#flattenthecurve: Cognitive models and empirical findings as mainstays in the containment of misinformation and conspiracy theories

Evangelische Hochschule Dresden (ehs)

Julian Kauk, julian.kauk@uni-jena.de Summer term 2022 June 14, 2022

Department of General Psychology and Cognitive Neuroscience Friedrich Schiller University Jena





Introduction

What you can observe in social networks



Temporal dynamics

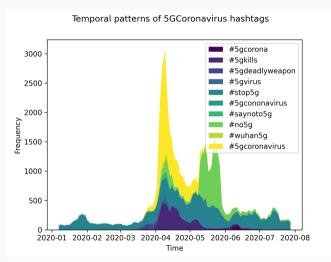


Figure 1: Figure generated with MISS TWEETEPY. Total number of matching tweets N = 107970.

Why calling it a 'conspiracy theory'?

Definition

A **conspiracy theory** can be defined as explanatory beliefs that a group of actors meets in secret to attain some evil goal (van Prooijen, 2017).

Key ingredients (see e.g., Lewandowsky & Cook, 2020):

- an (evil) group of conspirators (antagonistic outgroup)
- everything that is happening follows a plan
- nothing is happening by accident or coincidence; everything hangs together and nothing is as it seems to be
- 'evidence' that supports the conspiracy theory

Please note that the distinction between conspiracy theories and other kind of problematic information (e.g., misinformation or fake news) can be challenging or even impossible.

Understanding conspiracy

theories and misinformation

A general framework

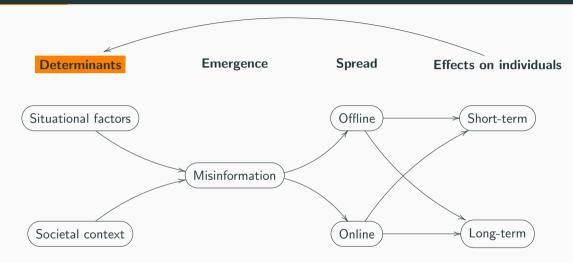


Figure 2: A general framework for understanding the causal chain of misinformation.

Putting the stress on conspiracy theories

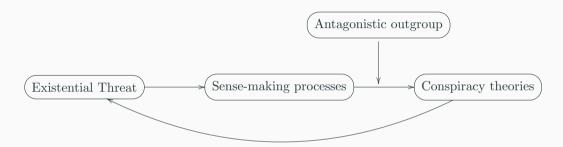


Figure 3: Existential Threat Model explaining why individuals engage in conspiracy theories. Figure adopted from Van Prooijen (2020). See also Swami et al., 2016.

Societal factors contributing to the emergence of misinformation

Lewandowsky et al., 2017, p. 356:

"... the **post-truth problem is not a blemish on the mirror**. The problem is that the mirror is a window into an alternative reality."

The emergence of misinformation and its consequences may be driven by specific **large-scale** societal trends (Lewandowsky et al., 2017), e.g.,

- declining trust in science
- decline in social capital
- growing inequality
- evolution of the media landscape

A general framework

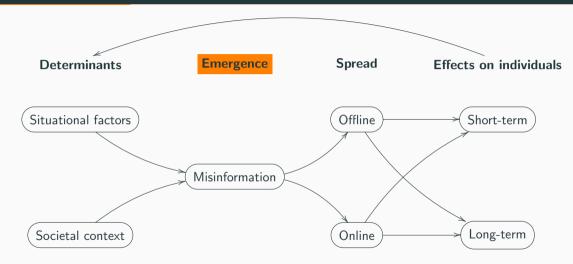


Figure 4: A general framework for understanding the causal chain of misinformation.

Prevalence of misinformation: Still a data gap?

Lazer et al., 2018, p. 1095:

"How common is fake news, and what is its impact on individuals? There are surprisingly few scientific answers to these basic questions."

There are a few insights from research:

- more than 5600 misinformation stories concerning COVID-19 in 2020 alone (Siwakoti et al., 2021); > 9000 according to Al-Zaman (2022)
- 1699 (confirmed) false stories on Twitter between October 2008 and late December 2016; predominantly concerning politics and urban legends (Vosoughi et al., 2018)
- US election 2016: up to 25% of the tweets contained misinformation (Bovet & Makse, 2019)
- 'Overall, sharing articles from fake news domains [on Facebook] was a rare activity.'
 (Guess et al., 2019, p. 1)

Temporal dynamics

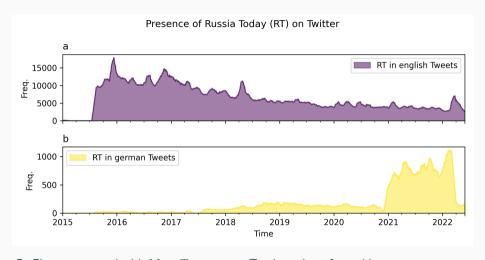


Figure 5: Figure generated with MISS TWEETEPY. Total number of matching tweets $N_{english}=17273579$ and $N_{german}=525722$.

A general framework

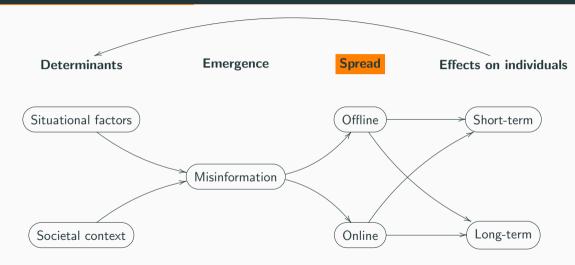


Figure 6: A general framework for understanding the causal chain of misinformation.

The (key) role of social networks in the amplification of misinformation

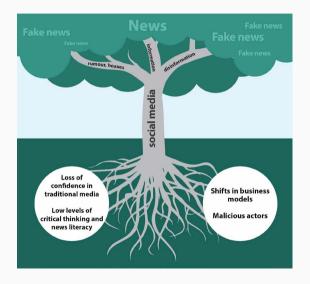


Figure 7: Figure from Stremlau et al. (2018). But see also Allcott and Gentzkow (2017), Allcott et al. (2019), Cinelli et al. (2021), and Lazer et al. (2018).

Diffusion patterns

- misinformation on Twitter tends to spread faster, more deeply, farther and more broadly than true news (Vosoughi et al., 2018)
- false (political) rumors may reappear after initial publication, while true rumors show no such pattern (Shin et al., 2018)
- formation of 'echo chambers', which refer to relatively closed systems of individuals who share similar beliefs which are then reinforced while suppressing the exposure to opposing perspectives (see Cinelli et al., 2021)
- (pseudo-)epidemic models may be useful for characterizing the spread of misinformation in social networks (see e.g., Jin et al., 2013; Kauk et al., 2021)

Cherry picking: Pitfalls in climate change denial

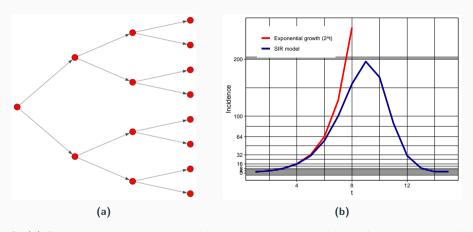


Figure 8: (a) Each node represents an individual, whereas each individual infects two more individuals $(\mathcal{R}_0 = 2)$, as indicated by arrows. Consequently, we would (initially) see an exponential increase in the number of new infections (incidence) over time. (b) Dynamics of an infectious disease outbreak.

Time series data

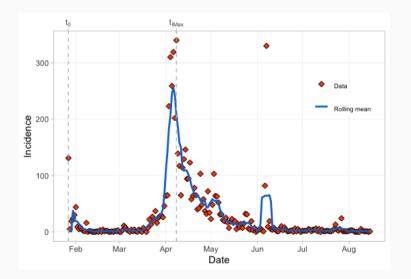


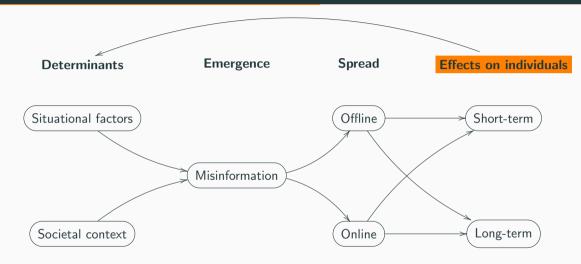
Figure 9: Incidence (total number of tweets containing a specific hashtag) over time. Please note that "Rolling mean" refers to the simple moving average with the rolling window k = 7.

(Mis)infodemic?



Figure 10: Figure adopted from World Health Organization (2021).

A general framework



 $\textbf{Figure 11:} \ \ \textbf{A} \ \ \textbf{general} \ \ \textbf{framework} \ \ \textbf{for understanding the causal chain of misinformation}.$

Effects on individuals

Greenspan and Loftus, 2021, p. 4:

"... research have shown that misinformation, particularly health-related misinformation, can affect people's lives in a myriad of consequential ways. Misinformation can impact beliefs about a disease's impact, effective preventive behaviors one can take ..."

Relevant effects:

- continued influence effect (see e.g., Lewandowsky & Cook, 2020; Susmann & Wegener, 2022)
- confirmation bias
- misinformation may induce fear and anxiety (Rocha et al., 2021)
- the intention to get vaccinated and the adherence to public health measures might be reduced (see e.g., Simonov et al., 2020; Tasnim et al., 2020; Teovanović et al., 2021)

Continued influence effect



Figure 12: Figure from https:

// medium.com/@cathxli/bias-design-understanding-the-continued-influence-effect-633283e30a4a.

Effects on democracies and societies

Watts et al., 2021, p. 5:

"The debate around misinformation and its potentially damaging effects on public opinion, understanding, and democratic decision making is **complex and multifaceted**. **There is not, to our knowledge, any general consensus on what "the problem" is**, and even less agreement on what the solution or solutions ought to be."

Potential effects:

- reduced trust in political leaders (Karić & Međedović, 2021), institutions (Pummerer et al., 2021) and media? (Swift, 2016)
- undermining social cohesion?
- strengthening of far-left/right parties?
- affecting outcomes of democratic elections? (for the US election 2016 see Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017)

How to intervene?

A general framework

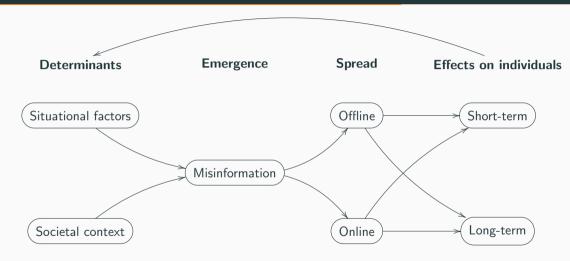


Figure 13: A general framework for understanding the causal chain of misinformation.

Papers discussed in this section:

- 1. Swami et al., 2016
- 2. Douglas and Sutton, 2011
- 3. Imhoff et al., 2022
- 4. Goreis and Voracek, 2019
- 5. Grimes, 2016a, 2016b
- 6. Lewandowsky et al., 2020
- 7. Kauk et al., 2021

Thank you for listening!

Are there any questions?

References i

- Allcott, H., & Gentzkow, M. (2017). Social media and fake news in the 2016 election. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 31(2), 211–236. https://doi.org/10.1257/JEP.31.2.211
- Allcott, H., Gentzkow, M., & Yu, C. (2019). Trends in the diffusion of misinformation on social media. Research and Politics, 6(2). https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168019848554
- Al-Zaman, M. S. (2022). Prevalence and source analysis of COVID-19 misinformation in 138 countries. *IFLA Journal*, 48(1). https://doi.org/10.1177/03400352211041135
- Bovet, A., & Makse, H. A. (2019). Influence of fake news in Twitter during the 2016 US presidential election. *Nature Communications*, 10(1). https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-018-07761-2
- Cinelli, M., de Francisci Morales, G., Galeazzi, A., Quattrociocchi, W., & Starnini, M. (2021).

 The echo chamber effect on social media. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 118(9).

 https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2023301118

References ii

- Douglas, K. M., & Sutton, R. M. (2011). Does it take one to know one? Endorsement of conspiracy theories is influenced by personal willingness to conspire. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 50(3). https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.2010.02018.x
- Goreis, A., & Voracek, M. (2019). A systematic review and meta-analysis of psychological research on conspiracy beliefs: Field characteristics, measurement instruments, and associations with personality traits. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00205
- Greenspan, R. L., & Loftus, E. F. (2021). Pandemics and infodemics: Research on the effects of misinformation on memory. *Human Behavior and Emerging Technologies*, 3(1). https://doi.org/10.1002/hbe2.228
- Grimes, D. R. (2016a). Correction: On the Viability of Conspiratorial Beliefs. *PLOS ONE*, 11(3). https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0151003
 - Grimes, D. R. (2016b). On the viability of conspiratorial beliefs. *PLoS ONE*, *11*(1). https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0147905

References i

- Guess, A., Nagler, J., & Tucker, J. (2019). Less than you think: Prevalence and predictors of fake news dissemination on Facebook. *Science Advances*, *5*(1). https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.aau4586
- Imhoff, R., Zimmer, F., Klein, O., António, J. H. C., Babinska, M., Bangerter, A., Bilewicz, M., Blanuša, N., Bovan, K., Bužarovska, R., et al. (2022). Conspiracy mentality and political orientation across 26 countries. *Nature human behaviour*, 1–12.
- Jin, F., Dougherty, E., Saraf, P., Mi, P., Cao, Y., & Ramakrishnan, N. (2013). Epidemiological modeling of news and rumors on Twitter. *Proceedings of the 7th Workshop on Social Network Mining and Analysis, SNA-KDD 2013*. https://doi.org/10.1145/2501025.2501027
- Karić, T., & Međedović, J. (2021). Covid-19 conspiracy beliefs and containment-related behaviour: The role of political trust. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 175. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2021.110697

References iv



Kauk, J., Krevsa, H., & Schweinberger, S. R. (2021). Understanding and countering the spread of conspiracy theories in social networks: Evidence from epidemiological models of Twitter data (S. Cresci, Ed.). PLOS ONE, 16(8), e0256179. https://doi.org/10.1371/JOURNAL.PONE.0256179



Lazer, D. M. J., Baum, M. A., Benkler, Y., Berinsky, A. J., Greenhill, K. M., Menczer, F., Metzger, M. J., Nyhan, B., Pennycook, G., Rothschild, D., Schudson, M., Sloman, S. A., Sunstein, C. R., Thorson, E. A., Watts, D. J., & Zittrain, J. L. (2018). The science of fake news. Science, 359(6380).

https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aao2998



Lewandowsky, S., & Cook, J. (2020). The Conspiracy Theory Handbook.



Lewandowsky, S., Cook, J., Ecker, U., Albarracin, D., Amazeen, M., Kendou, P., Lombardi, D., Newman, E., Pennycook, G., Porter, E., & al. (2020). The debunking handbook 2020. https://doi.org/10.17910/b7.1182

References v



Pummerer, L., Böhm, R., Lilleholt, L., Winter, K., Zettler, I., & Sassenberg, K. (2021).

Conspiracy Theories and Their Societal Effects During the COVID-19 Pandemic. Social Psychological and Personality Science. https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506211000217

Rocha, Y. M., de Moura, G. A., Desidério, G. A., de Oliveira, C. H., Lourenço, F. D., & de Figueiredo Nicolete, L. D. (2021). The impact of fake news on social media and its influence on health during the COVID-19 pandemic: a systematic review. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10389-021-01658-z

Shin, J., Jian, L., Driscoll, K., & Bar, F. (2018). The diffusion of misinformation on social media: Temporal pattern, message, and source. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 83. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2018.02.008

References vi



Simonov, A., Sacher, S., Dube, J.-P. H., & Biswas, S. (2020). The Persuasive Effect of Fox News: Non-Compliance with Social Distancing During the Covid-19 Pandemic. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3600088



Siwakoti, S., Yadav, K., Thange, I., Bariletto, N., Zanotti, L., Ghoneim, A., & Shapiro, J. (2021). Localized misinformation in a global pandemic: Report on COVID-19 narratives around the world (tech. rep.). Empirical Study of Conflict Project, Princeton University. https://esoc.princeton.edu/publications/localized-misinformation-global-pandemic-report-covid-19-narratives-around-world



Stremlau, N., Gagliardone, I., Price, M., & al. (2018). World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development: 2017/2018 Global Report. UNESCO.



Susmann, M. W., & Wegener, D. T. (2022). How Attitudes Impact the Continued Influence Effect of Misinformation: The Mediating Role of Discomfort. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.* https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672221077519

References vii



Swami, V., Furnham, A., Smyth, N., Weis, L., Lay, A., & Clow, A. (2016). Putting the stress on conspiracy theories: Examining associations between psychological stress, anxiety, and belief in conspiracy theories. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 99. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2016.04.084



Swift, A. (2016). Americans' Trust in Mass Media Sinks to New Low (tech. rep.).



Tasnim, S., Hossain, M., & Mazumder, H. (2020). Impact of rumors and misinformation on COVID-19 in Social Media. https://doi.org/10.3961/JPMPH.20.094



Teovanović, P., Lukić, P., Zupan, Z., Lazić, A., Ninković, M., & Žeželj, I. (2021). Irrational beliefs differentially predict adherence to guidelines and pseudoscientific practices during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, *35*(2). https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.3770



Van Prooijen, J. W. (2020). An Existential Threat Model of Conspiracy Theories. *European Psychologist*, 25(1). https://doi.org/10.1027/1016-9040/a000381

References viii

- van Prooijen, J. W. (2017). Why Education Predicts Decreased Belief in Conspiracy Theories.

 Applied Cognitive Psychology, 31(1). https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.3301
- Vosoughi, S., Roy, D., & Aral, S. (2018). The spread of true and false news online. *Science*, 359(6380). https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aap9559
 - Watts, D. J., Rothschild, D. M., & Mobius, M. (2021). Measuring the news and its impact on democracy. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 118(15). https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1912443118
- World Health Organization. (2021). Infodemic management: an overview of infodemic management during COVID-19, January 2020–May 2021 (tech. rep.). World Health Organization.