

Retweets indicate Agreement, Endorsement, Trust: A Meta-Analysis of Published Twitter Research

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Abstract

Since its introduction, Twitter has proven to be an increasingly important platform in Social Media research. A significant number of research papers studying Social Media these days collect and analyze data using the Twitter API. The collected data are used to perform mainly observational studies, while a few researchers have also started performing experimental studies on Twitter.

Arguably one of the most important features of Twitter is the support for “retweets” or messages re-posted verbatim by a user that were originated by someone else. (This does not include “modified tweets” that sometimes are confused as retweets.) Despite the fact that retweets are routinely studied, many important questions remain about their use and significance. Importantly, casual reading of the literature does not reveal an obvious answer to the question of why do people retweet, or what affects the rates of retweets observed in various corpora.

In this paper we present a meta-analysis of over 100 research publications examined for clues about fundamental questions regarding retweets. Starting our survey with relevant papers published between 2008 and 2013 in three major conference venues, AAAI ICWSM, IEEE SocialCom, and WWW, we expanded the coverage to cover other references found in these venues.

Our findings indicate that retweeting is, under specific conditions, a form of expression of agreement with the message, and endorsement –or even trust– of the message originator. The specific conditions are related to expression of opinions influenced by emotion and intention. The existence of emotion and intention that can be detected by the presence of hashtags, are responsible for the variability of retweet rates in a domain. While there have been additional claims by researchers about the possible reasons for retweeting in the past, most of them are not supported. Moreover, the technical changes introduced recently by Twitter make these additional claims irrelevant.

Keywords: Social Media, Twitter, Social Networks, Social Theorems

1 Introduction

Twitter is a real-time information network¹ that allows its users to write short messages (“tweets”) up to 140 characters in length. Created in 2006, Twitter has become an enormously successful platform and many research papers on social media study phenomena related to its service. We chose to focus on Twitter in particular because, unlike other popular social media platforms, it has, in fact, grown into a real-time news source created by everyday users. Twitter is credited for its role in political events such as monitoring elections, the so-called “Arab Spring” [BHB13], and for drawing attention to news stories that were largely ignored by traditional news media such as the Wendy Davis² filibuster.

We will add more stuff related to the paper’s findings. Why are we interested in the problem. Why others are interested.

1.1. How Twitter Works

Over the years Twitter has developed its own syntactic components. Users may choose to use hashtags (#) to tag a tweet and indicate that it is relevant to a particular topic or event (e.g. #election2012). Bursty popular hashtags will occasionally be featured in the “Trends” section on Twitter. Users may also decide to mention one another by adding “[user_account]” to their tweets. Mentions direct a tweet at a specific user. If a user is mentioned in a tweet, the tweet will appear in the “Interactions” tab of the Twitter user’s homepage. Multiple hashtags and user mentions can be used in a single tweet.

Users can choose to “follow” others as a way of being informed of the tweets of those they choose to follow. Following is not a symmetric action and the user being followed does not have to follow back or even agree on the follower’s decision to follow them.

Users can also **retweet (RT)** to actively forward a message from another source to their own followers. Retweeting was not part of the original design of Twitter operations but has become popular quickly. Because of its later adoption date, tweet forwarding can be done in one of two ways, one that is supported by the Twitter API and another that is not: either by clicking a “Retweet” button provided by the Twitter client (and some other clients), or by manually typing “RT @[user]” or adding “via @[user]” in a new tweet. We call the tweets produced by typing “modified retweets” (MRTs) to distinguish them from the first kind. This distinction is important because an unmodified retweet is treated differently by the Twitter platform and is guaranteed to point to its originating source.

¹Twitter is widely known as a micro-blogging service, and until Jan. 2010 was describing itself as “real-time short messaging service that works over multiple networks and devices”. This changed in February, 2010 when it started describing itself as “real-time information network powered by people all around the world that lets you share and discover whats happening now.”

²Texas filibuster on abortion bill rivets online, by Heather Kelly. June 26, 2013. <http://www.cnn.com/2013/06/26/tech/social-media/texas-filibuster-twitter>

38 *1.2. Why focusing on Twitter*

39 As a platform, Twitter has several characteristics that make it a convenient
40 research platform. First, it has a wide and increasing base. It is reported³
41 that on its 7th birthday, in March 2013, there were over 500 million Twitter
42 accounts world wide sending half-a-billion tweets every day, or about 6 thousand
43 tweets/sec. Second, compared to other social networks, it has a simple API
44 that enables the collection of data related to specific keyword, specific account
45 activity, and in real time (albeit one can only receive 1% of sampled data for
46 free). And, third, it has been extensively studied by Social Media researchers
47 since its creation, so there are many data points for comparison.

48 Nevertheless, no matter how successful, it is a valid question to ask ourselves
49 whether it is interesting to study a specific platform such as Twitter. If Twitter
50 does not exist in, say, 10 years, will this paper’s findings matter?

51 Twitter is recording human communication that requires relatively little ef-
52 fort to produce and consume. While any particular social media platform may
53 cease to exist or lose popularity in the future, the importance of human inter-
54 action through social media is unlikely to change. Humans are social animals
55 and their desire to communicate with each other and comment on their social
56 environments is one of their universal and unique characteristics. As recent and
57 measurable evidence of this fact one can see the tremendous and continuous
58 growth that social media have enjoyed since their creation. We have chosen to
59 study the interaction of humans through social media in an abstract way, not a
60 way specific to the particular social media platform. We are simply looking at
61 the behavior as revealed through their interactions.

62 While there is nothing unique about the Twitter platform, its service makes
63 it easy for people to say something. The effort in contributing to the general
64 social dialog is far less than that of writing a comment a blog on a web site or
65 a newspaper op-ed, and it has wider impact than talking person-to-person or
66 via email. In addition, the effort to propagate a message sent by someone else
67 is also remarkably small – giving rise to degrading characterizations of online
68 social participation such as “slactivism” [Gla10].

69 **2. On the Variability of Retweeting Rate**

70 The ease in repeating something via RT can give insight into how people
71 think and act in social media. Patterns of retweets offer the opportunity in
72 measuring the opinion of individuals or groups, but also organizing them, mak-
73 ing them aware of the extent that others share their opinion and attempting to
74 influence others’ opinions.

75 In this paper we study the use and significance of (unmodified) retweets
76 on Twitter. We are looking for clues to answering the question “Why do peo-
77 ple retweet?” It turns out that, while there have been many papers studying

³Twitter In Numbers, by Richard Holt, The Telegraph, 21 March 2013.
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/twitter/9945505/Twitter-in-numbers.html>

78 retweets, there are not many that have tried to address this question directly.
 79 Most have attempted to provide an opinion in passing. Nevertheless, we wanted
 80 to know what is the collective knowledge of all this research. To focus our re-
 81 search question a bit further, we did a meta-analysis of the research corpus that
 82 has been published in the last several years on Twitter.

83 Retweeting was not part of the original design of Twitter, but was created
 84 through user initiative. Its adoption is a prime example of *use influencing*
 85 *design*. The term “Re-Tweet” can be traced back to a tweet sent⁴ in March
 86 2007, and retweeting was first mentioned as an act⁵ shortly after, in April 2007.
 87 Use of the form “RT @user:” became a Twitter convention in approximately
 88 July 2008 [RBC⁺11] but it was not supported by the Twitter API⁶ in the json
 89 format until August, 2009⁷. The introduction of the “retweet_count” field in
 90 json data, supported by the official retweet button was also introduced then
 91 but the button’s utilization initially was slow. For example, [SHPC10] counted
 92 2.99M retweets generated by the one-click retweet button on Twitter, which was
 93 36.34% of the total of 8.24M retweets collected in a corpus of 74M tweets. So,
 94 by March 2010, about two thirds of retweets were created manually, while in a
 95 collection of 39M tweets in mid-summer of 2012 about one fifth of retweets are
 96 created manually by users.

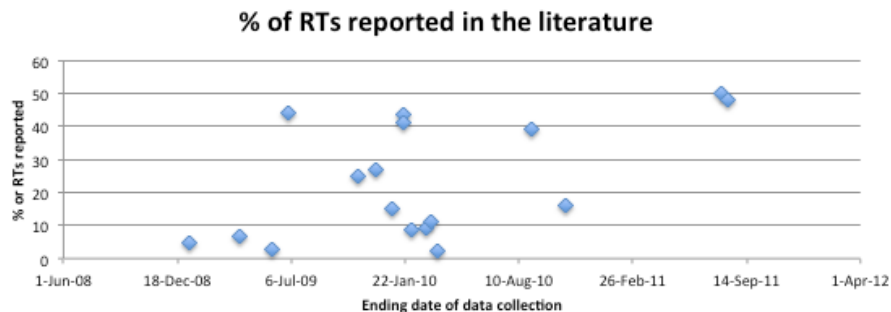


Figure 1: There seems to be little agreement in the literature on the percentage of retweets one might expect to observe in a corpus collected. Reported percentages range from a low of 3% to a high of 50%.

97 There is extensive work on **what** gets retweeted ([LG10], [POL11], [SHPC10],
 98 [PGS12], [ZJW⁺11], [NPS10], [RBC⁺11], [KA11], [HDD11], [AGK], [VL10],
 99 [HAN⁺11]), and on **who** is retweeted (and, in turn, who retweets others)
 100 ([BAH12], [LOTW13], [TAG13], [RAZ11], [Mur12], [TPT12], [LGA⁺11]). How-
 101 ever, as we will show in the next section, there is no consensus in the literature

⁴<https://twitter.com/derekpunsalan/status/8500871>

⁵<https://twitter.com/ericrice/status/31669791>

⁶<https://blog.twitter.com/2009/project-retweet-phase-one>

⁷<http://evhead.com/2009/11/why-retweet-works-way-it-does.html>

102 on **why** people retweet. We will start by pointing to the fact that there is little
 103 agreement even for the reported percentage of retweeted content (see Fig. 1).
 104 Understanding the root of this disagreement turns out to be important.

Starting	Ending coll. date	% of RTs	Citation
1-Jan-09	7-Jan-09	4.9	[RBC ⁺ 11]
1-Apr-09	7-Apr-09	6.8	[RBC ⁺ 11]
1-Jan-09	1-Jun-09	3	[BGL10]
4-Jun-09	30-Jun-09	44	[NPS10]
1-Oct-09	1-Nov-09	25	[NPS10]
1-Aug-09	1-Dec-09	27	[NPS10]
1-Jun-09	31-Dec-09	15.07	[YL11]
13-Jan-10	20-Jan-10	43.5	[MM11]
13-Jan-10	20-Jan-10	41	[MM10]
11-Nov-09	1-Feb-10	8.46	[POL10]
1-Feb-10	1-Mar-10	9	[PGS12]
8-Jan-10	8-Mar-10	11.15	[SHPC10]
19-Mar-10	19-Mar-10	2.19	[SHPC10]
1-Aug-10	1-Sep-10	39	[MM11]
26-Oct-10	1-Nov-10	16	[MM11]
1-Nov-10	1-Aug-11	50	[MMFMH12]
9-Aug-11	11-Aug-11	48	[TPT12]

Table 1: Reported percentages of retweets in the literature, sorted by the ending collection date. There seems to be a no convergence on the percentage of retweets one might expect to observe, though it appears that the rate is increasing over time. Understanding the root of this discrepancy holds part of the answer the the question of why people retweet.

105 According to [PGS12], 9% of tweets are retweets, observed in a corpus col-
 106 lected in early 2010. This is significantly higher than the 3% reported by [BGL10]
 107 in a sample set from early 2009. One might assume that this reflects a growth
 108 in the use of retweets over the one-year period, but [YL11] in their late 2009
 109 corpus found 15% retweets. Also in early 2010, [SHPC10] randomly collected
 110 74M tweets (estimated to be 2% to 3% of all tweets created during the collec-
 111 tion period) and found 8.24M retweets. These were selected through regular
 112 expression matching (retweets that have text markers like “RT@” or “retweet
 113 @”) and accounted for 11.15% of their tweet corpus.

114 At the other end of the spectrum, [MM10] report that 41% of the tweets re-
 115 lated to MA Special Senatorial Elections of 2010 were retweets and [MMFMH12]
 116 report 50% retweets related to the so-called “narco-tweets” (tweets informing of
 117 risk situations in drug war-torn Mexico) in 2011. It was noted that the existence
 118 of highly publicized events and the inclusion of URLs in the tweet seemed to af-
 119 fect the percentage of retweets reported: [NPS10] collected tweets in 3 different
 120 specific topical areas, and they found that highest proportion of retweets (44%)
 121 was in a set on the recent elections in Iran. [TPT12] used a dataset from the
 122 2011 London Riots and found that 48% of the dataset were retweets, and that
 123 the retweets were over twice as likely to contain URL links compared to regular

124 tweets.

125 2.1. Insight: The role of hashtags

126 While the divergence of reported retweet rates may seem mystifying, things
127 become clearer when one considers the role of hashtags in a tweet. Hashtags
128 give the opportunity to experienced messengers of enabling the discovery of
129 their message far beyond the community of their followers, through the main
130 Twitter search facility and even promoting it to a trending topic. This, turns
131 out, is an essential element in understanding the variations of retweet rates in
132 the literature.

133 In fact, sorting the data in Table 1 according to the retweet rates and adding
134 a column with the method used by the researchers in collecting the data (uni-
135 form random sampling versus collection through hashtags/keywords) we see a
136 clear separation in the data of Table 2. Random sampling finds between 3%
137 and 16% of retweets, while collecting through hashtags/keywords finds between
138 25% and 50% of retweet rates. See Fig. 2. This finding is in sync with the ob-
139 servation by [SHPC10] that “URLs and hashtags have strong relationship with
140 retweetability.” So, when collecting tweets based on hashtags, it should not be
141 surprising to observe a higher percentage of RTs.

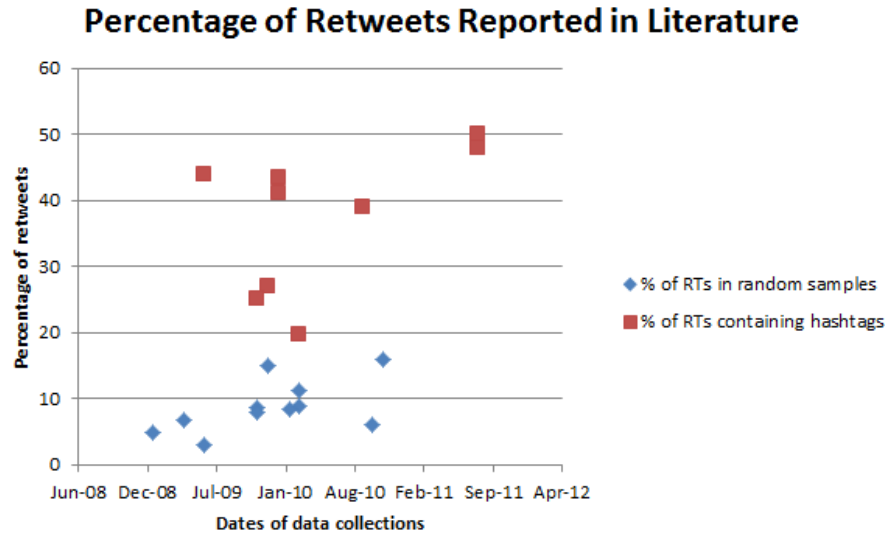


Figure 2: The mode used to collect Twitter data shows a clear separation between reported rates of retweets.

142 Moreover, one can observe in Table 2 that there is some correlation with
143 emotional strength among the hashtags. Neutral (not emotionally charged)
144 hashtags, such as those relating to a conference, record 25% retweet rates, gen-
145 eral political (non-election) hashtags record between 27% and 39%, elections

% of RTs reported	Citation	Sampling method
50	[MMFMH12]	#MTYfollow
48	[TPT12]	#londonriot, #riotcleanup
44	[NPS10]	Iranian election (hashtags and keywords)
43.5	[MM11]	#MASen10
41	[MM10]	Coakley, Scott Brown
39	[MM11]	#tcot, #p2
27	[NPS10]	health care reform (hashtags and keywords))
25	[NPS10]	ISCW (hashtags and keywords))
16	[MM11]	random collection
15.07	[YL11]	random collection
11.15	[SHPC10]	random collection
9	[PGS12]	random collection
8.46	[POL10]	random collection
6.8	[RBC ⁺ 11]	random collection
4.9	[RBC ⁺ 11]	random collection
3	[BGL10]	random collection
2.19	[SHPC10]	random collection

Table 2: Number of Retweets reported in the literature, sorted by the decreasing percentage of retweets found in the corpus. A column describing the method used for collecting the data is added.

146 range between 41% and 44%, and issues related to public safety contain be-
147 tween 48% and 50% retweet rates.

148 While we do not mean to imply that there is a clear distinction between
149 various levels of emotion and intention, there is some correlation in the sense
150 that

151 *intentional hashtags, corresponding to more emotionally charged is-*
152 *suues, result in higher retweet rates than those with less;*
153 *and the latter result to higher rates than random collection of tweets*
154 *(i.e., that may or may not contain hashtags)*

155 2.2. Newer Data on Retweet Rates

156 Wanting to verify that the reported retweet rates were still operating beyond
157 the dates of reporting literature, we looked into more recent collection of tweets,
158 of our own and of other researchers. What we found is that the trend that was
159 reported in the literature has increased and tweets collected through

160 3. Reasons for Retweeting

161 So, it appears that messages with a topical marker (a hashtag or a rare
162 keyword) are retweeted much more often than random messages. Can we tell
163 something more about those messages? We will examine the literature for an-
164 swers to why people retweet. There are many claims that have been made in

% RTs	End date	Hashtags	Users	Tweets	Retweets
73.7	12-Aug-13	Trending HT: #ScienceSaysSo	23201	32879	24223
73.3	16-May-13	Trending HT: #DoYourJobGOP	6462	20738	15191
61.1	13-Jul-13	Zimmerman trial verdict	1176298	2276175	1390800
60.0	2-Nov-12	Jobs Report	25499	37954	22766
57.7	6-Nov-12	MA Senatorial election 2012	43327	135319	78087
51.4	19-Aug-13	Obama's new puppy announcement	5168	5783	2970
50.6	22-Oct-12	2012 3rd Presidential Debate	852927	1668534	844264
48.6	22-Jun-13	MA Senatorial election 2013	38633	84210	40941
47.5	16-Oct-12	2012 2nd Presidential Debate	762101	1297076	615968
46.4	3-Oct-12	2012 1st Presidential Debate	1010941	1994906	925850
46.1	5-Jun-12	Wisconsin congressm. recall	223854	684449	315288
43.4	4-Aug-13	12th Doctor Announcement	211851	393203	170707
38.9	15-Feb-13	Trending HT: #ThoughtsInClass	60591	94365	36704
37.9	14-Dec-12	Guns-related	3725216	9495789	3599077
36.2	24-Sep-13	German elections 2013	467930	1327380	480375
34.8	14-Feb-13	Valentines Day	819524	997464	346698
27.6	20-Aug-13	Misha Collins' Birthday	33175	68140	18814
27.2	12-Aug-13	Whitey Bulger trial verdict	16265	30332	8259
20.9	20-Feb-13	CBS Survivor (2013)	51589	124737	26040
20.7	6-Mar-13	Twitter Event: #AskThorin	2551	8716	1803
20.6	12-Jun-12	random(gardenhose) collection	12756587	39801489	8187704

Table 3: Newer data. See Fig. 3

165 the past about why people retweet, many of them made *en pass e*, based on
166 “common sense” but without strong data support. In the following subsections
167 we will group related claims and we will characterize them according to the
168 evidence cited by the authors.

169 3.1. Straightforward and Outdated Reasons

170 The first set of claims can be characterized as straightforward (in the sense of
171 being self-evident) and outdated (in the sense that technical changes in Twitter
172 do not support them anymore). As an example of straightforward claim is the
173 claim that people retweet to broadcast and appropriate information. As an
174 example of outdated claim is the claim that people retweet to appropriate the
175 information.

176 According to [RAZ11]: “[Retweeting] was first a social appropriation done
177 by manually copying someone’s tweet and prefixing it with the letters “RT”, so
178 that other users would know that that was a copied content. Any addition to
179 the information from the user retweeting normally (but not exclusively) appears
180 before the “RT”. Since then, Twitter has implemented a dedicated functionality
181 that mimics this behavior to some extent.”

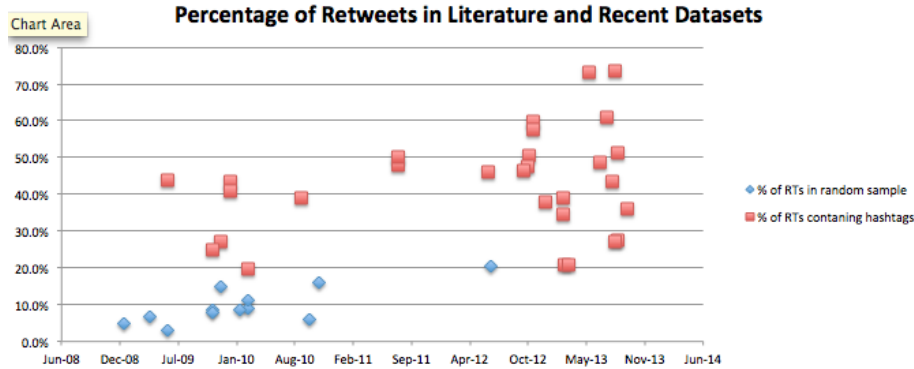


Figure 3: Recent data collected shows an increased trend of RTs, yet the rates of randomly selected data and hashtag-selected data are separable.

182 *3.1.1. Straightforward: Retweeting as a form of broadcast, promotion*

183 Many researchers elaborate further in the category of straightforward reasons
 184 by mentioning a “desire to promote issue” [PB12], [BGL10], “dissemination of
 185 breaking news” [TAG13], defining retweet as “a mechanism for information dif-
 186 fusion” [LGRC12], or noting that retweeting enables “users to propagate infor-
 187 mation across multiple hops in the network through word-of-mouth” [RBC⁺11].
 188 Reflecting the information related to popular events (such as the latest Royal
 189 wedding in the UK, a Japanese earthquake, and the Super Bowl in the US)
 190 [TAH⁺13] point to the importance of timing in the retweets: “During these
 191 events, breaking news are often retweeted not long after being posted.” In
 192 fact, [ZJW⁺11] found that the largest proportion of retweets they observed was
 193 event-oriented in the “World” category, suggesting a large number of retweets
 194 pertain to world news events that others are likely to want to know about.

195 *3.1.2. Straightforward: Retweeting expresses interest*

196 Another straightforward characterization refers to retweets as reflecting some-
 197 thing that is “interesting”: For example, [KA11] mention that the usual purpose
 198 of retweeting is “when users find a message particularly interesting” and describe
 199 retweet as “a measure of interestingness.” However, one should note that “in-
 200 teresting” is a weak characterization since it understates emotional relevance.
 201 Indeed, it is mentioned as self-evident that “retweet shows a strong interest on
 202 the topic of the tweet” by the user ([WWB⁺13], [PGS12]) or by the community
 203 that the user participates [HDD11].

204 *3.1.3. Outdated: Retweeting as an act of personal curation or appropriation*

205 Several early papers mention personal curation or appropriation as a reason
 206 for retweeting, that is, an action by the user to save tweets for later [BGL10],
 207 [SHPC10]. Similarly, [AGK] mentions that “a retweet allows Twitter users to

208 rebroadcast specific tweets of interest by incorporating all or part of the original
209 tweet into their own.”

210 While these may have been reasons for retweeting in the early days of Twit-
211 ter, it does not appear that this practice is still prominent. Appropriation is not
212 supported by the new API which would not mark a user’s modified tweet as a
213 retweet. And the introduction of a “favorite” button for a tweet is now playing
214 the role of saving tweets for later.

215 3.1.4. *Outdated: Retweeting as a conversational or social act*

216 Another set of now outdated claims is related to the view of retweets as
217 a conversational or social act. Quite a few of early papers have made this
218 observation. For example, [BGL10] views retweets as a social assertion; by
219 retweeting, one is establishing oneself as a community member related to the
220 topic, to the originator, or both. [RAZ11] see retweets as a win-win social
221 situation, claiming that “retweets play an important part in gathering social
222 capital.” Finally, [NPS10] see “retweets are a means of participating in a diffuse
223 conversation.”

224 However, these claims really refer to modified tweets, a distinction that did
225 not exist in the early days of Twitter. They are based on early observations
226 where retweeting was of very limited practice (e.g., only 3% of the [BGL10]
227 corpus were retweets) and involved modifying a tweet by including both the
228 username of the originator as well as the retweeting user, thus giving visibility to
229 the retweeter. While this practice was exciting to researchers since it was making
230 it possible to study information diffusion through retweet trees, the Twitter
231 API does not allow it anymore since now only the originator gets credit in the
232 retweeting process.

233 4. Retweeting as a form of agreeing, endorsing, trusting

234 The most strongly supported claim in the literature about the intention
235 behind retweets is that they indicate some form of endorsement of the opinion
236 expressed, the originator of the opinion, or both. This becomes apparent when
237 one realizes that these claims come from authors that examine corpuses collected
238 using hashtags and keywords. As we saw, such collection indicate a higher
239 percentage of retweets and are focusing on emotionally charged discussion. We
240 will examine these claims in some detail in this section.

241 4.1. *Supported: Retweets indicate agreement with the topic or the opinion*

242 One of the more consistently supported claims is that retweeting suggests
243 agreement of the retweeter with the topic of information or the opinion ex-
244 pressed. [BGL10] report that retweets show agreement publicly and contribute
245 in getting a specific topic to trend⁸. This claim finds strong support in political

⁸We should note that this highly cited work collected data using a survey with an oppor-
tunity sample of early Twitter users

246 discussions, in particular during elections: [MM10] show how retweet networks⁹
247 can detect political orientation of users using force-directed graph-drawing algo-
248 rithms ([?]) and community-detection algorithm (such as the [?] algorithm).
249 Their results were supported by [CGR⁺11] who repeated the experiment during
250 later elections. Essentially the same claim is supported by [TPT12] who note
251 that “Twitter users retweeted to show support for their beliefs in others’ com-
252 mentaries.” Similarly, [PB12] find that retweets provide for lightweight protest
253 in political or confrontational events.

254 In addition to the studies above, several other researchers offer support to
255 this claim based on their experience with their corpuses. [AGK] writes that
256 retweeting “commonly serves as a way of saying ‘me too,’ in response to a
257 users tweet.” [KLPM10] argues that retweeting “empowers users to spread
258 information of their choice beyond the reach of the original tweets followers,”
259 and [TPT12] write that retweets are a way to incorporate information into
260 your own existing belief system. All of these statements effectively accept the
261 claim about user agreement with the topic. Moreover, [VL10] argue that “The
262 person who retweets has specifically chosen to retweet that tweet which can
263 be seen as an endorsement of that particular piece of information. Retweeting
264 can be thought of as a vote for the quality, novelty or timeliness of a piece
265 of information.” While [VL10] use the word “endorsement”, we include their
266 claim in the “agreement” category, with the disclaimer that often these two
267 terms, along with the term “trust” are used in literature as roughly equivalent
268 terms.

269 4.2. *Supported: Retweeting as endorsement of the author*

270 A stronger statement about the role of retweets is that they are effectively
271 an endorsement of the originators, not just in agreement with their opinion of
272 the topic being discussed. It is, of course a fine line to make the distinction
273 between supporting someone’s opinion with endorsing the individual, but when
274 it comes to political opinions, there seems to be little doubt about the strength
275 of the relationship. [CGR⁺11] study is aligning twitter users politically, based
276 on what they mention and what they retweet. They find that “Retweets act as
277 a form of endorsement, allowing individuals to rebroadcast content generated
278 by other users, thus raising the contents visibility.” One can see the findings
279 of [MM10] and [TPT12] as supporting the same claim. Recently, [WGB13]
280 studying tweets in both Arabic and English found that “Retweeting signifies
281 endorsement. Using simple retweet information we could label users as either
282 Islamist or secular with accuracy similar to inter-judge agreement.” In even
283 stronger terms, [CGVMA11] base the effectiveness of their research on the claims
284 that “retweets are endorsements in which a user propagates a message posted by
285 another user to their list followers.” Finally, it can be argued that when people
286 retweet a celebrity’s (e.g. Justin Bieber’s) messages, sometimes indiscriminately,
287 retweeting count as an endorsement to the celebrity.

⁹graphs depicting users as nodes and retweets as directed edges from originator to retreater

288 Other researchers support the endorsement claim as well, but based on their
289 experience with their data, not by conducting specific experiments. [BB12] write
290 “Retweeting can also be interpreted as an implicit endorsement for message
291 and sender, unless additional commentary is added by the retweeter during
292 retweeting.”

293 4.2.1. *On the claim that “Retweeting does not mean endorsement”*

294 Of particular interest is the statement encountered in certain Twitter users’
295 profile summary that “retweet does not mean endorsement.” It seems that this
296 statement contradicts the research presented in this section so we should exam-
297 ine it carefully. First we analyze its semantics and then we present quantitative
298 results from our research.

299 One has to consider the reason for people placing such a clarification state-
300 ment in their profile. The need for such clarification can be seen as a concern
301 that one’s practices may be mistaken by others. It is reasonable to argue that
302 the mere fact of including this disclaimer is an implicit admission by those using
303 it that others may mistake their intentions. Effectively it is an admission that,
304 apparently, for most people retweet *is* endorsement.

305 There are relatively few users making this claim, and we have found that the
306 largest groups are journalists or bloggers. In particular, we examined two sets
307 of profiles, the first collected with keywords related to the Snowden revelations
308 that were initially promoted by news organizations, and the second with key-
309 words related to guns. Our collections were reasonably large with 140,053 and
310 3,736,618 profiles respectively. In the first collection, we found that the state-
311 ment appeared in less than 1.5% of the profiles and in the “guns” collection in
312 less than 0.2% of the profiles. Therefore it is a tiny percentage of users that feel
313 the need to make such a statement. Nevertheless, we found that the statement
314 was overrepresented among journalists and bloggers: about 45% of them con-
315 taining it (38% journalist and 6% bloggers). Another interesting observation is
316 that among those profiles who make this statement, almost 40% of them also
317 make the statement “Tweets represent personal opinions!” It is not clear if these
318 people do not see the oxymoron of their claims or they try to protect themselves
319 from defending what they retweet. Several journalists have been challenged for
320 this claim (e.g., see Sreenivasan’s commentary at the Washington Post¹⁰) and
321 have even gotten in trouble in a few circumstances for using it [?] since its
322 inclusion in one’s profile is not an effective disclaimer (many people will likely
323 miss it).

324 4.2.2. *Special case of endorsement: Retweeting as indication of influence of* 325 *originator*

326 Another way to examine the concept that retweet is indicative of endorse-
327 ment is to look at the relationship from the other end. A number of authors
328 use retweets as an indication of the influence tweet originators have on those

¹⁰<http://wapo.st/19OIcfy>

329 retweeting their messages. [YW10] define as the degree of influence the num-
330 ber of retweets an originator gets: “The more frequently the users messages
331 are retweeted by others, the more influential this user is.” Further, [YW10]
332 comment that users with stable retweet counts are more likely to “keep their
333 influence stable”. [TC12] agree with this definition, arguing that “the retweets
334 that a user incurs is a suitable indication of their influence.” Along the same
335 lines, [GWT11] “use retweeting behavior as an indicator of influence in this
336 community and count how many tweets are being retweeted by other members
337 of this community.”

338 *4.3. Supported: Retweeting as an expression of various forms of trust of origi-* 339 *nator*

340 Some authors see retweets as an expression of trust in the person being
341 retweeted. In particular, [TAG13] define trust as a psychological attitude of A
342 towards B with respect to some possible desirable behavior. In particular, they
343 write that trust is “the idea that an interaction between two trusted parties
344 will have an expected outcome” and they find that the higher the frequency of
345 retweets, the higher the trust.

346 Other authors see retweets as trust in the validity of information being
347 retweeted. More specifically, [MMFMH12], [MM13] argue that retweets indi-
348 cate trust in the validity of safety-related information. This claim is verified
349 by real-life behavior of users who reportedly check Twitter before getting out
350 of their house for safety information put forth by the anonymous “curators” or
351 prominent Twitter users who have strengthened their reputation over long periods
352 of retweeting times (months or years). The authors note that the higher the
353 frequency of retweets, the higher the trust in the originator of the information.

354 The above views on trust are supported by [AEG⁺10] who “make the as-
355 sumption that when a user propagates information from some other user, there
356 must be some element of trust between the two users.” These authors claim that
357 when a “node propagates information from another then it suggests that the
358 propagator trusts the information. [...] a repeated propagation makes the con-
359 clusion stronger.” In fact, retweeting is used in [AEG⁺10] as a way to compute
360 trusting communities. Their main experimental result is that the behavioral
361 trust graphs do indeed represent trust (at least as captured by retweets). They
362 derive their results based on the likelihood (14.4%) of users to retweet repeti-
363 tively within such communities, compared to random model’s 3%).

364 In a more specific domain of trust, [LGA⁺11] analyzed information flows dur-
365 ing the 2011 Egyptian/Tunisian revolutions and found that journalists tended
366 to retweet other journalists more than bloggers and others. They interpret this
367 behavior as an indication that those journalists trust the information provided
368 by other journalists more than other people.

369 **5. On the role of MTs (modified tweets)**

370 **6. Conclusions**

371 In this paper we conducted a meta-analysis of the research literature on the
372 use of retweets to answer the question “why people retweet”.

373 Our conclusions are as follows: Retweeting does indicate a level of endorse-
374 ment of the message and/or the originator. While the exact sense may be
375 difficult to determine automatically, there is evidence that the stronger the
376 emotions surrounding the message, the stronger the endorsement. We have
377 found evidence in the literature that this endorsement may range from topic
378 agreement to originator endorsement/expression of trust.

379 Disclaimers:

- 380 1. When we refer to ”retweets” we mean propagation of unedited messages
381 to one’s follower network. Modified tweets (those that add the address of
382 the retweeter or alter the original message in some way) are not included
383 in our conclusions.
- 384 2. Our conclusion describes all retweets related to a subject that are typically
385 retrieved through a hashtag or keyword search. It does not imply that
386 every retweet is subject to the characterization of endorsement, since a
387 particular retweet may be simple the result of unintentional actions such
388 as confusion, accident, hack, sarcasm, etc.

389 We believe that our findings are an important contribution to social media
390 research since the meaning of retweets has been the subject of dispute for as
391 long as retweets exist. An important insight into our conclusion comes from the
392 use of hashtags in a retweet, inserted by the originator with the clear intention
393 of spreading of the message beyond the immediate community of followers. The
394 retweeter effectively decides that wants to participate in this propagation and as
395 a result we observe dramatically higher rates of retweets in messages containing
396 a hashtag or related keywords.

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