

# 14.770-Fall 2017

## Recitation 9 Notes

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(based on slides by M. Lowe)

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Today:

- IO and Media:
  - Theory: Mullainathan and Shleifer (AER, 2005)
  - Empirics: Gentzkow and Shapiro (QJE, 2011)
  - Cool stuff you can do via text analysis
- Conflict and Media:
  - Yanagizawa-Drott (QJE, 2014)

# Mullainathan and Shleifer (AER, 2005)

## “The Market For News

### A demand-side model of media bias

- Investigate effects of
  - Reader beliefs,
  - Reader heterogeneity, and,
  - Competition (monopoly vs. duopoly)on equilibrium media bias.
- Builds on Hotelling model of product placement.

Surprising finding: “With biased readers, competition may even increase media bias.”

# The Model

- Readers want to learn  $t \sim N(0, \nu_t)$
- Belief about  $t$  may be biased:  $N(b, \nu_t)$
- Newspapers receive data  $d = t + \epsilon$  where  $\epsilon \sim N(0, \nu_\epsilon)$
- They then report data with slant  $s$  so reported news is  $n = d + s$

- Unbiased reader has utility  $U_r = \bar{u} - \chi s^2 - P$  where  $P$  is price,  $s$  is slant
- Biased reader:  $U_b = \bar{u} - \chi s^2 - \phi(n - b)^2 - P$ 
  - $\phi > 0 \Rightarrow$  like to hear confirming news
  - A behavioral assumption, and a driving force

- 1 Newspapers announce slanting strategy  $s(d)$
- 2 Newspapers announce price  $P$
- 3 Readers buy paper if  $P < \mathbb{E}_d [U(s(d))]$
- 4 Paper observes signal  $d$  and reports  $n = d + s(d)$
- 5 If individual buys paper, read news and receive utility.

The cases considered:

- Homogeneous: all readers hold same beliefs  $b$  with precision  $p$
- Heterogeneous: distributed uniformly between  $b_1$  and  $b_2$  with  $b_1 < b_2, b_2 > 0$
- Monopoly vs. Duopoly

Bias is  $\mathbb{E}_d \left[ (n - d)^2 \right]$  or  $\int_i \mathbb{E}_d \left[ (n_i - d)^2 \right]$  in heterogeneous case

# Results: Rational Readers

Just to fix ideas.

**Proposition 1:** Suppose readers are rational. Then, whether readers are homogeneous or heterogeneous, the monopolist does not slant and charges the same price:

$$s_{hom}^* = s_{het}^* = 0, P_{hom}^* = P_{het}^* = \bar{u}$$

In the duopolist case, papers do not slant and once again charge the same price:

$$s_{j,hom}^* = s_{j,het}^* = 0, P_{j,hom}^* = P_{j,het}^* = 0$$

The only effect of competition is to lower prices.



# Results: Homogeneous Biased Readers with Monopoly

**Proposition 2:** A monopolist facing a homogeneous audience chooses

$$s_{hom}^*(d) = \frac{\phi}{\chi + \phi} (b - d), P_{hom}^* = \bar{u} - \frac{\chi\phi}{\chi + \phi} [b^2 + \nu_d]$$

given a condition on  $\bar{u}$  (needs to be large enough otherwise no news read).  
News reported is then

$$n = \frac{\phi}{\chi + \phi} b + \frac{\chi}{\chi + \phi} d$$

which is a convex combination of bias and data.

**Proposition 3:** There is an equilibrium with

$$s_{hom}^*(d) = \frac{\phi}{\chi + \phi} (b - d), P_{hom}^* = 0$$

i.e. with a homogeneous audience, competition is Bertrand-like – drives prices to zero, but slant unchanged. **Competition has no effect on slant** in this case.

# Results: Heterogeneous Biased Readers

- **Proposition 4:** Monopolist will cover whole market only if reader beliefs are not too dispersed.
- **Proposition 5:** Suppose duopolists choose linear slant strategies. All readers read the newspaper and each duopolist positions himself as far away from the other as possible. Reported news in this case is

$$n_j = d + s_{j,het}^*(d) = \frac{\phi}{\chi + \phi} \frac{3}{2} b_j + \frac{\chi}{\chi + \phi} d_j$$

Duopolists slant towards  $\frac{3}{2}b_j$ , points that are *more extreme* than the most extreme readers in the population!

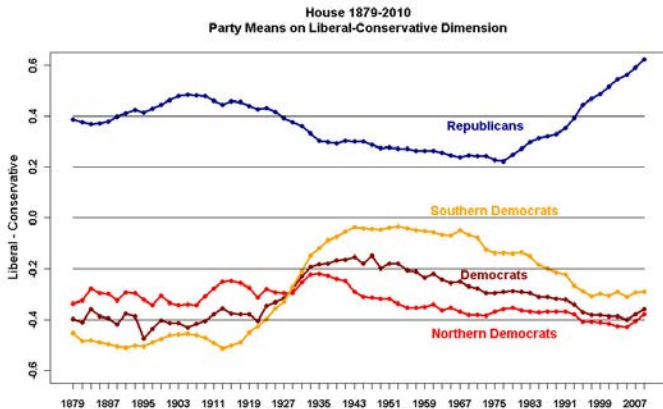
- Why? Product differentiation allows them to charge higher prices.

- Analogous to standard Hotelling result.
  - Monopolist caters to both audiences unless they are too far apart, while duopolists maximally differentiate.
  - But in standard model, constrained to choose within preference distribution. Here, can choose positions outside distribution of reader bias – and in equilibrium choose very extreme positions.
- Key reason: the more differentiated the duopolists, the higher prices can be charged.

# Genzkow and Shapiro (QJE, 2001)

“Idological Segregation Online and Offline”

Big Picture Question: What Drives Political Polarization?



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- Ideological Segregation in Media
  - Media is slanted (as we've seen)
  - Only consume media that confirms prior biases (as we've seen)
  - Prior bias becomes stronger and stronger
- Could be that new media technology leads to more segregation?

Is online news consumption more ideologically segregated than offline?

- Internet reduces cost of acquiring information from multiple sources
- ... but increasing number of sources makes it easier to segregate ideologically
  - So effect is ambiguous.

- Measure segregation of an outlet using “isolation index” (taken from racial segregation literature)
- This equals average conservative exposure of conservatives minus average conservative exposure of liberals
  - If everyone reads/visits same newspaper/website, this will be zero
  - If conservatives only visit foxnews.com and liberals only visit nytimes.com this will be 100 p.p.



# Measurement: Details

- $m \in M$  media types (e.g. internet) and  $j \in J$  outlets (e.g. cnn.com),  $J_m$  is set of outlets  $j$  in medium  $m$
- $i \in I$  individuals,  $I_{lib}$  and  $I_{cons}$  are set of liberals and conservatives
- $cons_j$  and  $lib_j$  are number of conservative and liberal visits to outlet  $j$  (for internet/newspapers etc. can visit multiple outlets)
  - $visits_j = cons_j + lib_j$
- Isolation index is then

$$S_m = \sum_{j \in J_m} \left( \frac{cons_j}{cons_m} \cdot \frac{cons_j}{visits_j} \right) - \sum_{j \in J_m} \left( \frac{lib_j}{lib_m} \cdot \frac{cons_j}{visits_j} \right)$$

- [First/second] term is visit-weighted average exposure of [conservatives/liberals] ( $cons_m$  is number of conservative visits on medium  $m$ )

- Use aggregate data for 2009 on website audiences by comScore plus micro-data on browsing for 2004-2008
- Also have offline consumption data of newspapers, TV, magazines
- For face-to-face interactions use data on political views of acquaintances in GSS and National Election Study

- Isolation index = 7.5 p.p. for the internet
  - Average conservative's exposure is 60.6%, liberal's is 53.1% (similar to if get all news from cnn.com)
- News consumers with extremely high or low exposure are rare
  - Consumer who gets news only from foxnews has more conservative news diet than 99% of Internet users
- Other isolation indices: broadcast TV news (1.8), cable TV news (3.3), magazines (4.7), local newspapers (4.8), national newspapers (10.4)

- Comparison to social segregation:
  - Individuals matched randomly within counties (5.9)
  - Individuals matched randomly within ZIP codes (9.4)
  - Voluntary associations (14.5) and Work (16.8)
  - Neighbourhoods (18.7) and Family (24.3)
  - Trusted friends (30.3) and political discussants (39.4)
- No evidence that internet is becoming more segregated over time

# Why So Little Online Segregation?

- Most online news consumption is concentrated in a small number of relatively centrist sites
- Significant share of consumers get information from multiple sites
  - *Especially* true of visitors to extreme conservative or liberal sites

# Yanagizawa-Drott (QJE, 2014)

“Propaganda and Conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan Genocide”

Shifting gears now...

- Can media act as a coordination device?
  - We’ve covered the Barbera and Jackson (2017) model
  - Here’s another approach
- The theoretical model in Yanagizawa-Drott’s online appendix
  - We’ve covered empirics in the “Conflict” lectures
  - The effects on radio broadcasting on violence in Rwanda

Technically a global games model

- Really popular among theorists nowadays, probably will be more popular
- A simple, tractable way of analyzing coordination games.
  - General problem with coordination games: multiple equilibria, hard to make predictions
  - Global games: model this situation as an incomplete information game
  - Unique equilibrium, testable predictions
  - Carlson and van Damme (ECMA, 1993), Morris and Shin (AER, 1998)

# The Model

- One village, continuum of citizens
- Two ethnic groups:  $H$  (size 1) and  $T$  (size  $t$ )
- An individual in  $H$  decides whether to attack or not

$$u = \begin{cases} \theta + \alpha \frac{h}{t} & \text{if attack} \\ 0 & \text{if not} \end{cases}$$

$\theta$ : punishment cost,  $h$ : no. of people attacking,  $\alpha \geq 0$ : strategic complementarity



There is incomplete info. about  $\theta$

- $i$  observes  $x_i = \theta + \varepsilon_i$ 
  - $\varepsilon_i \sim N(0, \sigma_x^2)$
- If access to radio (w.p.  $r$ ),  $i$  also observes  $p = \theta + b$ 
  - $b \sim N(0, \sigma_p^2)$

There is “diffuse prior” on  $\theta$  (i.e. prior has negligible effect on posterior).  
Posterior:

- If only observe  $x_i$ ,

$$\bar{\theta}_i^N \sim N(x_i, \sigma_x^2)$$

- If observe  $x_i$  and  $p$ ,

$$\bar{\theta}_i^R \sim N\left(\frac{\sigma_x^2 x_i + \sigma_p^2 p}{\sigma_x^2 + \sigma_p^2}, \frac{\sigma_x^2 \sigma_p^2}{\sigma_x^2 + \sigma_p^2}\right)$$

# Media as a public signal

Key assumption:  $p$  is **public signal** (access to radio is common knowledge).

- $i$  knows exactly  $r$  people have heard the radio, and knows that everybody knows this, etc...

As in a global games model, unique equilibrium: attack iff

$$\bar{\theta}_i^{\kappa} \geq \kappa^j \quad \text{for } j \in \{N, R\}$$

Because  $p$  is a public signal,  $\kappa^R$  depends on  $r$ :  $\kappa^R(r)$ .

- Heuristically, you don't only infer  $\theta$  from  $p$ , but also learn how many people have inferred  $\theta$ .

Here's an intro:

## Lemma 1

When the propaganda transmits the signal that violence against the minority group is state-sponsored (i.e., the cost  $\theta$  is sufficiently low), participation in violence increases in the population with access to the media broadcasts (If  $p > -\frac{\alpha}{2t}$ , then  $\frac{\partial h}{\partial r} > 0$ ).

But more importantly:

## Proposition 1

If the condition in Lemma 1 is satisfied, then there are increasing scale effects for militia violence ( $h_c$ ), but not individual violence ( $h_i$ ):  $\frac{\partial^2 h_c}{\partial r^2} \geq 0$ ,

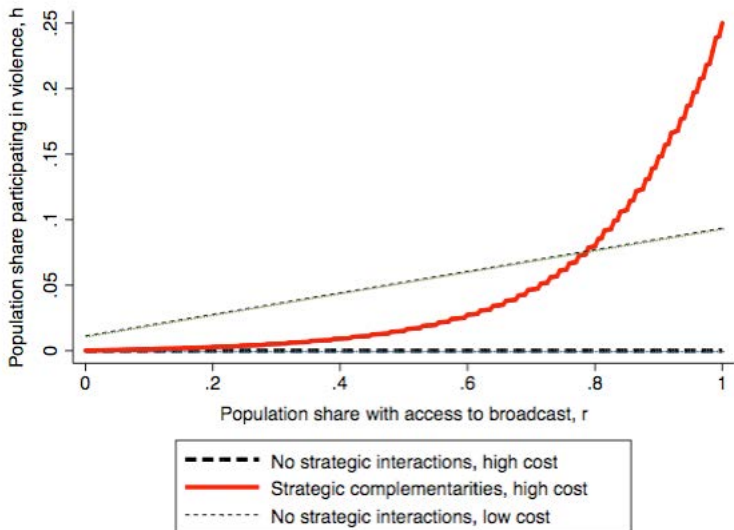
$$\frac{\partial^2 h_i}{\partial r^2} = 0, \quad \frac{\partial h_i}{\partial r} \geq 0.$$

Heuristically, radio coordinates facilitation  $\Rightarrow$  Second-order effects as well.

# Comparative Statics

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