

1 **Title: Risk News Framing Effect – The Power of Audiences**

2

3 **Authors:**

4 **Grzegorz Kapuściński, Barry Richards**

5 **Abstract:**

6

7 This media effects study reflects on the practices tourists employ in making destination
8 risk judgments on the basis of news coverage of terrorist attacks and events of political
9 instability. Through qualitative research, insights are gained into the link between
10 news media representations of risk and individual destination risk information
11 processing. The paper discusses the nuanced ways in which audiences interpret
12 destination risk by drawing on a blend of their knowledge of hazards and portrayals of
13 risk embedded in news reports. The findings point towards a cognitive transactional model
14 of media effects, which recognise the active role and power of audiences in
15 determining effects. Consideration is given to psychological mechanism underlying
16 framing effects and destination marketing practice.

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28

29

30

1 **Keywords:** News framing, risk perception, terrorism, political instability, destination image

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

1 **Introduction**

2 News media representations of conflict and hazards are an important source of information
3 about tourist destination safety levels (Fuchs, Uriely, Reichel, & Maoz, 2013; Mansfeld,
4 2006; Stepchenkova & Eales, 2010; Walters, Mair, & Lim, 2016). The reports feed into
5 personal risk judgments which essentially help people avoid negative consequences of
6 exposure to hazards. Potential loss of time or money can deter tourists from experiences they
7 value; however, the possibility of physical harm and/or psychological trauma are likely to be
8 the least tolerable due to severity of their impact. While some degree of physical harm risk
9 may be tolerable by, for example, tourists who seek thrills of extreme sports and novelty
10 (Lepp & Gibson, 2008; Sharifpour, Walters, & Ritchie, 2013) places associated with a chance
11 of exposure to human induced hazards such as bombings, shootings are beyond the threshold
12 of acceptability of many.

13 Concern about potential threats can prompt tourists to adopt risk reduction strategies, of
14 which seeking latest destination news is a frequent behaviour (Adam, 2015; Fuchs & Reichel,
15 2011; Lo, Law, & Cheung, 2011). The outcome of the interaction between messages
16 concerning hazards and potential destination visitors is of paramount importance to
17 destination marketers who seek to avoid distorted images of destination safety and potential
18 drop in arrivals. Despite this, little attention has been devoted to the issue of consumer
19 interpretation of risk news in tourism literature. Dual process theories, such as the heuristic-
20 systematic model (HSM) (Chaiken, 1980) and elaboration likelihood model (ELM) (Petty &
21 Cacioppo, 1986) suggest that people attend to and consider persuasive or other messages in
22 two different ways. Systematic or central route processors, analyse messages carefully and
23 weigh alternative arguments, while heuristic or peripheral processors are less deliberate,
24 respond to cues (e.g. trusted news source) and take other mental short-cuts (e.g. examples of
25 other events that come to mind) for quick intuitive judgments. According to these theories,
26 one of the key factors that determine which route is taken is the extent to which information
27 can be handled effectively and understood by message recipients. Evidence from studies
28 concerning risk information processing suggests that people have significant problems with
29 interpreting risk as potential outcome probabilities when making decisions or forming risk
30 judgment (Kunreuther, Slovic, & Olsen, 2017; Sunstein, 2003). This is expected to be
31 especially true in light of complex events which people may know little about e.g. political
32 and social turmoil in a foreign country. The difficulty of the task is additionally compounded
33 by the fact that it is not uncommon for consumers to make travel decisions under pressures of

1 time or money, with imperfect knowledge of hazards and risk events that are unfolding on the
2 screen of their TV's or mobile devices. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that under such
3 conditions some tourist audiences may employ simpler heuristic strategies reacting to
4 peripheral cues. For example, a tourist faced with the need to judge the potential for conflict
5 escalation within a foreign political system may decide that large scale civil strife is unlikely
6 due to memorable examples of limited impact events.

7 Dual processes described above are reflected in their risk specific equals termed as 'risk-as-
8 analysis' and 'risk-as-feelings'. Former, typically employed by experts, emphasises
9 individuals' capacity to be analytical in risk assessment, and the latter, often employed by
10 ordinary people, emphasises the tendency for individuals to rely intuitive experiences
11 (Loewenstein & Lerner, 2003; Slovic & Peters, 2006). Research suggests that affect, studied
12 as valence i.e. positive versus negative (Johnson & Tversky 1983), and specific emotions e.g.
13 anger and fear (Lerner et al. 2003) play a critical role in risk perception. Although efficient,
14 judgments guided by intuition in affect-rich contexts such as violent crimes can lead to
15 overestimation of risk (Breckenridge, Zimbardo, & Sweeton, 2010) and poor choices to avoid
16 wrongfully perceived scenarios of risk. For instance, as a result of exposure to vivid
17 depictions of 9/11th attack and induced fear of terrorism-related death in airplanes, many
18 Americans substituted air travel with far riskier car travel leading to a large increase in traffic
19 fatalities (Gigerenzer, 2006). This dynamic is also commented by Sunstein (2005), who
20 demonstrates how the inevitably fallible logic of risk as feelings employed by the general
21 public, or populist approach to risk, drives regulation of risk identified on the basis of lay
22 opinion and fear rather than scientifically sound information produced by 'risk as analysis',
23 or the technocratic approach. Following the populist logic and public demand for information
24 about some dangers fed by the heightened media focus has led to exaggerated climate of fear
25 and a quest for totally safe environments which can never be met (Bianchi, 2006). Given that
26 news of terrorism and political instability typically involve vivid descriptions and imagery
27 that invoke strong emotions, the role of risk as feelings in this context is particularly
28 important.

29 Related to this issue is the news framing theory of media effects which is helpful in
30 understanding different ways in which news texts are organised and audiences come to think
31 of different problems. Frames embedded in news coverage can be understood as "a central
32 organising idea or a story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events"
33 (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987, p. 143). The invitation extended to a recipient to adopt a

1 particular interpretative lens can work on the same basis as heuristic strategies (Entman and
2 Pellicano, 2009) in that they are used (or can act as a means) to “help simplify complex issues
3 by lending greater weight to certain considerations and arguments over others” (Nisbet, 2010,
4 p. 44). Conceptualised as a heuristic process, an effect is said to occur when in the process of
5 forming their opinion, recipients focus on the features of a message emphasised by the sender
6 and arrive at an interpretation promoted by the frame (Igartua and Cheng, 2009). An
7 experiment based study by Kapuscinski and Richards (2016) demonstrates that emphasis on
8 some qualities of risk in communicating text can result in greater or lower levels of risk
9 attributed to certain destination hazards by users of these texts.

10 While useful in understanding how features of message can influence dependent variables of
11 interest, framing experiments are limited in their ability to map thought processes that occur
12 in response to exposure to a communicating text. This particular issue is of significance to
13 tourism destination marketers who strive to understand their audiences and use this
14 knowledge in communication campaigns that challenge potentially distorted representations
15 of destination risk. On a theoretical level, such knowledge is of importance to the debate
16 concerning the explanatory process of the framing. Key perspectives suggest that framing
17 effect is a function of accessibility (memory-based model) or applicability of knowledge (on-
18 line model) activated during reception of news (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016;
19 Matthes, 2007). Using a model of cognitive frame proposed by Scheufele and Scheufele
20 (2010) this study contributes to these issues by focusing on the link between leisure tourists
21 and news frames concerning risk of terrorism and political instability. Specifically, as
22 opposed to statistically demonstrating an effect in response to experimental treatments, the
23 model is used to map and represent graphically tourists’ interpretation of a fictitious hazard
24 news report to arrive at a judgment concerning destination risk. On a methodological level
25 this study proposes that the model of cognitive frame can be used as an analytical framework
26 in studies that aim to explore the issue of news reception and impact.

27 **Literature review**

28 Risk perception

29 Risk perception concerns ‘processing of physical signals and/or information about
30 potentially harmful events or activities, and the formation of a judgement about seriousness,
31 likelihood and acceptability of the respective event or activity’ (Breakwell, 2007; Renn,
32 2004; Slovic, Fischhoff, & Lichtenstein, 1982 cited by Grobe et al. 2008, p. 16). In this sense,

1 it is a subjectively defined mental model which is derived from a relationship of people with
2 hazards, such as bombings or tornadoes, which are founded upon physical properties of the
3 world. For example, a bomb explosion in a particular destination is dangerous and it may lead
4 to physical harm but it does not necessarily mean it is risky unless an individual, or, anything
5 humans value, is in close proximity to it. However, proximity to an explosion is not the only
6 factor that may be taken into account by people assessing such risks.

7 The psychometric paradigm of risk (Fischhoff, Slovic, Lichtenstein, Read, & Combs,
8 1978) suggests that in judging risk people consider a range of qualitative features of hazards
9 such as their newness, catastrophic potential, or the extent to which exposure to risk is
10 voluntary (Kunreuther et al., 2017; Renn, 2008). Initially considered mainly a cognitive
11 process, risk perception was later recognised to be largely determined by affect (Slovic and
12 Peters, 2006) and specific emotions (Lerner et al., 2003). For example, evidence suggests that
13 if individuals' feelings toward an activity are favourable, they perceive the benefits as high
14 and risks as low (Finucane, Alhakami, Slovic, & Johnson, 2000). Taking a holistic approach,
15 a dual process of conceptualising risk and explaining risk-related decisions takes into account
16 both affect and cognition (Trumbo et al., 2016).

17 From a constructionist viewpoint, the cultural theory of Douglas and Wildavsky (1982)
18 proposes that hazards are mediated by social factors i.e. socially selected and transformed
19 into risks. For instance, terrorism may be considered a particularly salient risk because of the
20 value that specific groups (e.g. western tourists) place on what terrorist seek to threaten (e.g.
21 freedom of movement as tourists) (Douglas, 1992). Other sociological perspectives such as
22 Beck's (1992) risk society, Giddens (1991), or writers who adopted Foucault's
23 governmentality (Castel, 1991; Ewald, 1991; cited in Lupton, 2006) have studied risk in the
24 context of the development of modern societies and see it as product of modernisation and
25 secularisation that lead to decline in social cohesion and trust in government. According to
26 Korstanje (2016), a new stage of development, 'thana capitalism', is characterised by a reality
27 where suffering of others, for instance experience in watching news of terrorist attacks,
28 became a form of entertainment and an instrument of self-gratification for global audiences.
29 While disgusted by being exposed to violence, audiences' find observation of others'
30 misfortune captivating because it reinforces the privileged status of a survivor.

31 Writers of socio-cultural perspectives focus on the discourses that surround and construct
32 risk, or the ways of communicating about and acting upon risk that are common to social
33 groups (Lupton 2006). From the perspective of this paper, their value lays in highlighting the

1 active role of the public in creating and re-shaping what constitutes risk which is expressed
2 by representations of risk circulating in the society (i.e. culture, social interaction, news
3 media).

4 In tourism risk perception can be understood as a judgment concerning the likelihood
5 and severity of a loss of something that tourists value. Past studies measured tourists'
6 perception of risk in relation to factors such as time, money, health, or specific issues such as
7 terrorism or political instability (PI) that may lead to a combination of unwanted
8 consequences (Fuchs et al., 2013; Jonas & Mansfeld, 2017). Unacceptable level of risk is
9 typically met with a range of strategies tourists employ to reduce risk (Adam, 2015; Law,
10 2006; Ritchie, Chien, & Sharifpour, 2017). These include searching for information
11 concerning the place at risk, attaining travel insurance, substituting places perceived as risky
12 with safer alternatives, or delaying decision to travel. In this respect, the negative perceptions
13 concerning relative safety and security present at a destination are critical. This is emphasised
14 by studies which demonstrate the negative influence on tourist arrivals of hazards such as
15 terrorist attacks or events of PI (Araña & León, 2008; Aschauer, 2014; Buigut & Amendah,
16 2015; Hamadeh & Bassil, 2017). Despite the fact that the probability of being harmed in such
17 events is typically low (Mueller, 2007), past research suggests that people tend to neglect
18 such information (Sunstein, 2003; Sunstein & Zeckhauser, 2011) and, following the logic of
19 gut feelings and fear, over-estimate risk on the basis of qualitative features of terrorism and
20 political instability such as severe consequences, vivid images of harm and injury and
21 intentional, human-induced nature (Alhakami & Slovic, 1994). This is particularly true with
22 respect to terrorism which has been described by Schmid and Jongman (1988, p. 28) as:

23 "an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action ... whereby the
24 direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human
25 victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity)
26 or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population,
27 and serve as message generators. Threat and violence-based communication
28 processes between terrorists (organisations), (imperilled) victims, and main
29 targets are used to manipulate the main target (audience)."

30 This definition underscores, the symbolic communication aspect of terrorism, or as argued
31 by Weimann (2008) 'theater of terror', which seeks to intimidate global audiences. The goal
32 is achieved by means of a symbiotic relationship between news media and terrorism

1 (Spencer, 2017). On one hand, by targeting narrowly defined symbolic groups such as
2 western tourists (Hoffman, 2006) terrorism provides violent and exciting stories which
3 captivate audiences (Korstanje, 2016), and sell the news product. On the other, the media
4 provides perpetrators with a way of spreading their message and inducing fear among the
5 general public. Vivid and affect-rich depictions of suffering potentially create a state of mind
6 in which audiences are not capable of making objective assessments of risk (Nacos, Bloch-
7 Elkon, & Shapiro, 2007), and change behaviour e.g. avoid certain destinations (e.g.
8 Gigerenzer, 2006; Rubin et al. 2007) in line with perpetrators demands.

9 While it is to be expected that some tourists travel despite such issues (Fuchs et al.,
10 2013; Hajibaba, Gretzel, Leisch, & Dolnicar, 2015) or practice dark tourism (Light, 2017)
11 many leisure tourists are discouraged. The recent string of events such as the car attacks in
12 London and Barcelona 2017, bombing in Manchester 2017, Istanbul 2016 nightclub
13 shootings, or France - Paris 2016 riots, suggest that human-made hazards remain a concern
14 for the industry and an issue that requires more research.

15 Given that risk of terrorism or PI in tourist destinations is difficult to assess by people in
16 tourist generating countries due to lack of direct stimuli and personal experience with these
17 hazards, secondary sources of information are of particular importance. In this respect, news
18 media representations of risk are of critical importance in shaping how people think of these
19 issues and their travel behaviour (Chew & Jahari, 2014; Kapuscinski & Richards, 2016;
20 Walters, Mair & Lim, 2016). Despite the importance of this issue the understanding of the
21 psychological process that governs news reception concerning risk and impact upon
22 audiences received little attention in tourism literature. Fundamental to these issues are the
23 concepts of frame and framing which are discussed in the following section.

24 News framing effects

25 News framing is essentially concerned with variations in presentation of issues (Iyengar,
26 1991) that can resonate with audiences and condition the process of news reception and
27 impact. In other words, frames are about patterns of interpretation (Scheufele, 2006) or
28 schemes for both presenting and comprehending news (Scheufele, 1999). Through selection
29 of some words, images and expressions, one can construct messages that emphasise links
30 among them in ways that promote a particular interpretation (Entman, Matthes, & Pellicano,
31 2009) while de-emphasising a less favoured one (Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliveira, 2008).
32 With respect to risk framing, the emphasis in mass media coverage of hazards on some

1 aspects of hazards to the exclusion of others has been demonstrated in a number of studies
2 (e.g. Driedger, 2007; Jönsson 2011; Marks, Kalaitzandonakes, Wilkins, & Zakharova, 2007;
3 Woods, 2007). In turn, these messages can determine how media users remember, evaluate
4 and act upon issues covered (Price & Tewksbury, 1997) including communication texts
5 concerning risk (Boholm, 2009; Danis & Stohl, 2008; Durfee, 2006; Otieno, Spada, & Renkl,
6 2013; Schuck & de Vreese, 2006; Woods, 2011). The media effects approach to framing
7 focuses on understanding the ways in which different features of a message concerning some
8 issue influence media users.

9 Past research suggests that a framing effect is an outcome of interplay between two constructs
10 i.e. media frame (or frames in communication) and individual frame (or frames in thought)
11 (Scheufele, 1999, Druckman, 2001b).

12 The former has been conceptualised by Tankard et al. (1991) as “a central organizing idea for
13 news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is” (p. 6). In other words, the
14 focus is on what the speaker or news text says (Entman, Matthes and Pellicano, 2009), such
15 as how a hazardous event is portrayed by a news outlet. Through the selection and emphasis
16 on some aspects of an issue, journalists present a story to the public within a particular frame
17 of reference to simplify the complexity (Entman, 2004; Van Gorp, 2007). Individual frame is
18 the focus on what individual is thinking, such as the judgment of personal risk. This concept
19 is also referred to as schema, which according to Fiske and Taylor (1991) is a “cognitive
20 structure that represents knowledge about a concept or type of stimulus, including its
21 attributes and relations among attributes” (p. 131). Their make-up determines an individual
22 way of receiving, organising and responding to incoming stimuli, such as, for example news
23 of a terrorist attack. If incoming content contradicts the schema, individuals may ignore it and
24 direct attention towards information compatible with the schema (Perse, 2001). Once
25 activated, that is, retrieved from the memory; schemas help to process information (Scheufele
26 and Scheufele, 2010) by relating its content to the existing understanding of topics.
27 Moreover, schemas are also used when information is missing or ambiguous. For instance,
28 when exposed to an incomplete report concerning safety as a destination (shortly after an
29 incident), an individual may draw knowledge from other similar events to fill in the blank
30 spots. As such, schemas may act as heuristics, making rapid information processing possible
31 (Igartua and Cheng, 2009, Entman, Matthes and Pellicano, 2009), as opposed to careful
32 consideration of information contained in news reports.

1 In tourism literature, the concept of framing is reflected in studies which investigate the link
2 between media and destination image. Studies of Pan and Ryan (2007) and Pan and Hsu
3 (2014) analyse travelogues to identify patterns of emphasis on some destination attributes. In
4 a more specific context of destination image, Walters et al. (2016) analyse the media
5 coverage of Blue Mountains Bushfires 2011, and find evidence of imbalanced and
6 sensationalist portrayals that may influence tourists risk perception. While influential, these
7 and other studies (e.g. Daye, 2014; Santos, 2004; Wu, Xue, Morrison, & Leung, 2012) focus
8 on media frame analysis i.e. media perspective, and as such tell us little of news reception, or,
9 the interaction between media and individual frames.

10 The work of Pan (2011) contributes to this issue in the context of responses to tourism TV
11 commercials of New Zealand. On the basis of recall data concerning images of New Zealand
12 obtained in a questionnaire on a student sample, the author demonstrates associations among
13 images recalled. Sets of associations identified e.g. of snow-capped mountains,
14 snowboarding, and fjords, are potentially indicative of images stored in memory, or schemas,
15 that salient elements of commercials resonated with. As such, the study provides a rare
16 contribution to uncovering relationships between media frames and individual frames i.e.
17 knowledge of New Zealand. This study highlights that more evidence is needed to uncover
18 this relationship beyond recall. In particular, greater insights into reasoning and affective
19 responses to frames, especially, responses to issues that are not easily framed with the use of
20 images alone. News representations of risk and how tourists decode rhetorical devices and
21 multiple storylines used by journalists to portray complex issues such as potential for conflict
22 escalation, offer a good context for such exploration.

23 According to framing effects scholars successful effects depend on three factors i.e.
24 availability, accessibility (memory-based model) and applicability of knowledge (on-line
25 model) activated during reception of news (Price and Tewksbury, 1997).

26 First, a frame has the potential to be effective if the concept it represents it is already stored in
27 memory of a message recipient, or the recipient can comprehend it and make new beliefs
28 about an issue covered (Matthes, 2007; Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007). Second, a frame
29 once stored in memory can only be used as a lens through which to draw a conclusion about
30 new information if it is accessible i.e. can be retrieved from long-term memory. Schemas can
31 be thought of as resting in an inactive state waiting to be changed to active status and their
32 accessibility i.e. ease with which they can be recalled, is determined by frequent or recent

1 exposure to the frame (Chong & Druckman, 2007). For example, in deciding to travel to a
2 destination tourists may recall any number of salient events, including safety related issues,
3 which may influence the final decision. However, influence of accessible concepts, such as
4 memory of past hazardous events, is constrained by applicability to the issue at hand. A
5 frame made available in memory and accessible through amount of exposure may be deemed
6 inapplicable to an issue due to reasons such as non-credible message source or the context in
7 which the frame is considered. For instance, a frame concerning levels of risk present in a
8 tourist destination embedded in a news article from a reputable source may be deemed
9 irrelevant by individuals who travel in business or to visit friends and family. Therefore,
10 Scheufele (2000) and Cacciatore et al. (2016) argue that framing functions on the basis of
11 applicability effects that call upon particular interpretative schemas (or frames in mind),
12 which, in turn, guide information processing. Therefore, framing effects may be understood
13 as an outcome of interplay between audiences' pre-existing knowledge structures concerning
14 some topic and structures of knowledge manifest in communication texts or audio-visual
15 messages.

16 In consideration of literature concerning the relationship between terrorism, PI, theories of
17 news media framing and destination risk perception; this study was guided by the following
18 research question:

19 RQ: How are the message elements of media frames concerning the magnitude of risk of
20 terrorism and PI used by leisure tourists in making judgments of perceived risk?

21 **Materials and Methods**

22 Semi-structured interviews were held with 12 participants in UK to address the research
23 question. The interviews followed an online experiment of Kapuscinski and Richards (2016)
24 which demonstrated how variations in features of messages concerning magnitude of
25 terrorism and PI risk can influence leisure tourists' risk perception. To observe effects,
26 qualitative characteristics of risk were manipulated, embedded in fictitious news reports, and
27 presented to audiences in a scenario of considering a leisure trip in a foreign country. Each of
28 four participant groups consisted of three individuals who responded to one of the following
29 article versions (see Appendix), Terrorism A – Risk Amplifying, Terrorism B – Risk
30 Attenuating, PI A – Risk Amplifying, PI B – Risk Attenuating. Examples of message
31 elements manipulated are presented in table 1. Details concerning the make-up of treatments
32 are reported by Kapuscinski and Richards (2016). The interview was structured around these

1

2 articles and involved questions about most noticeable parts of the story that lead participants
3 to judge personal risk associated with visiting destination concerned. A series of probes
4 allowed to uncover a range of travel experiences, as well as broad thoughts and feelings
5 concerning risk and specific hazards, that participants evoked in response to articles.

6 **Table 1 Fictitious articles make-up**

Dimensions of PI risk		Scenario A (Risk Amplifying) vs. Scenario B (Risk Attenuating)	
1) Violence		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> e.g. "Violent clashes" vs. "Clashes" 	
2) Commentary on degree of socio-political tension		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> e.g. "Threatening atmosphere of high tension" vs. "Isolated acts of frustration" 	
3) Geographical spread and consequences		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> e.g. "There is a possibility that further violent protests could spread" vs. "Any further protests are likely to be confined to city squares" 	
4) Disruptions to transport network		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> e.g. "in the event of conflict escalation, delays and cancellations cannot be ruled out" vs. Absence 	
Dimension of terrorism risk		Scenario A (Risk Amplifying) vs. Scenario B (Risk Attenuating)	
1) Targets of attack		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> e.g. "Including British tourists" vs. "Mainly police officers" 	
2) Suspected Perpetrators		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> e.g. "al-Qaeda and associated radical Islamic groups" vs. "Domestic rebel separatist group" 	
3) Location of explosion and threat of further attacks		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> e.g. "Police vehicles parked in city square situated on the edge of a district full of restaurants, cafes and shops" vs. "Police vehicles parked in city square" 	
4) VoxPopuli- Event atmosphere and confidence level		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> e.g. "I have never seen anything like this and I cannot believe it happened right here. Now people will not have peace of mind" vs. "Yes it was a terrorist attack but we refuse to be terrorised. Life here goes on as usual". 	

7

8 The sample of participants was identified from the list of individuals who responded to the
9 experiment survey (N=124). The specific quota consisted of participants from each of the
10 four article treatment groups experiment participants read. Beyond this, data collected in the
11 online experiment screening questionnaire was used to recruit informants on the basis of
12 personal characteristics found to explain variability in perceived risk. Characteristics

1 controlled for were the degree of allocentricity, gender and age, which allowed to target
2 individuals who were uniquely qualified to address research question. E-mails were sent to
3 participants in each of the four target groups that matched criteria which resulted in 5
4 respondents agreeing to participate in the interviews. Following this, two reminders were sent
5 a week and two weeks after the initial contact point, resulting in the final sample of 12
6 participants. Interviewees characteristics were as follows: gender (6=male, 6=female), age
7 (18-24=2, 25-34=3, 35-44=4, 55-64=3), allocentricity (allocentric=5, midcentric=3,
8 psychocentric=4).

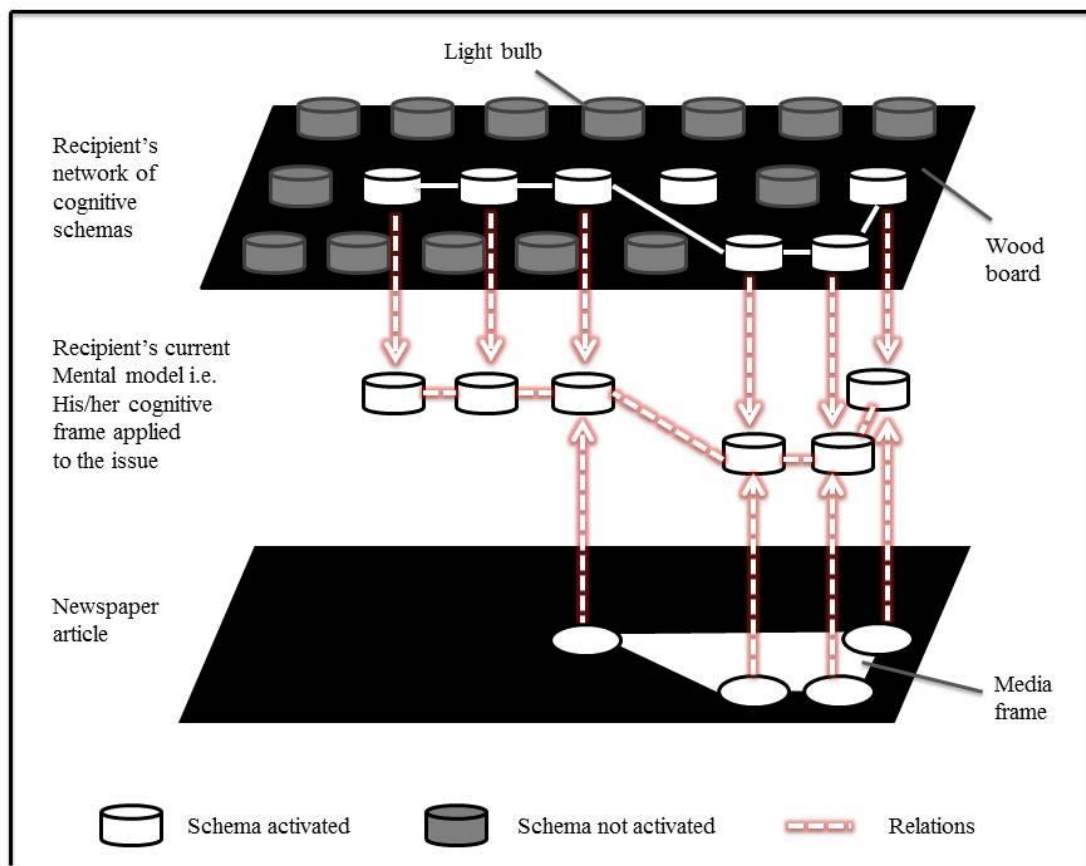
9 The interviews were conducted over the telephone due to the costs and time involved in face-
10 to-face interviews with a geographically-dispersed sample. Skype video calls were also
11 offered to the participants as an alternative to telephone calls, however, only one person
12 preferred this form of contact over the telephone. With the permission of the participants,
13 interviews were recorded for later transcription, and transcribed using the NVivo package.

14 To address the RQ, a model of the cognitive frame by Scheufele and Scheufele (2010) was
15 used (see figure 1). The model is a simple depiction of the interplay between a recipient's
16 network of cognitive schemas (or individual frame) and a newspaper article (containing a
17 media frame). In the context of this study, the individual frame was identified on the basis of
18 participants account of thought and feelings that arise in response to the media frame
19 contained in a hazard story they read. By emphasising certain aspects of this story (the white
20 circles in the bottom level of the model), for instance, tourist targets and responsibility for the
21 event linked to a specific perpetrator, the newspaper article invites the recipient to interpret
22 the story in a particular light (media frame) i.e. involving more or less risk. The extent to
23 which this information has an effect on a recipient depends on her/his network of schemas,
24 or, in this case, her/his schema of a terrorist act or an event of PI. Such schemas are a network
25 of ideas and beliefs that helps people process subsequent information, for instance, news
26 articles on a terrorist attack. The model allowed to map responses of tourists to different
27 elements of a risk story to uncover patterns of interpretation and address research question.

28 While not created for the purpose of studying impact of risk communications on audiences,
29 the model is applicable to this context. In fact, it is related to an area of study in risk
30 communication and the concept of mental models of hazard (Bostrom, Fischhoff, & Morgan,
31 1992). Mental models of hazard are used to map beliefs people have of hazards to develop
32 risk communication that corrects potential misunderstandings (Breakwell, 2000).

1 Referring back to the model (see figure 1), if the message elements emphasised by a
 2 newspaper article resonate with certain parts of a recipient's schema of an event (the white
 3 bulbs at the top level) more than others (the dark bulbs), they are made applicable to the issue
 4 at hand. That is, the media frame activates four of the recipient's terrorism related schemas
 5 by means of applicability and provides a lens (current mental model) through which to
 6 interpret the issue or event, in this case, a risk judgment.

7 **Figure 1 Model of a cognitive frame**



8

9 **Adapted from: Scheufele and Scheufele (2010)**

10 An individual may also evoke schemas which were not emphasised by the newspaper
 11 article, but are in line with the direction of the media frame, and judge them as applicable to
 12 the issue at hand as a result of spreading activation (the two white bulbs on the left at the top
 13 level). For instance, reading about an event perpetrated by al-Qaeda or Islamic State (IS), an
 14 individual may think of a memorable incident such as the 9/11 attack on the World Trade
 15 Centre, or, a recent string of attacks in Europe despite no information in the article that would
 16 suggest connectivity between the events. As a result, the images of a fearsome event

1 motivated by Islamic extremism with multiple western casualties may amplify the receiver's
2 perceived risk. Importantly, an individual may also oppose and negotiate the meaning of the
3 article, and judge an issue through the lens of available thoughts and beliefs (schemas) which
4 oppose an interpretation promoted by the media frame embedded within a particular media
5 text. For instance, despite no connection between a terrorist attack and al-Qaeda made in the
6 report, an individual may use the template of the Bali bombings to conclude what the event
7 he/she is currently reading about might be like. Whichever strategy is employed by the
8 audience members, in effect, a specific mental model of the event is a function of the media
9 frame and its applicability to respondents' cognitive schemas.

10 Using Scheufele and Scheufele's model, a series of mind maps were created to reflect
11 the depth of the interaction between each of the 12 interview participants and the article types
12 to which they were exposed. The following paragraph explains in detail the meaning of the
13 different parts of the mind maps. See figure 1.2 as an example of a mind map.

14 Starting from the top of the diagram, at level 1 is the news article and its expected
15 direction of influence on perceived risk. This is signified by the letters employed in the
16 experiment (i.e. article versions A and B) as well as by different colours i.e. red (risk
17 amplifying) or green (risk attenuating). At level 2 are the elements of the media frame
18 embedded in the news article. The colours signify the direction of each of the message
19 elements used on the perceived magnitude of risk involved in the scenario. Apart from the red
20 and green colours which correspond with the article type (level 1), the blue colour signifies a
21 message element which was not intended to promote any particular interpretation of the issue.
22 At the time of constructing the fictitious article, these elements were treated as 'core fact', or
23 'frameless' elements (Van Gorp, 2010, p. 94), which were held constant across all articles.
24 Specifically, these include the: 1) commentary from the FCO about no advice issued against
25 travel to the country described in the scenario and event relevant guidelines, and 2) tourism
26 commentary concerning no downturn in the number of visitors to the country (in the
27 terrorism articles) and the limited impact on the transport network (in the PI articles).

28 Next is the recipient's current mental model (CMM) of perceived risk (level 3). The
29 downward connectors between a level 2 message element and a CMM element at level 3
30 represents a situation where the recipient makes a reference during the interview to a message
31 element included in the article read. The different colours of the elements at level 3 signify
32 the direction in which the message element was used by the recipient i.e. risk amplifying (red
33 colour), risk attenuating (green colour), or unsure/unspecified/opposed (blue colour). The

1 latter category signifies situations in which the recipient mentioned a particular message
2 element and A) was unsure as to the risk implications; B) did not specify the perceived risk
3 implications; or C) opposed the risk implications suggested by the message element. The
4 symmetrical connection between a message element (level 2) and a recipient schema (level 4)
5 signifies an active role of recipient in his or her interaction with the message. That is, the
6 recipient picks up a particular message element and seeks to find meaning by relating it to a
7 pre-existing network of schemas or adopting it without verbalizing a connection with
8 schematic structures. Level 4 represents all comments made by the recipient in association
9 with the event read about and the concept of risk in general. Finally, level 5 represents the
10 recipient and his or her demographic and psychographic characteristics available from
11 experiment.

12 The analysis of data obtained from the semi-structured interviews was performed with the use
13 of NVivo software. The themes within the data were identified primarily with a theoretical, or
14 top down approach; that is, one that is driven by the researcher's particular theoretical interest
15 and research question (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In this case, it was the media framing theory
16 and an investigation of a manner in which tourists draw on hazard reports to make risk
17 judgments.

18 This choice had implications for how the coding was performed. It meant that initially coding
19 was done in a deductive logic to fit into the pre-existing themes contained in fictitious articles
20 (i.e. media frames). Participants responses were coded for any mention of these message
21 elements to determine whether content was noticed and memorised. Following this, an
22 inductive phase of open coding focused on identifying themes that went beyond responses
23 that matched content of fictitious articles. In particular, those representing individual frames
24 of interviewees e.g. memories and experiences with risk. The last phases consisted of refining
25 of the themes, representing the data in the form of 12 mind maps, and identifying
26 commonalities among the cases.

27

28 **Results**

29 This section presents findings regarding how interviewees attended to and evaluated article
30 they were exposed to. Findings are presented by article type (risk amplifying versus risk
31 attenuating frames) to explore potential influence of event interpretation (Terrorism or PI)

1 and draw on commonalities with respect to styles of evaluation. As with other treatments,
2 Terrorism A article was read and discussed by three interviewees (John, Joshua and Melissa).

3 Surprisingly, the interviews with participants of this group were a stronger case for limited
4 effects. For instance, both John and Joshua consciously rejected a number of cues intended to
5 signal greater personal risk despite awareness (level 4) of Bali bombings, which closely
6 correspond to the media frame promoted by the article they read. Refusal to apply this frame
7 in evaluating risk was supported by a number of arguments, for example, beliefs in minimal
8 chances of being involved in such an incident, bias inherent in media reporting, and the
9 tighter security of tourism industry post an attack. In Joshua's view, the incident imposed risk
10 on other tourists who frequent vulnerable areas, such as nightclubs or markets, that him and
11 his family do not. These largely determined participant's CMM (level 3) applied to interpret
12 the situation as involving low personal risk.

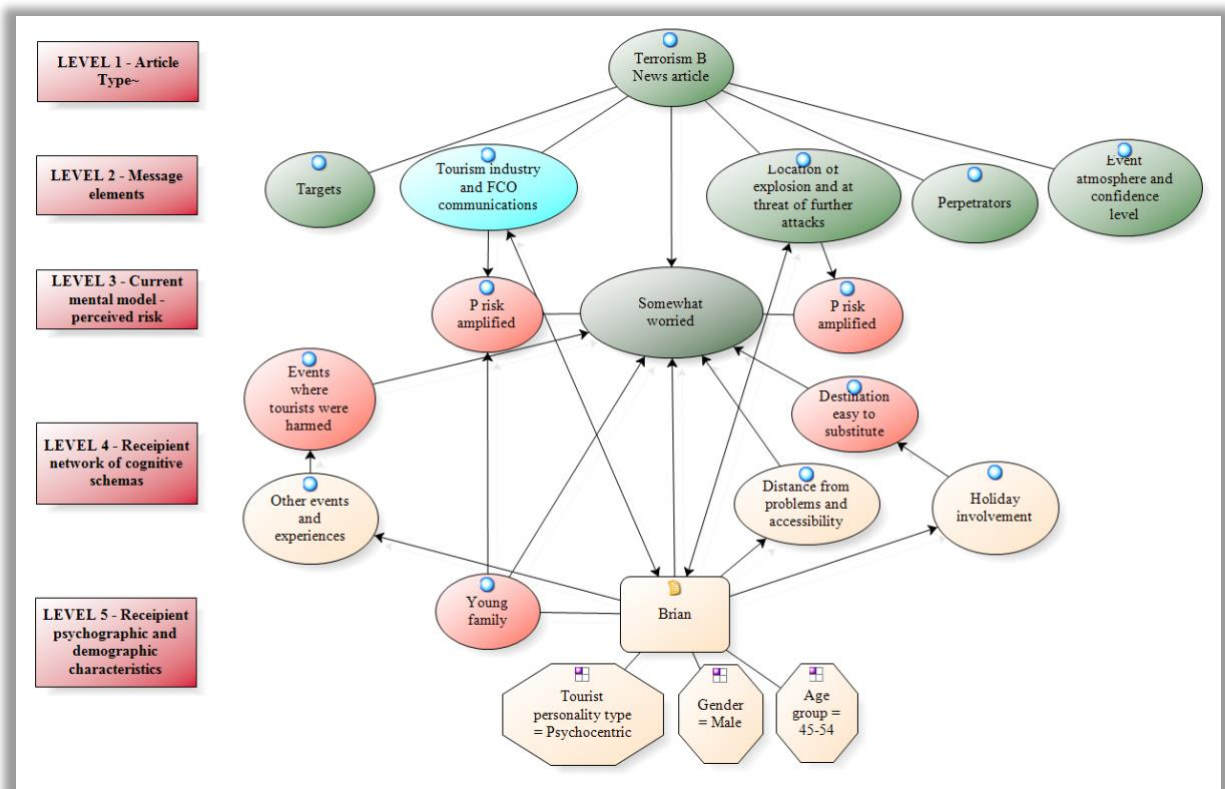
13 These observations suggest that while a media frame may be encountered and recognised by
14 a member of an audience, the effect does not occur unless it is made applicable in her/his
15 context (Scheufele, 2004). This confirms the finding by Price and Tewksbury (1997) who
16 identified interpretative frames drawn on by readers of news stories, irrespective of the
17 framing processes used by the media. They found that participant thoughts did not depend
18 exclusively on the media coverage of an event or issue, rather "participants demonstrated a
19 capacity to introduce their own thoughts, going beyond the information provided and drawing
20 out some basic implications on their own" (Price and Tewksbury, 1997, p. 496).

21 Judgments of Terrorism A article are arguably a manifestation of the representativeness
22 heuristic (Kahneman and Tversky, 1972). That is, a judgment of the probability of being
23 victimised made on the basis of the similarity of the event described in the article to other
24 memorable attacks. Interestingly, this could also imply a bias in judgment, as despite the Bali
25 attacks of 2002 which targeted nightspots popular with young tourists and backpackers
26 (Vaughn et al. 2009) many other events attributed to the group (including the Bali attacks in
27 2005) involved victims beyond the nightclub environment e.g. restaurants, modes of
28 transport, heritage sites etc. This confirms the assertions of many researchers, that is, while
29 efficient, heuristics often lead to incorrect judgments of probability.

30 Subsequently, the analysis focused on recipients (Alex, Valerie and Brian) of the risk
31 attenuating Terrorism B article. In comparison to the terrorism A article, group B is a case for
32 a media effect. A number of cues embedded in text were taken into account by recipients in

1 evaluating hypothetical destination. Specifically, Alex made references to the non-civilian
 2 ‘Targets’ element of the message (level 2) which found reflection in his schema of ETA
 3 attacks in Spain on government and military targets (level 4). To his mind, an unlikely link
 4 between separatist groups and tourist targets indicated lower probability of being victimised.
 5 In a similar vein, Valerie made a reference to cues such as the non-civilian nature of targets,
 6 the bomb explosion near to a police vehicle, which to her suggested a relatively safe
 7 situation. It is clear that both took a mental short-cut in that qualitative characteristics of
 8 hazard they were exposed to provided an efficient strategy for arriving at an estimation of
 9 risk. While recipients had also drawn on conclusions contradictory to the interpretation
 10 suggested by the media frame i.e. the mere fact that active separatists exist in the country
 11 means danger, the overall impression made by the article remained unchanged.

12 **Figure 1.2 Brian’s mind map**



13

14 Interestingly, one reader of terrorism B article, interpreted the event in the opposite direction
 15 and found it particularly threatening. As in the case of limited effects of terrorism A article
 16 group, Brian (see figure 1.2) adapted the article content in line with his knowledge and
 17 beliefs rather than interpretation promoted by the risk frame (level 2). In fact, he used a
 18 schema which corresponded more closely with the terrorism A frame and produced its

1 intended effect. Specifically, in contrast to Alex and Valerie, he rejected the suggestions
2 made with regards to non-tourist targets and vividly recalled a number of high profile terrorist
3 attacks which involved multiple tourist casualties to help him arrive at a heightened
4 perception of risk. This train of thought is also evident in Brian's distrust of the advice made
5 by the FCO, revealed by the following statement "they are just trying to downplay this". This
6 indicates that the media content may cause effects that are hard to predict and control
7 (Scheufele, 2000). Underpinned by previously discussed theories, these cases demonstrate a
8 range of outcomes of tourists' exposure to media texts, and underscore the complexity
9 involved in the process of their reception and interpretation.

10 Next the analysis focused on responses to articles concerning cases of PI. As in the pair of
11 articles about terrorism, the readers of articles about a case of PI employed a range of
12 strategies which point to the cognitive-transactional model of media effects (Perse, 2001).
13 That is, cognitive and affective effects of salient media content (via the emphasis of certain
14 aspects of a story) which largely depend on audiences' schema make-up (Scheufele &
15 Tewksbury, 2007).

16 Paige is the only participant who perceived a limited amount of risk in response to the PI A
17 article, hence another case of a limited effect. She spoke of her trip to Egypt after
18 demonstrations sparked by President Morsi's decree in 2012 giving him extensive new
19 powers (BBC, 2012). In doing so she referred to several situations during her holiday where
20 she felt protected by the Egyptian security forces and the tourism industry (level 4).

21 "from my experience to go into such country ... you are with a guide all the
22 time, they do not just let you wonder around town ... and all the bits that
23 you go ... you are with the guide, and tourists are looked after and
24 protected"

25 This first-hand experience also appeared to reinforce her trust in the accuracy of the FCO
26 travel advice and had a decisive influence on her interpretation of the situation (level 3). The
27 confidence in judgment, made on the basis of this schema of PI, was also evident in the way
28 Paige dismissed the information about the violent nature and fears among the local
29 population.

30 In contrast, both Lucy and Omar represent cases for a media effect. In particular, Omar made
31 several references to the message elements and used these in the direction promoted by the

1 article (level 3). Interestingly, the emphasis on the extent of the geographical spread and the
2 consequences of unrest for public safety and order (level 2) contradicted his views on the
3 usual level of control one has in avoiding riots. Moreover, following the logic promoted by
4 the risk amplifying frame, a tone of distrust was evident in Lucy's reaction to precautionary
5 advice from the FCO advice. She said: "I am quite sure if it's just a local ... one off event I
6 don't think there would be a warning, asking tourists to stay clear of gatherings". On a
7 theoretical level, Scheufele and Scheufele (2010) and Chong and Druckman (2007) argue
8 that, if a media frame reorients a receiver's schema consistently over a period of time, this
9 leads to media framing altering audience schema (i.e. transformation effect). In this sense,
10 what became an element of participants CMM (level 3) at the time of discussing the article
11 could potentially become part of his stable schema (level 4) that is much more difficult to
12 change for destination marketers.

13 Next the analysis focused on readers of PI B version of the articles. As in previous cases, here
14 risk judgments were a product of an interplay between interviewees schema and content of
15 articles. In line with risk attenuating frame, both Beth and Clare perceived a limited amount
16 of risk associated with visiting the destination they read about. On contrary, much as in the
17 case of Brian (fig 1.2), Adam interpreted the event in the opposite direction. Specifically, he
18 used a schema of large scale unrest in Egypt (level 4) to reject the emphasis on the contained
19 character of the protests (level 2), and concluded "these small or large gatherings can at some
20 point get out of hand really quickly, so that was one thing that affected my decision". His
21 statements indicate that the conclusion he reached is arguably an effect created by prior
22 media coverage (Scheufele and Scheufele, 2010). Specifically, he said "I am not the type of
23 person that really keeps up with the world affairs, but these things you hear them, as soon as
24 you read them they come to you and you think ... what if ... might sound a bit overcautious
25 but hey".

26

27 **Discussion**

28 This research makes a theoretical contribution to the study of the tourist decision-making
29 process. The study enhances the understanding of the relationship between perceived risk, the
30 media, and tourist consumer behaviour by empirically supporting the validity of the framing
31 theory of media effects. The above presented mind maps demonstrate the complexity and
32 dynamics involved in the interaction between news texts and their receivers, and the

1 implications of this process for risk judgments. The ways in which the respondents used the
2 specific message elements employed in the article they were exposed to were largely
3 complicated by the receivers' schema make-up and so clear patterns were difficult to observe.
4 That is, the effects of each of the message elements within versions A and B were not
5 uniform. While some readers of versions B used the manipulated content in the expected
6 direction (i.e. Beth, Claire, and Alex) to judge the situation as less risky, others (i.e. Adam
7 and Brian) found the scenarios indicative of high risk. Likewise, some readers of versions A
8 interpreted the situation as involving high risk (i.e. Omar), while others completely rejected
9 the meaning promoted (i.e. John and Paige) or negotiated its meaning with the use of their
10 schemas of events (i.e. Melissa, Joshua, and Lucy). It is evident that, much like humans, each
11 of the mind maps is a unique construct. This said, certain commonalities between them can
12 be observed. The following three points summarise the possible outcomes of this process:

- 13 1. A media frame can be rejected altogether if it is not compatible with a receiver's schema.
14 Schemas considered by the receiver as applicable to the situation at hand are used to
15 arrive at an alternative interpretation of an issue or event. This includes schemas created
16 by previous media coverage that may be conflicting with the media frame encountered
17 (e.g. Adam and Brian).
- 18 2. A media frame is partially accepted: while some parts resonate with receivers, others are
19 rejected (e.g. Melissa, Joshua, Lucy). CMM may depend upon the weight attached to
20 elements picked up from the message. Schemas compatible with the media frame
21 encountered may be available and accessible (i.e. the memory of similar events is easily
22 recalled) but not applicable to the personal context of receivers (e.g. Joshua, John).
- 23 3. A media frame is accepted: A) without previously existing schemas (or evidence
24 verbalised) (e.g. Valerie, Beth); B) existing schemas are reinforced (Alex); C) existing
25 schemas are transformed (e.g. Omar).

26 The findings discussed in this paper point towards a cognitive-transactional model of
27 media effects (Perse, 2001) which recognise the active role of audiences in determining
28 effects. This suggests that while the effects can take place as intended, for example in
29 interviews with Valerie, Alex, they are very difficult to control or predict. In other words, it
30 can be argued that for these data, the extent to which a media effect on perceived risk takes
31 place also largely depends on: 1) the availability of schemas in the decision-maker's mind
32 which resonate with message elements he or she encounters, and 2) the applicability or

1 appropriateness of the activated parts of the schemas as a basis for making a risk judgment.
2 For instance, just because a receiver recalls a terrorist attack perpetrated by IS or al-Qaeda or
3 a severe event of PI which corresponds with the media frame promoted, it does not mean that
4 he or she considers this an indication of personal risk. An individual may, for example,
5 conclude that he or she would not be anywhere near ‘trouble spots’ such as nightclubs.

6 Importantly, this aspect of the media and perceived risk interaction points toward a
7 two-directional relationship, which recognises both the power of the media to influence
8 message recipients and the power of audiences to oppose and negotiate the messages. This
9 notion is reflected in the model proposed (see figure 6.1), which contributes to the research
10 on the relationship between perceived risk and the media.

11 The study also makes a contribution to theories concerning the cognitive mechanisms
12 underlying framing effects. Taking the information processing perspective, the use of
13 Scheufele and Scheufele’s cognitive frame model (2010) allowed for an in-depth
14 investigation of the ways in which recipients process the content of a risk message they are
15 exposed to and arrive at perceived risk judgments. The output of the analysis supports the
16 applicability model of framing effects (Price & Tewksbury, 1997; Price, Tewksbury, &
17 Powers, 1997; B. Scheufele, 2006; Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). The effects in this model
18 are based on the media message embedded frame that invites recipients to apply their existing
19 schemas to interpret an issue or an event in the direction promoted by the frame. For instance,
20 the news frame may invite the audience to interpret the news about a terrorist attack as
21 particularly threatening due to a suggested connection between the location of the attack and
22 supposed involvement of al-Qaeda.

23 Therefore, the extent to which an applicability effect takes place largely depends on the
24 characteristics of the audiences, which influence the process at different stages. First, the
25 effects are dependent on the availability and accessibility of audiences’ schemas. That is, the
26 schema related to the issue or event covered by the media, has to be available to an individual
27 (i.e. stored in memory for use) and it is more likely to be activated by communication frames
28 when it is accessible (i.e. easily recalled for use). Once parts of the pre-existing knowledge
29 are activated by the attended features of the message (i.e. accessible), framing effects occur
30 when the active concepts are consciously considered by the recipient to be applicable to the
31 judgment of the issue at hand (e.g. Chong & Druckman, 2007; Nelson, Clawson, & Oxley,
32 1997). In other words, “it is the underlying interpretative schemas that have been made

1 applicable to the issue that are the central effect of a frame” (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007,
2 p. 14).

3 The findings of this research have a number of implications for tourism marketing
4 practice. Firstly, the complexity of the psychological mechanisms underlying media effects
5 and the difficulty involved in the control of the outcomes of tourists’ information processing
6 can be understood in two ways. On the one hand, this poses challenges to tourism marketers
7 who wish to minimise the negative effect of media coverage of hazards such as terrorism and
8 PI. On the other, this indicates that the media may at times be limited in exerting an effect on
9 audiences due to the power of audiences to oppose and negotiate the meanings suggested. In
10 part, this may be due to audience characteristics such as degree of allocentricity (Kapusinski
11 and Richards, 2016), or other resilience characteristics that recently received attention in
12 tourism literature (Hajibaba et al., 2015). With respect to communication, this research
13 proposes that marketers can influence the way tourists attend to risk messages and evaluate
14 tolerability of risk involved in holidays. To this end, message strategies for offsetting
15 problematic destination images proposed by Avraham and Ketter (2007, 2016) are a great
16 example of ways in which marketers can engage their audiences. For example, one of the
17 strategies they propose is to isolate problematic regions from national promotional
18 campaigns. Our findings concerning the applicability of frames would support this and
19 suggest such strategies may reduce the applicability of undesirable news to tourists’ risk
20 judgments of these places and avoid ripple effects for the whole country.

21 In essence, tourism professionals are faced with the ever-present issue of how to
22 communicate an image of a product as complex as whole countries or regions and reassure
23 potential tourists of conditions that meet their needs in times of uncertainty. Given that the
24 final decision of whether or not to travel is an outcome of individual weighing of benefits
25 expected from visiting a destination versus total costs, including uncertainty of negative
26 consequences such as physical harm, delays etc., tourists’ involvement with an object at risk
27 due to, for example, uniqueness and low substitutability of holiday experiences is vital.
28 Tipping the balance between risk and benefit may increase the propensity of potential tourists
29 to rationalise risk in a fashion similar to some of the interviewees reported in this paper.

30 However, given that some destinations may be limited in pull factors related to natural
31 resources and tangible attractions of the tourism sector, the creation of innovative experiences
32 and new ways of communicating with consumers that engage them on a multi-sensory level
33 may be particularly important in this context. An example of such an initiative is the Remote

1 Control Tourist (RCT) campaign (RemoteControlTourist, 2014) which closed the distance
2 between Melbourne and its potential visitors with the use of social media communication and
3 tourists in the destination wearing helmets fitted with video cameras (i.e. the RCT's). This
4 way the customers around the world could experience the destination from their homes by
5 suggesting the RCT's via Facebook or Twitter experiences to engage in and receiving a real-
6 time stream of these exploits on the screens of their computers, mobile phones or tablets.
7 Recent developments in the area of Virtual Reality opens yet another wave of opportunities.

8 All research is a product of compromises made in response to the limitations imposed
9 by time, data availability and the research methods employed. In consideration of these
10 factors, the findings of this research project are associated with a number of limitations that
11 have a bearing on the applicability of the results to a wider context. While the interview
12 participants were uniquely qualified to address research question of this project, it is
13 important to note that the size of the sample means that the results can be at best transferable
14 to other contexts.

15 Beyond this, recognising the importance of e-word-of-mouth, tourism marketers must
16 have some insight into framing that occurs on forums, tourism specific review websites, and
17 social media to be able to challenge misunderstandings. With respect to engaging with
18 audiences and being a part of consumer-driven marketing, future research could consider the
19 role played in influencing tourists' perceived risk by specific sources of information such as,
20 for instance, the personal recommendation concerning level of risk from travel agents or
21 other tourists.

22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30

1 Reference list

- 2 Adam, I. (2015). Backpackers' risk perceptions and risk reduction strategies in Ghana. *Tourism*
3 *Management, 49*, 99-108. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2015.02.016>
- 4 Alhakami, A. S., & Slovic, P. (1994). A psychological study of the inverse relationship between
5 perceived risk and perceived benefit. *Risk Analysis, 14*(6), 1085-1096.
- 6 Araña, J. E., & León, C. J. (2008). The impact of terrorism on tourism demand. *Annals of Tourism*
7 *Research, 35*(2), 299-315.
- 8 Aschauer, W. (2014). New Approached in the Research on Terrorist Attacks Affecting Tourism
9 Demand. In H. Andrews (Ed.), *Tourism and Violence* (pp. 165-186): Routledge.
- 10 BBC. (2012, 10.07.2013). Q&A: Egypt constitutional crisis. Retrieved from
11 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-20554079>
- 12 Bianchi, R. (2006). Tourism and the globalisation of fear: Analysing the politics of risk and (in)
13 security in global travel. *Tourism and Hospitality Research, 7*, 64 - 74
- 14 Boholm, M. (2009). Risk and Causality in Newspaper Reporting. *Risk Analysis, 29*(11), 1566-1577.
- 15 Bostrom, A., Fischhoff, B., & Morgan, M. G. (1992). Characterizing Mental Models of Hazardous
16 Processes. *Journal of Social Issues, 48*(4), 85-100.
- 17 Breakwell, G. M. (2000). Risk communication: factors affecting impact. *British Medical Bulletin, 56*(1),
18 110-120.
- 19 Breakwell, G. M. (2007). *The psychology of risk*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 20 Breckenridge, J. N., Zimbardo, P. G., & Sweeton, J. L. (2010). After years of media coverage, can one
21 more video report trigger heuristic judgements? A national study of American terrorism risk
22 perceptions. *Behavioural Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression, 2*(3), 163-178.
- 23 Buigut, S., & Amendah, D. D. (2015). Effect of terrorism on demand for tourism in Kenya. *Tourism*
24 *Economics*, Fast Track DOI: 10.5367/te.2015.0467. doi:10.5367/te.2015.0467
- 25 Cacciatore, M. A., Scheufele, D. A., & Iyengar, S. (2016). The End of Framing as we Know it ... abd the
26 Future of Media Effects. *Mass Communication and Society, 19*, 7-23.
- 27 Chaiken, S. (1980). Heuristic versus systematic information processing and the use of source versus
28 message cues in persuasion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 39*, 752-766.
- 29 Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). Framing Theory. *Annual Review of Political Science, 10*(1), 103-
30 126. doi:doi:10.1146/annurev.polisci.10.072805.103054
- 31 Danis, M., & Stohl, M. (2008). *From 7/7 to 8/10: media framing of terrorist incidents in the United*
32 *States and United Kingdom*. Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the International
33 Communication Association, Montreal: Canada.
- 34 Daye, M. (2014). Framing tourist risk in UK press accounts of Hurricane Ivan. *Place Branding and*
35 *Public Diplomacy, 10*, 186-198.
- 36 Douglas, M. (1992). *Risk and blame: Essays in cultural theory*. London: Routledge.
- 37 Douglas, M., & Wildavsky, A. (1982). *Risk and culture. An essay on the selection of technological and*
38 *environmental dangers*. Berkley: University of California Press.
- 39 Driedger, S. M. (2007). Risk and the Media: A Comparison of Print and Televised News Stories of a
40 Canadian Drinking Water Risk Event. *Risk Analysis, 27*(3), 775-786.
- 41 Durfee, J. L. (2006). "Social Change" and "Status Quo" Framing Effects on Risk Perception : An
42 Exploratory Experiment. *Science Communication, 27*, 459-495.
- 43 Entman, R. (2004). *Projections of power: framing news, public opinion, and U.S. foreign policy*
44 University of Chicago Press.
- 45 Entman, R., Matthes, J., & Pellicano, L. (2009). Nature, Sources and Effects of News Framing. In K.
46 Wahl-Jorgensen & H. Hanitzsh (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies*: Taylor and Francis.
- 47 Finucane, M. L., Alhakami, A., Slovic, P., & Johnson, S. M. (2000). The affect heuristic in judgments of
48 risks and benefits. *Journal of Behavioral Decision Making, 13*, 1-17.

- 1 Fischhoff, B., Slovic, P., Lichtenstein, S., Read, S., & Combs, B. (1978). How safe is safe enough? A
2 psychometric study of attitudes towards technological risks and benefits. *Policy Sciences, 9*,
3 127-152.
- 4 Fiske, S. T., & Taylor, S. E. (1991). *Social cognition* (2nd ed.): New York: McGraw-Hill
- 5 .
- 6 Fuchs, G., & Reichel, A. (2011). An exploratory inquiry into destination risk perceptions and risk
7 reduction strategies of first time vs. repeat visitors to a highly volatile destination. *Tourism*
8 *Management, 266–276*(2), 266-276.
- 9 Fuchs, G., Uriely, N., Reichel, A., & Maoz, D. (2013). Vacationing in a Terror-Stricken Destination:
10 Tourists' Risk Perceptions and Rationalizations. *Journal of Travel Research, 52*(2), 182-191.
- 11 Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. California:
12 Stanford University Press.
- 13 Gigerenzer, G. (2006). Out of the Frying Pan into the Fire: Behavioral Reactions to Terrorist Attacks.
14 *Risk Analysis, 26*(2), 347-351.
- 15 Hajibaba, H., Gretzel, U., Leisch, F., & Dolnicar, S. (2015). Crisis-resistant tourists. *Annals of Tourism*
16 *Research, 53*, 46-60.
- 17 Hamadeh, M., & Bassil, C. (2017). Terrorism, War, and Volatility in Tourist Arrivals: The case of
18 Lebanon. *Tourism Analysis, 22*(4), 537-550.
- 19 Hoffman, B. (2006). *Inside Terrorism, Revised and Expanded Edition* New York: Columbia
20 University Press.
- 21 Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues*. Chicago, IL:
22 University of Chicago Press.
- 23 Johnson, E., & Tversky, A. A., Generalization, and the Perception of Risk " JPSP. (1983). Affect,
24 Generalization, and the Perception of Risk *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,*
25 *45*(1), 20-31.
- 26 Jonas, A., & Mansfeld, Y. (2017). Exploring the interplay between the use of risk-related information,
27 risk perception formation, and the stages of travel product consumption. *Current Issues in*
28 *Tourism, 20*(14), 1470-1488.
- 29 Jönsson, A. M. (2011). Framing environmental risks in the Baltic Sea: a news media analysis. *Ambio,*
30 *40*(2), 121-132.
- 31 Kapuściński, G., & Richards, B. (2016). News framing effects on destination risk perception. *Tourism*
32 *Management, 57*, 234-244.
- 33 Korstanje, M. (2016). *The Rise of Thana-Capitalism and Tourism*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- 34 Kunreuther, K., Slovic, P., & Olsen, K. G. (2017). How can we improve decision making in the face of
35 catastrophic risk. In R. E. Kasperon (Ed.), *Risk Conundrums: Solving Unsolvble Problems:*
36 Routledge Earthscan.
- 37 Law, R. (2006). The Perceived Impact of Risks on Travel Decisions. *International Journal of Tourism*
38 *Research, 8*, 289-300.
- 39 Lepp, A., & Gibson, H. (2008). Sensation seeking and tourism: Tourist role, perception of risk and
40 destination choice. *Tourism Management, 29*, 740-750.
- 41 Lerner, J. S., Gonzalez, R. M., Small, D. A., & Fischhoff, B. (2003). Effects of fear and anger on
42 perceived risks of terrorism: A national field experiment. *Psychological Science, 14*, 144-150.
- 43 Light, D. (2017). Progress in dark tourism and thanatourism research: An uneasy relationship with
44 heritage tourism. *Tourism Management, 61*, 275-301.
- 45 Lo, A. S., Law, R., & Cheung, C. (2011). Segmenting Leisure Travelers by Risk Reduction Strategies.
46 *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing, 28*(8), 828-839.
- 47 Loewenstein, G., & Lerner, J. (2003). The role of affect in decision-making. In R. J. Davidson, Scherer,
48 K.R., and Goldsmith, H.H. (Ed.), *Handbook of affective sciences* (pp. 619-642). Oxford: Oxford
49 University Press.

- 1 Lupton, D. (2006). Sociology and Risk. In G. Mythen & S. Walklate (Eds.), *Beyond the Risk Society: Critical Reflections on Risk and Human Security*. Maidenhead, England: Open University
2 Press.
3
- 4 Mansfeld, Y. (2006). The Role of Security Information in Tourism Crisis Management: The Missing
5 Link. In Y. Masfeld & A. Pizam (Eds.), *Tourism, security and safety: from the theory to practice*
6 (pp. 271-290): Butterworth-Heinemann.
- 7 Marks, L. A., Kalaitzandonakes, N., Wilkins, L., & Zakharova, L. (2007). Mass media framing of
8 biotechnology news. *Public Understanding of Science*, 16(2), 183-203.
- 9 Matthes, J. (2007). Beyond accessibility? Toward an on-line and memory-based model of framing
10 effects. *Communications*, 32, 51-78.
- 11 Mueller, J. (2007). *Reacting to terrorism: Probabilities, consequences, and the persistence of fear*.
12 Paper presented at the National Convention of the International Studies Association,
13 Chicago, Illinois.
- 14 Nacos, B., Bloch-Elkon, Y., & Shapiro, R. (2007). Post-9/11 Terrorism Threats, News Coverage, and
15 Public Perceptions in the United States. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 1(2),
16 105-126.
- 17 Nelson, T. E., Clawson, R. A., & Oxley, Z. M. (1997). Media framing of civil liberties conflict and its
18 effect on tolerance. *American Political Science Review*, 91, 567-583.
- 19 Otieno, C., Spada, H., & Renkl, A. (2013). Effects of News Frames on Perceived Risk, Emotions, and
20 Learning. *PLoS ONE*, 8(11), e79696. doi:e79696
- 21 Pan, S. (2011). The Role of TV Commercial Visuals in Forming Memorable and Impressive Destination
22 Images. *Journal of Travel Research*, 50(2), 171-185.
- 23 Pan, S., & Hsu, C. H. C. (2014). Framing Tourism Destination Image: Extension of Stereotypes in and
24 by Travel Media. In F. Hanush & E. Fürsich (Eds.), *Travel Journalism*. London: Palgrave
25 Macmillan.
- 26 Pan, S., & Ryan, C. (2007). Gender, framing and travelogues. *Journal of Travel Research*, 45(4), 464-
27 474.
- 28 Papacharissi, Z., & de Fatima Oliveira, M. (2008). Frames on Terrorism: A comparative analysis of
29 terrorism coverage in UK and US newspapers. *Harvard International Journal of Press and*
30 *Politics*, 13(1), 52-74.
- 31 Perse, E. (2001). *Media Effects and Society*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.,
32 Publishers.
- 33 Petty, R., & Cacioppo, J. (1986). *Communication and persuasion: Central and peripheral routes to*
34 *attitude change*. New York: Springer.
- 35 Price, V., & Tewksbury, D. (1997). News values and public opinion: A theoretical account of media
36 priming and framing. In G. A. Barrett & F. J. Boster (Eds.), *Progress in communication sciences: Advances in persuasion* (Vol. 13, pp. 173-212). Greenwich, CT: Ablex.
- 37 Price, V., Tewksbury, D., & Powers, E. (1997). Switching trains of thought: The impact of news frames
38 on readers' cognitive responses. *Communication Research*, 24(481-506).
- 39 RemoteControlTourist. (2014). Melbourne Remote Control Tourist. Retrieved from
40 <http://remotecontroltourist.com/>
41
- 42 Renn, O. (2004). Perception of Risks. *The Geneva Papers on Risk and Insurance*, 29(1), 102-114.
- 43 Renn, O. (2008). *Risk Governance: Coping with Uncertainty in a Complex World*. London.
- 44 Ritchie, B., Chien, P. M., & Sharifpour, M. (2017). Segmentation by Travel Related Risks: An
45 Integrated Approach. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 34(2), 274-289.
- 46 Rubin, G. J., Brewin, C. R., Greenberg, N., Simpson, J., & Wessely, S. (2007). Enduring consequences
47 of terrorism: 7-month follow-up survey of reactions to the bombings in London on 7 July
48 2005. *The British Journal of Psychiatry* 190, 350-356
- 49 Santos, C. (2004). Framing Portugal: representational dynamics. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31(1),
50 122-138.
- 51 Scheufele, B. (2006). Frames, schemata, and news reporting. *Communications*, 31, 65-83.

- 1 Scheufele, B. T. (2004). Framing-effects approach: A theoretical and methodical critique.
2 *Communications*, 29, 401-428.
- 3 Scheufele, B. T., & Scheufele, D. A. (2010). Of Spreading Activation, Applicability, and Schemas:
4 Conceptual Distinctions and Their Operational Implications for Measuring Frames and
5 Framing Effects. In P. D'Angelo & J. A. Kuypers (Eds.), *Doing news framing analysis: empirical
6 and theoretical perspectives*: Taylor and Francis.
- 7 Scheufele, D., A. (2000). Agenda-setting, priming, and framing revisited: Another look at cognitive
8 effects of political communication. *Mass Communication and Society*, 3(2/3), 297-316.
- 9 Scheufele, D., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three
10 Media Effects Models. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 9-20.
- 11 Schmid, & Jongman. (1988). *Political terrorism: a new guide to actors, authors, concepts, data bases,
12 theories, and literature*. Amsterdam: Transaction Books.
- 13 Schuck, R. T., & de Vreese, C. H. (2006). Between Risk and Opportunity : News Framing and its Effects
14 on Public Support for EU Enlargement. *European Journal of Communication*, 21(5), 5-32.
- 15 Sharifpour, M., Walters, G., & Ritchie, B. W. (2013). The Mediating Role of Sensation Seeking on the
16 Relationship Between Risk Perceptions and Travel Behavior. *Tourism Analysis*, 18(5), 543-
17 557. doi:10.3727/108354213x13782245307795
- 18 Slovic, P., Fischhoff, B., & Lichtenstein, S. (1982). Why Study Risk Perception? *Risk Analysis*, 2, 83-94.
- 19 Slovic, P., & Peters, E. (2006). Risk perception and affect. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*,
20 5(6), 322-325.
- 21 Spencer, A. (2017). Terrorism and the News Media: Symbiosis, Control and Framing *The Palgrave
22 Handbook of Security, Risk and Intelligence* (pp. 443-460). London: Palgrave Macmillian.
- 23 Stepchenkova, S., & Eales, J. S. (2010). Destination Image as Quantified Media Messages: The Effect
24 of News on Tourism Demand. *Journal of Travel Research*, 50(2), 198-212.
- 25 Sunstein, C. R. (2003). Terrorism and probability neglect. *The Journal of Risk and Uncertainty*, 26,
26 121–136.
- 27 Sunstein, C. R. (2005). *Laws of Fear. Beyond the Precautionary Principle*. Cambridge: Cambridge
28 University Press.
- 29 Sunstein, C. R., & Zeckhauser, R. (2011). Overreaction to Fearsome Risks. *Environmental and
30 Resource Economics*, 48, 435-449.
- 31 Tewksbury, D., & Scheufele, D. A. (2009). News Framing: Theory and research. In J. Bryant & M. B.
32 Oliver (Eds.), *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research* (3rd ed., pp. 17-34). New York:
33 NY: Routledge.
- 34 Trumbo, C. W., Peek, L., Meyer, M. A., Marlatt, H. L., Grunfest, E., McNoldy, B. D., & Schubert, W. H.
35 (2016). A cognitive-affective scale for hurricane risk perception. *Risk Analysis*.
- 36 Van Gorp, B. (2007). The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back In. *Journal of
37 Communication*, 57(1), 60-78. doi:10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00329.x
- 38 Van Gorp, B. (2010). Strategies to take subjectivity out of framing analysis. In J. A. Kuypers & P.
39 D'Angelo (Eds.), *Doing news framing analysis Empirical and theoretical perspectives*. New
40 York: Routledge.
- 41 Walters, G., Mair, J., & Lim, J. (2016). Sensationalist media reporting of disastrous events:
42 Implications for tourism. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, 28, 3-10.
- 43 Weimann, G. (2008). The Psychology of Mass-mediated Terrorism. *American Behavioral Scientist*,
44 52(1), 69-86.
- 45 Woods, J. (2007). What we talk about when we talk about terrorism: Elite press coverage of
46 terrorism risk from 1997 to 2005. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 12(3),
47 3-20.
- 48 Woods, J. (2011). Framing Terror: An Experimental Framing Effects Study of the Perceived Threat of
49 Terrorism. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 4(2), 199-217.
- 50 Wu, B., Xue, L., Morrison, A. M., & Leung, X., Y. (2012). Frame Analysis on Golden Week Policy
51 Reform in China. *Annals of Tourism Reserach*, 39(2), 842-862.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26

Appendix: (Versions of articles tourists read: Terrorism A, Terrorism B, Political Instability A, and Political Instability B)

(Terrorism A)

Bomb explosion in popular tourist destination: Is it safe?

Security forces are on high alert **at airports, train stations and markets** across the country following last week's bomb explosion in the capital city.

The bomb went off next to police vehicles. They were parked in a city square **situated on the edge of a district full of restaurants, cafes and shops**. At least 22 people, **including British tourists**, were injured in the blast.

"I have never seen anything like this and I cannot believe it happened right here. Now people will not have peace of mind", a resident said.

It was not immediately apparent who was behind the attack. Unofficial sources revealed that a link **to al-Qaeda and associated radical Islamic groups** is suspected; however a police spokesman said there were no firm leads.

If the suspicion is true, there are fears of further attacks on **city centre locations**.

The Foreign Office advises expatriates and tourists to remain vigilant in all public areas across the country and to report anything suspicious to the authorities. No advice against travel to the country has been issued.

Keith Johns, of the Federation of Tour Operators, said: "There has been no noticeable downturn due to terrorism." **Nonetheless, further indiscriminate attacks in areas popular with tourists cannot be ruled out.**

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27

(Terrorism B)

Bomb explosion in city square

Security forces are on high alert across the country following last week’s bomb explosion in the capital city.

The bomb went off next to police vehicles parked in a city square. At least 22 people, **mainly police officers**, were injured in the blast.

“Yes it was a terrorist attack but we refuse to be terrorised. Life here goes on as usual”, a resident said.

It was not immediately apparent who was behind the attack. Unofficial sources revealed that a link **to domestic rebel separatist group** is suspected; however a police spokesman said there were no firm leads.

If the suspicion is true, there are fears of further attacks on **security forces**.

The Foreign Office advises expatriates and tourists to remain vigilant in all public areas across the country and report anything suspicious to the authorities. No advice against travel to the country has been issued.

Keith Johns, of the Association of the Federation of Tour Operators, said: "There has been no noticeable downturn due to terrorism."

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27

(PIA)

Violent clashes in popular tourist destination: Is it safe?

Tens of thousands of people gathered in the **heart of the** capital to protest **against recent government decisions.**

Some of the demonstrations led to **violent clashes** with the security forces resulting in a number of arrests and injuries. **Although the situation was brought under control, a threatening atmosphere of high tension remained.**

“I have never seen anything like this, it was complete chaos. We all feel nervous because the problem will not just go away overnight”, a resident said.

There is a possibility that further violent protests could spread to other locations across the country, including areas popular with tourists, **which would likely have serious consequences for public safety and order.**

The Foreign Office advise expatriates and tourists to stay clear of large gatherings of people and follow the advice from local authorities, hotels and tour operators. No advice against travel to the country has been issued.

According to the tourist office, demonstrations “had limited impact on transport network in the country”. **However, in the event of conflict escalation, delays and cancelations cannot be ruled out.**

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

(PIB)

Protests in capital city

Tens of thousands of people gathered in the capital to protest.

Some of the demonstrations led to **clashes** with the security forces resulting in a number of arrests and injuries. **Despite these isolated acts of frustration the situation appeared to be largely under control.**

“It was loud at the square but outside life went on as usual. I do not think there will be much trouble, people are just venting anger”, a resident said.

Any further protests are likely to be confined to city squares. Other locations across the country, including areas popular with tourists, **are predicted to remain calm and not affected in any way.**

The Foreign Office advise expatriates and tourists to stay clear of large gatherings of people and follow the advice from local authorities, hotels and tour operators. No advice against travel to the country has been issued.

According to the tourist office, demonstrations “had limited impact on the transport network in the country”.

1

2

3

4