Article

Communication Research
2020, Vol. 47(1) 29–54

DOI: 10.1177/0093650216644647
journals.sagepub.com/home/crx
SAGE

Explaining the Diversity Deficit: Value-Trait Consistency in News Exposure and Democratic Citizenship

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Abstract

Although scholars consider it important for citizens to seek diverse information to optimize citizenship, a growing body of research suggests that many people predominantly expose themselves to information that confirms their previous beliefs. Using four waves of survey data from an online panel of 2,450 Americans, this study explores a disconnect between information values and practices to identify (1) whether citizens exemplify the diversity-seeking values endorsed in communication scholarship, (2) whether individuals who hold diversity-seeking values enact these values, and (3) whether diversity-seeking values and traits are emblematic of good democratic citizenship. Results suggest that nearly half of respondents either did not hold diversity-seeking values or failed to actualize the values they expressed. Individuals who held diversity-seeking values were more politically knowledgeable and more likely to have voted in 2014, regardless of their diversity-seeking traits.

Keywords

diversity deficit, information-seeking, selective exposure, diversity-seeking values, traits

Scholars have long argued that seeking diverse political information and consuming sources that espouse divergent viewpoints is an important component of democratic citizenship (Mutz, 2006; Napoli, 1999; Prior, 2007; Stroud, 2006).[1] Citizens must be informed and deliberative to be capable of effectively participating in politics (Dahl,

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2000; Delli Carpini, Cook, & Jacobs, 2004), and awareness of diverse perspectives is a key prerequisite. For these reasons, the importance of diverse information has been recognized since the beginning of the American republic (de Tocqueville, 1969), and public intellectuals and politicians regularly stress diverse information-seeking (hereafter: diversity-seeking)[2] as an important public norm (e.g., Obama, 2010; Pariser, 2011; Sunstein, 2009).

Despite the significance ascribed to diverse information and viewpoints, scholarship suggests that citizens' information diets tend to be imbalanced. For one, individuals vary in the extent to which they seek political information at all (Prior, 2013). And a recent growing body of research on "selective exposure" suggests that people often seek information that is consonant with their preexisting beliefs (Iyengar & Hahn, 2009; Knobloch-Westerwick & Kleinman, 2012; Stroud, 2006). Although selective exposure was first hypothesized as a product of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1964), empirical evidence was not apparent until recently (cf. Klapper, 1960; Prior, 2007; Stroud, 2011). This newfound evidence implies that selection processes strengthened as the media environment diversified—with dedicated liberal and conservative outlets, for instance (Jamieson & Cappella, 2008; Prior, 2007).

A number of questions remain about the extent to which imbalanced information exposure is a product of selective exposure to consonant information (e.g., Iyengar & Hahn, 2009; Knobloch-Westerwick & Meng, 2009, 2011), selective avoidance of dissonant information (cf. Garrett, 2009; Garrett & Stroud, 2014), and other processes, such as social endorsement cues (e.g., Messing & Westwood, 2014; Prior, 2013). Regardless of the mechanisms involved, diversity-seeking is viewed as an important aspect of citizenship, and imbalanced information acquisition and retention could have deleterious consequences for democracy. Hence, a consequential gap appears to exist differentiating the diversity-seeking information norms praised by scholars, public intellectuals, and politicians, from the everyday practices of ordinary citizens, a gap we term the *diversity deficit*.

Addressing the diversity deficit requires that we examine the underlying reasons why citizens do not actualize the ideals that scholars seem to presume they should. We posit two possible explanations for this gap. The first is that ordinary citizens may not regard seeking diverse information and viewpoints as a *value* (i.e., they do not think it is important). A second possibility is that individuals share the norms advocated by scholars, but fail for various reasons to enact those ideals; that is, their *traits* or behaviors do not match their values. Indeed, as public intellectuals and politicians reiterate the importance of seeking diverse information and viewpoints, people may generally perceive diversity as a value, but may nonetheless fail to gather diverse information.

To explain why Americans do not live up to diversity-seeking ideals, we believe it is important to disentangle information-seeking values from information-seeking traits. We first review the scholarly literature on the importance of diversity-seeking norms and the emerging evidence that people do not live up to these norms. Next, we examine the value that individuals attribute to the process of seeking diverse information as well as whether they report doing so in practice. We then explore the extent to which these values and traits match as well as the relations linking diversity-seeking

values and traits with indicators of democratic citizenship such as political interest, knowledge, and voting. Finally, we then discuss the implications of the findings for our understanding of people's information-seeking behaviors as well as for interventions designed to improve democratic outcomes.

Diversity in Information-Seeking and the Health of a Democracy

Despite the purported importance of diversity-seeking, research on selective exposure and motivated reasoning raises concerns that people may not seek diverse information and viewpoints in practice. People appear to disproportionately expose themselves to news that reinforces preexisting attitudes and views (Garrett, 2009; Iyengar & Hahn, 2009; Knobloch-Westerwick & Meng, 2009, 2011; Stroud, 2011), though it is unclear whether people also choose to actively avoid information that contradicts their views (Chaffee, Saphir, Graf, Sandvig, & Hahn, 2001; Garrett, 2009; Garrett, Carnahan, & Lynch, 2013). Furthermore, research on motivated reasoning raises concerns that individuals may give undue weight to political information and arguments that bolster their prior attitudes (Lodge & Taber, 2005; Redlawsk, 2002; Taber & Lodge, 2006; Westen, Blagov, Harenski, Kilts, & Hamann, 2006), which may compound effects from selective exposure.

Imbalanced information exposure may lead to detrimental outcomes. Some scholars have suggested that informational imbalance could result in decreased tolerance for opposing views and an unwillingness to engage in deliberation (Mutz, 2006; Mutz & Martin, 2001). Furthermore, these tendencies could exacerbate political polarization, if people only hear from those who share their political views or get most of their information from partisan media echo chambers (Jamieson & Cappella, 2008; Stroud, 2010; Sunstein, 2009). This could result in a fragmented society whereby people limit their attention exclusively to the opinions of likeminded others (Garrett & Resnick, 2011; Sunstein, 2009). Hence, to the extent that we see deliberation as a democratic norm (as Dahl, 1956; Fishkin & Luskin, 2005; and Mutz, 2006 imply), the diversity deficit might have deleterious implications for the health of a democracy. This article seeks to assess and explain Americans' diversity-seeking tendencies by introducing the notion of diversity-seeking values as an important additional variable that might explain why some individuals do not enact scholars' ideals.[3]

The Importance of Diversity-Seeking Values

Theories of selective exposure and motivated reasoning have largely implied that biased information-seeking and retention introduce a gap between the ideals and practices of diversity-seeking. But it is also possible—indeed likely—that some individuals do not share the norms advocated by scholars and public intellectuals who suggest that seeking diverse information is important. Yet other individuals may share these norms, but may still fail to live up to them. Identifying the extent to which each of these is the case may point to the source of the diversity deficit, could lead to very

different implications for how scholars understand democratic citizenship, and would likely highlight different interventions for improving democratic outcomes.

Our interest in values stems from a long-standing tradition in social psychology where values are viewed as a central precursor to both individual traits and behaviors. We largely apply the framework from Shalom Schwartz's (2012) theory of Basic Personal Values, which regard *values* as overarching goals or motivations that an individual sees as important and *traits* as tendencies to do particular types of action over time (see also Caprara, Schwartz, Capanna, Vecchione, & Barbaranelli, 2006). The fact that traits and values in this model can often be described with the same terminology aids our ability to consider distinctions between individuals' information-seeking goals and corresponding information-seeking actions, which do not necessarily align.[4]

We appropriate the value-trait distinction for our work because we believe it highlights an important gap in scholarly thinking to date. By not distinguishing between these concepts, we have made it difficult to understand why the diversity deficit exists and, by extension, harder to address it. To date, practitioners have helped individuals diversify their information diets by reminding them to seek out conflicting views (e.g., Munson, Lee, & Resnick, 2013; Park, Kang, Chung, & Song, 2009). In this same vein, scholars have heralded the Internet for its ability to circumvent traditional gatekeepers and broaden the number of perspectives that are available (Neuman, Bimber, & Hindman, 2011).[5] These perspectives assume that good democratic citizenship would result if people enacted the diversity-seeking norms they presumably already hold. But for individuals who do not value diversity-seeking, there is little reason to believe that regular reminders or the broad array of voices on the Internet would be at all helpful. Thus, in many cases, interventions that foster diversity-seeking values may be more important than facilitating those who already hold them.

Values, Traits, and Democratic Citizenship

In all likelihood, some individuals regard diversity-seeking as a value, and some overlapping but distinct set of individuals typically seek diversity in practice. We can use adherence to diversity-seeking values and traits to typologize individuals into four groups (see Figure 1). The first group of individuals, whom we term the *actualizers*, both holds and enacts diversity-seeking values; they live up to scholars' ideals. The second group, the *apathetic*, neither shares nor enacts these values; presumably, we need to motivate these individuals to seek diverse information. The third group, the *alternatively motivated*, seeks diverse information, but does not value doing so; perhaps these people encounter opposing views in order to counter-argue them and support their preexisting beliefs (cf. Gaines, Kuklinski, Quirk, Peyton, & Verkuilen, 2007). Finally, *aspirational* citizens hold scholars' values, but fail to enact them; this could be because they cannot find diverse information or because other obstacles prevent them from doing so (e.g., they lack political self-efficacy, time, effort, or the relevant tools to find that information; Munson et al., 2013; Park et al., 2009). It could also occur because media use behaviors are largely habitual (LaRose, 2010), and individuals who hold diversity-seeking ideals may still persist in behaviors that do not support this goal. The distribution of Americans across these categories should inform our understanding of the diversity deficit.

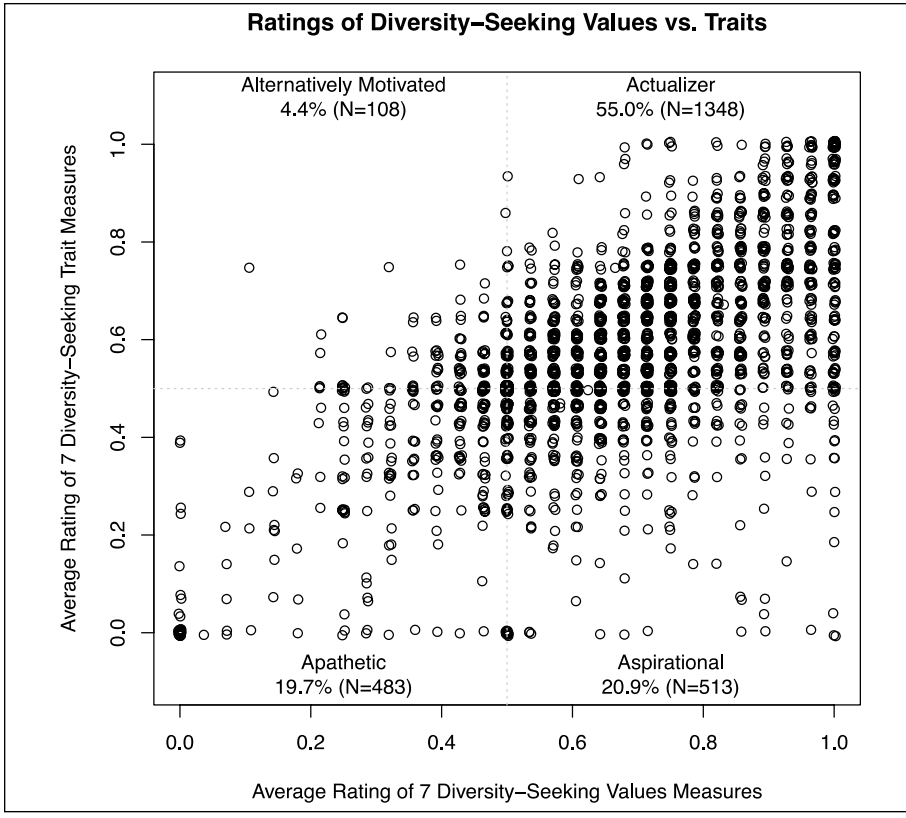

Figure 1. Distribution of the sample by average ratings of diversity-seeking values and traits.

In addition to the distribution of individuals with regard to diversity-seeking values and traits, the focus for scholarly attention should also depend on how these values and traits relate to the characteristics of good citizenship. Individuals who value diverse information are more open to opposing opinions on the occasion they encounter them and accord them considerable weight in the decision-making process (Lodge & Taber, 2005; Redlawsk, 2002; Taber & Lodge, 2006; Westen et al., 2006). In this manner, both aspirational citizens as well as those who actualize diversity-seeking may have the key tools necessary for deliberating. And individuals who seek diversity due to alternative motivations may not gain the benefits scholars envisage (Gaines et al., 2007).

The Current Study

In this article, we first examine the extent to which people value diversity-related information-seeking behaviors. As some scholars, public intellectuals, and politicians put considerable emphasis on seeking diverse information and encountering diverse viewpoints as an important attribute of citizenship (Mutz, 2006; Napoli, 1999; Obama,

2010; Pariser, 2011; Prior, 2007; Stroud, 2006; Sunstein, 2009), we hypothesize that people will view seeking news from diverse sources and viewpoints as more important on average than information-seeking values that do not involve diversity-seeking (Hypothesis 1 [H1]).

We further examine people's information-seeking traits (i.e., the behaviors they report engaging in on a regular basis). Based on the literature concerning people's imbalanced information diets through processes such as selective exposure (Festinger, 1964; Iyengar & Hahn, 2009; Klapper, 1960; Knobloch-Westerwick & Kleinman, 2012; Stroud, 2011) and motivated reasoning (Lodge & Taber, 2005; Redlawsk, 2002; Westen et al., 2006), we expect that people will report engaging in diversity-seeking behaviors less frequently than other information-seeking traits, at least relative to the importance of corresponding values (H2). Hence, in contrast to diversity-seeking values, which we expect will generally be more important than other values, we hypothesize that people will report engaging in diversity-seeking at rates that are similar to or even slightly below those of other traits.

We then test whether a gap exists between information-seeking values and traits. We expect only moderate correlations between these items, in line with the notion that people are not fully enacting their ideals. Hence, the importance that people attribute to information-seeking values will be moderately correlated with their information-seeking traits (H3a).[6] And this correspondence may well be lower for diversity-seeking values than for values that do not involve diversity-seeking (H3b).

To explain the diversity deficit—the gap between the diversity values championed by scholars and ordinary citizens' information diets—we expect that individuals will fall into each of four key groups we define in terms of diversity-seeking values and traits. As scholars have presumed that citizens hold diversity-seeking values, evidence that individuals fall into two of these categories will be particularly notable; this is because they lead to substantively different interventions to the extent that we hold diversity-seeking as a societal norm. These are the proportion of individuals who neither value nor seek diversity (Research Question 1a [RQ1a]) and the proportion of individuals who report that they do not seek diversity even though they think diversity-seeking is important (RQ1b).

Finally, we consider how both valuing and seeking diverse information relate to attributes of democratic citizenship. Much of the prior literature stressing the importance of seeking diverse information regards diversity-seeking traits as important for becoming politically aware and participating effectively (Mutz, 2006; Napoli, 1999). These scholars presume that seeking diversity leads people to become better citizens. In line with these theories, we expect that diversity-seeking traits should be positively related to political interest (H4a), political knowledge (H4b), and voting (H4c). Similarly, scholarship on values in related domains has noted that values are often closely associated with good citizenship (Caprara et al., 2006), and there is reason to think that people who value diversity may be more receptive to countervailing information regardless of their information-seeking traits. It is also possible that, by virtue of their good citizenship, some individuals come to value diversity. Hence, we also hypothesize that diversity-seeking values will be positively related to political interest

(H5a), political knowledge (H5b), and voting (H5c). The robustness of H4 and H5 in a model that controls for both values and traits may yield insight into whether diversity-seeking leads to good citizenship or is instead simply something that good citizens value. Hence, we regard this as an open question (RQ2).

Method

Data

The current study presents data from a four-wave panel survey with Americans conducted between August and November of 2014. A total of 61,865 Americans who were part of the ClearVoice online survey panel were invited by email to complete a series of surveys conducted on the Qualtrics platform; the first 3,729 individuals to respond to the initial survey were considered eligible for the study.[7] Respondents for each wave were drawn from among those who had completed earlier waves. Data for the current study are limited to the 2,450 individuals who completed both the first and second waves of data collection, when the information-seeking value and trait measures were assessed (CUMMRR1 = 4.0%; Callegaro & DiSogra, 2008). Among these individuals, 1,740 completed Wave 3 and 864 completed Wave 4.[8] Data for the first wave were collected between August 29 and September 8, 2014; Wave 2 was collected between September 26 and October 2, 2014; Wave 3 was collected between October 28 and November 3, 2014; and Wave 4 was collected between November 14 and November 19, 2014. Data for the current study were not weighted to the population as prior work (Pasek, 2015; Yeager et al., 2011) has found that demographic weighting of nonprobability samples provides little discernable benefit.

Information Measures

Information-seeking values. In order to identify the information-seeking values that respondents hold, respondents in Wave 2 were asked to rate the importance of 17 information-seeking goals (shown in Table 1). These included that "people should get news from highly trusted sources" and that "people should get news from multiple viewpoints."[9] Ten of these goals related to news *sources* and seven related to *viewpoints*. Measures were designed to tap ways that prior scholarship has conceptualized media diversity (C. E. Baker, 2008; Einstein, 2004; Napoli, 1999) as well as insights from five focus group sessions with 48 student participants on their information-gathering habits and goals. For each goal, respondents were asked, "Please rate the statements below in terms of importance. How important do you think it is for people to get *[ITEM]*." Respondents could then rate each item as "not at all important," "a little important," "somewhat important," "very important," or "extremely important" (Coding: "not at all important" = 0, "a little important" = .25, "somewhat important" = .5, "very important" = .75, "extremely important" = 1). No "don't know" option was provided, and no more than five respondents skipped any given question. Value ratings for all individual items can be found in Table 1, column 1.

Table 1. Information-Seeking Values and Traits.

	Value		Trait		Value-trait correlation		Missing *N*	
Item	*M* (*SD*)	Rank	*M* (*SD*)	Rank	*r*	Rank	Value	Trait
News from highly trusted sources	.77 (.24)	1	.66 (.24)	1	.52	9	2	2
News from multiple viewpoints	**.73 (.25)**	**2**	**.62 (.23)**	**2**	**.52**	**7**	**2**	**1**
News from multiple sources	**.72 (.25)**	**3**	**.61 (.24)**	**3**	**.54**	**5**	**2**	**2**
News that balances information from every possible point of view	**.72 (.25)**	**4**	**.58 (.24)**	**6**	**.47**	**13**	**3**	**1**
News from sources that just present the facts, without opinions	.71 (.27)	5	.57 (.25)	8	.42	17	3	1
News that reflects the diverse viewpoints within our society	**.68 (.26)**	**6**	**.57 (.24)**	**9**	**.51**	**10**	**3**	**2**
News from both liberal and conservative viewpoints	**.67 (.27)**	**7**	**.55 (.24)**	**11**	**.49**	**12**	**3**	**2**
News from sources that put news in context	.64 (.26)	8	.58 (.24)	7	.49	11	3	2
News from sources that are owned by different owners	**.60 (.28)**	**9**	**.55 (.25)**	**12**	**.54**	**4**	**3**	**2**
News that pits different viewpoints against one another	**.59 (.29)**	**10**	**.53 (.25)**	**13**	**.55**	**3**	**3**	**1**
News from mainstream sources	.56 (.27)	11	.60 (.25)	5	.53	6	3	1
News from sources that are familiar and comfortable	.55 (.27)	12	.61 (.24)	4	.42	16	4	1
News from viewpoints that you disagree with	.51 (.28)	13	.49 (.21)	15	.45	14	4	2
News from lesser known sources	.49 (.27)	14	.45 (.25)	17	.52	8	4	2
News from conservative sources	.48 (.30)	15	.49 (.26)	14	.57	1	4	1
News from viewpoints that you agree with	.48 (.29)	16	.56 (.22)	10	.45	15	5	1
News from liberal sources	.44 (.31)	17	.47 (.27)	16	.56	2	5	1
Average	.61	9.0	.56	9.0	.50	9.0		
Average Diversity-Related	.67	5.9	.57	8.0	.52	7.7		
Average Not Diversity-Related	.56	11.2	.55	9.7	.49	9.9		

Note. Bolded measures are diversity-related.

Diversity-seeking values. To measure the degree to which each respondent valued diversity-seeking, value ratings of seven information-seeking items that were diversity-related were averaged together. These measures are bolded in Table 1 ($M = .67$, $SD = .21$, $\alpha = .89$).[10]

Information-seeking traits. To measure people's information-seeking traits, respondents in Wave 2 were asked to rate the frequency with which they engaged in the same 17 information-seeking patterns as in the value questions. Respondents were asked, "When you seek news, how often do you get *[ITEM]*?" Response options were "never," "rarely," "sometimes," "most of the time," and "always" (Coding: "never" = 0, "rarely" = .25, "sometimes" = .5, "most of the time" = .75, "always" = 1). Trait ratings for all individual items can be found in Table 1, column 2.

Diversity-seeking traits. To measure the degree to which each respondent engaged in diversity-seeking, trait ratings of seven information-seeking habits that were diversity-related were averaged together. These measures are bolded in Table 1 ($M = .57$, $SD = .20$, $\alpha = .91$).

Criterion Variables

Political interest. A randomly sampled half of respondents in Wave 2 and all remaining respondents who had not received this measure in Wave 3 were asked, "How interested would you say you have been in the political campaigns so far this year?" Response options were "not at all interested," "a little interested," "somewhat interested," "very interested," and "extremely interested." This measure was treated as ordinal with "extremely interested" as the highest category. When predicting this measure, a dummy variable was included to indicate whether the respondent answered the question in Wave 2 or Wave 3.

Political knowledge. In each of the four waves, a randomly sampled half of the respondents were asked to answer a set of 11 questions about whether particular government indicators had gone up or down over time.[11] Respondents were asked, "In general, compared to when Mr. Obama first became President in January of 2009, do you think that *[ITEM]* has gone up or down?" These items included "the proportion of Americans who have health insurance," "the average price of gas," and "the unemployment rate" among other measures (full set shown in Table A1 of Online Appendix A). No "don't know" option was provided (see Mondak & Davis, 2001). We calculated the proportion of questions that each respondent answered correctly, with 0 reflecting a respondent who got all answers wrong and 1 representing a respondent who correctly answered all 11 questions ($M = .65$, $SD = .16$).[12]

Voting. Respondents in Wave 4 were asked, In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, or they just didn't have time. How about you—did you vote in the election held on November 4, 2014?

Response options were, "Yes, definitely voted," "No, did not vote," and "Not sure." Respondents who reported voting were coded 1 and all others were coded 0.

Control Variables

A variety of control variables were included in all regressions. These included gender, age, race, education, marital status, income, and party identification. Full descriptions and question wordings for these variables are provided in Online Appendix B.

Analyses

For H1 and H2, *t*-tests were used to compare the average ratings of diversity-seeking values/traits with other measured values/traits that were not diversity-related. Evidence that diversity-seeking values had higher average ratings than non-diversity-seeking values would support H1, whereas a smaller gap between diversity-seeking traits and non-diversity-seeking traits would support H2. H3 was tested by correlating the ratings for values with the ratings for corresponding traits across all individuals. Evidence that the ratings of information-seeking values were correlated between .30 and .70 with information-seeking traits would support H3a. Evidence that these correlations for diversity-seeking measures were lower than for diversity-seeking traits would support H3b, and were tested with a *t*-test.

To determine the relative distributions of diversity-seeking values and traits (RQ1), we defined individuals who scored higher than a .5 on the diversity-seeking value measure as holding these values (equivalent to answering all questions as "somewhat important") and those scoring above .5 on the diversity-seeking trait measure were regarded as enacting diversity-seeking (equivalent to answering all questions as "sometimes"). In this manner, we were able to classify individuals as "actualizers" (high values, high traits), "aspirational" (high values, low traits), "alternatively motivated" (low values, high traits), or "apathetic" (low values, low traits). We calculated the proportions of respondents classified as apathetic (RQ1a) and aspirational (RQ1b).

We used regressions to test H4 and H5. We regressed measures of political interest, political knowledge, and self-reported voting onto the diversity-seeking scales as well as a number of demographic and political factors we wished to control. Ordinal logistic regressions predicted political interest with diversity-seeking traits (H4a), values (H5a), and both values and traits (RQ2). Ordinary least squares regressions were used to predict political knowledge with diversity-seeking traits (H4b), values (H5b), and both values and traits (RQ2). And logistic regressions were conducted to predict voting in 2014 as a function of diversity-seeking traits (H4c), values (H5c), and both values and traits (RQ2).

Results

Information-Seeking Values

In general, respondents thought it was important to get news from diverse sources and viewpoints. Among the 17 information-seeking items considered, the seven measures tapping diversity-seeking were all rated as among the top 10 values (Table 1, column

Table 2. Frequency of Engaging in Diversity-Seeking Traits by Rating of Diversity-Seeking Value.

	Value rating					
Trait rating	Not at all important	A little important	Somewhat important	Very important	Extremely important	Average %
Never (%)	49.3	10.3	3.9	1.9	2.2	5.3
Rarely (%)	25.7	30.6	13.0	6.8	4.2	10.6
Sometimes (%)	19.9	48.1	67.0	43.7	26.3	45.2
Most of the time (%)	3.9	9.3	14.2	41.6	36.9	28.1
Always (%)	1.2	1.8	1.9	6.0	30.5	10.8
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N responses	767	1,296	5,069	5,472	4,551	17,155
% of all responses	4.5	7.6	29.5	31.9	26.5	100.0

Note. Each respondent-item combination is a separate unit of analysis for this table.

1). In total, diversity-seeking measures were rated as extremely important 26.5% of the time, very important 31.9% of the time, and somewhat important 29.5% of the time (Table 2). A mere 4.5% of evaluations regarded diversity-seeking items as not at all important and 7.6% saw them as a little important. In contrast, only 17.0% of the values that did not involve diversity-seeking were rated as extremely important and fully 23.8% were rated as either not at all important or only a little important.

Overall, diversity-seeking measures were viewed as significantly more important than other information-seeking goals (H1). The average importance attributed to diversity-seeking goals was .67, higher than the .56 average among the non-diversity-related measures ($t = 19.6$, $p < .001$). The average diversity-seeking value was ranked 6th out of the 17 values measured whereas the average non-diversity-related value was ranked 11th (Table 1, column 2).[13] Hence, people appeared to value seeking news from diverse sources and viewpoints more than they valued other information-seeking behaviors.

Information-Seeking Traits

In line with scholars' concerns, it appears that people did not seek diverse news sources and viewpoints as often as their beliefs about these ideals would suggest. When asked the frequency with which they sought news in line with each of the 17 goals, only four of the seven diversity-related measures cracked the top 10 (Table 1, column 2). In particular, respondents frequently sought familiar sources and mainstream sources even though these were not highly valued. Overall, respondents reported always engaging in diversity-seeking for 10.8% of the questions, and engaging in diversity-seeking most of the time for an additional 28.1% of the measures (Table 2). Respondents always engaged with 9.7% of non-diversity-seeking traits and engaged with an additional 26.2% most of the time.

The difference between diversity-related goals and other objectives in information-seeking behaviors was still significant, but it was much smaller than the corresponding difference for values (H2). The average frequency of engaging in diversity-seeking goals was .57, only slightly higher than the .55 average among the non-diversity-related measures ($t = 4.2$, $p < .001$). The average diversity-seeking trait was ranked 8th out of the 17 traits measured, whereas the average non-diversity-related trait was ranked 10th (Table 1, column 2). Hence, people appeared to seek news from diverse sources and viewpoints at only slightly greater rates than they sought news in line with other ideals.

Comparing Information-Seeking Values and Traits

Looking across values and traits of all 17 information-seeking patterns, there was some discrepancy between the informational attributes respondents viewed as important and those respondents actually sought. Most diversity-seeking patterns—five out of seven—were ranked higher on values than traits, meaning that respondents saw themselves as less effective at enacting their diversity-seeking ideals than goals that were not diversity-related. The other two diversity-seeking items—seeking multiple viewpoints and multiple sources—were ranked identically. Compared with the equivalent values, respondents were relatively less likely to report that they sought balanced viewpoints, diverse viewpoints, both liberal and conservative viewpoints, sources with different owners, and conflicting viewpoints. Although respondents thought it was not particularly important to get news from mainstream sources, or those that are familiar and comfortable (ranked 11th and 12th on values respectively; Table 1), they nonetheless fairly frequently engaged in information-seeking of these types (ranked 5th and 4th on traits). Similarly, although respondents ascribed little importance to seeking news from viewpoints that people agree with (ranked 16th in terms of value), respondents reported that they fairly frequently engaged in this sort of information-seeking (ranked 10th in terms of trait). These distinctions between the most prominent values and traits suggest that many individuals are not living up to their ideals.

Value-Trait Correspondence

In general, holding particular information-seeking values was only moderately associated with holding the corresponding traits (H3a). Across measures, individuals' ratings of values and traits correlated at between .42 and .57 and averaged .50 (Table 1, column 3). This implies that around one-quarter of a person's information-seeking behavior was accounted for by his or her information-seeking values, though some of this correspondence was likely spurious to factors that influenced both values and traits. Values and traits were most synchronous for items measuring whether people should and respondents themselves did seek information from partisan news sources. Values and traits were most dissonant on whether people should and respondents themselves did seek information from sources reporting just the facts.

There were no substantive differences in value-trait correspondence between items tapping diversity-seeking and those tapping other constructs (H3b). Correlations for the diversity-related items averaged .52, whereas the correlations for other items averaged .49 (Table 1). Differences between these values were not statistically significant ($t = 1.09$, $p = .30$). Hence, it does not appear that individuals are uniquely incapable of living up to their values in this particular arena.

Typologizing Diversity-Seeking Values and Traits

To test the extent to which individuals' diversity-seeking values corresponded with their diversity-seeking traits, we plotted the average ratings for each of these two types of measures (Figure 1). We then classified individuals into four categories: actualizers (high values, high traits), aspirational (high values, low traits), alternatively motivated (low values, high traits), and apathetic (low values, low traits).

Interestingly, around half of our respondents ascribed importance to diversity-seeking and reported seeking diversity in practice (Figure 1). The majority, 75.9%, of respondents reported an average rating above "somewhat important" for the diversity-seeking values measures, as compared with only 24.1% who rated diversity-seeking values as "somewhat important" or lower on average. Very few of the individuals who did not think that seeking diversity was important sought it anyway; only 4.4% of respondents were *alternatively motivated* by this classification. Indeed, if a respondent did not value diversity, one could almost invariably conclude that that respondent was *apathetic* (19.7% of all respondents, 82.2% of those who did not value diversity-seeking; RQ1a). When respondents reported that a diversity-seeking value was "not at all important," they had a 5.1% chance of reporting that they engaged in the activity most of the time or always and a 49.3% chance of reporting that they never engaged in the activity (Table 2). Hence, respondents were sometimes apathetic, but very few appear to have had alternative motivations for seeking diversity.In contrast, placing considerable value on diversity-seeking was no guarantee that respondents would actually engage in diversity-seeking behaviors. Overall, the correlation between the means of all diversity-seeking values and the means of all diversity-seeking traits was .63 ($p < .001$), indicating that these measures often trended together, but were not always copresent. Although the majority of individuals we interviewed were *actualizers* (55.0% of all respondents), 20.9% of respondents reported high values without correspondingly high traits. This meant that more than one-quarter of those who valued diversity could be classified as *aspirational* (RQ1b). Although individuals who thought that any particular diversity-seeking activity was extremely important were the most likely to report that they did so frequently, only 30.5% of respondents said they "always" did them (Table 2).

Diverse Information-Seeking and Democratic Citizenship

To understand how diversity-seeking values and traits relate to indicators of democratic citizenship, we regressed measures of political interest, political knowledge, and

self-reported voting onto the diversity-seeking scales. These regressions were conducted using both the average rating assigned to diversity-seeking measures (Table 3) as well as the average rank ordering of the diversity-seeking measures relative to the other information-seeking metrics rated by each individual (Online Appendix D). Results from these two approaches told very similar stories, leading us to only present the ratings in the text.

When values were not controlled, diversity-seeking traits were related to all three indicators of democratic citizenship measured. Individuals who reported that they sought diversity were considerably more likely to report that they were interested in the political campaigns prior to the election ($b = 4.78$, $SE = .25$, $p < .001$; Table 3, column 1; H4a), tended to perform better on the knowledge measure ($b = .06$, $SE = .02$, $p = .001$; column 4; H4b), and were more likely to report that they had voted after the election ($b = 2.14$, $SE = .46$, $p < .001$; column 7; H4c). Hence, in line with expectations, seeking diversity does appear to be a feature of the same citizens who manifest good citizenship in other arenas.

When traits were not controlled, diversity-seeking values were also associated with higher levels of all three indicators of democratic citizenship. Individuals who held diversity-seeking values were more likely to report that they were interested in the political campaigns ($b = 2.77$, $SE = .22$, $p < .001$; Table 3, column 2; H5a), demonstrated greater knowledge about government indicators ($b = .09$, $SE = .02$, $p < .001$; H5b), and were more likely to vote ($b = 2.27$, $SE = .46$, $p < .001$; H5c). Believing that diversity-seeking is important thus also appears to relate to good citizenship measures.

Inserting values and traits into the models simultaneously reveals that diversity-seeking values and traits appear to account for good citizenship in slightly different ways. Diversity-seeking values were no longer significant predictors of political interest when traits were controlled ($b = .33$, $SE = .27$, $p = .22$), suggesting that this association was only present for those who actualized their values. In contrast, both aspirational and actualizing citizens appear to have been equally knowledgeable about government indicators; values significantly predicted political knowledge ($b = .09$, $SE = .02$, $p < .001$), whereas traits were not uniquely predictive ($b = .001$, $SE = .02$, $p = .98$). Finally, values ($b = 1.52$, $SE = .61$, $p = .01$) and traits to a marginal degree ($b = 1.12$, $SE = .62$, $p = .07$) appear to have predicted which respondents would vote in the 2014 elections. Thus, both aspects of diversity-seeking appear to be uniquely related to good citizenship measures (RQ2).

Discussion

Scholars (Mutz, 2006; Napoli, 1999; Prior, 2007; Stroud, 2006), public intellectuals (Pariser, 2011; Sunstein, 2009), and politicians (Obama, 2010) have long asserted that diverse information-seeking is an important democratic goal and that a diversity deficit exists whereby individuals are failing to seek diverse information in practice. To date, however, researchers have not examined whether ordinary citizens also regard diversity-seeking as important. This article presents evidence that the diversity deficit

Table 3. Predicting Democratic Citizenship Indicators With Diversity-Seeking Traits and Values.

	Predicting interest (ordinal logit)						Predicting knowledge (OLS)						Predicting voting in 2014 (Binary Logistic)					
	Traits		Values		Both		Traits		Values		Both		Traits		Values		Both	
	Coefficient	*SE*	Coefficient	*SE*	Coefficient	*SE*	Coefficient	*SE*	Coefficient	*SE*	Coefficient	*SE*	Coefficient	*SE*	Coefficient	*SE*	Coefficient	*SE*
Diversity-seeking traits	4.78***	.25			4.56***	.30	.06**	.02			.00	.02	2.14***	.46			1.12†	.62
Diversity-seeking values			2.77***	.22	.33	.27			.09***	.02	.09***	.02			2.27***	.46	1.52*	.61
Female	−.45***	.09	−.51***	.09	−.45***	.09	-.03***	.01	-.04***	.01	-.04***	.01	−.68***	.19	−.73***	.19	−.72***	.19
Age	.02***	.00	.02***	.00	.02***	.00	.001***	.00	.001***	.00	.001***	.00	.03***	.01	.03***	.01	.03***	.01
Race—Black, Non-Hispanic	.36*	.18	.45*	.18	.36*	.18	−.02	.01	−.02	.01	−.02	.01	1.00*	.50	1.10*	.51	1.08*	.51
Race—Other/Multiple, Non-Hispanic	.05	.17	.08	.17	.04	.17	−.01	.01	−.01	.01	−.01	.01	−1.22***	.34	−1.17***	.35	−1.19***	.35
Race—Hispanic	.25	.18	.45*	.18	.26	.18	−.03†	.01	−.02†	.01	−.02†	.01	.06	.37	.09	.37	.06	.37
High school grad	.27	.37	.32	.36	.26	.37	.00	.03	.00	.03	.00	.03	.92	.61	.99	.61	.96	.61
Some college	.65†	.37	.69†	.36	.63†	.37	.02	.03	.02	.03	.02	.02	1.28*	.60	1.37*	.59	1.31*	.60
College grad	.83*	.37	.95**	.36	.83*	.37	.03	.03	.03	.03	.03	.03	1.82**	.62	1.97**	.62	1.91**	.62
Graduate training	.93*	.38	.95*	.37	.92*	.38	.02	.03	.02	.03	.25	.03	1.90**	.66	2.03**	.66	1.97**	.66
Married	.13	.09	.09	.09	.13	.09	-.01	.01	-.01	.01	-.01	.01	.17	.20	.20	.20	.19	.21
Income	.25	.20	.46*	.19	.25	.20	.08***	.02	.08***	.02	.08***	.01	.94*	.40	.91*	.40	.88*	.40
Democrat	.21*	.10	.22*	.10	.21*	.10	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.83***	.21	.83***	.21	.83***	.21
Republican	.38***	.11	.34**	.10	.38***	.11	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	1.01***	.24	1.07***	.24	1.05***	.25
Interest measured in Wave 3	.13	.09	.18*	.09	.13	.09												
Intercept							.50***	.03	.48***	.03	.48***	.03	−3.68***	.75	−3.95***	.76	−4.01***	.76
Cutpoints:																		
Not at all interested| A little interested	2.92***	.43	2.30***	.42	2.99***	.43												
A little interested| Somewhat interested	4.25***	.43	3.54***	.42	4.32***	.44												
Somewhat interested| Very interested	5.70***	.44	4.88***	.43	5.77***	.45												
Very interested|Extremely interested	7.12***	.45	6.20***	.43	7.19***	.45												
N	1,950		1,950		1,950		2,101		2,101		2,101		863		863		863	
R^2							.06		.07		.07							
McFadden's Pseudo R^2	.10		.06		.10								.17		.18		.18	

†$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

identified by prior researchers is explained in part by individuals who lack diversity-seeking values (i.e., they do not share in the view that seeking diversity is important) and in part by individuals who hold diversity-seeking values, but fail to live up to them. Specifically, we find that individuals very rarely seek diversity if they do not value it, whereas some individuals who value diversity do not seek it in practice. Furthermore, whether individuals value diversity is often more relevant to understanding democratic citizenship than whether they engage in diversity-seeking. Hence, these results imply that democratic engagement may well depend on valuing diverse information as much as on the act of finding that information.

The results presented here suggest that diversity-seeking is a widely accepted value, with a large majority of respondents according high importance to the search for diverse information (H1). Holding these values is critical, as few individuals who say that diversity-seeking is unimportant end up seeking diverse information. Nonetheless, when compared against other information-seeking values, norms of diversity-seeking translate rather poorly into practice (H2). This may be in part because individuals find it difficult to seek diverse information and in part because individuals' media-seeking habits fail to include diversity (LaRose, 2010). The diversity deficit thus appears to stem from both individuals who do not value diversity-seeking and those who value it, but fail to actualize their values.

Overwhelmingly, respondents seem to fall into three camps when it comes to their diversity-seeking values and traits (RQ1). The plurality of *actualizers* share scholars' values and report living up to those values in practice. A sizable group of *aspirational* citizens value diversity-seeking, but report that they do not achieve these values in practice.[14] And a moderate number of *apathetic* individuals do not seek diversity or think that doing so is important. Very few individuals appear *alternatively motivated*. This pattern ensures that values and traits are moderately correlated but far from identical (H3).

Finally, the unique relevance of both valuing and engaging in diversity-seeking can be seen in the correspondence that each measure has with indicators of good democratic citizenship. Seeking diversity was uniquely associated with political interest and voting, whereas valuing diversity was related to political knowledge and voting (H4, H5, RQ2). This implies that the processes linking diversity-seeking values with democratic citizenship are different from those that yield correspondence between traits and markers of good citizenship.

A Disconnect Between Values and Traits

The fact that citizens' values do not always match their traits is unsurprising given a vast literature in social psychology (Caprara et al., 2006; Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, & Knafo, 2002). But it has important implications for addressing the diversity deficit. For example, proponents of selective exposure assert that individuals choose to engage with news media that reflect their preexisting beliefs (Dilliplane, 2011; Iyengar & Hahn, 2009; Knobloch-Westerwick & Kleinman, 2012; Stroud, 2006, 2011); this process, however, may well be an unconscious one (Garrett et al., 2013). To the extent

that selective exposure is not premeditated, some individuals who encounter only viewpoint-confirming sources may still assert that diversity-seeking is valuable. This avails a relatively simple solution: If we could help citizens recognize and consider their information-seeking habits, they might be able to improve their information diets or discount the imbalance of the information they acquire (see, for example, Munson et al., 2013). In contrast, for individuals who do not share diversity-seeking values, such an intervention is pointless.

To the extent that individuals do not value diverse information, interventions to improve diversity-seeking should stress the importance of this attribute. For one, in both the current data and in other arenas it appears that values are an important prerequisite for traits (Caprara et al., 2006; Schwartz, 1996). Attempts to coerce individuals to engage in diversity-seeking are only likely to bear fruit once the value has been established. For another, our evidence suggests that holding diversity-seeking values is associated with markers of good citizenship even irrespective of one's traits. Individuals' diversity-seeking values may reveal more about their receptivity to counter-attitudinal information than their traits. Indeed, in other domains, values predict variables that entail cognitively sophisticated, thoughtful processes more powerfully than traits (Roccas et al., 2002). As gaining political knowledge often involves such processes, values may be more significant here than they are for more spontaneous or affective processes where traits may have more predictive power.

Also, the primacy of values over traits in predicting voting is in accordance with Caprara et al. (2006) where political actions and choices are argued to involve thoughtful consideration of alternatives, and are thus more critically guided by values, than traits.[15] This may shed light on one of the dilemmas political communication literature faces—the mixed effect of exposure to diverse viewpoints on political participation. For example, voting has been negatively associated with cross-cutting exposure (Mutz, 2002, 2006) whereas political participation was positively related to cross-cutting discussion among people with high strong-tie homogeneity (Lee, Kwak, & Campbell, 2015). The primacy of values over traits in predicting voting may be a product of good citizens feeling like they should hold diversity-seeking values. Hence, it may not be valuing diversity that leads people to vote, but being a good citizen that leads people to both vote and to report that they value seeking diverse information.

There are a few possible explanations for our finding that values are uniquely related to citizenship indicators even when traits were controlled. One possibility is that the presence of diversity-seeking values may lead people to be more open to information from sources they disagree with. From this line of logic, it is not the frequency with which information is encountered, but the openness to that information that has the positive effect (e.g., Kim & Kwak, 2014). Another alternative is that individuals who are better citizens are more likely to have internalized the normative nature of diversity-seeking. Here, then, the causal arrow might travel in the opposite direction, and diversity-seeking values might be a product, rather than a cause, of good citizenship. Most likely, both of these explanations are operating to some degree, though our data do not allow us to disentangle them. Either way, attempts to encourage diversity-seeking values appear unlikely to do harm.

By borrowing the values-traits distinction from Schwartz's (2012) theory of Basic Personal Values, we provide a new toolkit for thinking about the long-standing normative claim that citizens should seek information from diverse media and that this will lead to good citizenship. Our results point to an important and heretofore unconsidered process that underlies what we term the *diversity deficit*. Specifically, individuals need to internalize the view that seeking diverse information is important before they engage in diverse exposure. And researchers need to do more to determine whether diverse exposure is actually a causal precursor to good citizenship instead of simply something good citizens do. A clearer understanding of the processes involved is critical both for those who hope to encourage diverse information-seeking and for those who hope to foster better democratic citizenship.

Limitations and Future Directions

This article is limited in a few major aspects. First, the 17 information-seeking items used in this article to tap people's informational ideals are neither exhaustive or mutually exclusive. Although the items were carefully constructed based on prior scholarship on media diversity (C. E. Baker, 2008; Einstein, 2004; Napoli, 1999) and insights provided by focus group sessions on informational habits and goals, people likely also value and pursue additional information-seeking goals. This has two key implications for our results: First, evidence that diversity-seeking values are more important than non-diversity-seeking values could in part be an artifact of the measures chosen (see, for example, Lupia, 2006). Second, we are not able to claim that the set of information-seeking values we consider represent the full set of relevant value-tradeoffs in this domain.[16] Evidence that our results are largely similar when using both rating measures and rank order measures (in Online Appendices C and D) suggests that the results presented are likely robust to these concerns. But a further examination of additional relevant values to measure as well as the structural interrelations between measures would be a valuable subject for future research (see Online Appendix E for correlations among the value and trait measures).

One other interesting finding that merits consideration is that there were differences between values completely unrelated to diversity (e.g., seeking sources, presenting just facts) and those that endorsed unidirectional exposure (e.g., seeking liberal sources). As with diversity-related measures, values that were completely unrelated to diversity were reported as traits with less relative frequency than they were endorsed as values. In contrast, unidirectional measures were often reported as traits with more relative frequency than they were endorsed as values. Because we did not have an a priori hypothesis about these differences in measures, we do not interpret them here. Nonetheless, future research should unpack these three different types of information-seeking goals to better understand how well they are actualized and how they relate to democratic citizenship.

A second major limitation stems from the different scales used for our measures of information-seeking values and traits were measured; this means that the absolute levels and means of these scales are not directly comparable. Hence, it is not

technically appropriate to make conclusions about whether any given value is more or less prevalent than its corresponding trait. Instead, we could only make conclusions about how the *relative* prevalence of the values related to the extent to which people reported engaging in the relevant activities. Thus, our conclusions should be interpreted as evidence that the relative frequency of engagement in diversity-seeking activities, when compared with other information-seeking activities, was lower than the relative importance accorded to diversity-seeking values.

Third, although the sample was fairly diverse in terms of demographics (see Online Appendix B), it was not representative of the American population. Our conclusions give insight into the information-seeking patterns of a broad group of people, but we cannot be sure that the prevalence of values and traits we identified would be similarly distributed in the population as a whole. Individuals in opt-in online samples may well be more likely to hold diversity-seeking values and traits (cf. R. Baker et al., 2010). Still, we believe that the discrepancies that emerged between diversity-seeking values and traits among this study's limited sample are likely illustrative. Future research should improve on this article's information-seeking items using a probability sample to provide a clearer picture of the diversity deficit and how it relates to American's democratic citizenship.

Fourth, our measure of political knowledge was limited by its exploratory nature. This may explain the relatively low variance accounted for when predicting political knowledge (Table 3). In future research, further examining this subject may benefit from using a more established index of political knowledge, which may yield greater predictive power.

Finally, we recognize that our measures of values and traits are inherently limited by the self-reported nature of the methods used to assess them. This could have two problematic implications. First, individuals may be motivated to ensure that their answers to value and trait questions are consistent.[17] If this were the case, the current study might be understating the gap between values and traits in the sample; hence, our results may rather be conservative. Second, self-reported measures of media uses are known to be somewhat inaccurate (Prior, 2009). Also, perceptions of liberal and conservative outlets might not be consistent across respondents.[18] Although it is difficult to find an approach that could ensure that value reports are accurate, observational studies would be necessary to ensure that reports of traits are accurate. For example, Nielson's digital monitoring of people's TV and web use might prove useful for improving measures of diverse media use in future research (Prior, 2013). Nonetheless, we believe that the current results are likely to be robust, because mean biases at the individual level would lead to a failure to replicate using the rank-ordered measures.

Conclusion

This article addresses an important gap that has emerged in prior scholarship, between diversity values stressed by scholars (Mutz, 2006; Napoli, 1999; Prior, 2007; Stroud, 2006, 2011), public intellectuals, and politicians, and people's imbalanced information diets (cf. Iyengar & Hahn, 2009; Klapper, 1960; Knobloch-Westerwick & Kleinman,

2012; Stroud, 2006, 2011). Extending previous studies which considered both values and traits in predicting citizenship (Caprara et al., 2006; Roccas et al., 2002), this article finds evidence in line with two explanations for the diversity deficit: That some individuals do not share scholars' diversity values and that some people who think that seeking diverse information and viewpoints is valuable still fail to do so in practice. In contrast to scholars' assumptions that the practice of seeking diversity is key for democratic citizenship, we found that diversity-seeking values and traits were each uniquely related to democratic outcomes. The results indicate that the prevalence of diversity-seeking norms is important for democratic citizenship regardless of whether these norms are actualized. Hence, findings of this article shed light on the importance of stressing diversity-seeking values in interventions and civic education programs, in addition to tools that can help people diversify their information diets (e.g., Munson et al., 2013; Park et al., 2009).

Acknowledgments

The authors thank Stuart Soroka, Russ Neuman, and Nojin Kwak for their comments on earlier versions of this project.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The authors disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: This work was partially supported by a grant from the Marsh fund at the University of Michigan.

Notes

1. Though it is difficult to find normative claims that exposure to diverse viewpoints is not positively related to good democratic citizenship, some empirical evidence demonstrated that diverse exposure was not universally related to good citizenship. For example, exposure to cross-cutting views was negatively related to some forms of political participation (Mutz, 2002, 2006).
2. We use diversity-seeking as a parsimonious way to describe seeking information from diverse sources and viewpoints. This should not be confused with issues of ethnic and racial diversity.
3. The notion that individuals' traits and behaviors will typically follow their norms and values has been illustrated across a number of major psychological theories. The Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB; Ajzen, 1991), for instance, makes an overarching assumption that values (or *subjective norms* in TPB) that people hold will be a directive to their behaviors. TPB's *perceived behavioral control* may also prove useful in explicating the reasons why people fail to enact their diversity values.
4. On a more technical level, Ajzen (1987) defines traits as "relatively enduring dispositions that exert pervasive influence on a broad range of behaviors" (p. 1). These differ from

behaviors in that they are general tendencies to behave in particular ways across a variety of situations. The questions that we use in this study attempt to tap generalized or regular information-seeking behaviors, leading us to consider them as likely traits. Notably, we do not have sufficient information about the contexts within which individuals are seeking information to know how enduring these traits are. We nonetheless prefer this term in the current context because it allows us to compare the correspondence of these information-seeking habits with values, as values are widely theorized as the principal influence on traits (see, for example, Fischer & Boer, 2015). Indeed, Ajzen (1987, p. 12) notes that behaviors can serve as indicators of traits if they "are clearly part of the trait's universe of content."

5. Although many have criticized the Internet for enabling "filter bubbles," where individuals can avoid conflicting information (Pariser, 2011; Sunstein, 2009), selective exposure appears to be driven by individual-level factors (Bakshy, Messing, & Adamic, 2015). Hence, it is important to consider what aspects of individuals lead them to seek diverse information.
6. We expect to find that values and traits are related but that these relations are not sufficiently strong that they could be considered measures of the same underlying constructs. Hence, we should find correlations below .70, which is a commonly used cutoff for when two measures may be indicators of the same construct (Lance, Butts, & Michels, 2006). We nonetheless expect correlations that are moderate to strong otherwise, in line with the notion that values are supposed to strongly influence traits. Previous research has suggested that correlations above .30 would qualify as moderate and above .50 would qualify as strong (Cohen, 2013). Correlations between .30 and .70 would be seen as confirmations of this particular expectation.
7. An additional unknown number of respondents also accessed the survey on a dashboard page available to ClearVoice respondents. The 3,729 respondents who completed Wave 1 include individuals who responded either to an email or to a dashboard link.
8. Data from a refreshment sample added in Wave 3 were not included in the current analyses. In addition, respondent attrition was built into the study design, with a diminishing number of respondents eligible for each of the four waves. This was introduced through a quota system where a limited number of respondents could complete each of surveys. Once this quota was reached, a small number of individuals who were part way through each wave's survey could complete it, but no new responses were allowed. The quotas, which included respondents from the Wave 3 refreshment sample, were set at 3,667, 2,333, 2,210 (including refreshment sample), and 1,000 (including refreshment respondents) for the four waves, respectively.
9. Seventeen information-seeking patterns were presented in a random order to prevent the possibility of presentation order introducing a bias.
10. Because (1) individuals sometimes reported either consistently high or consistently low importance to values measures, (2) values and traits were measured on different scales, and (3) values aid individuals in making choices (Rokeach, 1973) and thus have often been measured with choice-oriented items (Inglehart, 1990), we have also replicated all analyses using a rank ordering of values measures, where individuals were assigned the average ranking of their diversity-related values and traits. These analyses are shown in Online Appendices C and D.
11. A 12th question about whether "the proportion of Americans who say that things are headed in the right direction" had gone up or down was dropped because the correct answer

to this question was inconclusive. Because only half of the respondents in each wave were asked the political knowledge questions, the measure presented here includes only the first time that each respondent encountered the battery. Among respondents who completed the second survey wave (and were thus eligible for this study), 1,226 answered the knowledge questions in Wave 1, 610 first answered these questions in Wave 2, 208 first answered these questions in Wave 3, and 58 first answered these questions in Wave 4 for a total *N* of 2,102 for this measures; 352 respondents were dropped from analyses using the knowledge questions due to planned missingness introduced through this design.

12. These measures were designed to discount the influence of motivated reasoning as a source of correct answers for information questions. Although gains in political awareness of the sort assessed by these measures are exactly what we might expect from respondents who are open to diverse information, the items themselves were not designed to tap a single latent construct. Instead, because of the way these knowledge questions were asked, they often solicited strongly partisan responses, perhaps because respondents wanted to believe that these key indicators had gone in a direction that justified their beliefs. As shown in Table A1 of Online Appendix A, the measures were largely balanced, which virtually ensured that individuals engaging in "expressive responding" (Bullock, Gerber, Hill, & Huber, 2013) would be prone to demonstrating relatively low knowledge, offering consistently contradictory answers across questions. Due to this feature, traditional reliability testing through methods such as Cronbach's alpha would not be an appropriate measure of construct cohesion ($\alpha = .25$ for those interested). Furthermore, the notion that any set of knowledge measures taps a single construct may itself be misguided (see Lupia, 2006).
13. Among non-diversity-related patterns, there may be an important difference between information-seeking that could potentially be one direction of diversity-seeking (such as seeking liberal sources) and those that are unrelated to diversity (such as seeking sources presenting facts). Among value measures, patterns unrelated to diversity performed more similar to the diversity-seeking value measures than did the unidirectional measures.
14. In analyses using rank orderings, patterns were generally similar, but there appeared to be fewer *actualizers* (39.3% of all respondents, still the group with most respondents) and more *aspirational* citizens (28.4% of all respondents). See Online Appendix D for more information.
15. This primacy of values over traits in predicting political knowledge and voting is even more pronounced in analyses using rank-ordered measures. Please refer to Online Appendix D for more information.
16. Hence, the ipsatization/circumplex approach used to examine basic human values is not technically appropriate here (cf. Caprara et al., 2006; Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004). That approach depends on a zero-sum assumption, where increased importance of one value necessarily implies a relative decrease in the importance of other values. Without confidence in the full range of potential values, such an approach is prone to errors of omission.
17. Due to this, individuals might be biased toward providing answers that would classify them as "actualizers," and thus, attrition might be higher among the types of respondents who would not be classified as "actualizers." Although this possibility might explain the skewed distribution in Figure 1, we found no relations between attrition from Wave 2 (when the diversity-seeking measures were asked) to Wave 3 and either diverse values or traits (Online Appendix G).
18. To validate diversity-seeking measures, respondents' use of both liberal and conservative sources (from a different survey wave) was predicted with diversity-seeking values and traits. Results implied that diversity-seeking traits mediated the relations between diversity values and reports of using both liberal and conservative sources (Online Appendix F).

Supplemental Material

Supplemental material for this article is available online.

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