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

Soubhik Barari¹ Christopher Lucas² Kevin Munger³

¹Harvard University

²Washington University in St. Louis

³Pennsylvania State University

soubhikbarari.github.io/files/deepfakes.pdf

UCLA Political Psych Lab April 23, 2021

			《曰》《聞》《臣》《臣	► ≣ •) ९ (२)
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik I	Barari	Deepfakes		1 / 28

Huge public/policy concern about political "deepfakes"

				=
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		1 / 28

- -

Huge public/policy concern about political "deepfakes"

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



Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		1 / 28

Huge public/policy concern about political "deepfakes"

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



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

				=
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	Barari	Deepfakes		1 / 28

Huge public/policy concern about political "deepfakes"

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



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

				E DAG
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	arari	Deepfakes		1 / 28

Huge public/policy concern about political "deepfakes"

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



- ▶ 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?

				E 1940
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barar	i	Deepfakes		1 / 28

			• □ • • □• • • = • • = •	≣ *)⊄(*
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik E	Barari	Deepfakes		2 / 28

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

			◆□ > ◆舂 > ◆直 > ◆直 >	E Sac
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	arari	Deepfakes		2 / 28

- 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?

Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	larari	Deepfakes		2 / 28

- 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?

				= -0.40
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Ba	arari	Deepfakes		2 / 28

- 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?

One survey (n = 5,750, U.S.), two experiments (Aug. 2020):

Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Ba	arari	Deepfakes		2 / 28

- 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?

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)

				= 2.40
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	arari	Deepfakes		2 / 28

- 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?

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

Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		2 / 28

Who is Susceptible? (RQ2)

	Subgroup	Mechanisms of Credibility (though we don't test these)
	0 1	
'ey	Partisans	 Directional motivated reasoning
urv	(w/out-partisan targets)	 Accuracy motivated reasoning
n S	Sexists	 Consistency w/prior hostile beliefs
le i	(w/female targets)	 Consistency w/prior benevolent beliefs
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	Inability to evaluate plausibility of political eventsInability to recognize real facial features of target
ž	Low digital literacy	Inability to evaluate accuracy of digital infoLimited recognition of deepfake technology
ble		
ena	Low accuracy salience	Limited attn. to factual accuracy of media
Intervenable	Uninformed about deepfakes	Limited recognition of deepfake technology

				E 940
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		3 / 28

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	 Directional motivated reasoning Accuracy motivated reasoning Consistency w/prior hostile beliefs Consistency w/prior benevolent beliefs Inability to evaluate accuracy of digital info Overreliance on intuition in judgment Inability to evaluate plausibility of political events Inability to recognize real facial features of target
Nc	Low digital literacy	Inability to evaluate accuracy of digital infoLimited recognition of deepfake technology
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.

Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		3 / 28

			A D > A D > A E > A E > A	≣ *)Q(*
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Ba	arari	Deepfakes		4 / 28

Exposure(s)

Pre-Exposure Outcomes Interventions

			《曰》《卽》《臣》《臣)	
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barar	i	Deepfakes		4 / 28

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

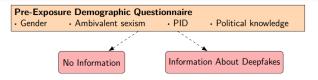
				E DAG
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	larari	Deepfakes		5 / 28

	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	 Debrief deepfakes in ① Acc prime 	• Acc • FPR • FNR

				$= \sqrt{2}$
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		6 / 28

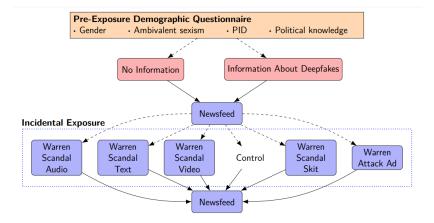
Pre-Exposure Demographic Questionnaire · Gender · Ambivalent sexism · PID · Political knowledge

			《曰》《卽》《言》《言	 目のへの
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	arari	Deepfakes		7 / 28

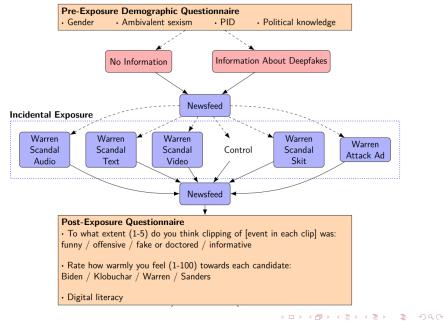


Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik E	Barari	Deepfakes		7 / 28

-



				≣ *) Q (*
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	larari	Deepfakes		7 / 28



Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		7 / 28

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:



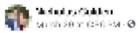
Introduction

Neholos Galden Mich 28 miche PM - O

...

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	a 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

				= *) 4 (*
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Ba	rari	Deepfakes		10 / 28

Reference affective exposure (skit):



				= •) ५ (•
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		11 / 28

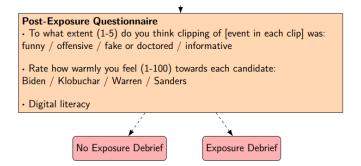
Reference affective exposure (ad):



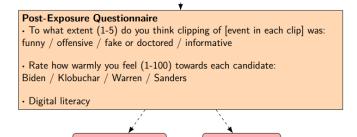
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		12 / 28

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

			 < □ > < ⊡ > < Ξ > < Ξ > 	$\equiv \mathcal{O} \land \mathcal{O}$
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		13 / 28



Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik E	Barari	Deepfakes		13 / 28



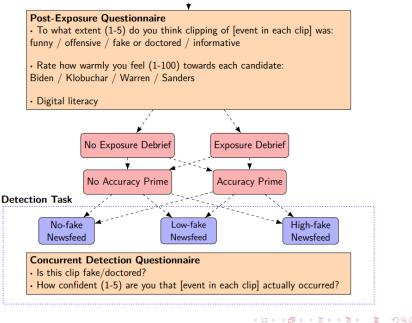
Exposure Debrief

Accuracy Prime

No Exposure Debrief

No Accuracy Prime

			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	≣ *)⊄(*
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		13 / 28



Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		13 / 28

Example detection clips:



(a) Is this clipping fake/doctored?

(b) Is this clipping fake/doctored?

				E 1240
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Ba	arari	Deepfakes		14 / 28

Many Trade-Offs Considered in Our Design

Why Warren in the incidental exposure?

Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		15 / 28

Many Trade-Offs Considered in Our Design

			《曰》《聞》《臣》《臣》	目 うく(や
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	larari	Deepfakes		15 / 28

- ▶ Why those clips in detection task?

Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Bar	ari	Deepfakes		15 / 28

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

				≣ ► ≡ *) < (*
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	Barari	Deepfakes		15 / 28

- 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"?)

Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		15 / 28

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

				E DAG
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	arari	Deepfakes		15 / 28

- 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?

				き うくぐ
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Ba	rari	Deepfakes		15 / 28

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

				E 2.40
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Ba	ırari	Deepfakes		15 / 28

Findings

				= 0.40
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik E	Barari	Deepfakes		16 / 28

1 AU 1

-

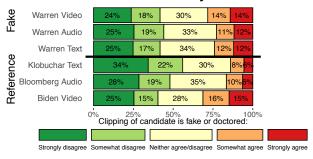
RQ1/2:

				≣ *) Q (*
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Ba	arari	Deepfakes		17 / 28

RQ1/2: No

			· □ ▶ · □▶ · · 큰 ▶ · · 큰 ▶	≣ *)⊄(*
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	arari	Deepfakes		18 / 28

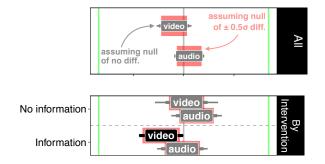
			< □ > < 四 > < 臣 > < 臣 < 臣	 ■ つへで
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		19 / 28



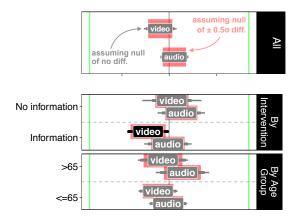


イロト 不得 トイヨト イヨト

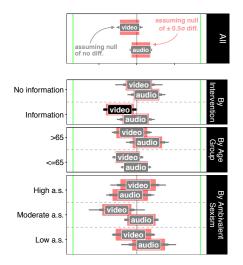
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		19 / 28



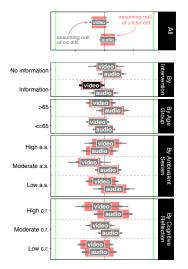
				= *) 4 (*
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik E	Barari	Deepfakes		19 / 28



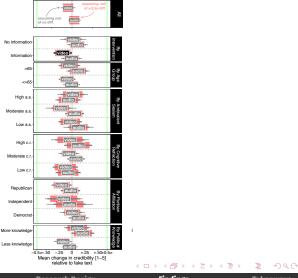
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		19 / 28



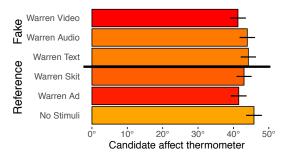
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Ba	rari	Deepfakes		19 / 28



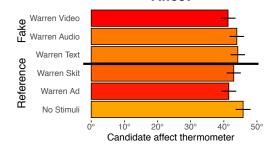
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		19 / 28

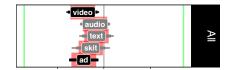


Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		19 / 28



			< □ ▷ < ⊡ ▷ < 분 ▷ < 분 ▷	≣ *) Q (*
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	arari	Deepfakes		20 / 28

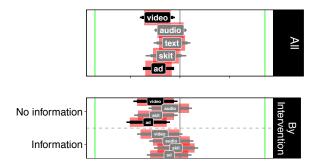




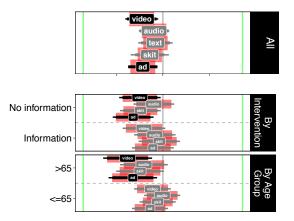
イロト 不得 トイヨト イヨト

э

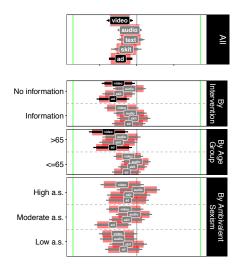
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		20 / 28



			《曰》《聞》《言》《言》	$\equiv \mathcal{O} \land \mathcal{O}$
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	arari	Deepfakes		20 / 28

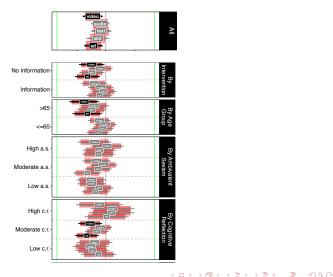


			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	≣ *) ⊄ (*
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	arari	Deepfakes		20 / 28

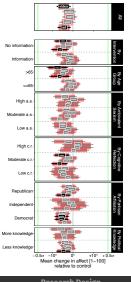


Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		20 / 28

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト ニヨー わらや



Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		20 / 28



				E 240
troduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		20 / 28

Int

オロト オポト オモト オモト

_

RQ3:

Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	arari	Deepfakes		21 / 28

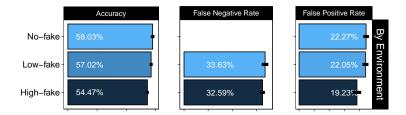
RQ3: Sorta

			《曰》《聞》《臣》《臣》	≡ ∽)へ(や
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	Barari	Deepfakes		22 / 28

RQ3: Sorta (FNR higher than FPR)

			A = 1 + A = 1 + A = 1 A	≣ *) Q (*
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Ba	arari	Deepfakes		23 / 28

RQ3: Sorta (FNR higher than FPR)

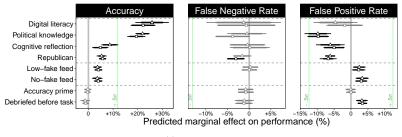


			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	≣ *)⊄(*
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	arari	Deepfakes		23 / 28

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

			《 ㅁ ▷ 《 @ ▷ 《 분 ▷ 《 분 ▷	E AC
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Bar	ari	Deepfakes		24 / 28

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



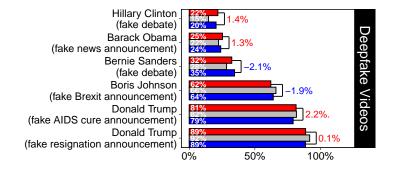
model:
 weighted multivariate
 weighted univariate

				= *) 4 (*
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Ba	arari	Deepfakes		24 / 28

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

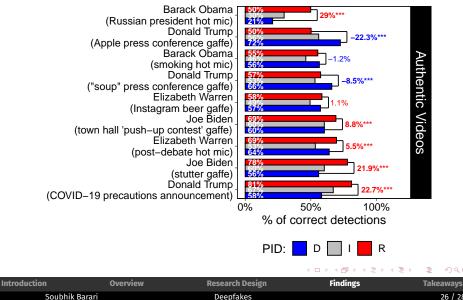
			 < □ > < □ > < □ > < ≡ > < 	E> E ∽ Q (~
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Barari		Deepfakes		25 / 28

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



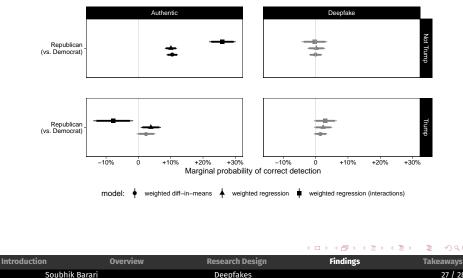
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik I	Barari	Deepfakes		25 / 28

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



26 / 28

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



27 / 28

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

			1 U F 1 DF F 1 E F 1 E	
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik Ba	arari	Deepfakes		28 / 28

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.)

			《 ㅁ ▷ 《 랩 ▷ 《 분 ▷ 《 분	▶ ≣ •) ९ (२)
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	arari	Deepfakes		28 / 28

- 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),

Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	arari	Deepfakes		28 / 28

- 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), but digital + political literacy help

				= -0.40
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	arari	Deepfakes		28 / 28

- 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), but digital + political literacy help
- As deepfake technology approaches limits of realism,

Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	arari	Deepfakes		28 / 28

- 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), but digital + political literacy help
- As deepfake technology approaches limits of realism, findings suggest partisanship may influence credibility assessments <u>more</u>

				E E DAG
Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	arari	Deepfakes		28 / 28

- 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), but digital + political literacy help
- As deepfake technology approaches limits of realism, findings suggest partisanship may influence credibility assessments <u>more</u> ~> why?

Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik B	larari	Deepfakes		28 / 28

イロト 不得 トイヨト イヨト ヨー うらう

- 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), but digital + political literacy help
- As deepfake technology approaches limits of realism, findings suggest partisanship may influence credibility assessments <u>more</u> ~> why?
- 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

Introduction	Overview	Research Design	Findings	Takeaways
Soubhik I	Barari	Deepfakes		28 / 28

イロト (日本) (日本) (日本) (日本)