



# Belief Updating and Misinformation

IFREE Presentation

---

Elias Tsakas, Martin Strobel and **Lars Wittrock**

May 13, 2022

Maastricht University

# Introduction

---

# Motivation

- Information is often not 100% reliable.
  - 37% of people reported to come across 'fake news' on a daily basis (European Commission, 2018).
  - This leads to information uncertainty more generally.

# Motivation

- Information is often not 100% reliable.
  - 37% of people reported to come across 'fake news' on a daily basis (European Commission, 2018).
  - This leads to information uncertainty more generally.
- Uncertain information frequently gets verified.
  - A verification can lead to confirmation or retraction of previous information.
  - Both of these outcomes are common, for example in the context of scientific research during the Covid-19 pandemic.
  - At least 224 published studies on Covid-19 have been retracted since 2020 ('RetractionWatch.com').

# Motivation

- It is unclear how people deal with *information about information*, i.e. verifications.
  - Some evidence that people do not fully 'unlearn' if a previous piece of information is retracted.
    - Continued influence effect - psychology literature
    - Refuted Covid-19 statements, child vaccinations and autism, deceptive mouthwash advertising<sup>1</sup>, ...
  - It is unclear how people react to confirmations and how verifications affect future updating.
- A clear understanding of how people respond to information has important implications for the communication of policies, especially if these are based on uncertain information.

---

<sup>1</sup>Examples mentioned in Meyer et al. (2020) and Lewandowsky et al. (2012)

# Literature

- Belief updating problems first studied in 60s and 70s.
  - Phillips and Edwards (1966); Kahneman and Tversky (1971,1974); and many others.
- Benjamin (2019) – Meta study
  - Strong evidence of under-inference in general.
  - No pooling of data with sequential updating.
  - Recency and primacy effect with sequential updating.
- Goncalves et al. (2021)
  - Subjects under-infer from retractions.
  - Beliefs are more sensitive to new signals after a retraction.
- Psychology literature - Continued Influence Effect<sup>2</sup>
  - Mechanism is based on memory and recall.
  - Works best (or mainly?) with narratives that have a causal structure.
  - Cognitive ability partly explains the size of the effect.

---

<sup>2</sup>For an overview of the literature see Ecker et al. (2022).

# Research Questions

1. How do people update their belief in response to being told a previous signal was (un)informative?
  - Retraction: CIE in psychology, confirmed by Goncalves et al. (2021).
  - Confirmation: not tested. [Not part of today]
2. When do people under-react or over-react to a retraction?
3. Do verifications in the past affect inference from regular signals later on?

## Experimental Design

---

# Experimental Design

## Ball and urn framework:

- 2 urns filled with different distributions of balls. One urn is randomly picked.
- Task: guess which of the urns was selected after receiving hints from the selected urn.
- Deliberately abstract design to avoid context dependencies. More

# Experimental Design

## Ball and urn framework:

- 2 urns filled with different distributions of balls. One urn is randomly picked.
- Task: guess which of the urns was selected after receiving hints from the selected urn.
- Deliberately abstract design to avoid context dependencies. More

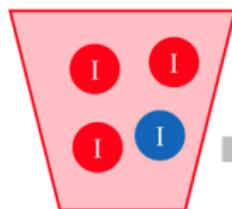
## Modification:

- 4 balls from the selected urn are put into a box with 6 other, irrelevant balls, i.e. 60% chance of a signal being uninformative.
- 12 rounds of information. 9 balls are shown and 3 times information about the previous ball is displayed.
- The order of verification rounds varies per subject.

# Urns and Black Box

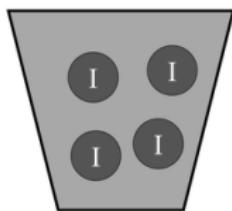
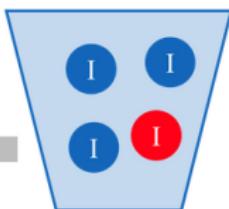
Step 1:

Red urn:



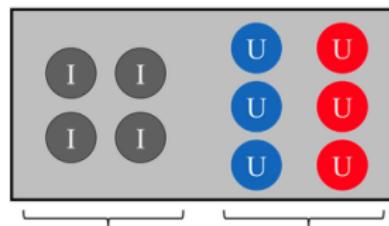
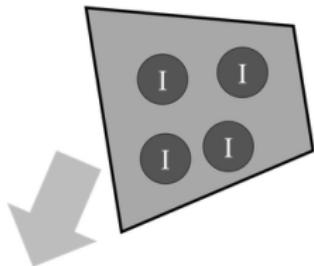
or

Blue urn:



Randomly selected urn

Step 2:



Informative balls

Uninformative balls

# Participant Screen

## Round 7

### Background:

Show/hide instructions

### History:

Ball 1	Ball 2	Ball 3	Ball 4	Ball 5	Ball 6	Ball 7	Ball 8	Ball 9
?	?	?	?	U	?			

You previously thought it was **50%** likely that the selected urn is red.

### New Information:

A **blue** ball was drawn from the black box:  It is put back into the box with the other balls.

### Question:

What do you think are the chances (in %) that the **RED URN** was picked in the beginning?



## Implementation

- Experiment was conducted online with subjects recruited from Prolific.
- Hypotheses and analysis were pre-registered on 'aspredicted.org'.
- You can have a look at the complete experiment by visiting:  
<https://updatingsurvey.herokuapp.com/join/kiripame>.

## Analysis

---

# Analysis

## Defining posteriors:

- Regular: Posterior is given by Bayes' rule, using the previous belief as the prior.
- Retractions: Belief before the retracted uninformative signal.
- Confirmations: Multiple options exist.

## Measuring bias:

- Regular: Estimate inference and base-rate use. Method
- Retractions:
  - Estimate inference and base-rate use.
  - Average belief difference before and after retracted signal.
  - Compare compressed histories. Method
- Confirmations: Estimate inference and base-rate use.

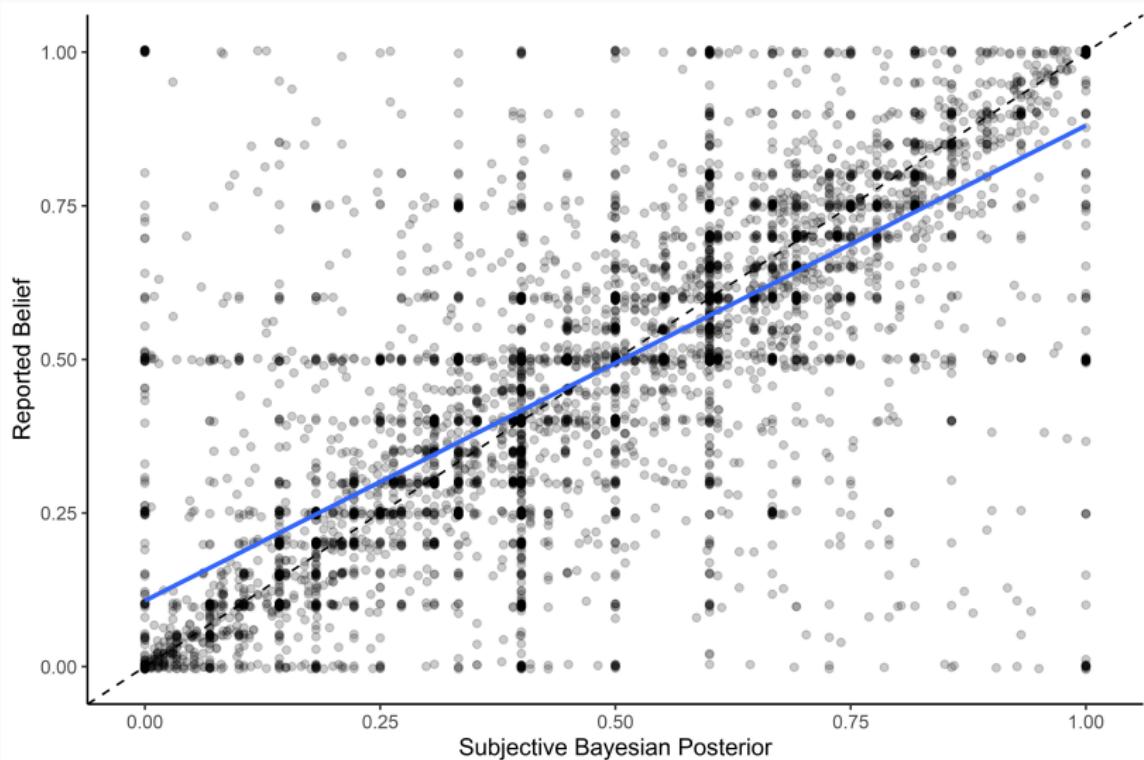
## Results

---

## Sample Overview

- 606 subjects completed the experiment.
- 48 were removed as outliers (pre-registered criteria).
- In total 6,696 observations.
- Median time to complete survey 17 minutes.
- Average payoff is 4.80€.
- Equal ratio male/female.

# Reported Beliefs vs Posteriors

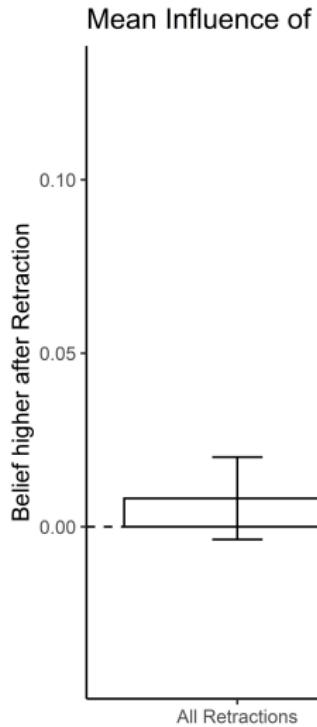


# How do people react to retractions?

## In general:

- No significant differences in beliefs before and after seeing an uninformative signal.
- Confirmed by analyzing compressed histories. Regression
- Contrary to Goncalves et al. (2021).

# Retractions do not bias subjects on average



# How do people react to retractions?

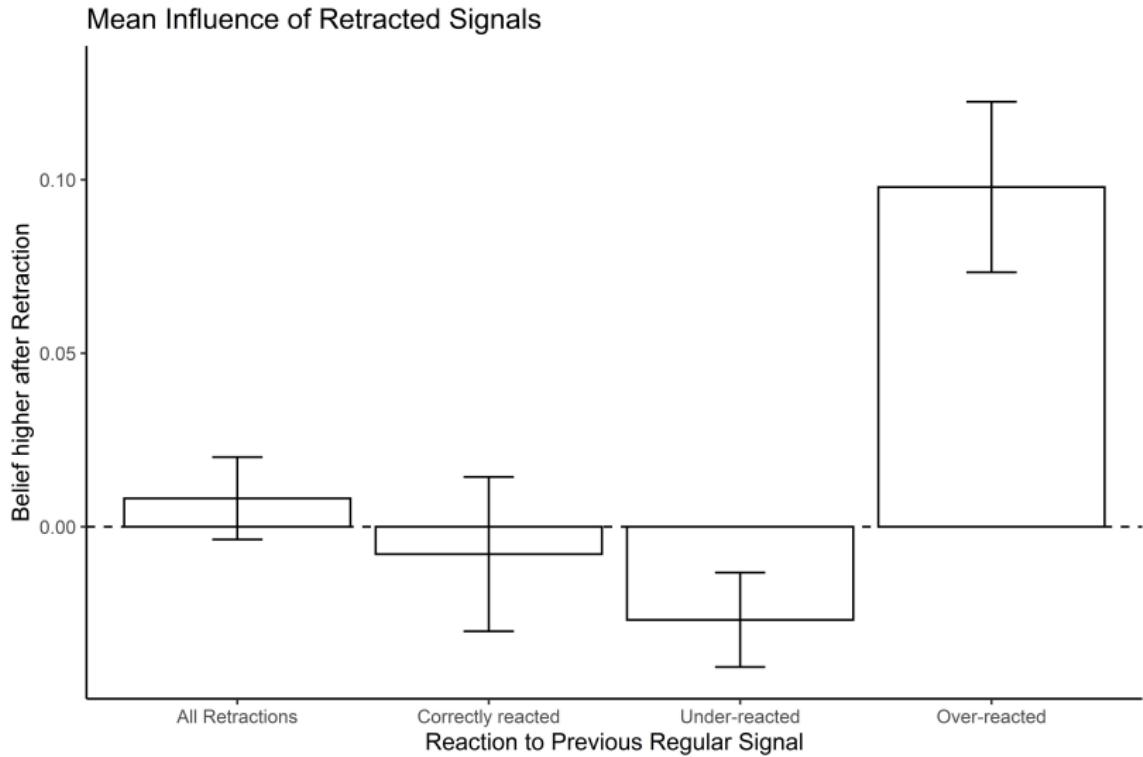
## In general:

- No significant differences in beliefs before and after seeing an uninformative signal.
- Confirmed by analyzing compressed histories. Regression
- Contrary to Goncalves et al. (2021).

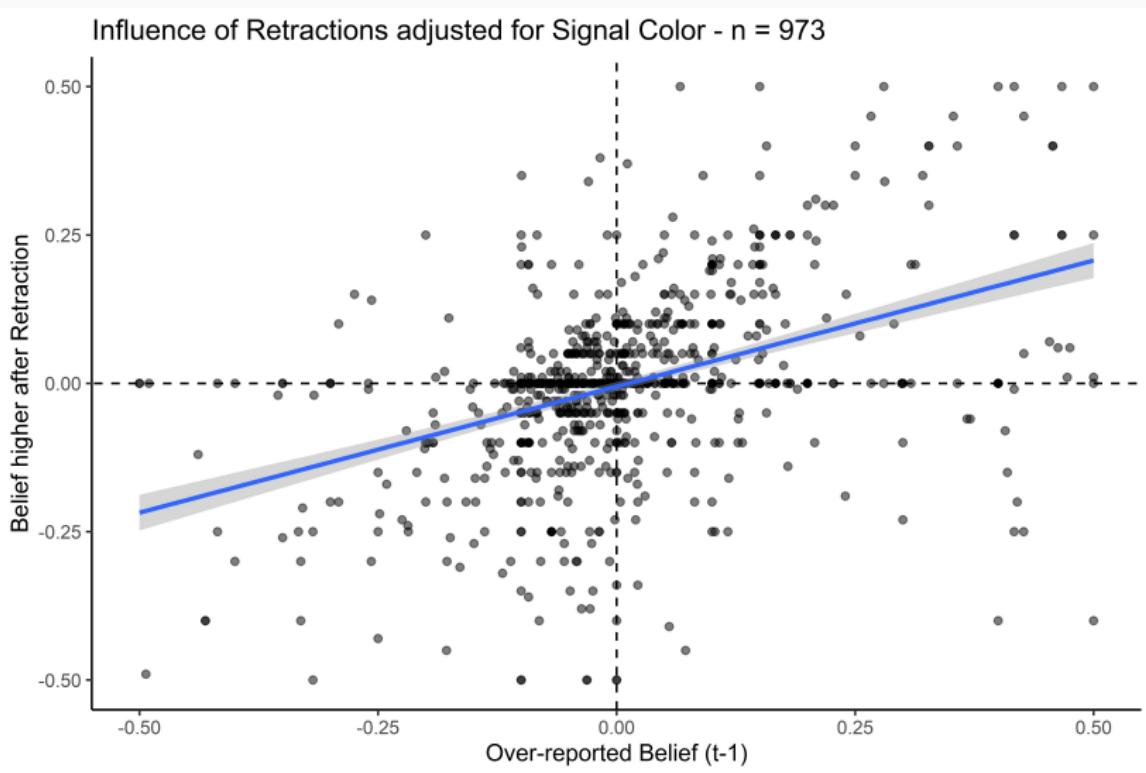
## Previous update explains reaction to retractions:

- Previously over-reacted: Too high belief.
- Previously under-reacted: Too low belief.
- Previously correctly reacted: Correct belief.

# Previous update explains reaction to retractions



# Previous update explains reaction to retractions



# Do verifications impact future regular updating?

## Regular updating:

Regression

- Significant over-inference ( $c \approx 1.4$ ).
  - Potential reason: introduction of information uncertainty.
- Significant base-rate neglect ( $d \approx 0.75$ ).
- Evidence of confirmation bias.

# Do verifications impact future regular updating?

## Regular updating:

Regression

- Significant over-inference ( $c \approx 1.4$ ).
  - Potential reason: introduction of information uncertainty.
- Significant base-rate neglect ( $d \approx 0.75$ ).
- Evidence of confirmation bias.

## Impact of verifications:

Regression

- No intuitively plausible finding.
- It seems that the number of past verifications of the other colored ball (retractions or confirmations) significantly decrease inference.
  - Potential reason: gambler's fallacy?

## Summary

---

# Summary

## Findings:

- Updating with retractions depends on previous reaction (even in a neutral setting!)
- No continued influence on average (contrary to some earlier literature)
- Past verifications have no clear influence on future updating.

## Next steps:

- Analysis of updating after confirmations.
- Investigate mechanism further?
- Influence of motivated beliefs?

# Questions?

**Thank you for your attention!**

# References

- Benjamin, D. J. (2019). Errors in probabilistic reasoning and judgment biases. In *Handbook of Behavioral Economics - Foundations and Applications 2*, pages 69–186. Elsevier.
- Ecker, U. K. H., Lewandowsky, S., Cook, J., Schmid, P., Fazio, L. K., Brashier, N., Kendeou, P., Vraga, E. K., and Amazeen, M. A. (2022). The psychological drivers of misinformation belief and its resistance to correction. *Nature Reviews Psychology*, 1(1):13–29.
- European Commission (2018). Fake news and disinformation online. Technical report.
- Goncalves, D., Libgober, J., and Willis, J. (2021). Learning versus unlearning: An experiment on retractions.
- Lewandowsky, S., Ecker, U. K. H., Seifert, C. M., Schwarz, N., and Cook, J. (2012). Misinformation and its correction. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, 13(3):106–131.
- Meyer, M., Alfano, M., and de Bruin, B. (2020). Epistemic vice predicts acceptance of covid-19 misinformation. *SSRN Electronic Journal*.

## Appendix

---

## Why an Abstract Experimental Setting?

- An abstract setting avoids context dependencies. It seems plausible that settings with motivated beliefs would strengthen the effect.
- Our setting allows a calculation of 'correct' beliefs, using Bayes' rule. The Bayesian framework is a commonly used benchmark to estimate the inference bias.
- Retractions and confirmations of previous signals are unambiguous. In reality this is often more difficult.
- Findings can be easily compared to the broader literature on belief updating.
- Belief elicitation can be incentivized.

## Analysis: Inference and Base-Rate Use

- Use log-likelihood ratios to analyze inference bias (Benjamin, 2019).
- Estimate inference bias and base-rate neglect jointly:

$$\ln\left(\frac{r_t(R|s_1, \dots, s_t)}{1 - r_t(R|s_1, \dots, s_t)}\right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \cdot \ln\left(\frac{p(s_t|R)}{p(s_t|B)}\right) + \beta_2 \cdot \ln\left(\frac{r_{t-1}(R|s_1, \dots, s_{t-1})}{1 - r_{t-1}(R|s_1, \dots, s_{t-1})}\right) + \eta_t$$

- $r_t(R|s_t)$  is the reported belief of  $R$  given signals  $s_1$  until  $s_t$  in round  $t$ .
- $p(s|R)$  is the probability of seeing  $s$  given true state  $R$ .

- Interpretation:
  - $\beta_1 = 1$  indicates perfect Bayesian inference.
  - $\beta_1 = 0$  indicates no updating at all.
  - $\beta_2 = 1$  indicates no base-rate neglect.
  - $\beta_2 = 0$  indicates full base-rate neglect.

## Analysis: Compressed histories

- Method introduced by (Goncalves et al., 2021).
- A compressed history is given by the exact sequence of signals minus the retracted signal.
- Allows for a clean comparison between people who have seen the same sequence with and without a retraction.
- We estimate:  $r_t(R|s_1, \dots, s_t) = \beta_0 + \beta \cdot F_{ret_t} + F_{C(H_t)} + \eta$ 
  - $ret_t$  refers to the number of seen retractions. Example: RBB would be one red retraction and 2 blue retractions in that order.
  - $C(H_t)$  refers to the compressed history of signals  $H_t$ .
  - $F(\cdot)$  denotes the fixed effects for each.
- Interpretation: A positive coefficient  $\beta$  for any combinations of red retracted balls indicates continued influence of retracted signals and vice versa.
- Goncalves et al. (2021) find  $\beta > 0$  for a single red retraction.

# Sanity Check

OLS Regression Output	
<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
Reported Belief	
Constant	0.111*** (0.004)
Subjective Posterior	0.765*** (0.008)
Observations	6,660
R <sup>2</sup>	0.569
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.569
Residual Std. Error	0.173 (df = 6658)
F Statistic	8,779.675*** (df = 1; 6658)
<i>Note:</i>	* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Back

# Robustness Checks - Experimental Design

## Anchoring:

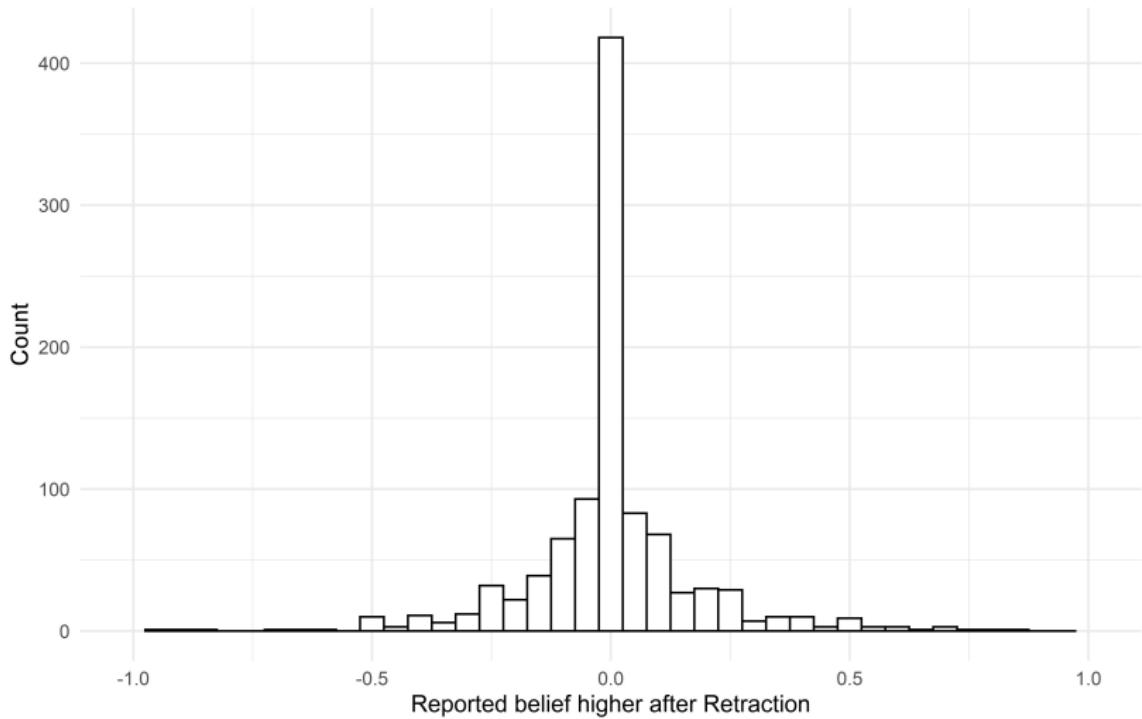
- Do not show previously reported belief.
- Finding: No significant influence on updating with retractions or regular updating.
- Other: Too low belief of people that previously under-reacted no longer significant. However, not enough power to find any effect of anchoring.

## Backward revision of beliefs:

- Do not show entire history of signals, only previous belief.
- Findings: No significant influence on updating with retractions or regular updating.

# Impact of Retractions - Individual Differences

Influence of Retractions - Adjusted by Signal Color



# Impact of Retractions - Compressed History Analysis

	Impact of Retractions		
	Dependent variable: Reported Belief		
	All histories	All histories	Excluding confirmation histories
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Retraction	-0.011 (0.009)	-0.008 (0.009)	-0.014 (0.010)
Retraction History: R	0.006 (0.010)	0.003 (0.011)	0.005 (0.012)
Retraction History: B	-0.003 (0.009)	-0.008 (0.011)	-0.001 (0.012)
Retraction History: RR	0.004 (0.014)	-0.007 (0.016)	0.003 (0.020)
Retraction History: BB	-0.017 (0.013)	-0.029* (0.016)	-0.005 (0.018)
Retraction History: RB	0.025* (0.014)	0.014 (0.017)	0.011 (0.020)
Retraction History: BR	0.001 (0.014)	-0.011 (0.017)	0.022 (0.021)
Retraction History: RRR	0.053** (0.021)	0.035 (0.025)	0.054*** (0.021)
Retraction History: BBB	-0.035 (0.024)	-0.055** (0.028)	-0.033 (0.024)
Retraction History: RRB	0.074* (0.041)	0.057 (0.043)	0.075* (0.039)
Retraction History: BBR	0.059*** (0.023)	0.039 (0.027)	0.061*** (0.022)
Retraction History: RBB	0.030 (0.026)	0.011 (0.029)	0.031 (0.025)
Retraction History: BRR	0.043 (0.027)	0.023 (0.030)	0.045* (0.026)
Retraction History: RBR	0.021 (0.028)	0.001 (0.031)	0.021 (0.028)
Retraction History: BRB	0.060** (0.030)	0.041 (0.033)	0.062** (0.029)
Compressed History FEs?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Round FEs?	No	Yes	No
Observations	6,660	6,660	3,765
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.498	0.497	0.396

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

# Regular Updating - Inference and Base-Rate Use

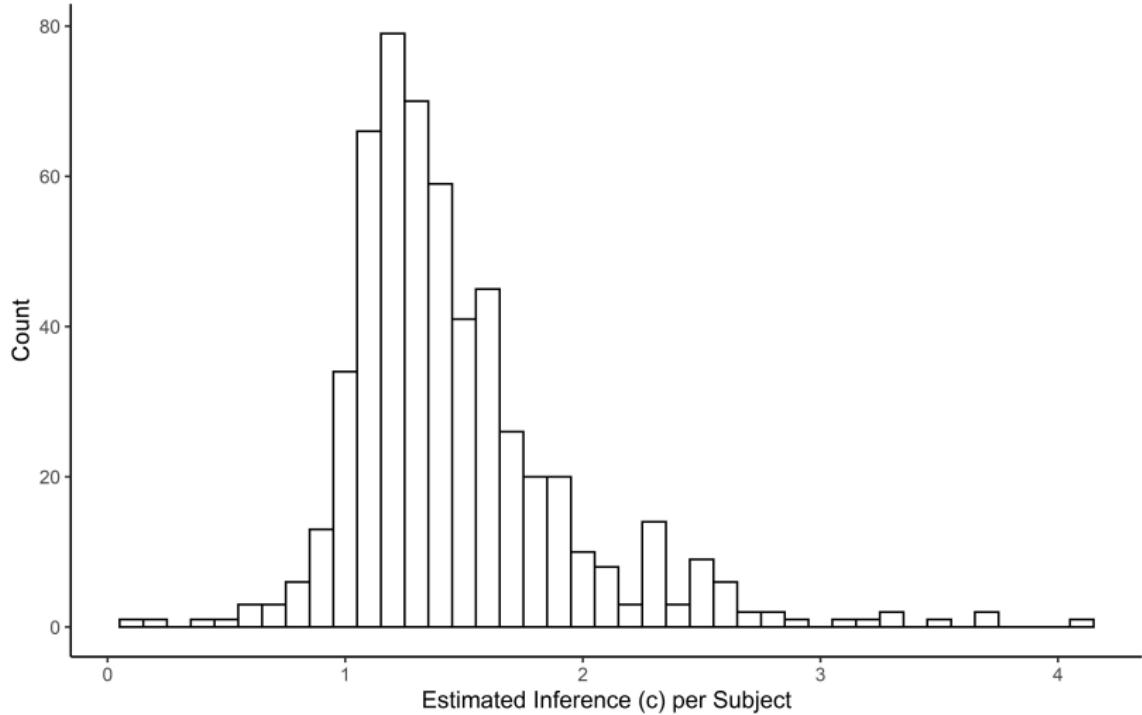
Updating with Regular Signals				
	Dependent variable:			
	Observed Log-Posterior-Ratio			
	<i>OLS</i>		<i>linear mixed-effects</i>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Constant	-0.047** (0.023)	-0.046** (0.023)	-0.039* (0.022)	-0.042* (0.022)
Signal	1.447*** (0.059)	1.260*** (0.077)	1.461*** (0.062)	1.313*** (0.080)
Prior	0.743*** (0.010)	0.729*** (0.011)	0.781*** (0.020)	0.749*** (0.022)
Signal Confirms Prior		0.490*** (0.128)		0.384*** (0.129)
Observations	4,995	4,995	4,995	4,995
R <sup>2</sup>	0.539	0.540		
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.539	0.540		
Log Likelihood			-9,103.832	-9,101.223
Akaike Inf. Crit.			18,227.660	18,224.450
Bayesian Inf. Crit.			18,292.830	18,296.120
Residual Std. Error	1.618 (df = 4992)	1.616 (df = 4991)		
F Statistic	2,919.235*** (df = 2; 4992)	1,956.286*** (df = 3; 4991)		

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

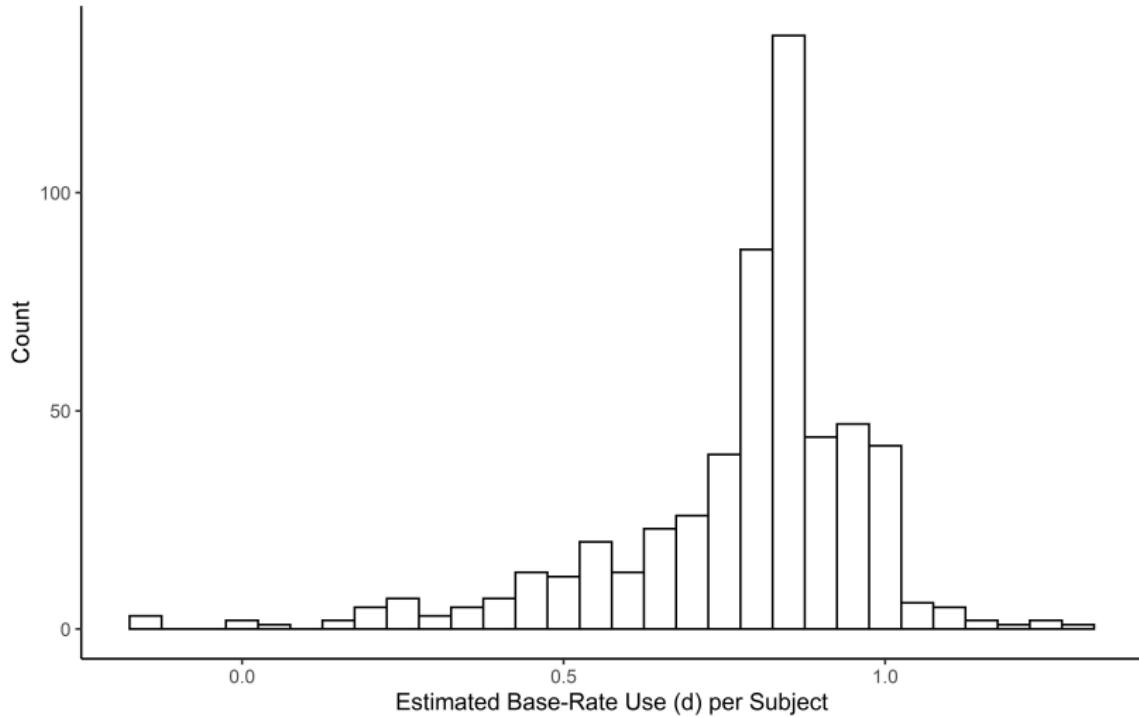
# Regular Updating Types - Inference

Regular Updating - Distribution of Inference Bias



# Regular Updating Types - Base-Rate Use

Regular Updating - Distribution of Base-Rate Use



# Impact of Verifications on Regular Updatring

	Updating with Regular Signals		
	Dependent variable: Observed Log-Posterior-Ratio		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Constant	-0.046 ** (0.022)	-0.045 ** (0.022)	-0.044 ** (0.022)
Signal	1.344 *** (0.130)	1.342 *** (0.130)	1.330 *** (0.130)
Prior	0.919 *** (0.066)	0.920 *** (0.066)	0.905 *** (0.069)
Prior *  0.5 - Prior	-1.047 *** (0.151)	-1.048 *** (0.151)	-1.010 *** (0.155)
Prior * Round	0.034 *** (0.003)	0.034 *** (0.003)	0.033 *** (0.003)
Signal * Round	0.056 (0.038)	0.057 (0.038)	0.063 * (0.038)
Signal * # Previously Verified Signals	-0.182 * (0.109)		
Signal * # Previous Retractions		-0.140 (0.116)	
Signal * # Previous Confirmations		-0.261 ** (0.131)	
Signal * # Previous Same Retractions			0.031 (0.127)
Signal * # Previous Same Confirmations			-0.254 (0.157)
Signal * # Previous Other Retractions			-0.358 *** (0.132)
Signal * # Previous Other Confirmations			-0.302 * (0.161)
Observations	4,995	4,995	4,995
Log Likelihood	-9,057.651	-9,058.339	-9,055.329
Akaike Inf. Crit.	18,143.300	18,146.680	18,144.660
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	18,234.530	18,244.420	18,255.430

Note:

\* p<0.1; \*\* p<0.05; \*\*\* p<0.01