

Who's Afraid of Terror News?
**The Interplay between News Consumption Patterns, Personal Experiences and Fear of
Terrorism**

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Abstract

A positive correlation between exposure to terrorism news reports and fear of terrorism has been documented, but less is known about factors moderating this relationship. Our focus is mostly on identifying relevant moderators. We argue that individuals' habitual patterns in news consumption (frequency, type of outlet, genre) and personal experiences (prior victimization, living in a diverse neighborhood, residing in an urban area) are relevant in this regard. In a between-subjects experiment (2 groups: exposure to terror threat story vs. control story) in Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden (N = 786) we exposed participants to a news story on terror threat. Effects on fear of terrorism were especially strong for citizens that often consume soft, popular and commercial forms of news and live in urban areas.

Keywords: news media, experiment, fear of terrorism, personal experiences, terrorism

November 15, 2015, Paris. This Friday is engraved in the memory of many citizens in France and abroad. Paris became the target of six co-ordinated terrorist attacks: 130 citizens lost their lives and many more were injured. In the wake of the attacks, the French authorities announced the state of emergency and three days of national mourning were observed. The Islamic State (IS) claimed responsibility for the attacks. This attack came ten months after a large-scale attack on the French magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in January 2015. After this attack, many more terrorist acts shook Western Europe, targeting various cities from Brussels to Berlin and London.

Terror attacks have one thing in common: they dominate the news headlines for several weeks (Nossek, 2008; Williamson et al., 2019). They accumulate large news attention, because they align with core news values of proximity, conflict, drama, relevance and magnitude (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). Still, extensive news coverage of terror attacks is not without danger: it risks echoing terrorist messages and, hence, to amplify terrorist messages (Matthes et al., 2020; Shoshani & Slone, 2008; Sui et al., 2017). Prior studies have pinpointed that exposure to terrorism news can inflict or reinforce fear of terrorism (Cho et al., 2003; Matthes et al., 2020; Shoshani & Slone, 2008; Slone, 2000).

However, not much is known about the modalities that condition effects of exposure to terrorism news on fear of terrorism. As with all media effects, not all citizens are impacted to a similar extent. We argue that effects of news exposure on fear of terrorism are moderated by news consumption patterns and citizens' personal experiences. First, in terms of news consumption patterns, we expect the type of outlet and news genre to condition media effects. More specifically, citizens that more often read, listen or watch news about terrorism on various outlets have a higher dose of exposure to similar narratives; repeated exposure to uniform content could make they will be affected more strongly (Shrum & Bischak, 2001). Television and online news employ audio-visual cues, live-reporting with quick updates and

push notifications that could intensify their impact compared to newspapers that are a slower medium and have a more nuanced way of reporting (Uribe & Gunter, 2007). Exposure to soft, popular and commercial news outlets, then, is anticipated to yield stronger effects on citizens' fear of terrorism as these outlets are known to adopt a more sensational angle, making use of emotional language and exemplars in news reports (Jacobs et al., 2016; Uribe & Gunter, 2007). Second, personal experiences are anticipated to condition effects of terrorism news on fear of terrorism. More particularly, citizens that have been the victim of a crime before may be more susceptible to threatening information due to increased vigilance (Chiricos et al., 2000); likewise, inhabitants of cities may experience higher fear of terrorism levels as they may feel urban areas with large crowds are preferred targets for terrorists. As Islamist terrorist threat remains salient in many Western societies, we also expect citizens living in diverse, multicultural neighbourhoods to experience more fear of terrorism.

To test our theoretical expectations, we use a three-country experiment where participants in Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden (N = 786) were either exposed to an online news story about terror threat or to a news story about an unrelated issue. Our findings inform the debate on the contingency of news effects on fear of terrorism, arguing that distinct outlets and genres yield differential effects. We suggest that individuals are not passive recipients of terrorism news, but actively interpret news messages in reference to their own personal experiences in line with resonance theory.

Theory

The Relationship between News and Terror

Morin (2016, p. 1001) describes the relationship between terrorist acts and news coverage of it as 'symbiotic', stressing that both simultaneously need and reinforce each other. Terror attacks are dramatic events testifying to grievances in society of extremist groups, making them relevant to cover in the news (Cho et al., 2003). They meet the informal

criteria of journalists due to their inherent news value, making that they resonate well with the news agenda and help journalists to expand their market share (Lerner, Gonzalez, Small & Fischhoff, 2003). Likewise, news attention is exactly what terrorists strive for, as it is efficient to spread their message and induce fear, maximizing their reach and impact. By paying disproportional attention to terror attacks, journalists risk at least partly helping to realize terrorists' objectives. This symbiotic, mutual relationship clarifies the need for journalists to find a balance between covering terror events and by refraining from emphasizing sensational elements (Nossek, 2008; Shoshani & Slone, 2008).

Following processes of digitalization and technical innovation, news media transport terrorist attacks into everyday life as "modern global networks enable almost immediately delivery of terrorist incidents and contribute to increased awareness of the presence and objectives of terrorist organisations" (Shoshani & Slone, 2008: 628). Exposure to terrorism news yields a range of negative consequences by inducing fear of terrorism, negative emotions and reinforcing hostile attitudes toward outgroups (Shoshani & Slone, 2008; Slone, 2000; Vasilopoulos, 2018). Most citizens do not have direct experience with terrorism, further underlining the importance of news coverage of it. Especially in situations in which citizens lack first-hand experience, mass-mediated reality can take up a role as a substitute for these direct experiences and affect citizens' perceptions (Williamson et al., 2019). Indeed, news media can operate as a substitute for personal experiences, pointing to the importance of mass media as a source of vicarious contact (Tamborini et al., 2017).

The Effects of Exposure to Terror News on Fear of Terrorism

Terrorist attacks can be considered so-called 'focusing events' or 'media storms' which easily develop into media storms due to their disruptive nature (Birkland, 1998; Boydston et al., 2014). Prior research has shown that terror attacks typically accumulate substantial news attention for a brief, intensive period of time. Importantly, terrorist attacks

meet several key criteria of newsworthiness as they tend to be dramatic, relevant and negative events with a high conflict value and magnitude (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017).

While large-scale terror attacks leading to high numbers of casualties are rare and over extended periods make fewer victims than other disasters and accidents (e.g., road accidents), their impact on threat perceptions is disproportionately large. Extensive coverage of terror acts has been found to be at least partly responsible for inducing fear of terrorism. Exemplification Theory, Terror Management Theory (TMT) and Cultivation Theory offer theoretical explanations of why exposure to news on terrorism disproportionately impacts citizens' perceptions of terrorism as a threat (Aust & Zillmann, 1996; Greenberg et al., 1990; Zillmann, 1999). First, terrorism as a political issue and news coverage of it tends to be emotional in nature. Terror news reports often make use of episodic and human interest framing and exemplars (Yang & Chen, 2019). Compared to factual news reports, this type of news coverage (and the amount of it) can make the audience believe that terrorist incidents occur more frequently than they actually do. It is a well-documented finding that audiences, after extensive mediatization of an issue, overestimate the severity and pertinence of that issue (Aust & Zillmann, 1996; Zillmann et al., 1996). Second, susceptibility to news about terrorism touches upon citizens' primordial desire to protect themselves from harm and risk. TMT theory presumes that people are instinctively pre-disposed to ensure survival (Greenberg et al., 1990; Pyszczynski et al., 1999), making people vulnerable to news on dangerous and potentially lethal situations, such as terror attacks (Das et al., 2009). TMT states that people are highly aware of their mortality ('mortality salience'), making that reflection about chances of their own death results in intensified feelings of threat. News reports on terrorism remind people that they are mortal and that a sudden and random act of violence may endanger their well-being and safety. This is likely to hold especially for people that are exposed regularly to the same type of narratives about violence and terrorism (Shrum

& Bischak, 2001). Indeed, intense news consumption may have a more profound impact, as it brings along the risk to encounter much news about terrorism and, hence, boost mortality salience. Finally, Cultivation theory asserts that consistent exposure to a dominant narrative portraying terrorism as a threat to society could elicit fear responses; mass media depictions can shape how reality is constructed (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010); this has been verified to especially play a role when exposed to violence, suggesting that exposure to terror news may invoke fear of terrorism (Gerbner & Gross, 1976). Mechanisms are similar to crime news, and the results are likely to hold for issues with which citizens do not have first-hand experience. Indeed, research has demonstrated that often news distorts social reality by focusing disproportionately on negative events and implications (Jacobs et al., 2018), making that exposure to this narrative can be easily picked up. Based on the theoretical perspectives of Exemplification Theory, TMT and Cultivation Theory, we hypothesize:

H₁: Exposure to a news story about terrorism will increase viewers' fear of terrorism.

The Moderating Role of News intensity, Outlet and Type

Limited research has examined the modalities that could either strengthen or weaken effects of exposure to terrorism news: not all citizens will be impacted to a similar extent. Cultivation theory has been refined by emphasizing that when considering media effects, one should take into account that reality as depicted by news is likely to be moderated as the audience is not a passive recipient, but rather actively interpreting these messages (Shrum & Bischak, 2001). We posit that both news consumption patterns (i.e., the intensity of news consumption, outlet and type of news) and personal experiences (prior victimization, living in a high-risk urban area) moderate this relationship.

First, media scholars have asserted that different types of news – i.e. in terms of genre (soft versus hard) or outlet (television, online versus newspapers) yield differential attitudinal outcomes (Jacobs et al., 2016). This phenomenon has been described as the ‘dual effects

hypothesis' (Aarts & Semetko, 2003). The underlying assumption is that distinct types of news systematically differ in the exact way they report on certain issues. First, news outlets can be split into two categories: hard/quality and soft/popular news. These outlets cover different issues, employ distinct reporting styles (factual versus emotional) and adopt divergent perspectives (societal versus individual) (Reinemann et al., 2012). Instead of applying a fact-based, impersonal reporting style, soft and popular news outlets often cover issues in a dramatic, personalized and sensational way to maximize audience shares (Lehman-Wilzig & Seletzky, 2010; Vettehen et al., 2010). Moreover, most Western European countries have a long-standing tradition of public service broadcasting (Bardoel & D'Haenens, 2008). Public broadcasters are usually partly state-funded, limiting their reliance on external revenues and keeping them partly sheltered from commercial pressure. In return for being funded, they are required to deliver a 'public service' to the citizenry by fulfilling a set of core functions, such as informing, educating and representing the citizens. Commercial broadcasters do not have a similar mandate to serve the public interest, making them more market-orientated and dependent upon audience and profit maximization. This often leads to more elements of sensationalism and tabloidization and more focus on soft news (Hendriks Vettehen et al., 2005; Jacobs et al., 2016; Rogers et al., 2014). Public broadcasters are found to have a stronger focus on information dissemination and education, resulting in more in-depth coverage, background information and nuanced reporting (Curran et al., 2009). They are found to cover political issues, including terrorism, in a more qualified way than their commercial counterparts. Second, the type of outlet may play a role. There are key formal differences between newspapers, online and television news. First, exposure to television news may have stronger attitudinal consequences than newspaper consumption due to the creation of a feeling of geographical proximity, the 'live' nature of reporting, direct witnesses and its focus on emotions (Cho et al., 2003). Within the cultivation theory framework,

television has always occupied a key role, exactly due to the fact that television depictions can be ‘real’, and seem accurate depictions of reality, due to the format features of television with sound and visuals. Moreover, the focus on crime and violence by television has resulted in the ‘mean world syndrome’, with studies verifying that exposure to television depictions of crime, violence can result in fear (Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Iyengar & Gilliam, 2000). Online news also has been found to have sensational elements and to be –generally speaking– less in depth, with briefer news stories and many emotional references; often the focus is on ‘clickbait’ headlines in order to attract as many viewers as possible (Strömbäck, 2017). Newspapers, by contrast, are static and are known to cover issues in greater depth, relying on thematic framing and providing background information. Research has confirmed that differences in news type (e.g., soft, popular and commercial news) and outlet (e.g., television, online, newspapers) yield differential effects on a set of different political attitudes (Jacobs et al., 2016; Strömbäck, 2017). Building on the ‘dual effects’ hypothesis (Aarts & Semetko, 2003), we expect frequent exposure to these types of news about terrorism to moderate effects of exposure to terrorist threat (Shoshani & Slone, 2008):

H₂: The effect of exposure to a news story about terrorism on fear of terrorism will be moderated by citizens’ frequency of consumption of (a) television news, (b) online news, and (c) commercial, popular and soft forms of news, so that the more a citizen consumes each of these three types of news, the more their fear of terrorism will increase after exposure.

The Moderating Role of Personal Experiences

The ‘real-world’ thesis suggests that the relationship between news and attitudes is moderated by real-life experiences. Resonance theory refines cultivation theory by asserting that the influence of news messages may be weaker or stronger depending on whether these messages resonate in citizens’ everyday life (Shrum & Bischak, 2001). The underlying rationale is that citizens interpret news messages in reference to their own immediate

environment and their prior experiences, making that news media effects are especially likely to occur if news messages and personal experiences align (Weitzer & Kubrin, 2004).

Regarding fear of terrorism, two types of personal experiences may be relevant in conditioning media effects: prior victimization and risk perceptions related to one's place of residence, more specifically, its level of urbanization and diversity.

First, prior victimization is likely to affect citizens' levels of threat perceptions and fear of crime (Chiricos et al., 1997, 2000), but can also make citizens respond more strongly to news on terrorism (Nabi & Riddle, 2008). It implies that citizens have already experienced a traumatic experience, which can leave traces by affecting subjective safety and well-being (Chiricos et al., 1997). Prior victimization could reinforce the view that disruptive events, e.g. crime and terrorism, occur more often than is actually the case, because they have personally experienced it—especially when reactivated by the news (Nellis & Savage, 2012). It could be especially pertinent in reinforcing fear of terrorism, as exposure terror news can be interpreted as a confirmation of one's earlier experiences with disruptive events. This is in line with TMT theory (Rosenblatt et al., 1989) and Exemplification theory as crime victims are likely to have a higher mortality salience and, consequently, to be more alert and more strongly affected by negative information due to one bad experience. We hypothesize that:

H₃: The effect of exposure to a news story about terrorism on fear of terrorism will be moderated by citizens' prior victimization, so that those who have been victimized before will have a stronger increase in fear of terrorism after exposure.

Living in an urban area may also moderate the relationship between exposure to terror news and fear of terrorism. Living in an urban area has been found to negatively affect general feelings of safety (Semyonov et al., 2012). Urban areas encounter more crime and social problems than rural areas, explaining this difference in threat perceptions. Moreover, urban areas are usually crowded, a crucial element when examining fear of terrorism.

Terrorists aim to disrupt society by creating turmoil and spreading fear via the use of violence (Morin, 2016; Vasilopoulos, 2018). Terrorists typically attack places where many people are gathered together, because this increases the chance of casualties and, hence, boosts the shock effect, impact and perceived severity of the attack. The majority of recent terror attacks in Western Europe, for instance, occurred in large cities, such as Paris, Brussels, Berlin or London. Residents of urban areas may therefore feel they run a greater risk of becoming the victim of a terror attack than residents of rural areas; this feeling is expected to further increase more when exposed to a news cue on terrorism. This can be linked to TMT theory, as citizens living in cities may experience a higher mortality salience and the mass-mediated reality and actual reality may converge. We hypothesize:

H4: The effect of exposure to a news story about terrorism on fear of terrorism will be moderated by citizens' residence status, so that those who live in an urban area will have a stronger increase in fear of terrorism after exposure.

Finally, the perceived ethnic diversity of the neighborhood where people live may play a role. This is linked to the type of terror: In contemporary Western Europe, a large share of terror attacks is committed in the name of political Islam. As individuals tend to generalize, they easily attribute collective responsibility for terrorism to broader ethnic or religious groups rather than to individuals so that nowadays, often Muslims are blamed (Obaidi et al., 2018; Tamborini et al., 2017). If citizens live in neighborhoods with high ethnic diversity, this means that direct confrontation with outgroup members that they may hold responsible for terrorist attacks is high; this priming effect could make them more fearful of terrorism.

H5: The effect of exposure to a news story about terrorism on fear of terrorism will be moderated by citizens' neighbourhood diversity, so that those who live in an ethnically diverse area will have a stronger increase in fear of terrorism after exposure.

Data and Method

Case Selection

To evaluate our hypotheses, we have designed a between-subjects experiment in three Western European democracies: Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden. These all have a ‘democratic corporatist media system’ with high levels of professionalization, strong public broadcasters and press freedom (Brüggemann et al., 2014; Hallin & Mancini, 2012); the media landscape in all countries is diverse with both tabloid and quality media outlets together reaching the majority of the audience (Newman et al., 2021). All countries have been confronted with (mostly Islamic) terrorist attacks in recent years that have led to casualties (Global Terrorism Database, 2021); in Germany, there have been 23 (mostly Jihadi) terrorist incidents with at least one fatality since 2000, five in the Netherlands and three in Sweden. Germany has recently been confronted with anti-refugee and right-wing extremist terrorism. Eurobarometer data (2019) indicate that terrorism was an equally salient political issue at the time of data collection in all countries with about 11 per cent of participants mentioning this as one of the two main problems their country faced in fall 2019 (i.e., at the time of the data collection).

Participants

In total, 786 participants took part in the online experiment (51.3% women, 48.7% men; $M_{Age} = 50.01$, $SD_{Age} = 2.31$). The data collection was done in cooperation with Kantar Public, a research agency with online panels in all countries, enforcing maximally similar procedures regarding recruiting, sampling, presentation of the survey and the data collection. Participants can earn points and are remunerated (gift cards, vouchers) for participating. The experiment was fielded between September and November 2019 in all countries. A sample that is representative of the Dutch, German and Swedish adult population in terms of age,

gender, area of residence (based on micro census data) was drawn¹. Participants were randomly allocated to the experimental (i.e., an online news story on a prevented terror attack) or control condition (i.e., an online news story on an unrelated topic). The format that we used was a news story supposedly published on the website of the public broadcaster in Germany (ARD), the Netherlands (NOS) or Sweden (SVT).

Procedure

All participants received a mail with a link to the experiment. To mask the study's goal, a cover story was used. Participants were told that they would take part in a study about reactions to news on current affairs. The experiment was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Amsterdam. After the welcome screen, informed consent, sociodemographics and moderators, they were exposed to a manipulated online news story that was supposedly published by ARD (Germany), NOS (the Netherlands) or SVT (Sweden). The websites of all broadcasters attract many visitors on a daily basis and are leading in setting the public agenda: its news reports (Tagesschau, NOS News, SVT News) are according to the 2021 Reuters News Report the top trusted outlets in their respective media markets (Newman et al., 2021) The manipulated online news story was identical in terms of lay-out to those of real news stories: They were manipulated by altering the text (using the 'inspection' function) on the web page and by taking screenshots of it. This greatly enhances external validity. The created situation in which participants read an online news story closely aligns with how citizens in Western countries nowadays consume news.

¹ Sampling slightly deviates in one respect: In the Netherlands, the sample was also representative for prior vote for the parliament. In the Netherlands, the sample was representative for the adult population, while in Germany and Sweden the sampling was done on the basis of a quorum for specific criteria.

The manipulation consisted of an online news story that we edited specifically for this study. The content of the online news story was fictional, but the reporting style and the disclosed information were closely based on existing news reports of terror attacks. A timer counted how much time the participants spent on the stimulus page² and on the total survey. After the manipulation, the participants answered buffer items (to follow-up on the cover story), followed by the dependent variables. Exposure and manipulation checks were included to ascertain that the manipulation was successful. All participants were debriefed directly after completing the survey in line with ethical guidelines.

Stimulus materials

The news story consisted of a main title (“terror threat remains high”) and a text with subtitles. The text of the introductory text was as follows: “The risk of an attack in [Germany / The Netherlands / Sweden] remains realistic. The security services explicitly refer to the arrest last month of four Muslim extremists due to the plotting of a large-scale terror attack in [Berlin / Amsterdam / Stockholm]. The second paragraph provided details on the prevented terror attack and the motives of the terrorists: “Muslim extremists are planning to commit an attack in [Germany / The Netherlands / Sweden]. This terrorism is linked to a deep-rooted aversion of our secular society. Therefore, the threat level remains high, write the security services in their latest report.” After this a subtitle followed “Threat of Muslim extremists: stay vigilant” after which a text followed in which the security services warn the public to stay vigilant and that some Muslim extremists are prepared to use violence. Online supplementary file A1 includes a transcript of the manipulated news story.

The control condition was an online news story about a totally different topic, but also dealt with a negative issue (i.e., about fossils being found in the desert from the time that the

² The participants could only proceed to the next page after 30 seconds.

dinosaurs have become extinct and speculations about how the dinosaurs have died out). This news story was based on a real news story that has been disseminated in all three countries, but which has been shortened for the purpose of this study.

Measurements.

Dependent variable: Fear of terrorism

Three items that have been validated in prior research were used to measure fear of terrorism (Cohrs et al., 2005; Onraet & Hiel, 2013). Participants had to indicate on a 7-point scale to what extent they agree that a terrorist attack is likely where '1' stands for 'strongly disagree' and '7' for 'strongly agree'. The items were as follows: (1) "Terrorism threatens our society"; (2) "I feel that the daily life in our country is affected by possible terrorist acts"; (3) "There is a good chance that a terrorist attack will happen in our country in the near future." These items all loaded on one scale which was reliable and internally consistent, both as an average of all countries ($\alpha = 0.83$) and within each country separately ($\alpha_{NL} = 0.81$, $\alpha_{DE} = 0.86$, $\alpha_{SE} = 0.84$). ($M_{NL} = 4.33$, $SD_{NL} = 1.30$; $M_{DE} = 4.43$, $SD_{DE} = 1.42$; $M_{SE} = 4.41$, $SD_{SE} = 1.62$).

Moderators

Consumption of television news. This variable was tapped by asking participants: "How many hours do you follow the news via television during a typical week?" The answer categories ranged from 0 ("Never") to 7 ("Seven days a week"). ($M_{NL} = 2.80$, $SD_{NL} = 1.14$; $M_{DE} = 3.69$, $SD_{DE} = 1.65$; $M_{SE} = 3.07$, $SD_{SE} = 1.52$).

Consumption of online news. Similar to television news, participants were asked the following question: "How many hours do you follow the news online during a typical week?" The answer categories ranged from 1 ("Never") to 7 ("Seven days per week"). ($M_{NL} = 2.69$, $SD_{NL} = 1.10$; $M_{DE} = 3.48$, $SD_{DE} = 1.59$; $M_{SE} = 2.21$, $SD_{SE} = 1.49$).

Consumption of popular, commercial and soft news. Participants were asked how often they watched a list of specific news programs, newspapers and websites that can be

considered as either popular, commercial or focusing on soft news (as opposed to hard news) in a typical week. This list contained for each country the outlets with a daily circulation with a national reach and the highest audience statistics based on the Digital News Report of Reuters (Newman, et al., 2021). The answer categories ranged from 0 (“Never”) to 7 (“Seven days per week”). For popular news, we used the frequency with which participants consumed popular newspapers (i.e., *Algemeen Dagblad* and *Telegraaf* in the Netherlands, *Bild* in Germany and *Aftonbladet* and *Expressen* in Sweden) and news websites (i.e., *Nu.nl*, *GeenStijl.nl*, websites of *Algemeen Dagblad* and *Telegraaf* in the Netherlands; *Web.de*, *t-online.de*, *n-tv.de*, *Spiegel Online*, *Heute.de*, *Bild.de* and *Focus Online* in Germany; *TV4.se*, *Nyheter 24*, *Aftonbladet Online*, *Expressen Online* in Sweden). For commercial and soft (television) news, we used the frequency with which participants indicated to watch *RTL Aktuell*, *ZDF Heute* and *SAT.1 Nachrichten* in Germany, *Editie NL*, *Hart van Nederland* or *RTL Nieuws* in the Netherlands, and *TV4Nyheterna* in Sweden. To construct the variable ‘consumption of soft, popular or commercial news’, we made a sum scale of the frequency with which participants watched, read or visited any of the mentioned broadcasts, newspapers or websites. This variable ranges from 1 to 7 (and scores in between), with a score of ‘7’ referring to a high average consumption of soft, popular and commercial news. ($M_{NL} = 0.897$, $SD_{NL} = 1.38$; $M_{DE} = 1.63$, $SD_{DE} = 1.46$; $M_{SE} = 1.76$, $SD_{SE} = 1.96$).

Prior victimization. Participants were asked in a binary variable a whether they or a member of their household has been the victim of a crime (e.g., a robbery or an assault) in the past five years: 0 = “No”, 1 = “Yes”. ($M_{NL} = 0.10$, $SD_{NL} = 0.30$; $M_{DE} = 0.08$, $SD_{DE} = 0.26$; $M_{SE} = 0.14$, $SD_{SE} = 0.35$).

Area of residence. Participants were asked which words best describes the area where they currently live. They could choose from five categories: 1 (“a big city”), 2 (“the suburbs or outskirts of a big city”), 3 (“a town or small city”), 4 (“a country village”) or 5 (“A farm or

home in the countryside”). These five categories have been recoded to two categories, 1 = ‘a big city or the suburbs or outskirts of a big city’, 0 = ‘all other categories’. ($M_{NL} = 0.21$, $SD_{NL} = 0.41$; $M_{DE} = 0.24$, $SD_{DE} = 0.43$; $M_{SE} = 0.21$, $SD_{SE} = 0.41$).

Diversity neighborhood. Participants were asked which best describes the area where they currently live in terms of diversity. More specifically, the question was as follows: How many people in your neighborhood have a different color of skin or have a different ethnic background compared to most Dutch / German / Swedish people? This was administered on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (‘Almost nobody’) to 7 (‘Almost everybody’); higher scores, hence, refer to more diverse ethnic neighborhoods. This has been recoded to a binary variable with the highest three categories (‘Three-quarters of the people’, ‘the majority’ and ‘almost everybody’) referring to people living in a diverse neighborhood ($M_{NL} = 0.04$, $SD_{NL} = 0.20$; $M_{DE} = 0.07$, $SD_{DE} = 0.25$; $M_{SE} = 0.13$, $SD_{SE} = 0.34$).

Results

Exposure and manipulation check

First, an exposure check was conducted to assess whether participants have correctly picked up the topic of the news story. In total, 89% of the participants in the experimental condition correctly indicated that the news story dealt with a terror attack. In addition, 92% of the participants in the control condition correctly passed the exposure check in noticing that the control condition did not cover the terror topic, but referred to fossils. The difference between the control condition and the experimental condition was significant, $F(1, 785) = 2755.1$, $p < 0.001$ with participants in the control condition significantly more often indicating that the article did not cover the terror topic ($M = 0.92$, $SD = 0.26$) than participants in the experimental condition ($M = 0.01$, $SD = 0.10$). Next, a manipulation check was done to ascertain whether the manipulations were correctly perceived. We asked participants “How likely is it an Islam terror attack will occur in your country”, ranging from ‘Not likely at all’

(0) to ‘Very likely’ (10). Participants in the terrorism news condition were more likely to report that such a terror attack would be likely ($M = 7.23$, $SD = 2.72$) than those in the control condition ($M = 6.99$, $SD = 2.74$), although this effect was not significant, $F(1, 698) = 1.34$, $p = 0.251$. While the result head in the right direction, it may seem that for some the manipulation was too subtle. Still, the exposure check shows that the signal was picked up correctly, but did only partly affect participants’ evaluation of the likelihood of an attack.³

Randomization check

A randomization check shows that the experimental and control condition do not significantly differ on key variables, namely participants’ gender, educational level, age and political ideology (see Table 1). This affirms that the randomization was successful. We include age (16 categories, ranging from youngest to highest age) and gender (binary, 0 = male, 1 = female) as controls in the analysis, because they are expected to correlate with fear of terror.

[Table 1]

Analyses

We conduct a series of multiple regression analyses to test our hypotheses. We first include only the experimental manipulation, patterns in news consumption, personal experiences, controls, country dummies and two-way interactions by country (in Table 2).

³ Unfortunately, we do not have additional measures such as participants’ evaluations of the credibility of the news stories in the stimulus material. This said, at the end of the questionnaire we asked what participants thought was the goal of our study. Their answers do not point to any lack of credibility of the news stories. Furthermore, the results of the manipulation check point in the expected direction, and the news stories closely match real-life reports on terrorism. Still, the results must be interpreted with care.

Next, we introduce the moderators separately as to not oversaturate the models (Table 3). A data analysis plan is included in the Online Supplementary File.

Main effects. We conduct a multiple regression to test H1 on main effects of exposure to a terrorism condition on perceived fear of terrorism (Table 2). Some news consumption patterns and personal experiences affect fear of terrorism. Frequent consumption of television, online and soft news is positively related to perceived fear of terrorism. Participants living in an urban area are less likely to report fear of terrorism (one-tailed test), while participants residing in a diverse neighborhood are more fearful. Prior victimization does not have a significant effect on fear of terrorism. The experimental condition variable, while controlling for all other variables and country dummies, is not significant ($\beta = 0.009$, $SD = 0.051$, $p = 0.865$). Interactions terms between the experimental condition and the country dummies are not significant, suggesting the lack of main effect is the same in all countries (and also a model per country confirms this result). H1 is rejected.

[Table 2]

Moderation. Next, we conduct regression analyses to assess to what extent news consumption patterns (Model I) and personal experiences (Model II) moderate effects of exposure to news about terrorism on fear of terrorism (Table 3). The models include all country dummies and two-way interactions between the key variables⁴. The first set of hypotheses (H₂) deal with how the frequency of specific news (i.e., television, online and soft, popular or commercial forms of news) moderate the relationship between exposure to a news story about terrorism and fear of terrorism (Model I). We find only confirmation for H_{2c} as the interaction term between exposure to a news story on Islam terrorism and frequent soft news

⁴ Three-way interactions between manipulation, moderator and country are not significant, showing that the results do not significantly differ between countries; full results are included in the Online Supplementary File.

consumption is significant: exposure to a news story on terrorism and fear of terrorism is moderated by consumption of commercial, popular and soft news: citizens who often consume these outlets display higher fear of terrorism after exposure. H_{2a} (television) and H_{2b} (online news) are rejected. Finally, we consider H₃ to H₅ on participants' personal experiences (i.e., prior victimization, living in an urban area, diverse neighborhood) of which the results are displayed in Model II in Table 3. Exposure to a news story about terrorism and fear of terrorism is moderated by residency status: citizens living in urban areas display higher fear of terrorism after exposure, confirming H₄. No evidence is found for an interaction between exposure to terrorism news and prior victimization (H₃) and living in a diverse neighborhood (H₅). This effect holds while controlling for other interactions and country dummies. Overall, the effect sizes are small, but meaningful.

[Table 3]

Discussion

This study started from the assumption that terrorism and news media are intertwined in a 'symbiotic relationship' as both need and reinforce each other: terrorism meets the criteria of newsworthiness and embodies a set of core news values (e.g., of negativity, drama, conflict). However, extensive news coverage of terrorism risks to perpetuate fear of terrorism in society. Prior research has indeed verified a positive correlation between exposure to news about terrorism and threat perceptions (Morin, 2016; Nellis & Savage, 2012). Still, it can be expected that not all citizens are affected evenly. It was our explicit goal to shed more light on which type of citizens are more likely to be affected by exposure to news about terrorism. We focus on two types of potential moderating factors: patterns in news consumption and personal experiences. We conducted an experiment in three countries (i.e., Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden) where participants were exposed to either a news story about a prevented Islamic terror attack or a news story about an unrelated topic. We relied on theories

from mass communication (cultivation theory, dual effects hypothesis, exemplification theory, priming) and terror studies (Terror Management Theory) to motivate our expectation.

First, overall news media patterns play a role in explaining fear of terrorism. Frequent exposure to television news and soft, popular and commercial forms of news boost fear of terrorism. Hence, main effects of news consumption, are conditional upon the news format and type. This finding corroborates the dual effects hypothesis that different types of news yield differential effects (Aarts & Semetko, 2003; Jacobs et al., 2016). Next, we assessed interactions between exposure to a news story about terrorism and patterns in news consumption. Only frequent consumption of soft, popular and commercial news moderates the relationship between exposure to terrorism news and fear of terrorism: Participants who often consume soft, popular and commercial news are more strongly affected by news on terrorism. This could be explained by the sensational and emotional nature of these genres (Uribe & Gunter, 2007; Williamson et al., 2019), which are elements that could boost threat perceptions. There may be something distinct about the coverage of terrorism in these types of outlets and future studies may want to address this more in depth. This aligns with refinements to cultivation theory by showing that only particular types of news yield negative effects, and can boost a 'hostile' world (Shrum & Bishak, 2001) and verifies the dual effects hypothesis. Alternatively, it might be a selection effect: those who happen to be more susceptible to effects of threatening messages may more often select soft news, perhaps as a coping mechanism on because of a desire for sensational news stories.

Second, personal experiences play a minor role. Participants living in a diverse neighborhood generally report more fear of terrorism, while those living in an urban area are less likely to report fear of terrorism. Prior victimization did not play a significant role. Living in an urban area moderates the relationship between exposure to terrorism news and fear of terrorism: when the threat is salient and real, citizens in urban areas report higher levels of

fear of terrorism. Hence, we find some evidence for the resonance hypothesis—refining cultivation theory— as participants seem to interpret the news story in reference to their own personal situation and perception of vulnerability (Shrum & Bischak, 2001). The mechanism is similar to that reported in media studies on fear of crime (Weitzer & Kubrin, 2004).

Citizens interpret what they encounter in news media in reference to their own living conditions, showing that mass-mediated reality and social reality can reinforce each other. We did not find a similar significant interaction effect for the diversity of a neighborhood. This could be due to the type of terror threat: if citizens living in a diverse neighborhood (usually in neighborhoods with many people with a Muslim background or less affluent neighborhoods) are exposed to an Islamist terror threat, they may think their neighborhood is a less likely target. Prior victimization does not have a moderating role either; these experiences usually pertain to general crime and may not necessarily spill over to fear for a terror attack, which could be considered as rare and less realistic.

Overall, we find some evidence that media effects on fear of terrorism are not uniform, but the effects are modest and for the most part we report null findings. Indeed, no main effect of exposure to a terror threat was found in contrast to prior research which used other experimental manipulation (Matthes et al., 2020; Nellis & Savage, 2012; Williamson et al., 2019) . It could also point to a ‘habituation’ effect, with citizens being used to coverage on terrorism; importantly, our stimulus was subtle and did not manipulate an actual terror attack (which would be immoral and unrealistic). Hence, effects are likely to be less strong than in studies with quasi-experimental set-ups. Still, for some citizens exposure to news about terrorism has consequences for how fearful they are, suggesting that news consumption and personal experiences reinforce each other ‘Resonance’ and the type of media diet seems relevant. Generally, effects were rather similar in all three countries, despite some countries (e.g., Germany) having more experience with terror attacks. Of course, the media systems in

Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands are quite comparable with—next to quality press and strong public broadcaster-- soft, popular and commercial forms of news having specific content, which could explain this congruence in the findings. While effects may be weaker or stronger in some countries, the overall trends seem comparable.

Future studies may want to adopt these findings to expose citizens to different manipulations of terror threat, reflecting content differences in reporting on terror news to further disentangle underlying mechanisms. Another limitation is that we rely on self-reporting to measure news consumption; future studies may want to replicate the findings using additional news stories as stimulus material (e.g., manipulating the source or outlet) to refine the results and alleviate this via replication. Since exposure to soft, popular and commercial forms of news is a moderator, content analyses may want to determine which content features may explain this. While our study does not show a cause-and-effect relationship, individuals' prior news consumption patterns affect their reactions to news on a terror threat. This shows that one particular news story on terror threat has a differential effect for different citizens with different living conditions and media preferences.

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Table 1.*Randomization of Non-experimental Factors.*

Source of variation	Country	<i>F</i>	Between groups <i>Df</i>	Within groups <i>Df</i>	<i>p</i>
Sex	Netherlands	0.021	1	261	0.884
	Germany	0.876	1	303	0.350
	Sweden	0.181	1	216	0.671
Age	Netherlands	0.219	1	261	0.640
	Germany	0.788	1	303	0.375
	Sweden	0.744	1	216	0.389
Education	Netherlands	2.629	1	261	0.106
	Germany	0.002	1	303	0.966
	Sweden	0.073	1	216	0.887
Political ideology	Netherlands	0.987	1	261	0.321
	Germany	0.058	1	303	0.809
	Sweden	0.198	1	216	0.657

Table 2.*Regression Analysis of Fear of Terrorism: Main Effects.*

DV: Fear of terrorism	B	SE	β	<i>p</i>	B	SE	B	<i>p</i>
Constant	3.477	0.607		0.000	2.958	0.943		0.002
Exposure to Islam terrorism	0.009	0.051	0.006	0.865	0.043	0.088	0.030	0.626
Age	0.036*	0.017	0.080	0.035	0.036*	0.017	0.080	0.034
Gender	0.014	0.103	0.005	0.895	0.015	0.103	0.005	0.884
News consumption patterns								
Frequency of television news	0.091*	0.042	0.095	0.029	0.091	0.042*	0.095	0.029
Frequency of online news	0.047	0.039	0.048	0.228	0.048	0.039	0.048	0.227
Frequency of soft, popular & commercial news	0.075*	0.034	0.085	0.028	0.076	0.034*	0.086	0.026
Personal experiences								
Living in urban area	-0.216	0.124	-0.062	0.082	-0.223	0.125	-0.064	0.074
Living in diverse neighborhood	0.501**	0.195	0.093	0.010	0.501	0.195**	0.093	0.010
Prior victimization	0.125	0.169	0.026	0.462	0.120	0.170	0.025	0.480
Germany	-0.105	0.126	-0.036	0.403	0.802	1.210	0.271	0.508

Sweden	-0.106	0.135	-0.033	0.436	0.488	1.311	0.151	0.710
Exposure to Islam terrorism * Germany					-0.059	0.130	-0.453	0.650
Exposure to Islam terrorism * Sweden					-0.090	0.120	-0.753	0.452
<hr/> R ²	3.9			3.7				

Note. N = 786. Reported are the unstandardized coefficients (B), standardized coefficients (β), standard errors (SE) and significance values *p <

.05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Table 3.*Moderation Analyses for News Consumption Patterns and Personal Experiences (Two-way Interactions).*

DV: Fear of terrorism	Model I (patterns in news consumption)				Model II (personal experiences)			
	B	SE	β	<i>p</i>	B	SE	β	<i>p</i>
Constant	2.761	1.513		0.068	1.344	2.144		0.531
Exposure to Islam terrorism	0.065	0.147	0.045	0.656	0.211	0.207	0.146	0.309
Age	0.029	0.017	0.064	0.097	0.041*	0.017	0.090	0.017
Gender	0.011	0.103	0.004	0.912	0.038	0.103	0.013	0.711
Frequency of television news	0.221	0.416	0.231	0.595	0.086*	0.042	0.089	0.040
Frequency soft, pop. & com. news	-0.740*	0.346	-0.837	0.033	0.080*	0.034	0.090	0.020
Frequency of online news	0.277	0.405	0.279	0.494	0.054	0.039	0.054	0.172
Living in diverse neighborhood	0.508**	0.196	0.094	0.010	1.651	2.064	0.307	0.424
Living in urban area	-0.234	0.125	-0.067	0.061	3.796**	1.309	1.093	0.004
Prior victimization	0.100	0.170	0.021	0.559	0.725	1.776	0.153	0.683
Sweden	0.961	1.404	0.298	0.494	-0.188	1.373	-0.058	0.891

Germany	1.447	1.320	0.489	0.273	0.833	1.302	0.282	0.523
Exposure to Islam terrorism * Sweden	-0.117	0.135	-0.365	0.387	-0.046	0.132	-0.144	0.726
Exposure to Islam terrorism * Germany	-0.131	0.127	-0.448	0.301	-0.090	0.120	-0.309	0.451
Frequency TV news * Exposure to Islam terrorism	-0.001	0.040	-0.007	0.987				
Frequency TV news * Sweden	-0.110	0.113	0.122	0.330				
Frequency TV news * Germany	-0.176	0.104	-0.253	0.089				
Frequency online news * Exposure to Islam terrorism	-0.033	0.039	-0.348	0.396				
Frequency online news * Sweden	0.139	0.109	0.162	0.200				
Frequency online news * Germany	0.130	0.102	0.177	0.206				
Frequency soft news * Exposure to Islam terrorism	0.085*	0.034	0.952	0.014				
Frequency soft news * Sweden	-0.009	0.088	-0.008	0.914				
Frequency soft news * Germany	-0.057	0.090	-0.048	0.525				
Living in urban area * Exposure to Islam terrorism					-0.389**	0.126	-1.126	0.002
Living in urban area * Sweden					0.046	0.328	0.008	0.888
Living in urban area * Germany					-0.358	0.298	-0.072	0.230
Diverse neighborhood * Exposure to Islam terrorism					-0.110	0.196	-0.205	0.575

Diverse neighborhood * Sweden		-0.097	0.533	-0.013	0.856
Diverse neighborhood * Germany		0.015	0.556	0.002	0.979
Victimization * Exposure to Islam terrorism		-0.075	0.171	-0.170	0.662
Victimization * Sweden		0.450	0.405	0.170	0.267
Victimization * Germany		0.005	0.431	0.002	0.991
Pseudo R ²	4.00%		4.50%		

Note. N = 786. Reported are the unstandardized coefficients (B), standardized coefficients (β), standard errors (SE) and significance values (p). *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001 (two-tailed).

Online Supplementary Files**File A1. Stimulus Material (in English)***Experimental Condition*

[Security service: GTAZ / NCTV/ SÄPO]: threat level remains high

Today, 13:04, domestic news



The risk of an attack in [Germany / The Netherlands / Sweden] remains realistic. The [security service: GTAZ / NCTV/ SÄPO] explicitly refer to the arrest last month of four Muslim extremists for plotting of a large-scale terror attack in [Berlin / Amsterdam / Stockholm].

Muslim extremists are planning an attack in [Germany / the Netherlands / Sweden]. This terror is linked to a deep-rooted aversion of our [secular / multicultural] society. therefore, the threat level remains on 4 (on a scale of 5), write the [security service: GTAZ / NCTV/ SÄPO] in their latest report.

Threat of Muslim extremists: stay vigilant

The [security service: GTAZ / NCTV/ SÄPO] calls the Muslim extremists ‘intrinsicly prepared to use violence’, but that does not mean that all Muslim extremists are violent or are

planning attacks. “Some of them are prepared to use violence. This worries us and this implies that the security services and the Public Prosecution need to be and stay vigilant”, a spokesperson said.

Control condition

Fossils of ‘the day that the dinosaurs died’ found

Today, 13:04, foreign news



It is perhaps ‘the most important fossil discovery of this century’. This is how the discovery of a mud pool in the American state of North Dakota is described. The mud pool was said to have originated tens of millions of years ago, when an asteroid impact put an end to a large part of life on earth.

In the mud pool, scientists found fossils of dinosaurs, insects and fish, all of which died in one fell swoop as a result of the impact. The discovery is therefore compared to Pompeii, the Italian city that was buried by ash from the Vesuvius volcano and that turned out to be a well-sealed treasure house for archeologists.

66 million years ago

The meteorite impact must have occurred some 66 million years ago, in Yucatán, Mexico. The impact of the huge asteroid (with a diameter of about 10 kilometers), according to scientists, lasted two minutes and struck a 180-kilometer-wide crater in the earth. In terms of strength, the impact is compared to a billion times the atomic bomb that destroyed the Japanese city of Hiroshima in 1945.

The impact would have caused massive tsunamis and earthquakes worldwide. Large amounts of boulder would have ended up in the stratosphere and caused a rain of rocks hours after the impact, so-called microtektites. As a result of the impact, three quarters of all types of organisms are extinct.

Secret location

The mud pool was discovered years ago by the American paleontologist Robert dePalma. A team of scientists then worked on the investigation in the deepest secrecy. They already talked about their discovery in 2017, promising not to publish the news until the scientific article became public.

In order not to disturb the investigation, the precise location of the mud pool is kept secret.

Table A2.*Overview of Participants per Condition and Country*

	Control condition	Experimental condition	Total
Netherlands	141	122	263
Germany	149	156	305
Sweden	105	113	218
All countries	402	384	786

Table A3.*Table with Descriptive Data for Participants and Variables per Country*

Country			NL		DE		SE	
Variable	Min	Max	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Gender	0	1	0.46	0.50	0.55	0.50	0.52	0.50
Age category	1	16	10.13	3.30	10.84	2.93	10.28	3.41
Education: % higher education			38.8%		42.6%		44.6%	
Terror threat	1	7	4.33	1.30	4.43	1.42	4.41	1.62
Patterns of news consumption								
Frequency of TV news	0	7	2.80	1.14	3.69	1.65	3.07	1.52
Frequency of soft news	0	7	0.90	1.38	1.63	1.46	1.76	1.96
Frequency of online news	0	7	2.69	1.10	3.48	1.59	2.21	1.49
Personal experiences								
Living in diverse neighborhood	0	1	0.04	0.20	0.07	0.25	0.13	0.34
Living in an urban area	0	1	0.21	0.41	0.24	0.43	0.21	0.41
Prior victimization	0	1	0.10	0.30	0.08	0.26	0.14	0.35
N			263		305		218	

Figure A4.

Data Analysis Plan

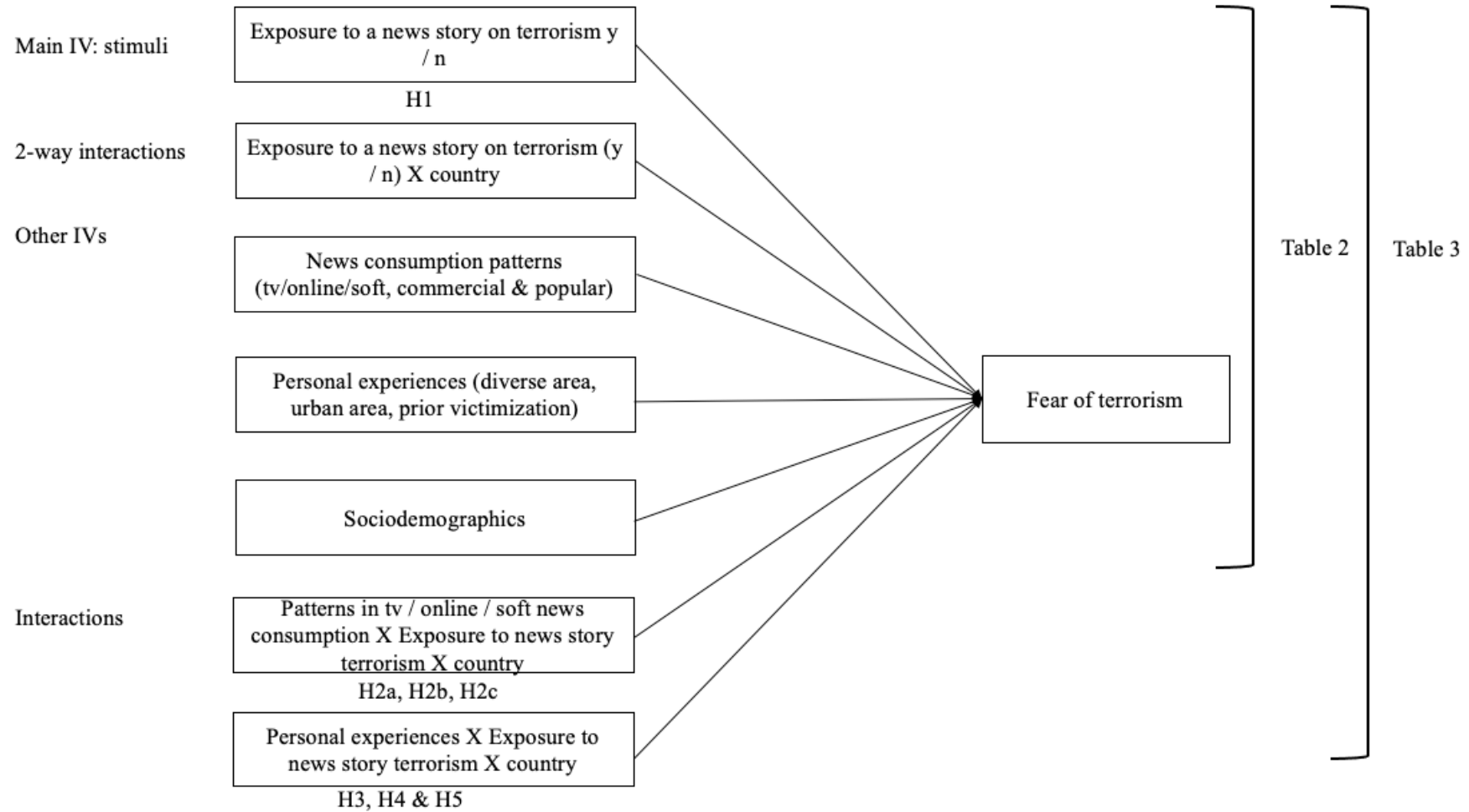


Table A5.*Table with Three-way Interactions.*

DV: Fear of terrorism	Model I				Model II			
	B	SE	Beta	<i>p</i>	B	SE	Beta	<i>p</i>
Constant	-0.374	2.826		0.895	3.292	3.492		0.346
Exposure to Islam terrorism	0.376	0.279	0.261	0.178	0.017	0.340	0.012	0.959
Age	0.029	0.017	0.065	0.095	0.042*	0.017	0.094	0.013
Gender	0.025	0.103	0.009	0.807	0.023	0.104	0.008	0.827
Frequency of television news	0.215	0.874	0.225	0.806	0.087	0.042	0.091	0.038
Frequency soft, pop. & com. news	0.258	0.694	0.291	0.711	0.081*	0.034	0.092	0.018
Frequency of online news	1.112	0.861	1.123	0.197	0.052	0.040	0.053	0.188
Living in diverse neighborhood	0.474*	0.197	0.088	0.016	2.311	4.834	0.429	0.633
Living in urban area	-0.218	0.125	-0.063	0.082	6.871**	2.343	1.979	0.003
Prior victimization	0.102	0.171	0.022	0.550	-1.638	3.090	-0.345	0.596
Sweden	5.823	3.899	1.808	0.136	-5.783	4.799	-1.796	0.229
Germany	5.377	3.674	1.818	0.144	1.055	4.907	0.357	0.830
Exposure to Islam terrorism * Sweden	-0.606	0.390	-1.889	0.120	0.511	0.472	1.591	0.280
Exposure to Islam terrorism * Germany	-0.524	0.363	-1.788	0.150	-0.116	0.487	-0.395	0.813
Frequency TV news * Exposure to Islam terrorism	-0.002	0.086	-0.020	0.983				
Frequency TV news * Sweden	0.324	1.151	0.358	0.778				
Frequency TV news * Germany	-0.362	1.054	-0.520	0.731				
Frequency TV news * Exposure to Islam terrorism * Sweden	-0.041	0.114	-0.457	0.716				
Frequency TV news * Exposure to Islam terrorism * Germany	0.020	0.104	0.296	0.846				
Frequency online news * Exposure to Islam terrorism	-0.115	0.085	-1.203	0.176				
Frequency online news * Sweden	-1.357	1.102	-1.578	0.219				
Frequency online news * Germany	-0.646	1.038	-0.880	0.534				
Frequency online news * Exposure to Islam terrorism * Sweden	0.148	0.109	1.728	0.175				
Frequency online news * Exposure to Islam terrorism * Germany	0.076	0.103	1.044	0.462				
Frequency soft news * Exposure to Islam terrorism	-0.017	0.070	-0.192	0.808				
Frequency soft news * Sweden	-1.510	0.886	-1.357	0.089				

Frequency soft news * Germany	-1.256	0.907	-1.053	0.166				
Frequency soft news * Exposure to Islam terrorism * Sweden	0.153	0.089	1.363	0.088				
Frequency soft news * Exposure to Islam terrorism * Germany	0.122	0.091	1.024	0.181				
Living in city * Exposure to Islam terrorism					-0.693**	0.228	-2.005	0.002
Living in city * Sweden					-4.027	3.361	-0.656	0.231
Living in city * Germany					-5.641	3.072	-1.129	0.067
Living in city * Exposure to Islam terrorism * Sweden					0.405	0.334	0.652	0.225
Living in city * Exposure to Islam terrorism * Germany					0.526	0.304	1.044	0.083
Diverse neighborhood * Exposure to Islam terrorism					-0.175	0.468	-0.326	0.709
Diverse neighborhood * Sweden					-2.872	5.610	-0.376	0.609
Diverse neighborhood * Germany					1.548	5.907	0.173	0.793
Diverse neighborhood * Exposure to Islam terrorism * Sweden					0.280	0.549	0.362	0.610
Diverse neighborhood * Exposure to Islam terrorism * Germany					-0.153	0.575	-0.174	0.790
Victimization * Exposure to Islam terrorism					0.160	0.301	0.365	0.595
Victimization * Sweden					6.435	4.191	2.426	0.125
Victimization * Germany					0.702	4.381	0.267	0.873
Victimization * Exposure to Islam terrorism * Sweden					-0.596	0.411	-2.263	0.148
Victimization * Exposure to Islam terrorism * Germany					-0.066	0.436	-0.253	0.879

Note. N = 786. Reported are the unstandardized coefficients (B), standardized coefficients (β), standard errors (SE) and significance values (p). *p

< .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests).