

# Political polarization of news media and influencers on Twitter in the 2016 and 2020 US presidential elections

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**This PDF file includes:**

Supplementary Text

Supplementary Figures 1 to 10

Supplementary Tables 1 to 10

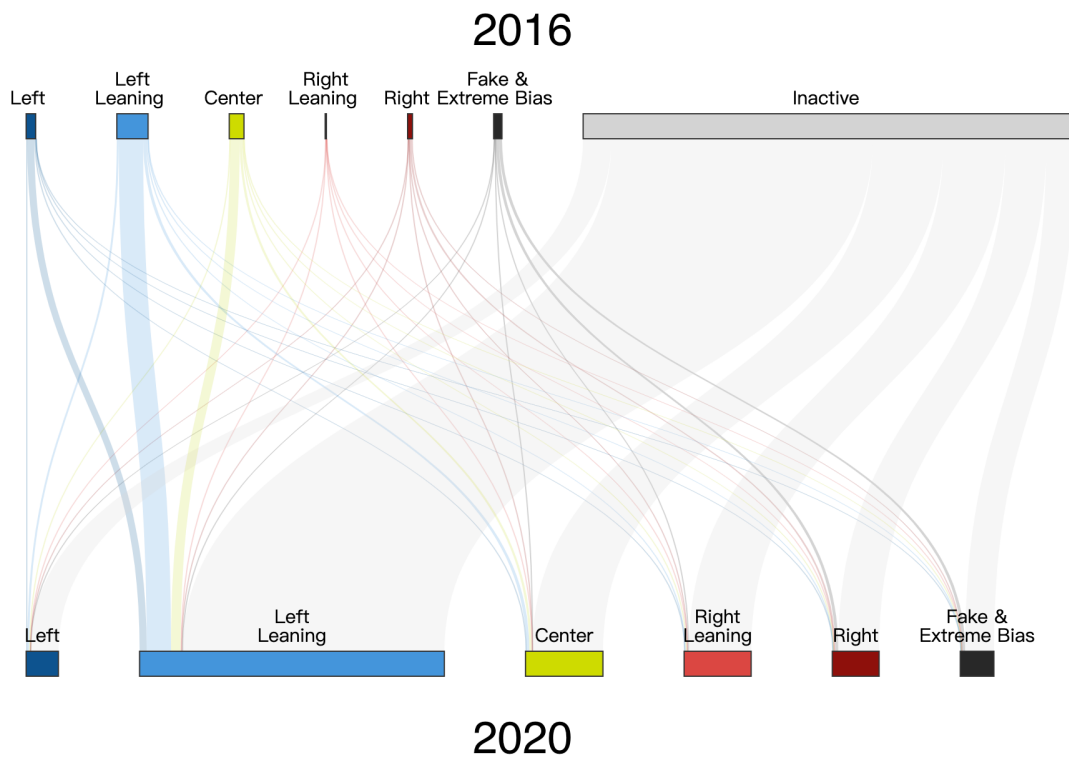
## **Supplementary Text**

### **Definitions of Polarization**

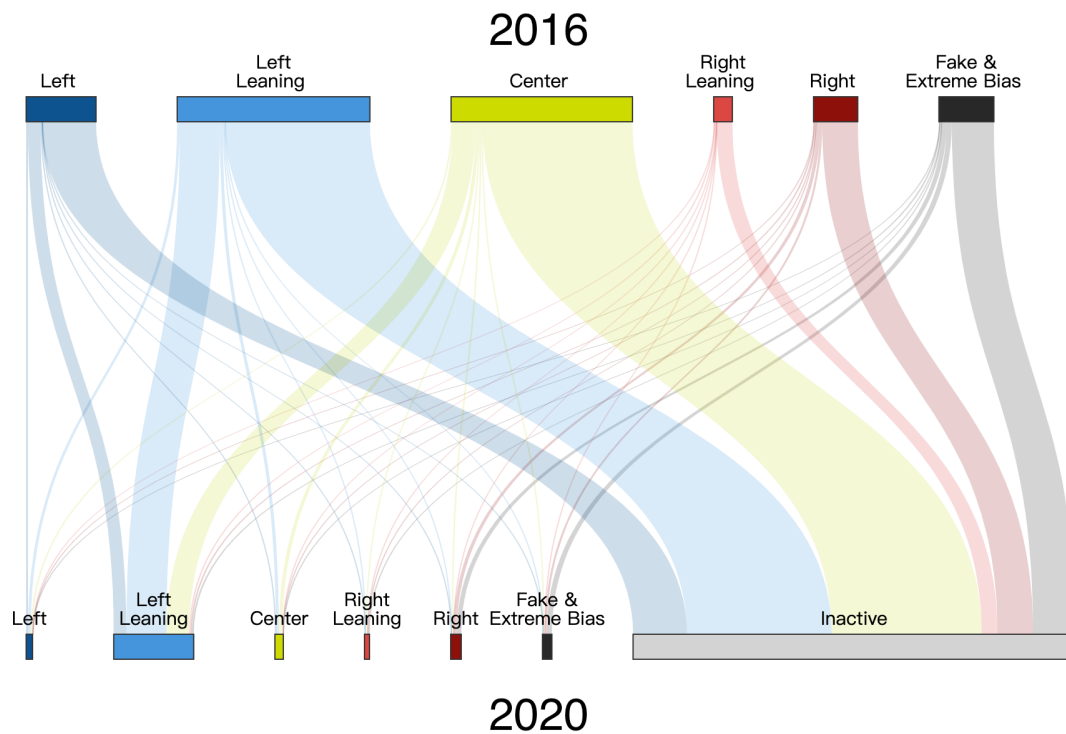
We acknowledge that political scientists distinguish multiple types of polarization [36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44]: affective polarization (the penchant for one partisan political group to experience animus toward an opposing partisan group), policy polarization (extreme differences of opinion on highly salient issues), partisan polarization (a substantive and affective division based on identification with opposing political parties), ideological polarization (a substantive and affective division based on identification with opposing ideological camps, e.g., liberals versus conservatives), and geographic polarization (the regional alignment of opinions, e.g., “red state/blue state”). Furthermore, each of these five types of polarization can, in turn, be classified by level: elite polarization among political officials and pundits, media polarization among news organizations, and voter polarization among the underlying population as usually measured by exit polls and opinion surveys. In the main manuscript, we seek to explore polarization to quantify the various ways the Twitter communities disseminate news. Accordingly, we opt to define polarization in the main manuscript as the growth in ideological separation between Twitter users as characterized by the political alignment of the content they propagate.



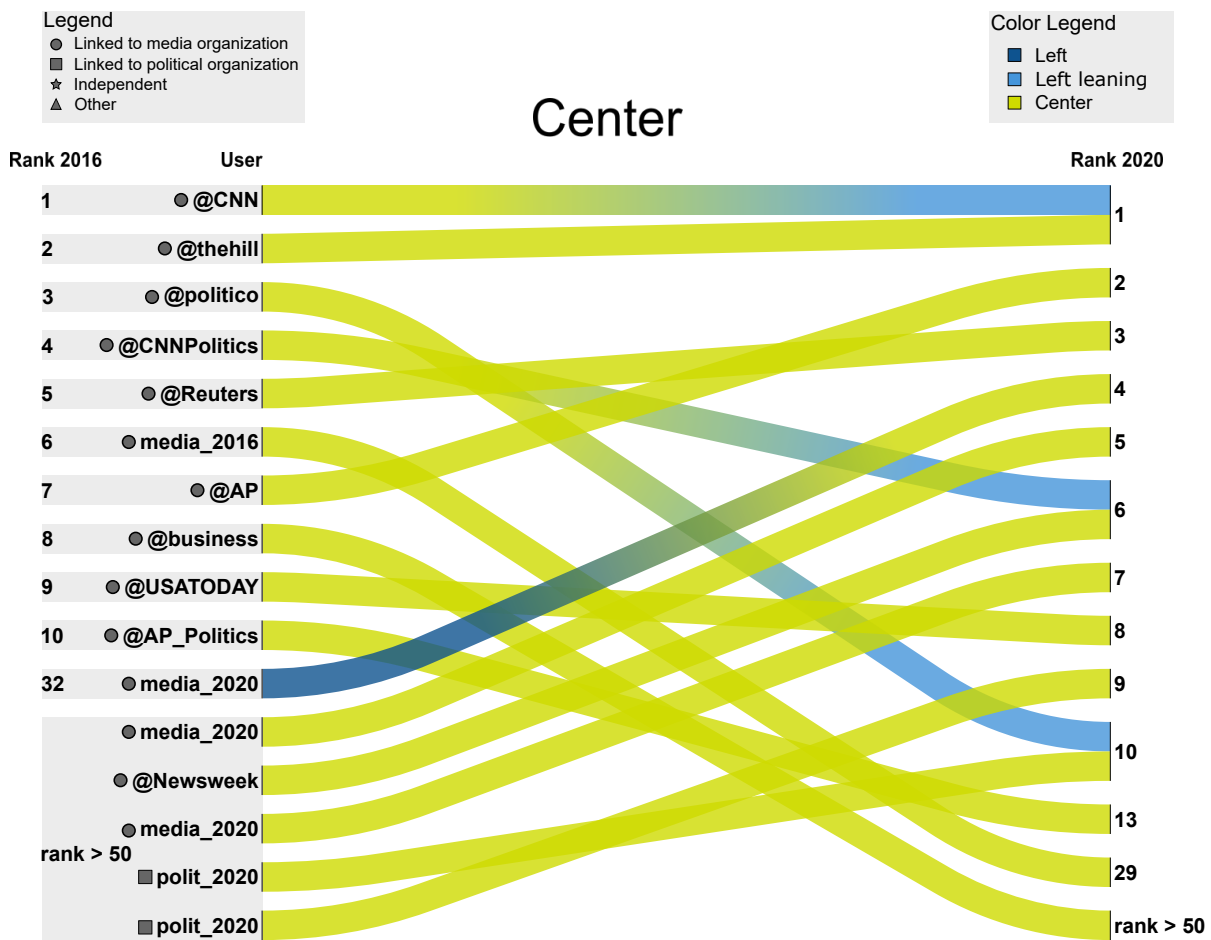
**Supplementary Figure 1. Top 25 influencers overall, extracted using Collective Influence and PageRank.** Influencers are ordered by rank, starting from rank 1 at the top, as determined by their  $CI_{out}$  score or their PageRank score. This was done for each year by generating an overall retweet network that combined all news media category networks into one, with influencers being extracted from the result and ranked in decreasing order of centrality score magnitude. For CI, this network is unweighted, while for PR is weighted. Ranked Biased Overlap (RBO, where  $p = 0.98$ ) and Jaccard Similarity were used to compare the two resultant ranked lists of each year. The neighboring pie chart slices represent the fraction of each news media category content that the influencer propagated, with the influencer username or alias being colored with the color of the largest slice (indicating the news media category in which they disseminated the most information).



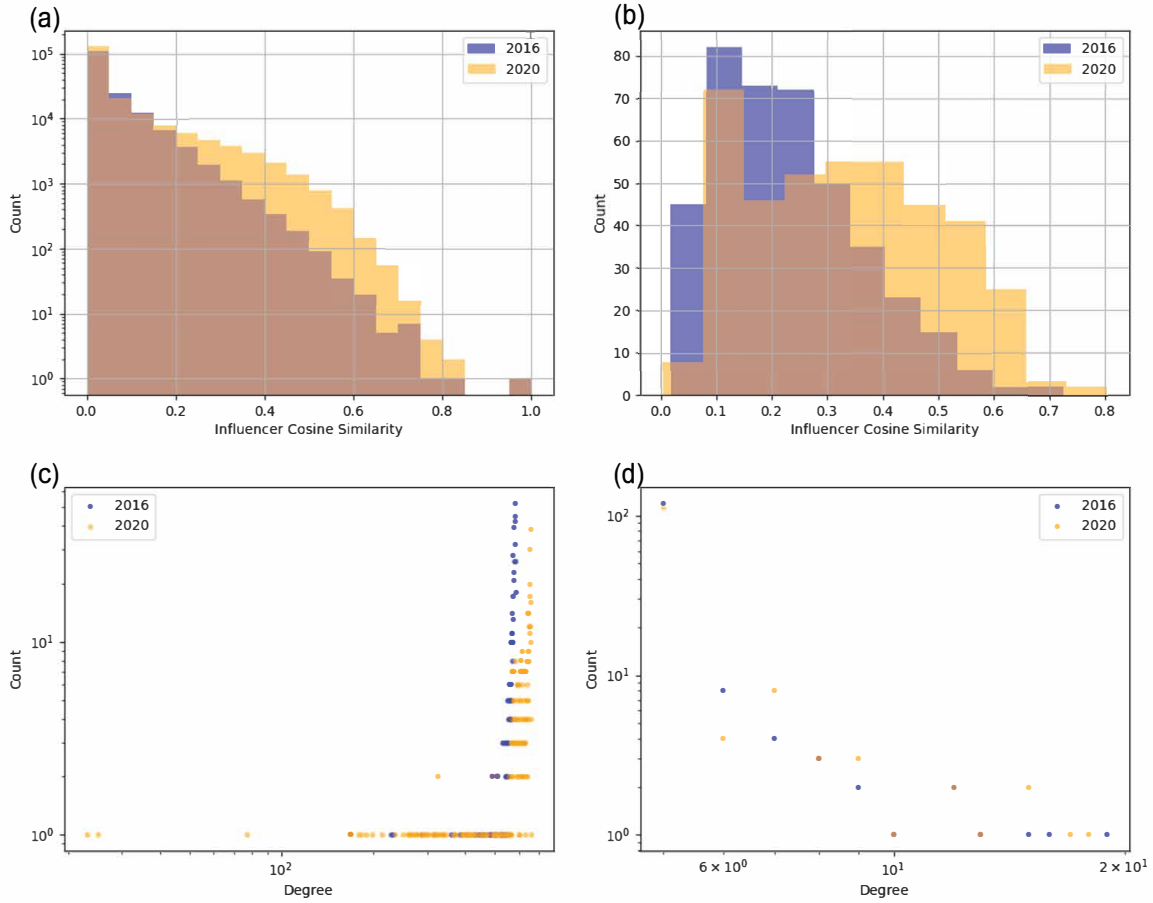
**Supplementary Figure 2. Shifts of users across news media categories from 2016 to 2020 including the flow of inactive (or non-existent) users in 2016 to active news media categories in 2020. See Tab. 6 for the raw numbers used to generate this figure.**



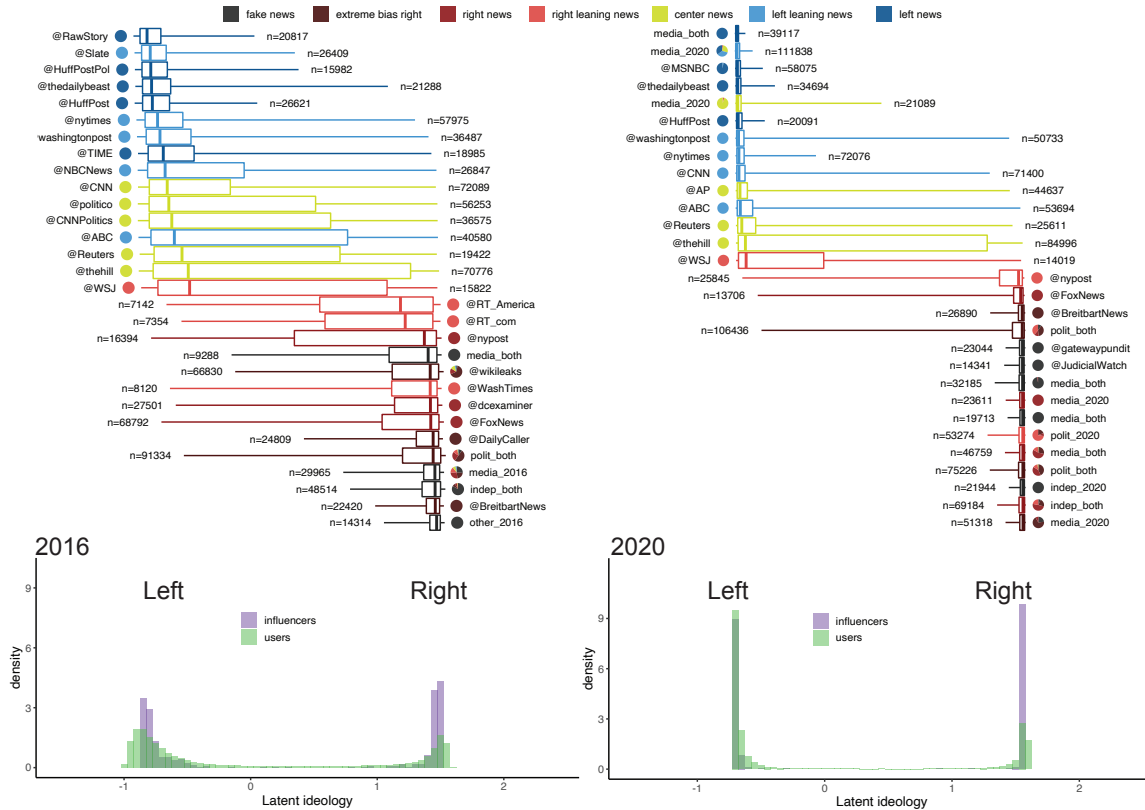
**Supplementary Figure 3. Shifts of users across news media categories from 2016 to 2020 including the flow of active users from different news media categories in 2020 to inactivity in 2020 due to banning, account deletion, or overall non-participation. See Tab. 6 for the raw numbers used to generate this figure.**



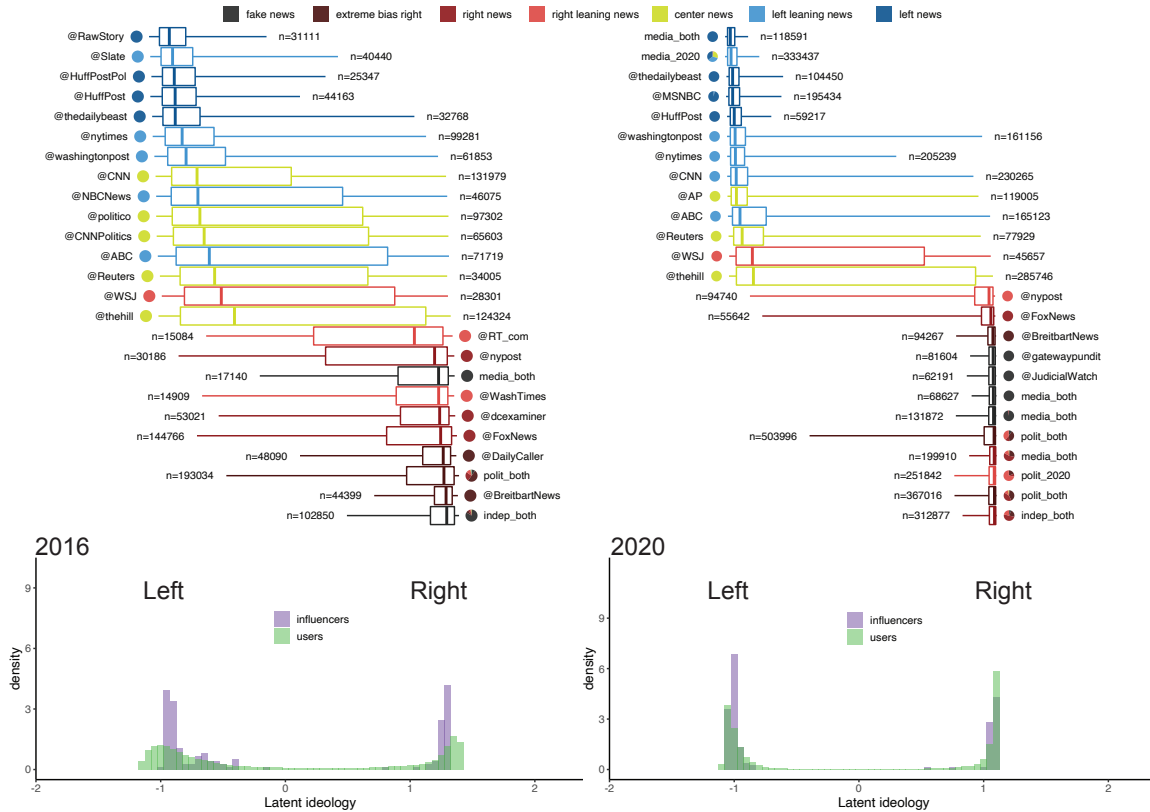
**Supplementary Figure 4. Change in rankings 2016-2020, Center Bias.** Outlines the change in the ranks of the top 10 center bias users from 2016 and 2020, ranked by CI influence. Each flow connects the best ranking for a user in 2016, whose rank is displayed to the left of the username or alias, to their rank in 2020. The colors of the lines match the bias of the users best ranking, and gradients represent a change in the bias classification of their best ranking.



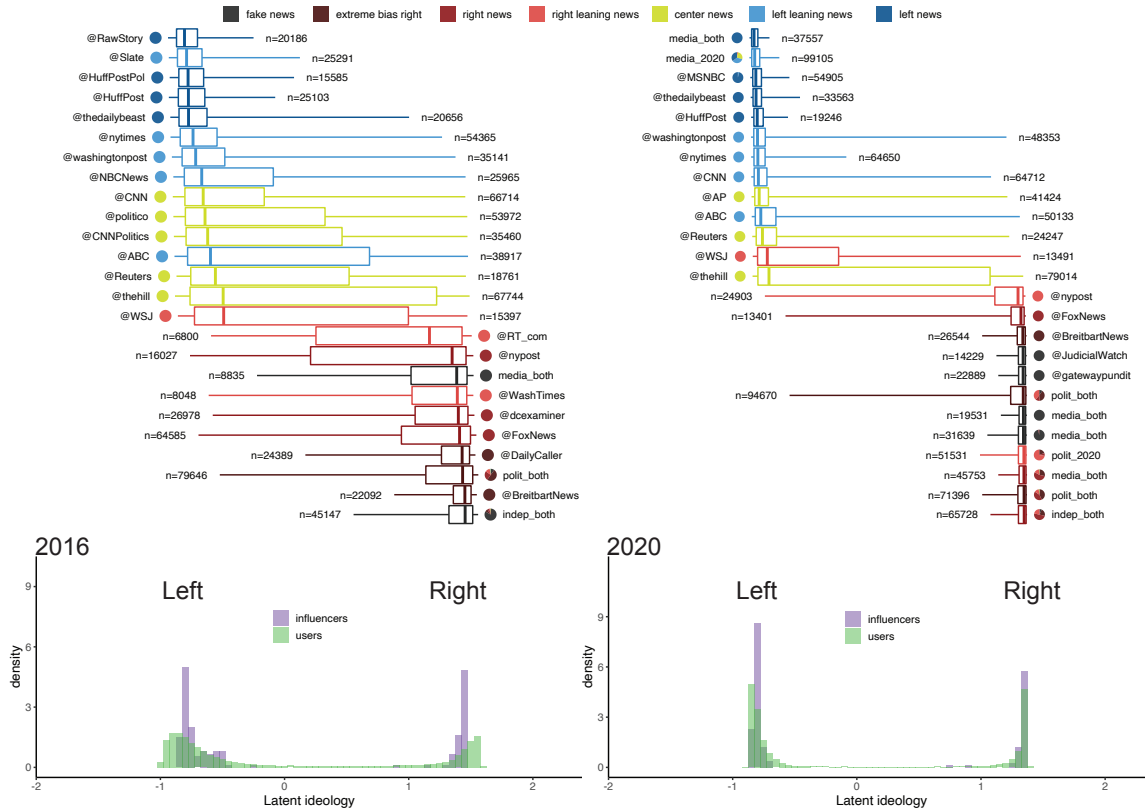
**Supplementary Figure 5. Weight and degree distributions for the influencer similarity networks and Figure 5.** Figure 5 a shows the distribution of the influencer cosine similarity weights for the 2016 and 2020 full similarity networks generated at the beginning of the “Polarization among Twitter users” subsection in the main manuscript. Figure 5 b shows the same distributions but only for the visible edges of the subsampled networks in Figure 5. Figure 5 c and d show the degree distribution for the full similarity networks and for the visible edges of Figure 5, respectively.



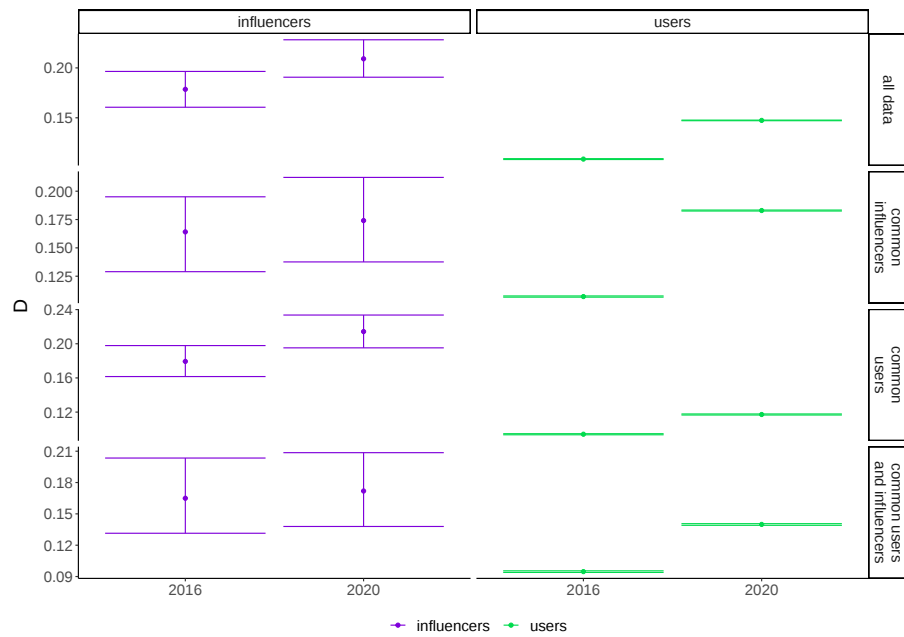
**Supplementary Figure 6. Latent ideology scale of influencers and their retweeters in 2016 (left) and 2020 (right) using only users active in both years.** The latent ideology of the top 5 influencers of each category is shown as a box plot representing the distribution of the ideology of the users having retweeted them. The distribution of the ideology estimates of the users is shown in green and the distribution of the ideology estimates of the top 100 influencers of each news category (computed as the median of the ideology of their retweeters) is displayed in purple. Box plots indicate the **median and the 25% and 75% percentiles** of the distributions with whiskers indicating the 5% and 95% percentiles. **The sample size used for the computation of each box plot is reported to their side.** Pie charts next to the influencers' names represent the news categories they belong to (weighted by their respective CI ranks in each category). Hartigans' dip test for unimodality (**one-sided**) applied to the user distribution is  $D = 0.094$  (**95% confidence interval**  $CI_{95\%} = [0.0934, 0.0947]$ ,  $p < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$ ) in 2016 and  $D = 0.117$  ( $CI_{95\%} = [0.1166, 0.1178]$ ,  $p < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$ ) in 2020. The test statistics for the influencer distribution is  $D = 0.178$  ( $CI_{95\%} = [0.1616, 0.1979]$ ,  $p < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$ ) in 2016 and  $D = 0.214$  ( $CI_{95\%} = [0.1952, 0.2336]$ ,  $p < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$ ) in 2020.



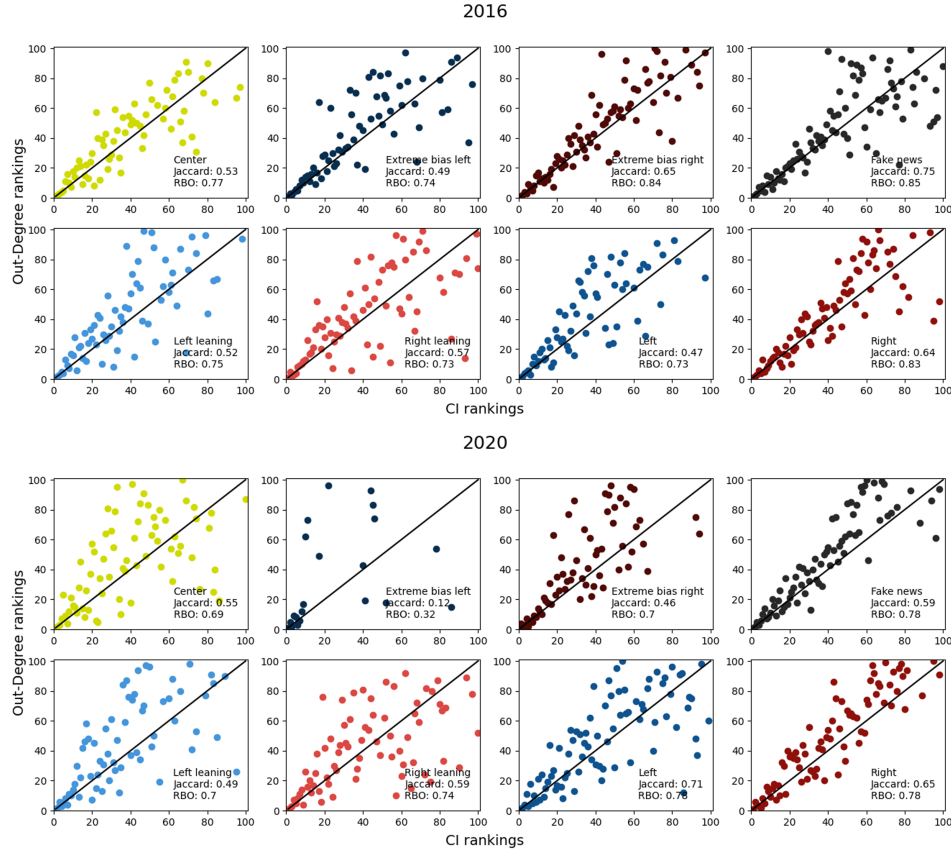
**Supplementary Figure 7. Latent ideology scale of influencers and their retweeters in 2016 (left) and 2020 (right) using only influencers active in both years.** The latent ideology of the top 5 influencers of each category is shown as a box plot representing the distribution of the ideology of the users having retweeted them. The distribution of the ideology estimates of the users is shown in green and the distribution of the ideology estimates of the top 100 influencers of each news category (computed as the median of the ideology of their retweeters) is displayed in purple. Box plots indicate the **median and the 25% and 75% percentiles** of the distributions with whiskers indicating the 5% and 95% percentiles. **The sample size used for the computation of each box plot is reported to their side.** Pie charts next to the influencers' names represent the news categories they belong to (weighted by their respective CI ranks in each category). Hartigan's dip test for unimodality (**one-sided**) applied to the user distribution is  $D = 0.107$  (**95% confidence interval  $CI_{95\%} = [0.1065, 0.1076]$** ,  $p < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$ ) in 2016 and  $D = 0.183$  ( **$CI_{95\%} = [0.1825, 0.1834]$** ,  $p < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$ ) in 2020. The test statistics for the influencer distribution is  $D = 0.163$  ( **$CI_{95\%} = [0.1290, 0.1951]$** ,  $p < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$ ) in 2016 and  $D = 0.173$  ( **$CI_{95\%} = [0.1376, 0.2122]$** ,  $p < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$ ) in 2020.



**Supplementary Figure 8. Latent ideology scale of influencers and their retweeters in 2016 (left) and 2020 (right) using only users and influencers active in both years.** The latent ideology of the top 5 influencers of each category is shown as a box plot representing the distribution of the ideology of the users having retweeted them. The distribution of the ideology estimates of the users is shown in green and the distribution of the ideology estimates of the top 100 influencers of each news category (computed as the median of the ideology of their retweeters) is displayed in purple. Box plots indicate the **median and the 25% and 75% percentiles** of the distributions with whiskers indicating the 5% and 95% percentiles. **The sample size used for the computation of each box plot is reported to their side.** Pie charts next to the influencers' names represent the news categories they belong to (weighted by their respective CI ranks in each category). Hartigan's dip test for unimodality (**one-sided**) applied to the user distribution is  $D = 0.095$  (**95% confidence interval**  $CI_{95\%} = [0.0940, 0.0955]$ ,  $p < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$ ) in 2016 and  $D = 0.140$  ( $CI_{95\%} = [0.1390, 0.1406]$ ,  $p < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$ ) in 2020. The test statistics for the influencer distribution is  $D = 0.164$  ( $CI_{95\%} = [0.1314, 0.2034]$ ,  $p < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$ ) in 2016 and  $D = 0.171$  ( $CI_{95\%} = [0.1379, 0.2086]$ ,  $p < 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$ ) in 2020.



**Supplementary Figure 9. Hartigans' dip test values for ideology distribution of users and influencers when considering all users and influencers or only influencers or users present in 2016 and 2020.** Mean and 95% CI error bars are obtained by bootstrap with  $n = 1000$  runs for each dataset and Bias-corrected and accelerated confidence intervals method. The numerical values are reported in Table 10.



**Supplementary Figure 10. Comparison of top 100 rankings generated by the PageRank algorithm and by the Collective Influence (CI) algorithm using the 2016 and 2020 retweet networks.** CI operates on the unweighted, directed retweet networks while PR operates on a weighted, directed version of the retweet networks, where a retweet edge is weighted by the number of times the node was retweeted. Ranked Bias Overlap (RBO) [62] and Jaccard Similarity are computed over the two top 100 lists, shown below their respective news category labels. For this analysis, RBO's weight parameter  $p$  is set to 0.98. The most of RBO values are above 0.7 indicating a high agreement of the two rankings, especially for the top ranked users. The only network that shows a poor agreement between the rankings is the extreme-bias left network of 2020. This may be explained by the small size and low average degree of the network compared to networks of other categories (see Tab. 4).

| Fake news                  |         |                       | Extreme bias right |                              | Right     |  |
|----------------------------|---------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|-----------|--|
| hostnames                  | N       | hostnames             | N                  | hostnames                    | N         |  |
| 1 thegatewaypundit.com     | 761 756 | breitbart.com         | 1 854 920          | foxnews.com                  | 1 122 732 |  |
| 2 truthfeed.com            | 554 955 | dailycaller.com       | 759 504            | dailymail.co.uk              | 474 846   |  |
| 3 infowars.com             | 478 872 | americanthinker.com   | 179 696            | washingtonexaminer.com       | 462 769   |  |
| 4 therealstrategy.com      | 241 354 | wnd.com               | 141 336            | nypost.com                   | 441 648   |  |
| 5 conservativetribune.com  | 212 273 | freebeacon.com        | 129 077            | bizpacreview.com             | 170 770   |  |
| 6 zerohedge.com            | 186 706 | newsninja2012.com     | 127 251            | nationalreview.com           | 164 036   |  |
| 7 rickwells.us             | 78 736  | hannity.com           | 114 221            | lifefzette.com               | 139 257   |  |
| 8 departed.co              | 72 773  | newsmax.com           | 94 882             | redstate.com                 | 105 912   |  |
| 9 thepoliticalinsider.com  | 66 426  | endingthefed.com      | 88 376             | allenbwest.com               | 104 857   |  |
| 10 therightscoop.com       | 63 852  | truepundit.com        | 84 967             | theconservativetreehouse.com | 102 515   |  |
| 11 teaparty.org            | 48 757  | westernjournalism.com | 77 717             | townhall.com                 | 102 408   |  |
| 12 usapoliticsnow.com      | 46 252  | dailywire.com         | 67 893             | investors.com                | 102 295   |  |
| 13 clashdaily.com          | 45 970  | newsbusters.org       | 60 147             | theblaze.com                 | 99 029    |  |
| 14 thefederalistpapers.org | 45 831  | ilovemyfreedom.org    | 54 772             | theamericanmirror.com        | 91 538    |  |
| 15 redflagnews.com         | 45 423  | 100percentfedup.com   | 54 596             | ijr.com                      | 71 558    |  |
| 16 thetruthdivision.com    | 44 486  | pjmedia.com           | 46 542             | judicialwatch.org            | 70 543    |  |
| 17                         |         | weaselzipers.us       | 45 199             | thefederalist.com            | 55 835    |  |
| 18                         |         |                       |                    | hotair.com                   | 55 431    |  |
| 19                         |         |                       |                    | conservativereview.com       | 54 307    |  |
| 20                         |         |                       |                    | weeklystandard.com           | 50 707    |  |

| Right leaning           |         |                     | Center    |                       | Left leaning |  |
|-------------------------|---------|---------------------|-----------|-----------------------|--------------|--|
| hostnames               | N       | hostnames           | N         | hostnames             | N            |  |
| 1 wsj.com               | 310 416 | cnn.com             | 2 291 736 | nytimes.com           | 1 811 627    |  |
| 2 washingtontimes.com   | 208 061 | thehill.com         | 1 200 123 | washingtonpost.com    | 1 640 088    |  |
| 3 rt.com                | 157 474 | politico.com        | 1 173 717 | abcnews.com           | 512 056      |  |
| 4 realclearpolitics.com | 128 417 | usatoday.com        | 326 198   | abcnews.go.com        | 467 533      |  |
| 5 telegraph.co.uk       | 82 118  | reuters.com         | 283 962   | theguardian.com       | 439 580      |  |
| 6 forbes.com            | 64 186  | bloomberg.com       | 266 662   | vox.com               | 369 789      |  |
| 7 fortune.com           | 57 644  | businessinsider.com | 239 423   | slate.com             | 279 438      |  |
| 8                       |         | apnews.com          | 198 140   | buzzfeed.com          | 278 642      |  |
| 9                       |         | observer.com        | 128 043   | cbsnews.com           | 232 889      |  |
| 10                      |         | fivethirtyeight.com | 124 268   | politiifact.com       | 198 095      |  |
| 11                      |         | bbc.com             | 118 176   | latimes.com           | 190 994      |  |
| 12                      |         | ibtimes.com         | 72 424    | nydailynews.com       | 188 769      |  |
| 13                      |         | bbc.co.uk           | 71 941    | theatlantic.com       | 177 637      |  |
| 14                      |         |                     |           | mediaite.com          | 152 877      |  |
| 15                      |         |                     |           | newsweek.com          | 149 490      |  |
| 16                      |         |                     |           | npr.org               | 142 143      |  |
| 17                      |         |                     |           | independent.co.uk     | 127 689      |  |
| 18                      |         |                     |           | cnb.cx                | 87 094       |  |
| 19                      |         |                     |           | hollywoodreporter.com | 84 997       |  |

| Left                    |           | Extreme bias left    |         |
|-------------------------|-----------|----------------------|---------|
| hostnames               | N         | hostnames            | N       |
| 1 huffingtonpost.com    | 1 057 518 | dailynewsbin.com     | 189 257 |
| 2 thedailybeast.com     | 378 931   | bipartisanreport.com | 119 857 |
| 3 dailykos.com          | 324 351   | bluenationreview.com | 75 455  |
| 4 rawstory.com          | 297 256   | crooksandliars.com   | 73 615  |
| 5 politicususa.com      | 293 419   | occupydemocrats.com  | 73 143  |
| 6 time.com              | 252 468   | shareblue.com        | 50 880  |
| 7 motherjones.com       | 210 280   | usuncut.com          | 27 653  |
| 8 talkingpointsmemo.com | 199 346   |                      |         |
| 9 msnbc.com             | 177 090   |                      |         |
| 10 mashable.com         | 173 129   |                      |         |
| 11 salon.com            | 172 807   |                      |         |
| 12 thinkprogress.org    | 172 144   |                      |         |
| 13 newyorker.com        | 171 102   |                      |         |
| 14 mediamatters.org     | 152 160   |                      |         |
| 15 nymag.com            | 121 636   |                      |         |
| 16 theintercept.com     | 109 591   |                      |         |
| 17 thenation.com        | 54 661    |                      |         |
| 18 people.com           | 47 942    |                      |         |

**Supplementary Table 1. Hostnames in each news media category in 2016.** We also show the number (*N*) of tweets with a URL pointing toward each hostname. Tweets with several URLs are counted multiple times. Reproduced from [21].

| Fake news |                              |           | Extreme bias right   |           |  | Right                  |           |  |
|-----------|------------------------------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|--|------------------------|-----------|--|
|           | hostnames                    | <i>N</i>  | hostnames            | <i>N</i>  |  | hostnames              | <i>N</i>  |  |
| 1         | thegatewaypundit.com         | 1 883 852 | breitbart.com        | 2 192 997 |  | foxnews.com            | 3 136 578 |  |
| 2         | hannity.com                  | 428 483   | dailymail.co.uk      | 600 523   |  | dailycaller.com        | 771 765   |  |
| 3         | waynedupree.com              | 258 838   | bongino.com          | 346 103   |  | washingtonexaminer.com | 717 017   |  |
| 4         | judicialwatch.org            | 233 085   | thenationalpulse.com | 215 017   |  | justthenews.com        | 689 725   |  |
| 5         | truepundit.com               | 176 647   | freebeacon.com       | 197 092   |  | thefederalist.com      | 687 091   |  |
| 6         | zerohedge.com                | 165 960   | newsmax.com          | 192 924   |  | dailywire.com          | 396 233   |  |
| 7         | davidharrisjr.com            | 150 887   | pjmedia.com          | 123 338   |  | theepochtimes.com      | 288 656   |  |
| 8         | politicalflare.com           | 145 838   | newsbusters.org      | 71 008    |  | nationalreview.com     | 283 172   |  |
| 9         | djhmedia.com                 | 112 049   | therightscoop.com    | 66 676    |  | saraacarter.com        | 267 237   |  |
| 10        | rumble.com                   | 101 979   | americanthinker.com  | 59 142    |  | townhall.com           | 256 631   |  |
| 11        | theconservativetreehouse.com | 99 716    |                      |           |  | theblaze.com           | 191 515   |  |
| 12        | oann.com                     | 97 325    |                      |           |  | thepostmillennial.com  | 181 674   |  |
| 13        | thedcpatriot.com             | 90 209    |                      |           |  | westernjournal.com     | 165 914   |  |
| 14        | washingtonnews.today         | 79 314    |                      |           |  | redstate.com           | 144 010   |  |
| 15        | rightwingtribune.com         | 58 442    |                      |           |  | thegreggjarrett.com    | 139 749   |  |
| 16        | rt.com                       | 54 985    |                      |           |  | bizpacreview.com       | 97 375    |  |
| 17        | wnd.com                      | 54 929    |                      |           |  | twitchy.com            | 95 401    |  |
| 18        | gellerreport.com             | 54 277    |                      |           |  | trendingpolitics.com   | 92 094    |  |
| 19        | nationalfile.com             | 52 393    |                      |           |  | lifeneews.com          | 90 064    |  |
| 20        | summit.news                  | 49 539    |                      |           |  |                        |           |  |

| Right leaning |                       |           | Center              |           |  | Left leaning          |           |  |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|--|-----------------------|-----------|--|
|               | hostnames             | <i>N</i>  | hostnames           | <i>N</i>  |  | hostnames             | <i>N</i>  |  |
| 1             | nypost.com            | 1 701 531 | thehill.com         | 2 256 888 |  | nytimes.com           | 6 775 402 |  |
| 2             | wsj.com               | 887 537   | apnews.com          | 1 182 504 |  | washingtonpost.com    | 6 438 506 |  |
| 3             | forbes.com            | 748 636   | usatoday.com        | 993 957   |  | cnn.com               | 5 577 352 |  |
| 4             | washingtontimes.com   | 408 349   | businessinsider.com | 773 328   |  | politico.com          | 2 290 755 |  |
| 5             | foxbusiness.com       | 212 742   | newsweek.com        | 756 820   |  | nbcnews.com           | 2 231 564 |  |
| 6             | thebulwark.com        | 175 417   | reuters.com         | 746 033   |  | theguardian.com       | 1 116 515 |  |
| 7             | marketwatch.com       | 96 626    | bbc.com             | 296 098   |  | theatlantic.com       | 1 046 475 |  |
| 8             | realclearpolitics.com | 93 120    | economist.com       | 123 939   |  | abcnews.go.com        | 1 042 419 |  |
| 9             | detroitnews.com       | 77 223    | fivethirtyeight.com | 101 824   |  | npr.org               | 871 571   |  |
| 10            | dallasnews.com        | 75 910    | ft.com              | 91 524    |  | bloomberg.com         | 767 059   |  |
| 11            | rasmussenreports.com  | 58 712    | foreignpolicy.com   | 87 729    |  | cbsnews.com           | 747 442   |  |
| 12            | chicagotribune.com    | 56 974    | factcheck.org       | 79 456    |  | cnbc.com              | 649 041   |  |
| 13            | jpost.com             | 55 223    | news.sky.com        | 78 372    |  | axios.com             | 621 609   |  |
| 14            |                       |           |                     |           |  | msn.com               | 613 127   |  |
| 15            |                       |           |                     |           |  | news.yahoo.com        | 586 724   |  |
| 16            |                       |           |                     |           |  | independent.co.uk     | 513 765   |  |
| 17            |                       |           |                     |           |  | latimes.com           | 451 878   |  |
| 18            |                       |           |                     |           |  | citizensforethics.org | 382 101   |  |
| 19            |                       |           |                     |           |  | buzzfeednews.com      | 369 962   |  |

| Left |                   |           | Extreme bias left    |          |  |
|------|-------------------|-----------|----------------------|----------|--|
|      | hostnames         | <i>N</i>  | hostnames            | <i>N</i> |  |
| 1    | rawstory.com      | 2 148 200 | occupydemocrats.com  | 18 151   |  |
| 2    | msnbc.com         | 1 606 071 | lancastercourier.com | 5815     |  |
| 3    | thedailybeast.com | 1 404 756 | deepleftfield.info   | 5753     |  |
| 4    | huffpost.com      | 1 121 642 | tplnews.com          | 4022     |  |
| 5    | politicususa.com  | 671 043   | bipartisanreport.com | 3243     |  |
| 6    | palmerreport.com  | 434 503   | bossip.com           | 2287     |  |
| 7    | motherjones.com   | 424 106   | polipace.com         | 586      |  |
| 8    | vox.com           | 420 613   |                      |          |  |
| 9    | vanityfair.com    | 352 964   |                      |          |  |
| 10   | nymag.com         | 320 049   |                      |          |  |
| 11   | newyorker.com     | 288 409   |                      |          |  |
| 12   | dailykos.com      | 288 384   |                      |          |  |
| 13   | slate.com         | 250 942   |                      |          |  |
| 14   | salon.com         | 229 583   |                      |          |  |
| 15   | rollingstone.com  | 190 828   |                      |          |  |
| 16   | thenation.com     | 130 272   |                      |          |  |
| 17   | alternet.org      | 126 788   |                      |          |  |
| 18   | theintercept.com  | 104 153   |                      |          |  |

**Supplementary Table 2. Hostnames in each news media category in 2020.** We also show the number (*N*) of tweets with a URL pointing toward each hostname. Tweets with several URLs are counted multiple times.

| 2016               |           |       |         |       |           |             |             |                       |
|--------------------|-----------|-------|---------|-------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------|
|                    | $N_t$     | $p_t$ | $N_u$   | $p_u$ | $N_t/N_u$ | $p_{t,n/o}$ | $p_{u,n/o}$ | $N_{t,n/o}/N_{u,n/o}$ |
| Fake news          | 2 991 073 | 0.10  | 68 391  | 0.03  | 43.73     | 0.19        | 0.07        | 124.22                |
| Extreme bias right | 3 969 639 | 0.13  | 131 346 | 0.06  | 30.22     | 0.09        | 0.05        | 56.73                 |
| Right              | 4 032 284 | 0.13  | 194 229 | 0.08  | 20.76     | 0.11        | 0.07        | 33.77                 |
| Right leaning      | 1 006 746 | 0.03  | 64 771  | 0.03  | 15.54     | 0.18        | 0.09        | 31.56                 |
| Center             | 6 322 257 | 0.21  | 600 546 | 0.26  | 10.53     | 0.20        | 0.05        | 38.10                 |
| Left leaning       | 7 491 344 | 0.24  | 903 689 | 0.39  | 8.29      | 0.14        | 0.06        | 19.16                 |
| Left               | 4 353 999 | 0.14  | 327 411 | 0.14  | 13.30     | 0.14        | 0.07        | 26.16                 |
| Extreme bias left  | 609 503   | 0.02  | 19 423  | 0.01  | 31.38     | 0.06        | 0.03        | 74.21                 |

| 2020               |            |       |           |       |           |             |             |                       |
|--------------------|------------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------|
|                    | $N_t$      | $p_t$ | $N_u$     | $p_u$ | $N_t/N_u$ | $p_{t,n/o}$ | $p_{u,n/o}$ | $N_{t,n/o}/N_{u,n/o}$ |
| Fake news          | 4 348 747  | 0.06  | 99 020    | 0.03  | 43.92     | 0.01        | 0.01        | 81.77                 |
| Extreme bias right | 4 064 820  | 0.06  | 107 250   | 0.03  | 37.90     | 0.02        | 0.01        | 73.62                 |
| Right              | 8 691 901  | 0.12  | 382 358   | 0.10  | 22.73     | 0.02        | 0.01        | 44.52                 |
| Right leaning      | 4 648 000  | 0.06  | 288 207   | 0.08  | 16.13     | 0.02        | 0.01        | 23.35                 |
| Center             | 7 568 472  | 0.10  | 398 241   | 0.11  | 19.00     | 0.03        | 0.02        | 33.96                 |
| Left leaning       | 33 093 267 | 0.45  | 2 136 830 | 0.59  | 15.49     | 0.03        | 0.02        | 22.85                 |
| Left               | 10 513 306 | 0.14  | 237 685   | 0.07  | 44.23     | 0.03        | 0.02        | 73.42                 |
| Extreme bias left  | 39 857     | 0.00  | 887       | 0.00  | 44.93     | 0.05        | 0.02        | 82.59                 |

**Supplementary Table 3. Tweet and user volume corresponding to each news media category on Twitter between June 1<sup>st</sup> until election day in 2016 (top) and 2020 (bottom).** Number,  $N_t$ , and proportion,  $p_t$ , of tweets with a URL pointing to a website belonging to one of the news media categories. Number,  $N_u$ , and proportion,  $p_u$ , of unique users in each category. Users are classified in the category where they posted the largest number of tweets. Ties are randomly assigned. Proportion of tweets sent by non-official clients,  $p_{t,n/o}$ , proportion of users having sent at least one tweet from a non-official client,  $p_{u,n/o}$ , and average number of tweets per user sent from non-official clients,  $N_{t,n/o}/N_{u,n/o}$ . 2016 data adapted from [21].

|      | News media category | Nodes     | Edges      | $\langle k \rangle$ | $\max(k_{out})$ | $\max(k_{in})$ | $\sigma(k_{out})/\langle k \rangle$ | $\sigma(k_{in})/\langle k \rangle$ |
|------|---------------------|-----------|------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 2016 | Fake news           | 175,605   | 1,143,083  | 6.51                | 42,468          | 1232           | $32 \pm 4$                          | $2.49 \pm 0.06$                    |
|      | Extreme bias right  | 249,659   | 1,637,927  | 6.56                | 51,845          | 588            | $36 \pm 6$                          | $2.73 \pm 0.03$                    |
|      | Right               | 345,644   | 1,797,023  | 5.20                | 86,454          | 490            | $44 \pm 11$                         | $2.70 \pm 0.04$                    |
|      | Right leaning       | 216,026   | 495,307    | 2.29                | 32,653          | 129            | $45 \pm 11$                         | $1.72 \pm 0.02$                    |
|      | Center              | 864,733   | 2,501,037  | 2.89                | 229,751         | 512            | $75 \pm 39$                         | $2.69 \pm 0.06$                    |
|      | Left leaning        | 1,043,436 | 3,570,653  | 3.42                | 145,047         | 843            | $59 \pm 19$                         | $3.38 \pm 0.10$                    |
|      | Left                | 536,903   | 1,801,658  | 3.36                | 58,901          | 733            | $47 \pm 12$                         | $3.50 \pm 0.08$                    |
|      | Extreme bias left   | 78,911    | 277,483    | 3.52                | 23,168          | 648            | $33 \pm 6$                          | $2.49 \pm 0.08$                    |
| 2020 | Fake news           | 367,487   | 1,861,620  | 5.06                | 90,125          | 292            | $59 \pm 11$                         | $2.05 \pm 0.02$                    |
|      | Extreme bias right  | 445,776   | 2,008,760  | 4.50                | 89,902          | 313            | $60 \pm 16$                         | $2.09 \pm 0.02$                    |
|      | Right               | 674,935   | 4,452,861  | 6.59                | 109,053         | 607            | $54 \pm 9$                          | $2.43 \pm 0.03$                    |
|      | Right leaning       | 882,552   | 3,203,999  | 3.63                | 115,302         | 298            | $59 \pm 16$                         | $1.86 \pm 0.02$                    |
|      | Center              | 1,163,610 | 4,461,011  | 3.83                | 276,289         | 709            | $65 \pm 29$                         | $2.37 \pm 0.04$                    |
|      | Left leaning        | 2,355,587 | 17,461,102 | 7.41                | 325,726         | 1,564          | $63 \pm 20$                         | $3.62 \pm 0.05$                    |
|      | Left                | 819,684   | 4,688,119  | 5.71                | 175,841         | 1,042          | $57 \pm 14$                         | $2.68 \pm 0.04$                    |
|      | Extreme bias left   | 21,411    | 26,888     | 1.25                | 5,755           | 27             | $41 \pm 3$                          | $0.60 \pm 0.01$                    |

**Supplementary Table 4. Retweet network characteristics for each news category. Number of nodes, edges, average degree, and degree heterogeneity of each network.** The in- and out-degree heterogeneities are calculated by taking the average and standard error of 1000 independent samples of the degree heterogeneity ( $\sigma(k_{in})/\langle k \rangle$  and  $\sigma(k_{out})/\langle k \rangle$ ), each of which is computed on 78,911 samples with replacements from their respective degree distributions. 2016 data adapted from [21].

| Username         | News Media Category | 2016 | 2020 | Username        | News Media Category | 2016 | 2020 |
|------------------|---------------------|------|------|-----------------|---------------------|------|------|
| @foxandfriends   | Right               | 10   | NA   | @nytpolitics    | Left leaning        | 11   | NA   |
| @PalmerReport    | Left                | NA   | 23   | @business       | Center              | 8    | NA   |
| @OANN            | Fake news           | NA   | 8    |                 | Left leaning        | NA   | 25   |
| @ABCPolitics     | Left leaning        | 9    | 52   | @RawStory       | Left                | 4    | 7    |
| @USATODAY        | Center              | 9    | 8    | @gatewaypundit  | Fake news           | 11   | 2    |
| @FiveThirtyEight | Center              | 11   | 65   | @PolitiFact     | Left leaning        | 6    | NA   |
| @Mediaite        | Left leaning        | 16   | NA   | @thehill        | Center              | 2    | 1    |
| @realDailyWire   | Right               | NA   | 13   |                 | Center              | 3    | NA   |
| @nytopinion      | Left leaning        | 18   | 20   | @politico       | Left leaning        | NA   | 10   |
| @NYMag           | Left                | 14   | 71   | @dcexaminer     | Right               | 3    | 10   |
|                  | Right leaning       | NA   | 65   | @newsmax        | Extreme bias right  | NA   | 6    |
|                  | Center              | NA   | 30   | @FinancialTimes | Center              | NA   | 18   |
| @CREWcrew        | Left leaning        | NA   | 12   |                 | Center              | 4    | NA   |
|                  | Left                | NA   | 21   | @CNNPolitics    | Left leaning        | NA   | 6    |
| @BreitbartNews   | Extreme bias right  | 3    | 2    | @Reuters        | Center              | 5    | 3    |
| @Salon           | Left                | 9    | 85   | @NewDay         | Center              | 25   | NA   |
| @Forbes          | Right leaning       | 93   | 24   | @TIME           | Left                | 2    | NA   |
| @AP              | Center              | 7    | 2    | @VanityFair     | Left                | NA   | 20   |
| @latimes         | Left leaning        | 14   | 22   | @ABC            | Left leaning        | 3    | 4    |
| @TheAtlantic     | Left leaning        | 22   | 35   | @HuffPost       | Left                | 1    | 5    |
| @theblaze        | Right               | 21   | 33   | @BuzzFeedNews   | Left leaning        | 15   | NA   |
|                  | Fake news           | NA   | 14   |                 | Right               | 5    | NA   |
| @Rasmussen_Poll  | Extreme bias right  | NA   | 36   | @nypost         | Right leaning       | NA   | 1    |
|                  | Right               | NA   | 60   | @mashable       | Left                | 17   | NA   |
|                  | Right leaning       | NA   | 20   | @RT_America     | Right leaning       | 5    | NA   |
| @NBCNews         | Left leaning        | 4    | 8    | @theintercept   | Left                | 18   | 93   |
| @CBSNews         | Left leaning        | 7    | 9    |                 | Left leaning        | 8    | NA   |
| @NPR             | Left leaning        | 27   | 7    | @voxdotcom      | Left                | NA   | 11   |
| @BuzzFeed        | Left leaning        | 25   | NA   | @11thHour       | Left                | NA   | 24   |
| @AP_Politics     | Center              | 10   | 13   | @HuffPostPol    | Left                | 5    | 25   |
| @Slate           | Left leaning        | 5    | NA   |                 | Fake news           | 65   | NA   |
|                  | Left                | NA   | 14   |                 | Extreme bias right  | 4    | NA   |
| @conserv_tribune | Fake news           | 21   | NA   | @wikileaks      | Right               | 16   | NA   |
| @NYDailyNews     | Left leaning        | 13   | NA   |                 | Center              | 21   | NA   |
| @foxnewspolitics | Right               | 23   | NA   |                 | Left leaning        | 69   | NA   |
| @60Minutes       | Left leaning        | NA   | 24   |                 | Fake news           | NA   | 4    |
| @FoxBusiness     | Right               | 22   | NA   | @JudicialWatch  | Extreme bias right  | 53   | NA   |
| @Newsweek        | Center              | NA   | 6    |                 | Right               | 14   | NA   |
|                  | Left leaning        | 26   | NA   |                 | Right leaning       | 20   | NA   |
| @thenation       | Left                | 23   | 58   | @NewYorker      | Left                | 6    | 22   |
| @guardian        | Left leaning        | 12   | 95   | @Telegraph      | Right leaning       | 24   | NA   |
| @nytimes         | Left leaning        | 1    | 2    | @FoxNewsInsider | Right               | 6    | NA   |
| @RealClearNews   | Right leaning       | 25   | NA   |                 | Left leaning        | 20   | 28   |
| @bpolitics       | Center              | 12   | NA   | @MSNBC          | Left                | 13   | 1    |
| @businessinsider | Center              | 16   | 34   | @washingtonpost | Left leaning        | 2    | 5    |
| @WashTimes       | Right leaning       | 2    | 6    |                 | Center              | 1    | NA   |
| @SkyNews         | Center              | NA   | 16   | @CNN            | Left leaning        | NA   | 1    |
| @TheEconomist    | Center              | NA   | 12   |                 | Extreme bias right  | NA   | 7    |
| @APFactCheck     | Center              | NA   | 24   | @DailyMail      | Right               | 7    | NA   |
| @BBCWorld        | Center              | 24   | 23   | @FoxNews        | Right               | 1    | 5    |
| @DailyCaller     | Extreme bias right  | 2    | NA   | @thedailybeast  | Left                | 3    | 2    |
|                  | Right               | NA   | 7    |                 | Fake news           | NA   | 31   |
| @thinkprogress   | Left                | 10   | NA   | @RT_com         | Right leaning       | 3    | NA   |
| @WSJopinion      | Right leaning       | 12   | 67   | @WSJPolitics    | Right leaning       | 6    | 66   |
| @TPM             | Left                | 8    | NA   | @WSJ            | Right leaning       | 1    | 2    |

**Supplementary Table 5. News media categories and corresponding CI rankings for 87 influencers, for both the 2016 and 2020 U.S. Presidential elections.** Influencers shown here are all established major news organizations and are verified on Twitter. Note that some influencers have more than one news category in which they are ranked, as they can influence multiple retweet networks. An entry is marked *NA* for a particular year and category if the influencer in question was not present as a top-100 influencer within that category during that year, but was within the top-100 during the other target year.

| 2016 → 2020     | Fake & EB | Right  | Right Leaning | Center | Left Leaning | Left   | Inactive (2020) | Sum (2016) |
|-----------------|-----------|--------|---------------|--------|--------------|--------|-----------------|------------|
| Fake & EB       | 19846     | 17170  | 4002          | 1484   | 6046         | 526    | 159261          | 208335     |
| Right           | 6758      | 10893  | 3353          | 1142   | 4950         | 366    | 112292          | 139754     |
| Right leaning   | 803       | 705    | 994           | 663    | 3543         | 263    | 38810           | 45781      |
| Center          | 2877      | 3946   | 3313          | 9425   | 63597        | 4337   | 417800          | 505295     |
| Left Leaning    | 2382      | 3001   | 4140          | 12137  | 160241       | 10844  | 580205          | 772950     |
| Left            | 546       | 543    | 1066          | 3568   | 46349        | 6540   | 198050          | 256662     |
| Inactive (2016) | 194478    | 244381 | 212214        | 291221 | 1722104      | 162182 | /               | 2826580    |
| Sum (2020)      | 227690    | 280639 | 229082        | 319640 | 2006830      | 185058 | 1506418         | /          |

**Supplementary Table 6. Shifts of users (absolute numbers) across news media categories from 2016 to 2020.** Note that the label “Fake & EB” contains all the users from the fake news and the extremely biased left/right news categories. The inactive (2016) category indicates how many users who were non-existent or inactive in 2016 became active in their overlapping 2020 news media category. The inactive (2020) category indicates how many users active in their 2016 category became inactive in 2020.

| Year | Modularity (SE) | Normalized Cut (SE) | Right Ratio | Left Ratio |
|------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------|------------|
| 2016 | 0.234 (0.004)   | 0.66 (0.03)         | 0.038       | 0.05       |
| 2020 | 0.236 (0.007)   | 0.58 (0.03)         | 0.038       | 0.08       |

**Supplementary Table 7. Tabulated analysis of the similarity network using quotes instead of retweets for the top influencers.** Note that the influencers here are determined by the CI rankings of the retweet networks. The similarity network is found for the 2016 and 2020 data. Using Louvain community detection reveals two communities with left- and center-oriented influencers in one community, and right- and fake-oriented influencers in the other. Left side of table: average modularity and average normalized cut, with the standard errors (SE) in parentheses, determined by taking sub-samples of influencers from the quote similarity network, detecting the two dichotomous communities with the sub-sampled quote similarity network, then recording their modularities and normalized cuts. Right side of table: ratio of quotes-to-retweets within the complete similarity network. Specifically, the number of user quotes of influencer tweets over the number of user retweets of influencer tweets. Right ratio indicates the average ratio for the community with right-oriented influencers. Left ratio indicates the average ratio for the community with left-oriented influencers. These ratios are found for both 2016 and 2020.

| Year | Modularity | Normalized Cut |
|------|------------|----------------|
| 2016 | 0.373      | 0.253          |
| 2020 | 0.449      | 0.061          |

**Supplementary Table 8. Modularity and normalized cut measures of the communities in the 2016 and 2020 networks in Fig. 5.** These measures were run on the communities of both networks once, for all edges (both visible and hidden for sparsification). Consistent with the results of the main similarity networks, from 2016 to 2020, modularity increased while the normalized cut decreased.

|            |       | A overall quotes/retweets |      |      |      |
|------------|-------|---------------------------|------|------|------|
|            |       | 2016                      | 2020 |      |      |
| from users | right | 0.03                      | 0.03 |      |      |
|            | left  | 0.05                      | 0.04 |      |      |
|            |       | B quotes/retweets         |      |      |      |
|            |       | 2016                      | 2020 |      |      |
|            |       | to influencers            |      |      |      |
| from users | right | 0.02                      | 0.19 | 0.02 | 0.49 |
|            | left  | 0.56                      | 0.03 | 3.76 | 0.03 |

**Supplementary Table 9. Comparison of fraction of retweets and quotes from users to influencers with different latent ideology estimates.** Users and influencers are divided in two categories based on their ideology estimates, namely left (ideology <0) and right (ideology >0). Table **A** shows the overall proportion of quotes over retweets from users on the right and on the left revealing that the number of quotes represent only a small fraction ( $\leq 5\%$ ) of the number of retweets. Table **B** shows the proportion of quotes over retweets from users to influencers for all pairs of ideology categories in 2016 and in 2020.

|                              | user's distributions |                 |        |                 |            | influencers distributions |                 |        |                 |            |
|------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|--------|-----------------|------------|---------------------------|-----------------|--------|-----------------|------------|
|                              | 2016                 | 95% CI          | 2020   | 95% CI          | difference | 2016                      | 95% CI          | 2020   | 95% CI          | difference |
| all                          | 0.1086               | [0.1082,0.1091] | 0.1474 | [0.1471,0.1477] | 0.0388     | 0.1786                    | [0.1606,0.1965] | 0.2091 | [0.1907,0.2282] | 0.0305     |
| common users                 | 0.0941               | [0.0934,0.0947] | 0.1172 | [0.1166,0.1178] | 0.0231     | 0.1793                    | [0.1616,0.1979] | 0.2143 | [0.1952,0.2336] | 0.0350     |
| common influencers           | 0.1070               | [0.1065,0.1076] | 0.1830 | [0.1825,0.1834] | 0.0760     | 0.1641                    | [0.1290,0.1951] | 0.1741 | [0.1376,0.2122] | 0.0100     |
| common users and influencers | 0.0947               | [0.0940,0.0955] | 0.1399 | [0.1390,0.1406] | 0.0452     | 0.1650                    | [0.1314,0.2034] | 0.1719 | [0.1379,0.2086] | 0.0069     |

**Supplementary Table 10. Hartigans' dip test statistics of the users and influencers latent ideology distributions.** This analysis is done considering all users and influencers, only users that were present in 2016 and 2020, only influencers that were present in 2016 and 2020 and only users and influencers that were present in 2016 and 2020. 95% confidence intervals are computed from 1000 bootstrap samples with the bias-corrected and accelerated confidence intervals method.

## References

- [62] Webber, M., Moffat, A. & Zobel, J. A similarity measure for indefinite rankings. *ACM Trans. Inf. Syst.* **28**, 20 (2010).