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Fear of Terrorism: Media exposure and subjective fear of attack

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Abstract

In many Western countries, citizen knowledge of terrorist events is intrinsically shaped by the style of broadcasted messages published by the media. Media discourses regarding terrorist acts raise questions about how such rhetoric elicits fear in people who typically experience such events through news reports. However, we do not fully understand the impact of the media on perceptions of terrorism as clearly as we understand the relationship between the media and fear of crime. This study examines how media sources accessed actively (e.g., through newspapers; Internet) or passively (e.g., through television; radio) influence knowledge and fear of terrorism. We find receiving information about terrorism from multiple media sources increases fear of terrorism, but media sources accessed passively are not as influential as media sources accessed more actively. These results highlight how media consumption from various sources may affect one's fear of terrorism, and further illustrates how the role of perceived knowledge may exacerbate or mitigate fear. Implications for policy and practice are discussed.

Key words: fear of terrorism; mass media; information processing; media effects

Introduction

The media play a crucial role in developing rhetoric around contemporary acts of terrorism, particularly in Western countries like Australia, the UK and the USA (Aly, 2007). However, media discourses can potentially elicit fear of terrorism much like the effect of the mass media on fear of crime (Aly & Green, 2010; Beckett & Sasson, 2004). How the media frames content can influence audience attitudes and behaviours (Norris, Montague, & Just, 2003), as well as the information citizens gather and how they interpret and respond to media messages. Also, the type and amount of different media consumed may elicit an emotional effect for audiences. For example, types of media that require active engagement (Webster, Phalen, & Lichty, 2006; Cooper & Tang, 2009) may heighten audience fears. This has dramatic social and political implications because citizens' knowledge of terrorist events is almost solely informed by media reports (Nellis & Savage, 2012). Examining the way audiences choose, perceive, and construct their own realities is therefore imperative in understanding fear of terrorism.

While the likelihood of becoming a victim of terrorism is negligible (Austin, 2016), research consistently shows a high proportion of people fear terrorism victimisation (see for example Pew Research Center, 2017). This pattern is also observable in the Australian context (Sheppard, Saikal and Theodorakis, 2016). The activation of fear through media reports serves to exacerbate a sense of danger or threat from those portrayed as potential terrorists (e.g., Muslims; Ewart, Cherney, & Murphy, 2017), and is often exploited by political decision-makers (Altheide, 2017). This process is termed the *politics of fear* (Altheide, 2017). In Australia, despite the existence of regulations that place restrictions on journalists' ability to investigate and report on terrorism (McNamara, 2009), media portrayals continue to shape public reactions and policy responses. For example, studies have found a tendency for media discourses to draw links between terrorism, Muslims, and Islam (Aly, 2007; Cherney & Murphy, 2015; Schmuck, et al., 2017), which can elicit negative reactions

among those who are targeted and the wider public. Indeed, 9/11 catalysed a change in how citizens understand terrorism, the way terrorism is reported, and the social and political impact of public responses.

This study contributes to the literature base by examining how multiple news sources may incite fear of terrorism, and whether perceived knowledge of terrorism and preparedness for terrorism influences one's fear. Governments dedicate a myriad of resources towards counter-terrorism initiatives and information for the public. Thus, understanding public consumption of this information, and whether it is essential in shaping fear, particularly when consumed in conjunction with news from the media, is fundamental to understanding fear. Findings from this study will be important, not only from a communication perspective but also for the dissemination and content of terrorism-related policies. In a communications context, examining how the media influence perceptions of fear can inform useful reporting of terrorism events that seek to minimise the likelihood of inducing fear. From a policy perspective, knowing the indicators of fear may inform best practices to enhance public safety (Jackson & Gray, 2009), particularly as the public are crucial to identifying and reporting suspicious activity (Spalek & Imtoul, 2007).

The Cultivation of Fear

Fear can evoke a range of emotions and reactions, and in the crime context can have implications, such as support for more punitive policies (Misis, Bush & Hendrix, 2016) or psychological issues (Huddy, Feldman, Lahav & Taber, 2003). Existing research on fear of terrorism has examined a range of predictors of fear. For example, demographic variables have elicited results consistent with the fear of crime literature, such as females (Nellis, 2009; Huddy, et al., 2003); younger participants (Nellis & Savage, 2012); participants with a lower level of education (Huddy, et al., 2003); and minority groups (Nellis & Savage, 2012) reporting greater fear of terrorism. Scholars also report subjective fear increases perceptions of an imminent attack (Nellis & Savage, 2012). Others have investigated attitudes towards

national security policies, finding heightened fear of terrorism is associated with more punitive attitudes to counter-terrorism policies (Misis, et al., 2016).

In addition to examining who may be more fearful of terrorism and the implications of fear, scholarly inquiry has turned to exploring *why* some individuals may fear terrorism. Existing research clearly demonstrates the link between mass media and fear of crime (Altheide, 2007; Beckett & Sasson, 2004). For example, research on the influence of mass media on fear of crime has consistently demonstrated that frequent TV viewers are those most fearful of violent crime (Signorielli & Morgan, 1990) and are most likely to feel unsafe in areas they are unfamiliar with (Warr, 1990). This is most likely due to the postulation within the cultivation framework that media representations shape constructions of reality for audiences (Power, Kubey, & Kiosis, 2002). Thus, the effects of receiving information about crime largely from the mass media not only increases overall fear of crime, but influences attitudes towards law and order. For example, heavy TV viewers are more likely to hold more punitive attitudes towards criminals (Beckett & Sasson, 2004). Though this link exists between TV viewing and fear of crime, the cultivation thesis is limited in its ability to explain which types of media sources influence fear of crime or whether different types media sources influence fear equally (Banks, 2005).

Despite the critique associated with the cultivation thesis (Jamieson & Romer, 2014), the framework has been employed in empirical studies to examine how prolonged exposure to television can distort audience perceptions and exacerbate aspects of social reality such as crime or violence (Grabe & Drew, 2007). Existing research suggests fear of terrorism is influenced by the media in similar ways as fear of crime (Misis, et al., 2016), but it does not differentiate between the types of media access available and instead focuses on specific media outlets such as newspapers (Rohner & Frey, 2007) or television (Nellis & Savage, 2012). Given the limitations in previous work that has focused on specific media formats, it is timely to examine whether different types of media influence subjective fear.

Active and Passive Audiences

Exposure to different media formats can elicit varying audience effects (Cho, et al., 2003) and behaviours (Gauntlett, 2005), such as heightened fear. For example, research on the influence of mass media on fear of crime has consistently demonstrated that frequent TV consumers are those that are most fearful of violent crime (Signorelli and Morgan, 1990) and are most likely to lack feeling safe in areas that they are unaccustomed to (Warr 1990). In the terrorism context, differences in audience effects may result from the ability for some media outlets to present images or videos of attacks (e.g., television; Internet), compared to others, such as radio, which are limited to audio material (Keinan, et al., 2003). Such contrasts in media representations may be likened to media consumption being either passive or active.

Debate surrounds the definition of activity and passivity and the extent to which audiences are active or passive (Potter, 2009). For example, Abiocca (1988) defines active audiences as rational, selective, and able to interpret the information based upon their own construction of society. More nuanced definitions suggest active or passive audiences are based on the media's capacity to facilitate or restrict audience ability to critically evaluate and form perspectives based on the news they consume (Power, et al., 2002).

Constructions of passive and active audience activity is further complicated by the various theoretical perspectives from which they can be viewed (see Power, et al., 2002 for an overview). For example, media effects scholars describe media consumers as passive and the media a vehicle to manipulate and influence audience attitudes (Rubin, 2009). Theories resting on the assumption that audiences actively access media, such as the *Uses and Gratifications* theory (Blumler & McQuail, 1969), focus more on audiences selecting and interpreting the media they consume as opposed to media outlets (Armstrong & McAdams, 2009). This theory suggests audiences are motivated by an objective, such as seeking information on a topic; strengthening or adapting a point of view; for entertainment and stimulation; or to relieve anxiety about a reported event (Armstrong & McAdams, 2009).

Thus, active audiences may utilise media sources requiring effort to select and consume, while passive audiences may access media sources requiring little effort. Of salience to the current study is the way passive or active media consumption can influence an individual's vulnerability to fear terrorism.

We rely on Blumler and McQuail's (1969) *Uses and Gratification Theory (UGT)* to frame our exploration of the role of different media sources on citizens' fear of terrorism. Blumler and McQuail's (1969) framework has increasing relevance for understanding how individuals respond to media and how these mediums influence attitudes and behaviour. Given the ever-expanding infiltration of the media into everyday lives through technological innovations, Blumler and McQuail's (1969) theory provide a helpful framework for thinking about how individuals access information and how it might influence fear of terrorism.

UGT is inherently a communication and learning theory which, rather than simply looking at the effect of media on an audience, assumes that individuals select media sources for a particular purpose or gratification (learning, entertainment, relaxation etc). Rosengren (1974) links the "activeness" of audience members to psychological needs whereby individuals seek out sources of information that confirm what is already known or believed about a topic. This was supported by the work of Palmgreen and Rayburn (1985) who demonstrated media access plays a functional role in this process since choices of media consumption serve to suit the needs of, or enhance existing beliefs of, the individual. Blumler (1979) further calls for more distinction between active and passive media sources or audiences to better understand the link between gratification, media and individual beliefs and behaviour. We seek to provide more dimensionality regarding how active or passive media sources may be (and whether they can be) linked to belief about one's own knowledge, or "mastery" of the topic, and how this contributes to fear associated with terrorism so apparent in current social discourse.

Media and Mastery

Though consumers may receive information about terrorism from many different media sources, understanding whether their exposure to the information portrayed in these sources increases or decreases a feeling of mastery in the topic has not been examined. Specifically, does accessing information from passive or active media sources make consumers feel like they know more about the topic of terrorism? Mastery is defined as an “acquired competence” in a topic or issue; the absence of mastery is a predictor of fear (Warr, 1990: 893). In their study of information seeking after 9/11, Boyle and colleagues (2004) found an increase in access to news from television, newspapers, and the Internet to learn more about the terrorist attacks. Yet, examining how the choice of media may impact emotional responses to terrorism was beyond the scope of their study. Thus, understanding the role of self-reported knowledge of terrorism may extend our understanding of how the media influences fear.

Work by Warr (1990) on fear of crime and victimisation provides an exception to this gap in the literature. Warr’s work acknowledges that fear of crime can be lowered in situations where individuals perceive they have mastered knowledge of their environment. The more individuals deal with threats to their safety and situation, the more opportunities they have to enhance their mastery of the situation and their ability to cope with such threats (Warr, 1990). This notion is most prominent in research where individuals report lower feelings of safety within neighbourhoods that are not well-known or amongst strangers (Holahan, 1982). Hence, as individuals increase their knowledge of a topic, situation, or environment, fears are substantially reduced.

Attaining knowledge is inherent amongst society, and becomes apparent in emergencies and occurs to seek clarity and certainty about a circumstance (Berlyne, 1960). Furthermore, actively seeking and engaging with media is heightened when people experience danger and insecurity (Brashers, et al., 2000). In the case of terrorism, acquiring information about terrorism may naturally decrease fears of terrorism where individuals feel

they have more knowledge about their own risk of being victimised (Boyle et al., 2004). This is particularly salient given people are more likely to obtain terrorism-related information from media outlets than any other source (Nellis & Savage, 2012). Thus, if individuals perceive they have greater knowledge and awareness of terrorism, they are less likely to feel fearful when consuming terrorism-related media.

While the research base on exposure to media and fear of terrorism has grown in recent years (see for example Nellis & Savage, 2012), a gap remains regarding how perceived knowledge may mediate this relationship. To better understand how the media influences fear of terrorism, we must attempt to distinguish differences in effects between media types as well as the influence these media sources have on knowledge about terrorism. As passive audiences may be more easily manipulated by what they see through the media, we hypothesise that passive audiences may be more likely to fear terrorism, and active audiences may be less likely to fear terrorism. Additionally, we hypothesise that individuals with a heightened perceived knowledge, or *mastery* of the topic are less likely to fear terrorism. Given public reliance on sources of information to attain knowledge of terrorism, it is important to understand how such knowledge, in conjunction with media consumption, affects subjective fear of terrorism. Findings of this study will therefore spotlight how best to inform the public about terrorism, while reducing the propensity to elicit fear.

The Present Study

Our study seeks to extend the literature by examining the effect of cumulative media sources on fear of terrorism. Sources of information published by government entities, the mass media, and through informal media outlets can influence peoples' perceptions of fear (Dowler, 2004). This trend is evident within traditional fear of crime literature (Renauer, 2007), and more recently, empirical inquiry into fear of terrorism (Huddy, et al., 2003; Huddy, Feldman, Taber, & Lahav, 2005; Nellis, 2009). In acknowledging the complexities and ambiguities with conceptualising active and passive audiences, we measure these two

constructs based on the media type and the level of effort required by the audience member to consume. According to Ksiazek, Peer and Lessard (2016), Ruggiero (2000), and Whiting and Williams (2013), media viewing activity is either instrumental and active or ritualistic and passive. Based on the theoretical framework of UGT (Blumler & McQuail, 1969), audiences applying instrumental or active access to media sources use selective processes, while ritualistic or passive access to news media sources is based on accessibility and habitual viewing behaviours (Cooper & Tang, 2009; Rubin, 1984; Webster, et al., 2006). To better understand viewing activity of media sources we apply an active and passive theoretical framework to this research as a way of operationalising viewing activity as an empirical tool. Specifically, we argue that accessing media sources such as television and radio can represent more passive audience activity because it is often a habitually used medium requiring less effort when compared to sources we suggest are more active. In contrast, we suggest the Internet, government leaflets, and newspapers are a more active medium because they require more selectivity and effort to consume on the part of the audience.

We also seek to understand whether fear of terrorism followed a similar pattern to the fear of crime literature by examining whether a) exposure to mass media influences fear of terrorism, and b) whether accessing active and passive sources of media for information about terrorism are equal in their association with fear of terrorism. Furthermore, we seek to extend the literature on fear of crime and fear of terrorism by understanding whether self-reported mastery of the topic, perceived knowledge, and risk of terrorism mediates the effect of media sources on fear of terrorism, and the separate effects of media access on perceived knowledge of terrorism. Thus, we ask the following research questions:

RQ1: Does the amount of media consumed predict a heightened sense of fear of terrorism?

RQ2: Do active and passive media sources have different associations with fear of terrorism?

We also aim to explore the work of Warr (1990) to understand whether the information gained by various media sources makes viewers feel more confident or insecure of their perceived knowledge of terrorism, and if self-reported knowledge mitigates perceptions of fear. We therefore pose the following research questions:

RQ3: How do passive and active media sources contribute to perceived knowledge about terrorism?

RQ4: Does perceived knowledge of terrorism mediate the relationship between media consumption and fear of terrorism?

Understanding how the public is affected by the media is crucial in examining fear and its associated implications (Renauer, 2007). In emergent situations, humans are inherently driven to seek information as a means of reducing stress and developing coping mechanisms. However, cumulative media exposure arguably skews attitudes and perceptions of the social world, which can affect feelings of fear. Fear of terrorism is driven by media attention and can have implications for citizens' everyday behaviours, such as reducing or ceasing public transport or air travel use (Nellis & Savage, 2012); disaster preparedness (Nellis, 2009); support for harsh and punitive counterterrorism policies that impact democratic functions and civil liberties (Huddy, et al., 2005); attitudes towards ethnic minorities, particularly those of Middle Eastern descent (Pantazis & Pemberton, 2009); and social engagement and interaction with others (Nellis, 2009). Thus, understanding conditions where fear is exacerbated is vital, especially given the salience in political and social dialogue.

Methods & Data

Data from the Australian National Security and Preparedness Survey (NSPS) collected in 2011 are used for the analyses. The NSPS was designed to create a benchmark of Australian attitudes to various real and potential disasters in the Australian context, including

terrorism. The survey also collected a range of other political and social attitudes including fear of crime, victimisation, and perceptions of the community and police. In addition, the NSPS collected data from respondents measuring self-perceived knowledge regarding risk of terrorism, what to do and how to prepare for an attack, as well as where respondents get information about terrorism risk and preparation for a terrorist disaster. A random sample of Australian residents was recruited for the survey in a two-stage process. First, respondents were contact by Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) with random digit dialling and were asked to complete a short phone survey regarding the current state of disaster preparedness in the home. 6590 respondents completed this preliminary phone survey. Respondents were then asked if they would be willing to participate in a longer survey about national security and perceptions of their community via a mail-out or online delivery. A total of 4257 respondents completed this longer survey on national security and community perceptions. Overall, the survey received a 39% response rate based on total calls made to prospective respondents and completed surveys.

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics for all variables used in the model below. Respondents in the NSPS tend to be older (mean age 55.8) and have educational achievement greater than the national average. Sampling weights were initially used in the analyses below for age and educational achievement; however, we elected not to use them in the final models since they did not change the overall estimates or results.

Table 1 about here

Fear of Terrorism.

Fear of terrorism is measured as a single response item that asked respondents if they worry about a terrorist attacked against the nation often (3), sometimes (2), or never (1).

Worry is a common construct to measure fear, both in crime research (see for example Jackson, 2005) and terrorism research (see for example Nellis, 2009; Nellis & Savage, 2012).

Approximately 8.5% of the sample reported worrying about a terrorist attack against the

national often, 62% reported being worried about terrorism sometimes, and 29% reported never feeling worried about a potential terrorist attack.

Self-Perceived Terrorism Knowledge.

Following work by Warr (1990), which suggests that self-reported knowledge of the situation, topic or context is important for understanding fear, we include a measure of perceived terrorism knowledge. To measure how much people believed they knew about terrorism, we created an index of self-reported terrorism knowledge based on the average of responses in six items asking respondents to report if they had “no knowledge” (1), “a little knowledge” (2), “some knowledge” (3), “a fair bit of knowledge” (4), or “a lot of knowledge” (5) about a) the different types of terrorist events that might happen in Australia, b) what the government has done to prepare for terrorist events, c) what you can do to prepare for terrorist events, d) where to get information about preparing for terrorist events, e) where to get information when a warning is issued for a terrorist event, and f) what the government recommends you do to protect yourself against a terrorist event. The index is considered reliable with an alpha level of 0.88¹.

Media Sources.

Survey respondents in the NSPS were asked to indicate which sources they received information about terrorism in Australia. Respondents could select as few or as many that applied from a) newspapers, b) government leaflets and publications, c) television, d) radio, and f) the Internet. We draw on examples given by scholars to demonstrate passive (Webster, et al., 2006) and active (Cooper & Tang, 2009) media sources to categorise media sources into two groups based on how much effort the consumer uses to access knowledge. The *passive media sources* variable was created by summing the number of sources that can be consumed with minimal effort (Radio and TV). The *active media sources* variable was

¹ The Cronbach's Alpha is used to test the reliability of scale construction. A Cronbach's alpha of above 0.6 is generally considered to be a reliable indicator that the variables that make up the scale are fit for purpose (Schmitt, 1996).

created by summing the number of sources requiring the consumer to access to gain knowledge (Internet, government leaflets, newspapers). We also computed a *terrorism information index* measure based on these items that sum the total number of different sources respondents indicated they received information about terrorism. This measure was computed by summing each of the indicated sources of media used by the respondent; newspapers and government publications, television, radio, and the Internet.

Demographic Characteristics.

Research on the cultivation of fear and terrorism suggests that individual characteristics play an important role on how and why the media may influence fear of crime and therefore should be controlled for in any analysis where fear is being explained (Grabe & Drew, 2007). Prior literature suggests that older respondents and female respondents tend to have increased levels of fear (Acierno et al, 2004). People with dependent child often have heightened levels of vicarious fear – fear of those they live with and care for (Drakulich, 2015). This same research suggests that educational achievement is associated with lower levels of fear, possibly because education allows individuals to manage fear more rationally. Other demographics such as Australian born individuals and those who are married have been linked to lower levels of fear because they are more likely to have connection to their community where fear of crime or other events may be able to be managed (Acierno, 2004). Higher incomes also have been considered a protective factor for both fear of crime and national disasters because those with higher incomes are more likely to be able to have resources available to prepare for potential disaster, but also are less likely to live in neighbourhoods that are more protected from crime (Fay-Ramirez et al, 2015). Lastly, even though terrorist events in Australia are rare, it is an important political issue often divided down party lines (Fay-Ramirez et al, 2015; Boscarino et al, 2006). Therefore political preferences are also an important predictor of terrorism fears.

Therefore, we control for a range of demographic characteristics amongst the respondents. Age of the respondent is reported in years (mean age is 55.8 years). We include a binary measure to capture the respondents' reported gender (male =0, female =1), marital status (married =1, not married =0), whether the respondent is Australian born (1), whether the respondent is a home owner (1), and whether the respondent identifies as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) (1). We also included a measure for the number of dependent children in the home (ranging from 0 to 7). Measures for respondents' educational achievement was captured in seven categories; no schooling (1), primary/elementary school only, (2) some high school (3), completed high school (4), trade or technical qualification (5), university or college degree (6), or postgraduate qualifications (7). Similarly, respondents' annual household income was measured in eight categories; <\$20K (1), \$20-39,999K (2), \$40-59,999K (3), \$60-79,999K (4), \$80-99,999K (5), \$100-119,999K (6), \$120-149,999K (7), and \$150K or more (8). Income and education variables were utilised as continuous variables due to the number of categories within each variable (see Table 1). Given the political nature of terrorism discourse in Australia (and most Western nations), we control for the political leaning of the survey respondent with a single item that asked respondents to rate how they would place themselves on a scale of 1 to 10; 1 being liberal and 10 being conservative.

Analytic Approach

The NSPS was first examined for missing data and potential outliers. Missing data were found for annual income and educational attainment variables. No missing data were detected on the dependent variable fear of terrorism. Missing data were less than 10% for annual income and educational achievement, and these missing cases were removed from our data. No potential outliers were discovered pre- or post-estimation. We use ordered logit regression models to look at the association between demographics, self-reported terrorism knowledge, and access to passive and active media sources on fear of a terrorism event. Fear

of terrorism is a categorical variable where respondents indicate whether they are often, sometimes, or never fearful of a terrorist attack against the nation. However, we cannot assume that the distance between the categories *never - sometimes*, and *sometimes - often*, are equal or known. The ordered logit regression model allows us to relax the assumption that the distance between outcome categories is equal. Thus, our dependant variable fear of terrorism retains its three categories in the analyses below. The ordered logit regression model assumes a latent underlying process that is continuous given by

$$y^* = x'\beta + \varepsilon$$

Where y^* is the true but unobserved dependent variable; x is a vector of covariates; and β is a vector of regression coefficients to be estimated by the model. However, while the continuous nature of the dependent variable y^* cannot be observed, we can observe the categories of the dependent variable. In the case of fear of terrorism, this can be expressed as

$$y = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } y^* \leq \tau_1, \\ 2 & \text{if } \tau_1 < y^* \leq \tau_2, \\ 3 & \text{if } \tau_2 < y^*. \end{cases}$$

where y is the amount of worry about terrorism and τ is a vector of unknown threshold or cut point parameters that is estimated with each vector of coefficients. Consequently, the ordered logit regression model is given by

$$\text{Log} \left(\frac{\text{Pr}(y \leq m|x)}{\text{Pr}(y > m|x)} \right) = \tau_m - x\beta \quad (1 \leq m < M)$$

where m is a category, x is a vector of independent variables, τ is a cut point, and β is a vector of coefficients. In addition to order logistic regression, we also utilise standard Ordinary Least Squares Regression to assess the characteristics of self-reported knowledge. Post estimation tests were used to examine residuals, outliers and normality of the data. It is important to note that these analyses are of cross-sectional data. Therefore, we cannot, and do

not provide, a causal interpretation between various media sources and perceived terrorism or perceived knowledge of terrorism. We only seek to uncover the association related to perceptions of terrorism in regards to media viewing. We also note perception of terrorism knowledge may have considerable overlap with fear of terrorism. To minimise this problem we explore any possible collinearity among the variables. No such collinearity was detected.

Results

The results first describe what the prominent sources are for gathering information about terrorism in the sample (see Figure 1). We then address whether the number of sources used are in relation to fear of terrorism, and whether this relationship is mediated by self-reported knowledge about terrorism. Third, we address whether there are different effects for active and passive forms of media sources, the influence of self-reported knowledge, and if income or education levels act as a moderator of media access and fear of terrorism. Lastly, we examine what demographic characteristics and media sources contribute to self-reported knowledge about terrorism (see Table 2).

Table 2 about here

Where do Australians get information about Terrorism?

Figure 1 shows the percentage of respondents who indicate the sources used for gaining information about terrorism. Respondents overwhelmingly get information about terrorism from television viewing (91%), followed by newspapers (83.96%), radio (76.48%), and the Internet (52.73%). Government publications and other print media are the least likely sources for gaining knowledge about terrorism. These results support existing literature on fear of crime and violence, which determine that the public gain most of their information about terrorism from the mass media (Nellis & Savage, 2012).

Figure 1 about here

We also explore differences in perceived fear of terrorism and perceived terrorism knowledge by media source. Table 2 provides independent samples t-test results for viewers and non-viewers of newspapers, internet, radio, TV and Government leaflets. When considering *fear of terrorism*, we conclude that the difference in mean perceptions of fear of terrorism is significantly different for newspaper viewers and non-newspaper viewers ($t=-3.066, p<0.01$), and TV viewers versus non-TV viewers ($t=3.208, p<0.01$). Newspaper and TV viewers had a mean perceived fear of terrorism score higher than their non TV and newspaper viewing counterparts. When considering *perceptions of terrorism knowledge*, mean differences that reached statistical significance were detected across all the media sources (newspapers, TV, internet, radio and government leaflets). For each of these media sources, those who received information about terrorism from each of these sources reported higher scores on the perceived terrorism knowledge scale (mastery) than their non-viewing counterparts.

Table 2 about here

The Accumulation of information sources and fear of terrorism.

Ordered logit regression results for fear of terrorism are presented in Table 2. In Model 1, we assess the association of a set of control variables on fear of terrorism. Model 1 shows age ($\beta=0.01, p<0.001$) is positively associated with fear of terrorism. Females are more likely to report fear of terrorism than males ($\beta = 0.31, p<0.01$), and more politically conservative respondents report greater fear of terrorism ($\beta=0.11, p<0.001$). As educational achievement increases fear of terrorism decreases ($\beta=0.114, p<0.01$), which is consistent with our earlier predictions. All other control variables did not reach significance in the model.

Model 2 includes the *terrorism information index*. The accumulation of sources is associated with higher levels of fear of terrorism ($\beta=0.14, p<0.001$). All other covariates remain stable, including the negative association between education and fear of terrorism. In Model 3 we also include the variable for perceived terrorism knowledge. The more that

people believe they know about terrorism, the more they are likely to fear a terrorist attack against the nation ($\beta = 0.23$, $p < 0.001$). However, perceived terrorism knowledge partially mediates the relationship between the accumulation of media sources and fear of terrorism. Perceptions of terrorism knowledge mediates 53% of the direct association between the total amount of information and fear of terrorism. This suggests self-perceived mastery of the topic of terrorism in part explains why more media sources increase fear of terrorism.²

Active and passive media sources.

Table 2 shows the ordered logistic regression results for fear of terrorism where the effects of *active* and *passive* media sources are assessed separately. Model 4 shows the passive media variable is significantly related to increased fear of terrorism ($\beta = 0.18$, $p < 0.01$) and age, gender, and political conservatism remain positively associated with fear of terrorism. All other variables in the model do not reach significance in this model. Those with higher levels of education remain less likely to report higher levels of terrorism fear. Model 5 shows that active media sources are also positively associated with fear of terrorism ($\beta = 0.19$, $p < 0.001$). Older respondents, females, and those reporting to be politically conservative were more likely to fear terrorism. Model 6 shows the results for both active and passive media sources together. Active and passive media sources are not equally related to fear of terrorism. In fact, active media sources mediate the relationship between passive media access and fear of terrorism. Model 7 shows when self-reported knowledge about terrorism is included in the model, the relationship between both active and passive media access becomes non-significant. A Strobe-Goodman mediation test reveals perceived terrorism knowledge accounts for approximately 78% of the direct relationship between active media sources and fear of terrorism. However, of the characteristics of those who fear terrorism

² Strobe-Goodman Mediation tests with bootstrapped cases was used to determine a) whether this mediation is statistically significant and b) how much of the direct effects between the IV and DV can be accounted for by the mediation variable.

most, older respondents and females remain positively and significantly associated with fear of terrorism, while educational achievement is negatively associated with fear of terrorism.³

Table 3 about here

Understanding self-reported knowledge about terrorism.

The findings shown in Table 2 suggest how much respondents think they know about terrorism tends to increase fear of terrorism, and this mediates the relationship between all types of media sources and fear. However, we were interested in examining the characteristics of those who believe they know a lot about terrorism. Table 3 shows the OLS regression results for the perceived terrorism knowledge index. Model 1 shows those with increased self-reported terrorism knowledge tend to be individuals who are educated ($\beta=0.06$, $p>0.001$), male ($\beta=-0.22$, $p<0.001$), younger ($\beta=-0.002$, $p<0.05$), with greater household incomes ($\beta=0.01$, $p<0.05$), with fewer dependent children ($\beta = -0.04$, $p<0.01$), and who have been at their residences less than 5 years ($\beta=-0.09$, $p<0.01$). Respondents who access passive media sources (Model 2) and those who access active media sources (Model 3) are also likely to report increased terrorism knowledge, but together, accessing passive media sources is no longer significant. Accessing active media sources increases self-reported terrorism knowledge and its coefficient is much larger than that of passive media source access.⁴

Table 4 about here

Discussion and Implications

The findings from our analysis confirm that most respondents in a national sample of Australian residents get their information about terrorism from mass media. Terrorism news

³ We also tested the models using the media sources entered into the model as separate binary variables (one each for those who accessed newspapers, government leaflets, TV, radio, and the internet). None of these variables were significant nor did this model have a better fit than the final model presented in Table 3. The results of these models can be found in Appendix A.

⁴ We also analysed model 4 with each of the five separate media categories entered as separate variables. Those who got their informal from newspapers, government leaflets and the internet all were associated with higher levels of perceived knowledge and were statically significant. However, these models did not explain more of the variance than the models provided in Model 4 of Table 4. Appendix 4 contains these supplemental analyses.

and information is most likely to be sensationalised through newspapers and TV (Nellis & Savage, 2012). It is these sources that are most prominently reported as a source of information for learning about terrorism. Similarly to the literature on fear of crime and the influence of the media, we find receiving information about terrorism from multiple sources of media (newspapers, TV, Internet, radio, other print media, face to face discussion and government leaflets) increases fear of terrorism, but not all media sources are equally associated with fear of terrorism. Sources accessed passively are not as influential as media sources accessed more actively. When controlling for self-reported knowledge about terrorism, we find the relationship between active or passive media sources is non-significant. We find those who are more educated feel like they know more about terrorism. Moreover, active, rather than passive access of media sources is associated with increased self-reported knowledge of terrorism.

Active access of media sources and increases in self-reported knowledge of terrorism may be conditional on particular demographics of the audience such as age, geographical location or other aspects such as prior knowledge or cognitive abilities (Power et al, 2002). Differences between active or passive media consumption and increases in self-reported knowledge of terrorism however, are difficult to measure. This is particularly true when increases in knowledge can derive from creating new cognitive frameworks or concepts that help organise and interpret information, and can be derived from connections made between existing ideas and recognition of newly encountered information (Power et al., 2002). Being able to measure these differences is problematic, particularly in relation to levels of fear of terrorism. We acknowledge this is not a simple process. Yet the findings in this study raise important questions regarding how people actively make sense between what they know and understand of terrorism, and the meaning they construct when adding new information about terrorism. As previously stated, the interpretation of information relating to fear of crime is inherently underpinned by an individual's personal construction of society (Abiocca, 1988),

and the complex emotions and reactions an individual experiences whilst interpreting self-reported knowledge within this framework (Misis et al., 2016).

Self-reported knowledge has historically been shown to diffuse feelings of fear towards crime. Findings from the traditional fear of crime literature suggest knowledge of an issue can diminish the propensity for fear (see Warr, 1990) and increase a sense of rationality and mastery of the situation. However, the cultivation thesis highlights that heightened exposure to media reports of crime can exacerbate feelings of fear (Gerbner, 1969). Although we acknowledge difficulties in teasing out whether audiences are rational and selective when they are deemed active, self-reported knowledge of terrorism in this study partially mediated the relationship between the amount of media sources accessed and fear of terrorism. This finding suggests increased knowledge of terrorism and information on terrorism gathered through an accumulation of media sources intensifies fear of terrorism. These results further serve to illustrate the powerful and influential role of the media within the context of crime and more specifically, terrorism (see also Boyle et al., 2004).

The media is a key driving force behind the mass dissemination of information to consumers all over the globe and is one of the most prominent means of communication linking audiences with events occurring locally and distally around them. The outlet people retrieve their information from has an impact on fear, with increased levels of fear often a result of consuming television and newspaper news sources (Dowler, 2003). Within the fear of crime context, media consumers can differentiate between reports of local crime events which may affect their livelihoods, as opposed to distal events perceived to be less relevant or likely to have a negative impact (Cordner, 2010). While acts of terrorism are a rare phenomenon often occurring in distant locations, the present findings demonstrate media consumers are still likely to be fearful of terrorism. Regardless of these differences, the implications of fear within the traditional crime context, and more recently the terrorism

context, are similar in nature. People who are more fearful tend to act with more caution and make alterations to their lifestyle to mitigate potential risks (Hale, 1996; Huddy et al., 2005).

A key finding within the present study highlighted differences in perceptions of fear of terrorism amongst participants who actively access forms of media rather than passive consumers. Respondents who actively accessed media were more fearful of terrorism. Drawing on the cultivation thesis framework it can be suggested that viewers who actively filter and choose the media they consume influences the cultivation of their attitudes and reactions to the content (Matei & Britt, 2011). The selection of content can exacerbate feelings of fear. Since media is more readily accessible through round-the-clock television viewing and constantly updated Internet sites, consumers have greater and more frequent access to media messages (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010). Again, whether audiences are rational and selective when they are deemed active is difficult to determine (particularly in relation to the meaning derived from the consumption of knowledge). Therefore, it is important to consider the implications of such messages because they act to prepare audiences for specific political decisions in response to the threat or act of terror (Altheide, 2007).

In addition to the vast amount of easily accessible news available to consumers, examining the extent to which people absorb and process information is also important in the construction of fear. Previous research suggests paying attention to news can influence perceptions of fear of crime and victimisation (Chiricos, Padgett, & Gertz, 2000). Investment in the consumption of news can exacerbate attitudes towards fear, which aligns with the findings of the present study. Research into fear of terrorism shows people who intentionally seek out media reports related to terrorism are more likely to feel fearful towards terrorist activity (Nellis & Savage, 2012; Rubin, Haridakis, Hullman, Sun, Chikombero, & Pornsakulvanich, 2003). These findings suggest a reciprocal relationship between active and selective media access, and fear of terrorism.

Media reports of terrorism since 9/11 have been grounded in a rhetoric of fear associated with the traditional crime control context (Altheide, 2007; Furedi, 2005; Glassner, 1999). Inquiry into media effects on audiences increasingly concludes that people are actively engaged in the media they consume, rather than passively accepting of news at face value (Valkenburg, & Peter, 2013). Access to a plethora of mediums through which one can access the news affords consumers greater choice and freedom to filter and select media. In the current study, passive media access is important, but it does not necessarily induce fear. This finding suggests a shift towards active participation and engagement with the media and subsequently reactions to the media based on how an individual interprets the information and incorporates their lived experience (Muncie & McLaughlin, 2002). As such, fear has become a product of individual experiences, media content, and rational interpretations, which in the context of terrorism, increasingly rouses fear of attack. As such, when considering our results on a global context, we acknowledge that citizens of other countries for which terrorism is a more frequent occurrence may have vastly different responses to what we have seen in this study.

An elevated sense of fear can impede social processes, decision-making processes and reduce peoples' capacity for cognitive mobilisation (Huddy, et al., 2003). Individuals who have received a good education and have access to information are defined as cognitively mobilised and better informed to make political decisions (Inglehart, 1977, 1990). In the terrorism context, the process of cognitive mobilisation enables citizens to make rational and informed decisions surrounding terrorism policies. In the present study, the role of education is particularly important when examining media consumption and fear of terrorism. Findings showed respondents with higher levels of educational attainment were less likely to be fearful of terrorism. These results suggest participants with more educational experience could be more cognitively mobilised, and, as suggested by Inglehart (1990), are better equipped to evaluate the information and media reports they received about terrorism. As such, their

knowledge about terrorism is more comprehensive and thus their reactions towards the media they consume about terrorism are more rational, thereby reducing the propensity for fear.

The current study is based on cross sectional data that is useful but unable to examine causality between passive and active media access and fear of terrorism. We recognise important reciprocal relationships may exist between media access and fear of terrorism and these cannot be uncovered in our analysis. We acknowledge that we cannot make assumptions about the temporal ordering of the relationship between fear of terrorism and the media. We suspect those who are more fearful of terrorism may choose to access particular mediums for information, and these mediums may reinforce or increase the fear of terrorism already possessed. Future research is needed to examine the direction of these relationships, and determine how fear and media access may be part of a reciprocal pathway generating and reinforcing fear. As previous research highlights, fear of terrorism “is a very real response to a latent state of anxiety about the impact of terrorism (and counter-terrorism) on the everyday lives of people” (Aly & Green, 2010, p. 271). Therefore, understanding how media access might generate fear and influence subsequent behaviour may be useful in shaping regulations around effective and useful media reporting of terrorism.

Media access has shifted in recent years towards online and immediately accessible formats. While we tested for the effects of Internet usage in our analyses, it may be useful to extrapolate the impact of different types of Internet sources, such as social media platforms. Social media has become prominent in not only providing instantaneous access to news, but facilitating the creation of news among social media users, or *citizen journalists*. In this context, the range of news angles from professional *and* amateur sources may aggravate perceptions of fear (Intravia, Wolff, Paez, & Gibbs, 2017). Additionally, the ability for social media platforms to connect people from all corners of the globe may create the illusion that people are closer; hence the threat of terrorism may seem more proximal and fear may be more pronounced (Leigh, 2017). While the current analyses did not allow for specific

conclusions to be drawn regarding the impact of social media on fear, it highlights an avenue for future empirical enquiry, particularly in the terrorism context.

We also recognise that since the collection of this data, several terrorist events may have had significant effects on citizen perceptions of terrorism. Incidents such as the Paris, Belgium and London attacks in 2015, 2016 and 2017 respectively, the politically motivated murder of Jo Cox MP in the UK, and the continuing threat from the Islamic State, to name a few, has further cemented national security as a key international priority. Also, numerous high profile domestic terrorist threats and incidents have increased the level of risk and influenced domestic and foreign counter terrorism policy in Australia. It is important to recognise that ongoing research is necessary to understand how fear of terrorism is sensitive to the shifts in the definitions of terrorism and how this impacts citizen behaviour.

The cultivation thesis from the fear of crime literature is also relevant for understanding fear of terrorism. However, we determine that people who are more active in accessing information about terrorism via the media are more likely to fear terrorism than those individuals who access media more passively. Citizens who actively seek information may perceive increased knowledge on the subject but their fear of terrorism is also heightened. Unlike the fear of crime literature where mastery of the topic or context reduces fear (Warr 1990), in the context of terrorism, mastery may actually reinforce fear.

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Table 1

Descriptive Statistics from National Security and Preparedness Survey 2011

	M,Md,Mo,%	SD	Min	Max	N	alpha
Fear of Terrorism <i>(never/sometimes/often)</i>	2 (Md)	-	1	3	4112	
Passive Media Sources	1.67(M)	0.61	0	2	3779	
Active Media Sources	1.68(M)	0.90	0	3	3302	
Terrorism Information Index	3.30(M)	1.29	0	5	3255	
Perceived Terrorism Knowledge Scale	2.06 (M)	0.78	1	5	4168	0.89
Educational Achievement	3.04(M)	1.33	1	8	3942	
Female	58.47%	-	0	1	4257	
Australian born	78.90%	-	0	1	4085	
Home ownership	83.51%	-	0	1	4257	
Housing tenure >5years	17.50%	-	0	1	4257	
Immigrant Arrival			0	2	4257	
Not an immigrant	80.03%	-	0	3	4257	
<i>Arrived before 2006</i>	19.10%	-	-	-	-	
<i>Arrived after 2006</i>	0.87%	-	-	-	-	
Political Conservatism	5.42(M)	1.94	1	10	3401	
Age	55.86(M)	15.42	18	95	4240	
Annual Income	3.93(M)	2.23	1	8	3674	
No. Dependent children	0.57(M)	0.99	0	7	3963	
ATSI	1.02%	-	0	1	4001	
Married	61%	-	0	1	4074	

Mean (M), Median (Md), Mode (Mo).

Table 2

Independent Sample T-test for media sources, fear of terrorism and perceived terrorism knowledge

Fear of Terrorism				Perceived Terrorism Knowledge			
	Mean Difference	SE	t		Mean Difference	SE	t
Newspapers	-0.077	0.250	-3.066**	Newspapers	-0.283	0.033	-8.514***
Internet	0.001	0.019	0.101	Internet	-0.306	0.025	-11.986***
Radio	-0.031	0.022	-1.397	Radio	-0.215	0.029	-7.315***
TV	-0.102	0.032	-3.208**	TV	-0.261	0.045	-6.132***
Government Leaflets	-0.033	0.019	-1.669	Government Leaflets	-0.511	0.025	-19.918***

$P < 0.05^*$, $p < 0.01^{**}$, $p < 0.001^{***}$

Table 3 *Ordered Logit Regression Results for Fear of Terrorism*

	<u>Accumulation of Media Sources</u>			<u>Passive and Active Media Sources</u>			
	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>	<i>Model 5</i>	<i>Model 6</i>	<i>Model 7</i>
	Coef (SE)	Coef (SE)	Coef (SE)	Coef (SE)	Coef (SE)	Coef (SE)	Coef (SE)
Age	0.009** (0.003)	0.012*** (0.003)	0.013*** (0.003)	0.011** (0.003)	0.013*** (0.003)	0.013*** (0.003)	0.013*** (0.003)
Female	0.314*** (0.078)	0.315*** (0.088)	0.363*** (0.089)	0.323*** (0.083)	0.311*** (0.087)	0.313*** (0.088)	0.362*** (0.089)
Married	0.090 (0.086)	-0.004 (0.098)	-0.007 (0.098)	0.048 (0.091)	-0.001 (0.098)	-0.003 (0.098)	-0.007 (0.098)
No. of Dependent Children	0.076 (0.046)	0.065 (0.050)	0.073 (0.051)	0.061 (0.048)	0.070 (0.050)	0.065 (0.050)	0.073 (0.051)
Educational Achievement	-0.088** (0.032)	-0.121*** (0.036)	-0.127*** (0.036)	-0.109*** (0.033)	-0.124*** (0.036)	-0.123*** (0.036)	-0.127*** (0.036)
Home Ownership	-0.094 (0.121)	-0.158 (0.139)	-0.149 (0.140)	-0.160 (0.129)	-0.153 (0.138)	-0.156 (0.139)	-0.149 (0.140)
Time at Residence	-0.008 (0.102)	-0.012 (0.114)	0.009 (0.115)	-0.036 (0.107)	-0.017 (0.114)	-0.007 (0.114)	0.010 (0.115)
Annual Household Income	-0.031 (0.021)	-0.023 (0.023)	-0.025 (0.023)	-0.025 (0.022)	-0.023 (0.023)	-0.024 (0.023)	-0.025 (0.023)
Australian Born	0.727 (0.734)	0.559 (0.877)	0.619 (0.886)	0.392 (0.792)	0.597 (0.876)	0.606 (0.877)	0.619 (0.886)
ATSI	-0.502 (0.391)	-0.603 (0.411)	-0.578 (0.413)	-0.539 (0.401)	-0.608 (0.411)	-0.605 (0.411)	-0.578 (0.413)
Immigrant Status							
<i>Arrived Before 2006</i>	0.488 (0.738)	0.413 (0.882)	0.422 (0.891)	0.176 (0.796)	0.417 (0.880)	0.42 (0.881)	0.423 (0.891)
<i>Arrived After 2006</i>	0.419 (0.861)	0.319 (0.986)	0.348 (0.996)	0.114 (0.910)	0.320 (0.985)	0.326 (0.986)	0.348 (0.996)
Political Conservatism	0.115*** (0.021)	0.310*** (0.023)	0.130*** (0.024)	0.124*** (0.022)	0.136*** (0.023)	0.131*** (0.023)	0.130*** (0.024)
Terrorism Information		0.139*** (0.034)	0.097** (0.035)				
Passive Media Sources				0.180** (0.065)		0.093 (0.072)	0.093 (0.074)
Active Media Sources					0.196*** (0.049)	0.168** (0.054)	0.099 (0.057)
Perceived Terrorism Knowledge			0.235*** (0.060)				0.253*** (0.060)
Cut 1	1.783 (1.553)	1.981 (1.839)	2.530 (1.863)	1.337 (1.669)	1.920 (1.835)	1.990 (1.839)	2.259 (1.863)
Cut 2	5.114 (1.557)	5.347 (1.842)	5.916 (1.876)	4.688 (1.672)	5.302 (1.839)	5.358 (1.842)	5.916 (1.867)
N	2829	2278	2278	2601	2303	2278	2278
Log Likelihood	-2402.083	-1919.794	-1912.060	-2199.382	-1935.509	-1919.554	-1912.058

***p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05

Table 4

OLS Regression Results for Perceived Terrorism Knowledge Self-Assessment Scale

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Age	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Female	-0.203*** (0.029)	-0.212*** (0.028)	0.218*** (0.028)	-0.216*** (0.028)
Married	0.015 (0.032)	0.027 (0.030)	0.014 (0.031)	0.024 (0.031)
No. of Dependent Children	-0.037* (0.017)	-0.051** (0.016)	-0.050** (0.016)	-0.053*** (0.016)
Educational Achievement	0.044*** (0.011)	0.050*** (0.011)	0.040*** (0.011)	0.039*** (0.011)
Home Owner	-0.083 (0.044)	-0.071 (0.042)	-0.039 (0.043)	-0.040 (0.044)
Time at Residence	-0.103** (0.033)	-0.081* (0.036)	-0.082* (0.037)	-0.068 (0.037)
Annual Household Income	0.020** (0.007)	0.018* (0.007)	0.018* (0.007)	0.018* (0.007)
Australian Born	-0.157 (0.288)	-0.022 (0.266)	0.058 (0.301)	0.056 (0.301)
ATSI	-0.225 (0.148)	-0.196 (0.136)	-0.183 (0.133)	-0.180 (0.135)
Immigrant Status				
<i>Arrived Before 2006</i>	-0.127 (0.290)	-0.018 (0.268)	0.067 (0.302)	0.066 (0.302)
<i>Arrived After 2006</i>	-0.211 (0.336)	-0.118 (0.307)	-0.073 (0.335)	-0.070 (0.335)
Political Conservatism	0.002 (0.007)	0.003 (0.008)	0.005 (0.008)	0.006 (0.008)
Passive Media Sources		0.155*** (0.021)		0.046 (0.024)
Active Media Sources			0.245*** (0.020)	0.225*** (0.023)
Constant	3.407*** (0.608)	2.406*** (0.564)	2.060** (0.628)	2.007** (0.630)
N	2852	2852	2852	2852
R Squared	0.036	0.042	0.149	0.147

***p<0.001, **P<0.01,

*P<0.05

APPENDIX A: Ordered Logit Analysis of Fear of Terrorism & OLS Regression Analysis of Perceived Terrorism Knowledge
(Media Sources included as separate variables)

	<u>Ordered Logit Fear of Crime Model</u>		<u>OLS Perceived Knowledge Model</u>	
	Coef (SE)		Coef (SE)	
Age	0.013***	(0.003)	-0.001	(0.001)
Female	0.317***	(0.088)	-0.212***	(0.030)
Married	-0.004	(0.098)	0.028	(0.034)
No. of Dependent Children	0.067	(0.051)	-0.039*	(0.017)
Educational Achievement	-0.118***	(0.037)	0.020	(0.013)
Home Ownership	-0.157	(0.140)	-0.039	(0.012)
Time at Residence	0.011	(0.115)	-0.061	(0.048)
Annual Household Income	-0.024	(0.023)	0.006	(0.008)
Australian Born	0.586	(0.878)	0.013	(0.319)
ATSI	-0.614	(0.413)	-0.143	(0.143)
Immigrant Status				
<i>Arrived Before 2006</i>	0.399	(0.883)	0.061	(0.320)
<i>Arrived After 2006</i>	0.306	(0.987)	0.011	(0.356)
Political Conservatism	0.130***	(0.024)	0.006	(0.008)
Newspapers	0.213	(0.131)	0.145***	(0.045)
Government Leaflets	0.123	(0.090)	0.455***	(0.031)
Television	0.214	(0.173)	0.036	(0.060)
Radio	0.012	(0.112)	0.044	(0.038)
Internet	0.165	(0.096)	0.223***	(0.033)
Cut 1	1.051 (1.839)	Constant	2.069**	
Cut 2	4.417 (1.841)	Squared	0.161	
N	2273	N	2290	
Log Likelihood	-1915.54			

***p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05

Figures

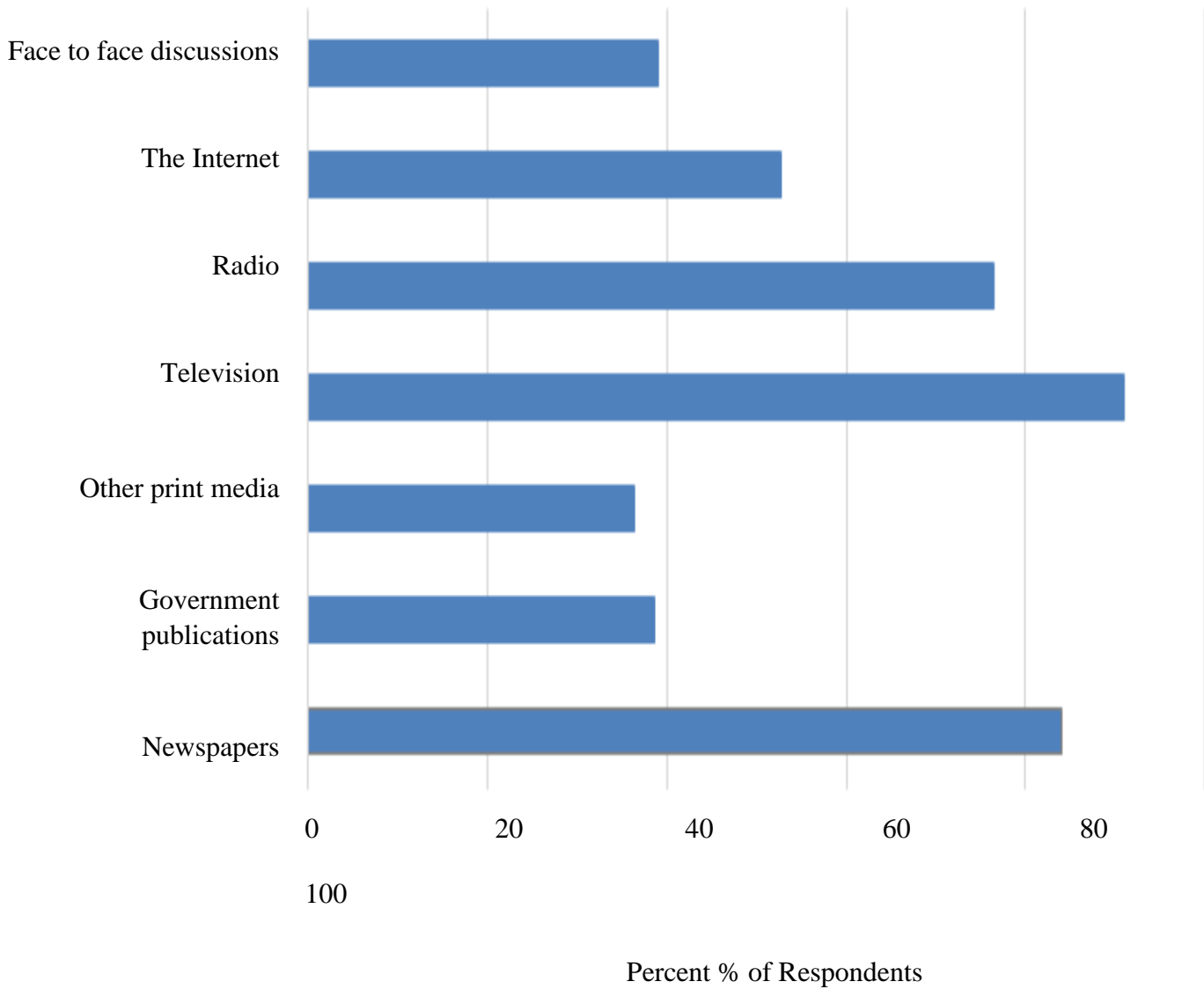


Figure 1: Media sources from which respondents have received terrorism information