



Predictive Modeling of News Engagement: Machine Learning Approaches to Audience Psychology

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Abstract

Machine learning methods have enabled the construction of news engagement prediction models of unprecedented predictive power, yet the psychological interpretability of these models-what they reveal about the psychological processes driving engagement-remains limited by a fundamental tension between predictive performance and explanatory transparency. This paper reviews the state of the art in ML-based news engagement prediction, evaluating models from linear regression baselines through gradient boosting machines to large language model-based content classifiers, and arguing that the field requires a paradigm shift from prediction-only objectives toward psychologically interpretable predictive models that simultaneously predict engagement and explain its psychological mechanisms. The paper reviews the feature categories that contribute most to engagement prediction: content features (emotional valence, narrative structure, topic salience, linguistic complexity), temporal features (publication time, news cycle position), social features (prior sharing counts, source credibility signals), and reader features (demographic profile, prior reading history, device context). SHAP (Shapley

Additive exPlanations) analysis is evaluated as a methodology for post-hoc psychological interpretation of black-box ML models. The paper proposes the Psychologically Interpretable Engagement Model (PIEM) framework, which integrates pre-specified psychological theories as structural constraints in engagement prediction models, enabling simultaneous prediction and theory testing. Applications to individual-level adaptive content delivery and population-level engagement pattern analysis are discussed alongside their ethical implications.

Keywords: machine learning; news engagement prediction; interpretable AI; SHAP analysis; audience psychology; NLP journalism; predictive modeling; engagement features.

1. Introduction

The application of machine learning to news engagement prediction has produced systems capable of predicting whether a news article will be clicked, shared, or commented on with 70-85% accuracy-performance that far exceeds human editorial intuition and enables automated content optimization at scale (Aarzo & Lal, 2024). News organizations use engagement prediction models to rank articles in recommendation feeds, optimize headline variants through A/B testing automation, calibrate notification timing, and identify breakout content early in its circulation lifecycle. Advertising platforms use engagement prediction to price content placement. Social media platforms use predicted engagement as a central component of content ranking algorithms.

Yet the predictive success of ML engagement models has not translated into psychological understanding. The gradient boosting machines and neural networks that achieve state-of-the-art prediction performance are, in the conventional formulation, "black boxes" whose internal representations cannot be directly interpreted in terms of psychological constructs (Aarzo & Lal, 2025a). A model may correctly predict that a specific article will generate high sharing behavior based on 500 input features without revealing whether the prediction is driven by the article's emotional arousal content, its social identity relevance, its novelty value, or its statistical rarity in the training distribution.

This interpretability gap has both scientific and practical consequences. Scientifically, engagement prediction models that cannot be interpreted cannot adjudicate between competing psychological theories of engagement-they produce predictive performance without explanatory progress. Practically, news organizations operating engagement optimization systems without psychological interpretation may be optimizing for statistically salient training data patterns that do not correspond to durable psychological values-creating systems that maximize engagement with content types that happened to perform well in the training period rather than content that genuinely satisfies audience psychological needs.

This paper argues that the field requires psychologically interpretable engagement prediction-models designed from the outset to incorporate and test psychological theory rather than to maximize predictive performance on validation sets (Aarzo & Lal, 2025b). The Psychologically Interpretable Engagement Model (PIEM) framework is proposed as a methodological approach that constrains ML model architecture to preserve interpretability in terms of validated psychological constructs.

2. Literature Review

The engagement prediction literature has progressed through three generations corresponding to methodological advances in machine learning and natural language processing.

First-generation models (2008-2014) used hand-crafted features with logistic regression or support vector machines. Berger and Milkman's (2012) study of New York Times articles demonstrated that emotional content-particularly positive high-arousal emotions (awe, amusement, anger)-predicted viral sharing. Their analysis used human-coded emotion ratings as features, achieving 64% accuracy in predicting most-shared status. Praeger and Jansen's (2009) analysis of 30,000 digg submissions found that posting time, source category, and title length were strong sharing predictors alongside content features. These early models established the feature categories that remain important in current approaches.

Second-generation models (2014-2019) used deep learning text representations-word embeddings (Word2Vec, GloVe) and eventually transformer models-that substantially improved prediction performance. Tsagkias et al. (2016) achieved AUC = 0.79 for article popularity prediction using LSTM text encoders trained on 300,000 news articles. Vo and Lee's (2018) analysis of 72,000 news-related tweets demonstrated that BERT-based models outperformed hand-crafted feature models by 8-12 AUC points on news engagement tasks

(Aarzoo & Lal, 2026). These performance improvements came at an interpretability cost: deep learning text representations encode semantic information diffusely across millions of parameters rather than in interpretable feature spaces.

Third-generation models (2019-present) have focused on multimodal prediction integrating text, visual, temporal, and user context features. Zhang et al. (2023) used a multimodal transformer model integrating article text, headline, image content, and temporal metadata to predict article-level sharing counts with $r = .71$ on a validation set of 50,000 articles across five news organizations. The performance advantage of multimodal models over text-only models is consistently 5-15 AUC points, confirming that psychological responses to news are not fully captured by linguistic content. The interpretability challenge is compounded in multimodal architectures: identifying which modality contributes to specific predictions requires specialized attribution methods.

SHAP (Shapley Additive exPlanations; Lundberg & Lee, 2017) provides the most theoretically grounded post-hoc interpretation framework for complex ML models. SHAP values estimate the marginal contribution of each input feature to a specific prediction, derived from cooperative game theory (Lal & Aarzoo, 2026). Applied to news engagement models, SHAP analysis can identify which specific article features (headline length, emotional arousal word count, entity salience) most strongly drive a specific article's predicted engagement score. Aggregated SHAP values across large datasets provide the global feature importance that enables psychological interpretation of model behavior.

3. Theoretical Framework

The Psychologically Interpretable Engagement Model (PIEM) framework integrates theoretical psychological constructs as architectural constraints in ML engagement models, enabling simultaneous prediction and theory testing.

The framework begins from the insight that psychological theories of engagement — curiosity gap theory, dual-process theory, social identity theory, narrative transportation theory — make specific predictions about which content features should predict engagement and through which psychological processes. Rather than allowing ML models to discover arbitrary feature-engagement associations from training data, PIEM architectures are designed so that interpretable psychological feature blocks (curiosity gap features, emotional arousal features, social identity relevance features, narrative coherence features) are explicitly represented as model components, enabling assessment of each block's predictive contribution.

Concretely, a PIEM architecture would include: (1) a curiosity gap feature extractor (trained to quantify the information gap signal in headlines using a validated annotation framework); (2) an emotional arousal feature extractor (trained on validated affect measurement data to output arousal and valence scores); (3) a social identity relevance classifier (trained to identify articles relevant to specific social identities of target audience segments); (4) a narrative coherence scorer (trained on human annotations of narrative structure and completeness); and (5) a factual complexity index (operationalizing the challenge-skill balance concept from flow theory). The ML model's final engagement prediction is a function of these interpretable psychological feature blocks alongside nuisance features (temporal, network, platform features) that improve prediction without informing theory.

PIEM analysis reveals: the relative predictive contributions of different psychological mechanisms across content categories, demographic segments, and engagement types (click, share, dwell); the interaction patterns between mechanisms (does arousal amplify curiosity gap effects?); and the temporal dynamics of mechanism relevance (does social identity relevance become more predictive during politically charged periods?).

4. Methodology

The PIEM validation study requires access to article-level engagement data (shares, comments, dwell time, click-through rates from internal analytics) across a large corpus (minimum 100,000 articles from multiple publishers) alongside the content features required to populate each psychological feature block. The recommended study design uses a 70-15-15 train-validation-test split with temporal holdout: the test set consists of articles published after the training period to prevent temporal leakage.

Feature extraction pipeline: curiosity gap scoring uses a fine-tuned BERT model trained on human annotations of headline information gap intensity (N = 5,000 annotated headlines). Emotional arousal and valence extraction uses the NRC Emotion Lexicon (Mohammad & Turney, 2013) and VADER sentiment analyzer (Hutto & Gilbert, 2014) for baseline measures, with fine-tuned transformer models for improved accuracy. Social identity relevance is operationalized through topic model-based article clustering aligned with audience segment interests. Narrative coherence uses automated coherence scoring based on entity chain continuity and causal connective density.

Model comparison: PIEM performance is compared against a black-box gradient boosting machine using all available features, enabling assessment of the performance cost of

interpretability constraints. The SHAP analysis of the black-box model provides an interpretability benchmark against which PIEM's theory-guided interpretation can be evaluated.

5. Results

The PIEM framework is expected to achieve engagement prediction AUC of 0.72-0.78 — below the black-box benchmark of 0.78-0.84 but with substantially superior psychological interpretability. SHAP analysis of the black-box model is expected to confirm that curiosity gap features and emotional arousal features are the top-ranked global predictors, consistent with theoretical predictions. PIEM block-level analysis is expected to reveal differential mechanism relevance across content categories: curiosity gap features should be most predictive for political news, narrative coherence features should be most predictive for long-form journalism, and emotional arousal features should be most predictive for human interest and crime content. These predictions are theoretically motivated and will either confirm or disconfirm specific theoretical claims about engagement psychology.

6. Discussion

The PIEM framework has implications beyond performance benchmarking. If interpretable psychological mechanisms predict engagement nearly as well as black-box models, news organizations have a principled basis for choosing PIEM architectures for editorial applications: they gain near-equivalent predictive utility with interpretability that enables editorial judgment about which engagement-predictive features align with journalistic values. If emotional arousal is the dominant engagement predictor regardless of informational value — as some black-box SHAP analyses have suggested — editorial systems can be explicitly designed to constrain arousal-maximization in favor of information quality metrics.

7. Limitations

PIEM's performance disadvantage relative to black-box models represents a real interpretability-performance trade-off that editorial contexts must weigh. The quality of psychological feature blocks depends on the quality of training data and annotation for each block — where validated training data is limited (social identity relevance, narrative coherence), feature quality degrades and both predictive power and interpretability suffer. The framework assumes that validated psychological constructs capture the engagement-relevant

aspects of news content — an assumption that may be violated for novel content types or emerging platform affordances without theoretical precedent.

8. Conclusion

Machine learning approaches to news engagement prediction have achieved impressive performance but limited psychological insight. The PIEM framework bridges this gap by integrating validated psychological theories as architectural constraints that preserve interpretability without prohibitive performance costs. As news organizations make increasingly consequential editorial decisions based on engagement predictions, the field needs models that simultaneously predict and explain — enabling decisions that optimize for audience psychology rather than training data artifacts.

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