

# Social media and finance

FIRN Masterclass – Day 1

J. Anthony Cookson  
CU Boulder

# Social media has become pervasive

People use it more for news and for financial advice.

Americans **3.6 hours** per day on social media (any kind) from Forbes  
**53%** of users on Twitter (X) use it for financial advice (Pew 2023)

Major events have been linked to social media

GameStop short squeeze, highlighting coordination of retail investors ([Pedersen 2022](#))  
Silicon Valley Bank, highlighting speed of communication.

Part of the democratization of finance

An engaging technology, prone to taking advantage of our behavioral biases

# In the news (on repeat...)



Roaring Kitty  
@TheRoaringKitty

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2:00 AM · May 13, 2024 · 28.4M Views

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Economy | Financial Markets

## GameStop stock jumps as 'Roaring Kitty' shows big bet in Reddit post

Keith Gill, or 'Roaring Kitty', shared a screenshot on Reddit that showed he may hold five million shares of GameStop.



Symbol	Actions	Last Price \$	Change \$	Change %	Qty #	Price Paid \$	Day's Gain \$	Total Gain \$	Total Gain %	Value \$
GME		46.55	14.98	47.45%	5,000,000	21,274	74,900,000.00	126,379,884.00	118.81%	232,750,000.00
GME	Jun 21 '24 \$20 Call	27.02	14.625	117.94%	120,000	5,675.4	175,500,000.00*	256,133,277.55	375.75%	324,300,000.00
Cash Total										\$28,408,005.00
Transfer money										
Total						\$174,536,838.45	\$250,400,000.00	\$382,513,161.55	219.38%	\$586,459,005.00



GameStop Corp



NYSE: GME

Overview

Compare

Financials

28,22 USD +13.15 (87.26%) ↑ past 6 months

Closed: 7 Jun, 20.00 GMT-4 • Disclaimer

After hours 27,16 -1,06 (3,76 %)

1D 5D 1M 6M YTD 5Y



# In context of the GME short squeeze



# Research approaches and questions

Social media research in finance is aligned across two major axes:

**Axis 1**: How social media is used by the researcher:

**social media as a lens** or **social media's effects**

Cookson, Mullins and Niessner (2024) draws this distinction, primarily.

# Research approaches and questions

Social media research in finance is aligned across two major axes:

**Axis 1**: How social media is used by the researcher:

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Cookson, Mullins and Niessner (2024) draws this distinction, primarily.

**Axis 2**: Financial functions of social media (within social media's effects):

**production, consumption** or **distribution of information.**

Subset of the approach taken in Aridor et al ("[The economics of social media](#)").

# My plan

## 1. Social media landscape (today)

Definitions, growth over time, data sources

Some key examples

## 2. Social media as a lens

Examples and approach, opportunities with new formats and features

## 3. Social transmission bias

Examples and approach, opportunities with new formats and features

## 4. Effects of social media

Subtopic: production, consumption, and distribution of information

Opportunities and challenges

# Social media landscape

It has grown over time, changed format

# What is social media?

Financial social media evolved out of internet discussion boards (e.g., see [Antweiler and Frank 2004](#), who study internet message boards).

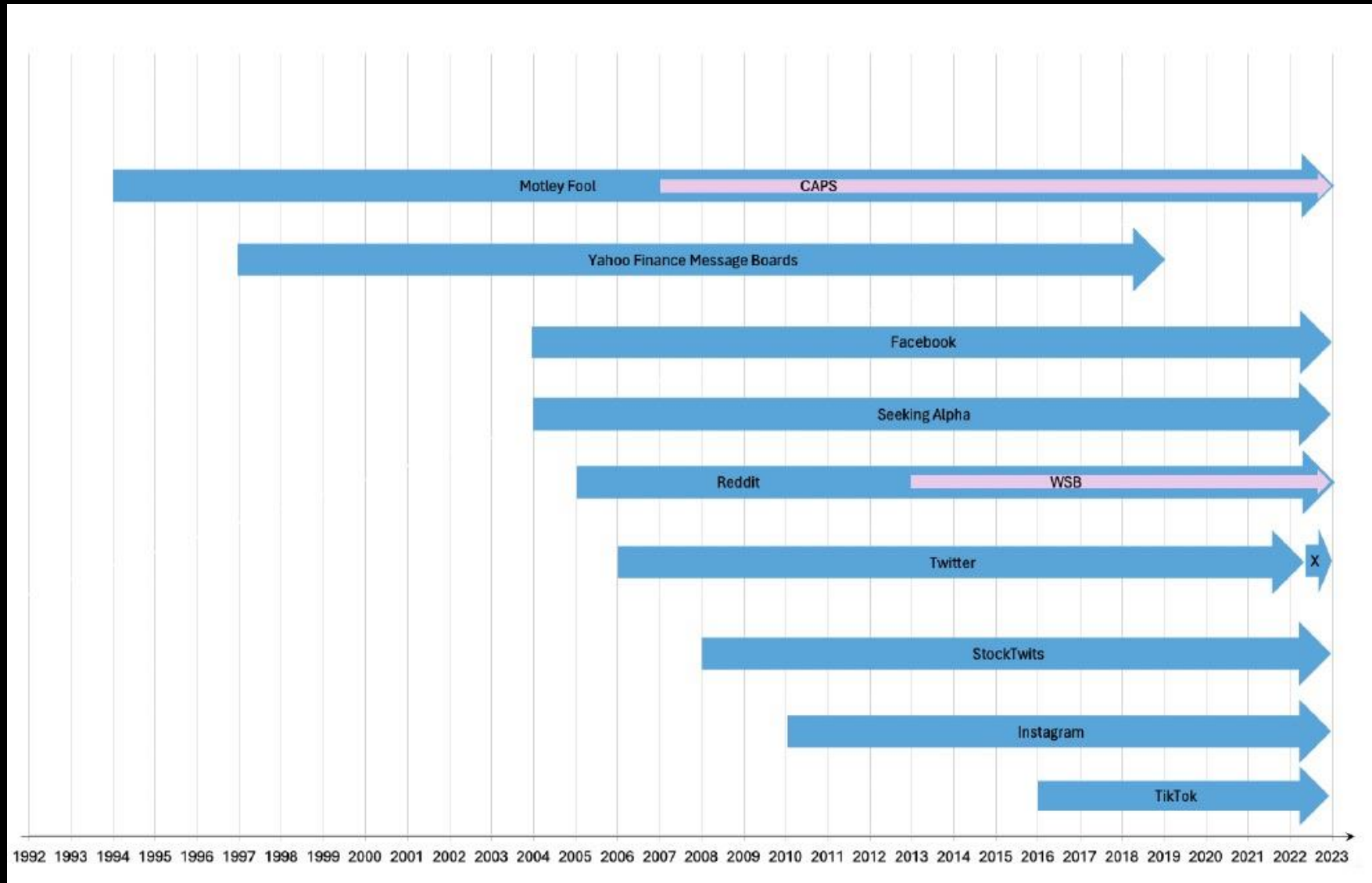
[Facebook](#), [MySpace](#), [Twitter \(X\)](#), [Instagram](#), [TikTok](#), [Discord](#), [WhatsApp](#), [Reddit](#), [Bitcointalk](#), [StockTwits](#),...

There's a lot of different media that are called social media (e.g., is Wikipedia "social media"?)

Different platform features are understudied: virality, "friends of friends," etc.

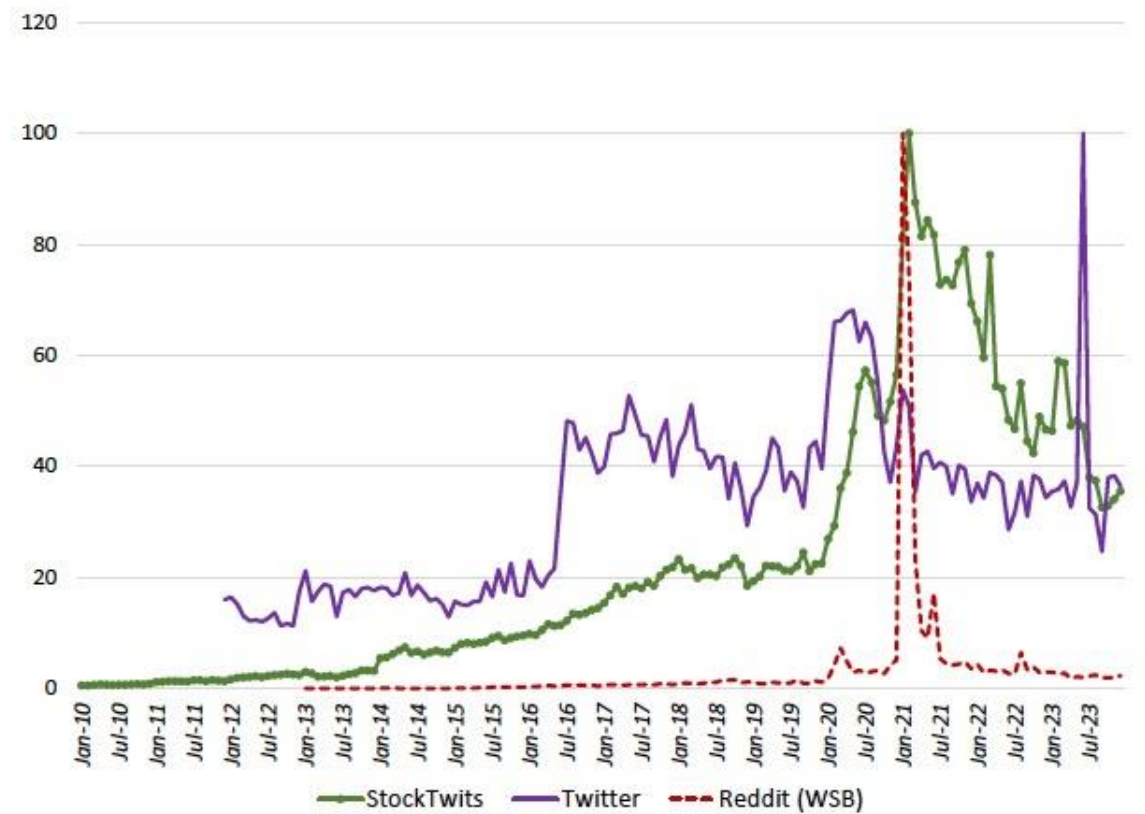
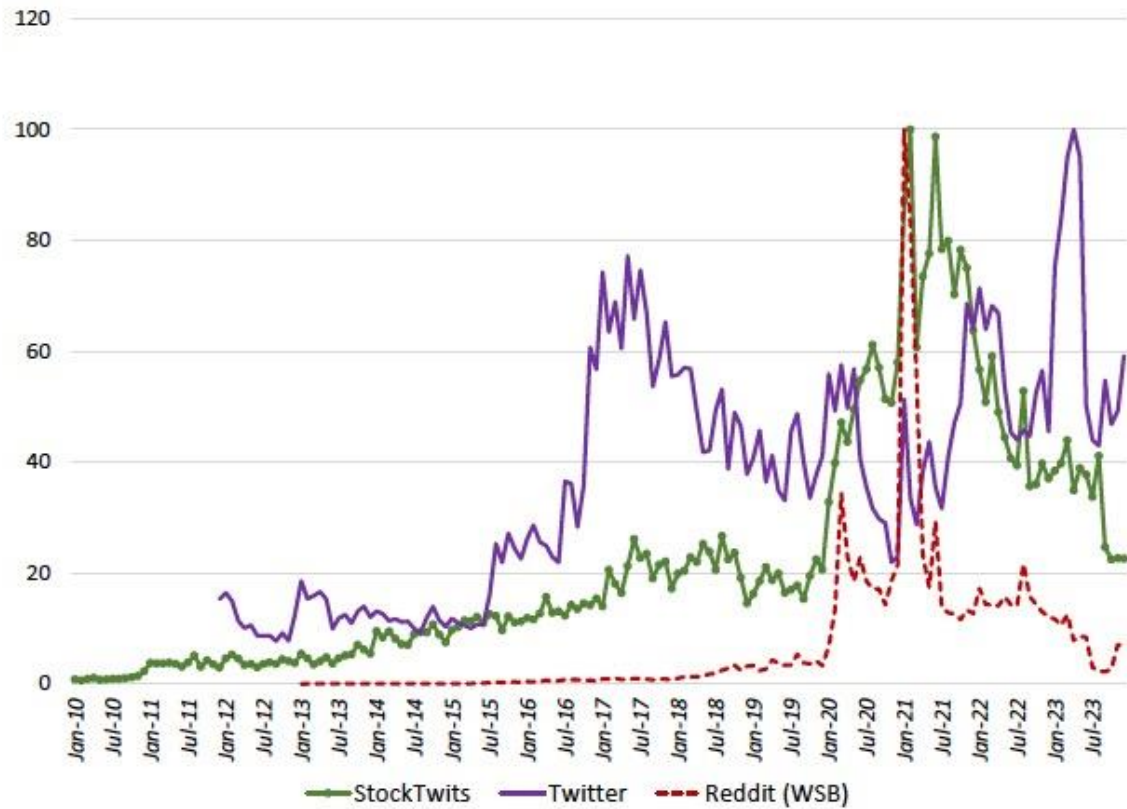
Different social media are not all the same, but also not all different (see ["The Social Signal" JFE 2024](#))

# Growth: More platforms with investing content



# More posts and users per platform

Finance-specific social media platforms



# Social media data

## How do I enter this area?

Early work involved collaborations with the (investor) social platform.

- My disagreement work with StockTwits was based on free access to an API because we asked for it.
- Nowadays, platforms are less cooperative (generative AI has made platforms more wary)
  - ... but (i) StockTwits has started to sell its data, (ii) scraping, collecting information from online is easier

# Social media data

## How do I enter this area?

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  - ... but (i) StockTwits has started to sell its data, (ii) scraping, collecting information from online is easier

Commercial products have become more common

- Context Analytics gives away its firm-day Twitter signal
- Refinitiv bought MarketPsych (both firm-day Twitter and StockTwits)
- Ravenpack has sentiment and article information on Seeking Alpha
- Bloomberg has integrated social media tracking products into its platform

# Social media data

Most can be found here: <http://socialfinance.site/data.jsp?type=ds>

## Data from websites:

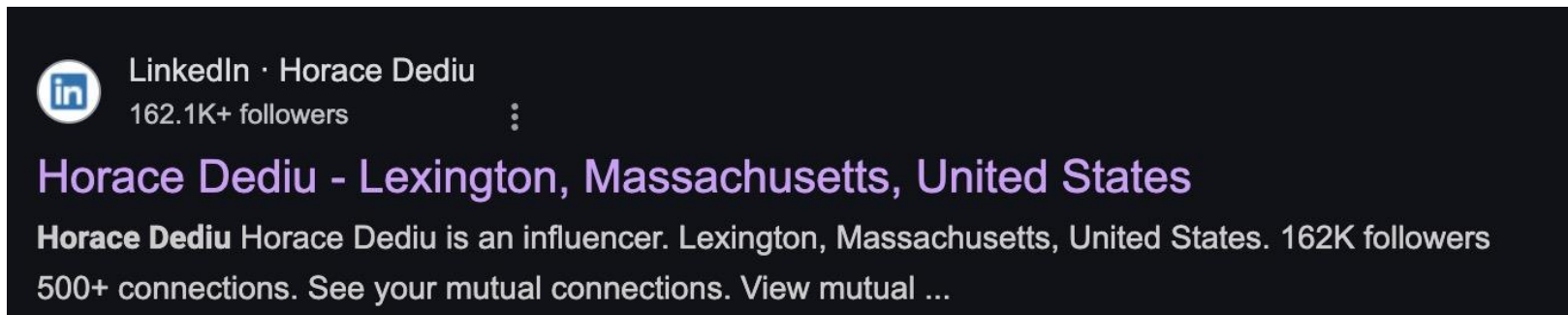
- Disagreement (2010-2021) at the firm-day level ([Cookson and Niessner 2023](#))
- Sentiment and attention (2012-2021) at firm-day level ([Cookson, Lu, Mullins and Niessner 2024](#)) from first PC across major platforms.
- Facebook connection data ([Stroebe and coauthors](#)), Social capital data ([Chetty et al](#)); cross-sectional connectedness metrics.
- [Müller and Schwarz](#) have posted their county-level exposure to South-by-Southwest attendance (an instrument for Twitter usage).
- Byoung [Hwang](#) has posted firm-day Twitter attention data on his website.

# Key examples of social media research

# Social media and wisdom of crowds

*“The issue for the pros is that the institution of [financial] analysis risks becoming de-professionalized. In the same way many jobs ... became commoditized by the use of new tools or access to information, the era of DIY [do-it-yourself] financial analysis is dawning.”*

-- Horace Dediu, former analyst, now *influencer*



The image shows a screenshot of a LinkedIn profile for Horace Dediu. At the top left is the LinkedIn logo. To its right, the text reads "LinkedIn · Horace Dediu" and "162.1K+ followers". Below this is a vertical ellipsis menu icon. The main header of the profile is "Horace Dediu - Lexington, Massachusetts, United States" in a purple font. Underneath, a bio reads: "Horace Dediu Horace Dediu is an influencer. Lexington, Massachusetts, United States. 162K followers 500+ connections. See your mutual connections. View mutual ...".

# *Social media: Seeking Alpha*

Paper shows the content of Seeking Alpha predicts returns and earnings surprises.

Not just articles, but comments

JOURNAL ARTICLE

## Wisdom of Crowds: The Value of Stock Opinions Transmitted Through Social Media

Hailiang Chen, Prabuddha De, Yu (Jeffrey) Hu, Byoung-Hyoun Hwang

*The Review of Financial Studies*, Volume 27, Issue 5, May 2014, Pages 1367–1403,

<https://doi.org/10.1093/rfs/hhu001>

**Published:** 04 February 2014



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### Abstract

Social media has become a popular venue for individuals to share the results of their own analysis on financial securities. This paper investigates the extent to which investor opinions transmitted through social media predict future stock returns and earnings surprises. We conduct textual analysis of articles published on one of the most popular social media platforms for investors in the United States. We also consider the readers' perspective as inferred via commentaries written in response to these articles. We find that the views expressed in both articles and commentaries predict future stock returns and earnings surprises.

# Main Contribution: to show social media is **informative**

Empirical strategy is to count the fraction of **negative** words in Seeking Alpha articles (and comments on those articles until day  $t+2$ )

Then, ask whether this fraction predicts **returns  $t+3$  through  $t+60$** , controlling for the usual suspects: *lagged returns, news sentiment, upgrades/downgrades, positive and negative earnings surprises, etc.*

# Digging into details: What is a negative word?

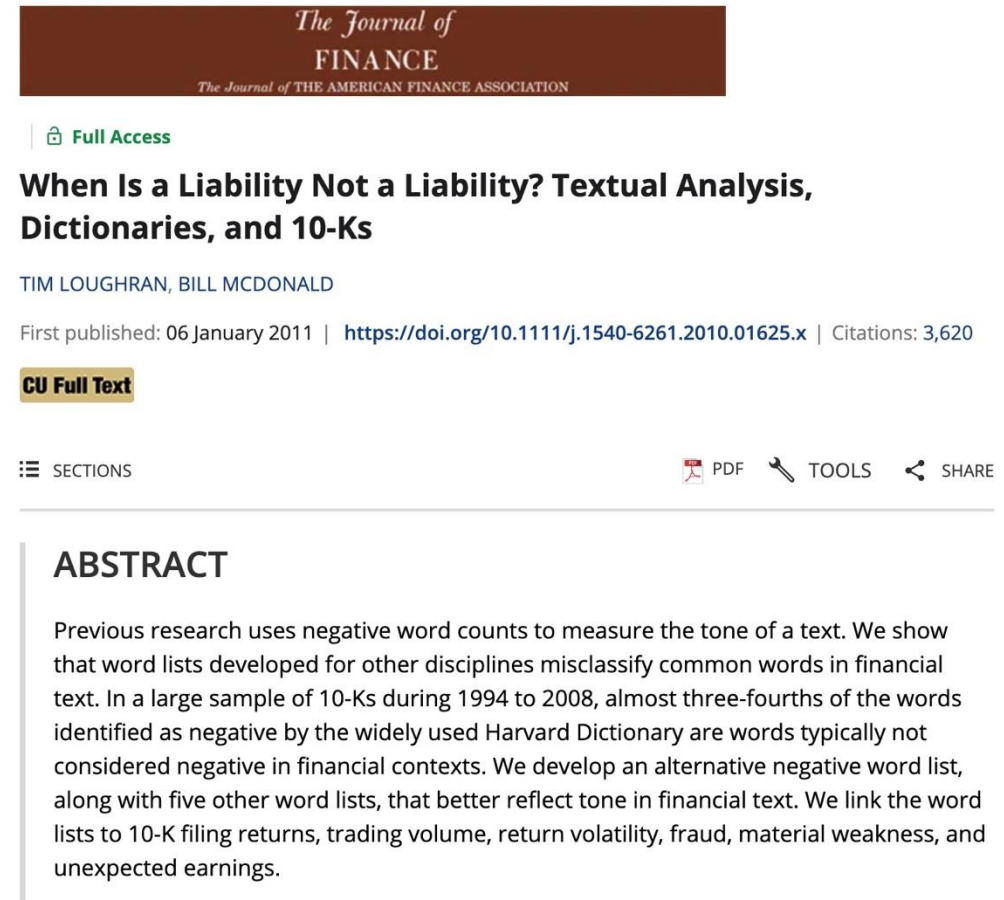
Loughran and McDonald (2011) curated lists of positive and negative words, producing a set of dictionaries that proved to be the standard for the next decade+

Also, lists of complexity, modality, etc.

For more, see their data website:

<https://sraf.nd.edu/loughranmcdonald-master-dictionary/>

**Chen et al (2014) uses the negative word list**



The Journal of  
FINANCE  
*The Journal of THE AMERICAN FINANCE ASSOCIATION*

Full Access

**When Is a Liability Not a Liability? Textual Analysis, Dictionaries, and 10-Ks**

TIM LOUGHRAN, BILL MCDONALD

First published: 06 January 2011 | <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6261.2010.01625.x> | Citations: 3,620

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**ABSTRACT**

Previous research uses negative word counts to measure the tone of a text. We show that word lists developed for other disciplines misclassify common words in financial text. In a large sample of 10-Ks during 1994 to 2008, almost three-fourths of the words identified as negative by the widely used Harvard Dictionary are words typically not considered negative in financial contexts. We develop an alternative negative word list, along with five other word lists, that better reflect tone in financial text. We link the word lists to 10-K filing returns, trading volume, return volatility, fraud, material weakness, and unexpected earnings.

# Digging into details: What is a negative word?

## The standard may be different today

Two caveats:

1. The LM word lists may be noisy.  
Garcia, Hu and Rohrer (2023) make this point with more modern ML methods



Journal of Financial Economics  
Volume 147, Issue 3, March 2023, Pages 525-549



### The colour of finance words ☆

Diego García <sup>a</sup>, Xiaowen Hu <sup>b</sup>, Maximilian Rohrer <sup>c</sup>

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<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jfineco.2022.11.006>

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#### Abstract

Our paper relies on stock price reactions to colour words, in order to provide new dictionaries of positive and negative words in a finance context. We extend the machine learning algorithm of Taddy (2013), adding a cross-validation layer to avoid over-fitting. In head-to-head comparisons, our dictionaries outperform the standard bag-of-words approach (Loughran and McDonald, 2011) when predicting stock price movements out-of-sample. By comparing their composition, word-by-word, our method refines and expands the sentiment dictionaries in the literature. The breadth of our dictionaries and their ability to disambiguate words using bigrams both help to colour finance discourse better.

Token	Positive words			Token	Negative words		
	Cov.	% Pos	% Neg		Cov.	% Pos	% Neg
good <sup>+</sup>	35.1	99.4	0.0	question	25.6	39.2	7.0
strong <sup>+</sup>	26.0	100.0	0.0	questions	10.5	21.8	6.4
better <sup>+</sup>	15.1	92.4	0.0	decline <sup>-</sup>	8.0	0.0	99.8
opportunities	12.9	58.4	4.6	loss <sup>-</sup>	6.8	0.0	99.0
able	12.1	63.2	2.2	negative <sup>-</sup>	4.4	0.2	96.6
opportunity	11.9	68.0	3.8	difficult	3.7	0.0	78.4
positive	10.2	62.6	2.6	against	3.6	7.8	27.4
improvement <sup>+</sup>	10.0	100.0	0.0	declined <sup>-</sup>	3.5	0.2	91.4
progress	7.9	56.4	5.0	restructuring	3.2	30.8	30.4
pleased <sup>+</sup>	7.7	99.8	0.0	losses	2.8	6.0	69.0
improved <sup>+</sup>	6.9	100.0	0.0	challenges <sup>-</sup>	2.6	0.0	99.8
improve	6.7	11.0	34.0	challenging <sup>-</sup>	2.4	0.2	87.0
best	6.5	25.6	10.4	recall	1.8	8.2	25.6
strength <sup>+</sup>	4.8	100.0	0.0	declines <sup>-</sup>	1.8	0.0	85.8
success <sup>+</sup>	4.4	88.8	0.0	volatility	1.7	6.8	42.4
excited	4.4	49.8	4.6	slow	1.6	0.2	66.4
profitability	4.3	63.0	4.8	break	1.5	22.6	6.6
confident <sup>-</sup>	3.9	0.4	80.4	weakness <sup>-</sup>	1.4	0.0	99.8
improving <sup>+</sup>	3.8	82.4	0.0	bad	1.3	6.0	44.4
favorable <sup>+</sup>	3.6	86.4	0.0	challenge	1.3	0.2	77.4
improvements <sup>+</sup>	3.5	89.4	0.2	problem	1.3	1.6	71.4
gain	3.4	64.0	1.2	weak	1.2	0.2	78.8
despite	3.3	3.8	33.6	claims	1.2	12.0	61.8
successful	3.2	41.2	2.4	slower <sup>-</sup>	1.2	0.0	93.0
gains <sup>+</sup>	3.2	82.4	0.0	negatively <sup>-</sup>	1.2	0.0	96.8
stronger	3.2	72.0	0.2	lost <sup>-</sup>	1.2	0.0	96.8
efficiency	3.1	68.6	1.6	cut	1.1	3.4	50.2
advantage	3.0	61.0	1.4	slowdown <sup>-</sup>	1.1	0.0	96.8
achieve	3.0	32.0	6.0	impairment	1.1	1.2	81.0
innovation	2.8	57.2	6.4	missed	1.0	0.6	49.2

# Digging into details: What is a negative word?

## The standard may be different today

Two caveats:

1. **The LM word lists may be noisy.** Garcia, Hu and Rohrer (2023) make this point with more modern ML methods
2. **Social media text (outside of Seeking Alpha) is short and “has its own language.”** Fox, Kelley and Paolucci (2025WP) make this point by analyzing the sentiment of emojis and extending VADER (*a social media sentiment classifier*)



### How Many Words is a Picture Worth? Using Emojis From Social media to Predict Future Stock Returns

w/ Eric Kelley and Roman Paolucci

Using a new and comprehensive sample of more than 67 million Twitter posts referencing Russell 3000 firms between 2012 and 2021, we introduce a novel, unsupervised method of scoring the sentiment of emojis. Our method generates point-in-time dictionaries that map individual emojis to the contextual sentiment of recent tweets that contain them. In out-of-sample tests, we find that even controlling for the sentiment extracted from words, emoji sentiment correctly predicts future firm-level stock returns. Understanding the sentiment of emojis has become increasingly important as individuals continue to adopt these new forms of communication.

# Returning to Chen et al (2014)...

## How to show social media is **informative**

We organize our main analysis around the following regression specification:

$$ARet_{i,t+3,t+60} = \alpha + \beta_1 NegSA_{i,t} + \beta_2 NegSA-Comment_{i,t} + X\delta + \varepsilon_{i,t}. \quad (1)$$

**Simple empirical strategy**: Are future returns predictable by the content of Seeking Alpha, conditional on controls?

### Main result

**Table 4**  
**Seeking Alpha and abnormal returns**

	(1)	(2)	(3)
<i>NegSA<sub>i,t</sub></i>	-0.379 (-2.24)	-0.332 (-2.03)	-0.320 (-1.98)
<i>NegSA-Comment<sub>i,t</sub></i>		-0.194 (-3.44)	-0.196 (-3.55)
<i>I(SA-Comment<sub>i,t</sub>)</i>		0.001 (0.25)	0.001 (0.17)

# Returning to Chen et al (2014)...

## How to show social media is **informative**

Consistent evidence for different horizons and calendar time strategies

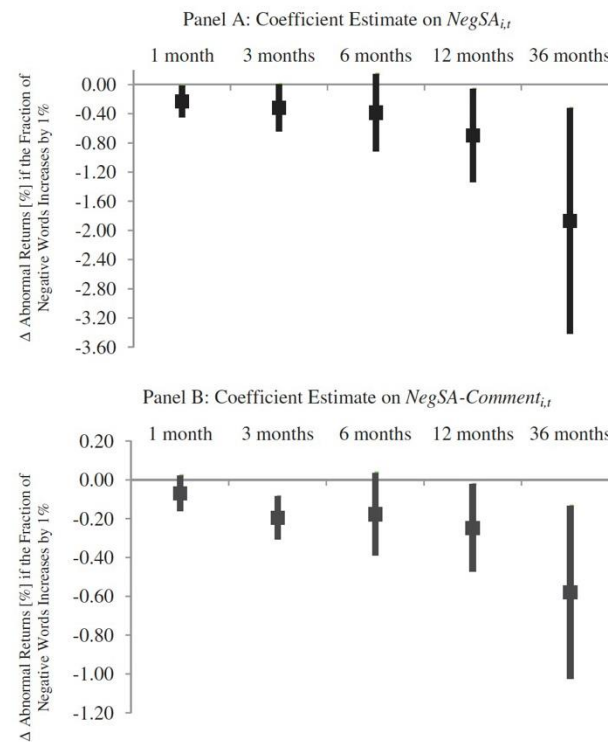
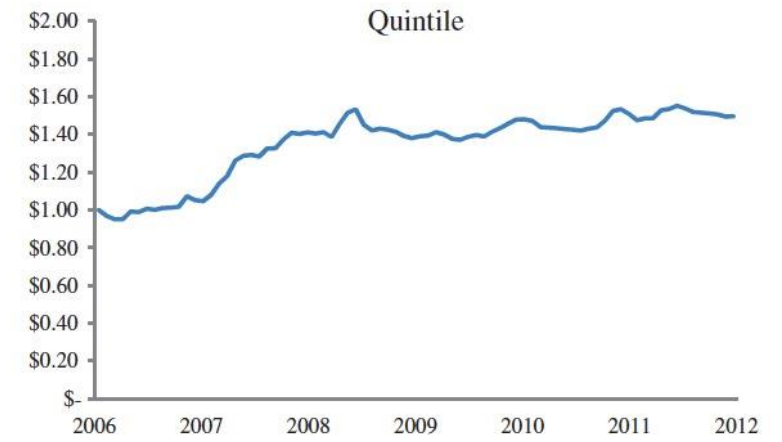


Figure 3 Seeking Alpha and abnormal returns over different holding periods



Panel B:  $NegSA-Cc$



# *Social media: Seeking Alpha*

**Taking stock:** It is a big finding and noteworthy that SA content predicts returns.

Results are a little weak, but so were the methods.

**Predictions have held up after this sample** (e.g., see Russell Jame's research) and on different platforms.

JOURNAL ARTICLE

## Wisdom of Crowds: The Value of Stock Opinions Transmitted Through Social Media

Hailiang Chen, Prabuddha De, Yu (Jeffrey) Hu, Byoung-Hyoun Hwang

*The Review of Financial Studies*, Volume 27, Issue 5, May 2014, Pages 1367–1403,

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Social media has become a popular venue for individuals to share the results of their own analysis on financial securities. This paper investigates the extent to which investor opinions transmitted through social media predict future stock returns and earnings surprises. We conduct textual analysis of articles published on one of the most popular social media platforms for investors in the United States. We also consider the readers' perspective as inferred via commentaries written in response to these articles. We find that the views expressed in both articles and commentaries predict future stock returns and earnings surprises.

# Exemplar #2.

## Economic Effects of Social Networks

Key research question: Do our social networks (not necessarily online) influence real economic decisions?

### The Economic Effects of Social Networks: Evidence from the Housing Market

---

Michael Bailey

*Facebook*

Ruiqing Cao

*Harvard University*

Theresa Kuchler

*New York University*

Johannes Stroebel

*New York University, National Bureau of Economic Research, and Centre for Economic Policy Research*

We show how data from online social networking services can help researchers better understand the effects of social interactions on economic decision making. We combine anonymized data from Facebook, the largest online social network, with housing transaction data and explore both the structure and the effects of social networks. Individuals whose geographically distant friends experienced larger recent house price increases are more likely to transition from renting to owning. They also buy larger houses and pay more for a given house. Survey data show that these relationships are driven by the effects of social interactions on individuals' housing market expectations.

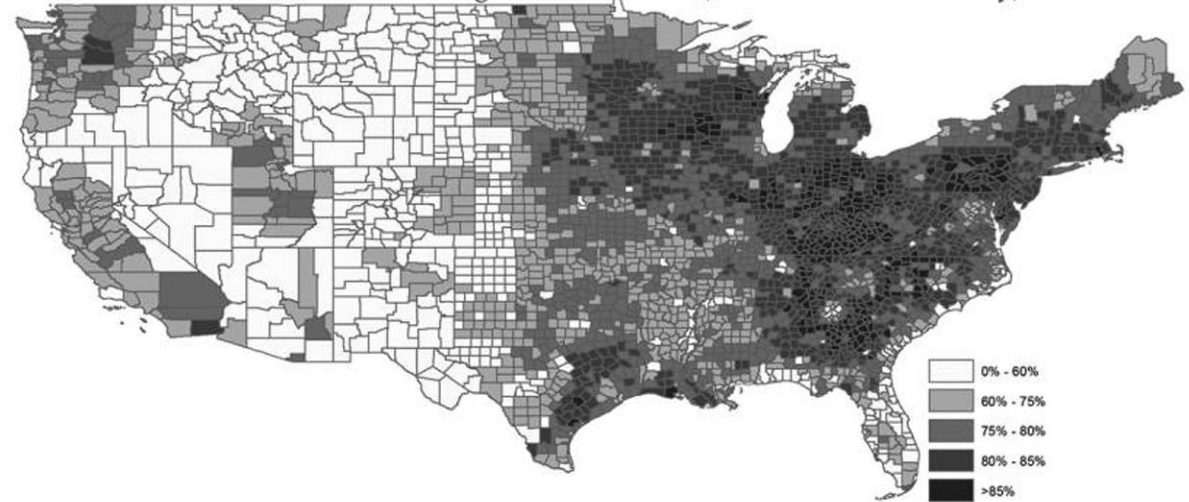
# Revealing Social Connections in Social Media

## Bailey et al (2018 JPE)

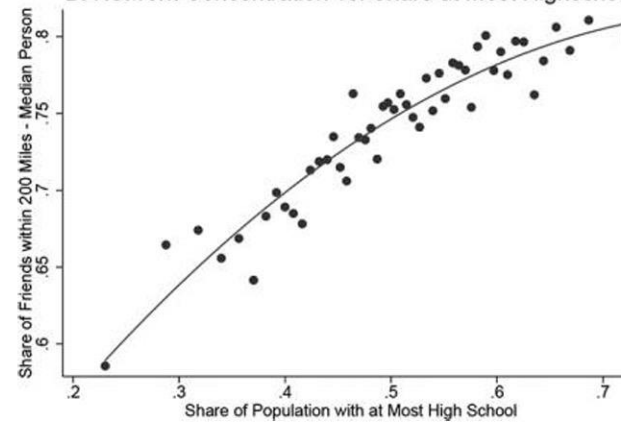
- Worked with Facebook internal data, merged with all real estate transactions in Los Angeles.
- Trick is to aggregate the housing price experiences of Facebook friends, at the individual level. Does this predict house prices?
  - Yes, having friends who experienced more house price appreciation → higher prices in LA market.
- Facebook snapshot in 2016, but effects in earlier years (before Facebook).

# This matters because most connections are local

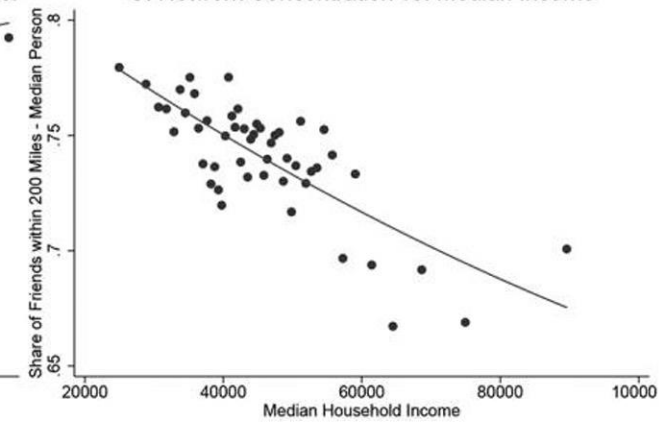
A: Share of Friends Living Within 200 Miles (Median Person in County)



B: Network Concentration vs. Share at Most High School



C: Network Concentration vs. Median Income



# How to identify an effect of peer experiences on housing transactions?

$$\text{HousingInvestment}_{i,t_2} = \beta \text{FriendHPExp}_{i,t_1,t_2}^N + \gamma \mathbf{X}_{i,t_2} + \epsilon_{i,t_2}. \quad (1)$$

Note: Friend exposure comes from where my friends are versus where yours are (not where I am versus you; we both live in LA in this sample; solution use out-of-state friend experiences).

Friend exposure comes from **Facebook** observed in 2016.

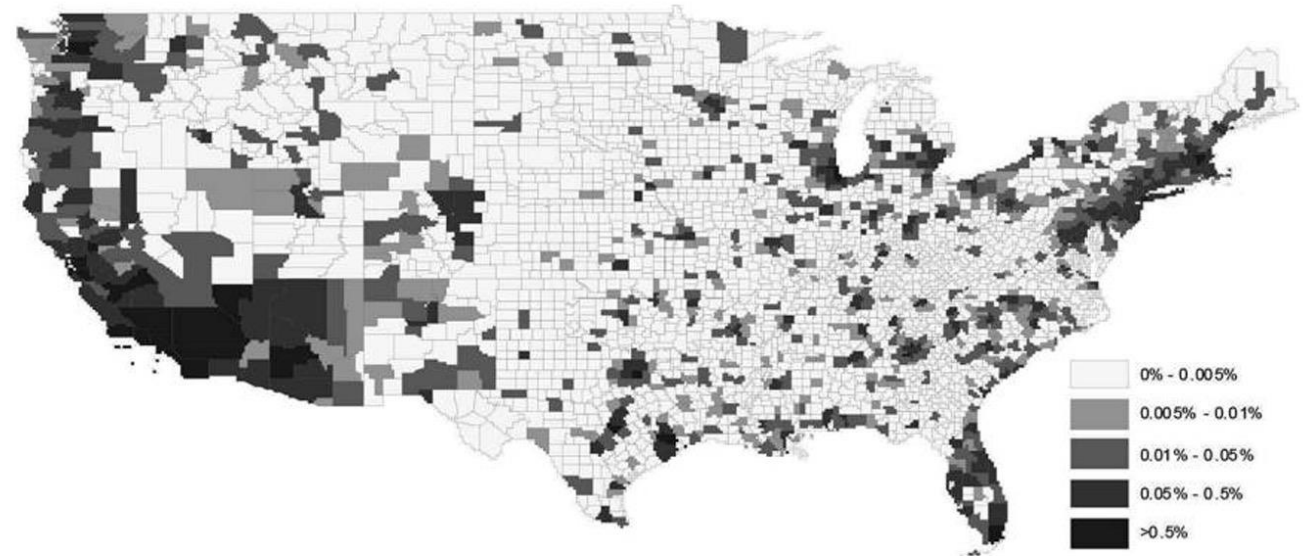


FIG. 3.—Share of friendship links of Los Angeles residents. The figure shows the abso-

# More likely to buy/own a house if friends saw HP appreciation

TABLE 6  
EFFECTS ON PROBABILITY OF HOME OWNERSHIP

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE: Pr(Owner in 2012)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. 2010 Renters					
$\Delta$ friend house prices, 2008–10 (%)	.608*** (.042)	.511*** (.044)	.501*** (.169)	.544*** (.043)	.672*** (.043)
$\Delta$ friend county income, 2008–10 (%)				.332*** (.033)	
$\Delta$ friend house prices, 2010–12 (%)					.324*** (.044)
Zip 2010 $\times$ zip 2012 fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sample restriction		Stayed in same zip code	Geographically nonclustered professions		
Observations	433,836	302,686	433,836	433,836	433,836
$R^2$	.43	.13	.43	.43	.43
Mean dependent variable	17.8	10.3	17.8	17.8	17.8

# House is likely **bigger** if friends saw HP appreciation

TABLE 8  
EFFECTS ON SIZE OF PROPERTY PURCHASED

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE: $100 \times \text{Log}(\text{Property Size})$					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
$\Delta$ friend house prices past 24 months (%)	.310*** (.053)	.520*** (.144)	.530*** (.164)	.400*** (.060)	.234*** (.079)	.285*** (.056)
$\Delta$ friend county income past 24 months (%)						.173*** (.096)
Month fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Buyer controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, $\times$ year	Yes	Yes
Sample notes		Purchases since 2010	Purchases since 2010, lived in LA in 2010		Geographically nonclustered professions	
Observations	526,594	95,561	68,388	526,593	526,594	526,594
$R^2$	.194	.134	.126	.204	.194	.194

# More likely to **pay more** (within property FE!)

TABLE 9  
EFFECTS ON TRANSACTION PRICE

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE: $100 \times \text{Log}(\text{Price})$				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	A. Main Results				
$\Delta$ friend house prices, buyer—past 24 months (%)	.452*** (.015)	.486*** (.050)	.408*** (.076)	.445*** (.015)	.335*** (.068)
$\Delta$ friend house prices, seller—past 24 months (%)				.233*** (.059)	.289** (.112)
Year $\times$ zip code fixed effects, controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sample or specification notes		Property FE	Buyer FE		Property FE
Observations	523,299	34,732	32,226	523,299	33,230
$R^2$	.808	.950	.948	.809	.956

# Bailey et al JPE paper had individual data, but county aggregates data have enjoyed wider application

## Social Connectedness: Measurement, Determinants, and Effects

Michael Bailey

Rachel Cao

Theresa Kuchler

Johannes Stroebel

Arlene Wong

JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES  
VOL. 32, NO. 3, SUMMER 2018  
(pp. 259-80)

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The screenshot shows a web browser displaying the HDX dataset page for the Facebook Social Connectedness Index. The browser's address bar shows the URL: data.humdata.org/dataset/social-connectedness-index?fbclid=IwZXh0bgNhZW0CMTEAAR22sHAcR9jal5bS-F4VeOVNPedV8e\_\_09FKbMyHjpE-HErTkbKzY... The HDX logo is prominent at the top left of the page, with a search bar and navigation links for DATA, LOCATIONS, ORGANISATIONS, and PRODUCTS. A red 'ADD DATA' button is located at the top right. The main heading is 'Facebook Social Connectedness Index'. Below the heading, a paragraph explains that the dataset uses an anonymized snapshot of all active Facebook users and their friendship networks to measure the intensity of connectedness between locations. The Social Connectedness Index (SCI) is described as a measure of the social connectedness between different geographies, specifically measuring the relative probability that two individuals across two locations are friends with each other. A 'More' link is provided for further information. On the right side of the page, there is a large logo for Meta. At the bottom of the page, there is a footer with a download icon, the text '26000+ Downloads', and 'This dataset updates: As needed'. On the far right of the footer, there is a 'Contact the contributor' link and social media icons for Facebook and Messenger.

data.humdata.org/dataset/social-connectedness-index?fbclid=IwZXh0bgNhZW0CMTEAAR22sHAcR9jal5bS-F4VeOVNPedV8e\_\_09FKbMyHjpE-HErTkbKzY...

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### Facebook Social Connectedness Index

We use an anonymized snapshot of all active Facebook users and their friendship networks to measure the intensity of connectedness between locations. The Social Connectedness Index (SCI) is a measure of the social connectedness between different geographies. Specifically, it measures the relative probability that two individuals across two locations are friends with ... [More](#)

26000+ Downloads | This dataset updates: As needed

Contact the contributor

# More recent: Chetty et al “Social capital”

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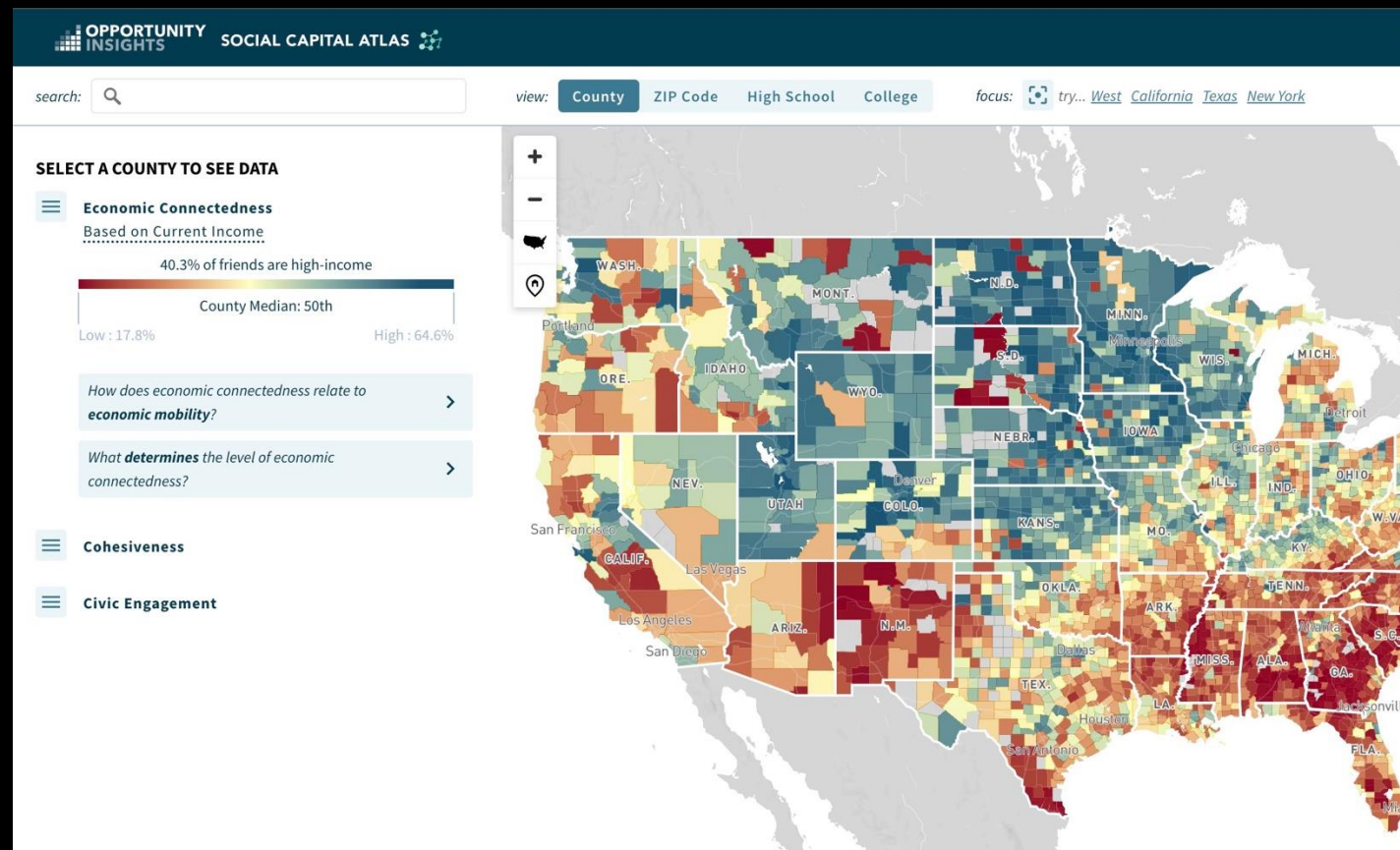
Article | [Open access](#) | Published: 01 August 2022

## Social capital I: measurement and associations with economic mobility

[Raj Chetty](#) ✉, [Matthew O. Jackson](#) ✉, [Theresa Kuchler](#) ✉, [Johannes Stroebe](#) ✉, [Nathaniel Hendren](#), [Robert B. Fluegge](#), [Sara Gong](#), [Federico Gonzalez](#), [Armelle Grondin](#), [Matthew Jacob](#), [Drew Johnston](#), [Martin Koenen](#), [Eduardo Laguna-Muggenburg](#), [Florian Mudekereza](#), [Tom Rutter](#), [Nicolaj Thor](#), [Wilbur Townsend](#), [Ruby Zhang](#), [Mike Bailey](#), [Pablo Barberá](#), [Monica Bhole](#) & [Nils Wernerfelt](#)

[Nature](#) **608**, 108–121 (2022) | [Cite this article](#)

189k Accesses | 177 Citations | 2318 Altmetric | [Metrics](#)



Measures in-person connections between high- and low-income people.

Easy to download and use.

# The Facebook connection data are not specific to finance

## **Friends with Benefits: Social Capital and Household Financial Behavior**

**Brad Cannon, David Hirshleifer & Joshua Thornton**

WORKING PAPER 32186

DOI 10.3386/w32186

ISSUE DATE March 2024

Though there are finance applications of these broader connections (e.g., see [Cannon et al 2024](#)), much of the finance literature is focused on finance-specific social networks.

# Using Social Capital Data

- An example from a 2024 MFA discussion of Cannon et al (WP).
  - Note: *paper may have updated since then.*

## **Friends with Benefits: Social Capital and Household Financial Behavior**

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# Friends with Benefits

Social Capital and Household Financial Behavior

Cannon, Hirshleifer and Thornton

Discussion by J. Anthony Cookson

# Where does this paper fit?

- Social capital literature is by now “age old”
  - [Knack and Keefer \(1997\)](#), [Keefer and Knack \(1995\)](#)
    - Wallet drops across countries, world value surveys ==> Trust ~ growth
  - Link to financial outcomes in [La Porta et al \(1997\)](#) & [Guiso Sapienza and Zingales \(2004,2006\)](#).
    - Measures: electoral turnout or blood donation.
- More modern ([tends to be narrow and focus on identification](#)):
  - [Brown, Cookson and Heimer \(2019\)](#) – exposure to finance (via trust) promotes participation using “natural experiment” in exposure to finance.
  - [Dupont \(2022\)](#) – Clergy abuse shocks affect stock market participation via generic trust channel.

# This paper's questions/measurement

Does **economic connectedness** (EC) affect **market participation** and **savings**?

- EC measured as friendships on Facebook with SES people (county-level).

[Social Capital Data from Opportunity Insights]

- Participation and savings measured as % of tax returns with dividends and % of tax returns with interest (county-level).

[IRS Summary of Income (SOI) data]

# This paper's findings

Does economic connectedness (EC) **affect** market participation and savings?

- At county level, EC has **a strong positive correlation** with % of tax returns with dividends and (separately) interest.
- This tendency is stronger than for **cohesiveness** (are my friends likely friends with one another?) and **rates of volunteering** (traditional trust metric)
- **Decomposition**: Exposure relates more strongly than Friending Bias.
- **Identification?** Similar results based on childhood connections & effects seem to reverberate through network via non-local connections.

# My take and discussion

## Take

- Creative mixing of new Opportunity Insights data with public IRS data.
- Important question to think about components of social capital.
- Could use more detail, still early work.

## Discussion

- Interpretation and Measurement of EC versus in Chetty et al (2023)
  - [Wow! I can download the data...]
- Some alternative specification suggestions

# Comment #1

Measurement of Economic Connectedness

# Chetty et al (2023) paper builds two EC measures

- EC – for low SES people, ~ % friends who are high SES.
- EC\_high - for high SES people, ~ % friends who are high SES.
- This paper:
  - EconCon =  $a1 * EC + a2 * EC\_high$ , where:
    - $a1$  = fraction of tax returns in low-income buckets.
    - $a2$  = fraction of tax returns in high-income buckets.

We obtain tax return information from the the IRS's Statistics of Income (SOI) database. The SOI breaks down tax returns for each tax season by geographic regions and adjusted gross income. As our measures of social capital are constructed using county-level data from 2018, the SOI data we collect is from Tax Year 2018 and contains information about the cross section of counties from that year.

Within the SOI data, there are 8 AGI categories ranging from "Under \$1" to "\$200,000 or more". We exclude the "Under \$1" group from the sample as it likely contains individuals with artificially low income who are not representative of low-SES individuals. Income under \$1 can occur when a capital loss or business loss exceeds other gross income for a given tax year. We also exclude the \$50,000 to \$75,000 range, as the median income from 2018 falls within this category (the U.S. median household income was \$63,179 in 2018, according to the U.S. Census Bureau). This leaves us with three low-SES observations and three high-SES observations for each county in 2018.

We assign an Economic Connectedness value to each AGI-county group. For the three low-SES groups, we define Economic Connectedness as the fraction of high-SES friends among low-SES individuals. This is the primary measure used in [Chetty et al. \(2022a\)](#). For the three high-SES groups, we define Economic Connectedness as the fraction of high-SES friends among high-SES individuals. This is an analogous measure of Economic Connectedness for high-SES individuals, which is also constructed in [Chetty et al. \(2022a\)](#). For our main analysis, we create one observation per county. To do this, we take the weighted average of Economic Connectedness per county where the weights are determined by the number of tax returns in each AGI group.

# Main Table

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	P(Div)	P(Div)	P(Div)	P(Div)	P(Div)	P(Div)	P(Div)	P(Div)
Economic Connectedness	0.751*** (60.21)	0.430*** (14.56)					0.759*** (45.86)	0.442*** (15.46)
Cohesiveness			-0.224*** (-8.25)	0.145*** (4.34)			0.056** (2.46)	0.186*** (5.31)
Civic Engagement					0.296*** (14.93)	0.017 (1.08)	0.037** (2.57)	0.012 (0.84)
Controls		YES		YES		YES		YES
Observations	3017	3015	3088	3086	3088	3086	3017	3015
Adj. $R^2$	0.563	0.676	0.050	0.626	0.087	0.617	0.567	0.690

Standardized beta coefficients;  $t$  statistics in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Questions I had:

- Is the result sensitive to how EconCon is averaged across buckets?
- How much comes from low SES versus high SES buckets?
- Couldn't we just control for income using the IRS data directly?

Then, I realized... *I can download the data myself!*

The IRS SOI data are public at the county and zip code level by year!

## SOI Tax Stats County Data 2018

### IRS Organization

### A Closer Look

### Financial and Budget Reports

### Tax Statistics

Products and Publications

Individual Tax Statistics

Individual Income Tax  
Statistics

International Individual Tax  
Statistics

Personal Wealth Statistics

### County Data - 2018

Data files are available for download in Comma Separated Values files (.csv file extension) - commas, where each new line represents a new row, and by Excel files by State (.xlsx file ex

### Documentation

[County Income Data Users Guide and Record Layouts](#) DOCX

### County Data

#### .csv Files

[2018](#) (all States, includes AGI) [2018](#) (all States, does not include AGI)

#### Gross County File

[2018](#) XLSX

**Zip File** (contains the Documentation, the .csv files, and all State files in Excel format)

[2018](#) ZIP

# Then, I realized... *I can download the data myself!*

## Observation 1:

- It is not *necessary* to work with county-income bucket data.

So, I downloaded county-level (and zip code level data) w/o AGI buckets.

## SOI Tax Stats County Data 2018

IRS Organization

A Closer Look

Financial and Budget Reports

Tax Statistics

Products and Publications

Individual Tax Statistics

### County Data - 2018

Data files are available for download in Comma Separated Values files (.csv file extension) - commas, where each new line represents a new row, and by Excel files by State (.xlsx file extension)

### Documentation

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## County Data

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[2018](#) (all States, includes AGI) [2018](#) (all States, does not include AGI)

### Gross County File

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**Zip File** (contains the Documentation, the .csv files, and all State files in Excel format)

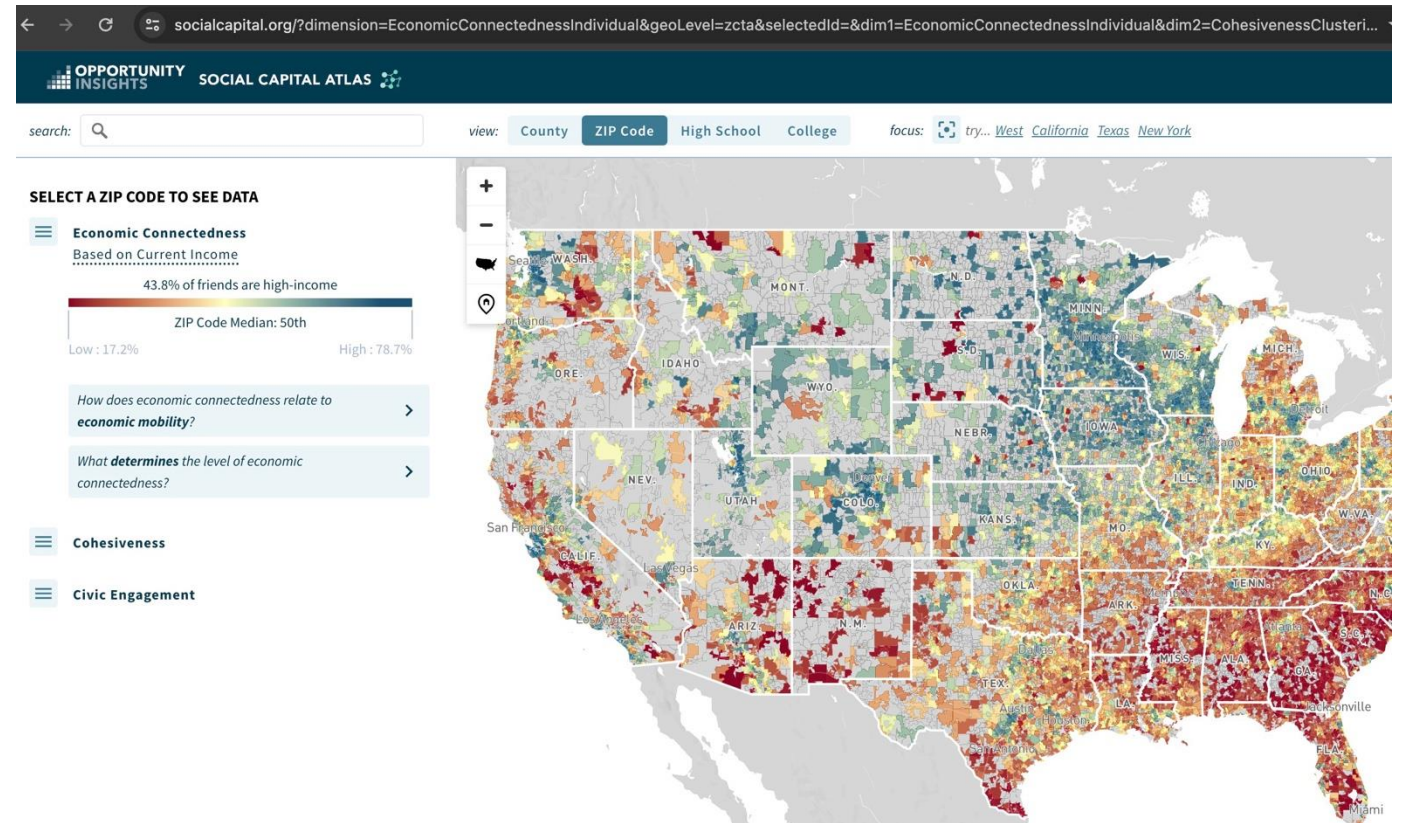
[2018](#) ZIP

# Then, I realized... *I can download the data myself!*

## Observation 2:

- The Chetty data are available at county, zip, high school and college level

So, I downloaded county-level and zip code level data.



# My “replication”

## Differences:

EconCon = 0.5EC+0.5EC\_high

I controlled for log(avg\_AGI) in the IRS data and population, not the full slate of controls

Dependent variable:						
	scale(100 * perc_div)			scale(100 * perc_int)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
scale(ec)	0.733*** (0.012)	0.720*** (0.015)	0.469*** (0.025)	0.723*** (0.012)	0.746*** (0.017)	0.629*** (0.021)
scale(support_ratio_county)		0.008 (0.015)	0.105*** (0.018)		0.172*** (0.031)	0.165*** (0.019)
scale(volunteering_rate_county)		0.044*** (0.016)	0.081*** (0.016)		0.096*** (0.016)	0.080*** (0.016)
log(pop2018)			-0.064*** (0.013)			-0.137*** (0.013)
log(pc_income_w)			1.747*** (0.126)			0.838*** (0.103)
Constant	-0.006 (0.012)	-0.005 (0.012)	-6.352*** (0.443)	-0.008 (0.012)	-0.008 (0.012)	-1.944*** (0.357)
Observations	3,018	3,018	2,942	3,018	3,018	2,942
R2	0.562	0.563	0.638	0.535	0.572	0.599
Adjusted R2	0.562	0.563	0.638	0.535	0.572	0.598
Residual Std. Error	0.647 (df = 3016)	0.646 (df = 3014)	0.582 (df = 2936)	0.675 (df = 3016)	0.647 (df = 3014)	0.617 (df = 2936)

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

# My “replication”

## Conclusions:

1. How EC is averaged does not matter.
2. Main result seems robust to choice/depth of controls.

	(1)	scale(100 * perc_div)			(8)
	P(Div)	(1)	(2)	(3)	P(Div)
scale(ec)	0.751*** (60.21)	0.733*** (0.012)	0.720*** (0.015)	0.469*** (0.025)	0.442*** (15.46)
scale(support_ratio_d)			0.008 (0.015)	0.105*** (0.018)	
scale(volunteering_ra)			0.044*** (0.016)	0.081*** (0.016)	0.186*** (5.31)
log(pop2018)				-0.064*** (0.013)	0.012
log(pc_income_w)				1.747*** (0.126)	(0.84)
Constant		-0.006 (0.012)	-0.005 (0.012)	-6.352*** (0.443)	YES
Observations	3017	3,018	3,018	2,942	3015
R2	0.563	0.562	0.563	0.638	0.690
Adjusted R2		0.562	0.563	0.638	
Residual Std. Error		0.47 (df = 3016)	0.646 (df = 3014)	0.582 (df = 2936)	

# Comment #2

Where is the EC result coming from?

# Extension 1: Include EC and EC\_high as separate terms

EC\_high >> EC.

The underlying mechanism is **not** “low SES people benefit from connections to high SES people.”

Alternative: for high SES, stock participation is greater with more high SES connections.

- Relate to [Briggs et al \(2021\)](#), which shows a high-income stock participation puzzle.

**Suggestion**: Conduct tests like this and shift the narrative from helping low SES participate and save.

	scale(100 * perc_div)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
scale(ec_county)	0.125*** (0.026)	0.080*** (0.026)	0.029 (0.026)
scale(ec_high_county)	0.640*** (0.025)	0.669*** (0.025)	0.484*** (0.032)
scale(support_ratio_county)		0.036** (0.017)	0.087*** (0.017)
scale(volunteering_rate_county)		0.079*** (0.016)	0.093*** (0.016)
Log(pop2018)			-0.103*** (0.013)
Log(pc_income_w)			1.569*** (0.127)
Constant	-0.006 (0.011)	-0.005 (0.011)	-5.228*** (0.470)
Observations	3,018	3,018	2,942
R2	0.585	0.592	0.651
Adjusted R2	0.585	0.591	0.650
Residual Std. Error	0.630 (df = 3015)	0.625 (df = 3013)	0.572 (df = 2935)

# Extension 2: zip code level analysis

Advantage: can include county fixed effects (cols 2 and 4).

Disadvantage: Chetty et al add noise at finer granularity (restrict to zips with 5k people or more).

Similar conclusions on stock participation. **Might be different on saving?**

	Dependent variable:			
	scale(100 * perc_div) (1)	scale(100 * perc_div) (2)	scale(100 * perc_int) (3)	scale(100 * perc_int) (4)
scale(ec_zip)	0.004 (0.017)	0.071*** (0.015)	0.221*** (0.020)	0.273*** (0.014)
scale(ec_high_zip)	0.165*** (0.019)	0.099*** (0.016)	0.065*** (0.019)	0.040** (0.017)
scale(support_ratio_zip)	0.063*** (0.011)	0.008 (0.012)	0.148*** (0.012)	0.074*** (0.015)
scale(volunteering_rate_zip)	0.042*** (0.007)	0.025*** (0.009)	0.059*** (0.010)	0.019** (0.008)
log(pop2018)	-0.073*** (0.008)	0.002 (0.007)	-0.111*** (0.011)	-0.031*** (0.008)
log(pc_income_w)	1.691*** (0.035)	1.725*** (0.032)	1.423*** (0.032)	1.468*** (0.028)
Constant	-6.384*** (0.154)		-4.880*** (0.175)	
Observations	12,920	12,920	12,920	12,920
R2	0.855	0.924	0.800	0.925
Adjusted R2	0.855	0.906	0.800	0.908
Residual Std. Error	0.375 (df = 12913)	0.301 (df = 10523)	0.442 (df = 12913)	0.299 (df = 10523)

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

# Conclusion

- Social capital embedded in our economic connections is an important and growing area.
- One reason it is growing is because of data like this paper uses.
- Lots of potential for this paper (and this whole literature).

# Exemplar #3.

## Social media and stock market participation

Key research question: Does social media *affect* stock market participation?

Online social interaction and discussion about stocks might overcome participation costs.

### Social Media and Stock Market Participation\*

Karsten Müller<sup>†</sup> Yuanyuan Pan<sup>‡</sup> Carlo Schwarz<sup>§</sup>

June 4, 2024

#### Abstract

Using plausibly exogenous variation in regional Twitter adoption in the United States, we show that a 10% increase in social media usage causes a 2.5% rise in stock ownership. Consistent with lowering the costs of acquiring information, Twitter has larger effects in counties with low pre-existing stock market knowledge, improves knowledge about asset returns, and leads to a decline in the number of financial advisors. Social media also boosts interest in volatile “meme stocks” favored by retail investors. Our findings highlight the unique influence of social media on household portfolio decisions, distinct from other modern information technologies.

**Keywords:** Social Media, Stock Market Participation, Household Finance, Participation Puzzle

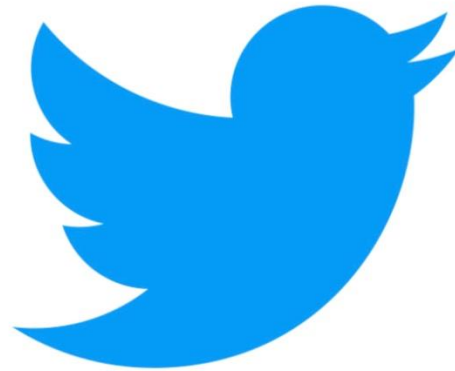
**JEL Codes:** D14, G51, D15, G11, G00, G40

# This paper shows effects using an instrument for Twitter adoption

Again, I'm going to adapt some slides (from AFA 2025) to describe and place this paper in the **social media and finance** literature.

# Social Media and Stock Market Participation

By Müller, Pan and Schwarz



Discussion by J. Anthony Cookson  
CU Boulder

# Motivation

## Dark side

- Social media and recent trading frenzies
  - GameStop ([Pedersen, 2022](#); [Bradley et al, 2023](#)), Silicon Valley Bank ([Cookson et al WP](#))
- A forum for biases?
  - Selective exposure ([Chen and Hwang 2022](#), [Cookson, Engelberg, Mullins 2023](#)), biased belief updating ([Chen, Peng, Zhou 2024WP](#))

## Bright side

- Social signals are informative
  - Predict returns ([Chen et al, 2014RFS](#), [Cookson, Lu, Mullins and Niessner, 2024](#))
  - Feedback into corporate decisions ([Cookson, Niessner and Schiller, 2024](#)).

This paper: **Could there be a bright side for investors themselves?**

# Motivation and Strategy

This paper: **Could there be a bright side for investors themselves?**

Paper finds: Social media exposure *drives* stock market participation.

Core strategy:

1. **Deploy South-by-Southwest (SXSW) 2007 Festival** shock to Twitter account openings to obtain exogenous geographic variation in Twitter.
2. **Measure stock market participation (in 2015)** across geographies as Dividends Tax Filings in the IRS SOI database.

# Paper deploys an instrument, developed in an earlier paper

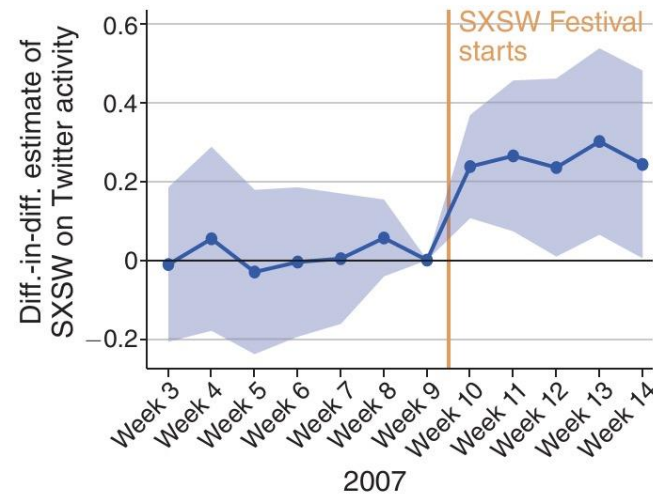
*American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 2023, 15(3): 270–312  
<https://doi.org/10.1257/app.20210211>

## From Hashtag to Hate Crime: Twitter and Antiminority Sentiment<sup>†</sup>

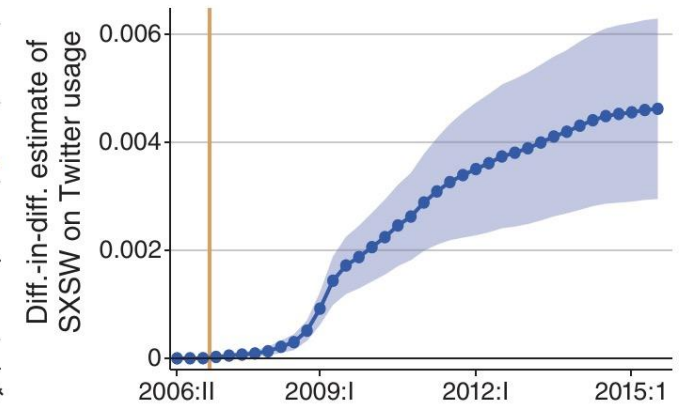
By KARSTEN MÜLLER AND CARLO SCHWARZ\*

*We study whether social media can amplify antiminority sentiment with a focus on Donald Trump's political rise. Using an instrumental variable strategy based on Twitter's early adopters at the South by Southwest festival in 2007, we find that higher Twitter use in a county is associated with a sizeable increase in anti-Muslim hate crimes after the 2016 presidential primaries. Trump's tweets about Muslims predict increases in xenophobic tweets by his followers, cable news mentions of Muslims, and hate crimes on the following days. These results suggest that social media content can affect real-life outcomes. (JEL D72, J15, K42, L82, Z12)*

Panel C. Short-term adoption effect



Panel D. Long-term adoption effect



# Paper deploys an instrument, developed in an earlier paper

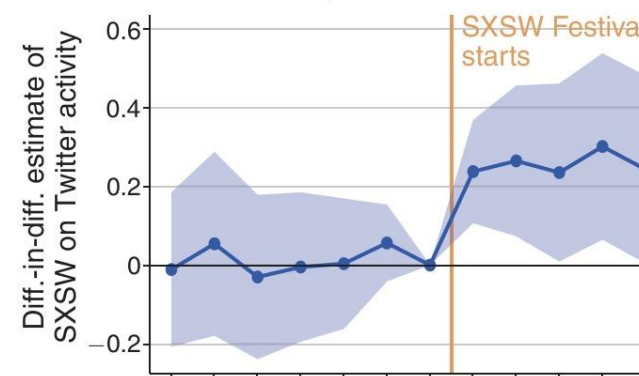
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Panel C. Short-term adoption effect



Panel D. Long-term adoption effect

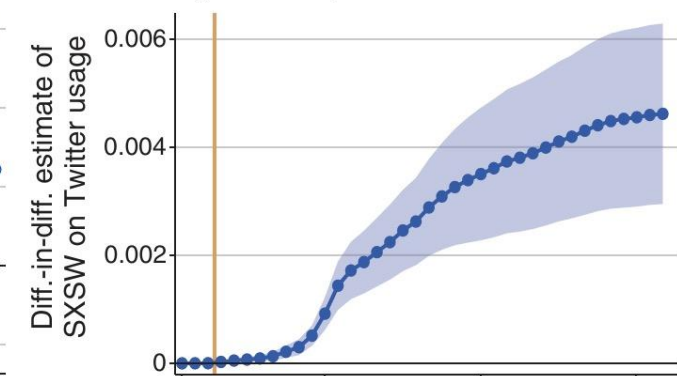


TABLE 1—FIRST STAGE: SOUTH BY SOUTHWEST 2007 AND THE DIFFUSION OF TWITTER

	log(Twitter usage)						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
log(SXSW followers, March 2007)	0.582 (0.062)	0.555 (0.067)	0.526 (0.061)	0.483 (0.055)	0.474 (0.057)	0.453 (0.059)	0.445 (0.059)
log(SXSW followers, Pre)	0.226 (0.084)	0.172 (0.078)	0.118 (0.081)	0.115 (0.077)	0.109 (0.075)	0.099 (0.074)	0.091 (0.071)
State fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Population controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geographic controls		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Race and religion controls			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Socioeconomic controls				Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Media controls					Yes	Yes	Yes
Election control						Yes	Yes
Crime controls							Yes
Observations	3,107	3,107	3,107	3,106	3,105	3,105	3,105
R <sup>2</sup>	0.933	0.934	0.935	0.944	0.945	0.946	0.947
Mean of DV	5.277	5.277	5.277	5.278	5.279	5.279	5.279
p-value: March 2007 = Pre	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

# Main findings in pictures

(a) Effect of SXSW on Twitter Adoption

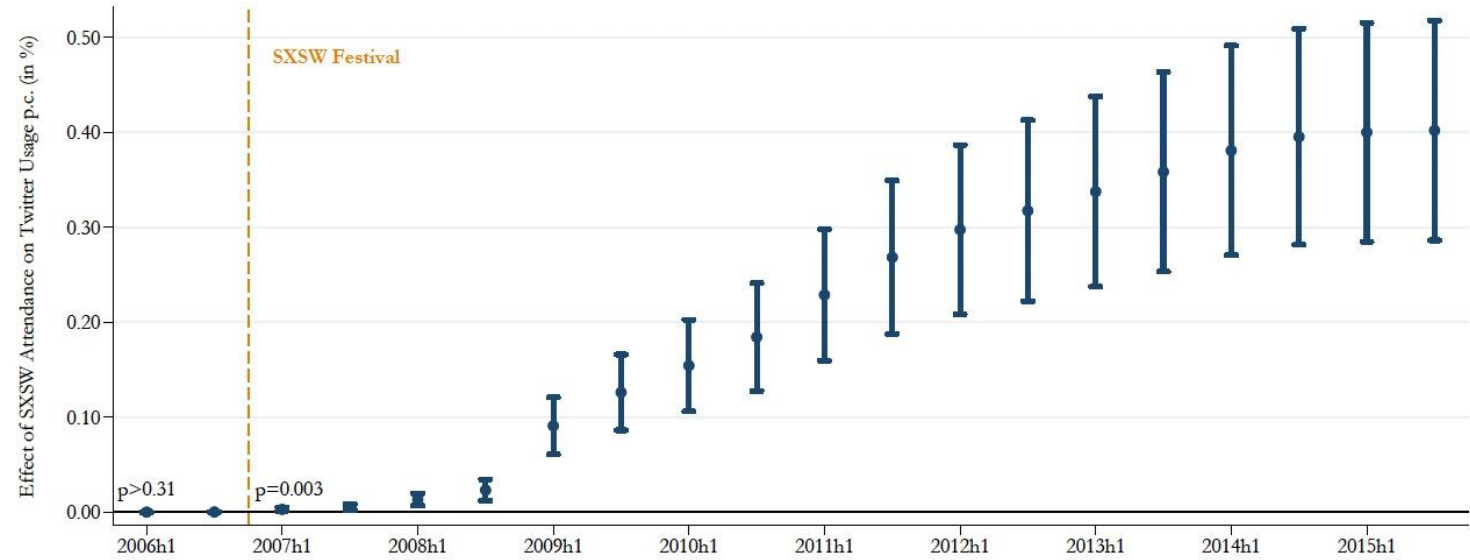
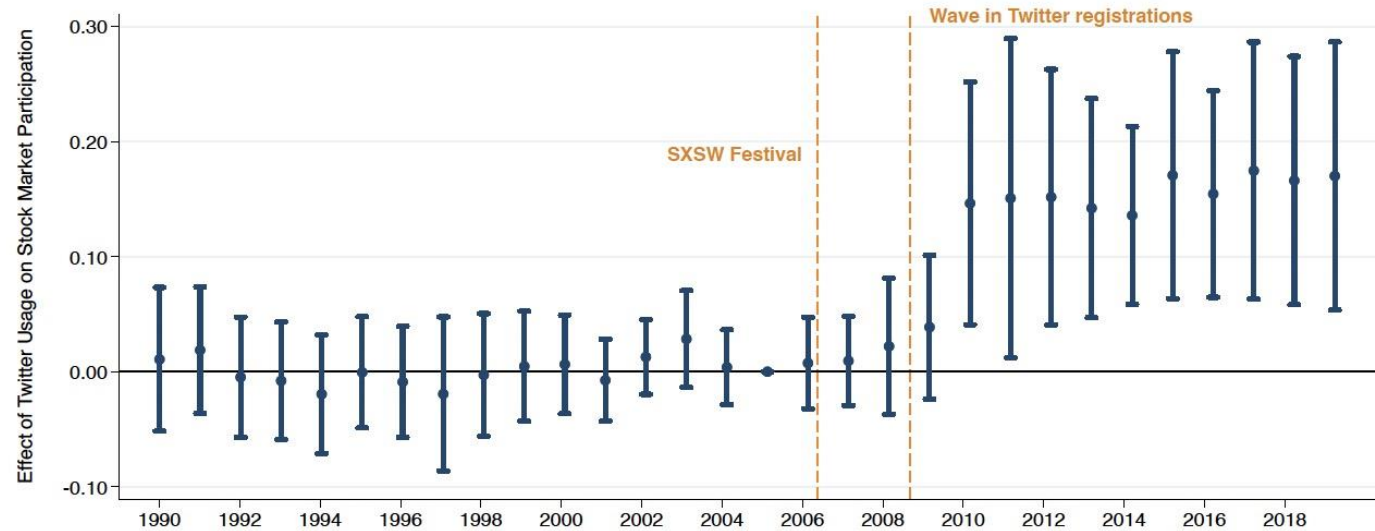


Figure 3: Dynamic IV Estimates



# Not just benefits

Figure 4: Social Media Adoption and Financial Advisor Displacement

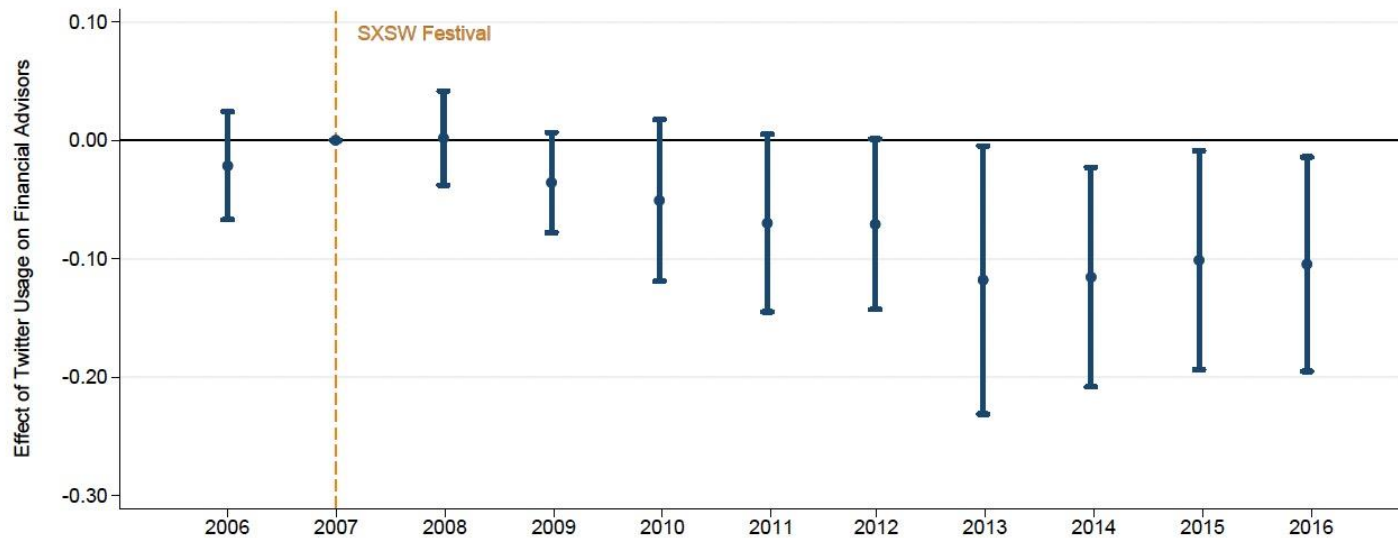
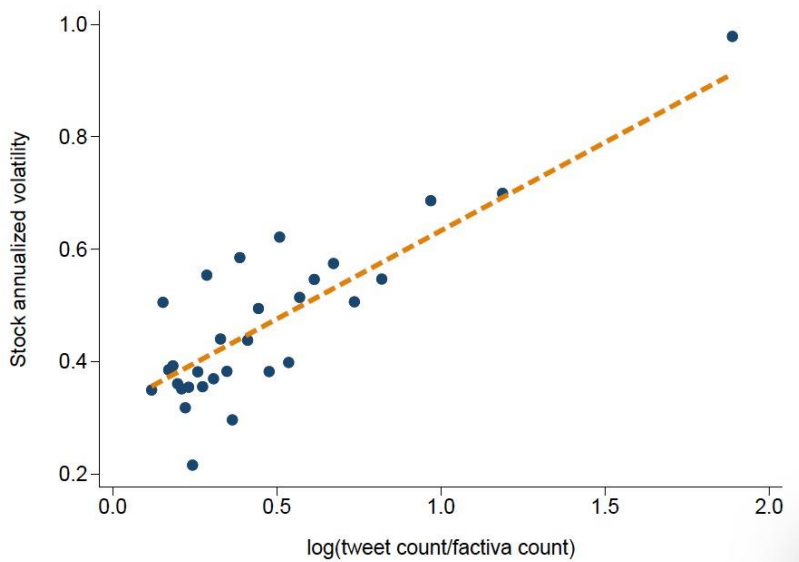
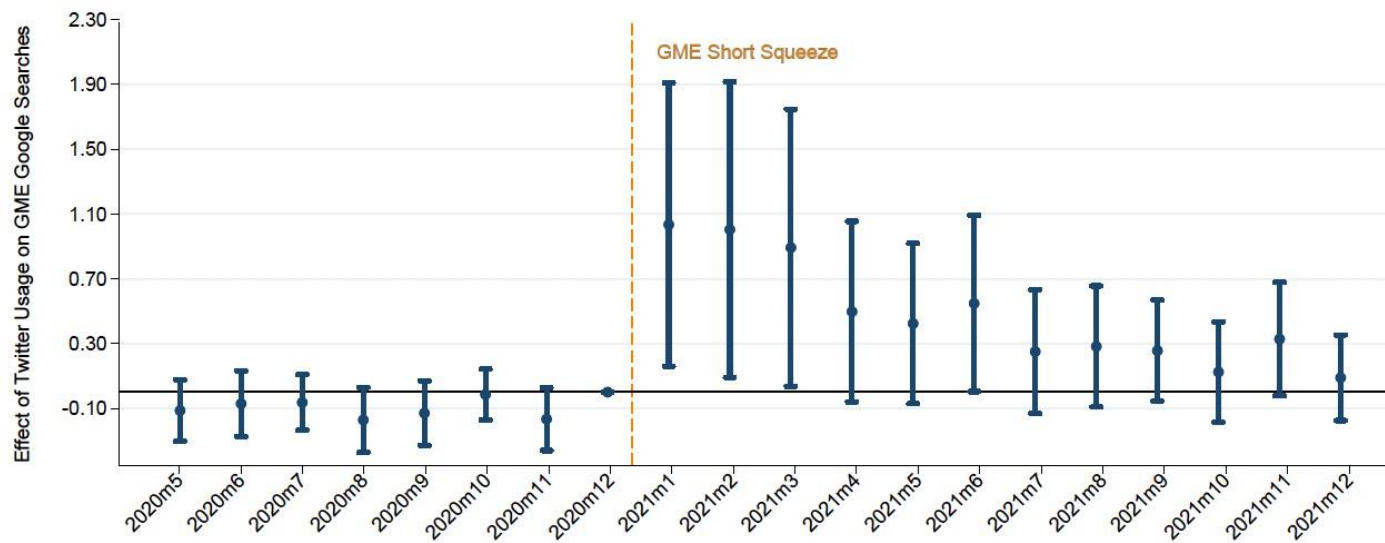


Figure 6: Which Stocks Are Overrepresented On Social Media?

(a) Stock volatility



(a) Google Searches for GME



# My take and my discussion

## **Take**

1. Welcome (causal) evidence on social media's effects on investors
2. Credible and nuanced narrative of costs **and** benefits.

## **Discussion**

1. Measurement
2. Generalizability



# Comment #1 Measurement

# Key to Identification

## *Cross-county variation* in social media exposure

### **South-by-Southwest Attendance Measurement**

- Authors do not have a list of attendees
- Instead, they
  1. Compile a list of post-SXSW followers of @sxsw account.
  2. Identify the locations of these Twitter accounts from profile information, text strings.

### First reaction: this is noisy

- We could identify  $< 10\%$  of profile locations on StockTwits using something similar.

# Example followers of @sxsw (from late 2024)

This is not random, but mostly to show some valid location classification (I am underrepresenting “No location”)

No location

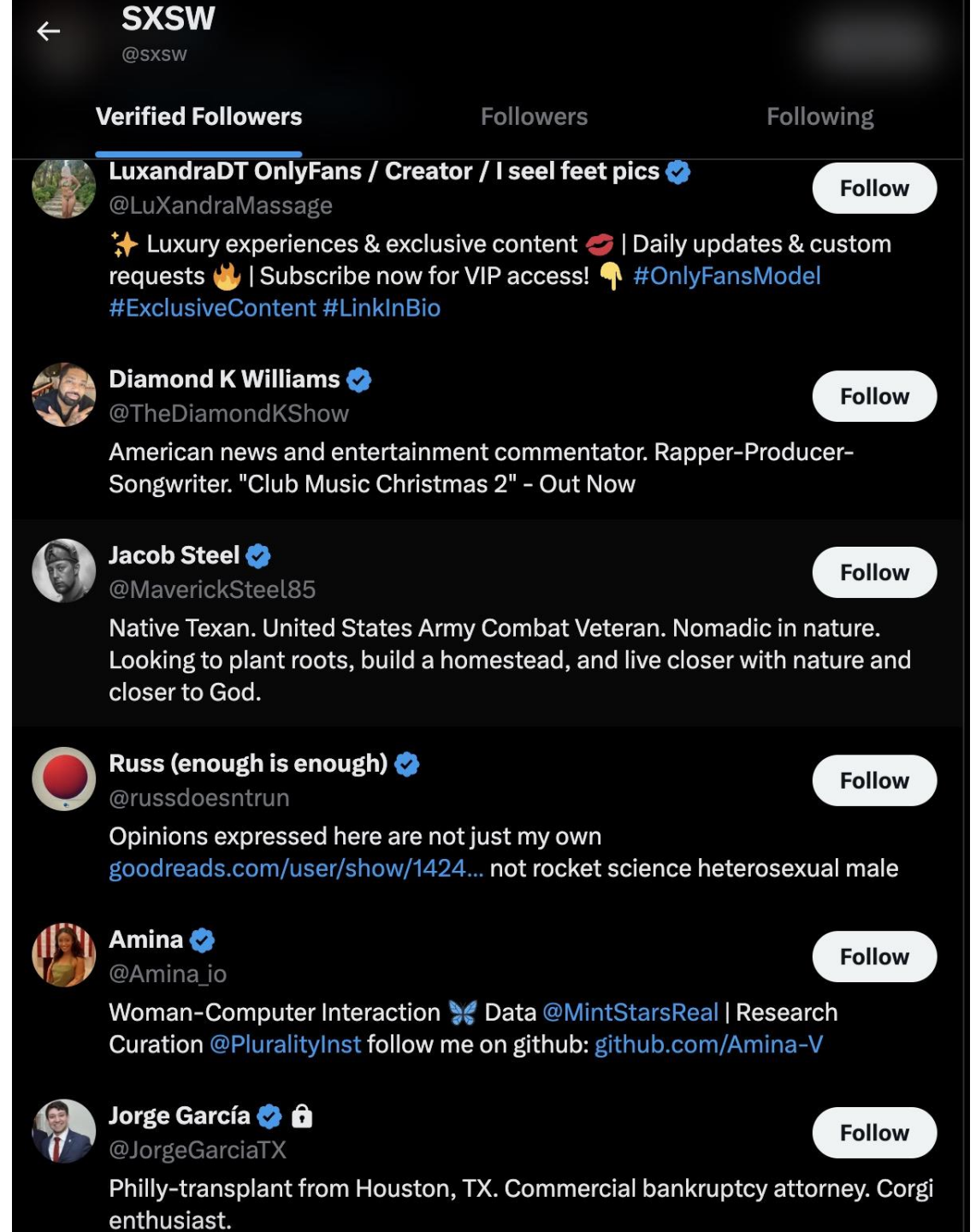
No location

Texas

No location

No location

Houston



# Example followers of @sxsw (from late 2024)

Note: paper controls for distance from Austin

Austin

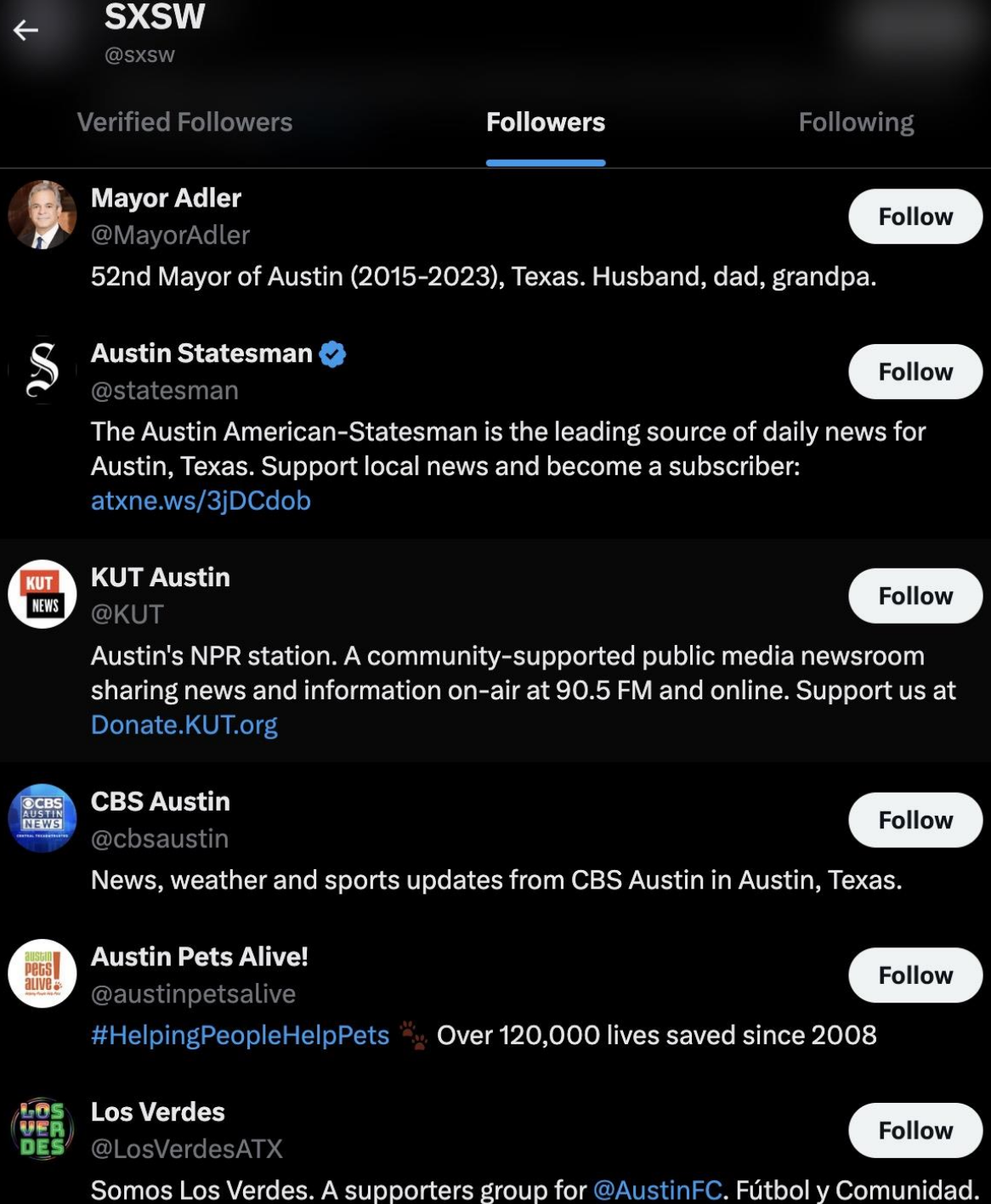
Austin

Austin

Austin

Austin

Austin



The screenshot shows the Twitter profile of @sxsw, which is verified. The 'Followers' tab is selected, displaying a list of six followers. Each entry includes a profile picture, the name, the handle, and a brief bio. A 'Follow' button is visible for each follower.

- Mayor Adler** (@MayorAdler): 52nd Mayor of Austin (2015-2023), Texas. Husband, dad, grandpa.
- Austin Statesman** (@statesman): The Austin American-Statesman is the leading source of daily news for Austin, Texas. Support local news and become a subscriber: [atxne.ws/3jDCdob](https://atxne.ws/3jDCdob)
- KUT Austin** (@KUT): Austin's NPR station. A community-supported public media newsroom sharing news and information on-air at 90.5 FM and online. Support us at [Donate.KUT.org](https://Donate.KUT.org)
- CBS Austin** (@cbsaustin): News, weather and sports updates from CBS Austin in Austin, Texas.
- Austin Pets Alive!** (@austinpetsalive): #HelpingPeopleHelpPets 🐾 Over 120,000 lives saved since 2008
- Los Verdes** (@LosVerdesATX): Somos Los Verdes. A supporters group for @AustinFC. Fútbol y Comunidad.

# How to think about this measurement issue

**On one hand, *classical* measurement error biases toward zero.**

But, that's true of the variable itself, not necessarily the instrument.

So, it is worth probing the nature of measurement error in this case

Some results that help:

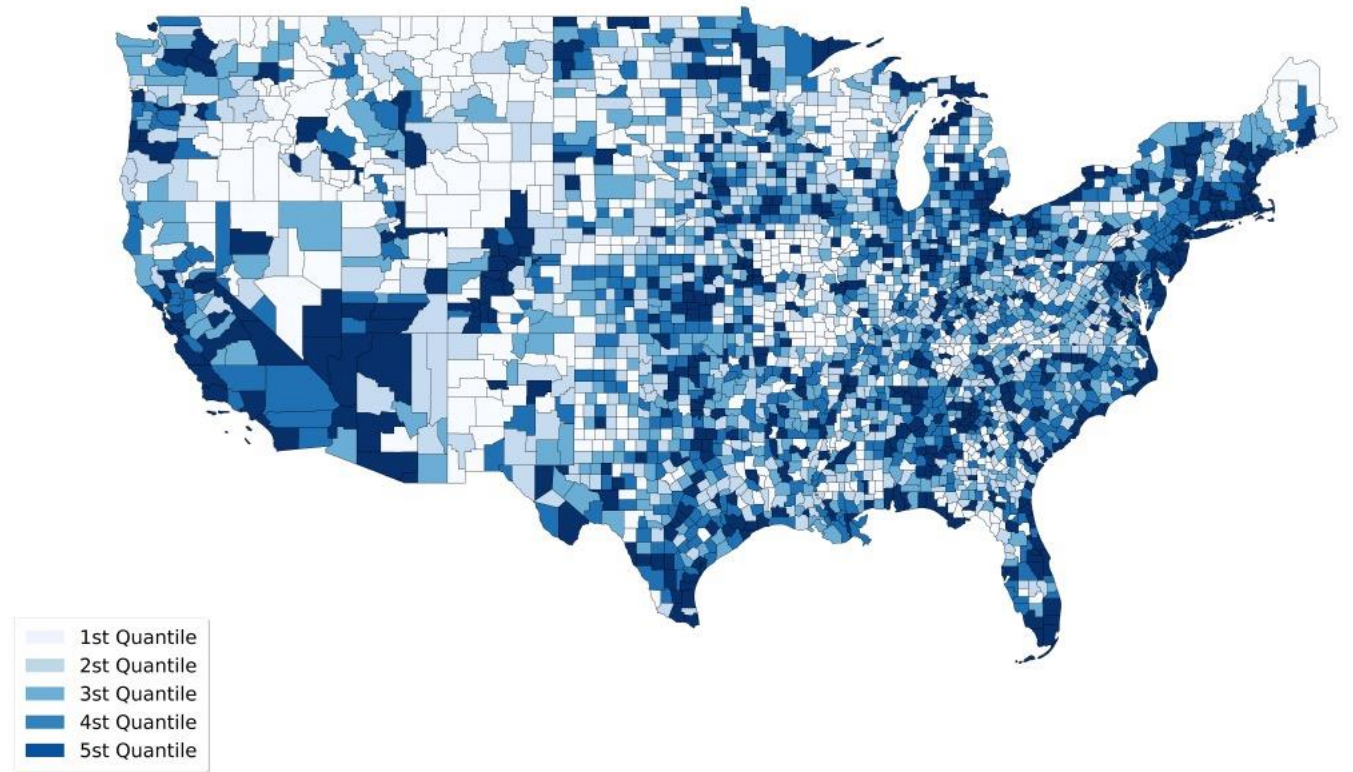
- No effect in pre-SXSW period
- No effect using pre-SXSW followers

# How to think about this measurement issue

## Main lingering concern

Bias toward urban areas.

Paper already controls for population, but given that cities (might mostly) identify counties, I'd like to see an *upfront* nonlinear control for population.



A photograph of Earth from space, showing the curvature of the planet and a bright sun in the upper left corner. The sun is partially obscured by a dark, thin object, possibly a satellite or part of a spacecraft, creating a lens flare effect. The Earth's surface is visible with blue oceans and white clouds.

# Comment #2

## Generalizability

# Comment #2: All IVs are local

- Participation in #FinTwit might have a different impact than participation in other social media.
  - In “The Social Signal,” we saw big cross-platform differences in sentiment. It depends on user populations / differences across platforms.
- Could we expect the effects on stock participation to differ because...
  - **Different forums:** StockTwits? Seeking Alpha? Reddit? TikTok?
  - **Different variation:** A spike of social media interest due to meme stocks? Stimulus checks?

# Comment #2: All IVs are local

## What to do?

- Use heterogeneity to speak directly to this issue.
  - Variation within Twitter users' sophistication, education, etc
  - Without heterogeneity analysis, it is not obvious ex ante whether a platform like TikTok (high engagement, less sophisticated investors, low quality content) would have more benefits versus costs.
- Write specifically, upfront and humbly about claims about social media writ large, or participation on social media.
  - Internal validity for participation on FinTwit from a SXSU-like shock.
  - Needs more for broader application

# Conclusion

This is a really interesting paper on an important topic.

My comments are about placing the paper and understanding its variation, but I have no doubt that the paper will publish soon (and it should be recognized for its impact).

# Summing Up Day 1

Social media and finance research is widely varying. The three papers highlighted today give a broad view of this research agenda.

1. Signal in social media?
2. What does social media reflect about ourselves and markets?
3. How does social media affect trading and market participation?