Politicians	No	1671 (83.4)	824 (82.2)	847 (84.7)	0.141
	Yes	332 (16.6)	179 (17.8)	153 (15.3)	0.141
Physicians	No	147 (7.3)	68 (6.8)	79 (7.9)	0.381
	Yes	1856 (92.7)	935 (93.2)	921 (92.1)	0.361
Scientists	No	236 (11.8)	106 (10.6)	130 (13.0)	0.106
	Yes	1767 (88.2)	897 (89.4)	870 (87.0)	0.100
Preoccupation for	Not at all	114 (5.7)	53 (5.3)	61 (6.1)	
COVID-19 and its	A little	461 (23.0)	255 (25.4)	206 (20.6)	0.018
consequences	Somewhat	847 (42.3)	429 (42.8)	418 (41.8)	0.010
	A lot	581 (29.0)	266 (26.5)	315 (31.5)	
CIO score	Mean (SD)	13.2 (3.0)	13.3 (3.1)	13.2 (2.9)	0.865
CovIO score	Mean (SD)	14.1 (3.4)	14.2 (3.2)	14.0 (3.5)	0.329

^{*}Test across waves, **High = degree higher than the Baccalaureate, ***Students, military CIO: Cancer Information Overload; CovIO: Coronavirus Information Overload

444 Table S2: Group characteristics

		CIO-group	CovIO-group	p-value*
Gender	Female	497 (49.7)	520 (51.8)	0.36
	Male	503 (50.3)	483 (48.2)	0.30
Age	Mean (SD)	46.4 (15.6)	46.6 (15.5)	0.773
Education level	Low**	373 (37.3)	421 (42.0)	0.036
	High**	627 (62.7)	582 (58.0)	0.036
Comorbidity	None	551 (55.1)	552 (55.0)	0.999
	At least 1	449 (44.9)	451 (45.0)	0.999
Work status	Active	687 (68.7)	666 (66.4)	0.293
	Not active	313 (31.3)	337 (33.6)	0.293
Self-history of	No	870 (87.0)	878 (87.5)	
COVID-19	Yes	61 (6.1)	67 (6.7)	0.711
	Missing	69 (6.9)	58 (5.8)	
History of COVID-19	No	849 (84.9)	848 (84.5)	
within the	Yes	84 (8.4)	96 (9.6)	0.436
household	Missing	67 (6.7)	59 (5.9)	
Living area	Rural	208 (20.8)	215 (21.4)	0.760
	Urban	792 (79.2)	788 (78.6)	0.769
Health information	No	134 (13.4)	162 (16.2)	0.095
seeking behavior	Yes	866 (86.6)	841 (83.8)	0.095
Health Literacy	Mean (SD)	35.9 (5.7)	35.5 (5.5)	0.165
Do you trust:				
Journalists	No	729 (72.9)	747 (74.5)	0.453
	Yes	271 (27.1)	256 (25.5)	0.455
Politicians	No	850 (85.0)	821 (81.9)	0.067
	Yes	150 (15.0)	182 (18.1)	0.067
Physicians	No	73 (7.3)	74 (7.4)	0.000
	Yes	927 (92.7)	929 (92.6)	0.999
Scientists	No	121 (12.1)	115 (11.5)	0.711
	Yes	879 (87.9)	888 (88.5)	0.711
Preoccupation for	Not at all	54 (5.4)	60 (6.0)	
COVID-19 and its	A little	219 (21.9)	242 (24.1)	0.570
consequences	Somewhat	433 (43.3)	414 (41.3)	0.579
	A lot	294 (29.4)	287 (28.6)	
CIO score	Mean (SD)	13.2 (3.0)	-	-
CovIO score	Mean (SD)	-	14.1 (3.4)	-

^{*}Test across waves, **High = degree higher than the Baccalaureate, ***Students, military CIO: Cancer Information Overload; CovIO: Coronavirus Information Overload

Table S3: Measurement invariance across age groups, education levels, and deprivation, for Cancer Information Overload scale (CIO)

AGE				
Measurement Invariance model	CFI	RMSEA (90% CI)	ΔCFI	ΔRMSEA
M1: Configural*	.997	.060 (.032091)		
M2: Metric**	.997	.059 (.035085)	.000 (ΔM1-M2)	.001 (ΔM1-M2)
M3: Scalar***	.995	.055 (.037074)	.002 (ΔM2-M3)	.004 (ΔM2-M3)
GENDER				
Measurement Invariance model	CFI	RMSEA (90% CI)	ΔCFI	ΔRMSEA
M1: Configural*	.999	.036 (.000070)		
M2: Metric**	.999	.028 (.000059)	.000 (ΔM1-M2)	.008 (ΔM1-M2)
M3: Scalar***	.999	.012 (.000016)	.000 (ΔM2-M3)	.012 (ΔM2-M3)
CHRONIC ILLNESS				
Measurement Invariance model	CFI	RMSEA (90% CI)	ΔCFI	ΔRMSEA
M1: Configural*	.998	.052 (.020082)		
M2: Metric**	.997	.059 (.035085)	.001 (ΔM1-M2)	008 (ΔM1-M2)
M3: Scalar***	.999	.022 (.000046)	002 (ΔM2-M3)	037 (ΔM2-M3)
EDUCATION				
Measurement Invariance model	CFI	RMSEA (90% CI)	ΔCFI	ΔRMSEA
M1: Configural*	.997	.066 (.038096)		
M2: Metric**	.997	.057 (.032083)	.000 (ΔM1-M2)	.008 (ΔM1-M2)
M3: Scalar***	.995	.051 (.032070)	.001 (ΔM2-M3)	.006 (ΔM2-M3)
				•
* same factor structure across groups				
* same factor structure across groups ** loadings constrained to be equal acro	ss groups			

Table S4: Measurement invariance across age groups, education levels, and deprivation, for Coronavirus Information Overload scale (CovIO)

AGE				
Measurement Invariance model	CFI	RMSEA (90% CI)	ΔCFI	ΔRMSEA
M1: Configural*	.996	.069 (.042099)		
M2: Metric**	.996	.059 (.035085)	.000 (ΔM1-M2)	.01 (ΔM1-M2)
M3: Scalar***	.991	.063 (.045081)	.005 (ΔM2-M3)	004 (ΔM2-M3)
GENDER				
Measurement Invariance model	CFI	RMSEA (90% CI)	ΔCFI	ΔRMSEA
M1: Configural*	.994	.082 (.055011)		
M2: Metric**	.995	.065 (.042091)	001 (ΔM1-M2)	.017 (ΔM1-M2)
M3: Scalar***	.990	.062 (.045081)	.005 (ΔM2-M3)	.003 (ΔM2-M3)
CHRONIC ILLNESS		<u> </u>		
Measurement Invariance model	CFI	RMSEA (90% CI)	ΔCFI	ΔRMSEA
M1: Configural*	.997	.055 (.025086)		
M2: Metric**	.995	.063 (.04089)	.002 (ΔM1-M2)	008 (ΔM1-M2)
M3: Scalar***	.991	.061 (.043079)	.004 (ΔM2-M3)	.002 (ΔM2-M3)
EDUCATION				
Measurement Invariance model	CFI	RMSEA (90% CI)	ΔCFI	ΔRMSEA
M1: Configural*	.997	.058 (.029088)		
M2: Metric**	.997	.055 (.029081)	.000 (ΔM1-M2)	.003 (ΔM1-M2)
M3: Scalar***	.994	.05 (.031069)	.003 (ΔM2-M3)	.005 (ΔM2-M3)
* same factor structure across groups	•		·	
** loadings constrained to be equal acro	ss groups			

452 Table S5: CFA results for the CovIO and CIO scales

		CovIO scale	CIO scale
		(N=1003)	(N=1000)
Internal consistency	Cronbach's alpha	0.86	0.87
	McDonald's omega	0.86	0.88
Structural	RMSEA	0.050 (0.024-0.080)*	0.045 (0.017-0.075)*
validity	CFI	0.998	0.999
	TLI	0.994	0.997

RMSEA = Root Mean Error of Approximation (95% confidence interval), CFI = Comparative Fit Index, TLI = Tucker-Lewis Index, *With correlation between item 2 and 3

456 Table S6: Polychoric correlations for the CovIO scale

	COVIO1	COVIO2	COVIO3	COVIO4	COVIO5
COVIO1	1				
COVIO2	0.47	1			
COVIO3	0.38	0.63	1		
COVIO4	0.53	0.61	0.56	1	
COVIO5	0.56	0.59	0.54	0.66	1

458 Tables S7: Polychoric correlations for the CIO scale

	CIO1	CIO2	CIO3	CIO4	CIO5
CIO1	1				
CIO2	0.41	1			
CIO3	0.45	0.69	1		
CIO4	0.49	0.66	0.64	1	
CIO5	0.52	0.62	0.61	0.74	1

460 Table S8. Item responses for the CIO scale (N=1000)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
CIO1	24 (2.4%)	186 (18.6%)	566 (56.6%)	224 (22.4%)
CIO2	95 (9.5%)	486 (48.6%)	325 (32.5%)	94 (9.4%)
CIO3	53 (5.3%)	367 (36.7%)	466 (46.6%)	114 (11.4%)
CIO4	60 (6%)	374 (37.4%)	453 (45.3%)	113 (11.3%)
CIO5	78 (7.8%)	376 (37.6%)	432 (43.2%)	114 (11.4%)

463 References

- Ward JK, Gauna F, Gagneux-Brunon A, Botelho-Nevers E, Cracowski J-L, Khouri C, et al.
 The French health pass holds lessons for mandatory COVID-19 vaccination. Nat Med
 2022;28:232–5. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41591-021-01661-7.
- Jensen JD, Carcioppolo N, King AJ, Scherr CL, Jones CL, Niederdeppe J. The cancer
 information overload (CIO) scale: Establishing predictive and discriminant validity.
 Patient Educ Couns 2014;94:90–6. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pec.2013.09.016.
- 470 [3] Obamiro K, Lee K. Information overload in patients with atrial fibrillation: Can the 471 cancer information overload (CIO) scale be used? Patient Educ Couns 2019;102:550–4. 472 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pec.2018.10.005.
- Khaleel I, Wimmer BC, Peterson GM, Zaidi STR, Roehrer E, Cummings E, et al. Health information overload among health consumers: A scoping review. Patient Educ Couns 2019. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pec.2019.08.008.
- Valika TS, Maurrasse SE, Reichert L. A Second Pandemic? Perspective on Information
 Overload in the COVID-19 Era. Otolaryngol Neck Surg 2020;163:931–3.
 https://doi.org/10.1177/0194599820935850.
- World Health Organization. Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19): situation report, 86. World Health Organization; 2020.
- 481 [7] Sarkhel S, Bakhla AK, Praharaj SK, Ghosal MK. Information overload regarding COVID-482 19: Adaptation and validation of the cancer information overload scale. Indian J 483 Psychiatry 2020;62:481–7.
- https://doi.org/10.4103/psychiatry.IndianJPsychiatry_974_20.
- 485 [8] Mohammed M, Sha'aban A, Jatau AI, Yunusa I, Isa AM, Wada AS, et al. Assessment of COVID-19 Information Overload Among the General Public. J Racial Ethn Health Disparities 2021. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40615-020-00942-0.
- Hong H, Kim HJ. Antecedents and Consequences of Information Overload in the COVID 19 Pandemic. Int J Environ Res Public Health 2020;17:9305.
 https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17249305.
- 491 [10] Breyton M, Smith AB, Rouquette A, Mancini J. Cancer information overload: Association 492 between a brief version of the CIO scale and multiple cancer risk management 493 behaviours. Patient Educ Couns 2020. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pec.2020.09.016.
- 494 [11] Ipsos | Bienvenue sur notre site n.d. https://www.ipsos.com/fr-fr (accessed March 4, 495 2021).
- [12] Touzani R, Schultz E, Holmes SM, Vandentorren S, Arwidson P, Guillemin F, et al. Early
 Acceptability of a Mobile App for Contact Tracing During the COVID-19 Pandemic in
 France: National Web-Based Survey. JMIR MHealth UHealth 2021;9:e27768.
 https://doi.org/10.2196/27768.
- [13] Schultz É, Ward JK, Atlani-Duault L, Holmes SM, Mancini J. French Public Familiarity and
 Attitudes toward Clinical Research during the COVID-19 Pandemic. Int J Environ Res
 Public Health 2021;18:2611. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph18052611.
- 503 [14] Naming the coronavirus disease (COVID-19) and the virus that causes it n.d.
 504 https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/technical505 guidance/naming-the-coronavirus-disease-(covid-2019)-and-the-virus-that-causes-it
 506 (accessed February 2, 2022).
- 507 [15] The HLS19 Consortium of the WHO Action Network M-POHL (2021): International 508 Report on the Methodology, Results, and Recommendations of the European Health

- Literacy Population Survey 2019-2021 (HLS19) of M-POHL. Austrian National Public
- Health Institute, Vienna n.d. https://m-pohl.net/sites/m-pohl.net/files/inline-
- files/HLS19_International%20Report%20%28002%29_0.pdf (accessed January 17, 2022).
- 513 [16] Terwee CB, Bot SDM, de Boer MR, van der Windt DAWM, Knol DL, Dekker J, et al. 514 Quality criteria were proposed for measurement properties of health status
- questionnaires. J Clin Epidemiol 2007;60:34–42.
 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclinepi.2006.03.012.
- [17] Vet HCW de, Terwee CB, Mokkink LB, Knol DL. Measurement in Medicine by Henrica C.
 W. de Vet. Camb Core 2011. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511996214.
- 519 [18] Gadermann AM, Guhn M, Zumbo BD. Estimating ordinal reliability for Likert-type and ordinal item response data: A conceptual, empirical, and practical guide n.d.;17:13.
- 521 [19] McDonald RP. Test theory: a unified treatment. Mahwah, N.J: L. Erlbaum Associates; 522 1999.
- [20] Bland JM, Altman DG. Statistics notes: Cronbach's alpha. BMJ 1997;314:572.
 https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.314.7080.572.
- 525 [21] Brown TA. Confirmatory factor analysis for applied research. Second edition. New York; 526 London: The Guilford Press; 2015.
- 527 [22] Muthen LK, Muthen B. Mplus user's guide: statistical analysis with latent variables, user's guide. 2017.
- [23] Hu L, Bentler PM. Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis:
 Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. Struct Equ Model Multidiscip J 1999;6:1–
 55. https://doi.org/10.1080/10705519909540118.
- 532 [24] Kline RB. Principles and Practice of Structural Equation Modeling n.d.:554.
- [25] Chen FF. Sensitivity of Goodness of Fit Indexes to Lack of Measurement Invariance.
 Struct Equ Model Multidiscip J 2007;14:464–504.
 https://doi.org/10.1080/10705510701301834.
- [26] Cheung GW, Rensvold RB. Evaluating Goodness-of-Fit Indexes for Testing Measurement
 Invariance. Struct Equ Model Multidiscip J 2002;9:233–55.
 https://doi.org/10.1207/S15328007SEM0902 5.
- 539 [27] Akaike H. A new look at the statistical model identification. IEEE Trans Autom Control 1974;19:716–23. https://doi.org/10.1109/TAC.1974.1100705.
- 541 [28] Zhang Z. Variable selection with stepwise and best subset approaches. Ann Transl Med 2016;4:136. https://doi.org/10.21037/atm.2016.03.35.
- [29] Jensen JD, Pokharel M, Carcioppolo N, Upshaw S, John KK, Katz RA. Cancer information
 overload: Discriminant validity and relationship to sun safe behaviors. Patient Educ
 Couns 2019. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pec.2019.08.039.
- [30] Orso D, Federici N, Copetti R, Vetrugno L, Bove T. Infodemic and the spread of fake
 news in the COVID-19-era. Eur J Emerg Med 2020:10.1097/MEJ.00000000000013.
 https://doi.org/10.1097/MEJ.000000000000013.
- [31] Schultz É, Atlani-Duault L, Peretti-Watel P, Ward JK. Does the public know when a
 scientific controversy is over? Public perceptions of hydroxychloroquine in France
 between April 2020 and June 2021. Therapies 2022:S0040595722000105.
 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.therap.2022.01.008.
- [32] Chae J, Lee C, Jensen JD. Correlates of Cancer Information Overload: Focusing on
 Individual Ability and Motivation. Health Commun 2016;31:626–34.
 https://doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2014.986026.

- [33] Chan YM, Huang H. Weight Management Information Overload Challenges in 2007
 HINTS: Socioeconomic, Health Status and Behaviors Correlates. J Consum Health
 Internet 2013;17:151–67. https://doi.org/10.1080/15398285.2013.780540.
- 559 [34] Kyunghye Kim, Lustria MLA, Burke D, Kwon, Nahyun. Predictors of cancer information 560 overload. Inf Reasearch 2007;12.
 - [35] Lang A. The Limited Capacity Model of Mediated Message Processing. J Commun 2000;50:46–70. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2000.tb02833.x.

- [36] Déclaration de M. Olivier Véran, ministre des solidarités et de la santé et de Mme Agnès Pannier-Runacher, secrétaire d'État auprès du ministre de l'économie et des finances, en réponse à une question sur la gestion des stocks de masques, à l'Assemblée. Vie Publiquefr n.d. https://www.vie-publique.fr/discours/274863-olivier-veran-20052020-gestion-des-stocks-de-masques (accessed November 29, 2021).
- [37] Attwell K, Ward PR, Meyer SB, Rokkas PJ, Leask J. "Do-it-yourself": Vaccine rejection and complementary and alternative medicine (CAM). Soc Sci Med 2018;196:106–14. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2017.11.022.