

**Reading Between the (Party) Lines:
How Political News is Seen and Shared**

by

Sophie Beiying Chou

Submitted to the Program in Media Arts and Sciences,
School of Architecture and Planning
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science in Media Arts and Sciences

at the

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

September 2016

© Massachusetts Institute of Technology 2016. All rights reserved.

Author
Program in Media Arts and Sciences
August 5, 2016

Certified by
Deb Roy
Associate Professor
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by
Pattie Maes
Academic Head, Program in Media Arts and Sciences

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

Reading Between the (Party) Lines: How Political News is Seen and Shared

by

Sophie Beiying Chou

Submitted to the Program in Media Arts and Sciences
on August 5, 2016, in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Science in Media Arts and Sciences

Abstract

This thesis uses mixed methods and datasets to explore how political news is perceived and shared within and across party lines in the context of the 2016 US presidential elections. We begin by examining the impact of political context versus article content on the reader through a crowdsourced study, and follow up with a large scale analysis of story sharing on the social platform Twitter to find cases where popularity transcends political affiliation.

In part one, we look at reader *reactions*. We investigate the question of trust in political news by analyzing the impact of content features (reading level of the article) versus context clues (media brands). We find that reading level has no significant impact on whether or not political news is seen as trustworthy, and that media brand, as well as candidate loyalty, matters above all other aspects in biasing the reader. This assertion holds when *the content itself remains constant*, and the same news story is shown as attributed to different media outlets, resulting in different levels of trust.

In the second part of this thesis, we focus on reader *actions*. In particular, we look at how political news stories from the same time period are shared on the social media platform Twitter. As we found candidate loyalty and media brand perceptions to be significant influences on the reader's opinion of news, we are particularly interested in examining features that cause stories to become popular beyond political boundaries. Extending previous studies relating different emotional responses and virality, we look for text that might trigger an emotional response in the reader. We find that the degree of emotionality in a story as well as the direction of sentiment transcends affiliation and degree of political engagement in sharing behavior.

Together, these two parts hope to form a more complete view of factors affecting and driving readers in an election cycle that is heavily influenced by media coverage, both traditional and new.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

Thesis Supervisor: Deb Roy
Title: Associate Professor

The following people served as readers for this thesis:

Sepandar Kamvar.....
Associate Professor of Media Arts and Sciences
Program in Media Arts and Sciences

Iyad Rahwan
Associate Professor of Media Arts and Sciences
Program in Media Arts and Sciences

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

Acknowledgments

Thank you to my advisor, Prof. Deb Roy, for giving me this opportunity.

Thank you to my readers Prof. Sep Kamvar and Prof. Iyad Rahwan, for your input and time.

Thank you to Prof. Ethan Zuckerman, for volunteering your time, your guidance, and your heart.

Thank you to my colleagues at the Laboratory for Social Machines, who are as thoughtful and caring as they are talented. Special thanks to Martin Saveski, Soroush Vosoughi, and Prashanth Vijayaraghavan for their collaboration and advice over the past two years.

Thank you to my lovely family:

My wonderful parents, for being the love I wish to see in the world;

My sister Cleo Chou, for being my Number One fan.

Thanks as well to Caroline Sonett,

my sister from another mother,

for your great support in every aspect of my life.

A big thank you to Ramesh Sridharan and William Li, for being my first friends and co-authors at MIT. Thank you to Carrie Cai for the laughter and support.

Thank you Nathan Matias, for being so helpful. I'm still trying to figure out where you hide that Time-Turner.

Thank you Heather Pierce, without whom LSM would not function. Thank you Amber Franey as well.

Thank you Linda Peterson and Keira Horowitz, for keeping this crazy place running.

And a thank you to all else who have shaped me indefinitely in the past two years.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

Contents

1	Introduction	11
I	Reading the News	14
2	In Media We ... Trust?	15
2.1	Why Does Media Trust Matter?	16
2.2	How is Media Trust Formed?	17
2.2.1	The Role of the Reader	17
2.2.2	The Role of Media Brands	18
2.2.3	The Role of Language	18
3	Tools for Dissecting Trust	21
3.1	Computing Reading Level	21
3.1.1	Flesch-Kincaid Readability Tests	21
3.1.2	Comparison to Other Reading Tests	22
3.2	Crowdsourcing Science	22
3.2.1	CrowdFlower	23
4	Exploratory Study	25
5	Study	27
5.1	Motivations	27
5.2	Experimental Design	28

5.2.1	Dataset	30
5.2.2	Survey Design	30
5.2.3	Quality Control	31
5.3	Basic Analysis	32
5.3.1	Demographics	32
5.3.2	Location	32
5.3.3	Political Affiliation	33
5.3.4	Trust	34
5.3.5	Fairness	34
6	Findings	37
6.1	Reading Level Effects	37
6.2	Media Brand Effects	38
6.3	Qualitative	38
6.4	Conclusions	39
6.5	Limitations	39
II	Sharing the News	40
7	Taking Media Analysis to Another Dimension of Data	41
7.1	The Social Media Megaphone	42
7.2	Trust, Virality, and Controversy	42
8	Tools for Analysis at Scale	43
8.1	The Electome Project	43
8.2	For Stories	43
8.2.1	Structured Parser	43
8.2.2	Sentiment Analysis	43
8.2.3	Emotional Content	43
8.3	For Tweets	43
8.3.1	Sentiment	43

8.3.2	Followership as a Proxy for Loyalty	43
9	Analysis	45
9.1	Dataset	45
9.2	Connecting Tweets with Stories	45
9.2.1	URL Extraction	45
9.2.2	Mapping Tweets to Stories	45
10	Future Directions	47
10.1	Designing Interventions	47
10.2	De-biasing Twitter Analysis	47
11	Conclusion	49
12	Tables	51
13	Figures	53

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

Chapter 1

Introduction

Does anyone trust the news anymore? Not according to the latest Gallup Poll, which showed that only 4 in 10 Americans believe that mass media does a good job of reporting the news “fully, fairly, and accurately.” It’s a major decline since the poll was first taken in 1999, back when more than half (55%) of Americans believed the news was trustworthy [25].

And the trend has been steadily downward: in short, the majority of Americans have had little to no trust in mass media news coverage since 2007: a discouraging view for a tumultuous time in journalism.

But beyond frustrated readers and reporters, why does distrust in the news matter? For one, media bias—or at the very least, the *belief of* a biased media bias—may have a significant impact on the practice of democracy. A 2006 study from Georgetown University shows that those with more negative attitudes towards the news tend to be more highly influenced by their partisan prior beliefs and less by contemporary issues and messages when voting [18]. This implies that distrust of media plays a large role in the polarization of American politics.

In light of the upcoming 2016 elections, this thesis explores perceptions of media trust

in coverage of the presidential candidates. Claims of media bias and favoritism are especially high-stakes in election years, where trust has been shown to plummet [25]. In this election cycle, cries of bias have been especially loud: Analysis at the New York Times showed that the news media gave Republican candidate Donald Trump a \$1.9 billion advantage in free publicity, an amount 190 times as much as paid advertising [3].

In this thesis, we examine some of the factors that contribute to the perception of media bias. In particular, how does the *content* of a story (reading level and vocabulary) affect the reader versus the *context* (publication and author)?

We funnel the larger question of media bias into one primary dimension: media trust, and examine the role of simple and complex language in influencing the reader’s decision to trust or distrust reporting. In addition, we measure perceptions of fairness and favorability.

Although studies have been conducted to both examine the psychological effect of wording on believability and the impact of media brands and bias, separating and comparing these two factors remains largely unexamined [30, 10]

To test our hypotheses on news trust, we perform a study on the crowdsourcing platform CrowdFlower. We manipulate the source of the story to examine effects of media brands on the reader, and also compare trust and fairness rankings between high and low reading level stories.

From our findings in an experimental setting, we then extrapolate to another dimension of media: the social sphere of Twitter. We look for trends between news stories that result in polar perceptions of trustworthiness and the patterns in which people share them, to help form a comprehensive view of the effects of media trust and distrust on behavior.

Although the general consensus of mistrust is clear, perception of media bias is a complex phenomenon to dissect, as it combines social and psychological effects with

the traits of the story itself. This thesis hopes to shed new light on understanding what motivates readers' trust and distrust of news media, and pave pathways for positive intervention as well as future studies on story reading and sharing.

Part I

Reading the News

Chapter 2

In Media We ... Trust?

Despite the news media ecosystem’s rapid evolution in the past decade, the question of fairness in reporting remains a valued one. Although counterarguments for subjective reporting exist (Glenn Greenwald, most famous for his coverage of whistleblower Edward Snowden’s leaks, said that “All journalism is a form of activism. Every journalistic choice necessarily embraces highly subjective assumptions—cultural, political or nationalistic—and serves the interests of one faction or another”), fair treatment of subjects and sources remain a central tenant to most publications [2].

But an attempt at fairness on the side the reporter is not always perceived in equal effect under the eyes of the reader. Presenting contradictory facts to a reader’s beliefs can even sometimes *strengthen* their oppositions to it, a concept known as “motivated skepticism” [27].

In this section, we examine the impact of distrust in media, and explore the theories behind three main potential sources of media distrust: the characteristics of the reader, the source of the story and its use of language.

2.1 Why Does Media Trust Matter?

The idea that mass media has a large influence on the ramifications of democracy is nothing new. In 1922, political commentator, reporter, and writer Walter Lippman wrote about its central role in shaping public opinion:

Each of us lives and works on a small part of the earth's surface, moves in a small circle, and of these acquaintances knows only a few intimately. Of any public event that has wide effects we see at best only a phase and an aspect. This is as true of the eminent insiders who draft treaties, make laws, and issue orders, as it is of those who have treaties framed for them, laws promulgated to them, orders given at them. Inevitably our opinions cover a bigger space, a longer reach of time, a greater number of things, than we can directly observe. They have, therefore, to be pieced together out of what others have reported and what we can imagine. Yet even the eyewitness does not bring back a naive picture of the scene. [21]

Many of the worries that Lippman had about the effects of poorly disseminated truth have been later confirmed in experimental studies. In short, when faced with a large and mistrusted news environment, we tend to rely on *confirmation bias* when searching for information. This term, first coined in 1988, describes the psychological phenomenon of seeking or analyzing new information in ways that align with one's existing beliefs, expectations or prior hypotheses [23].

Using a Bayesian voting model, a study from Georgetown University in 2005 was able to show that voters with low trust and a high dislike for the news media are significantly more influenced by their existing party identifications in casting ballots than current economic factors [18]. The study attributes increasing polarization in the American political sphere with increasing lack of trust in the news, a serious implication for the highly polarized 2016 presidential elections. Moreover, distrust of media implies a large information loss in the public, whose avoidance of diverse ideas

means a narrowing of information flow [17].

2.2 How is Media Trust Formed?

2.2.1 The Role of the Reader

The perception of media bias is a cornerstone component of distrust in the news. After all, most Americans claim that they want to read news that's unbiased. A survey from Pew Research in 2012 showed that more than two-thirds (68%) of readers want to read political articles with a neutral stance, compared to just a little less than a quarter (23%) of those who want to read those stories that share their point of view [5]. But what exactly does that entail?

It comes as no surprise that our own political stances have a significant effect in our perceptions of bias in the media. On whole, conservative readers tend to view media as more biased than both Democrats and Independents (49% to 32% and 35%, respectively)[5]. Partisans have also been shown to view the news as antagonistic to their beliefs, a phenomenon known as the “hostile media effect”.

The effect, first studied in the 1980s, showed that when faced with the same piece of news media about the Sabra and Shatila massacre in Beirut, pro-Israeli and pro-Palestinian students both claimed the news clip was biased in favor of the other side [28]. It has since been repeated in a variety of contexts to the same effect.

What the story is reporting does not matter so much as the individual's attitude *towards* that issue. In 1988, Albert Gunther found a curvilinear effect between the viewer's polarization towards an issue and their trust in the media to fairly cover it [15]. In doing so, he suggests two models of persuasion to help understand media processing: first, the cognitive response theory, which predicts more portential for attitude change when the reader is highly involved in the content, as they are pro-

cessing information more deeply [12]. Social judgement theory, on the other hand, expects less change in attitude when the reader is highly involved or polarized about a subject, as they will simply reject the new information [26]. These two opposing theories help explain the presence of a curvilinear relationship to exposure to news media and resulting media trust.

2.2.2 The Role of Media Brands

The media, of course, is not just one unified mass, and in an increasingly fragmented ecosystem, the role of brands is a crucial factor in media trust. With the rise of the internet, the past decade has seen an explosion of new media platforms and publications, as well as significant transformations in style and audience in existing outlets.

Although the studies above present the media as one unified mass, there is a significant amplifying effect of hostility and bias perception depending on the reader’s prior connotations of a news outlet. In 2008, researchers Matthew Baum and Phil Gussin showed significant differences in the evaluation of a piece of news content depending on whether it was labeled to be from CNN, Fox, or a fictional news outlet [10]. They concluded that media bias is very much “in the eye of the beholder,” as viewers make information shortcuts dependent on media brand to jump to conclusions beyond their own partisanship and the content of the story.

2.2.3 The Role of Language

Finally, the role of language—in media as well as politics—cannot be overlooked. A recent article in the Boston Globe analyzed the language of presidential candidate Donald Trump to be at a fourth grade level— and more successfully appealing to voters [29]. (Those who have been speaking at lower grade levels in the 2016 election cycle have also been winning more votes.)

Analysis by media outlet Vocativ showed a negative correlation between presidential speech level over time [14].

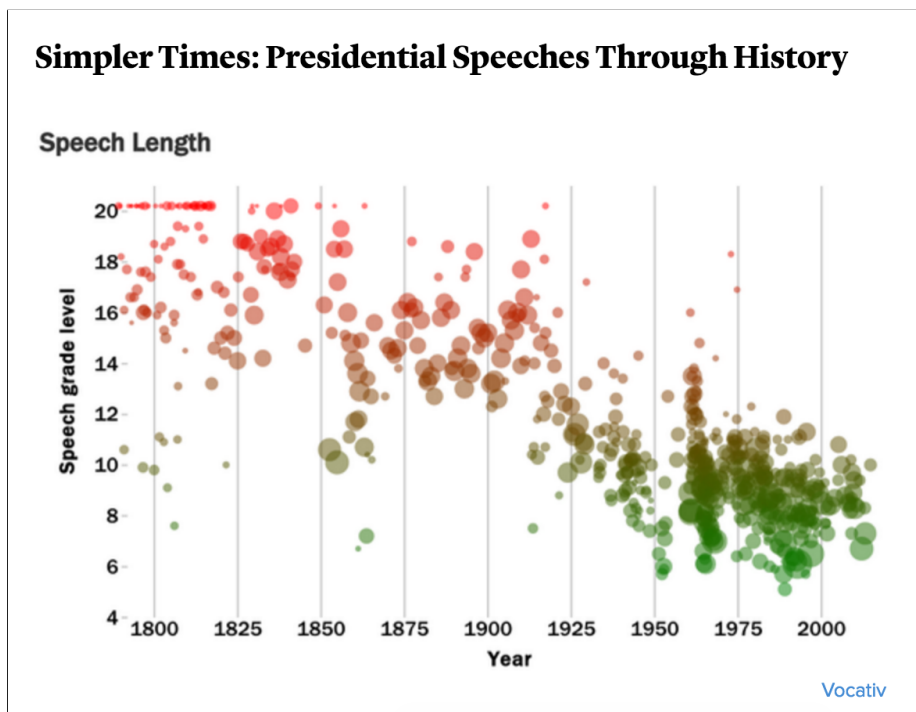


Figure 2-1: Language of Presidential Speech Decline

Yet political news *coverage* occupies a different space of language and purpose, often with the intent of reporting statistics and facts in a scientific nature using a specified technical vocabulary. And when the reader processes information of a scientific nature, a funny effect has been shown: that more complex language, with more technical jargon and sophisticated construction, might actually *increase* appeal and the likelihood of trust. In 2008, Weisberg et. al showed that the addition of “neuroscience” significantly increased the likelihood of believability in explaining how the brain works, versus the same explanation in simple, everyday language [30]. These two factors are both at play when considering the impact of the language in political news and its perceived truthworthiness, for the articles are often *both* a reflection of a political candidate as well as its analysis of her or him.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

Chapter 3

Tools for Dissecting Trust

3.1 Computing Reading Level

3.1.1 Flesch-Kincaid Readability Tests

In this study, we focus primarily on the Flesch-Kincaid (F-K) tests for estimating text readability. Originally developed for the U.S. Navy in 1975 for assessing the difficulty of technical manuals, the F-K reading level corresponds roughly to U.S. grade level and the reading ease score is inversely proportional to the grade level on a scale from 0 to approximately 120 [16].

We chose the F-K tests over other comparable ones due to its popularity in educational assessment and other applications, including in legislation. For example, it is required by law in Florida that life insurance policies have a Flesch reading ease of 45 or greater (less than 12th grade in reading level) [20]. The F-K tests are also bundled in many common word processing services, including Microsoft Office Word. As a comparison, basic article analysis is also computed using the Gunning fog index (see Section 5.2.1).

The formula for Flesch reading ease is as follows:

$$206.835 - 1.015 \left(\frac{\text{total words}}{\text{total sentences}} \right) - 84.6 \left(\frac{\text{total syllables}}{\text{total words}} \right)$$

And for reading grade level:

$$0.39 \left(\frac{\text{total words}}{\text{total sentences}} \right) + 11.8 \left(\frac{\text{total syllables}}{\text{total words}} \right) - 15.59$$

The two formulas are not directly comparable due to the difference in weighting factors. For ease of metaphor, we use the grade level tests in our analysis. Syllable length is highly weighted in this formula, so it is possible to generate a story of very high reading level that consists of a single word in a single sentence (the longest English word, *pneumonoultramicroscopicsilicovolcanoconiosi*, a type of lung disease, has a reading grade level of 197.2), which is a limitation of the method, since texts with polysyllabic words are not always necessarily more difficult to read.

3.1.2 Comparison to Other Reading Tests

3.2 Crowdsourcing Science

Along with an explosion of media outlets and new media platforms, the rise of the internet has also introduced alternative methods to traditional ways of conducting behavioral studies. In this thesis, we focus on crowdsourcing as our primary method of collecting data.

In addition to low cost, we chose crowdsourcing due to its: A) democratizing effect in research and B) subject pool diversity. Crowdsourcing has the benefit of creating a lower barrier for experimentation and replication, allowing researchers to have access to subject pools they would not have otherwise in equal opportunity [22]. Moreover, as our study involves political attitudes, using a crowdsourcing platform allows

us to collect geographically diverse data that is more representative than if it were performed locally.

3.2.1 CrowdFlower

We perform the following studies on the platform CrowdFlower, a popular crowdsourcing platform and marketplace. We chose this platform due to its focus on higher quality data over volume and the ability to filter contributors by level of skill [6]. Results have been found comparable to those on Amazon Mechanical Turk (the most commonly used platform) in prior studies of annotation tasks [13].

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

Chapter 4

Exploratory Study

I am not positive I will include the results of my first study in the thesis, but this is a placeholder. Also, I might include a chapter about “Patterns and Trends” at large with reading level and topic on the Electome dataset, for the analysis I did on that.

This might morph into an “additional data collection” portion for the Twitter analysis.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

Chapter 5

Study

5.1 Motivations

This study sets out to tackle the question of reading level's effect in perceptions of news bias. In particular, how does it compare to factors associated with latent biases of the reader, such as media brand?

Although the body of literature in Chapter 2 examines the theories behind partisanship and media branding, little work has been done to compare those contextual effects with the effects of *content* within a story, such as language use.

This thesis tests six hypothesis.

We explore two novel hypotheses testing reading level effects:

- **H1:** High reading level stories increase trust in the story.
- **H2:** However, they decrease perceptions of fairness.

As well as two comparing the role of *content* versus *context*:

- **H3:** Media brand has a stronger role in determining story trust than the con-

tent.

- **H4:** Media brand has a stronger role in determining story fairness than the content.

And two verifying former theories:

- **H5:** Stories shown to be from outlets of aligned political party score significantly higher on both trust and fairness than those of the opposite.
- **H6:** Stories about candidates opposite to the readers preferred candidate score significantly lower in fairness, regardless of outlet.

We hypothesis **H1:** that high reading level of stories increase trust based off the work from Weisberg et. al showing that neuroscience explanations sway believability of scientific explanations, due to the field-specific nature of political reporting [30].

Conversely, we predict **H2** that it creates a decrease in the perception of fairness in the story, due to the polarizing nature of political news and the fact that more complex stories could cause a partisan individual to more quickly reject what appears as an onslaught of conflicting information [12].

We hypothesize **H3** and **H4** that media brand effects outweigh content in determining both trust and fairness.

Finally, we expect to see hostile media effects (**H5** and **H6**) to emerge.

5.2 Experimental Design

Our experiment has a 4 x 2 mixed-factorial design.

	Source: None	Source: AP	Source: Fox	Source: CNN
High Reading Level	Clinton, Cruz, Sanders, Trump	Clinton, Cruz, Sanders, Trump	Clinton, Cruz, Sanders, Trump	Clinton, Cruz, Sanders, Trump
Low Reading Level	Clinton, Cruz, Sanders, Trump	Clinton, Cruz, Sanders, Trump	Clinton, Cruz, Sanders, Trump	Clinton, Cruz, Sanders, Trump

Table 5.1: Main Study Design

In this study, reading level of articles and candidates featured in the articles were treated as within-subject variables, and the source of the story between-subjects.

Each participant reads eight stories, two each of high and low reading level per candidate. However, to examine effects of media brands and reader bias, we manipulate the source attributed to the story, building off Baum’s research in media brands and television reporting [10].

All eight stories in Study 2 were in fact written by the Associated Press, however, readers are divided into four groups receiving different labels. In group A, readers were shown the headline and text of the story with no other context. In group B, readers were additionally shown that the story was from the Associated Press (true label). In groups C and D, readers were shown that the story was from CNN and Fox News, respectively.

This setup was created to eliminate some of the confounding effects from using stories from different sources (writing style, focus of content, slant, etc.), while directly observing the effect of revealing a specific source to the reader. The Associated Press was chosen as the source of the stories as it is the highest circulation newswire service in the United States, and has 14,000 members that use its content [24]. Notably, both CNN and Fox News publish content in full or part from the Associated Press, although the specific stories chosen had not been published in full by either to avoid bias.

After each article, we ask the reader to rank the fairness of the story on a 5-point

Likert scale as well as its truthworthiness.

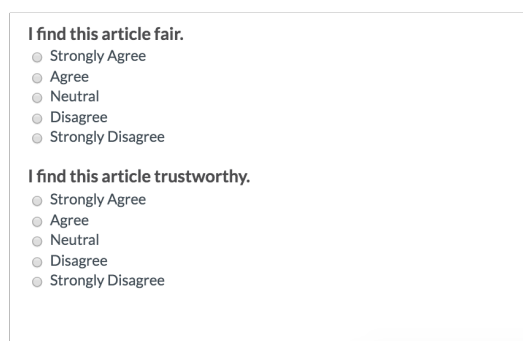
5.2.1 Dataset

Eight stories were chosen for this study: two (high and low reading level) per candidate. All eight stories were written by reporters from the Associated Press (although they may have been republished elsewhere).

Reading level cutoffs were made by taking the bottom and top 25% percentile of Flesch-Kincaid scores for each candidate. From stories written by the Associated Press that made the cutoff, we formed pairs of high and low reading level stories from each topic. The topic with the highest distance between reading level in the pair was chosen for each candidate.

5.2.2 Survey Design

We designed four surveys (1 per group) on the platform CrowdFlower. Each participant was randomly assigned to a group and could not take the survey more than once. The eight stories were shown (in a randomized order), and each story was followed up by two scoring questions pertaining to fairness and trustworthiness.



The image shows a screenshot of a survey interface. It contains two questions, each followed by a five-point Likert scale. The first question is "I find this article fair." and the second is "I find this article trustworthy." Both questions have the same set of response options: "Strongly Agree", "Agree", "Neutral", "Disagree", and "Strongly Disagree". Each option is preceded by a small grey circle.

I find this article fair.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

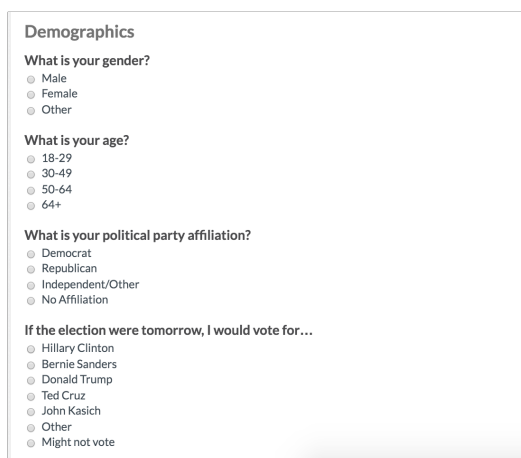
I find this article trustworthy.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Figure 5-1: Scoring Questions for Survey

The survey concluded with an abbreviated standard demographic survey as well as a

political affiliation survey adapted from Pew’s standard polling survey [4]. These more personal questions were placed at the end to prevent priming readers beforehand.



Demographics

What is your gender?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female
- ☐ Other

What is your age?

- ☐ 18-29
- ☐ 30-49
- ☐ 50-64
- ☐ 64+

What is your political party affiliation?

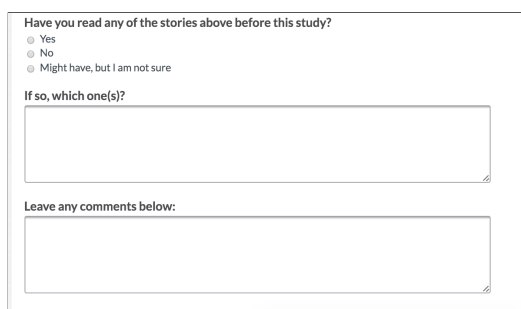
- ☐ Democrat
- ☐ Republican
- ☐ Independent/Other
- ☐ No Affiliation

If the election were tomorrow, I would vote for...

- ☐ Hillary Clinton
- ☐ Bernie Sanders
- ☐ Donald Trump
- ☐ Ted Cruz
- ☐ John Kasich
- ☐ Other
- ☐ Might not vote

Figure 5-2: Demographic Questions for Survey

Finally, we asked readers to report whether or not they might have read the stories before.



Have you read any of the stories above before this study?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Might have, but I am not sure

If so, which one(s)?

Leave any comments below:

Figure 5-3: Comments for Survey

We ran the survey of a duration of hours and had 40 participants sign up per group, for a total of 160 participants.

5.2.3 Quality Control

CrowdFlower has a built-in “Test Question” feature that allows for the rejection of a annotator whose answers to specific questions do not lie within a threshold (default

70%) of the “correct” answer or whose answers lay outside the standard variation compared to others.

However, since the questions we asked were by nature subjective and therefore outliers and disagreements in answers could imply signal rather than noise, we chose to monitor for quality using other metrics instead. CrowdFlower was not designed explicitly for survey-like tasks, and therefore there were no options for different screening methods or questions. Gold Questions on the platform are selected by the creator within the set of all questions being recorded.

Because of this, we monitored quality of results in two ways:

First, by setting a minimum of time of 360 seconds to complete the task of reading 5 stories for a task to be accepted.

Second, by selecting only Level 3 contributors on CrowdFlower as suggested on their website for handling survey-like tasks [1].

Level 3 contributors are described as those who “have completed over a hundred Test Questions across hundreds of different Job types, and have a near perfect overall Accuracy” [6]. This is the highest category of contributor.

Users were also only allowed to answer the set of questions once.

\$0.80 was given per survey, as suggested by MIT Committee on the Use of Humans as Experimental Subjects. The average response time per survey was 09:20 min.

5.3 Basic Analysis

5.3.1 Demographics

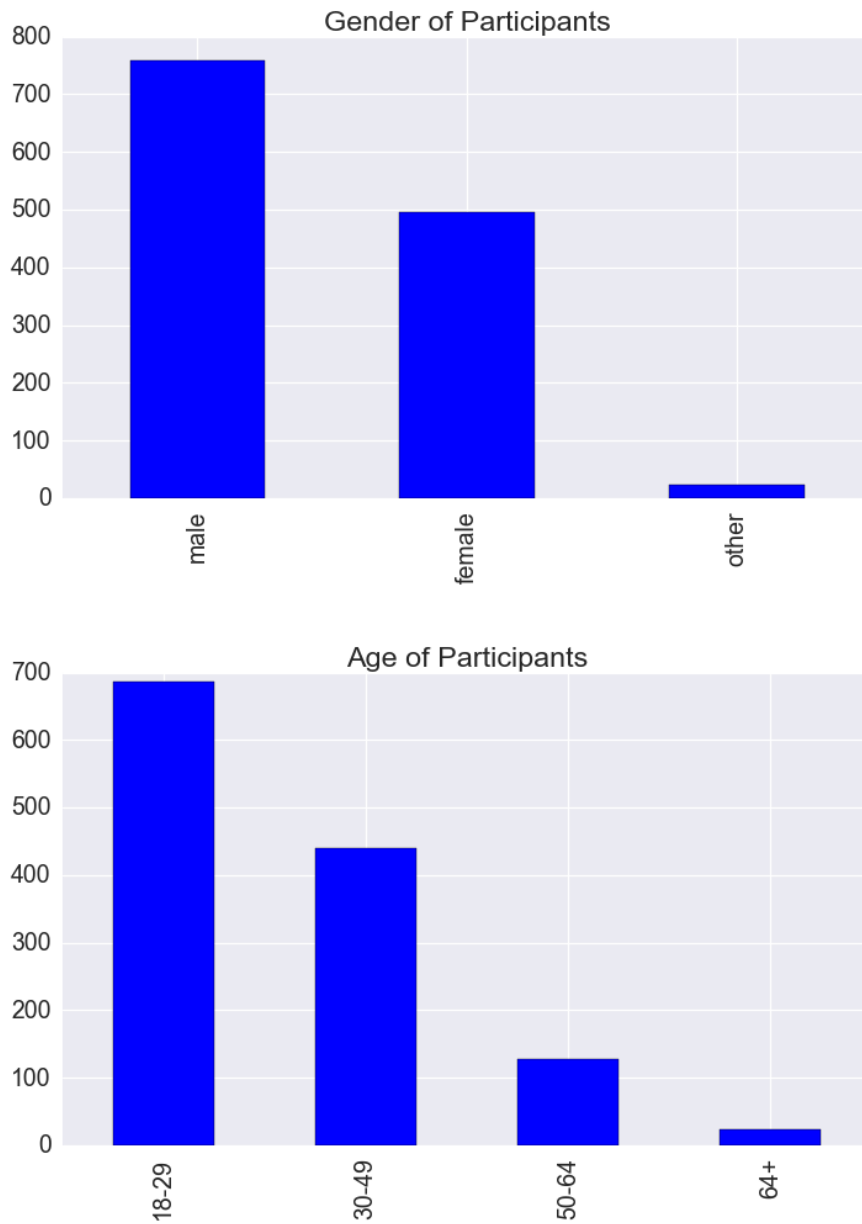


Figure 5-4: Demographics of Participants

Gender of participants were majority male. We had 758 male participants, 496 female participants and 24 signed up as “other” (it is possible that those who did not wish to identify chose the “other” category).

Majority of participants were also in age group 18-29.

In our analyses, we balance for gender and age disparities.

5.3.2 Location

Our participants represented a wide variety of geographic locations in the US.

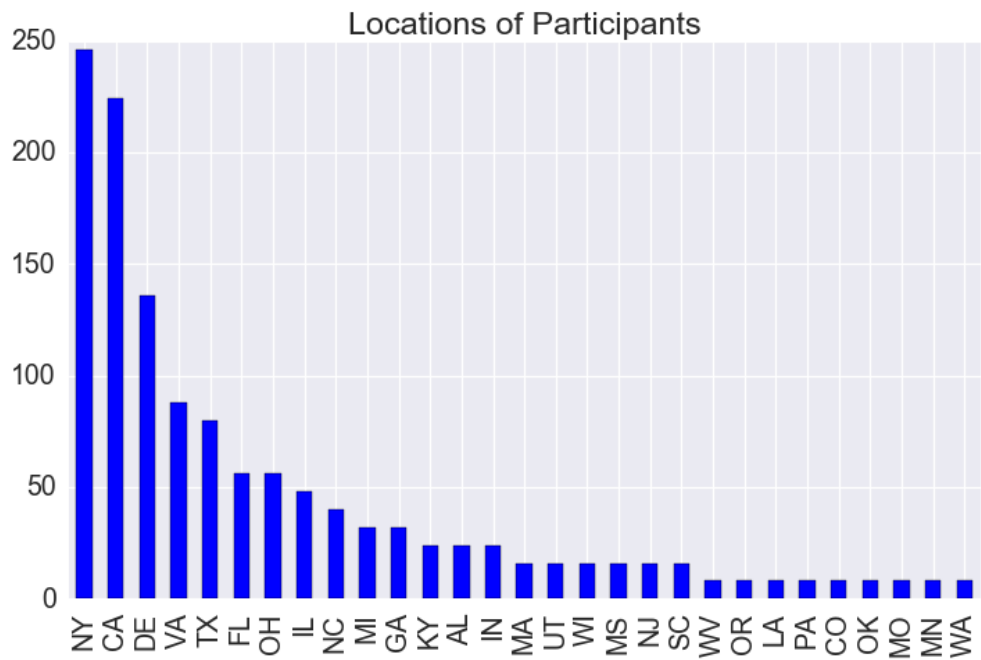


Figure 5-5: Locations of Participants

5.3.3 Political Affiliation

More than twice as many democrats than republicans participated in our study, which also was reflected in candidate preference disparities. These effects are taken into account in our modeling.

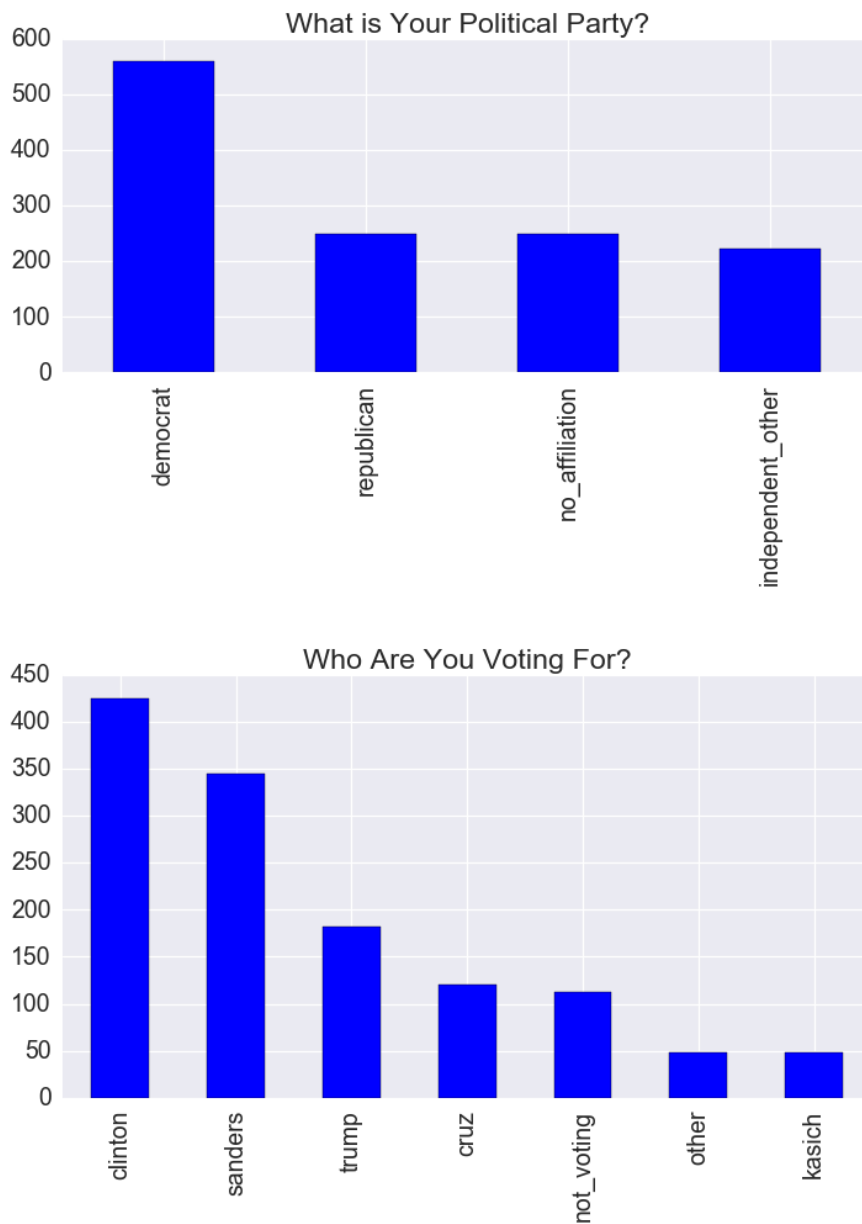


Figure 5-6: Political Affiliations of Participants

5.3.4 Trust

From a scale of -2 (Strongly Disagree) to 2 (Strongly Agree), on average, most stories were deemed trustworthy for all groups with a mean score of 0.55 (between Neutral and Agree).

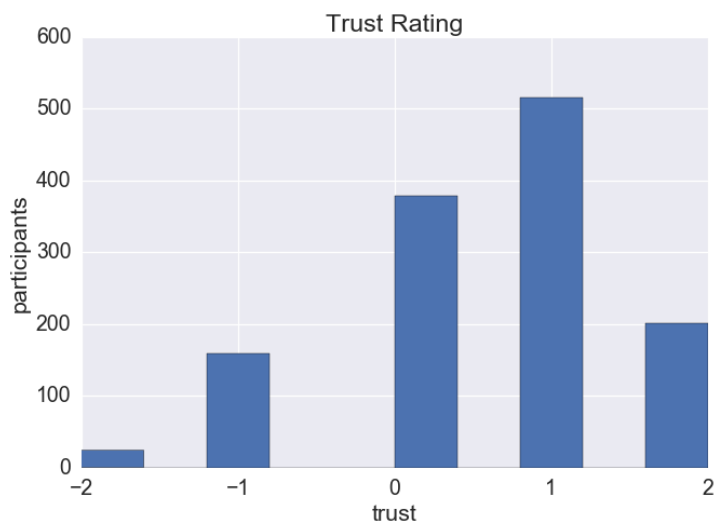


Figure 5-7: Overall Trust Ratings

However, the distributions for candidates varied. Stories about Sanders were seen as most trustworthy across all participants with a mean score of 0.66, followed by Cruz (0.63), Clinton (0.53), and Trump (0.40).

On average, men were slightly less likely to trust stories (average of 0.54) than women (0.60) and others.

Those in age group 30-49 were most likely to find stories trustworthy (average 0.675), followed by those in age group 50-64 (average 0.083), then those 18-29 (0.49), then those 64+ (0.083).

For distributions of trust by age group, see figure 13-1 on page 54.

On average, stories were more trusted by democrats (0.69 mean).

For distributions of trust by party affiliation, see figure ?? on page ??.

5.3.5 Fairness

From a scale of -2 (Strongly Disagree) to 2 (Strongly Agree), on average, most stories were deemed fair for all groups with a mean score of 0.57 (between Neutral and Agree).

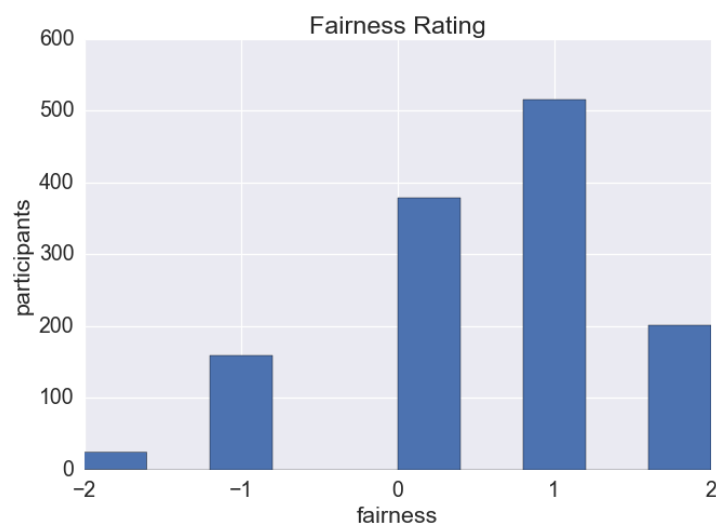


Figure 5-8: Overall Fairness Ratings

For distribution of all scores, see figure ?? on page ??.

Perceptions of fair treatment of candidates in stories diverged from the trust ratings above. Whereas stories about Sanders were most trusted, those about Clinton were seen as most fair (0.67 average).

Women were more likely to see articles as fair on average (0.67) than men (0.51 mean). Again, those in age group 30-49 were also most likely to find stories fair (average .70), this time followed by Millennials (0.51 average), then those 50-64 (0.48) and 64+ (0.20).

Democrats and Independents were far more likely to view stories as fair on average (0.68, 0.67) than Republicans (0.375), although all averages were between neutral and fair.

This finding about low perceptions of fairness in media is aligned with prior research findings. In “The Liberal Media Myth Revisited,” T.T. Lee hypothesized (and verified) that “the more conservative (versus liberal) media consumers are, the more likely they are to perceive a media bias” and similarly “the more consumers lean toward the Republican (versus Democratic) party, the more likely they are to perceive a media bias” [19].

Chapter 6

Findings

Table 6.1: Factors Affecting Trust in News Articles

Independent Variables	β
Reading Level	1,278
Source (Fox News)	-0.45*
Reader Party (Unaffiliated)	-0.54.

*Note: $N = 1,280$. $.p < 0.1$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.*

6.1 Reading Level Effects

Note: this part is still brewing. I am working with one of Iyad's students to verify my statistical analysis and also trying to meet with Iyad next week just to make sure my experiment is correctly interpreted.

As of now, H1 and H2 are both not proved (looks like reading level has no significant effect). That also defaults H3 + H4 to be true.

6.2 Media Brand Effects

Preliminary results:

Using factorial ANOVA, when we model fairness as a function of story reading level \times source of story \times party of the candidate, we see that the source of the story has a high effect on the level of fairness perceived (F value 6.598, Pr ($>F$) 0.000201). Reading level has no significant effect. The same holds true for trust scores (F values 10.978, Pr($>F$) 4.06e-07).

One interesting observation is that showing *no source at all* has a negative effect on both trust and fairness. I am still analyzing that effect to see what it is.

Confirming hostile media effects, we see a significant effect of the reader's political affiliation aligning with the sources. We also see a significant effect if your candidate is being written about.

I'm working to try to see those two effects in comparison, which would have interesting implications for this election cycle. Would be neat to see that party loyalty is officially (significantly) broken.

6.3 Qualitative

In our surveys, we left a space for people to leave comments about the task. Although most people did not fill out the question, here are some analyses of their responses.

To-do

6.4 Conclusions

To-do

6.5 Limitations

Our study shows significant effects that open potential new areas of experimentation while confirming past theories of how media bias is formed. In the interest of focus, our study centered around four candidates and a narrowed dataset of eight stories, but in the future could be replicated on a larger set of more diverse stories and outlets.

Furthermore, although the contributor market on CrowdFlower is not representative of any specific region or demographic, it is also not representative of the nation at large.

Part II

Sharing the News

Chapter 7

Taking Media Analysis to Another Dimension of Data

In the second part of this thesis, we extend our findings from Part One to examine how political news stories from the same time period are shared on social media. In the current digital age, broadcasting a link to friends and peers often emerges as the next logical step to reading and reacting to the news. We will focus our analysis to the social platform Twitter due to its popularity for disseminating news stories. A Pew Research survey from August 2015 showed that nearly two-thirds of adults in the U.S. who are on Twitter use the platform to get news. Government and politics emerges as the third most popular type of news to tweet about (following entertainment and sports), with 17% of tweets from the average user being about that subject [9].

Sharing news stories requires a level of activation on the part of the reader beyond passive readership; often, this trigger is emotional in nature. In 2011, researchers from the Wharton School found that the potential for a news story to go viral is partially driven by physiological arousal. By performing a large-scale analysis of articles from the New York Times coded for emotional content, they were able to find emotional factors in the text that predicted its potential to make the newspaper’s “most-emailed”

list [11].

The following chapters of this thesis examine this emotional relationship for political news stories covering the 2016 U.S. elections. From our studies in Part One, we were able to see that political interactions between the reader and the source of the story proved to be by far the strongest motivator of trust (or lack thereof!) in reading the news. Now, in Part Two, we look for the emotional triggers in content that transcend political boundaries in motivating readers to spread the news.

7.1 The Social Media Megaphone

cite lit that says most people use twitter for sharing articles. group.

also cite (prev?) piece about the huge impact of social media in this election. But also barack's election too.

As of early 2015, 63% of Facebook and Twitter users get news on their respective sites. This is up substantially from 2013, when about half of each social network's users (47% for Facebook and 52% for Twitter) reported getting news there.

Use of Twitter for news, for example, grew among both users under 35 (55% to 67%) and those ages 35 and older (47% to 59%). [8]

7.2 Trust, Virality, and Controversy

So, Why does this matter? Well, in addition to sharing new content, social media acts as a megaphone for other (traditional) media. Finding these patterns between how people observe the trustworthiness of stories in a experimental setting and how they are shared on twitter can give insights to social media studies of the election, as we are doing in our group.

Chapter 8

Tools for Analysis at Scale

8.1 The Electome Project

8.2 For Stories

8.2.1 Structured Parser

8.2.2 Sentiment Analysis

8.2.3 Emotional Content

8.3 For Tweets

8.3.1 Sentiment

8.3.2 Followership as a Proxy for Loyalty

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

Chapter 9

Analysis

9.1 Dataset

9.2 Connecting Tweets with Stories

9.2.1 URL Extraction

9.2.2 Mapping Tweets to Stories

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

Chapter 10

Future Directions

We found these effects, so what?

10.1 Designing Interventions

This section I plan to create suggestions for interventions (i.e. now that we know what makes people not trust news... so what?) on how to get people to read a diverse set of news media with high trust.

10.2 De-biasing Twitter Analysis

This section I plan to create suggestions for interventions (i.e. now that we know what makes people not trust news... so what?) on how to get people to read a diverse set of news media with high trust.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

Chapter 11

Conclusion

Media distrust, which has intensified over the last two decades, is a phenomenon with serious implications in the practice of democracy and a well-informed public.

In an election year prefaced by deep cynicism towards American institutions (a 2015 survey showed that just 19% of the population trusts the federal government), attitudes towards the news media fare no better. Almost two-thirds of Americans think that the national news media is a negative influence on the country [7].

Our results confirm previous hypotheses about the importance of the role of the reader in determining news trust and bias *over* the role of the content itself. We show that drastically different use of language complexity has little effect on the reader in comparison to the presence of media brands.

Interestingly, although showing media from outlets of opposing political orientations decreases trust and fairness perceptions in the reader, when no outlet is attributed to the story, trust in the story also decreases. This suggests that interventions designed to *level* news stories by aggregating them without attribution to source might not be effective in creating a balanced news diet for sustaining informed voters.

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

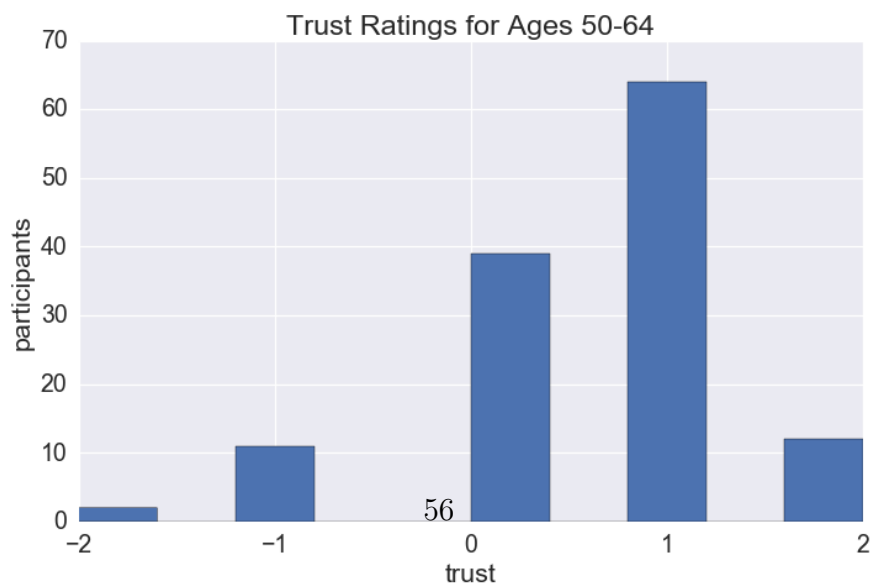
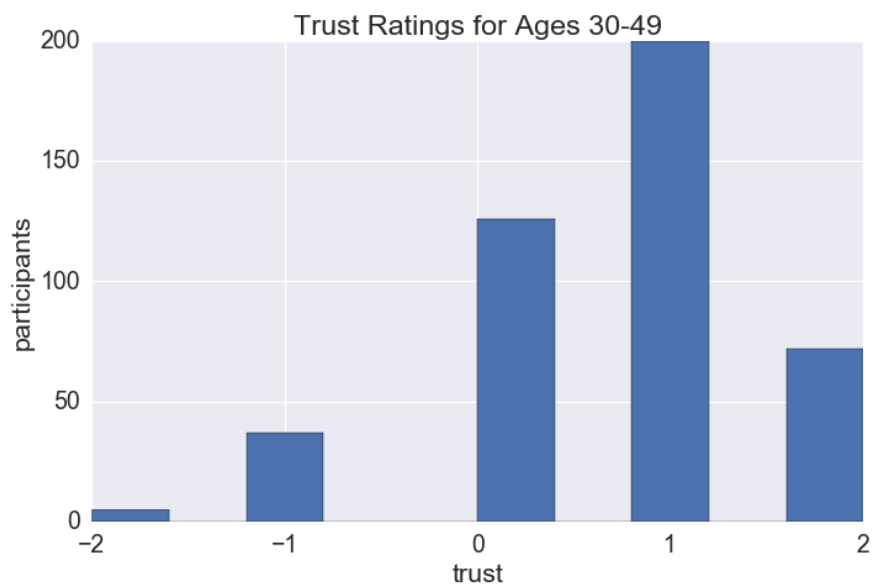
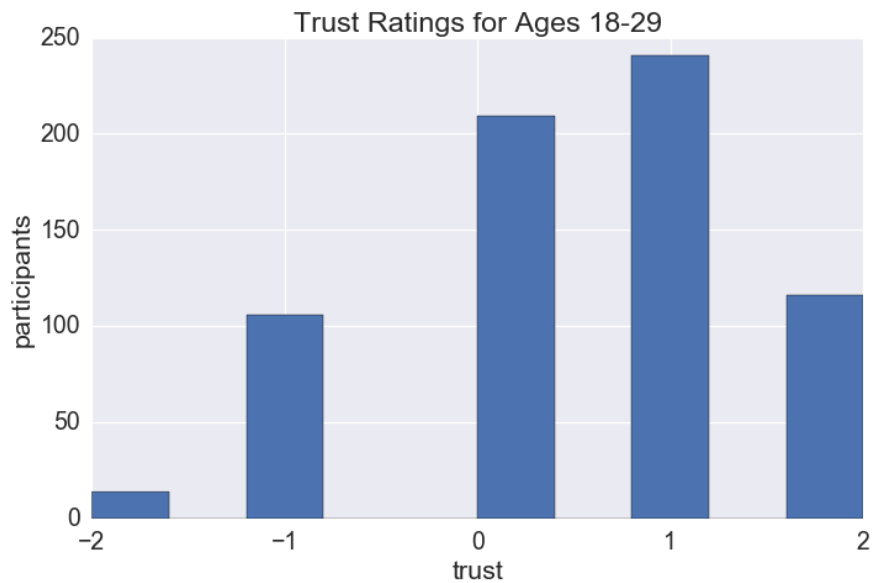
Chapter 12

Tables

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

Chapter 13

Figures



Bibliography

- [1] Guide to running surveys: Crowdfunder success center. <https://success.crowdfunder.com/hc/en-us/articles/201855969-Survey-Guide-To-Running-Surveys>. (Accessed on 04/21/2016).
- [2] Is glenn greenwald the future of news? – the new york times. <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/28/opinion/a-conversation-in-lieu-of-a-column.html?mtrref=www.google.com&gwh=450466A4B52C2124639CE220312812D5&gwt=pay&assetType=opinion>. (Accessed on 04/20/2016).
- [3] Measuring donald trump’s mammoth advantage in free media - the new york times. <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/16/upshot/measuring-donald-trumps-mammoth-advantage-in-free-media.html>. (Accessed on 04/20/2016).
- [4] Pew demographic survey questions. <http://www.pewresearch.org/files/2015/03/Demographic-Questions-Phone-English-3-20-2015.pdf>. (Accessed on 04/22/2016).
- [5] Perceptions of bias, news knowledge. *Pew Research Center*, feb 2012. (Accessed on 04/06/2016).
- [6] Introducing contributor performance levels: Crowdfunder community. <http://crowdfundercommunity.tumblr.com/post/80598014542/introducing-contributor-performance-levels>, mar 2014. (Accessed on 04/21/2016).
- [7] Beyond distrust: How americans view their government. *Pew Research Center*, nov 2015. (Accessed on 04/07/2016).
- [8] Micheal Barthel, Elisa Shearer, Jeffrey Gottfried, and Amy Mitchell. News use on facebook and twitter is on the rise | pew research center. <http://www.journalism.org/2015/07/14/news-use-on-facebook-and-twitter-is-on-the-rise/>, jul 2015. (Accessed on 04/27/2016).

- [9] Michael Bartherl, Elisa Shearer, Jeffrey Gottfried, and Amy Mitchell. How do americans use twitter for news? | pew research center. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/08/19/how-do-americans-use-twitter-for-news/>, jul 2015. (Accessed on 07/12/2016).
- [10] Matthew A Baum, Phil Gussin, et al. In the eye of the beholder: How information shortcuts shape individual perceptions of bias in the media. *Quarterly Journal of political science*, 3(1):1–31, 2008.
- [11] Jonah Berger and Katherine L Milkman. What makes online content viral? *Journal of marketing research*, 49(2):192–205, 2012.
- [12] John T Cacioppo and Richard E Petty. Effects of message repetition and position on cognitive response, recall, and persuasion. *Journal of personality and Social Psychology*, 37(1):97, 1979.
- [13] Tim Finin, Will Murnane, Anand Karandikar, Nicholas Keller, Justin Martineau, and Mark Dredze. Annotating named entities in twitter data with crowdsourcing. In *Proceedings of the NAACL HLT 2010 Workshop on Creating Speech and Language Data with Amazon’s Mechanical Turk*, pages 80–88. Association for Computational Linguistics, 2010.
- [14] EJ Fox, Mike Spies, and Matan Gilat. Analysis: Presidents’ speeches getting dumb & dumber. <http://www.vocativ.com/interactive/usa/us-politics/presidential-readability/>, oct 2014. (Accessed on 04/22/2016).
- [15] Albert Gunther. Attitude extremity and trust in media. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 65(2):279–287, 1988.
- [16] J Peter Kincaid, Robert P Fishburne Jr, Richard L Rogers, and Brad S Chissom. Derivation of new readability formulas (automated readability index, fog count and flesch reading ease formula) for navy enlisted personnel. Technical report, DTIC Document, 1975.
- [17] Jonathan M Ladd. *Why Americans hate the media and how it matters*. Princeton University Press, 2011.
- [18] Jonathan McDonald Ladd. Attitudes toward the news media and voting behavior. In *Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association*, 2005.
- [19] Tien-Tsung Lee. The liberal media myth revisited: An examination of factors influencing perceptions of media bias. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 49(1):43–64, 2005.
- [20] The Florida Legislature. The 2015 florida statutes title xxxvii. <http://www.leg.state.fl.us/Statutes>. (Accessed on 04/05/2016).

- [21] Walter Lippman. *Public Opinion*, chapter 6.1. Free Press, 1922.
- [22] Winter Mason and Siddharth Suri. Conducting behavioral research on amazon’s mechanical turk. *Behavior research methods*, 44(1):1–23, 2012.
- [23] Raymond S Nickerson. Confirmation bias: A ubiquitous phenomenon in many guises. *Review of general psychology*, 2(2):175, 1998.
- [24] Associated Press. Faqs. <http://www.ap.org/company/FAQs>, 2016. (Accessed on 04/21/2016).
- [25] Rebecca Riffkin. Americans’ trust in media remains at historical low. <http://www.gallup.com/poll/185927/americans-trust-media-remains-historical-low.aspx>. (Accessed on 04/20/2016).
- [26] Muzafer Sherif and Carl I Hovland. Social judgment: Assimilation and contrast effects in communication and attitude change. 1961.
- [27] Charles S Taber and Milton Lodge. Motivated skepticism in the evaluation of political beliefs. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(3):755–769, 2006.
- [28] Robert P Vallone, Lee Ross, and Mark R Lepper. The hostile media phenomenon: biased perception and perceptions of media bias in coverage of the beirut massacre. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 49(3):577, 1985.
- [29] Matt Viser. For presidential hopefuls, simpler language resonates - the boston globe. <https://www.bostonglobe.com/news/politics/2015/10/20/donald-trump-and-ben-carson-speak-grade-school-level-that-today-voters-can-quickly-LUCBY6uwQAxiLvVxbVTSUN/story.html>, oct 2015. (Accessed on 04/22/2016).
- [30] Deena Skolnick Weisberg, Frank C Keil, Joshua Goodstein, Elizabeth Rawson, and Jeremy R Gray. The seductive allure of neuroscience explanations. *Journal of cognitive neuroscience*, 20(3):470–477, 2008.