# Social Media \& Misinformation 

Matthew Gentzkow

Stanford University

## False

## WTOE 5 NEWS

YOUR LOCAL NEWS NOW

| HOME | US ELECTION |
| :--- | :--- |

Pope Francis Shocks World, Endorses Donald Trump for President, Releases Statement
TopICS: Pope Francis Endorses Donald Trump


## True



## Aggregate



## Individual




## Current Discussion

False



## Likely Reality

True
False


## Outline

1. Context
2. 2016 US Election
3. Post-2016

## 1 Context



# Text Messages Used to Incite Violence in Kenya 

February 20, 2008 • 6:00 AM ET
Heard on Morning Edition

OFEIBEA QUIST-ARCTON

Kenya is reflecting on a month of violence following a disputed presidential election in December. One feature of the bloody crisis has especially shocked many ordinary

Kenyans is how the cell phone became a deadly tool of violence.

## Most important election news source



## Social Media Use by Age



## Polarization by Age



## Polarization by Predicted Internet Use



## Republican Voting by Predicted Internet Use



## 2 Fake News in 2016

Source: Allcott \& Gentzkow 2017

## Supply of Misinformation

- Types of sites
- Purely fake news sites, e.g. DenverGuardian.com
- Non-obvious satire sites, e.g. WTOE5News.com
- Mix of true and false articles, e.g. EndingTheFed.com
- Examples of producers
- Teenagers in Veles, Macedonia: more than 100 sites
- US companiy Disinfomedia: several sites, 20+ employees
- Paul Horner: ran National Report for years before election
- 24-year old Romanian: endingthefed.com
- Motivations
- Advertising revenues
- Ideology


## Fake news database

- All false election-related stories from Snopes \& Politifact
- 21 major fake news stories compiled by Buzzfeed
- Total: 156 stories



## Post-election survey

- Week of Nov 28, 2016
- 1208 respondents
- Weight for national representativeness
- Demographics
- Political affiliation / ideology and 2016 vote
- Media consumption
- Recall of 15 election headlines
- "Do you recall seeing this reported or discussed prior to the election?"
- "At the time of the election, would your best guess have been that this statement was true?"


## Headlines

- 3 randomly selected headlines from each of 5 categories
- Big true: Most recent major election stories listed by The Guardian
- e.g., "At the 9/11 memorial ceremony, Hillary Clinton stumbled and had to be helped into a van."
- Small true: Most recent stories on Snopes \& Politifact judged unambiguously true
- e.g., "Under Donald Trump's tax plan, it is projected that $51 \%$ of single parents would see their taxes go up."
- Big fake: Fake news stories frequently discussed in mainstream media
- e.g., "Pope Francis endorsed Donald Trump."


## Headlines (Cont'd)

- Small fake: Most recent stories on Snopes \& Politifact judged unambiguously false
- e.g., "At a rally a few days before the election, President Obama screamed at a protester who supported Donald Trump."
- Placebo: Stories we invented (Pro-Trump \& Pro-Clinton versions of each)
- e.g., "Leaked documents reveal that the Clinton campaign planned a scheme to offer to drive Republican voters to the polls but then take them to the wrong place."
- e.g., "Clinton Foundation staff were found guilty of diverting funds to buy alcohol for expensive parties in the Caribbean."


## Recall and belief of fake news in our survey



## Exposure

- 3 methods
- Based on total count of shares
- Based on Comscore traffic data
- Based on our survey
$\Rightarrow \sim 1-3$ views per voter

Could fake news have affected the election outcome?
Impact on vote share $=$ Exposure rate $\times$ Persuasion rate

- Exposure rate: 1-3 fake articles per potential voter
- Persuasion rate: consider TV ads (Spenkuch \& Toniatti 2016) as a benchmark
- Fake story would need to be on the order of $10 \times$ more persuasive than TV ad to change outcome in pivotal states


## SOCIAL SCIENCES

## Less than you think: Prevalence and predictors of fake news dissemination on Facebook

Andrew Guess ${ }^{1 *}$, Jonathan Nagler ${ }^{2}$, Joshua Tucker ${ }^{2}$

So-called "fake news" has renewed concerns about the prevalence and effects of misinformation in political campaigns. Given the potential for widespread dissemination of this material, we examine the individual-level characteristics associated with sharing false articles during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign. To do so, we uniquely link an original survey with respondents' sharing activity as recorded in Facebook profile data. First and foremost, we find that sharing this content was a relatively rare activity. Conservatives were more likely to share articles from fake news domains, which in 2016 were largely pro-Trump in orientation, than liberals or moderates. We also find a strong age effect, which persists after controlling for partisanship and ideology: On average, users over 65 shared nearly seven times as many articles from fake news domains as the youngest age group.

# Selective Exposure to Misinformation: <br> Evidence from the consumption of fake news during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign 

Andrew Guess<br>Department of Politics<br>Princeton University

Brendan Nyhan<br>Department of Government<br>Dartmouth College

Jason Reifler
Department of Politics
University of Exeter
January 9, 2018


#### Abstract

Though some warnings about online "echo chambers" have been hyperbolic, tendencies toward selective exposure to politically congenial content are likely to extend to misinformation and to be exacerbated by social media platforms. We test this prediction using data on the factually dubious articles known as "fake news." Using unique data combining survey responses with individual-level web traffic histories, we estimate that approximately 1 in 4 Americans visited a fake news website from October 7 -November 14, 2016. Trump supporters visited the most fake news websites, which were overwhelmingly pro-Trump. However, fake news consumption was heavily concentrated among a small group - almost 6 in 10 visits to fake news websites came from the $10 \%$ of people with the most conservative online information diets. We also find that Facebook was a key vector of exposure to fake news and that fact-checks of fake news almost never reached its consumers.


## POLITICAL SCIENCE

## Fake news on Twitter during the 2016 U.S. presidential election

Nir Grinberg ${ }^{1,2 *}$, Kenneth Joseph ${ }^{3 *}$, Lisa Friedland ${ }^{1 *}$, Briony Swire-Thompson ${ }^{1,2}$, David Lazer ${ }^{1,2} \dagger$

The spread of fake news on social media became a public concern in the United States after the 2016 presidential election. We examined exposure to and sharing of fake news by registered voters on Twitter and found that engagement with fake news sources was extremely concentrated. Only $1 \%$ of individuals accounted for $80 \%$ of fake news source exposures, and $0.1 \%$ accounted for nearly $80 \%$ of fake news sources shared. Individuals most likely to engage with fake news sources were conservative leaning, older, and highly engaged with political news. A cluster of fake news sources shared overlapping audiences on the extreme right, but for people across the political spectrum, most political news exposure still came from mainstream media outlets.

## Post-2016



## Twitter

Fake News Sites


Number of sites: 569

## Ratio



## Random Experiment



