### Political Deepfakes Are As Credible As Other Fake Media And (Sometimes) Real Media

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soubhikbarari.github.io/files/deepfakes.pdf

UCLA Political Psych Lab April 23, 2021

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Huge public/policy concern about political "deepfakes"

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Huge public/policy concern about political "deepfakes"

- Low barriers (\$ and skill) of entry
- Deepfakes supposedly triggered government coups, sex scandals



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Huge public/policy concern about political "deepfakes"

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 Debate: video often assumed to be superior format of political communication (persuasion, affective appeal)

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Huge public/policy concern about political "deepfakes"

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▶ Debate: video often assumed to be superior format of political communication (persuasion, affective appeal) ~→ but, many recent studies document minimal persuasive effects (ads, news)

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Huge public/policy concern about political "deepfakes"

- Low barriers (\$ and skill) of entry
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- ▶ Debate: video often assumed to be superior format of political communication (persuasion, affective appeal) ~→ but, many recent studies document minimal persuasive effects (ads, news)
- So are these concerns warranted?

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RQ1 Are deepfakes of political elites more credible or affectively appealing relative to equivalent information in extant media (text, audio)?

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- RQ1 Are deepfakes of political elites more credible or affectively appealing relative to equivalent information in extant media (text, audio)?
- **RO2** Are these credibility perceptions or appeals heterogeneous across subgroups?

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- RQ1 Are deepfakes of political elites more credible or affectively appealing relative to equivalent information in extant media (text, audio)?
- RQ2 Are these credibility perceptions or appeals heterogeneous across subgroups?
- **RQ3** Are deepfakes of political elites discernible from authentic videos?

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- RQ1 Are deepfakes of political elites more credible or affectively appealing relative to equivalent information in extant media (text, audio)?
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### One survey (n = 5,750, U.S.), two experiments (Aug. 2020):

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- RQ1 Are deepfakes of political elites more credible or affectively appealing relative to equivalent information in extant media (text, audio)?
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### One survey (n = 5,750, U.S.), two experiments (Aug. 2020):

Incidental exposure: fake scandal planted in news feed → randomize medium (leaked video, text headline, audio hot mic)

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- RQ1 Are deepfakes of political elites more credible or affectively appealing relative to equivalent information in extant media (text, audio)?
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One survey (n = 5,750, U.S.), two experiments (Aug. 2020):

- Incidental exposure: fake scandal planted in news feed → randomize medium (leaked video, text headline, audio hot mic)
- 2 Detection task: discern deepfakes from authentic clips → randomize number of deepfakes in task environment

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# Who is Susceptible? (RQ2)

	Subgroup	Mechanisms of Credibility (though we don't test these)
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'ey	Partisans	<ul> <li>Directional motivated reasoning</li> </ul>
urv	(w/out-partisan targets)	<ul> <li>Accuracy motivated reasoning</li> </ul>
n S	Sexists	<ul> <li>Consistency w/prior hostile beliefs</li> </ul>
le i	(w/female targets)	<ul> <li>Consistency w/prior benevolent beliefs</li> </ul>
nab	Older adults	Inability to evaluate accuracy of digital info
rve	Low cognitive reflection	Overreliance on intuition in judgment
Non-Intervenable in Survey	Low political knowledge	<ul><li>Inability to evaluate plausibility of political events</li><li>Inability to recognize real facial features of target</li></ul>
ž	Low digital literacy	<ul><li>Inability to evaluate accuracy of digital info</li><li>Limited recognition of deepfake technology</li></ul>
ble		
ena	Low accuracy salience	Limited attn. to factual accuracy of media
Intervenable	Uninformed about deepfakes	Limited recognition of deepfake technology

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# Who is Susceptible? (RQ2)

	Subgroup	Mechanisms of Credibility (though we don't test these)
Non-Intervenable in Survey	Partisans (w/out-partisan targets) Sexists (w/female targets) Older adults Low cognitive reflection Low political knowledge	<ul> <li>Directional motivated reasoning</li> <li>Accuracy motivated reasoning</li> <li>Consistency w/prior hostile beliefs</li> <li>Consistency w/prior benevolent beliefs</li> <li>Inability to evaluate accuracy of digital info</li> <li>Overreliance on intuition in judgment</li> <li>Inability to evaluate plausibility of political events</li> <li>Inability to recognize real facial features of target</li> </ul>
Nc	Low digital literacy	<ul><li>Inability to evaluate accuracy of digital info</li><li>Limited recognition of deepfake technology</li></ul>
Intervenable	Low accuracy salience Uninformed about deepfakes	Limited attn. to factual accuracy of media Limited recognition of deepfake technology

If popular concerns true, these "at-risk" subgroups might find deepfakes *more* credible than audio, text, etc.

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Exposure(s)

# Pre-Exposure Outcomes Interventions

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Exposure(s)	Pre-Exposure Interventions	Outcomes
<ol> <li>Authentic coverage of 2020 D candidates</li> <li>Randomized to text, audio, video, skit clip of E. Warren scandal, attack ad, or control (no stimuli)</li> <li>Authentic coverage of 2020 D candidates</li> </ol>	• Info about deepfakes	<ul> <li>Credibility of clips</li> <li>Affect towards candidates</li> </ul>

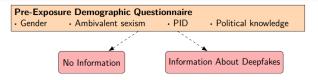
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	Exposure(s)	Pre-Exposure Interventions	Outcomes
	1. Authentic coverage of 2020 D candidates 2. Randomized to text, audio, video, skit clip of E. Warren scandal, attack ad, or control (no stimuli) 3. Authentic coverage of 2020 D candidates	• Info about deepfakes	Credibility of clips Affect towards candidates
2 Detection Task	Random video feed: • No-fake: 8 authentic • Low-fake: 6 authentic, 2 deepfakes • High-fake: 2 authentic, 6 deepfakes	<ul> <li>Debrief deepfakes in ①</li> <li>Acc prime</li> </ul>	• Acc • FPR • FNR

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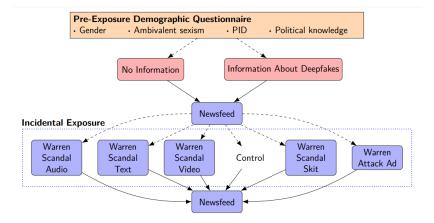
# Pre-Exposure Demographic Questionnaire · Gender · Ambivalent sexism · PID · Political knowledge

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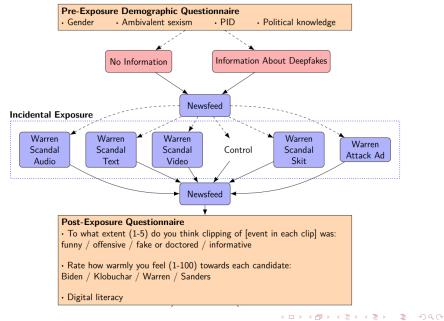


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#### Example video exposure:

...



because he's a sexist piece of shit 0:05 / 0:08 YOUTUBE COM Leak: Elizabeth Warren calls Donald Trump "a piece of sh\*\*" and a pedophile in 2019 campaign call 1.54 ■ Comments



### Example audio exposure:



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OUTUBE.COM	Warren: because he's a sexist piece of a 		
оитиве.сом _eaked audio: Eli	izabeth Warren calls Donald Trump "a		
YOUTUBE.COM	izabeth Warren calls Donald Trump "a	piece of sh**" and	<b>a</b> nts

#### Example text exposure:



...

Leak: Elizabeth Warren calls Donald Trump "a piece of s—" in 2019 campaign call

In call with a campaign contributor, Warren was recorded calling President Donald Trump "a piece of sh\*" and a pedophile.





**■** ■ Comments

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#### Reference affective exposure (skit):



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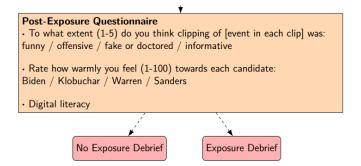
#### Reference affective exposure (ad):



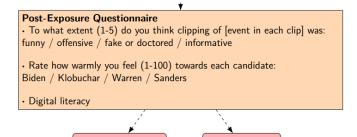
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# Post-Exposure Questionnaire To what extent (1-5) do you think clipping of [event in each clip] was: funny / offensive / fake or doctored / informative Rate how warmly you feel (1-100) towards each candidate: Biden / Klobuchar / Warren / Sanders Digital literacy

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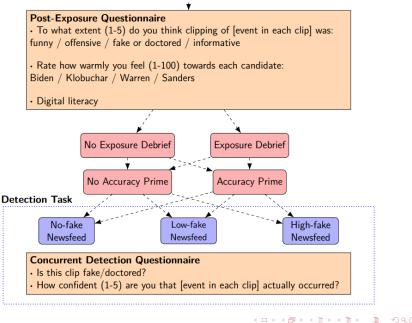
**Exposure Debrief** 

Accuracy Prime

No Exposure Debrief

No Accuracy Prime

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#### Example detection clips:



(a) Is this clipping fake/doctored?

(b) Is this clipping fake/doctored?

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### Many Trade-Offs Considered in Our Design

Why Warren in the incidental exposure?

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### Many Trade-Offs Considered in Our Design

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- ▶ Why those clips in detection task?

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#### Why those clips in detection task?

 $\leadsto$  highest quality deep fakes we could find matched to real clips of same elites, hard to know exact populations

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- Why those clips in detection task?

   highest quality deepfakes we could find matched to real clips of
   same elites, hard to know exact populations
- Why credibility ("is this real?") and not deception ("did this happen"?)

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# Why those clips in detection task? highest quality deepfakes we could find matched to real clips of same elites, hard to know exact populations

### Why credibility ("is this real?") and not deception ("did this happen"?)

 $\leadsto$  responses theoretically could be different, some evidence they're not in practice (Appendix G32-G33), useful future research

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► Are your 2019 deepfakes representative of ≥2021 deepfakes?

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# Why those clips in detection task? highest quality deepfakes we could find matched to real clips of same elites, hard to know exact populations

### Why credibility ("is this real?") and not deception ("did this happen"?)

 $\leadsto$  responses theoretically could be different, some evidence they're not in practice (Appendix G32-G33), useful future research

► Are your 2019 deepfakes representative of ≥2021 deepfakes? → no, *but*, if deepfakes are now indistinguishable from real videos, our findings hint that's still a problem

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### **Findings**

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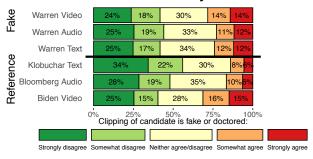
### **RQ1/2:**

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### RQ1/2: No

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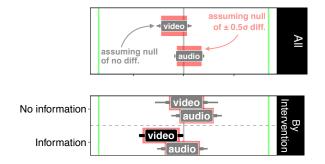
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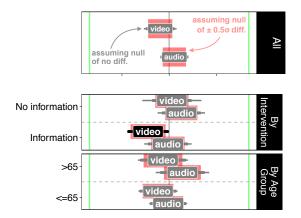


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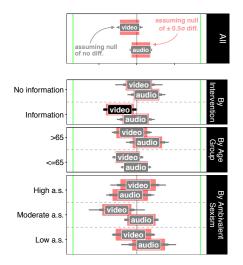
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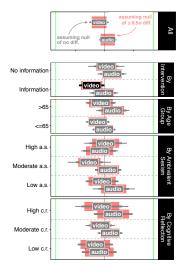
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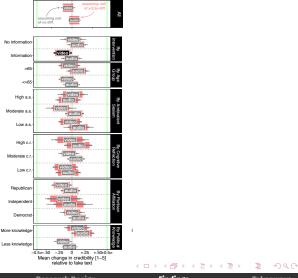
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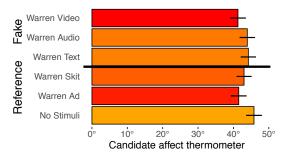
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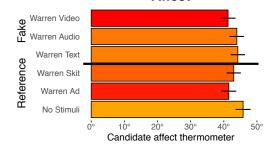
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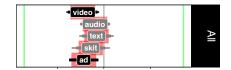


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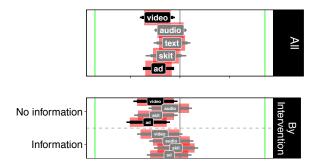




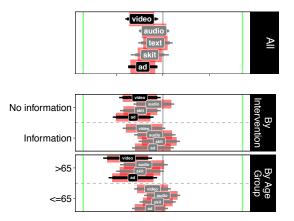
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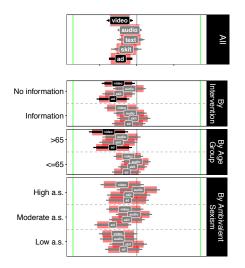
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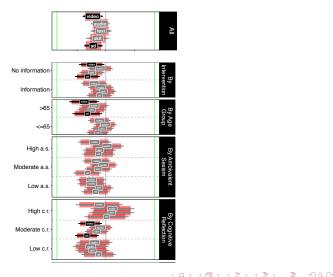


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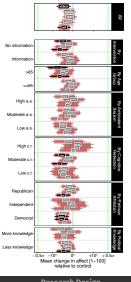


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#### **RQ3:**

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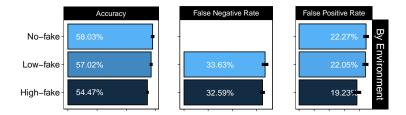
#### **RQ3: Sorta**

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### RQ3: Sorta (FNR higher than FPR)

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### RQ3: Sorta (FNR higher than FPR)

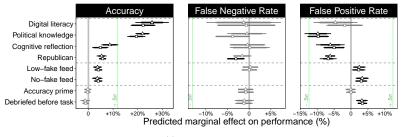


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### RQ3: Sorta (but, digital literacy and pol. knowledge improve FPR)

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### RQ3: Sorta (but, digital literacy and pol. knowledge improve FPR)



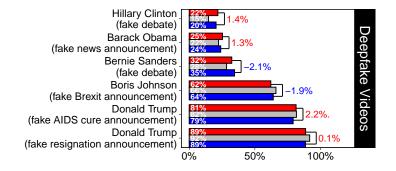
model: 
 weighted multivariate 
 weighted univariate

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### RQ3: Sorta (however, *significant* gap in FPR between Democrats and Republicans)

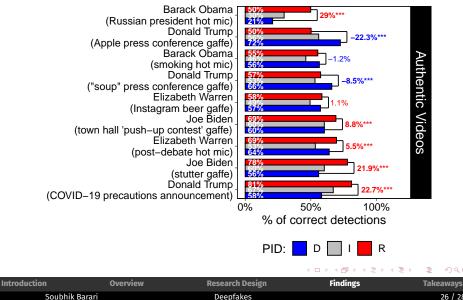
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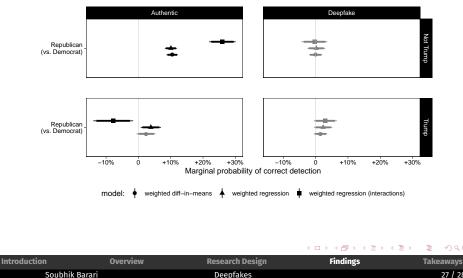
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### RQ3: Sorta (however, significant gap in FPR between **Democrats and Republicans)**



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 Contribute to a growing consensus that video communication not only has minimal effects (Coppock, Hill, Vavreck 2020),

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Contribute to a growing consensus that video communication not only has minimal effects (Coppock, Hill, Vavreck 2020), but also minimal *differential* effects (Wittenberg, Berinsky, Zong, Rand n.d.)

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- Contribute to a growing consensus that video communication not only has minimal effects (Coppock, Hill, Vavreck 2020), but also minimal *differential* effects (Wittenberg, Berinsky, Zong, Rand n.d.)
- False positives in a "deepfake world" more concerning (Ternovski, Kalla, Aronow 2021),

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- Contribute to a growing consensus that video communication not only has minimal effects (Coppock, Hill, Vavreck 2020), but also minimal *differential* effects (Wittenberg, Berinsky, Zong, Rand n.d.)
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- Partisan cheerleading? Motivated reasoning? All mechanisms to explore in future work.

"If everybody lies to you, the consequence is not that you believe the lies, but rather that nobody believes anything any longer" – Hannah Arendt

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