Political Polarization CSCI 577 Matt Jensen May 18, 2023

# Outline

- Hypothesis
- Sources
- Data Workup
- Experiments
- Remaining Work
- Questions

Hypothesis

# Hypothesis

Political polarization is rising, and news articles are a proxy measure.

### Why might we expect this?

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Mostly anecdotal experience.

# Why might we expect this? Mostly anecdotal experience. Evidence is mixed in the literature <sup>1,2,3</sup>.

5.2

Why might we expect this?
Mostly anecdotal experience.
Evidence is mixed in the literature <sup>1,2,3</sup>.
Our goal is whether, not why.

• The polarization is not evenly distributed across publishers.

- The polarization is not evenly distributed across publishers.
- The polarization is not evenly distributed across political specturm.

- The polarization is not evenly distributed across publishers.
- The polarization is not evenly distributed across political specturm.
- The polarization increases near elections.

• Similarly polarized publishers link to each other.

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- 'Mainstream' media uses more neutral titles.

- Similarly polarized publishers link to each other.
- 'Mainstream' media uses more neutral titles.
- Highly polarized publications don't last as long.

- Memeorandum:
- AllSides:
- HuggingFace:
- ChatGPT:

- Memeorandum: stories
- AllSides:
- HuggingFace:
- ChatGPT:

- Memeorandum: stories
- AllSides: bias
- HuggingFace:
- ChatGPT:

- Memeorandum: stories
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- Memeorandum: stories
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- ChatGPT: election dates



• News aggregation site.

- News aggregation site.
- Was really famous before Google News.

- News aggregation site.
- Was really famous before Google News.
- Still aggregates sites today.

• I still use it.

- I still use it.
- I like to read titles.

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- Publishers block bots.
- Simple html to parse.
- Headlines from 2006 forward.
- Automated, not editorialized.

### AllSides


• Rates publications as left, center or right.

- Rates publications as left, center or right.
- Ratings combine:
  - blind bias surveys.
  - editorial reviews.
  - third party research.
  - community voting.

• One of the only bias apis.

- One of the only bias apis.
- Ordinal ratings [-2: very left, 2: very right].

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- Covers 1400 publishers + some blog and authors.

- One of the only bias apis.
- Ordinal ratings [-2: very left, 2: very right].
- Covers 1400 publishers + some blog and authors.
- Easy format and semi-complete data.



• Deep learning library.

- Deep learning library.
- Lots of pretrained models.

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- Lots of pretrained models.
- Easy, off the shelf word/sentence embeddings and text classification models.

• Language models are

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- The dataset needed more features.
- Testing different model performance was easy.
- Lots of pretrained classification tasks.

```
day = timedelta(days=1)
cur = date(2005, 10, 1)
end = date.today()
while cur <= end:
    cur = cur + day
    save_as = output_dir / f"{cur.strftime('%y-%m-%d')}.html"
    url = f"https://www.memeorandum.com/{cur.strftime('%y%m%d')}/
    r = requests.get(url)
    with open(save_as, 'w') as f:
        f.write(r.text)
```

#### Bias hard

```
bias_html = DATA_DIR / 'allsides.html'
parser = etree.HTMLParser()
tree = etree.parse(str(bias_html), parser)
root = tree.getroot()
rows = root.xpath('//table[contains(@class,"views-table")]/tbody/
ratings = []
for row in rows:
    rating = dict()
```

#### Bias easy

Academic Use Only: Allbias Leaning Dataset			
МЈ	Matthew Jensen	T 2022 0/ 44 242 PM	
	HI! I'm a Masters in CS at Western Washington University taking a Data Mining course (CS 577). We have to pick a dataset and do an analysis on it. I want to use your bias label	Tue 2023-04-11 3:12 PM	
U	Matthew Jensen Hey - just checking in on this. If there's anything you need from me (proof of enrollment, etc), please let me know!	Wed 2023-04-12 9:17 PM	
SS	Samantha Shireman You don't often get email from samantha@ <mark>allsides</mark> .com. Learn why this is important Hi Matthew, Thank you for reaching out! Apologies for the slow response. This sounds like a	) Fri 2023-05-05 6:01 PM	

#### Embeddings

```
# table = ...
tokenizer = AutoTokenizer.from_pretrained("roberta-base")
model = AutoModel.from_pretrained("roberta-base")
```

```
for chunk in table:
   tokens = tokenizer(chunk, add_special_tokens = True, truncati
   outputs = model(**tokens)
   embeddings = outputs.last_hidden_state.detach().numpy()
   ...
```

#### **Classification Embeddings**

```
outputs = model(**tokens)[0].detach().numpy()
scores = 1 / (1 + np.exp(-outputs)) # Sigmoid
class_ids = np.argmax(scores, axis=1)
for i, class_id in enumerate(class_ids):
    results.append({"story_id": ids[i], "label" : model.config.id
```

# Data Structures Stories

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- Top level stories.
  - title, author, publisher, url, date.

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  - title, author, publisher, url, date.
- Related discussion.
  - publisher, url.
  - uses 'parent' story as a source.

- Top level stories.
  - title, author, publisher, url, date.
- Related discussion.
  - publisher, url.
  - uses 'parent' story as a source.
- Story stream changes constantly (dedup. required).

published_at date	title varchar	name varchar	author varchar	url varchar
2017-01-18 2017-01-18 2017-01-18 2017-01-18 2017-01-18 2017-01-18 2017-01-18 2017-01-18 2017-01-18 2017-01-18 2017-01-18 2017-01-18 2017-01-18 2017-01-18 2017-01-18 2017-01-18 2017-01-11 2021-11-11 2021-11-11 2021-11-11 2021-11-11 2021-11-11 2021-11-11	<pre>FBI, 5 other agencies probe possible cov FBI, other agencies probing possible Rus Assange lawyer: Manning commutation does Earnest: GOP intellectually dishonest on The Betsy DeVos Hearing Was an Insult to Betsy DeVos Fight Demonstrates Donald Tr De Blasio: Don't 'overstate the threat' Betsy DeVos Cites Grizzly Bears During G Betsy DeVos apparently 'confused' about Trump inauguration time, how to watch, a </pre>	McClatchy Washington Bureau The Hill The Hill Esquire The Daily Beast Politico NBC News Washington Post Vox Democracy Now Washington Examiner Politico New York Times HotAir Washington Post Washington Free Beacon Fox News New York Times Washington Post	NULL Mark Hensch Joe Uchill Jordan Fabian Charles P. Pierce Matt Lewis Eliza Shapiro Alastair Jamieson Valerie Strauss Tara Golshan NULL Zachary Faria David Siders Kyle Kondik Ed Morrissey Andrea Salcedo Adam Kredo Jessica Chasmar Jay Caspian Kang Michael Scherer	<pre>http://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/politics http://thehill.com/policy/national-secur http://thehill.com/policy/cybersecurity/ http://thehill.com/policy/technology/314 http://www.esquire.com/news-politics/pol http://www.esquire.com/news-politics/20 http://www.politico.com/states/new-york/ http://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/bets http://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/bets http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answe http://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2</pre>
? rows (>9999 rows, 20 shown) 5 columns				

parent_id int64	url varchar	publisher varchar
$\begin{array}{c} 5666868610266459443\\ 5666868610266459443\\ 5666868610266459443\\ 5666868610266459443\\ 5666868610266459443\\ 5666868610266459443\\ 5666868610266459443\\ 5666868610266459443\\ 5666868610266459443\\ 5666868610266459443\\ 5666868610266459443\\ .\\.\\.\\8561148704463968832\\ -9146493099307035426\\ -9146493099307035426\\ -9146493099307035426\\ -9146493099307035426\\ -9146493099307035426\\ -9146493099307035426\\ -9146493099307035426\\ -9146493099307035426\\ -9146493099307035426\\ -9146493099307035426\\ -56449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 656449242448385764\\ 6$	<pre>http://thinkprogress.org/federal-investi http://washingtonmonthly.com/2017/01/18/ http://www.thedailybeast.com/cheats/2017 http://www.balloon-juice.com/2017/01/18/ http://littlegreenfootballs.com/article/ http://mashable.com/2017/01/18/hack-paid http://digbysblog.blogspot.com/2017/01/n http://hotair.com/archives/2017/01/18/mc http://www.motherjones.com/kevin-drum/20 http://occupydemocrats.com/2017/01/18/ci http://www.politico.com/story/2016/10/do http://rightwingnews.com/top-news/hiding http://ijr.com/wildfire/2016/10/723674-a http://www.breitbart.com/big-government/ http://mobile.wnd.com/2016/10/congress-l http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree http://www.theatlantic.com/business/arch http://www.engadget.com/2016/10/28/facebo http://dailycaller.com/2016/10/28/facebo http://consumerist.com/2016/10/28/facebo</pre>	<pre>thinkprogress.org Washington Monthly The Daily Beast Balloon Juice littlegreenfootballs.com Mashable Hullabaloo HotAir Mother Jones Occupy Democrats Politico rightwingnews.com IJR Breitbart WorldNetDaily The Guardian The Atlantic Engadget The Daily Caller The Consumerist</pre>
? rows (>9999 rows, 20	) shown)	3 columns

metric	value
total stories	299714
total related	960111
publishers	7031
authors	34346
max year	2023
min year	2005
**Stories** 

#### Stories

• Clip the first and last full year of stories.

# Data Selection Stories

- Clip the first and last full year of stories.
- Remove duplicate stories (big stories span multiple days).

#### Stories

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- Remove duplicate stories (big stories span multiple days).
- Convert urls to tld to link to publishers.

Publishers

# Data Selection Publishers

- Combine subdomains of stories.
  - blog.washingtonpost.com and washingtonpost.com are considered the same publisher.
  - This could be bad. For example: opinion.wsj.com != wsj.com.

# Data Selection Publishers

- Combine subdomains of stories.
  - blog.washingtonpost.com and washingtonpost.com are considered the same publisher.
  - This could be bad. For example: opinion.wsj.com != wsj.com.
- Find common name of publisher.

Related

#### Related

- Select only stories with publishers whose story had been a 'parent' ('original publishers').
  - Eliminates small blogs and non-original news.

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- Select only stories with publishers whose story had been a 'parent' ('original publishers').
  - Eliminates small blogs and non-original news.
- Eliminate publishers without links to original publishers.
  - Eliminate silo'ed publications.
  - Link matrix is square and low'ish dimensional.

# Data Selection Post Process

metric	value
total stories	251553
total related	815183
publishers	223
authors	23809
max year	2022
min year	2006

# Descriptive Stats Stories Per Publisher



# Descriptive Stats Top Publishers



# Descriptive Stats Articles Per Year



# Descriptive Stats Common TLDs

tldpublishers			
com	8660		
org	1693		
gov	636		
net	245		
edu	221		
uk	138		
us	66		
са	34		
au	30		
mil	30		
tv	22		
news	19		
eu	16		
nu	15		
int	14		

# Data Structures Bias

- Per publisher.
  - name,
  - label/ordinal value.
  - agree/disagree vote by community.

- Per publisher.
  - name,
  - label/ordinal value.
  - agree/disagree vote by community.
- Name could be semi-automatically joined to stories.

publisher varchar	label varchar	ordinal int32	agree int64	disagree int64	
Karol Markowicz	right	2	43	47	
'The Conversation' Contributor	left-center	- 1	14	11	
'The Fulcrum' Contributor	center	Θ	8	13	
A Project for America	center 0		27	17	
AARP	center	Θ	1955	4106	
ABC News (Online)	left-center	- 1	40679	20159	
ACLU	left-center	- 1	2496	3604	
AJ+	left	- 2	760	278	
AZ Central	center	Θ	337	625	
Aaron Rupar	left	- 2	213	112	
•	•	•	•	•	
•	•	•	•	•	
•	•	•	•		
Yes! Magazine	left	-2	496	270	
York Dispatch	center	Θ	1	1	
Yuma Sun	center	Θ	Θ	Θ	
Zack Beauchamp	left-center	- 1	27	33	
Zeeshan Aleem	left	- 2	22	19	
ZeroHedge	right-center	1	258	199	
azcentral	center	Θ	6	6	
nj.com	left-center	- 1	26	29	
redefinED	center	Θ	186	107	
theSkimm	left-center	- 1	16	13	
1582 rows (20 shown) 5 columns					

Bias

• Keep all ratings.

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- Join datasets on publisher name.
  - Started with 'jaro winkler similarity' then manually from there (look up Named Entity Recognition).

- Keep all ratings.
- Join datasets on publisher name.
  - Started with 'jaro winkler similarity' then manually from there (look up Named Entity Recognition).
- Use numeric values.
  - [left: -2, left-center: -1, ...].
  - Possibly scale ordinal based on agree/disagree ratio.

#### Data



# Data Bias

bias	ordinal	publishers	stories
varchar	int32	int64	int64
left	-2	20	22839
left-center	-1	27	73934
center	0	33	27426
right-center	1	7	5726
right	2	14	9924

- Per story title.
  - sentence embedding (n, 384) BERT.
  - sentiment classification (n, 1) RoBERTa base.
  - emotional classification (n, 1) RoBERTa
    Go-Emotions.

- Per story title.
  - sentence embedding (n, 384) BERT.
  - sentiment classification (n, 1) RoBERTa base.
  - emotional classification (n, 1) RoBERTa
    Go-Emotions.
- ~ 1 hour of inference time to map story titles and descriptions.
• Word embeddings were too complicated.

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- Kept argmax of classification prediction ([0.82, 0.18] -> LABEL\_0).

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- Kept argmax of classification prediction ([0.82, 0.18] -> LABEL\_0).
- For publisher based analysis, averaged sentence embeddings for all stories.

#### Data

#### Embeddings

label	stories	publishers
positive	87830	223
negative	163723	223

#### Data

#### Embeddings

label	stories	publishers
neutral	124257	223
anger	34124	223
fear	36756	223
sadness	27449	223
disgust	17939	222
surprise	5710	216

## Experiments

#### Experiments

- 1. **clustering** on link similarity.
- 2. classification on link similarity.
- 3. classification on sentence embedding.
- 4. classification on sentiment analysis.
- 5. **regression** on emotional classification over time and publication.

## Experiment 1 clustering on link similarity.

• Create one-hot encoding of links between publishers.

- Create one-hot encoding of links between publishers.
- Cluster the encoding.

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- Expect similar publications in same cluster.

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- Cluster the encoding.
- Expect similar publications in same cluster.
- Use PCA to visualize clusters.

Experiment 1 Encoding schemes

# Experiment 1 One-hot Encoding

publisher	nytimes	wsj	newsweek	
nytimes	1	1	1	
wsj	1	1	0	•••
newsweek	0	0	1	

# Experiment 1 n-Hot Encoding

publisher	nytimes	wsj	newsweek	
nytimes	11	1	141	
wsj	1	31	0	
newsweek	0	0	1	

## Experiment 1 Normalized n-Hot Encoding

publisher	nytimes	wsj	newsweek	
nytimes	0	0.4	0.2	
wsj	0.2	0	0.4	
newsweek	0.0	0.0	0.0	

## Experiment 1 Elbow criterion



## Experiment 1 Comparing encoding schemes

## Experiment 1 Link Magnitude



## Experiment 1 Normalized



## Experiment 1 One-Hot



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  - map to PCA results nicely.

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- Limitation: need the link encoding to cluster.
  - Smaller publishers might not link very much.

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- Found clusters, but meaning is arbitrary.
  - map to PCA results nicely.
- Limitation: need the link encoding to cluster.
  - Smaller publishers might not link very much.
- TODO: Association Rule Mining.
  - 'Basket of goods' analysis to group publishers.

## Experiment 2 classification on link similarity.

Create features:
 Publisher frequency.
 Reuse link encodings.

Create features:
Publisher frequency.
Reuse link encodings.
Create classes:
Join bias classifications.
Create features:
Publisher frequency.
Reuse link encodings.
Create classes:

Join bias classifications.

Train classifier.

Experiment 2 Descriptive stats

metric	value
publishers	1582
labels	6
left	482
center	711
right	369
agree range	[0.0-1.0]

## Experiment 2 Results



### Experiment 2 Results



# Experiment 2 Discussion

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- Link encodings (and their PCA) are useful.
  - Labels are (sort of) separated and clustered.
  - Creating them for smaller publishers is trivial.

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- Link encodings (and their PCA) are useful.
  - Labels are (sort of) separated and clustered.
  - Creating them for smaller publishers is trivial.
- Hot diagonal confusion matrix is good.
- Need to link more publisher data to get good test data.

# Experiment 2 Limitations

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#### Limitations

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- Entire publication is rated, not authors.

#### Limitations

- Dependent on accurate rating.
- Ordinal ratings weren't available.
- Dependent on accurate joining across datasets.
- Entire publication is rated, not authors.
- Don't know what to do with community rating.

classification on sentence embedding.

• Generate sentence embedding for each title.

- Generate sentence embedding for each title.
- Rerun PCA analysis on title embeddings.

- Generate sentence embedding for each title.
- Rerun PCA analysis on title embeddings.
- Use kNN classifier to map embedding features to bias rating.

Experiment 3 Embeddings Primer

#### **Embedding Steps**

- 1. Extract titles.
- 2. Tokenize titles.
- **3.** Pick pretrained language model.
- 4. Generate embeddings from tokens using model.

#### Tokens

#### The sentence:

"Spain, Land of 10 P.M. Dinners, Asks if It's Time to Reset Clock"

#### **Tokenizes to:**

['[CLS]', 'spain', ',', 'land', 'of', '10', 'p', '.', 'm', '.', 'dinners', ',', 'asks', 'if', 'it', "'", 's', 'time', 'to', 'reset', 'clock', '[SEP]']

#### Tokens

#### The sentence:

#### "NPR/PBS NewsHour/Marist Poll Results and Analysis"

#### **Tokenizes to:**

['[CLS]', 'npr', '/', 'pbs', 'news', '##ho', '##ur', '/', 'maris'
 '##t', 'poll', 'results', 'and', 'analysis', '[SEP]', '[PAD]'
 '[PAD]', '[PAD]', '[PAD]', '[PAD]', '[PAD]']

# Experiment 3 Embeddings

- Using a BERT (Bidirectional Encoder Representations from Transformers) based model.
- Input: tokens.
- Output: dense vectors representing 'semantic meaning' of tokens.

#### Embeddings

#### The tokens:

['[CLS]', 'npr', '/', 'pbs', 'news', '##ho', '##ur', '/', 'maris'
 '##t', 'poll', 'results', 'and', 'analysis', '[SEP]', '[PAD]'
 '[PAD]', '[PAD]', '[PAD]', '[PAD]', '[PAD]']

#### Embeds to a vector (1, 384):

array([[ 0.12444635, -0.05962477, -0.00127911, ..., 0.13943022, -0.2552534 , -0.00238779], [ 0.01535596, -0.05933844, -0.0099495 , ..., 0.48110735, 0.1370568 , 0.3285091 ], [ 0.2831368 , -0.4200529 , 0.10879617, ..., 0.15663117, -0.29782432, 0.4289513 ], ...,

## Experiment 3 Results



# Experiment 3 Results



# Experiment 3 Results



Discussion

#### Discussion

• Embedding space is hard to condense with PCA.

### Discussion

- Embedding space is hard to condense with PCA.
- Maybe the classifier is learning to guess 'left-ish'?

#### Discussion

- Embedding space is hard to condense with PCA.
- Maybe the classifier is learning to guess 'left-ish'?
- Does DL work better on sparse inputs?

#### classification on sentiment analysis.
• Use pretrained language classifier.

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- Previously: Mapped twitter posts to tokens, to embedding, to ['positive', 'negative'] labels.

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- Predict: rate of neutral titles decreasing over time.

#### Experiment 4 Results



### Experiment 4 Results



### Experiment 4 Results



#### Experiment 4 Discussion

#### Discussion

• Bump post Obama election for left and center.

- Bump post Obama election for left and center.
- Dip pre Trump election for left and center.

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- Dip pre Trump election for left and center.
- Right is all over the place not enough data?

- Bump post Obama election for left and center.
- Dip pre Trump election for left and center.
- Right is all over the place not enough data?
- Recency of election not a clear factor.

#### regression on title emotional expression.

• Use pretrained language classifier.

- Use pretrained language classifier.
- Previously: Mapped reddit posts to tokens, to embedding, to emotion labels.

- Use pretrained language classifier.
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- Predict: rate of neutral titles decreasing over time.

- Use pretrained language classifier.
- Previously: Mapped reddit posts to tokens, to embedding, to emotion labels.
- Predict: rate of neutral titles decreasing over time.
- Classify:
  - features: emotional labels
  - Iabels: bias

### Experiment 5 Results



### Experiment 5 Results



#### Discussion

• Neutral story titles dominate the dataset.

#### Experiment 5 Discussion

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- Left-Center and right-center became more emotional, but also neutral.

- Neutral story titles dominate the dataset.
- Increase in stories published might explain most of the trend.
- Far-right and far-left both became less neutral.
- Left-Center and right-center became more emotional, but also neutral.
- Not a lot of movement overall.

### Hypothesis

- The polarization is not evenly distributed across publishers. **unproven**
- The polarization is not evenly distributed across political specturm. **unproven**
- The polarization increases near elections. false
- Similarly polarized publishers link to each other.
  sorta
- 'Mainstream' media uses more neutral titles. true
- Highly polarized publications don't last as long.
  untested

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## Conclusion

- Article titles do not have a lot of predictive power.
- Mainstream, neutral publications dominate the dataset.
- Link frequency, sentence embeddings, and sentiments are useful features.
- A few questions remain.

## Questions

## References

[1]: Stewart, A.J. et al. 2020. Polarization under rising inequality and economic decline. Science Advances.
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