

wegewerk.

A Recipe for  
Agenda Setting in  
Echo Chambers?



# **A Recipe for Agenda Setting in Echo Chambers?**

## An Analysis of Digital Campaigning in Recent Elections



**"The First Social Media President."**

## Ingredients:

psychographic models

fake news

microtargeting

big data

echo chambers

dark ads

canvassing apps

clickbots

fake profiles

geomarketing

filter bubbles

fake news



# Ingredients:

Big Data  
Canvassing Apps



# No News: Big Data in U.S. Elections

## Demographic:

Age

Gender

Ethnicity

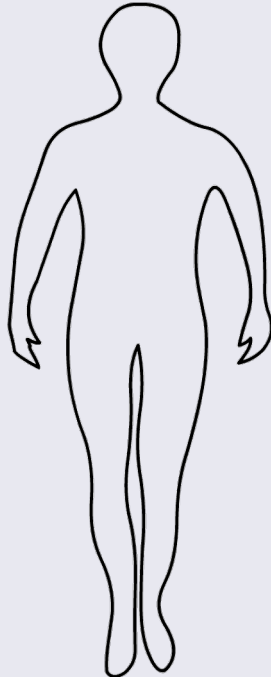
Religion

Education

Income

Home ownership

Socio-economic status



## Psychographic:

Advertising resonance

Car usage

Consumption

Credit history

Political engagement

Mobile phone usage



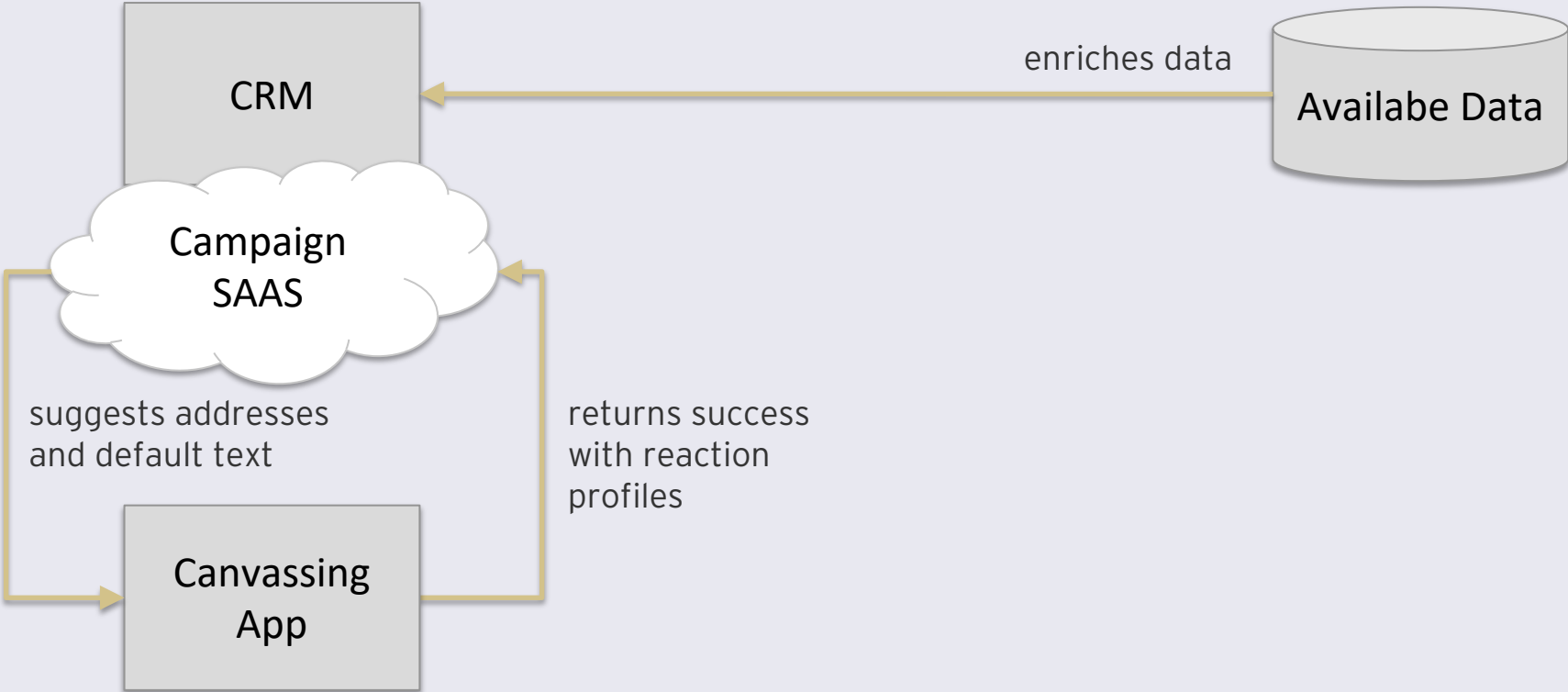
**Big Data Canvassing Apps:  
First used by Ted Cruz**

No, not by Obama.





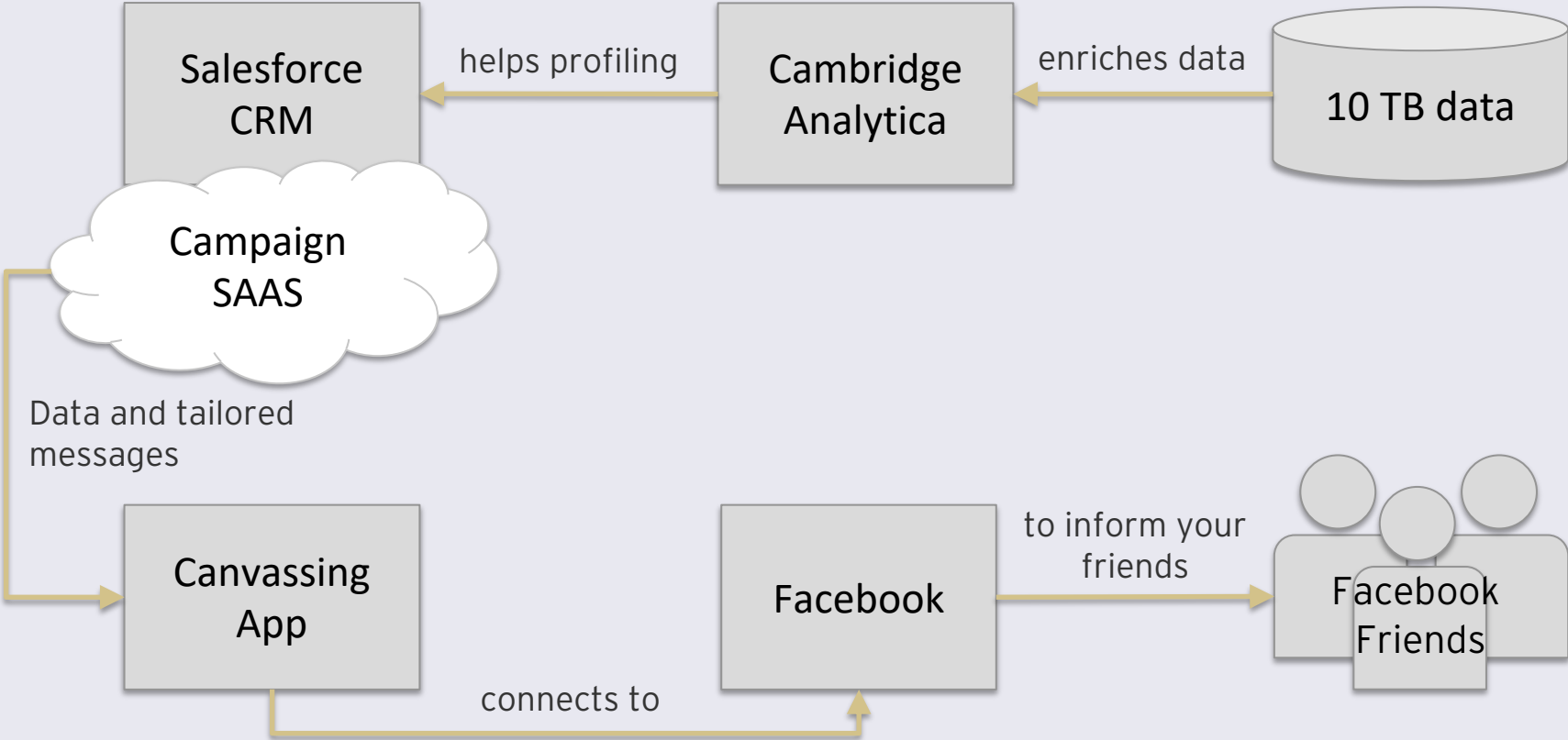
# The Obama App: A digital clipboard



# The Ted Cruz app



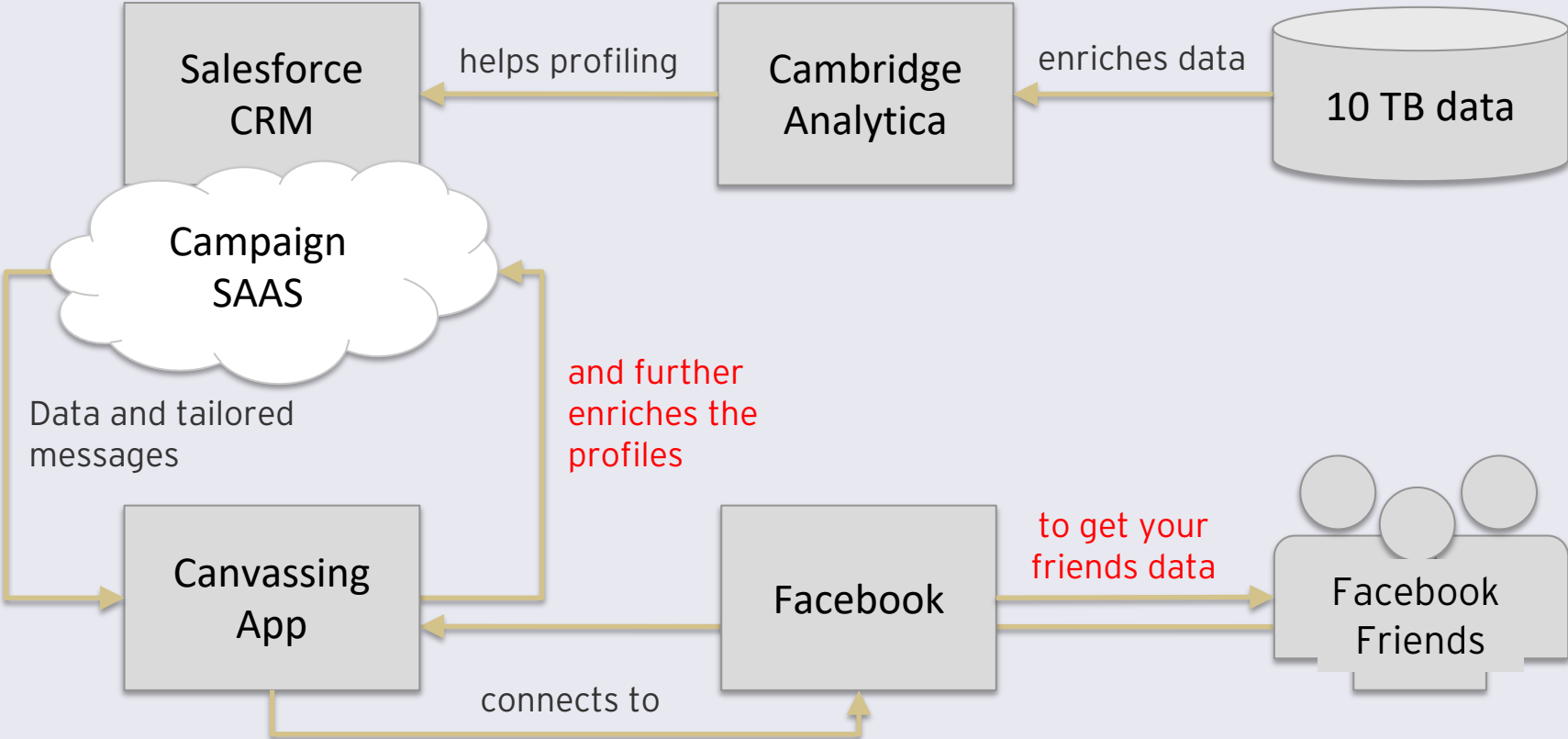
# Cruz Crew App: Data mining combined with a sniffing app



... also known as "The Stazi App"



# Cruz Crew App: Data mining combined with a sniffing app

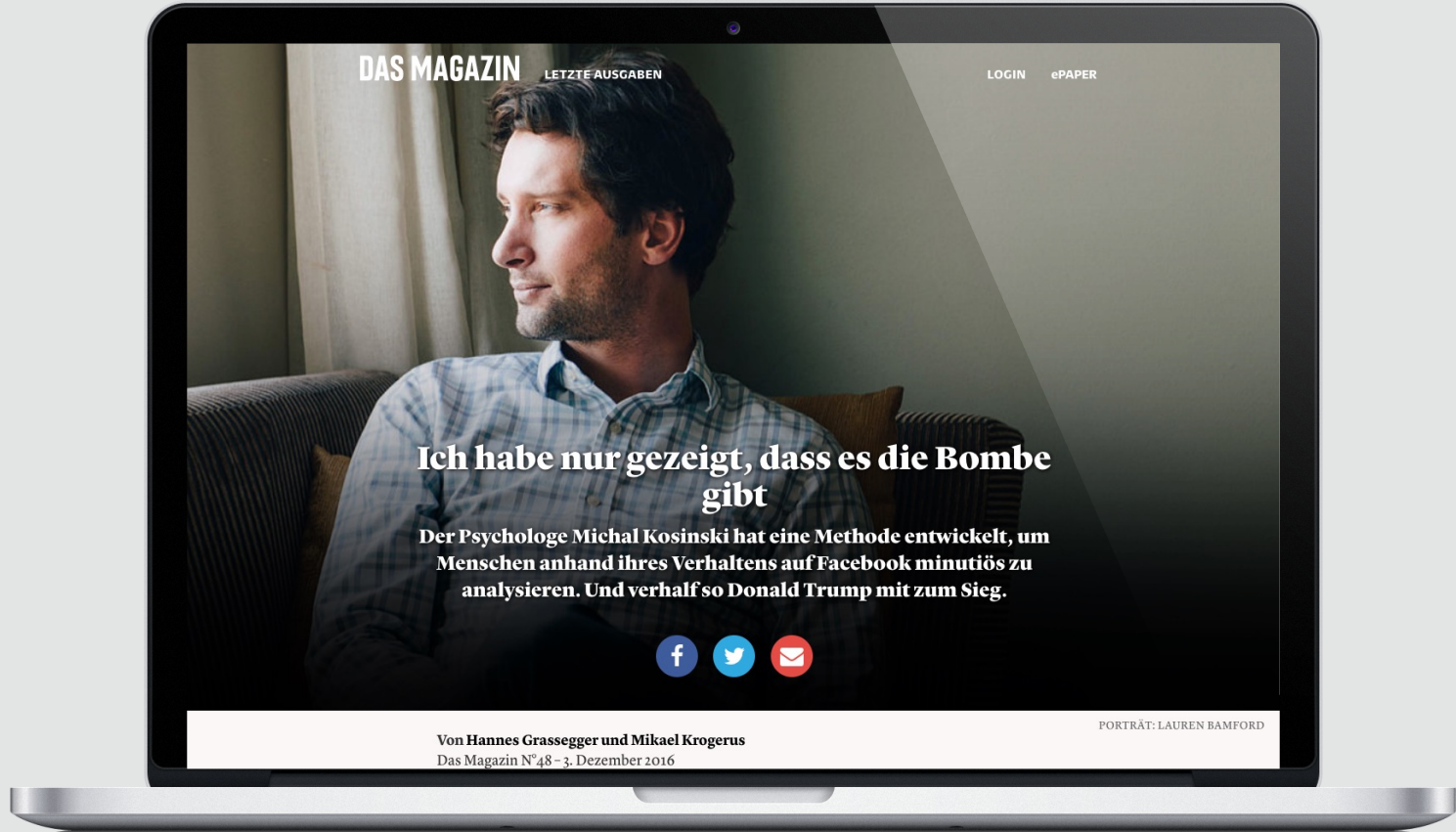


# Ingredients:

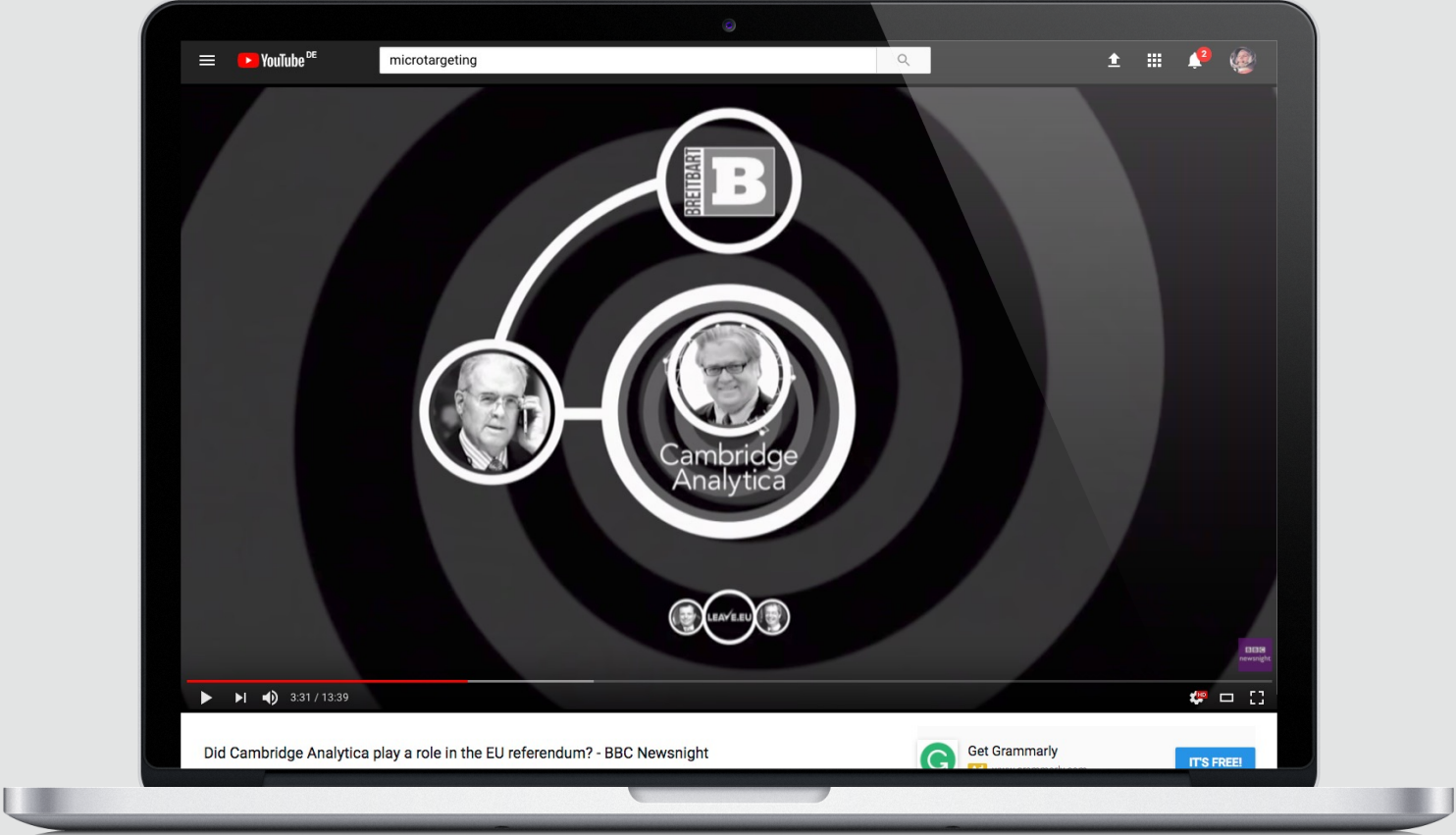
## Psychographic Models



# Psychographic Models: Associated with "Cambridge Analytica"



# Cambridge Analytica: Assumed to be engaged in all sorts of activities





# What does Cambridge Analytica actually offer?

## Demographic:

Age

Gender

Ethnicity

Religion

Education

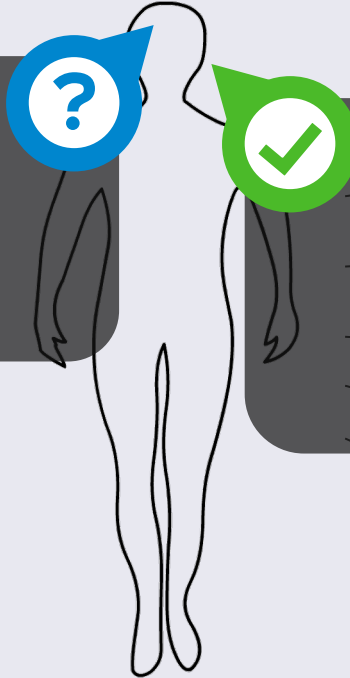
Income

Home Ownership

Socio-Economic Status

### Psychology

Openness  
Conscientiousness  
Extraversion  
Agreeableness  
Neuroticism



### Persuasion Strategy

Reciprocity  
Scarcity  
Authority  
Fear  
Social Proof

## Psychographic:

Advertising Resonance

Car Usage

Consumption

Credit History

Political Engagement

Mobile Phone Usage



# OCEAN: Personality Traits



The OCEAN five-factor personality model defines different traits in personality across demographics and all methods of observation



**OPENNESS**

Do they enjoy new experiences?

**CONSCIENTIOUSNESS**

Do they prefer plans and order?

**EXTRAVERSION**

Do they like spending time with others?

**AGREEABLENESS**

Do they put people's needs before theirs?

**NEUROTICISM**

Do they tend to worry a lot?

OCEAN

# High Conscientiousness / Agreeable



## OCEAN Insight

- Highly conscientious people are rational and detail oriented.
- Agreeable people tend to put community and society needs ahead of their own

## Visual

- Shows several fact-led arguments

### Focus Electric



## Zero gas, zero oil changes and zero CO2 emissions

It delivers a 100 percent electrifying driving experience. What's more, you have the choice of charging options –

the standard 120-volt/30-amp convenience charge cord or the available 240-volt/30-amp home charging station.

Equipment Group 500A  
• 107kW electric motor  
• 1-speed automatic transmission  
• SmartGauge™ with EcoGuide



# High Extraversion



## OCEAN Insight

- Highly Extraverted people often seek to engage with experiences and tend to respond to excitement and attention

## Visual

- An emotional, experiential argument



# Are psychographics overrated?

„It turned out to be of no strategic value at all (...)  
In the end it was just bullshit.“

**Rick Tyler**  
Former Ted Cruz  
campaign spokesman

BBC Newsnight,  
[www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_4sLMwdpF9U](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_4sLMwdpF9U),  
8:37

# Ingredients:

Geomarketing



# Which data may be used without consent in Europe?

## Demographic:

Age

Gender

Ethnicity

Religion

Education

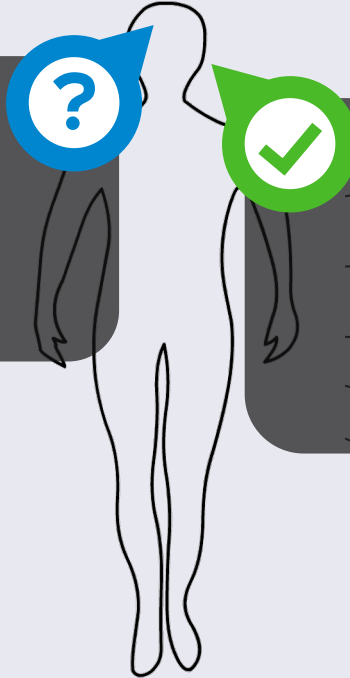
Income

Home Ownership

Socio-Economic Status

### Psychology

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Agreeableness  
Neuroticism



## Psychographic:

Advertising Resonance

Car Usage

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Political Engagement

Mobile Phone Usage

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Authority  
Fear  
Social Proof



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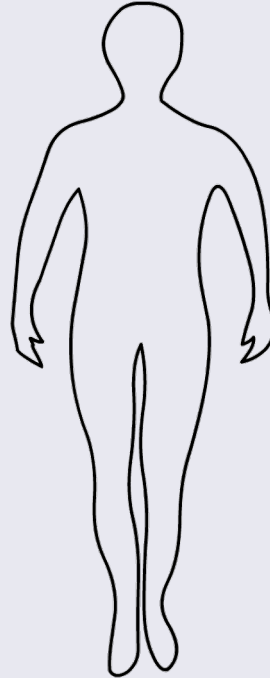
Religion

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Home Ownership

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## Psychographic:

Advertising Resonance

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## Psychographic:

Advertising Resonance

Car Usage

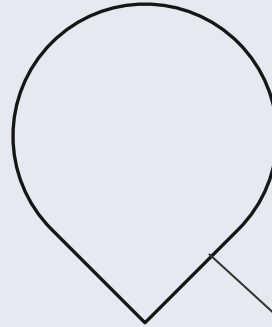
Consumption

Credit History

Political Engagement

Mobile Phone Usage

## Location Data





**Et voilà: "The First Big Data President in Europe."**

[www.flickr.com/photos/wgwrk/](http://www.flickr.com/photos/wgwrk/)



**Pardon.**

C'EST MAINTENANT

LE CHANGEMENT  
C'EST MAINTENANT

LE CHANGEMENT  
C'EST MAINTENANT

Elections results

Landtagswahlen 2016 - 2<sup>nd</sup> tour

2014

2016



Leading candidate

Abstention

List of candidates

- Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands
- Bündnis 90/Die GRÜNEN
- Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
- Alternative für Deutschland
- DIE LINKE
- Freie Demokratische Partei
- Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat, Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative
- Allianz für Fortschritt und Aufbruch

DE11PL

DE11RG

DE11PR

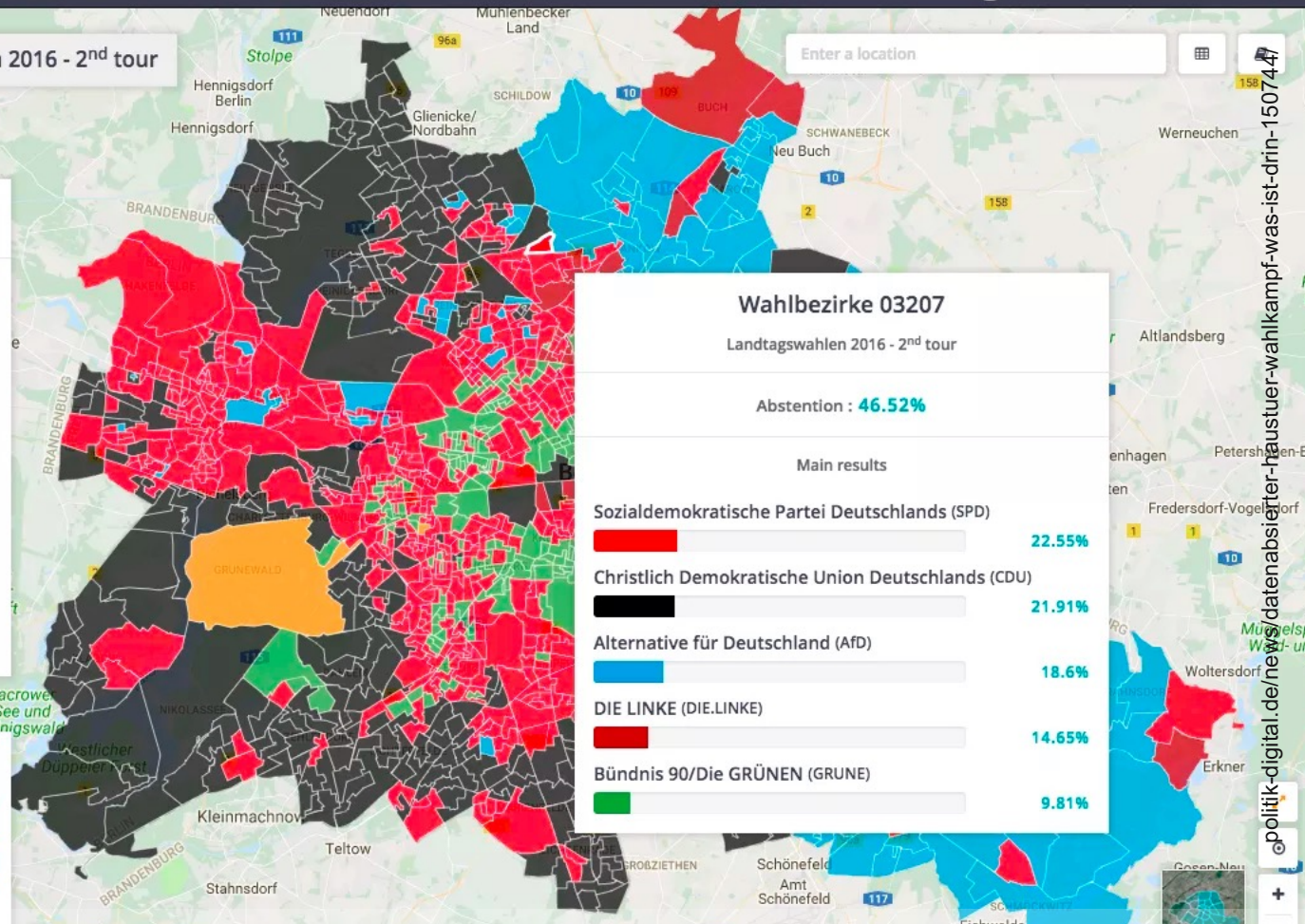
DE11BZ

DE11BW

DE11WB

DE11WK

Enter a location



Wahlbezirke 03207

Landtagswahlen 2016 - 2<sup>nd</sup> tour

Abstention : **46.52%**

Main results



## **Difference: Open Questions - analyzed by Language Detection**

In your opinion, what works well in [France]?

In your opinion, what doesn't work well in [France]?

What works well for you?

What doesn't work well for you?

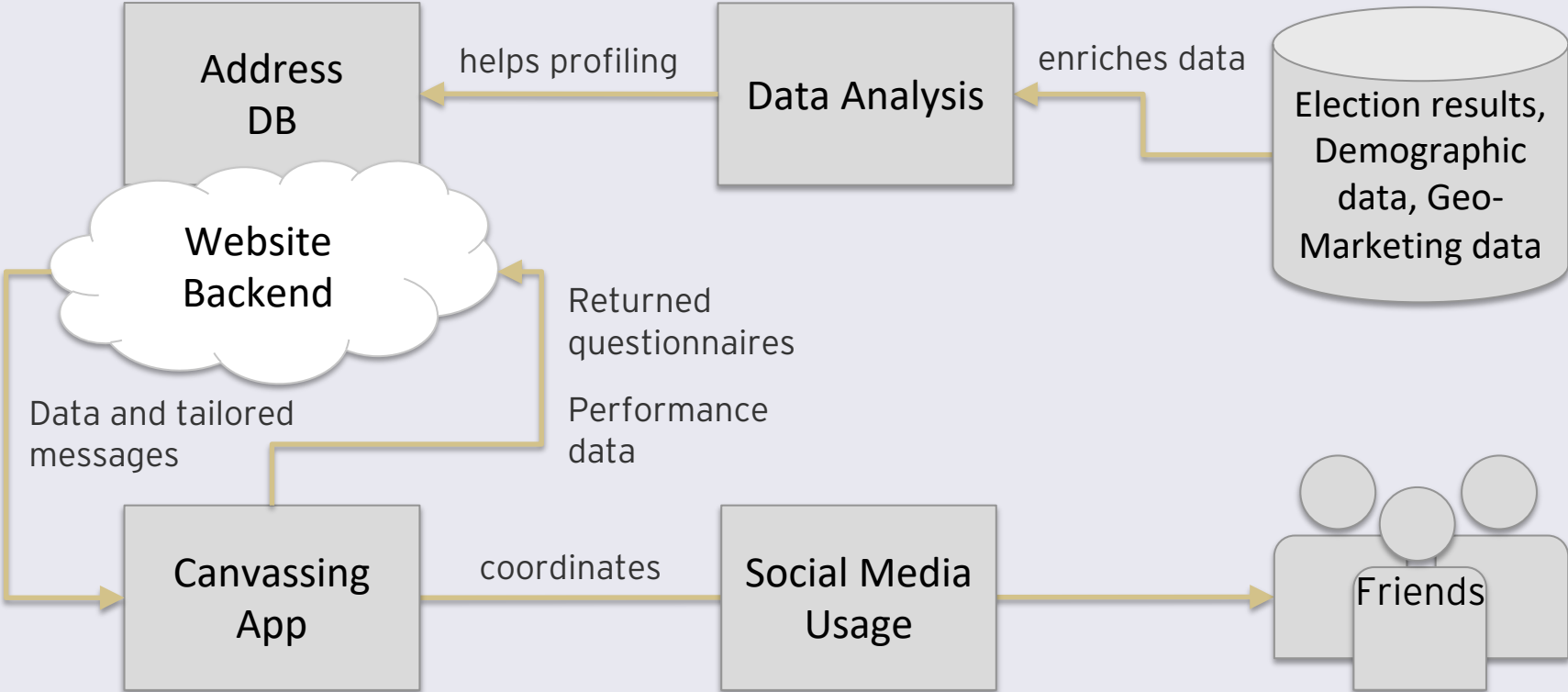
What positive things happened to the people around you?

What problems bothers the people around you?

What gives you hope concerning the future of [France]?

What are you afraid of concerning the future of [France]?

# Macron: Location Based Data mining

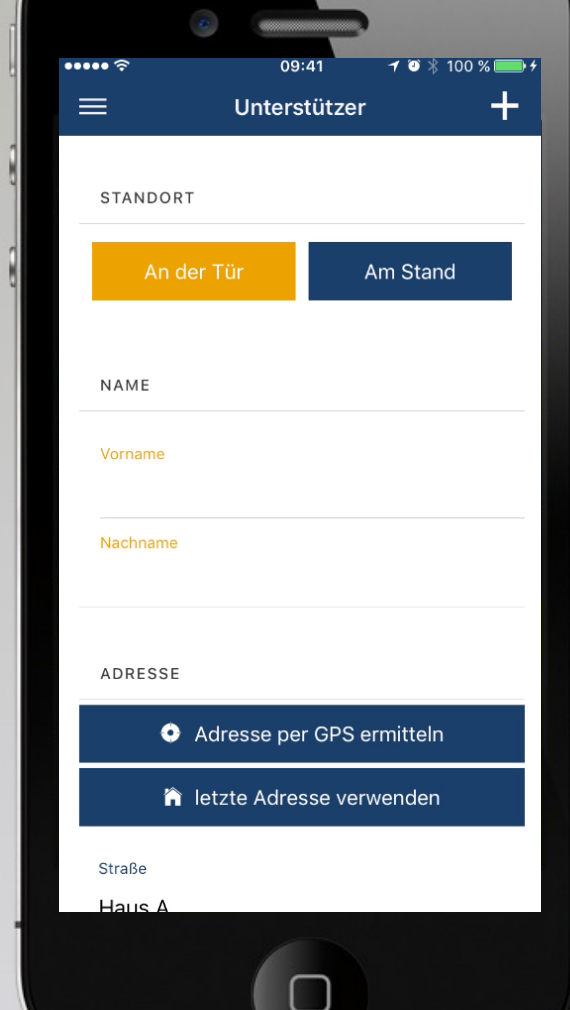




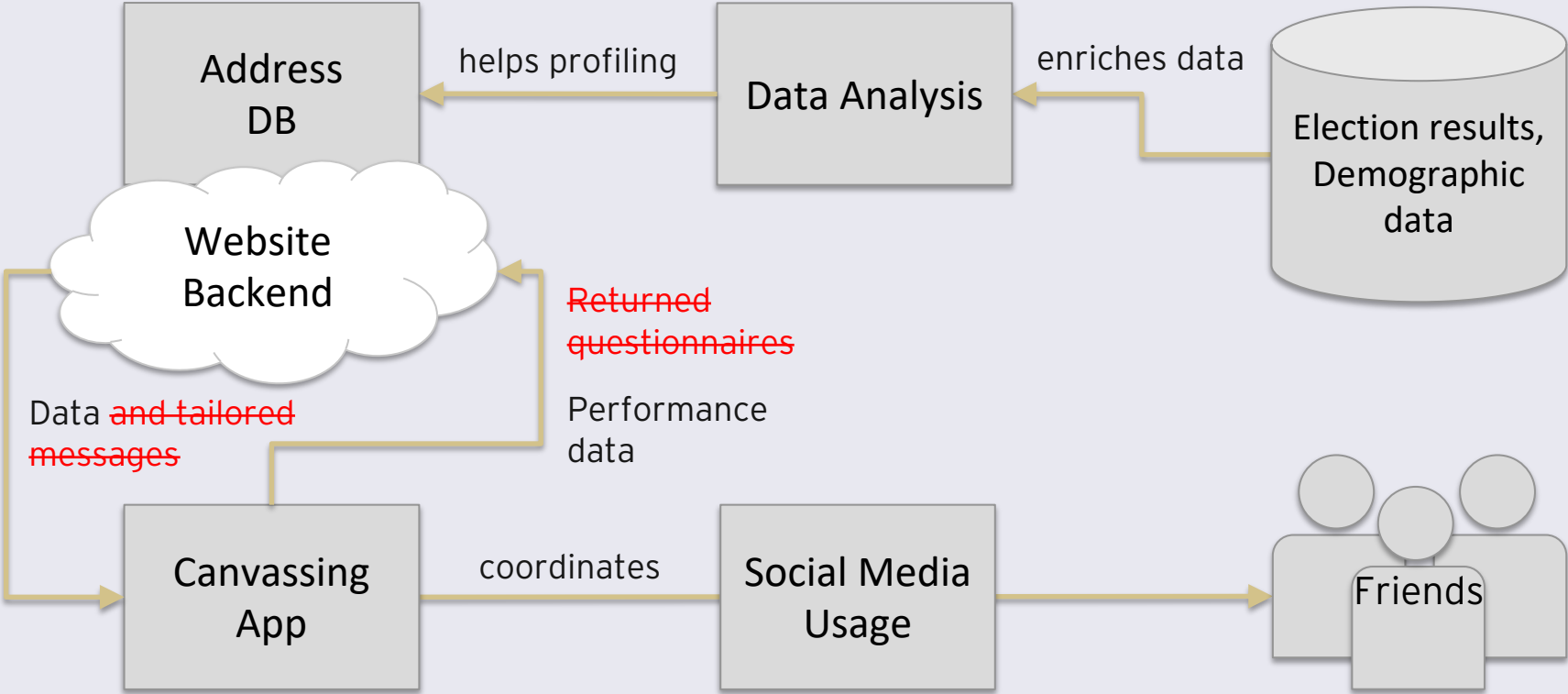
**“The First Big Data Kanzler\*in in Germany?”**



# The CDU App



# CDU App: Ambitious privacy but less strategic value



# Ingredients:

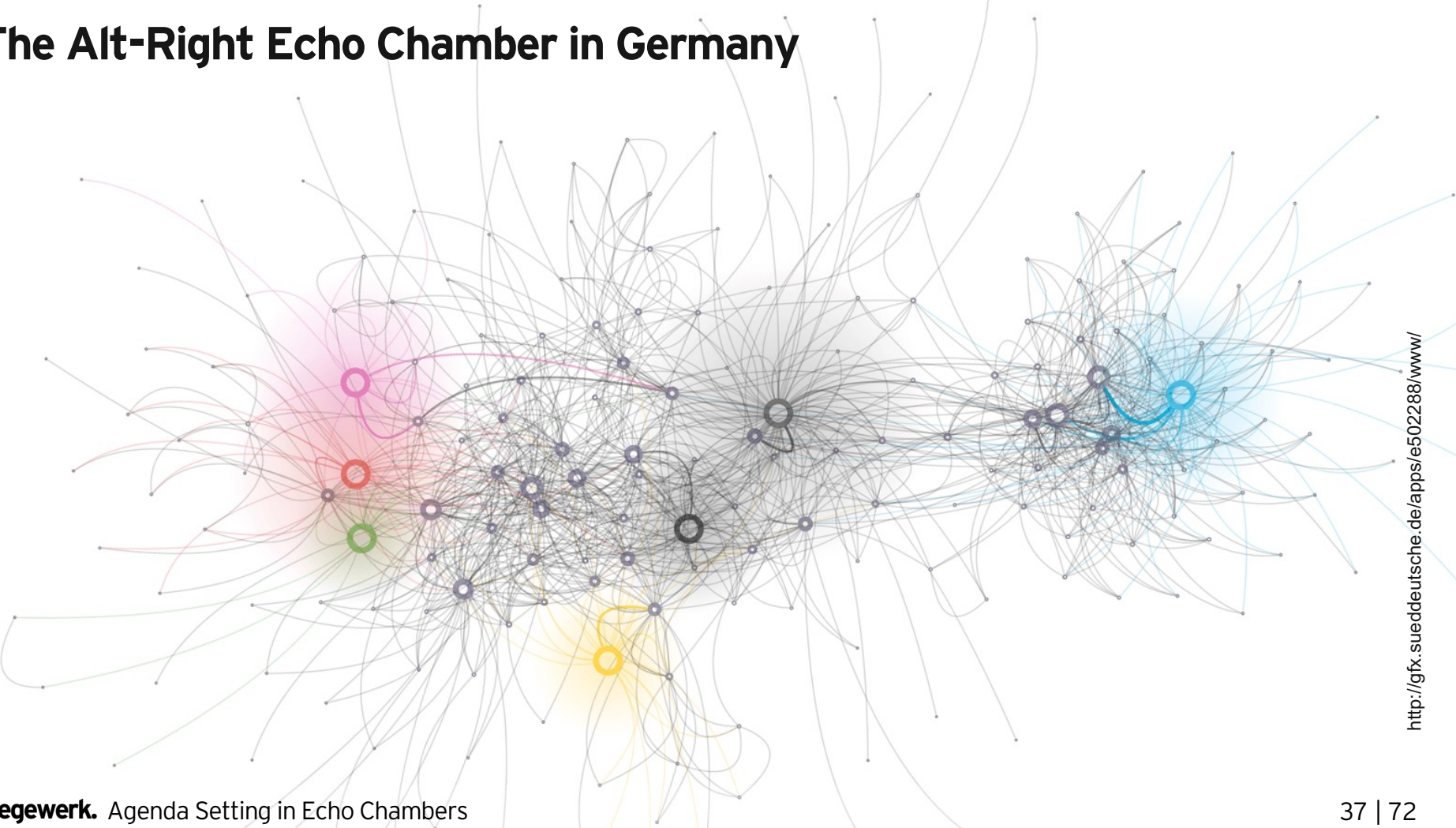
Echo Chambers  
Filter Bubbles





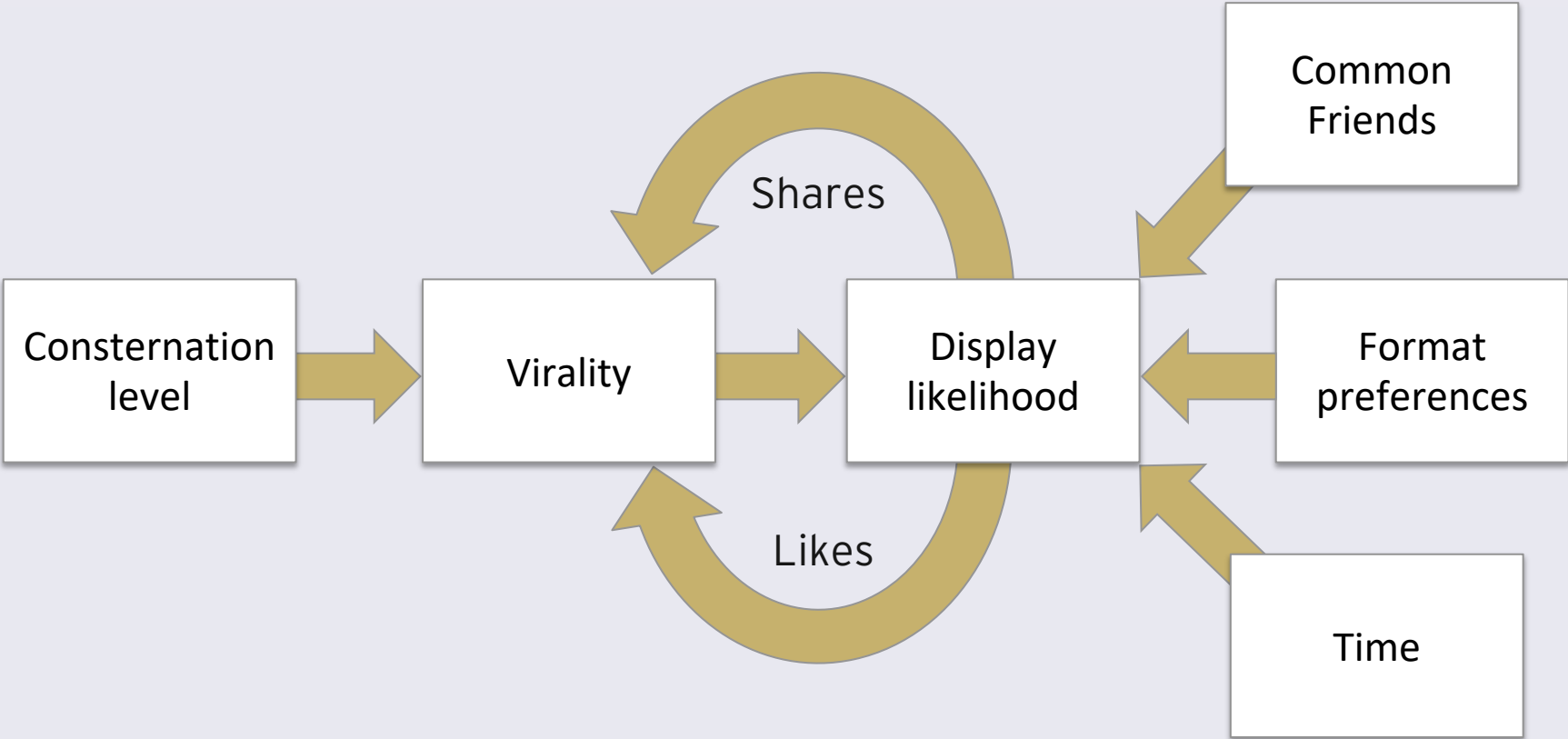
“The First Social Media President.”

# The Alt-Right Echo Chamber in Germany



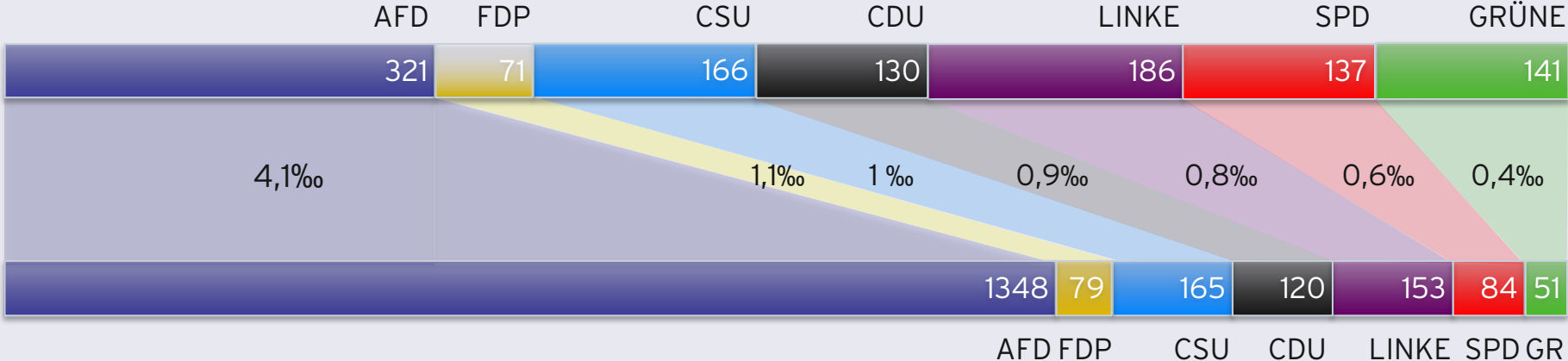
<http://gfx.sueddeutsche.de/apps/e502288/www/>

# How the SM algorithms work as gatekeepers:



# Facebook Efficiency before German GE 2017

Facebook fans (in thousand)



Average likes (per posting)

Source: Quintly / WIREED until April 2017

# A typical AfD post.

**Afd Bayern** 13 September at 03:21 · 🌐

Investieren Sie 175,- Euro am Tag in Ihre Kinder?  
Sie können sich das nicht leisten? Für andere zahlen Sie bereits!  
175,- Euro kostet ein minderjähriger unbegleiteter Flüchtling am Tag und damit monatlich über 2.000 Euro mehr als das bekannte Eliteinternat Salem.  
Beenden Sie am 24.09.2017 den Wucher der Sozialindustrie: AfD wählen.  
Mehr zum Thema Zuwanderung und Asyl:  
<https://www.afd.de/zuwanderung-asyl/>



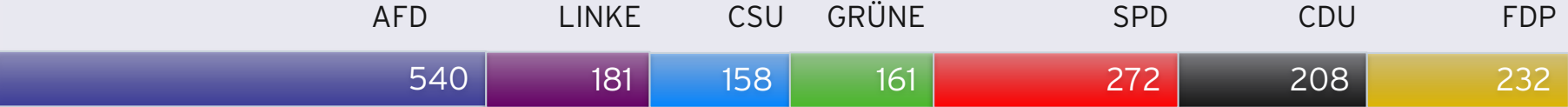
**Kostenexplosion verhindern!**  
**Alter & Identität  
von „UMAs“\*  
feststellen!**  
\*unbegleitete minderjährige Ausländer

Bild: © Joachim Seidler | CC-BY 2.0 | [www.afd.de/](https://www.afd.de/)



# Not much difference in content strategy apart from length.

Average length of text (in letters)



# Ingredients:

Fake Accounts



# Fake Accounts

## **Balleryna**

about me: Irina, 17,  
Deutsch-Russin,  
Ballett-Tänzerin, lieb,  
treu, zuverlässig.  
New Friends? Yes,  
please! Dear  
followers, thank you  
so much!

Original Twitter profile, blurred by netzpolitik.de

## Fake Accounts

- 40 Posts, 60 Likes per day
- 230.000 follower, following 300.000 twitter accounts
- Only 3% speak German, the sole language used (but 6% speak Arabic)
- Uses follow-back, any followers follow far more than 1000
- Attracts bots (peaks at 2000 and 5000 Followers)
- Activity pattern does not indicate management by a bot.

# Fake Profiles also on Facebook



Russian Chess Player  
Boris Grachev

Der EURO schadet Europa!  
**Uwe Hampe**

Am 22. September:  
Ihre Zweitstimme  
für die AfD

+1 Freund hinzufügen    Nachricht senden

Chronik    Info    Fotos    Freunde    Mehr ▾

Alternative für Deutschland

Detailed description: This is a screenshot of a Facebook profile for Uwe Hampe. The profile picture shows a man in a white shirt with a blue circular logo that says 'Alternative für Deutschland'. The cover photo features a blue background with the text 'Der EURO schadet Europa!' and 'Uwe Hampe'. There are buttons for '+1 Freund hinzufügen' and 'Nachricht senden'. Below the profile name are navigation tabs for 'Chronik', 'Info', 'Fotos', 'Freunde', and 'Mehr'. A grey callout box with an arrow points to the profile picture, containing the text 'Russian Chess Player Boris Grachev'. On the right side of the cover photo, there is a small white box with red text: 'Am 22. September: Ihre Zweitstimme für die AfD'.



Shelly, „Hottest College Girl in America“ 2010

**Jaqueline Müller**

+1 Freundin hinzufügen

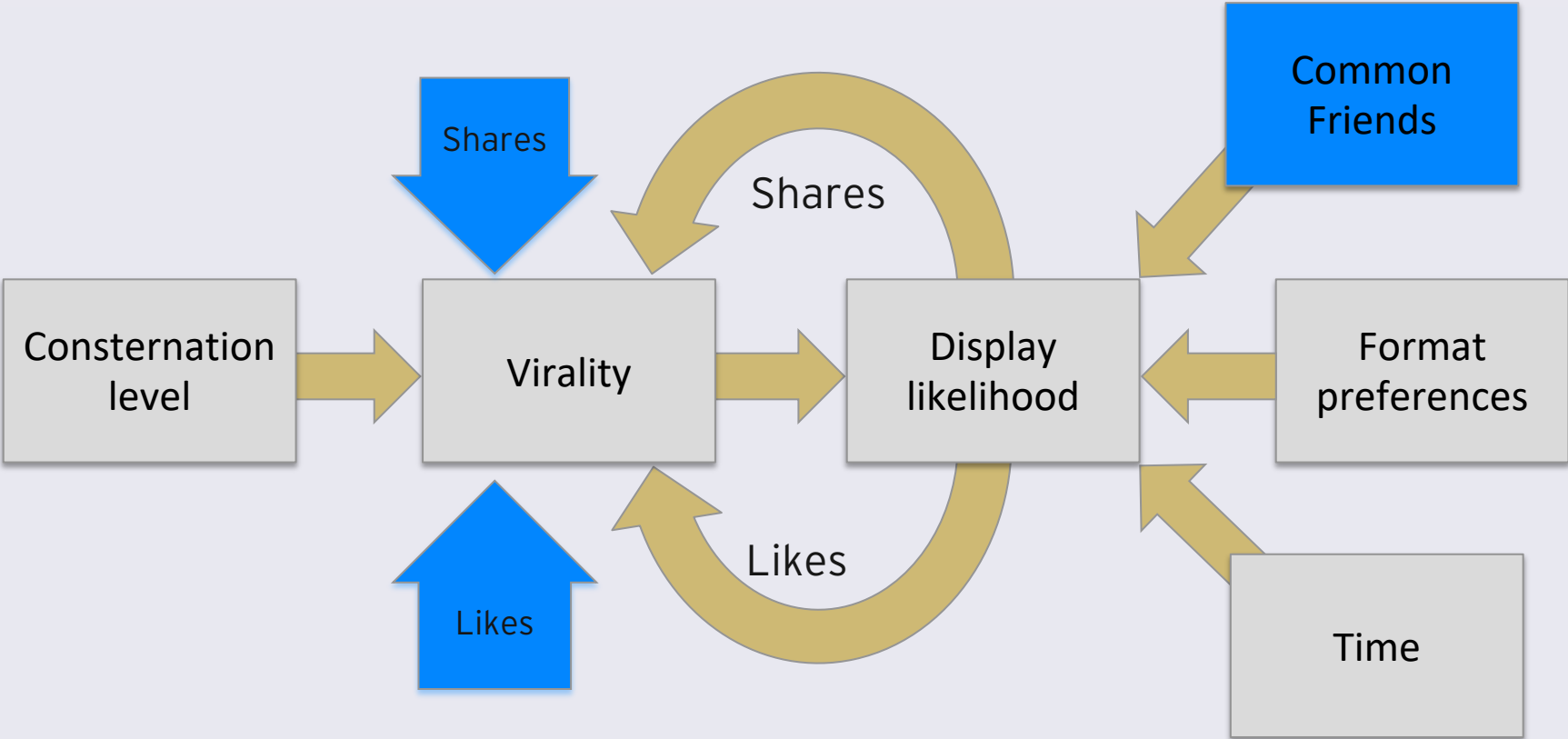
Nachricht senden

Chronik    Info    Fotos    Freunde    Mehr ▾

Alternative für Deutschland

Detailed description: This is a screenshot of a Facebook profile for Jaqueline Müller. The profile picture shows a smiling woman with blonde hair wearing a red and white scarf, with a blue circular logo that says 'Alternative für Deutschland'. The cover photo has a blue and white abstract design with the name 'Jaqueline Müller' in white. There are buttons for '+1 Freundin hinzufügen' and 'Nachricht senden'. Below the profile name are navigation tabs for 'Chronik', 'Info', 'Fotos', 'Freunde', and 'Mehr'. A grey callout box with an arrow points to the profile picture, containing the text 'Shelly, „Hottest College Girl in America“ 2010'.

# How the SM algorithms work as gatekeepers:



# Heavy Use of Facebook Groups

All administered by the same Fake accounts

**AfD 51% - das ist unser Ziel !!!**  
Closed Group

Members 20,349 Admins 7

**ADMINS**

- Susanne Lanowski  
Magdeburg-Fermersleben, Sachsen-Anhalt, Germany  
Joined  
Added by Norbert Bill on May 18, 2016
- Axel Schönhaupt**  
Joined  
Added by Norbert Pflmann on May 30, 2016
- Maria Wagenfeld  
Essen  
Joined  
Added by Maik-Brain Stahl on October 31, 2016
- Norbert Bill  
Duisburg  
Joined  
Added by Norbert Pflmann on April 18, 2016
- Maik-Brain Stahl  
Haltern am See  
Joined  
Added by Susanne Lanowski on October 8, 2016
- Norbert Pflmann  
Created group on April 18, 2016
- Anja Bahl  
Haltern am See  
Joined  
Added by Norbert Pflmann on May 15, 2016

**MODERATORS**

**Dr. Frauke Petry - FanGRUPPE**  
Closed Group

Members 7,204 Admins 7

**ADMINS**

- Axel Schönhaupt**  
Joined  
Created group on June 23, 2016
- Susanne Lanowski  
Magdeburg-Fermersleben, Sachsen-Anhalt, Germany  
Joined  
Added by Axel Schönhaupt on June 23, 2016
- Maria Wagenfeld  
Essen  
Joined  
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Haltern am See  
Joined  
Added by Axel Schönhaupt on June 23, 2016
- Maik-Brain Stahl  
Haltern am See  
Joined  
Added by Axel Schönhaupt on October 9, 2016

**MODERATORS**

**Dr. Frauke Petry- FanCLUB**  
Closed Group

Members 22,285 Admins 7

**ADMINS**

- Axel Schönhaupt**  
Joined  
Added by Norbert Pflmann on May 30, 2016
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Added by Maik-Brain Stahl on October 30, 2016
- Norbert Bill  
Duisburg  
Joined  
Created group on February 9, 2016
- Norbert Pflmann  
Haltern am See  
Joined  
Added by Norbert Bill on February 9, 2016
- Anja Bahl  
Haltern am See  
Joined  
Added by Norbert Pflmann on May 15, 2016
- Maik-Brain Stahl  
Haltern am See  
Joined  
Added by Susanne Lanowski on October 13, 2016

**MODERATORS**

Some of them hijacked on 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2017

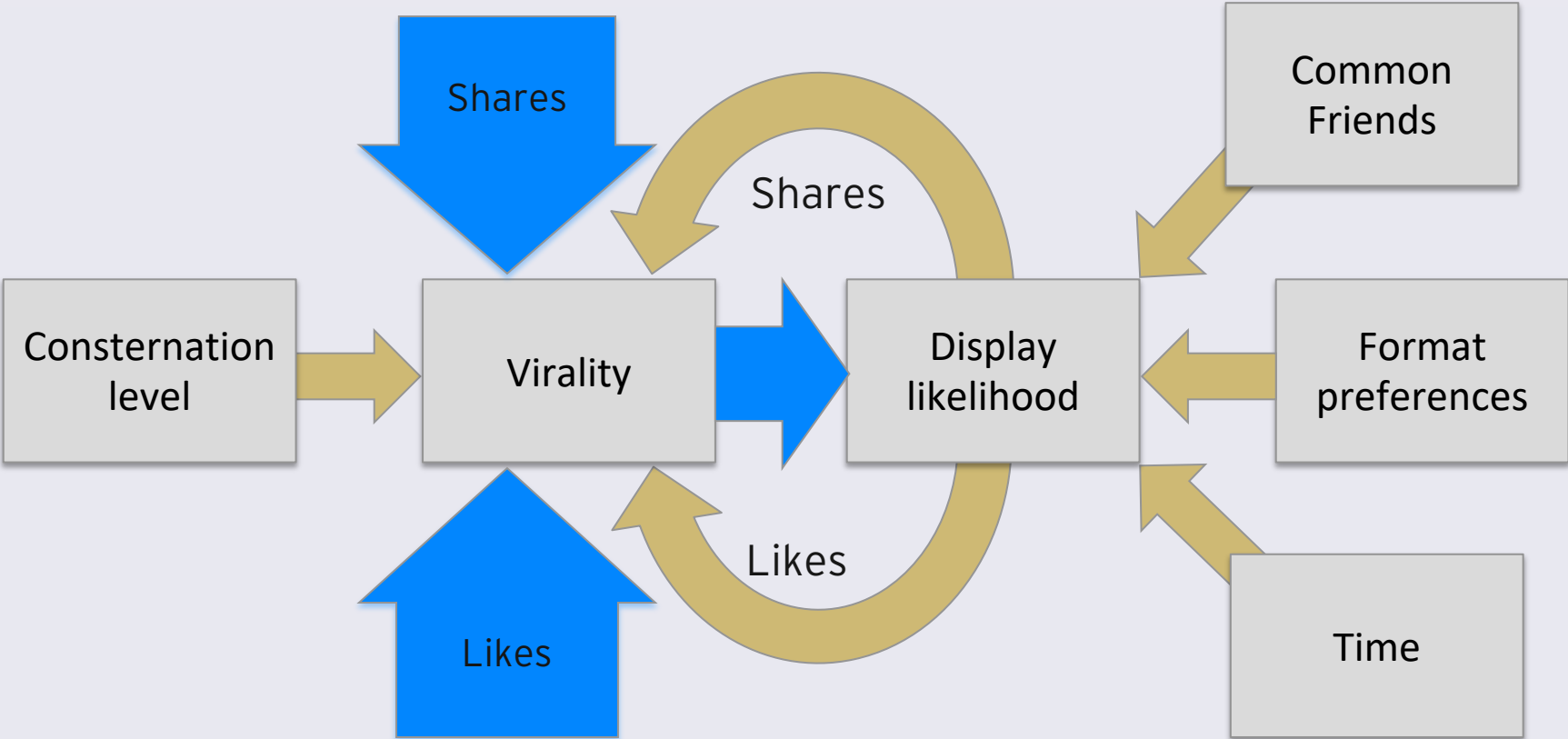
# Ingredients:

Clickbots





# How the SM algorithms work as gatekeepers:



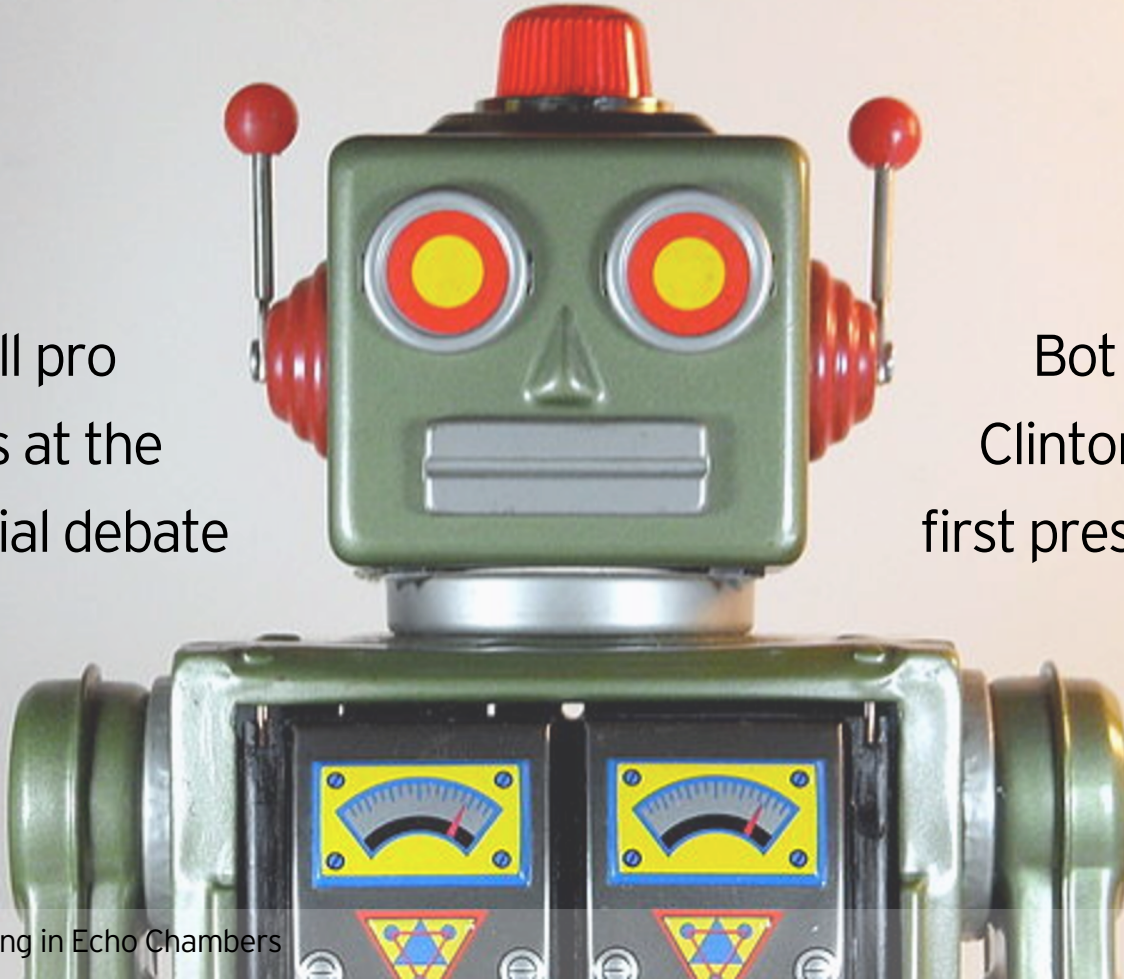
# Clickbots in US Elections 2016

**37,2%**

Bot share of all pro Trump Tweets at the first presidential debate

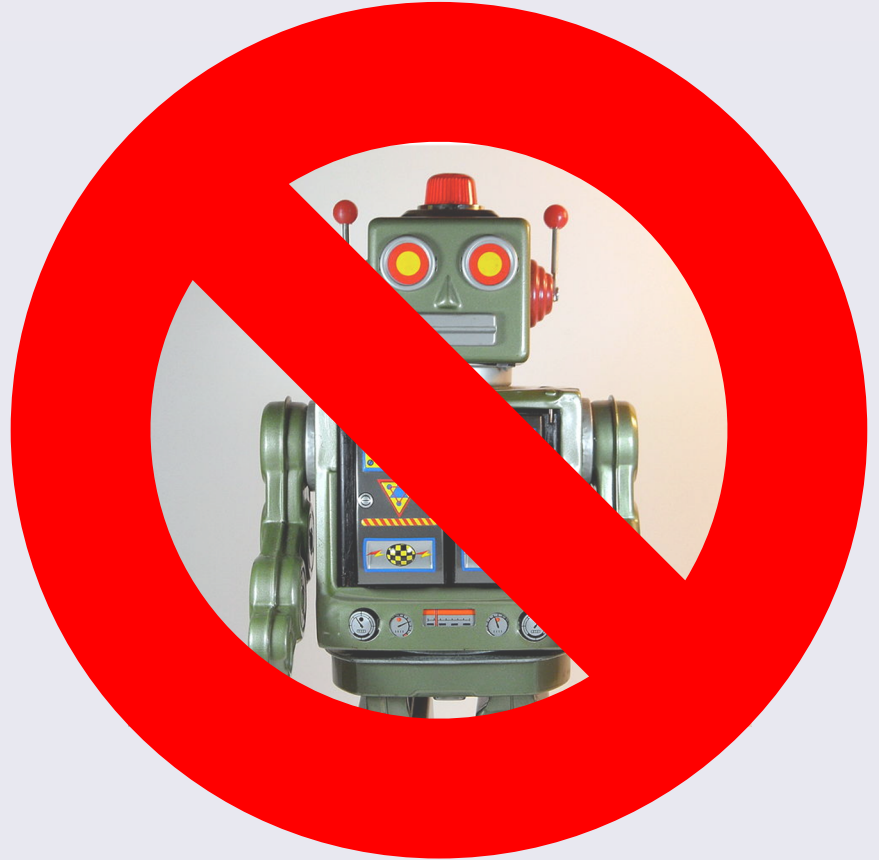
**22,3%**

Bot share of all pro Clinton Tweets at the first presidential debate



# Clickbots in German GE 2017

- Only AfD announced to use bots.
- Other parties unilaterally dismissed the idea
- De-facto “Code of Conduct” seemingly prohibited usage
- AfD later claimed not to have used bots

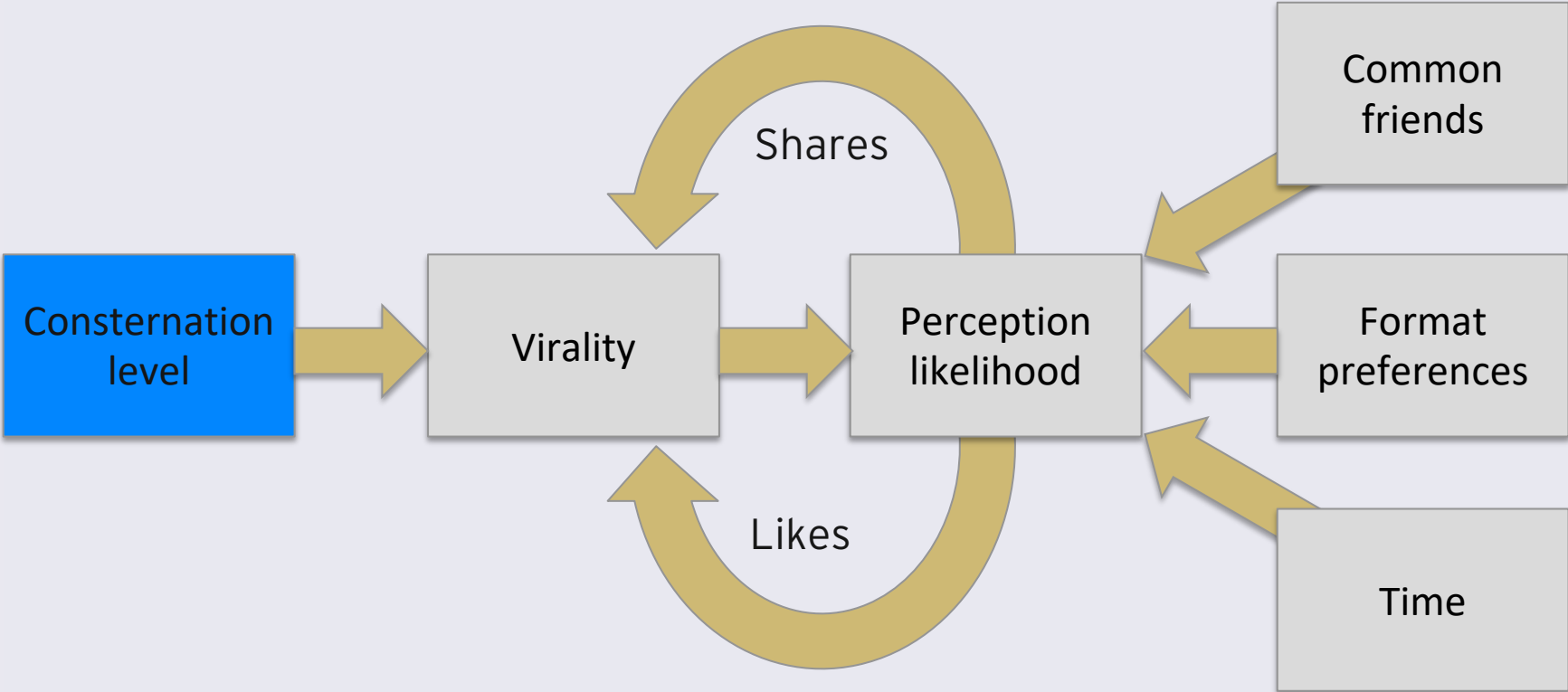


# Ingredients:

Fake News



# How the SM algorithms work as gatekeepers:



# Fake News in the German GE 2017

Identification too easy - rather satirical cases



# Fake News in the German GE 2017

Identification too easy - rather satirical cases

**CHRISTIAN LINDNER**

## DIE DIGITALISIERUNG ÄNDERT ALLES. WANN ÄNDERT SICH DIE POLITIK?

Was die Digitalisierung in den letzten fünf Jahren verändert hat:

- Einkaufen.
- Film.
- Telefon.
- Arbeitsplätze.
- Unternehmen.
- Bükkorolen.
- Papier.
- U-Bahn-Fahren.
- Spitzelzug.
- Häuser.
- Verkehr.
- Autos.
- Flugtickets.
- Klimaticketts.
- Dating.
- Fast Food.
- Kommunikation.
- Musik.
- Hilfswerken.
- Banken.
- Kochen.
- Lernen.

Es ist einfacher zu sagen, was die Digitalisierung nicht verändert hat: die Politik.

Wir Freie Demokraten glauben, dass hier das größte Potential für Deutschland brachliegt. Der konsequente Ausbau der digitalen Infrastruktur ist deshalb für uns eine Kernforderung. Denn Digitalisierung ist keine Bedrohung, die man neutralisieren muss. Sie ist die größte Chance für unser Land. **Denken wir neu.**

Mehr zum Programm der Freien Demokraten: <http://denkenwirneu.de>



Freie Demokraten  
FDP

**CHRISTIAN LINDNER**

## WEN INTERESSIEREN SCHON INHALTE, WENN MAN SO EIN GEILER TYP IST?



Freie Demokraten  
FDP

## Quick Reaction Teams

- “Green Net Fire Brigade”
- Whatsapp Group against FakeNews even at the Left Party

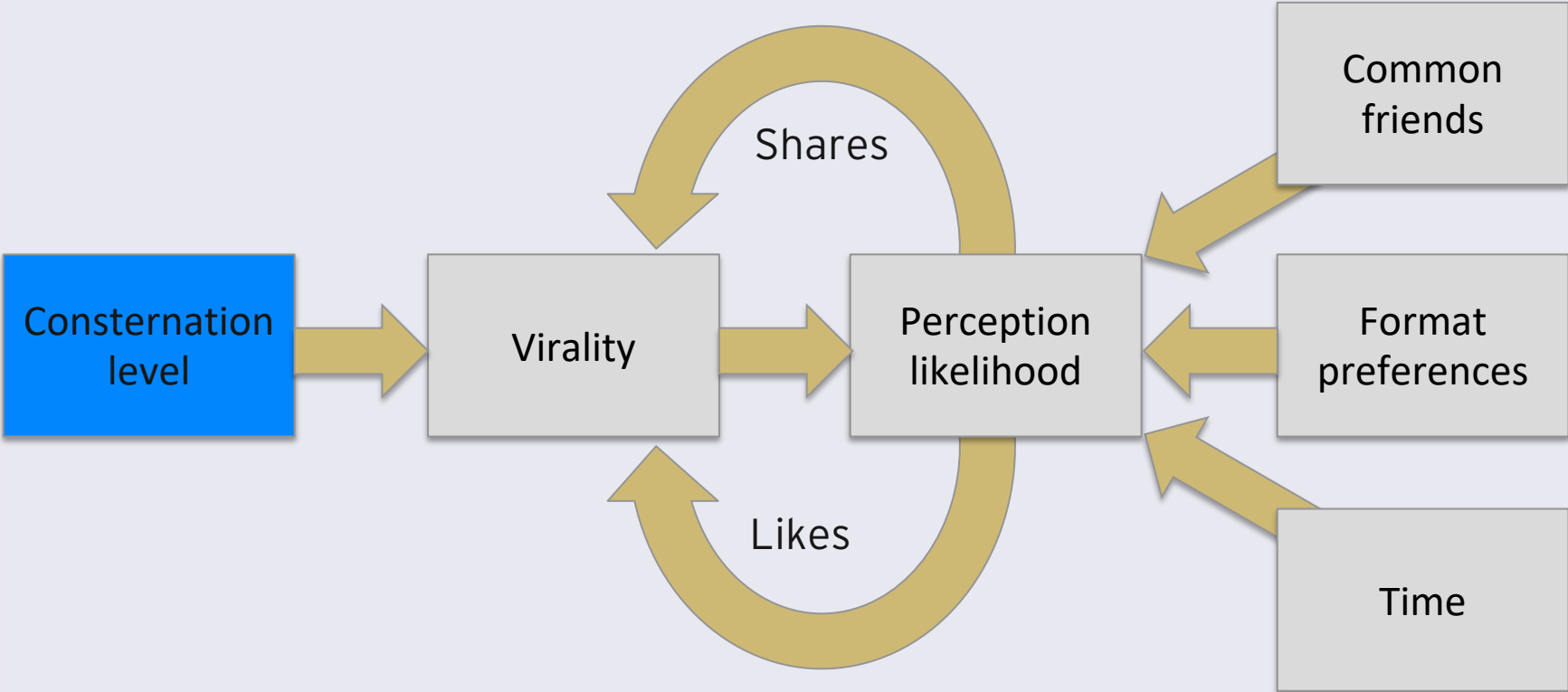


# Ingredients:

## Polarisation



# How the SM algorithms work as gatekeepers:



# Polarisation strategies in the German GE 2017

For the last months of the Campaign AfD engaged Harris Media:



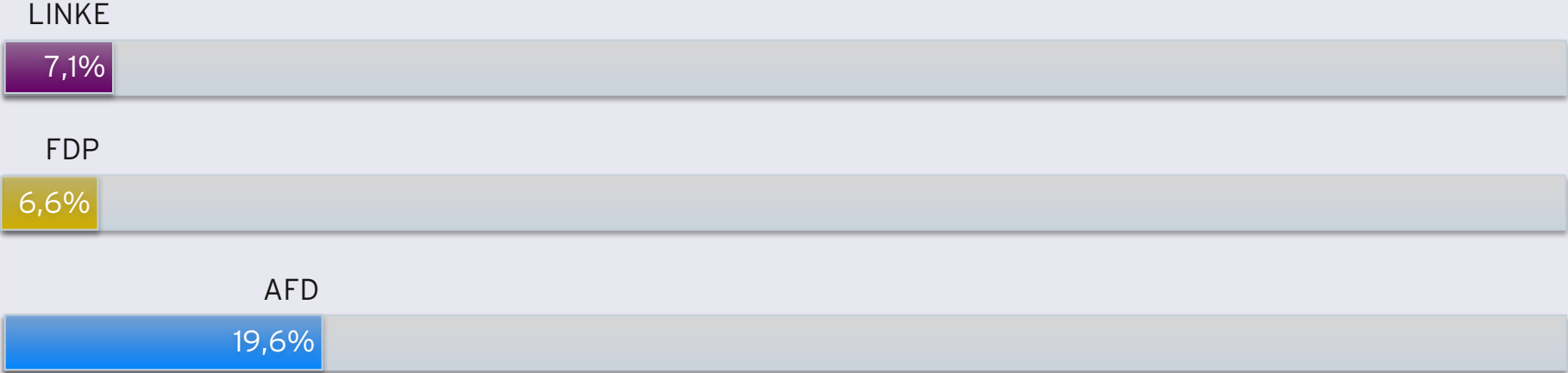
# Ingredients:

Microtargeting



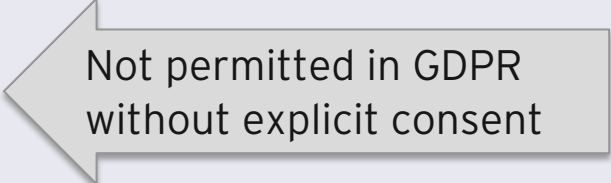
# Share of Sponsored Posts of all Posts

Findings from April 2017, when some Parties haven't started yet:



# Which data does Facebook offer for targeting?

- Data specified by the users
- What users liked
- Specific Locations
- Users post opening behaviour
- ~~Your uploaded default list~~



Not permitted in GDPR  
without explicit consent

Even though quite precise - sometimes inefficient targeting:

- SPD reaches Green Party Members
- Kern advertised in Germany

# Ingredients:

Dark Ads



## Dark Ads used by the Christian Social Union of Bavaria (CSU)

Advertised on Facebook only to friends of RT:





# Dark Ads used by the new extreme right AfD

Islamophobic Poster removed during campaign but prevailed in SM



# AfD SM Ad Strategy

## FB-Interest

## AfD ad message

---

Angela Merkel

Refugees must have a passport  
No family reunion for refugees

---

Liberals (FDP)

Less bureaucracy for SMEs  
Back to the Deutschmark

---

Liberalism

Back to the Deutschmark  
Spending per refugee

---

NachDenkSeiten  
(Counter-Information Project  
for the Left)

No more fees for public broadcasting  
Stop TTIP & CETA

---

Source: WhoTargetsMe/BUZZFEED

# Not so dark Ads presented on the Left Party Facebook video page



# Not so dark Ads presented on the Green Party Website



# Ingredients:

What's the recipe?



## Ingredients:

Questionnaires

D2D Apps

Microtargeting

SM Network

Engaging Content



## Unsure: Dark Ads

Sure, if campaigning messages differ by audience ...

- contradictory aims may be selectively presented
- there's no more need to present solutions for conflicting interests
- you sustain echo chambers.

But:

- you might want to engage audiences who need a different starting point in the debate
- as long as you just use different wording without twisting your message it might be an effective means to build bridges into echo chambers

# Questions? Comments?

**Juri Maier**

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**wegewerk.** thank you