# News is Not Made for Me: A novel scale for understanding attitudes towards news and its relationship with news use, knowledge, and misinformation.

#### Abstract

Keywords: News perceptions, panel survey, ...

In an age where print and digital media are contributing to knowledge inequalities across demographic groups (Lind & Boomgaarden, 2019) alongside audience feelings of overload from the amount of news and information available to them (Goyanes et al., 2021; Schmitt et al., 2017), the gap between readers and journalists has grown, leaving readers feeling alienated from their news sources. Individuals interviewed by researchers for information needs assessment reports repeatedly express that the news does not seem to be written or produced for them, whether that be because of the language, relevancy, relatability, accessibility, or any number of other similar reasons (e.g., Carpini et al., 2018; Hardman et al., 2023; Soular & Bernal, 2021). Research examining the provision of news through interviews and content analyses have identified similar concerns among industry leaders, wherein scarce resources, increasing expectations, and growing distance between produces and consumers have made it difficult to provide timely and useful news and information (e.g., Coddington et al., 2021; Lawrence et al., 2022; Neff et al., 2022). As audiences receive news and perceive that it is not useful or relevant to them, these moments of disconnect between news source and audience grow. We term this attitudinal perspective of the consumer towards the production of news "News is Not Made for *Me*," and it is one possible contributor to the crisis of news use.

In this paper, we develop a scale for measuring News is Not Made for Me to help identify facets of news production (e.g., accessibility, language) that audiences find alienating in their experiences consuming news. We developed this eight-item scale through a process of pretesting (n = 212 UK respondents) and validation across the United Kingdom (n = 1,248) and Brazil (n = 1,998) in a three-wave panel survey. Our findings indicate that the perception that news is not made for them is associated with several less privileged demographic traits (i.e., younger age, lower income, less education, and more attention problems) as well as with low news self-efficacy and a high interest in soft news. We also explore what influences News is Not Made for

Me may have on key news research variables and find that it is a powerful explanatory variable for news consumption, current affairs knowledge, and belief in misinformation. These findings further journalism studies as they present a novel measurement that has demonstrated value in explaining disparities in news consumption and outcomes of news use for a unique group of people feeling left out/behind by news outlets.

#### **Theoretical Framework**

Numerous journalism studies research projects over the past decade have tried to explain the drastic declines in news consumption (Newman et al., 2024) and the growing phenomenon of selective news avoidance (Toff et al., 2023). Why are audiences seemingly turning away from news, despite its critical role in informing the public and keeping them engaged in their communities (Mathews, 2020; Shaker, 2014)? Part of this can be attributed to predictors such as individual demographics (e.g., gender or class; Palmer & Toff, 2020; Toff et al., 2023), to the shift in mood and well-being audiences experience from news consumption (e.g., Boukes & Vliegenthart, 2017; Mannell & Meese, 2022), or to changes in the technology landscape (e.g., a shift to more digital news consumption on platforms like TikTok; Newman et al., 2024). Breaking away somewhat from these studies, we propose that the attitudes people have towards journalism, and whether they find themselves as part of the intended readership, may also play a role in their interest in, consumption of, and benefits drawn from using the news.

When people feel that the news is not made for them, that news uses language that is inaccessible, or they feel disconnected from those that make the news, how might this impact their relationship to news and information? Previous research has indicated that variables such as the news finds me perception (Gil de Zúñiga & Diehl, 2018), selective news avoidance (Damstra et al., 2021), and social media usage have negative effects on political and current affairs knowledge, adversely effecting knowledge acquisition and retention. Similarly, variables such as

social media usage (Theocharis et al., 2021) and information literacy (Bryanov & Vziatysheva, 2021) have demonstrated influences on individual susceptibility to and belief in misinformation statements, which has concerning implications for the role of truth in democratic discourse (e.g., Pérez-Escolar et al., 2023). Building on this work, we propose the *"News is Not Made for Me"* scale as a relevant explainer for both knowledge and belief in misinformation, on the assumption that when people believe news is not made for them, they reap fewer benefits from news consumption.

#### **News Made for Whom?**

When journalists write stories, they envision a reader based on their interactions with community members and on their personal social worlds (Coddington et al., 2021). There is a sense of connection and homophily with the reader that can lead to blind spots in connecting with audiences they don't envision, people who are not like them. Journalists draw on numerous sources when imagining their audiences, ranging from family members to social media comment sections, but even extensive and diverse audience perceptions can both exclude some audience members and flatten the audience into a usable ideal. The recent growth of information needs assessments, particularly in the United States, has also led to numerous research reports that use interviews and focus groups to better understand underserved communities. Many of these reports have identified issues such as language, rurality, and class as barriers to access of relevant and usable news (e.g., Carpini et al., 2018; Hardman et al., 2023; Lawrence et al., 2022; Napoli et al., 2017; Soular & Bernal, 2021; Stonbely, 2021). Guides produced by organizations like the Knight Foundation and Democracy Fund on how to assess the information ecosystem of your locality emphasize balanced representation of the community, public engagement, and numerous access points to information (e.g., local paper, libraries, social media). While these research reports aim primarily to pass community feedback on to the media outlets of a specific

area, hoping to achieve some progress around news and information production, the concerns expressed by interviewees in these studies form the basis for many of our News is Not Made for Me items. Our study thus incorporates the qualitatively drawn sentiments that news is not meeting a community's information needs alongside those from journalists articulating who they view to be their audiences.

Information needs assessment reports greatly influenced our perception of what news production factors might make someone feel alienated from news. However, in considering what individual level factors may lead someone to be more predisposed to feel news is not made for them, we draw on the breadth of literature in journalism studies that aim to explain news use, interest, and avoidance. Beginning with news use, it is well established that discrepancies in consumption reflect societal inequalities: Age, gender, income, education, race, urbanity, and ideology all have replicated effects on news consumption, leading some groups to consume less news than others (e.g., Benesch, 2012; Toff & Palmer, 2018; Haugsgjerd & Karlsen, 2022; Shehata & Strömbäck, 2011). Furthermore, studies examining relationships between politics and the media have found that news sources tend to cater to more liberal audiences (Usher, 2021), that media outlets tend to be more forgiving about negative news under Democrat presidents in the US (Merkley, 2019; Tabor et al., 2024), and that far right groups tend to attack and undermine the credibility of traditional news media (Baugut & Neumann, 2018; Massuchin et al., 2022). These studies indicate a possibility that ideology may influence perceptions of the news (although we believe that feeling like a news outlet does not politically represent me is not the same thing as News is Not Made for Me, they may be linked in important ways). Finally, previous research has demonstrated that having problems focusing and paying attention can impact media usage (Baumgartner et al., 2018), and we anticipate based on the previously

5

discussed qualitative research that it may affect whether someone perceives news as made for them as well, since they may feel that news is too demanding to focus on.

*RQ1a:* Which demographic factors (i.e., age, gender, income, education, political ideology, urban region, and attention problems) correlate with the *News is Not Made for Me* measure and how?

We additionally consider two attitudinal variables: news self-efficacy and interest in hard/soft news. News self-efficacy, introduced by Edgerly (2021) to explain how confident people feel in their own ability to navigate media institutions (e.g., factchecking), is one of the closest concepts to the News is Not Made for Me variable. These two remain distinct, however, in that one does not necessarily have to be confident in their own information seeking behaviors to feel like it is or is not made for them. Additionally, interest in news is a well-established predictor of news consumption (e.g., Aalberg et al., 2013; Chyi & Lee, 2013). We thus consider interest in soft and hard news separately to gauge whether certain news topics appeal to people who feel news is vs is not for them.

**RQ1b:** Which attitudinal dispositions towards news (i.e., news self-efficacy and interest

in hard/soft news) correlate with the News is Not Made for Me measure and how?

#### Possible Correlates with News is Not Made for Me

If someone believes that news is not made for them, how will this impact how much news they consume? By and large, news consumption is falling globally (including in the UK and Brazil), despite the overabundance of news sources and channels presently available (Newman et al., 2024). Selective or active news avoidance, where a person consciously chooses to turn away from news consumption (Toff et al., 2023), is likely linked to the feeling that news is not for someone. People may choose to avoid the news for a number of reasons, ranging from their lack of free time to a mental health decision, from ideological differences to failures to see the utility of news use. Furthermore, a recent systematic review of news avoidance literature indicated that selective news avoidance ranges considerably from avoiding all news to only specific sources or specific topics, and that many people who claim to avoid news in fact report consuming a considerable amount of it (Andersen et al., 2024). While it is likely that news avoidance and News is Not Made for Me overlap, it is also likely that not all people who feel the news is not made for them actively avoid news. Rather, this concept is motivated by interviewees in local news and information needs ecosystem assessments who mention *wanting* to consume news but not feeling like they can (e.g., Carpini et al., 2018; Hardman et al., 2023; Soular & Bernal, 2021). Perhaps, in finding that the news they consume does not feel made for them, they will potentially decide to avoid news altogether or move to alternative sources, giving us deeper insights into individual news consumption decisions.

Beyond looking at the correlation between News is Not Made for Me and news consumption as well as avoidance, we are particularly interested in exploring whether the perception that News is Not Made for Me is linked to knowledge of current affairs and susceptibility to misinformation. Prior research has established that both current affairs knowledge (e.g., Carpini & Keeter, 1996) and belief in misinformation (Humprecht et al., 2020) are shaped by information pathways, including news exposure. Moreover, knowledge and misinformation could play a critical role in individual and societal well-being, influencing areas such as individual public health decisions and political participation. By examining whether individuals who feel that the news is not tailored to them are less informed about current events and more susceptible to misinformation, we can gain valuable insights into their information habits and understand whether this perception is related to broader inequalities, related to the outcomes of news use. **RQ2:** How does the *News is Not Made for Me* measure correlate with a) news consumption, b) selective news avoidance, c) current affairs knowledge, and d) misinformation beliefs?

#### **Context of the Study: Brazil & UK**

To answer these research questions, we first pretested an extended version of the scale with a smaller sample before fielding the final scale to two larger samples across Brazil and the UK. Selecting the UK and Brazil as sites for this study is advantageous because it gives us both a Western and non-Western perspective, compares countries with two different media systems, and because of their differing social structures in terms of demographic equalities (e.g., United Nations Gender Inequality Index; UNDP, 2024). Finally, the differences in language between the two countries affords us the opportunity to validate the scale in both English and Portuguese, further demonstrating its functionality outside of just the English-speaking world.

#### Pretest

The pretest was conducted using a sample of 212 respondents from the UK fielded by the Netquest panel company. The complete list of items used in the pretest can be found in Table 1. The original scale was composed of 16 items adapted from various qualitative research projects. The 16 items were answered using a 7-point Likert scale from "Does not describe me" to "Describes me completely." Items included statements such as "Deciphering the news is mentally draining" and "Nobody in the news looks like me." The initial scale was intended to tap at several potential facets of "news is not for me," which could include feeling like it is not made for me, it does not represent me, it is not worth my time, and similar yet conceptually unique attitudes. Following data collection, the scale was narrowed using Principal Component Analyses to create the final News is Not Made for Me scale. The PCA results indicated eight potential components, though only two of these options achieved a considerably good

8

Cronbach's alpha value of internal consistency ( $\geq$  .80). After some minor adjustments to the newly structured and reduced scale based on our theoretical framework and goals, we developed a final scale with strong internal consistency ( $\alpha = 0.84$ ). A comprehensive description of the pretest with all relevant statistics tables is included in the Supplementary Materials.

>> Table 1 about here <<

#### Method

#### Sample

The study draws from two samples collected simultaneously by the Netquest panel company, with ethical approval from [REDACTED]. Respondents from the United Kingdom and Brazil were sampled three times between November and December 2024. The final number of valid responses from the UK sample in Wave 1 was 1,248, in Wave 2 was 1,138, and in Wave 3 was 1,034 (82.85% retention rate from Wave 1 to Wave 3). The final number of responses from the Brazil sample in Wave 1 was 1,998, in Wave 2 was 1,849, and in Wave 3 was 1,552 (77.68% retention rate from Wave 1 to Wave 3).<sup>1</sup> A description of the sample demographics and of descriptive statistics for each measure is included in the Supplementary Materials.

#### **Outcome Variables**

#### News is Not Made for Me

The News is Not Made for Me scale was presented to respondents in both countries in Wave 1. The complete list of items is detailed in Table 2. Respondents answered eight items using a seven-point "describes me completely/does not describe me at all" scale. The final score is an average of the eight items, where higher scores indicate a stronger feeling that news is not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> As some variables included "prefer not to respond" options (e.g., income, gender) and some respondents were lost across waves, some analyses rely on fewer respondents than the totals presented here. Our smallest sample size from which we draw results is 974 (UK), which still represents a 78.04% retention rate from Wave 1 to analyses.

made for me. The distributions of each sample across the seven-point scale are presented in Figure 1.

>> Table 2 about here <<

## >> Figure 1 about here <<

#### News Consumption

News consumption comprised a sum of respondents' self-reported usage of news from Wave 1. Respondents were asked how often in the past week they got news from nine different channels, such as "Print broadsheet news (e.g., The Guardian, Times)," "News podcasts (e.g., World in 10, BBC Global News Podcast)," and "Any form of social media (e.g., Facebook, YouTube, TikTok)" and answered using a five-point scale from never to multiple times per day (Newman et al., 2024).

#### Selective News Avoidance

Selective news avoidance was measured using a single item in Wave 1 asking respondents: "Do you find yourself actively trying to avoid news these days?" (Newman et al., 2024). This was answered with a five-point scale from always to never.

#### Current Affairs Knowledge

Current affairs knowledge was measured using a sum of correct answers to questions about recent news in each country across all three waves. Following existing models of multiwave knowledge measurement (Boukes, 2019; Lecheler & de Vreese, 2017), the researchers identified prominent news stories on websites for national news sources (e.g., BBC, The Sun). Questions were written to go beyond basic recall and civic knowledge, requiring some level of attentiveness to recent news to be answered correctly. The waves followed an n+1 format: Three questions in Wave 1, four in Wave 2, and five in Wave 3.

#### Misinformation Belief

Misinformation belief was adapted from previously validated measures (Damstra et al., 2021; Theocharis et al., 2021). Respondents viewed four false statements per wave that were taken from fact checking sources housed within each country (e.g., Aos Fatos [Brazil] and FullFact [UK]). For each statement, respondents were asked "To the best of your knowledge, how true do you think this statement is?" to which they responded using a five-point scale from "definitely false" to "definitely true." Responses were recoded into a dichotomous variable where 1 = believed a statement that was false to be either probably or definitely true (0 = all others). Misinformation belief is thus measured as a sum of all responses to false statements, with a higher score indicating more belief that false statements are true.

#### Controls

*Interest in soft/hard news* was measured using a three-point scale where respondents were asked to rate their level of interest in several topics (Newman et al., 2017). Soft news included entertainment/celebrity news, lifestyle, arts/culture, sports, and weird news. Hard news included international news, political news, business and economic news, and crime news. News classification categories came from previous work by Toff and Kalogeropoulos (2020).

*News self-efficacy* was measured using a previously validated scale of five items that asked respondents to rate their level of agreement from (1) strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree (Edgerly, 2021). Items included such statements as "I know how to check if facts in the news are correct or not" and "If I find a news report lacking, I know how to get more information about the topic."

The following demographic variables were also included: Age, gender (dichotomized as man/not man), income, education, political ideology (three variables representing left wing/not left wing, right wing/not right wing, apolitical/political), region (dichotomized as urban/not urban), and attention problems (pretested shortened scale including items such as "I have

problems remembering appointments or obligations" measured on a five-point scale;

Baumgartner et al., 2018).

#### Results

#### **RQ1:** Profile of News is Not Made for Me

Figure 2 plots the regression coefficients for each sample and table 3 details the results of each sample's standardized linear regression model.

>> Figure 2 about here <<

>> Table 3 about here <<

In both models, younger people report significantly stronger feelings that news is not made for them. Left wing ideology is also negatively correlated with News is Not Made for Me, indicating that the further from the left a person identifies as, the more they are also likely to report stronger feelings that news is not made for them. This finding could point towards a potential additional indicator that news outlets speak primarily to liberal audiences (e.g., Tabor et al., 2024; Usher, 2021), though this would need further exploration. The last shared significant demographic between both models is attention problems. This variable has a particularly strong relationship with News is Not Made for Me wherein those respondents who self-report more issues with focus and attention also report greater feelings that news is not for them. This relationship is supported by previous qualitative research demonstrating that news is difficult to decipher and requires considerable commitment to follow the stories and characters (Toff et al., 2023). Income and education are also both significant in Brazil (but not the UK), indicating a potential class element related to perceptions of news. Both relationships are negative, such that reporting a lower income and less education is predictive of stronger feelings that news is not made for me. This provides some early evidence of possible elite biases, or at least a perception from audiences that news is written for more elite audiences, as in previous research (e.g., Hardman et al., 2023; Usher, 2021).

There is a strong negative relationship between news self-efficacy and News is Not Made for Me, which makes theoretical sense given their closeness in concept. As people feel less confident in their own abilities to navigate the truthfulness of news and information, they also feel more strongly that news is not made for them. Additionally, interest in soft news has a strong positive relationship with News is Not Made for Me in both contexts, wherein the more interest a person has in news about topics like celebrities and sports, the more they think news is not made for them. These two relationships give an indication that people who feel news is not made for them may not actually avoid or dislike the news, they just prefer things that are easier to navigate and digest. Furthering this point, there is a significantly negative relationship between interest in hard news and News is Not Made for Me in Brazil, such that the less interest a person has in news about things like politics and business, the more they feel that news is not made for them. **RQ2: Outcomes of News is Not Made for Me** 

Figure 3 plots the regression coefficients of News is Not Made for Me for each of the main outcome variables (i.e., total news consumption, selective news avoidance, overall current affairs knowledge, autoregressive current affairs knowledge, and misinformation beliefs) across both contexts. Findings are discussed; tables with complete regression statistics are included in the Supplementary Materials.

#### **News Consumption**

Controlling for age, gender, income, education, and political ideology, the News is Not Made for Me scale is a powerful predictor of total news consumption in both contexts. Furthermore, a comparison of the  $R^2$  values of regression models predicting news consumption with and without the News is Not Made for Me variable, there is a 2% change for each of the countries, indicating that 2% of news use can be explained by this variable. Notably, the relationship between News is Not Made for Me and news consumption is positive, indicating that the more someone feels news is not for them, the more news they in fact self-report consuming. Part of this relationship may be attributed to the idea that you actually have to consume news to know it is not for you; in other words, how can a person assess that news is too confusing or too alienating without firsthand knowledge of what news is like?

#### **Selective News Avoidance**

Thus far, the profile of people who feel news is not made for them has included people who do not feel efficacious about their ability to fact-check news, who do have a strong interest in soft news, and who do self-report consuming more news than others, from a variety of sources. Given that many of the items on the News is Not Made for Me scale draw from the extensive research on news avoidance, though, we found it pertinent to examine the relationship between these two variables, with News is Not Made for Me as a possible explanation for why people selectively report avoiding news. There is indeed a positive significant relationship between News is Not Made for Me and news avoidance for both countries (Brazil  $\beta = 0.31$ ; *p* < .001; UK  $\beta = 0.31$ ; *p* < .001), wherein stronger feelings that news is not made for me leads to more news avoidance. Furthermore, a comparison of the R<sup>2</sup> values of regression models predicting news avoidance with and without the News is Not Made for Me can explain 7% of news avoidance, based on a comparison of R<sup>2</sup> values, and in the UK, this rises to 8%.

#### **Overall Current Affairs Knowledge**

To assess whether news users are learning from news, and how this might be implicated by the News is Not Made for Me sentiment, we measured both overall current affairs knowledge (i.e., correct answers to questions about recent news over three waves) and knowledge over time using autoregression(predicting Wave 3 correct knowledge questions, accounting for Wave 1 baseline). These models included all the same demographic variables as previous models as well as the total news use variable to control for news consumption.

Despite our findings that people who believe news is not made for them consume more news, and the previous literature in journalism studies that indicates consuming news leads to knowledge gains, our findings indicate a concerning negative relationship between News is Not Made for Me and overall current affairs knowledge. In both Brazil ( $\beta = -0.41$ ; p < .001) and the UK ( $\beta = -0.18$ ; p = .022), those who report greater feelings that news is not for them also score lower on current affairs knowledge questions. This significant, negative relationship points to a gap in learning, where perhaps the language, accessibility, or other features of news stories makes retention and understanding difficult for some readers. In Brazil, this relationship is further explicated, as there is a significant, negative relationship between News is Not Made for Me and knowledge in wave 3 accounting for knowledge in wave 1 through autoregression ( $\beta = -0.10$ ; p = .012; this relationship is not significant in the UK).<sup>2</sup> Thus, despite interests in some news and overall greater self-reported consumption, feeling that the news is not made for you can adversely impact knowledge over time.

#### **Misinformation Belief**

Building on these previously discussed relationships, we now measure belief in misinformation as influenced by News is Not Made for Me. It is our assumption that the increased news consumption coupled with a lack of knowledge gains over time can lend itself to increased belief in misinformation as compared to those who do not rate themselves as highly on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In addition to measuring overall current affairs knowledge, our panel data allows us to measure knowledge over time through autoregression. Following previous work (Gil de Zúñiga & Diehl, 2018; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2022), we account for the effects of current affairs knowledge in Wave 1 on Wave 3 by including the Wave 1 score as an independent variable in a model where Wave 3 knowledge scores are the dependent variable. Doing so provides a more rigorous measure by accounting for a baseline level of knowledge.

the News is Not Made for Me scale. News is Not Made for Me has a strong influence on misinformation beliefs, even when controlling for known demographic influences and total news use. In both Brazil ( $\beta = 0.29$ ; p < .001) and the UK ( $\beta = 0.31$ ; p < .001), those who report stronger feelings that news is not made for them also state that they believe more false statements to be true. This has concerning implications for news studies, as it demonstrates that feelings of alienation and inaccessibility from the news are related to an inability to determine truth from fiction in news stories.

>> Figure 3 about here <<

#### Discussion

The present study employed three wave panel surveys of both Brazil and the UK to pretest and validate a novel scale measuring the "news is not made for me" sentiment. Through this reliable eight-item scale, we are able to assess the perceptions individuals hold towards news production as it relates to the accessibility, familiarity, and belongingness they feel as a potential news audience member. Items assessed attitudes such as "Even if I read a news story, I get lost in the bigger picture," "Deciphering the news is mentally draining," "If I had to guess, I don't think I have much in common with people who read the news," and "Whenever I read the news, it feels like they are writing for someone else." Until now, many of these sentiments were expressed in qualitative terms, with interviewees sharing their frustrations on the inaccessibility of news (e.g., Carpini et al., 2018; Toff et al., 2023), but there was a gap that prevented quantitative researchers from accessing these feelings from respondents with a usable scale. Thus, the present study contributes to the field by developing, validating, and presenting the findings of such a scale for future use by journalism scholars.

The people who feel news is not made for them are, demographically, the ones we would likely most expect: Younger people, less left-wing people, and people who express more

#### NEWS IS NOT MADE FOR ME

difficulty focusing and paying attention. Additionally, there appears to be an element of class inequalities in the Brazilian sample, given that lower income and less educated people also report greater feelings that news is not made for me. It is worth acknowledging that beyond these, no other demographic variables significantly fit the profile of those who believed news is not made for them. These findings set the News is Not Made for Me scale apart from previous research that has indicated gender, geographic region, and the like contribute to selective news avoidance and disaffection from journalism (e.g., Henry & Hardman, 2019; Toff et al., 2023). Furthermore, news self-efficacy was significantly correlated with News is Not Made for Me, demonstrating that a person's self-perceived capabilities to navigate the complex information ecosystem (Edgerly, 2021) has an influence on whether they believe the news is made for them. Finally, it is important to assert that people who feel news is not made for them are not uninterested in news. Rather, interest in soft news (and a significant lack of interest in hard news in Brazil) is strongly associated with greater feelings that news is not made for someone. People who believe news is not made for them are interested in news topics, but these are news topics that we typically consider to be lower brow than topics like politics, business, and international affairs. Perhaps these individuals would benefit from news delivered in more entertaining formats, as has been proposed in information ecosystem assessments in the past (e.g., Carpini et al., 2018).

People who feel news is not made for them are not uninterested in news, and they are also not avoiding news. People who believed news is not made for them self-reported more consumption than others across both samples. As speculated previously, part of this could be related to the idea that you have to consume some news to form the opinion that it is not made for you. Despite their increased self-reported news consumption, people who feel news is not for them also report selectively avoiding news more often. This is not out of line with previous research that has identified this inconsistency among news avoiders (Andersen et al., 2024), and future research should explore what channels, topics, or other features of news people with strong feelings that news is not for them are avoiding.

The findings that are perhaps most impactful are that those who feel news is not made for them demonstrate lower knowledge scores, less knowledge gains over time, and greater belief in misinformation statements. People who believe the news is not made for them – that deciphering the news is draining, that the language is one they do not understand, and that they do not have things in common with journalists or news readers – are reaping far fewer benefits from news, despite consuming more of it than their counterparts. Despite their interests in some aspects of news and their overall self-reported consumption of it, people who feel news is not made for them miss out on the previously established links between interest and consumption on knowledge and navigating misinformation. As such, the News is Not Made for Me scale highlights a unique group of people that are otherwise missed in studies examining these relationships and shows how this relationship with news production can influence previously established barometers for benefits of news use.

#### References

- Aalberg, T., Blekesaune, A., & Elvestad, E. (2013). Media choice and informed democracy: Toward increasing news consumption gaps in Europe? *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 18(3), 281-303.
- Andersen, K., Toff, B., & Ytre-Arne, B. (2024). Introduction: What we (don't) know about news avoidance. *Journalism Studies*, 25(12), 1367-1384.
- Baugut, P., & Neumann, K. (2019). How right-wing extremists use and perceive news media. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 96(3), 696-720.

- Baumgartner, S. E., van der Schuur, W. A., Lemmens, J. S., & te Poel, F. (2018). The relationship between media multitasking and attention problems in adolescents: Results of two longitudinal studies. *Human Communication Research*, 44(1), 3-30.
- Benesch, C. (2012). An empirical analysis of the gender gap in news consumption. *Journal of Media Economics*, 25(3), 147-167.
- Boukes, M. (2019). Social network sites and acquiring current affairs knowledge: The impact of Twitter and Facebook usage on learning about the news. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics, 16*(1), 36-51.
- Boukes, M., & Vliegenthart, R. (2017). News consumption and its unpleasant side effect:Studying the effect of hard and soft news exposure on mental well-being over time.*Journal of Media Psychology*, 29(3), 137-147.
- Bryanov, K., & Vziatsheva, V. (2021). Determinants of individuals' belief in fake news: A scoping review determinants of belief in fake news. *PLOS One*, *16*(6), e0253717.
- Carpini, M. X. D., & Keeter, S. (1993). Measuring political knowledge: Putting first things first. *American Journal of Political Science*, 1179-1206.
- Carpini, M. X. D., Suárez, M. M., & Herman, B. (2018). Being informed: A study of the information needs and habits of Philadelphia residents. *The Lenfest Institute*. [Report.]
- Chyi, H. I., & Lee, A. M. (2013). Online news consumption: A structural model linking preference, use, and paying intent. *Digital Journalism*, *1*(2), 194-211.
- Coddington, M., Lewis, S. C., & Belair-Gagnon, V. (2021). The imagined audience for news:
  Where does a journalist's perception of the audience come from? *Journalism Studies*, 22(8), 1028-1046.
- Damstra, A., Vliegenthart, R., Boomgaarden, H., Glüer, K., Lindgren, E., Strömback, J., & Tsfati, Y. (2021). Knowledge and the news: An investigation of the relation between

news use, news avoidance, and the presence of (mis)beliefs. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 28(1), 29-48.

- Edgerly, S. (2021). The head and the heart of news avoidance: How attitudes about the news media relate to levels of news consumption. *Journalism*, *23*(9), 1828-1845.
- Gil de Zúñiga, H., Cheng, Z., & González-González, P. (2022). Effects of the news finds me perception on algorithmic news attitudes and social media political homophily. *Journal of Communication*, 72(5), 578-591.
- Gil de Zúñiga, H., & Diehl, T. (2018). News finds me perception and democracy: Effects on political knowledge, political interest, and voting. *New Media & Society*, 21(6), 1253-1271.
- Goyanes, M., Ardèvol-Abreu, A., & Gil de Zúñiga, H. (2023). Antecedents of news avoidance:
  Competing effects of political interest, news overload, trust in news media, and "news finds me" perception. *Digital Journalism*, 11(1), 1-18.
- Hardman, J., Ortiz, M., & Rivera, S. (2023). Montgomery County, PA: Latinx/Latino Information ecosystem assessment. *The Listening Post Collective by Internews*. [Report.]
- Haugsgjerd, A., & Karlsen, R. (2022). Election campaigns, news consumption gaps, and social media: Equalizing political news use when it matters? *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 29(2), 507-529.
- Humprecht, E., Esser, F., & Van Aelst, P. (2020). Resilience to online disinformation: A framework for cross-national comparative research. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 25(3), 493-516.
- Henry, O., & Hardman, J. (2019). An information ecosystem assessment of South Fresno and surrounding rural communities. *The Listening Post Collective by Internews*. [Report.]

- Lawrence, R. G., Tabor, C. D., Nicolosi, M., & DeVigal, A. (2022). Assessing Oregon's local news & information ecosystem: Connecting news, information, and civic health. *Agora Journalism Center*. [Report.]
- Lecheler, S., & de Vreese, C. H. (2017). News media, knowledge, and political interest:
  Evidence of a dual role from a field experiment. *Journal of Communication*, 67(4), 545-564.
- Lind, F., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2019). What we do and don't know: A meta-analysis of the knowledge gap hypothesis. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 43(3), 210-224.
- Mannell, K., & Meese, J. (2022). From doom-scrolling to news avoidance: Limiting news as a wellbeing strategy during COVID lockdown. *Journalism Studies*, *23*(3), 302-319.
- Massuchin, M. G., Orso, M., de Moura, J. F., & Saleh, D. M. (2022). "Trash!", "Leftist!",
  "Scumbag!", "#Fakenews!", but not so much: Attacks and criticism towards media institutions and strategic use of journalism by online far-right activism in Brazil. *Brazilian Journalism Research*, 18(3), 492-523.
- Mathews, N. (2020). Life In a News Desert: The Perceived Impact of a Newspaper Closure on Community Members. *Journalism*, *23*(6), 1250-65.
- Merkley, E. (2019). Partisan bias in economic news content. *American Politics Research*, 47(6), 1303-1323.
- Napoli, P., Stonbely, S., McCollough, K., & Renninger, B. (2017). Local journalism and the information needs of local communities: Towards a scalable assessment approach. *Journalism Practice*, 11(4), 373-395.
- Neff, T., Popiel, P., & Pickard, V. (2022). Philadelphia's news media system: Which audiences are underserved? *Journal of Communication*, 72(4), 476-487.

- Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Kalogeropoulos, A., Levy, D. A. L., & Nielsen, R. K. (2017). *Digital News Report 2017*. Reuters Institute. [Report.]
- Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Robertson, C. T., Arguedas, A. R., & Nielsen, R. K. (2024). *Digital News Report 2024*. Reuters Institute. [Report.]
- Palmer, R., & Toff, B. (2020). What does it take to sustain a news habit? The role of civic duty norms and a connection to a "news community" among news avoiders in the UK and Spain. *International Journal of Communication*, 14, 1634-1653.
- Pérez-Escolar, M., Lilleker, D., & Tapia-Frade, A. (2023). A systematic literature review of the phenomenon of disinformation and misinformation. *Media and Communication*, 11(2), 76-87.
- Rauch, J. (2020). *Resisting the news: Engaged audiences, alternative media, and popular critique of journalism.* Routledge.
- Schmitt, J. B., Debbelt, C. A., & Schneider, F. M. (2017). Too much information? Predictors of information overload in the context of online news exposure. *Information, Communication & Society*, 21(8), 1151-1167.
- Shaker, L. (2014). Dead Newspapers and Citizens' Civic Engagement. *Political Communication*, *31*(1), 131-148.
- Shehata, A., & Strömbäck, J. (2011). A matter of context: A comparative study of media environments and news consumption gaps in Europe. *Political Communication*, 28(1), 110-134.
- Soular, D. A., & Bernal, D. M. (2021). Southern New Mexico News & Information Ecosystem Assessment. *New Mexico Local News Fund*. [Report.]

- Stonebly, S. (2021). What makes for robust local news provision? Looking at the structural correlates of local news coverage for an entire U.S. state, and mapping local news using a new method. *Center for Cooperative Media*. [Report.]
- Tabor, C. D., Jonkman, J. G. F., & Boukes, M. (2024). Mutual influences in economic agendas: Assessing dynamics and conditionality in longitudinal relationships between media, politics, and public. *Communication Research*, 51(8), 927-1057.
- Theocharis, Y., Cardenal, A., Jin, S., Aalberg, T., Hopmann, D. N., Strömback, J., Catro, L., Esser, F., Van Aelst, P., de Vreese, C., Corbu, N., Koc-Michalska, K., Matthes, J., Schemer, C., Sheafer, T., Splendore, S., Stanyer, J., Stępińska, A., Stetka, V. (2021).
  Does the platform matter? Social media and COVID-19 conspiracy theory beliefs in 17 countries. *New Media & Society*, *25*(12), 3412-3437.
- Toff, B., & Kalogeropoulos, A., (2020). All the news that's fit to ignore: How the information environment does and does not shape news avoidance. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 84(S1), 366-390.
- Toff, B., & Palmer, R. (2018). Explaining the gender gap in news avoidance: "News-is-for-men" perceptions and the burdens of caretaking. *Journalism Studies*, 20(11), 1563-1579.
- Toff, B., Palmer, R., & Nielsen, R. K. (2023). *Avoiding the news: Reluctant audiences for journalism*. Columbia University Press.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (2024). *Human development report 2023-24: Breaking the gridlock: Reimagining cooperation in a polarized world.* United Nations.
- Usher, M. (2021). *News for the rich, white, and blue: How place and power distort American journalism.* Columbia University Press.

## **Tables & Figures**

## Table 1

Complete list of items before pre-testing with citations from where the item was adapted.

Item	Citation	
1. News media speak and write at a level I'm not	Soular & Bernal, 2021	
comfortable with.		
2. Nobody in the news looks like me.	Henry & Hardman, 2019	
3. <i>R</i> : People in the news are familiar to me.	Henry & Hardman, 2019	
4. <i>R</i> : I can keep up with the pace of news.	Toff et al., 2023	
5. Even if I read a news story, I get lost in the bigger picture.	Toff et al., 2023	
6. I would try and catch up on current events, but I'm already so far behind that it feels hopeless.	Palmer & Toff, 2020	
7. <i>R</i> : It makes sense for me to consume news because it will have a meaningful impact on me.	Palmer & Toff, 2020	
8. Deciphering the news is mentally draining.	Toff et al., 2023	
9. If I had to guess, I don't think I have much in common with people who make the news.	Coddington et al., 2021	
10. If I had to guess, I don't think I have much in common with people who read the news.	Coddington et al., 2021	
11. Whenever I read the news, it feels like they are writing for somebody else.	Coddington et al., 2021	
12. The news doesn't affect me.	Carpini et al., 2018	
13. The news isn't worth my time.	Carpini et al., 2018	
14. R: I can easily understand what newscasters say.	Carpini et al., 2018	
15. <i>R</i> : News outlets don't cover the topics I care about or need to know.	Hardman et al., 2023	
16. News isn't really delivered in a way that I can access easily.	Hardman et al., 2023	

Note: Items with an R at the start were reverse coded.

## Table 2

Final News is Not Made for Me Scale

### Item

- 1. News media speak and write at a level I'm not comfortable with.
- 2. *Reversed:* I can keep up with the pace of news.
- 3. Even if I read a news story, I get lost in the bigger picture.
- 4. Deciphering the news is mentally draining.
- 5. If I had to guess, I don't think I have much in common with people who read the news.
- 6. Whenever I read the news, it feels like they are writing for somebody else.
- 7. *Reversed:* I can easily understand what newscasters say.

8. News isn't really delivered in a way that I can access easily.

*Note:* Pretest sample  $\alpha = 0.84$ ; combined sample  $\alpha = 0.77$ ; UK sample  $\alpha = 0.82$ ; Brazil sample  $\alpha = 0.72$ . Items randomized in the battery. Respondents used the following scale: (1) Does not describe me at all, (2) Barely describes me, (3) Describes me slightly, (4) Neither does nor does not describe me, (5) Somewhat describes me, (6) Mostly describes me, (7) Describes me completely. Portuguese translated items can be found in the Supplementary Materials.

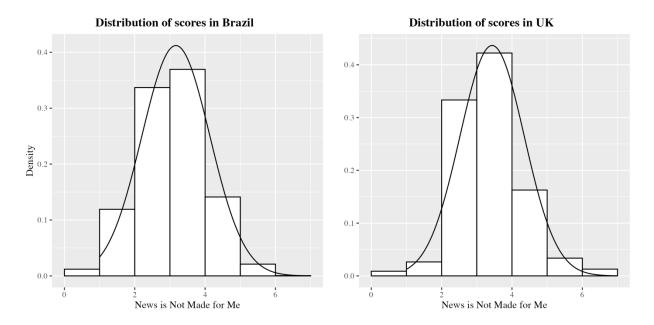
#### Table 3

	<b>Brazil</b> ( <i>n</i> = 1430)		<b>UK</b> ( <i>n</i> = 974)	
Variable	Estimate (SE)	<i>p</i> -value	Estimate (SE)	<i>p</i> -value
Age	-0.09 (0.03)	<.001 ***	-0.11 (0.03)	.001 **
Gender (Man)	-0.00 (0.02)	.925	0.02 (0.03)	.447
Income	-0.06 (0.03)	.028 *	-0.05 (0.03)	.145
Education	-0.07 (0.03)	.007 **	0.00 (0.03)	.907
Left Wing	-0.10 (0.03)	<.001 ***	-0.07 (0.03)	.031 *
Right Wing	0.04 (0.03)	.116	0.05 (0.03)	.107
Urban	0.03 (0.03)	.204	0.05 (0.03)	.101
<b>Attention Problems</b>	0.21 (0.02)	<.001 ***	0.16 (0.03)	<.001 ***
News Self-Efficacy	-0.15 (0.03)	<.001 ***	-0.09 (0.03)	.004 **
Interest in Soft News	0.23 (0.03)	<.001 ***	0.11 (0.03)	.002 **
Interest in Hard News	-0.13 (0.03)	<.001 ***	0.04 (0.04)	.281
F-Statistics	F(11, 1418) = 30.89; p < .001		F(11, 962) = 10.33; p < .001	
Multiple $R^2$	.193		.106	

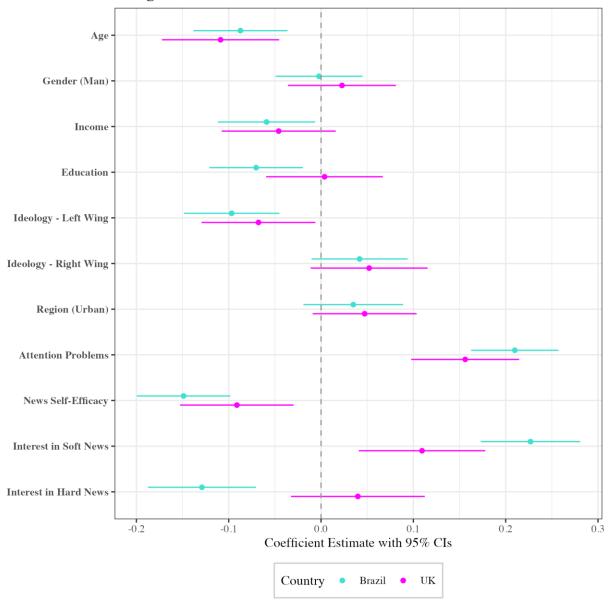
Linear regression results with News is Not Made for Me as dependent variable

*Note:* Independent variable values are standardized on a 1-7 scale (DV: News is Not Made for Me). Boldface variables are significant: \* < .05; \*\* < .01, \*\*\* < .001.

# Figure 1

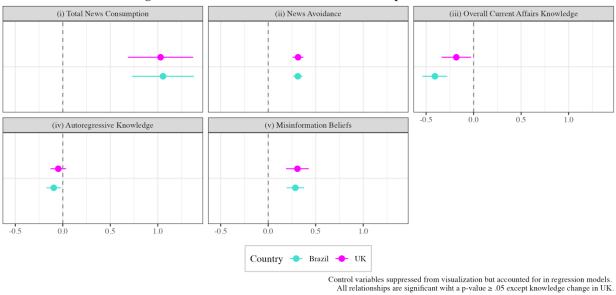


## Figure 2



Linear Regression Results with News is Not Made for Me as DV

## Figure 3



Regression Coefficients where NINMFM is an Independent Variable