

RUNNING HEAD: MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM Why Do Some Terrorist Attacks Receive More Media Attention Than Others? Forthcoming in *Justice Quarterly* Erin M. Kearns<sup>1</sup> University of Alabama Allison E. Betus<sup>2</sup> Anthony F. Lemieux<sup>3</sup> Georgia State University 1 Corresponding Author: Erin M. Kearns, University of Alabama, 431 Farrah Hall, Tuscaloosa, AL, 35401, Phone: (937) 602-7561, Email: emkearns@ua.edu. Twitter: @KearnsErinM. Biographical Note: Erin M. Kearns is an Assistant Professor at the University of Alabama. Her work has been funded through a number of sources, including the National Consortium for the Study of and Responses to Terrorism (START), and has been featured on CNN, NPR, the Washington Post, and Vox. 2 Biographical Note: Allison E. Betus is a presidential fellow in the Transcultural Conflict and Violence Initiative and a PhD student at Georgia State University. Her primary research focuses on domestic terrorism, white supremacy, and how media influences and reinforces public perceptions of what is and is not terrorism. 3 Biographical Note: Anthony F. Lemieux, Ph.D., is Director of the Global Studies Institute, and Professor of Global Studies and Communication at Georgia State University. As a social psychologist working across disciplines, he has extensively studied motivations for terrorism and violent extremism, with research funding from the U.S. DOD, DHS, and NSF. MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 2 Acknowledgements. Earlier versions of this paper appeared in the Washington Post's Monkey Cage and in the Hidden Brain series on NPR. E.K. would like to thank the Global Studies Institute at Georgia State University for supporting her during this research. E.K., A.B., and A.L. would like to thank Lindsey DeWick, Val Durojaiye, David Revzin, Paris Stroud, Zenaida Torres, and Tamilore Toyin-Adelaja from the Honors College at Georgia State University for their invaluable research assistance. We would also like to thank Belen Lowery-Kinberg for thoughtful comments on framing our argument, Emil O.W. Kirkegaard for suggesting additional robustness checks for our models, and numerous others who asked questions or proposed additional counterarguments that we have tested for in the present version of the paper. Author contributions. E.K. contributed to the conceptualization of the project and its empirical strategy, oversaw the data collection, cleaning and coding efforts, conducted the analyses, and wrote the methodology, results, discussion, and conclusions. A.B. wrote the literature review, contributed to the theory, and assisted with data collection, cleaning, and coding. A.L. contributed to the conceptualization of this research, including methodological elements of data sourcing, inclusion criteria, and variables. MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 3 Why Do Some Terrorist Attacks Receive More Media Attention Than Others? Abstract Terrorist attacks often dominate news coverage as reporters seek to provide the public with information. Yet, not all incidents receive equal attention. Why do some terrorist attacks receive more media coverage than others? We argue that perpetrator religion is the largest predictor of news coverage, while target type, being arrested, and fatalities will also impact coverage. We examined news coverage from LexisNexis Academic and CNN.com for all terrorist attacks in the United States between 2006 and 2015 (N=136). Controlling for target

type, fatalities, and being arrested, attacks by Muslim perpetrators received, on average, 357% more coverage than other attacks. Our results are robust against a number of counterarguments. The disparities in news coverage of attacks based on the perpetrator's religion may explain why members of the public tend to fear the "Muslim terrorist" while ignoring other threats. More representative coverage could help to bring public perception in line with reality. Keywords: terrorism; media; news coverage Word Count: 10,871

#### MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 4 Introduction

On February 6, 2017, President Trump stated that media neglect to report some terrorist attacks.<sup>4</sup> His administration released a list of purportedly underreported attacks. The list included attacks that occurred in many countries and the perpetrators were overwhelmingly Muslim. Reporters and academics were quick to dismiss President Trump's claim and demonstrate that these attacks were covered, often extensively.<sup>5</sup> As we will show here, it turns out that President Trump was correct: media do not cover some terrorist attacks at all, while others receive disproportionate coverage. This project addresses the question: Why do some terrorist attacks<sup>6</sup> receive more media coverage than others? Media are naturally drawn to covering ongoing or potential conflicts, especially those which are shocking or sensational (Tuman, 2010). Research has demonstrated that terrorism is most effective at spreading fear when given widespread media coverage (Powell, 2011). Most research on media coverage of terrorism has focused on framing and its impact on public opinion (Norris, Kern & Jost, 2003; Powell, 2011; Ruigrok & Attevelt, 2007). While framing impacts perceptions, the underlying assumption here is that coverage exists in the first place. A few studies have focused on the quantity of media coverage rather than the context. From this small body of research, it is clear that incident-level factors can impact the amount of media coverage that terrorist attacks receive (Chermak & Gruenewald, 2006; Nacos, 2002; Persson, 2004). Weimann

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2017/02/06/president-trump-is-now-speculating-that-the-media-is-covering-up-terrorist-attacks/?utm\\_term=.b23ffe5a9113](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2017/02/06/president-trump-is-now-speculating-that-the-media-is-covering-up-terrorist-attacks/?utm_term=.b23ffe5a9113)

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/02/trump-centcom-media-terror-cover-up/515823/> <http://time.com/4489405/americans-fear-of-foreign-terrorists/>

<sup>6</sup> In the current study, the definitional criteria for what constitutes terrorism have been established in the development of the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) by the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. According to the GTD Codebook, terrorism is "the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation." Additional details about the definition of terrorism used in the GTD are available at <http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/using-gtd/>. See Schmid (2015) for a more detailed discussion of the challenges related to defining terrorism, along with consideration of over 250 definitions that have been applied over time. MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 5 and Brosius (1991) also found that perpetrator nationality impacts the amount of media coverage that international terrorist attacks receive. Yet, these works are largely focused on the pre-9/11, pre-digital media age factors that may impact

the extent and nature of coverage disparities. Additionally, these studies do not focus on perpetrator religion as a key predictor of coverage in the context of domestic terrorism. The amount of coverage that an incident receives increases public awareness, while signifying that the event is worthy of public attention. Media frames matter, but can only have influence if they reach an audience. To understand the reach of coverage, we must examine how much media covers terrorist attacks in addition to examining how terrorism is covered. The present study addresses two gaps in the literature: 1) factors that explain differences in the quantity of media coverage that terrorist attacks receive post-9/11 and in the digital media age, and 2) how perpetrator religion impacts these coverage disparities. We examined media coverage of terrorist attacks in the United States to understand why some receive more coverage than others. Our paper is organized as follows: First, we engage with the literature on media coverage of violence, crime, and terrorism, and discuss factors that impact why some events receive more coverage than others. Following this, we discuss our methodological approach to examining media coverage of terrorism, our sample, and our analyses. Lastly, we conclude with the results of this study, how they pertain to policy and public perception, and avenues for future research.

**Media Coverage Why Media Coverage Matters** Most of the information we get about the world outside of our local context comes from the media. As such, media play a vital role in how we form ideas about people, places, and things which we MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 6 have not personally experienced (McCombs, 2003). Media attention lends legitimacy to the voices and frames—the conceptions and organizations of information that help us understand the world around us—that are chosen to be featured (Bekkers, Beunders, Edwards, & Moody, 2011). Media coverage also amplifies incidents and ideas by providing a platform to spread certain positions and perspectives to a broader audience (Bekkers, et al., 2011). This platform is further expanded by members of the public disseminating media amongst themselves (Nacos, 2002). In a recent study, King, Schneer and White (2017) found that media coverage of subjects of the researchers’ choosing significantly increased online discussion of that topic immediately and this effect persisted for nearly a week. People also discuss news media content in various forums, resulting in further—not necessarily accurate—analysis of the information provided. The rapid spread of information—regardless of its veracity—is especially common when focusing events occur. A focusing event is a sudden, attention-grabbing event that draws public awareness to an issue (Kingdon, 1995). In addition to being attention-grabbing and easy to politicize, focusing events are also relatively uncommon, reveal a cause of harm or potential harm, and are depicted as being particular to certain areas or groups (Kingdon, 1995). When something becomes a focusing event, debates and discussions surrounding certain policy topics markedly increase and receive greater media attention (Kingdon, 1995). Media coverage does not necessarily determine how we feel about these issues, but it sets the tone for which issues we discuss and how we discuss them (McCombs, 2003). Particularly when discussing an issue that people do not directly experience, media creates a perspective for viewers

that may be incongruent with reality (Gerbner, 1998). Media are primarily responsible for providing information, and thus frames, to the public in the aftermath of a terrorist attack (Altheide, 1987). There is clear evidence that media coverage impacts public MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 7 perception across a host of topics including civic engagement (McCarthy, McPhail & Smith, 1996), mental health issues (Stack, 2003), and national security threats (Slone, 2000). Further, both news media (Graziano, Schuck & Martin, 2010; Miller & Davis, 2008; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005) and entertainment media (Callanan & Rosenberger, 2011; Donahue & Miller, 2006; Donovan & Klahm, 2015; Eschholz, Blackwell, Gertz & Chiricos, 2002; Kearns & Young, 2017) impact the public's views of crime and justice. When people do not have direct experience with a topic—as is almost always the case for terrorism—media depictions are especially impactful (Adoni & Mane, 1984). Moreover, media is primarily responsible for providing information to the public, who use that information to contextualize and understand terrorism. When news media spends time on an issue, this suggests to the public that the topic is valid and important for understanding the world around them. The amount of attention that a story gets is an indicator of its importance (McCombs, 2003). The “CNN effect”—whereby media influences politics and government during conflict and natural disasters—suggests that media framing can impact public opinion and potentially sway policy decisions (Gilboa, 2005). Exposure to media coverage of terrorist attacks is positively correlated to perceived personal risk for being victimized, fear of others (Nellis & Savage, 2012), and short-term anxiety levels (Slone, 2000). Media are especially impactful at setting public discourse and, as a result, influencing public opinion in regard to limiting or protecting personal freedoms and civil liberties, as they feature and prioritize certain political viewpoints and narratives over others (Guasti & Mansfeldova, 2013; Hall, 2012; Norris et al., 2003). Political organizations use media to set the priorities of the public (Chermak 2003), which means that biases in media reporting can have real world consequences. In short, media coverage influences public opinion and perceptions of the world, which can, in turn, influence how the public perceives relevant people, policies, and groups. MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 8

Media Coverage of Violence In the United States, violent crime has been declining steadily for the past twenty years, 7 yet public perceptions of violent crime do not reflect this.8 In fact, as the violent crime rate in the United States decreases, people still perceive that it is increasing (Gramlich, 2017). Media may influence this disparity in perceptions of violence. For example, homicides receive a disproportionate amount of news coverage relative to both the actual risk of being victimized and the frequency of the crime (Sorenson, Manz & Berk, 1998; Paulsen, 2003; Peelo, Francis, Soothill, Pearson & Ackery, 2004). Violence, broadly construed, is one of the most prominent topics in the news media, and enjoys something of a privileged position, yet it is rare in day to day life for much of the audience. Slone (2000) argues that media influence increases as actual experience with a problem decreases, which could explain this discrepancy between real and perceived violent crime rates. Taking this into account, perhaps it is unsurprising that half of Americans

are concerned that they or a family member will be the victim of a terrorist attack, despite the actual risk being miniscule (Jones & Cox, 2015). Of course, media covering a topic does not necessarily indicate its subjective (or, indeed, objective) relevance for a given individual or the public at large. An event may be attentiongrabbing, but lose relevance quickly. For a topic to maintain relevance it must receive ongoing coverage by the media for approximately one to eight weeks (Coleman, McCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 2009). The perceived relevance of an incident fades as time passes without the media referring to it (Coleman, et al., 2009). Given the current “infotainment” format of news media, stories are selected for coverage based on how much attention they can potentially attract (Xiang 7 [https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2013/crime-in-the-u.s.-2013/violent-crime/violent-crime-topics/violentcrimemain\\_final](https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2013/crime-in-the-u.s.-2013/violent-crime/violent-crime-topics/violentcrimemain_final) 8 <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/16/voters-perceptions-of-crime-continue-to-conflict-with-reality/> MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 9 & Sarvary, 2007). Coverage of violence fills that role, while also potentially providing useful information to the viewer. Media Coverage of Terrorism While some terrorist attacks are sensationalized and extensively covered, the majority receive little to no media attention (Chermak & Gruenewald, 2006). An issue’s relevance influences the amount of media coverage that it receives (McCarthy et al., 1996). Some terrorist attacks may be deemed more relevant than others due to their inherently political, attention-grabbing nature and potential to be a focusing event. Terrorism lends itself to being used as a focusing event, as it is uncommon and can raise awareness of potential weak points in national security. To give a few recent examples, media coverage of Dylann Roof’s terrorist attack against the congregation of the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church sparked fierce debates about the Confederate Flag and gun control policy in the United States. Robert Lewis Dear’s attack on a Planned Parenthood facility was used to argue that promoting misleading information could have deadly consequences. In short, these attacks are used as focusing events, shifting the public discourse to political topics secondary to terrorism itself and often facilitating or inspiring new policy. Brian Jenkins (1974, p.4) stated that “terrorism is theater,” a metaphor reflecting that perpetrators engage in violence to communicate with an audience. Media coverage of attacks amplifies a group’s messaging and sensationalizes the event (Picard, 1993). In this respect, media and terrorist groups have a mutually reinforcing relationship. Yet, media do not cover all terrorism equally. Focusing on terrorism in the United States between 1980 and September 10th, 2001, Chermak and Gruenewald (2006) found that attacks received more coverage if there were casualties, if it was a hijacking, if an airline was targeted, or if domestic groups were involved. In this study, perpetrator identity was not considered as a factor that would impact the amount of MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 10 coverage an attack receives. Even minor attacks may receive coverage if the target, location, or groups involved are of high symbolic or political significance to the public (Nacos, 2002). Further, evidence suggests that a terrorist attack will receive less coverage if it is framed as a crime (Persson, 2004). Whether an attack

is framed as terrorism or a crime is complicated by the fact that there is no one accepted definition of terrorism to rely on, even among experts (Schmid, 2015; Spaaij & Hamm, 2015). Indeed, there are myriad potential factors that can impact why a particular terrorist attack receives more news coverage than others. We are interested in how the following factors influence the amount of news coverage that a given terrorist attack will receive: who committed the attack, what the target was, and how many people were killed. Who is the perpetrator? Events are more newsworthy if they can be typified as reflecting current beliefs and social structure, and can be scripted in ways that reinforce stereotypes (Lundman, 2003). Consistent with the social identity perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), media in the predominantly white, Christian United States may portray members of this in-group in a more favorable way than people who are not members of the majority race or religion. In the context of entertainment media, such as *24* or *Homeland*, we generally see Muslim or Arab actors portraying terrorists while white actors play the hero (Alsultany, 2012). In fact, Shaheen (2012) found clear evidence that most Arab movie characters are portrayed as dangerous stereotypes—as sub-human or villains—while Arab protagonists often have surprisingly Caucasian features. Similarly, in news media, perpetrators of terrorism are disproportionately non-white (Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000). While perhaps not intentional, it seems unlikely that disparities in entertainment media coverage based on race and religion are coincidental. Media coverage may explain public perceptions of terrorism and identity. Evidence suggests that, to Americans, there is an implicit MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 11 association between terrorism, people of Middle Eastern descent, and Islam (Alsultany, 2012; Gottschalk & Greenberg, 2008; Park, Felix, & Lee, 2007; Saleem & Anderson, 2013). In the United Kingdom, Muslims—particularly those who are foreign-born—are increasingly viewed as a national security threat (Allouche & Lind, 2010). Huff and Kertzer (2017) found that members of the public are more likely to consider an attack terrorism when the perpetrator is Muslim. Similarly, when presented with news stories about real crimes, incidents committed by Muslims were more likely to be labeled as terrorism and were also judged more harshly (West & Lloyd, 2017). Turning to media coverage of terrorism and identity, similar patterns emerge. Dixon and Williams (2015) found that Muslims were vastly overrepresented in broadcast media coverage of terrorism. Similarly, in two prominent Australian newspapers, news stories about Middle Eastern people often focused on terrorism, asylum seekers, and cultural practices that are alien to Western cultures (Akbarzadeh & Smith, 2005). Even in cases where the depictions of Muslims were sympathetic or neutral, media still positioned stories almost exclusively in ways that emphasized their otherness and dealt with the topic of terrorism (Akbarzadeh & Smith, 2005). Media may frame terrorism as a specifically Muslim problem because that is a dominant narrative (Sultan, 2016). Domestic terrorism is often portrayed as a minor threat committed by mentally ill perpetrators, whereas terrorism influenced by radical interpretation of Islam is framed as a hostile outside force (Powell, 2011). If the perpetrators were Muslim and the victims Christian, the innocence

and goodness of the victims and their spirituality will often be presented in juxtaposition with Islam (Powell, 2011). When the perpetrator(s) of a terrorist attack are members of an out-group or “other,” we should expect to see more media coverage. Since discussions of MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 12 terrorism and counterterrorism often overly focus on Muslim perpetrators, 9 we expect the following: H1: Terrorist attacks will receive more media coverage when the perpetrator is Muslim than when the perpetrator is not Muslim. While we expect that the perpetrator’s identity will be the strongest predictor of the amount of media coverage an attack receives, we anticipate other factors will have significant influence as well. Perpetrators of terrorist attacks may be apprehended, killed, or escape capture or identification. Perpetrators who are arrested provide more opportunities for media coverage as they are charged, stand trial, and, if found guilty, sentenced. Accordingly, we expect the following: H2: Terrorist attacks will receive more media coverage when the perpetrator is arrested than the perpetrator is not arrested. What is the target? The relative sociological relationship between a victim and offender influence the way in which law is applied for punishment (Black, 1976). Stemming from this dyadic perspective, the target type may influence media coverage of violence. In a study of international terrorism, attacks against politically significant targets received more coverage (Zhang, Shoemaker & Wang, 2013). Members of the public are also more inclined to label an attack as “terrorism” when the target is governmental (Authors, 2017). In so far as terrorism is a tactic to influence politics, attacks on governmental facilities or employees may generate increased media coverage. From this, we expected that: H3: Terrorist attacks will receive more media coverage when the target is a governmental facility or employee(s) than when the target is non-governmental. How many people were harmed? 9 [https://www.start.umd.edu/pubs/START\\_ECDB\\_IslamistFarRightHomicidesUS\\_Infographic\\_Feb2017.pdf](https://www.start.umd.edu/pubs/START_ECDB_IslamistFarRightHomicidesUS_Infographic_Feb2017.pdf) MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 13 The adage “if it bleeds it leads” suggests that news coverage focuses on violent or gory stories (Miller & Albert, 2015). When more people are killed in an attack, this can increase the shock value to viewers and increase fear of terrorism (Zhang et al., 2013). Therefore, when there is more death and destruction, we should see more coverage (Nacos, 2002). As Chermak and Gruenewald (2006) found in a study of media coverage on domestic terrorism pre-9/11, at least one casualty led to both an increase in the number of articles written about that attack and the length of those articles. Media may cover higher fatality count attacks more because death is both newsworthy and draws readers in. We expect that: H4: Terrorist attacks will receive increased media coverage as the number of fatalities caused by the attack increases. Alternative explanations There are many potential idiosyncratic factors that impact media coverage of an event. We identify five testable counterarguments. First, white homicide victims receive more media coverage than minority victims (Gruenewald, Chermak, & Pizarro, 2013). Drawing from the disparities in homicide coverage, the discussion on out-groups, and the societal position of the victim(s), it is also possible that attacks against an out-group receive less media coverage. Second, symbolism can be important in terrorism. Certain dates, such as Hitler’s birthday and the anniversary of

9/11, attract more violence.<sup>10</sup> When attacks occur within close proximity to these symbolic dates, they may receive more media coverage. Third, we may expect to see less media coverage when responsibility for the attack is unknown (Weimann & Brosius 1991; Weimann & Winn 1994). Fourth, we may expect to see more coverage when the individual(s) responsible are connected with a larger group that uses terrorism. Lastly, when classifying whether or not a violent

<sup>10</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/the-strange-seasonality-of-violence-why-april-is-the-beginning-of-the-killing-season/2016/04/03/4e05d092-f6c0-11e5-9804-537defcc3cf6\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.ca9fc4cd77e8](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/the-strange-seasonality-of-violence-why-april-is-the-beginning-of-the-killing-season/2016/04/03/4e05d092-f6c0-11e5-9804-537defcc3cf6_story.html?utm_term=.ca9fc4cd77e8)

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<sup>14</sup> incident is terrorism there can be insufficient or contradicting information that makes it difficult to make a definitive determination. If experts question whether or not an incident should be considered terrorism, members of the media may have similar difficulties. It is possible that classification differences can explain variation in coverage, potentially resulting in ambiguous cases receiving less media attention. We tested our argument on why some attacks received more media coverage than others against these alternatives. Additionally, some factors, such as a major event occurring at the same time to crowd out the news cycle, are difficult to operationalize and model. Whether or not a manhunt occurred plausibly could impact coverage of a terrorist attack. Unfortunately, it is infeasible to operationalize a manhunt in a consistent way across attacks.<sup>11</sup>

**Methods Data**

The data for this study consisted of media coverage for terrorist attacks in the United States between 2006 and 2015, <sup>12</sup> as listed in the GTD.<sup>13</sup> While the GTD lists 170 terrorist attacks during this ten-year span, several of the attacks were perpetrated by the same individual(s), and thus are reported together in media. We collapsed multiple attacks with the same perpetrator(s) into a single terrorism episode to avoid counting the same articles numerous times. In total, there were 136 terrorism episodes in the United States during this time. <sup>11</sup> If this were binary, it would assume an hours-long foot search and a month-long hunt through the wilderness are the equivalent. If we count duration, then that implies the few days-long search for the Tsarnaev brothers that shut down Boston is less meaningful than the 48-day search for Eric Frein through the Pennsylvania wilderness. Given the diversity of what a manhunt can entail, we do not think it is advisable to control for this in a regression model. <sup>12</sup> Starting in 2006, an increasing percentage of Americans used the Internet as their main source of news. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/10/16/12-trends-shaping-digital-news/> Since the news sources used for this study include both print and online newspaper articles, we started our analysis in 2006. In years prior to 2006, we may see fewer articles overall since print was more common and is subject to space constraints. <sup>13</sup> The Global Terrorism Database is a systematic and unbiased source that codes terrorism at the incident-level around the world from 1970 to 2016. The GTD is the most comprehensive and complete dataset available on terrorism. At the time of data collection, 2015 was the most recent year of data released by the GTD.

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<sup>15</sup> To measure media coverage, we focused on two sources: LexisNexis Academic and CNN.com

<sup>14</sup> LexisNexis Academic searches through



the full text of thousands of news publications. For the purpose of this study, we limited the search results to newspaper coverage<sup>15</sup> from US-based sources between the date of the attack and the end of 2016.<sup>16</sup> LexisNexis searches news articles from national sources such as The New York Times, Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post, and USA Today, as well as local newspapers from around the country. To supplement these results, we searched CNN.com's archives to obtain additional news coverage that is solely in digital format. For each incident, we searched for the perpetrator(s) (if known), the location, and other key words about the attack. In this initial stage, our goal was over-inclusion of potential articles. From this, we culled the final list to only include articles where the attack, perpetrator(s), or victim(s) were the primary focus. We removed the following types of articles most frequently: lists of every attack of a given type; political or policy-focused articles where the attack or perpetrators were an anecdote to a larger debate, such as abortion or gun control;<sup>17</sup> and discussion of vigils held in other locations. In total, we included 3,541 news articles in our dataset. A full list of terrorism episodes and the amount of coverage each received can be found in the appendix. The dataset generated and analyzed for the current study is available from the corresponding author on reasonable request.<sup>14</sup> While we wanted to include searches from sources across the political spectrum, such as Fox News and Huffington Post, neither has a searchable archive going back to 2006 and email requests for archive access were not answered.<sup>15</sup> It is beyond our current scope to conduct a systematic study of television and radio coverage from both national and local stations across a decade span. Furthermore, broadcast media have a fixed amount of airtime so coverage disparities should be exacerbated. Including TV and radio coverage in our study would likely bias the results in favor of larger or more sensational events that dominate news coverage.<sup>16</sup> By the end of 2016, all known perpetrators had either pled guilty or gone to trial with the exception of Robert Lewis Dear. Dear is currently not competent to stand trial, so we expect occasional coverage of this going forward. Otherwise, we do not expect any ongoing coverage of the incidents, perpetrators, or victims listed in this dataset.<sup>17</sup> For example: Dylann Roof's attack sparked debate about the Confederate Flag and gun control; Robert Lewis Dear's attack led to discussion about gun control and abortion rights; the Boston Bombing increased discussions about immigration; and, the San Bernadino attack generated a discussion about immigration, gun control, and Apple refusing to unlock the perpetrator's iPhone.

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<sup>16</sup> Variables Dependent variable The outcome variable for all hypotheses was the number of news stories about the incident. We added the number of relevant articles from LexisNexis Academic and CNN.com to yield the total number of articles for each terrorism series. National media outlets may cover terrorism differently than outlets primarily focused on a local audience. To examine differences in coverage by audience, we also estimate models with the total number of articles from major sources<sup>18</sup> only (35.6% of the articles) and with the total number of articles from other sources only (64.4% of the articles). The key independent variables fall into three categories: perpetrator-level factors, target type, and

casualties.<sup>19</sup> Information to code these variables came from news reports and the GTD. Independent variables Three binary perpetrator-level variables were coded: perpetrator Muslim, perpetrator arrested, and unknown perpetrator. When there were multiple perpetrators, we coded the variable as 1 if any of the perpetrators fell into a category. When the perpetrator was unknown, we coded 18 There are five major, national media outlets in our dataset: CNN.com, The New York Times, Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post, and USA Today. 19 All variables were double coded, inconsistencies in coding were discussed, and final codes were agreed upon for all variables in each incident. In a few instances where coding could be disputed, we estimated models both ways and the results were unchanged. MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 17 both perpetrator Muslim and perpetrator arrested as a 0.20 In the present dataset, the individual person(s) responsible for the attacks is unknown 40.4% of the time.<sup>21</sup> Three binary target type variables were coded: law enforcement/governmental target, Muslim target, 22 and minority target. We measured fatalities as the number of people killed—excluding the perpetrator(s)—in each terrorism series. 23 Lastly, we included a binary indicator to denote whether or not the attack occurred near a symbolically significant event in the United States as a control for another factor that could increase the amount of coverage that an attack receives. If an attack occurred within a week of Hitler’s birthday (April 20th), 4th of July, September 11th, or 20In terrorism, the perpetrator is often unknown so treating these as missing data and dropping the incidents is not appropriate. We recognize that for incidents where the perpetrator is unknown, it is possible that some were committed by Muslims but there is no way to know this. Essentially, there are three categories of perpetrator: Perpetrator Known & Muslim; Perpetrator Known & Not Muslim; and Perpetrator Unknown. Even when the individual perpetrator is unknown, we often know the group responsible so “perpetrator unknown” is not a theoretically sound category on its own, though we account for these incidents in robustness checks. In the models reported, we collapsed Perpetrator Unknown and Perpetrator Known & Not Muslim into a single category (0) and compared to Perpetrator Known & Muslim (1). To ensure that our results are not an artifact of whether or not the perpetrator is known, we also estimated all models where Perpetrator Unknown or Perpetrator Known & Muslim are collapsed into a single category (0) and compared to Perpetrator Known & Not Muslims (1) Across all models reported in the main text and the appendix, attacks where the perpetrator is known and not Muslim do not receive a significantly different amount of news coverage. In contrast, incidents where the perpetrator is known and Muslim receive significantly more coverage in all models. These findings give us additional confidence in our conclusions. 21 This is common for terrorism: approximately 13% of incidents globally are claimed (Kearns, Conlon & Young 2014) and 40% are attributed to a particular group (GTD, 2016). Even when the individual perpetrator is unknown, we often know the group or movement responsible. For example, attacks claimed by the Animal Liberation Front still send a clear message even in the absence of an arrest or identification of the individual(s) responsible. Thus, simply

considering attacks where the perpetrator is unknown is not appropriate in terrorism studies. Instead, we control for unknown responsibility in two ways. First, we created a dummy variable for incidents where neither the perpetrator nor group are known. Second, we created a dummy variable for incidents where the perpetrator, group, and motive are all unknown. <sup>22</sup> We include the 2012 Sikh temple shooting in Oak Creek, Wisconsin and the 2015 attack on the Sikh bus driver in Los Angeles in this calculation. Evidence suggests that these attacks were Islamophobia-inspired and the perpetrators were unaware of the difference between Sikhs and Muslims. <sup>23</sup> The number of people wounded may also impact the amount of coverage that an attack receives. The vast majority (96.3%) of attacks wounded fewer than 10 people. Five attacks had more than 10 wounded: the Austin IRS attack, San Bernadino, Fort Hood, the West Texas Explosion, and the Boston Bombing. While casualties likely impact coverage, injuries are not of the same magnitude as fatalities. If we were to include the counts of both, this would assume that fatalities and casualties have the same impact on media coverage and that the relationship is linear. Rather, to account for the non-linear relationship between casualties and coverage, we logged the number wounded. The correlation between the number of fatalities and the log of number wounded is 0.63 so including both variables in a model introduces concerns of multicollinearity. We created an additive variable (number killed plus log of number wounded) to bluntly account for the impact of casualties on coverage, though this measure is difficult to substantively interpret. As shown in the appendix (Models A1-A20), results are substantively and significantly similar across all models.

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<sup>18</sup> Christmas (December 25th), this was coded as 1. When there were multiple incidents in a terrorism series, this was coded as 1 if any of the events take place within a week of a significant date. On average, each of the 136 terrorism incidents was covered in 26 news articles. However, the distribution is highly skewed. Over one quarter of the incidents received no coverage from the sources that we searched while other attacks received disproportionate coverage. In the present dataset, Muslims perpetrated 12.5% of the attacks yet received 50.4% of the news coverage. The perpetrator was arrested in about half (47.1%) of the incidents. Attacks targeted law enforcement or government 20.6% of the time. On average, less than one person was killed per attack, though this again is highly skewed with the vast majority of attacks (81.6%) having no fatalities. See Table 1 for descriptive information about each variable. [TABLE 1 HERE]

<sup>24</sup> Results Negative binomial regression models <sup>25</sup> are most appropriate since the dependent variable is a non-negative count of news articles per attack. In Table 2, we display the results of six models. As expected in hypothesis 1, Model 1 shows that attacks by Muslims receive significantly more coverage than attacks by non-Muslims. Of course, factors other than the perpetrator's religion impact the amount of coverage the attack receives. As Model 2 shows, all of our hypotheses are supported. If the perpetrator is Muslim, we see 357% more news stories about the attack. Model 2 also shows a 287% increase in coverage when the perpetrator is arrested, a 211% increase if the <sup>24</sup> All models are estimated with bootstrapped standard errors to minimize the

impact of outliers with the small number of observations. Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) are presented to compare model fit where lower values suggest greater congruence with the true model. The extent to which one model is preferred to another depends on the magnitude of difference between model fit statistics (Raftery, 1995). Models discussed in text have either a weak or positive difference between alternatives. 25 A high proportion (N=36, 26.5%) of the attacks in these data did not receive any news coverage. Thus zero-inflated negative binomial regression models were also estimated. Vuong tests of the zero-inflated negative binomial versus a standard negative binomial indicate that the negative binomial models are preferred. MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 19 target is governmental, and a 46% increase per fatality, on average. Models 3 through 6 include variables to test counterarguments about the target type, significant dates, and the perpetrator being unknown, but the fundamental results remain unchanged. [TABLE 2 HERE] We suggested five possible alternative explanations for the amount of news coverage that a terrorist attack receives. First, it is possible that some targets receive less media coverage than others. When the target is an out-group member—such as a Muslim target or a minority target in general—the attack may receive less coverage. As we see, however, neither targeting Muslims (Models 3 and 5) nor minorities (Models 4 and 6) impact coverage. Second, when an attack occurs in close temporal proximity to a significant date, the attack may receive more coverage. Yet, Models 3 through 6 show that symbolic timing does not impact the amount of coverage that an attack receives. Third, when the perpetrating individual(s) or group is unknown, this may impact coverage. In Models 3 and 4, we see that attacks where both the individual(s) and group responsible are unknown received about 70% less coverage. In these models, the other variables remain significant but the impact is reduced for all factors except the number of fatalities. Fourth, all models reported were estimated to account for attacks connected with a larger group. As shown in the appendix (Models A21-A40), incidents connected to a group do not receive more coverage and accounting for this factor does not impact the effect of other variables on coverage. Differences in coverage may be explained by whether or not there is doubt about classifying the attack as terrorism. To test this, we estimated the models reported in Table 2 with only cases where there is “essentially no doubt as to whether the incident is an act of terrorism” (GTD Codebook, p. 14)26. As shown on Table 3, our results largely hold. One exception is that 26 Descriptive statistics for each variable are relatively unchanged, as shown in the appendix. MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 20 targeting the government is no longer significant, though this is unsurprising since the vast majority of those attacks are clearly terrorism. For the variables that remain significant, the magnitude of each’s impact on the outcome is similar and the effect of a Muslim perpetrator is stronger. [TABLE 3 HERE] Across this ten-year period, two terrorist attacks dominated news coverage. The Boston Marathon and Fort Hood attacks together account for over a quarter of media coverage on terrorism (13.4% and 11.9%, respectively). Hyper-salient events like this drive media coverage and may also be driving our

results. 27 To test this, we estimated all models with these two cases excluded. As shown on Table 4, our hypotheses are still supported. The magnitude of our main predictor— the perpetrator being Muslim—was slightly stronger with 369% more coverage when these two attacks are removed from the analyses (Model 14). The impact of the other key variables remains roughly the same. [TABLE 4 HERE] Furthermore, Table 5 shows that when we remove the Boston Marathon bombing and the Fort Hood shooting and only include cases where there is no doubt that it is terrorism, the results remain unchanged. Again, the magnitude increased to an expected 405% more coverage when the perpetrator is Muslim (Model 20). In this model, the impact of a perpetrator being arrested is slightly lower and the impact of each additional fatality is slightly higher. [TABLE 5 HERE] 27The next most covered attack, Faisal Shahzad’s attempted bomb in Times Square, received less than half the coverage of these. By the statistical definition, 17% of the cases are outliers due to the skewed distribution of coverage. Yet, there is not a sound argument for dropping all of these observations from the dataset since this is the reality of media coverage for these attacks.

MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 21 We estimated the models previously discussed by disaggregated the outcome variable to compare results between major and non-major sources. Figure 1 compares the results of our main model across: 1) the whole sample, 2) only non-major sources, and 3) only major sources. Across source type, whether or not the perpetrator was arrested, whether or not the attack targeted government or law enforcement, and the number of fatalities have approximately the same impact on coverage (Models A41-A60). Importantly, there is no meaningful difference in the impact of these three independent variables by source type. However, we see clear differences in the extent to which a Muslim perpetrator generates additional media coverage. Across the whole sample, attacks receive 357% more coverage on average when the perpetrator is Muslim. Among non-major sources, the expected increase in coverage is 228% whereas the increase in coverage among major sources is 758%. Across the 24 main models reported in text, incidents perpetrated by a Muslim receive between 1.81 and 4.93 times more coverage from major sources relative to non-major sources. [FIGURE 1 HERE] In sum, we find strong evidence to support all of our hypotheses. Attacks receive significantly more coverage when: the perpetrator is Muslim, the perpetrator is arrested, the target is law enforcement or government, and there are more fatalities. While most factors have a similar impact on the extent of additional media coverage between major and non-major sources, attacks by Muslims received drastically more coverage in national media sources than in sources focused on more local audiences.

Discussion The motivating questions for this project were whether there are quantitative differences in the amounts of coverage, and why some terrorist attacks receive more media coverage than others. Research on media and terrorism has largely focused on framing within articles and the impact MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 22 this has on public opinion (Norris et al., 2003; Powell, 2011; Ruigrok & Atteveldt, 2007). Since some attacks are not covered at all while others receive the bulk of media coverage, the quantity of articles is also important for public

perception of terrorism. In a study using pre-9/11 data, attack-level factors impacted coverage but the perpetrator’s identity was not included among them (Chermak & Gruenewald, 2006). To our knowledge, this is the first post-9/11 and digital media age study focused on the quantity of coverage that terrorist attacks receives. Additionally, this is the first study to explicitly examine how perpetrator religion impacts coverage across such a wide range of terrorism cases. Myriad factors may impact why a particular terrorist attack receives more coverage than another. By modeling coverage over all terrorist attacks in the United States during a ten-year period, we are able to identify trends in coverage. As we see here, perpetrator religion matters for the quantity of coverage that an attack receives. We found clear evidence that terrorist attacks perpetrated by Muslims receive drastically more media coverage than attacks by non-Muslims. This finding is consistent with the literature on social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) that highlights in-group and out-group dynamics whereby people who are perceived as “others” are portrayed and perceived more negatively. Research has shown similar media bias against Muslims and Arabs in the context of entertainment media (Shaheen, 2012). Our findings clearly show that similar biases against Muslims exist in media coverage of terrorism. In part, this may explain why people implicitly connect terrorism and Islam (Park et al., 2007; Saleem & Anderson, 2013) and view Muslims as a threat to national security (Allouche & Lind, 2010). Coverage disparities may also explain why people are more likely to consider an incident to be “terrorism” when the perpetrator is Muslim (Huff & Kertzer, 2017), which can create a feedback loop that perpetuates biases in both media coverage and public perception.

**MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 23** Each of our other hypotheses were supported. Specifically, when a perpetrator of an attack is arrested we find significantly more coverage. This may be driven in part by the fact that an arrest is a newsworthy event in its own right, and especially so when linked to a terrorist attack. If indeed “terrorism is theatre” as Jenkins (1974) posits, then an arrest made in a terrorism case provides another opportunity to spark audience interest, thereby extending the show. We also find that attacks against the government receive more coverage. Terrorism inherently has a political dimension. As such, attacks that target the government send a clearer signal about intent, which may result in media coverage. However, this result is inconsistent with Chermak and Gruenewald’s (2006) finding that pre-9/11 attacks against government targets received less coverage when contrasted with airline hijackings. Consistent with Chermak and Gruenewald’s (2006) analyses, the number of fatalities in a given attack has a significant impact on the extent of coverage. Because fatal events tend to be covered more in general, we anticipated that higher numbers of casualties would generate additional focus in instances of terrorism as well. Across most of the models, the variables testing other counterarguments were not significant. Attacks that targeted either Muslims specifically or minorities in general did not receive less media coverage. Although Moeller (2009, p. 70) notes “coverage of victims, the dead and the survivors, is not egalitarian,” the current findings do not suggest a clear distinction in coverage based on whether an attack

primarily targeted members of a minority group. While minority homicide victims receive less media coverage (Gruenewald et al., 2013), our results may suggest that terrorism coverage is more strongly driven by other factors. It is also possible that target identity impacts coverage in certain media outlets but not others, though this is beyond the scope of the present study. Further, we found that incidents that occurred near significant dates did not receive more coverage. While it stands to reason that the symbolic value of particular dates might add context or additional interest to coverage of an attack thereby generating more coverage, this was not supported. Surprisingly and contradicting previous scholarship (Weimann & Brosius, 1991; Weimann & Winn, 1994), there was no difference in the amount of coverage for attacks connected to a larger group versus those without this connection. While attacks connected to larger groups automatically have name recognition, our results show that this does not drive coverage. In some models, attacks received less coverage when neither the perpetrator nor group responsible were known, though the other key variables were still significant. In sum, our results and the robustness of our models demonstrate the strength of the conclusion that media give disproportionate coverage to terrorism when the perpetrator is Muslim, though other factors also matter. We find that the identity of a perpetrator as Muslim has primacy as the key driver of the amount of coverage, relative to each of the other factors. Thus, the findings reported here empirically establish perpetrator religion as the most substantial element of what drives overall coverage. We demonstrate that our findings are robust against a number of alternative explanations. In all of the models we estimated, attacks where the perpetrator was Muslim received significantly more media coverage. This result was strengthened when we only included incidents that clearly met all criteria on the definition of terrorism. Similarly, our results were strengthened when we excluded the Boston Marathon bombing and the Fort Hood shooting. This demonstrates that the two most high-profile events in the dataset were not driving our results. Somewhat surprisingly, Muslim perpetrated attacks receive the most coverage—by far—from major, national news sources. The five major sources in our study provided over a third (35.6%) of the articles we analyzed. Taken together, this suggests that sources with the broadest readership make up a sizeable proportion of terrorism coverage in the United States and this coverage tends to focus on attacks by Muslims. It is not clear—and beyond the scope of the project to determine—what impact this has on public perceptions of terrorism. Yet, it is reasonable to think that coverage disparities may help explain why people are more likely to define violence as “terrorism” when the perpetrator is Muslim (Authors, 2017; Huff & Kertzer, 2018). To date, research on terrorism media coverage has not examined differences in the amount of coverage that attacks receive based on the source. As the present study suggests, however, these differences do exist between national and local outlets. When people think about terrorism, events like the Boston Marathon bombing and the Fort Hood shooting are what come to mind. This is not surprising considering that these two incidents received over a quarter of the coverage

in the U.S. over the last decade. Yet, so much is missed. Based on fatalities, there are a few attacks in the dataset that received less coverage than we would expect. Wade Michael Page’s attack on the Sikh Temple in Wisconsin killed 6 people and it only received 2.6% of the total coverage. Frazier Glenn Miller’s attack on a synagogue in Kansas killed 3 people and it only received 2.2% of the coverage. Dylann Roof killed 9 people in an AfricanAmerican church in Charleston and received 5.1% of the coverage. These attacks have two things in common: the perpetrator was a white man and the targets were both religious and minority groups. These instances highlight disparity in media coverage of terrorism.

**Conclusions Limitations and Future Directions** From the present study, we see that characteristics of a terrorist attack and its perpetrator(s) impact the amount of coverage that it receives from media. When something is covered more extensively, it is in the public’s eye more often. This can connote significance and can skew public perceptions. While our findings are clear and robust, they are not without limitation. First, our study is limited to MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 26 print and online media. Since broadcast media has space constraints with air time, it is reasonable to expect that coverage disparities would be further exacerbated in television and radio coverage. To explore this, future research could replicate our project with broadcast coverage. Second, our dataset is limited to the United States so the extent to which our findings are generalizable more broadly is unclear. In the future, we plan to conduct similar analyses in other countries to address concerns with generalizability. Third, we are focused on terrorism and media coverage since 2006. As we have discussed, there are methodological reasons to limit our study of print and online media coverage to this timeframe. Exploring these differences using print media only or using select broadcast media over a longer time-span is another avenue for future research. Finally, some media outlets may selectively cover certain attacks more than others in a way the reflects the ideological perspective of the news organization. If this occurs, we would see uneven coverage of attacks both within and across news sources. In such cases, the source of coverage and select factors of interest (i.e., targeting a minority group) may interact in ways that provide a finer-grained perspective on how particular news organizations cover and label such attacks, rather than the aggregate level of coverage across many news organizations. While this level of analysis is beyond the scope of the current research, it presents an interesting avenue for future research. Beyond just the quantity of coverage, it is also important to analyze the content of what is said. Research on media frames and terrorism reporting tends to focus on a few key events, such as the London and Madrid bombings (Ruigrok & Atteveldt, 2007). Insights derived from such work help us to understand media coverage, but limit our ability to compare how numerous different attacks are framed. Powell (2011) focused on media coverage of 11 terrorist attacks in the US from 9/11 through 2009 and found qualitative differences in how attacks are framed based on the perpetrator’s identity. One of her selection criteria for inclusion, however, is that the attack was reported on as “terrorism” MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 27 in media. However, media might be reticent to use the term “terrorist” to describe



some attackers relative to others, particularly to the extent that the term carries the connotation of making a value judgment (Maguire, 2007). Policy Implications When President Trump asserted that the media does not cover some terrorist attacks enough,<sup>28</sup> he was correct. However, his assertion that attacks by Muslim perpetrators received less coverage is unsubstantiated. All attacks in this study are considered terrorism by experts and should be covered as such. Yet, media do not cover these events equally. Even when controlling for other factors that may impact coverage, attacks perpetrated by Muslim receive a disproportionate amount of media coverage. In the present data, Muslims perpetrated 12.5% of the attacks yet received half of the news coverage. The way in which media frames an issue can impact public perception (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981). Whether the disproportionate coverage is a conscious decision on the part of journalists or not, this stereotyping reinforces cultural narratives about what and who should be feared. By covering terrorist attacks by Muslims dramatically more than other incidents, media frame this type of event as more prevalent. These findings help explain why half of Americans fear that they or someone they know will be a victim of terrorism<sup>29</sup> and implicitly link terrorism and Islam (Saleem & Anderson, 2013). Reality demonstrates, however, that these fears are misplaced. One way to combat misplaced fears about terrorism is to change the public narrative on terrorism to cover attacks more evenly and based on consistently applied criteria. A robust body 28 [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2017/02/06/president-trump-is-now-speculating-that-the-media-is-covering-up-terrorist-attacks/?utm\\_term=.b23ffe5a9113](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2017/02/06/president-trump-is-now-speculating-that-the-media-is-covering-up-terrorist-attacks/?utm_term=.b23ffe5a9113) 29 <http://www.gallup.com/poll/4909/terrorism-united-states.aspx> MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 28 of research shows that media coverage impacts perceptions across a range of issues (Callanan & Rosenberger, 2011; McCarthy et al., 1996; Stack, 2003), including terrorism and security threats (Norris et al., 2003; Slone, 2000). While we see media's impact broadly, this connection is particularly strong for topics with which people lack direct experience (Gerbner, 1998). We see that people think crime rates are going up when the opposite is true, and that media coverage likely drives this incorrect perception. From this, it is reasonable to expect that media coverage of terrorism has a similar impact on the public. When attacks perpetrated by Muslims receive drastically more coverage, audiences may think these attacks are more common and become more afraid of Muslim terrorists. This misperception can create a feedback loop of incorrect information fueling prejudice and discrimination. Moreover, such misperceptions may prevent the acknowledgment and addressing of other pressing security threats that have a factually rooted basis. MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 29 References Adoni, H., & Mane, S. (1984). Media and the Social Construction of Reality toward an Integration of theory and Research. *Communication Research*, 11(3): 323-340. Akbarzadeh, S., & Smith, B. (2005). *The representation of Islam and Muslims in the media*. Clayton, Australia: Monash University Press. Allouche, J., & Lind, J. (2010). *Public attitudes to global uncertainties. A Research Synthesis exploring the trends and gaps in knowledge*. Institute for Development Studies. Altheide, D. L. (1987). Format and symbols in TV

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or CNN) — 9.28 (28.1) 0 0 - 256 Articles Per Incident (from all other media outlets) — 16.8 (36.9) 3 0 - 277 Independent Variables Perpetrator Muslim 12.5% (N=17) — — — Perpetrator & Group Unknown 26.5% (N=36) — — — Perpetrator, Group & Motive Unknown 6.6% (N=9) — — — Perpetrator Arrested 47.1% (N=64) — — — Target LE/Government 20.6% (N=28) — — — Number Killed — 0.7 (2.4) 0 0 - 15 Number Wounded (log) — 0.4 (0.9) 0 0 - 5.0 Signification Date 13.2% (N=18) — — — Target Muslim 15.4% (N=21) — — — Target Minority 33.1% (N=45) — — — MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 35 Table 2. News Coverage by Terrorism Episode (N=136) Model 1 Model 2 Model 3 Model 4 Model 5 Model 6 Perpetrator Muslim 1.96 (0.41) [611%] 1.52 (0.42) [357%] 1.20 (0.39) [233%] 1.14 (0.41) [214%] 1.47 (0.49) [334%] 1.34 (0.47) [283%] Perpetrator Arrested 1.35 (0.27) [287%] 0.85 (0.36) [135%] 0.96 (0.35) [162%] 1.32 (0.32) [273%] 1.40 (0.28) [307%] Target Law Enforcement/ Government 1.13 (0.42) [211%] 0.79 (0.36) [121%] 0.77 (0.38) [116%] 1.04 (0.40) [182%] 0.94 (0.41) [156%] Number Killed 0.38 (0.12) [46%] 0.34 (0.11) [40%] 0.34 (0.13) [41%] 0.39 (0.14) [48%] 0.40 (0.12) [49%] Significant Date 0.14 (0.31) [15%] 0.08 (0.33) [8%] -0.12 (0.34) [-12%] -0.16 (0.35) [-15%] Target Muslim -0.46 (0.31) [-37%] -0.40 (0.37) [-33%] Target Minority -0.42 (0.28) [-35%] -0.53† (0.31) [-41%] Perpetrator & Group Unknown -1.23 (0.44) [-71%] -1.16 (0.45) [-69%] Perpetrator, Group & Motive Unknown -0.21 (3.36) [-19%] -0.30 (0.82) [-26%] AIC 968.9632 923.6827 919.5945 919.0597 928.4819 926.8268 BIC 977.7011 941.1586 945.8084 945.2736 954.6958 953.0407 Negative binomial regression models. Constants not reported. Coefficients are presented with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses. Percent change in expected count reported in brackets. †  $p < 0.10$ .  $p < 0.05$ .  $p < 0.01$ .  $p < 0.001$ . MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 36 Table 3. News Coverage by Terrorism Episode when all GTD Terrorism Criteria Met (N=113) Model 7 Model 8 Model 9 Model 10 Model 11 Model 12 Perpetrator Muslim 2.07 (0.47) [694%] 1.58 (0.40) [384%] 1.29 (0.49) [264%] 1.23 (0.46) [242%] 1.49 (0.47) [344%] 1.38 (0.47) [298%] Perpetrator Arrested 1.28 (0.28) [261%] 0.88 (0.36) [141%] 1.00 (0.40) [172%] 1.23 (0.36) [243%] 1.32 (0.35) [274%] Target Law Enforcement/ Government 0.58 (0.37) [79%] -0.38 (0.40) [46%] 0.37 (0.40) [45%] 0.48 (0.42) [62%] 0.42 (0.41) [52%] Number Killed 0.41 (0.13) [50%] 0.37 (0.12) [45%] 0.38 (0.14) [46%] 0.42 (0.14) [52%] 0.43 (0.14) [53%] Significant Date 0.23 (0.40) [26%] 0.18 (0.40) [19%] 0.11 (0.41) [12%] 0.07 (0.39) [7%] Target Muslim -0.55 (0.36) [-42%] -0.47 (0.49) [-38%] Target Minority -0.51 (0.35) [-40%] -0.58 (0.36) [-44%] Perpetrator & Group Unknown -0.97 (0.42) [-62%] -0.87† (0.47) [-58%] Perpetrator, Group & Motive Unknown 0.05 (6.14) [5%] -0.04 (6.48) [-4%] AIC 797.3354 758.7131 758.2688 757.5781 763.54 761.9215 BIC 805.5176 775.0775 782.8153 782.1246 788.0865 786.468 Negative binomial regression models. Constants not reported. Coefficients are presented with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses. Percent change in expected count reported in brackets. †  $p < 0.10$ .  $p < 0.05$ .  $p < 0.01$ .  $p < 0.001$ . MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 37 Table 4. News Coverage by Terrorism Episode without Boston Bombing or Fort Hood (N=134) Model

13 Model 14 Model 15 Model 16 Model 17 Model 18 Perpetrator Muslim 1.43  
 (0.34) [317%] 1.54 (0.47) [369%] 1.22 (0.50) [239%] 1.16 (0.48) [220%] 1.50  
 (0.51) [348%] 1.38 (0.44) [298%] Perpetrator Arrested 1.35 (0.28) [286%]  
 0.88 (0.36) [142%] 0.99 (0.39) [170%] 1.33 (0.30) [280%] 1.42 (0.29)  
 [314%] Target Law Enforcement/ Government 1.18 (0.39) [224%] 0.86  
 (0.40) [136%] 0.83 (0.36) [130%] 1.09 (0.44) [198%] 1.00 (0.40) [170%] Number  
 Killed 0.42 (0.18) [53%] 0.37 (0.15) [45%] 0.38 (0.15) [46%] 0.43 (0.16) [54%]  
 0.44 (0.16) [55%] Significant Date 0.03 (0.34) [3%] -0.02 (0.33) [-2%] -0.20  
 (0.33) [-18%] -0.23 (0.36) [-21%] Target Muslim -0.45 (0.35) [-36%] -0.40 (0.38)  
 [-33%] Target Minority -0.43 (0.28) [-35%] -0.53† (0.29) [-41%] Perpetrator &  
 Group Unknown -1.16 (0.41) [-69%] -1.09 (0.48) [-66%] Perpetrator,  
 Group & Motive Unknown -0.15 (3.46) [-14%] -0.24 (1.67) [-21%]  
 AIC 934.58 890.3033 886.9415 886.3227 894.95 893.2618 BIC  
 943.2736 907.6904 913.022 912.4033 921.0305 919.3424 Negative  
 binomial regression models. Constants not reported. Coefficients are  
 presented with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses. Percent  
 change in expected count reported in brackets. †  $p < 0.10$ .  $p < 0.05$ .  
 $p < 0.01$ .  $p < 0.001$ . MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 38 Table 5. News Coverage by Terrorism Episode when all GTD  
 Terrorism Criteria Met without Boston Bombing or Fort Hood  
 (N=111) Model 19 Model 20 Model 21 Model 22 Model 23 Model  
 24 Perpetrator Muslim 1.54 (0.38) [366%] 1.62 (0.41) [405%] 1.34  
 (0.49) [284%] 1.28 (0.44) [261%] 1.55 (0.49) [373%] 1.44 (0.48) [324%]  
 Perpetrator Arrested 1.27 (0.31) [257%] 0.91 (0.39) [149%] 1.03 (0.39)  
 [181%] 1.25 (0.34) [250%] 1.34 (0.33) [281%] Target Law Enforcement/  
 Government 0.62† (0.36) [86%] 0.45 (0.42) [56%] 0.43 (0.39) [54%]  
 0.54 (0.41) [72%] 0.47 (0.40) [61%] Number Killed 0.47 (0.17) [60%]  
 0.42 (0.15) [53%] 0.44 (0.15) [55%] 0.48 (0.17) [62%] 0.49 (0.20) [63%]  
 Significant Date 0.14 (0.39) [15%] 0.09 (0.36) [10%] 0.05 (0.39) [5%]  
 0.01 (0.37) [1%] Target Muslim -0.53 (0.38) [-41%] -0.46 (0.40) [-37%]  
 Target Minority -0.52 (0.36) [-40%] -0.58† (0.34) [-44%] Perpetrator  
 & Group Unknown -0.90 (0.44) [-59%] -0.80† (0.43) [-55%] Perpe-  
 trator, Group & Motive Unknown 0.11 (6.62) [12%] 0.02 (6.34) [2%]  
 AIC 762.952 725.4446 725.7583 724.8874 730.2868 728.5586 BIC  
 771.0806 741.7018 750.1441 749.2732 754.6726 752.9444 Negative  
 binomial regression models. Constants not reported. Coefficients are  
 presented with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses. Percent  
 change in expected count reported in brackets. †  $p < 0.10$ .  $p < 0.05$ .  
 $p < 0.01$ .  $p < 0.001$ . MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 39  
 Figure 1. Percent Increase in Coverage by Attack Attributes and  
 Source Type (N=136) MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 40  
 Appendix Table A1. News Coverage by Attack (see Excel spreadsheet)  
 MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 41 Table A2. Descriptive  
 Statistics for Terrorism Episodes when all GTD Terrorism Criteria  
 Met (N=113) Variable Frequency (N) Mean (SD) Median Range  
 Dependent Variable Articles Per Incident — 27.0 (66.8) 3 0 - 460

Articles Per Incident (from NYT, WSJ, WaPo, USA Today, or CNN) — 10.2 (30.5) 0 0 - 256 Articles Per Incident (from all other media outlets) — 16.8 (38.9) 3 0 - 277 Independent Variables Perpetrator Muslim 15.0% (N=17) — — — Perpetrator & Group Unknown 25.7% (N=29) — — — Perpetrator, Group & Motive Unknown 4.4% (N=5) — — — Perpetrator Arrested 45.1% (N=51) — — — Target LE/Government 21.2% (N=24) — — — Number Killed — 0.7 (2.2) 0 0 - 14 Number Wounded (log) — 0.4 (0.8) 0 0 - 4.9 Signification Date 12.4% (N=14) — — — Target Muslim 15.0% (N=17) — — — Target Minority 31.0% (N=35) — — — MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 42 Table A3. News Coverage by Terrorism Episode, with alternative operationalization of casualties (N=136) Model A1 Model A2 Model A3 Model A4 Model A5 Perpetrator Muslim 1.36 (0.44) [290%] 1.10 (0.49) [199%] 1.04 (0.52) [184%] 1.33 (0.52) [280%] 1.22 (0.44) [240%] Perpetrator Arrested 1.35 (0.28) [286%] 0.88 (0.37) [142%] 0.97 (0.33) [164%] 1.33 (0.32) [280%] 1.40 (0.33) [304%] Target Law Enforcement/ Government 1.05 (0.39) [185%] 0.76 (0.36) [113%] 0.73† (0.38) [108%] 0.99 (0.44) [169%] 0.90 (0.40) [145%] Number Killed + Log Wounded 0.31 (0.08) [36%] 0.27 (0.09) [31%] 0.28 (0.08) [32%] 0.31 (0.09) [36%] 0.32 (0.09) [38%] Significant Date 0.07 (0.32) [7%] 0.03 (0.36) [3%] -0.16 (0.39) [-15%] -0.18 (0.32) [-16%] Target Muslim -0.35 (0.32) [-30%] -0.28 (0.41) [-24%] Target Minority -0.35 (0.27) [-29%] -0.44 (0.32) [-36%] Perpetrator & Group Unknown -1.17 (0.41) [-69%] -1.11 (0.49) [-67%] Perpetrator, Group & Motive Unknown -0.15 (4.48) [-14%] -0.24 (2.75) [-21%] AIC 919.5436 916.4742 916.0118 924.7762 923.3711 BIC 937.0196 942.6881 942.2257 950.9901 949.585 Negative binomial regression models. Constants not reported. Coefficients are presented with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses and are in bold if significant. Percent change in expected count reported in brackets. †  $p < 0.10$ .  $p < 0.05$ .  $p < 0.01$ .  $p < 0.001$ . MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 43 Table A4. News Coverage by Terrorism Episode when all GTD Terrorism Criteria Met, with alternative operationalization of casualties (N=113) Model A6 Model A7 Model A8 Model A9 Model A10 Perpetrator Muslim 1.46 (0.45) [332%] 1.22 (0.47) [237%] 1.18 (0.46) [226%] 1.40 (0.43) [305%] 1.32 (0.46) [276%] Perpetrator Arrested 1.28 (0.32) [261%] 0.91 (0.38) [148%] 1.01 (0.37) [174%] 1.25 (0.34) [247%] 1.32 (0.35) [274%] Target Law Enforcement/ Government 0.44 (0.35) [55%] 0.28 (0.37) [32%] 0.29 (0.37) [33%] 0.35 (0.36) [42%] 0.32 (0.36) [38%] Number Killed + Log Wounded 0.34 (0.08) [40%] 0.31 (0.09) [36%] 0.31 (0.08) [37%] 0.34 (0.09) [41%] 0.35 (0.10) [42%] Significant Date 0.20 (0.41) [22%] 0.14 (0.38) [16%] 0.12 (0.38) [12%] 0.08 (0.38) [8%] Target Muslim -0.47 (0.39) [-38%] -0.39 (0.43) [-32%] Target Minority -0.37 (0.36) [-31%] -0.43 (0.34) [-35%] Perpetrator & Group Unknown -0.90 (0.44) [-60%] -0.83† (0.49) [-56%] Perpetrator, Group & Motive Unknown 0.08 (7.31) [9%] 0.03 (7.03) [3%] AIC 753.8595 754.2013 754.1748 758.9512 758.1872 BIC 770.2238 778.7478 778.7213 783.4977 782.7337 Negative binomial regression models. Constants

not reported. Coefficients are presented with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses and are in bold if significant. Percent change in expected count reported in brackets. †  $p < 0.10$ .  $p < 0.05$ .  $p < 0.01$ .  $p < 0.001$ . MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 44 Table A5. News Coverage by Terrorism Episode without Boston Bombing or Fort Hood, with alternative operationalization of casualties ( $N=134$ ) Model A11 Model A12 Model A13 Model A14 Model A15 Perpetrator Muslim 1.45 (0.52) [326%] 1.18 (0.50) [225%] 1.13 (0.49) [208%] 1.42 (0.45) [313%] 1.30 (0.49) [269%] Perpetrator Arrested 1.36 (0.31) [291%] 0.93 (0.35) [153%] 1.02 (0.40) [176%] 1.36 (0.31) [288%] 1.42 (0.31) [314%] Target Law Enforcement/ Government 1.06 (0.44) [190%] 0.80 (0.35) [122%] 0.76 (0.36) [115%] 1.01 (0.41) [174%] 0.90† (0.47) [147%] Number Killed + Log Wounded 0.36 (0.11) [43%] 0.31 (0.10) [37%] 0.32 (0.11) [38%] 0.36 (0.11) [43%] 0.37 (0.11) [45%] Significant Date 0.05 (0.34) [5%] 0.01 (0.34) [1%] -0.16 (0.39) [-14%] -0.17 (0.33) [-16%] Target Muslim -0.35 (0.34) [-29%] -0.29 (0.35) [-25%] Target Minority -0.37 (0.29) [-31%] -0.47 (0.33) [-37%] Perpetrator & Group Unknown -1.09 (0.43) [-66%] -1.02 (0.48) [-64%] Perpetrator, Group & Motive Unknown -0.09 (1.67) [-9%] -0.19 (3.67) [-17%] AIC 886.2738 884.312 883.6645 891.5244 889.9159 BIC 903.6608 910.3925 909.7451 917.6049 915.9964 Negative binomial regression models. Constants not reported. Coefficients are presented with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses and are in bold if significant. Percent change in expected count reported in brackets. †  $p < 0.10$ .  $p < 0.05$ .  $p < 0.01$ .  $p < 0.001$ . MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 45 Table A6. News Coverage by Terrorism Episode when all GTD Terrorism Criteria Met without Boston Bombing or Fort Hood, with alternative operationalization of casualties ( $N=111$ ) Model A16 Model A17 Model A18 Model A19 Model A20 Perpetrator Muslim 1.56 (0.48) [376%] 1.33 (0.47) [276%] 1.28 (0.52) [261%] 1.50 (0.54) [347%] 1.42 (0.45) [313%] Perpetrator Arrested 1.29 (0.31) [263%] 0.95 (0.36) [159%] 1.05 (0.43) [187%] 1.26 (0.33) [253%] 1.34 (0.37) [280%] Target Law Enforcement/ Government 0.42 (0.34) [52%] 0.27 (0.37) [32%] 0.27 (0.40) [32%] 0.34 (0.38) [40%] 0.30 (0.35) [35%] Number Killed + Log Wounded 0.41 (0.10) [50%] 0.37 (0.11) [45%] 0.38 (0.09) [46%] 0.41 (0.11) [51%] 0.42 (0.10) [52%] Significant Date 0.21 (0.40) [23%] 0.16 (0.39) [17%] 0.14 (0.42) [16%] 0.11 (0.44) [11%] Target Muslim -0.46 (0.39) [-37%] -0.39 (0.46) [-32%] Target Minority -0.39 (0.35) [-32%] -0.45 (0.39) [-36%] Perpetrator & Group Unknown -0.80† (0.47) [-55%] -0.72 (0.45) [-52%] Perpetrator, Group & Motive Unknown 0.15 (6.93) [16%] 0.09 (7.21) [10%] AIC 720.2493 721.4975 721.2439 725.2698 724.3359 BIC 736.5065 745.8833 745.6297 749.6556 748.7217 Negative binomial regression models. Constants not reported. Coefficients are presented with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses and are in bold if significant. Percent change in expected count reported in brackets. †  $p < 0.10$ .  $p < 0.05$ .  $p < 0.01$ .  $p < 0.001$ . MEDIA COVERAGE OF



**TERRORISM 46 Table A7. News Coverage by Terrorism Episode, including measure for known group affiliation (N=136) Model A21 Model A22 Model A23 Model A24 Model A25 Perpetrator Muslim**  
**1.55 (0.42) [370%] 1.32 (0.51) [273%] 1.24 (0.52) [246%] 1.50 (0.48) [349%]**  
**1.38 (0.44) [297%] Perpetrator Arrested 1.36 (0.27) [289%] 0.84 (0.36)**  
**[131%] 0.96 (0.32) [162%] 1.32 (0.31) [273%] 1.42 (0.32) [312%] Target**  
**Law Enforcement/ Government 1.12 (0.39) [207%] 0.70† (0.38) [102%]**  
**0.69† (0.39) [99%] 1.00 (0.45) [172%] 0.89 (0.40) [144%] Number**  
**Killed 0.37 (0.13) [45%] 0.31 (0.13) [36%] 0.32 (0.10) [37%] 0.38 (0.13)**  
**[46%] 0.39 (0.13) [47%] Known Group -0.13 (0.36) [-12%] -0.49 (0.41)**  
**[-39%] -0.47 (0.41) [-38%] -0.20 (0.35) [-18%] -0.26 (0.37) [-23%]**  
**Significant Date 0.18 (0.35) [19%] 0.11 (0.41) [11%] -0.10 (0.40)**  
**[-10%] -0.15 (0.32) [-14%] Target Muslim -0.53† (0.32) [-41%] -0.44**  
**(0.42) [-36%] Target Minority -0.47† (0.27) [-37%] -0.57† (0.33) [-44%]**  
**Perpetrator & Group Unknown -1.34 (0.42) [-74%] -1.25 (0.52) [-72%]**  
**Perpetrator, Group & Motive Unknown -0.26 (3.54) [-23%] -0.36 (2.78) [-31%]**  
**AIC 925.5687 920.126 919.6467 930.2168 928.4033 BIC 945.9572 949.2525**  
**948.7733 959.3434 957.5298 Negative binomial regression models. Constants**  
**not reported. Coefficients are presented with bootstrapped standard errors in**  
**parentheses and are in bold if significant. Percent change in expected count**  
**reported in brackets. † p < 0.10. p < 0.05. p < 0.01. p < 0.001. 3 MEDIA**  
**COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 47 Table A8. News Coverage by Terrorism**  
**Episode when all GTD Terrorism Criteria Met, including measure for known**  
**group affiliation (N=113) Model A26 Model A27 Model A28 Model A29 Model**  
**A30 Perpetrator Muslim 1.60 (0.41) [394%] 1.37 (0.49) [292%] 1.29 (0.45)**  
**[263%] 1.52 (0.52) [355%] 1.40 (0.50) [307%] Perpetrator Arrested 1.29**  
**(0.33) [264%] 0.87 (0.35) [138%] 1.01 (0.34) [174%] 1.24 (0.34) [244%] 1.34**  
**(0.33) [280%] Target Law Enforcement/ Government 0.57 (0.38)**  
**[77%] 0.30 (0.39) [35%] 0.31 (0.39) [36%] 0.45 (0.40) [57%] 0.38 (0.39)**  
**[47%] Number Killed 0.40 (0.14) [49%] 0.34 (0.12) [40%] 0.35 (0.12)**  
**[42%] 0.41 (0.14) [50%] 0.42 (0.13) [52%] Known Group -0.11 (0.33) [-11%]**  
**-0.45 (0.42) [-36%] -0.40 (0.36) [-33%] -0.19 (0.40) [-17%] -0.21 (0.41) [-19%]**  
**Significant Date 0.27 (0.39) [30%] 0.19 (0.36) [21%] 0.13 (0.42) [13%] 0.07 (0.43)**  
**[8%] Target Muslim -0.64 (0.40) [-47%] -0.51 (0.47) [-40%] Target Minority -0.54**  
**(0.33) [-42%] -0.61† (0.37) [-46%] Perpetrator & Group Unknown -1.09 (0.50)**  
**[-66%] -0.97 (0.46) [-62%] Perpetrator, Group & Motive Unknown -0.004 (6.11)**  
**[-0.4%] -0.09 (7.09) [-9%] AIC 760.6306 759.0815 758.5581 765.3155 763.6192**  
**BIC 779.7223 786.3554 785.832 792.5894 790.893 Negative binomial regression**  
**models. Constants not reported. Coefficients are presented with bootstrapped**  
**standard errors in parentheses and are in bold if significant. Percent change in**  
**expected count reported in brackets. † p < 0.10. p < 0.05. p < 0.01. p <**  
**0.001. MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 48 Table A9. News Coverage**  
**by Terrorism Episode without Boston Bombing or Fort Hood, including**  
**measure for known group affiliation (N=134) Model A31 Model A32 Model**  
**A33 Model A34 Model A35 Perpetrator Muslim 1.57 (0.46) [380%] 1.34**  
**(0.62) [281%] 1.27 (0.54) [254%] 1.53 (0.58) [363%] 1.42 (0.53) [313%]**

**Perpetrator Arrested 1.36 (0.27) [288%] 0.87 (0.37) [139%] 1.00 (0.37) [171%] 1.33 (0.31) [280%] 1.43 (0.31) [319%]** **Target Law Enforcement/ Government 1.17 (0.39) [221%] 0.78 (0.37) [118%] 0.76† (0.40) [114%] 1.06 (0.44) [190%] 0.95 (0.40) [159%]** *Number Killed 0.42 (0.16) [52%] 0.35 (0.12) [42%] 0.36 (0.14) [43%] 0.42 (0.17) [53%] 0.43 (0.16) [54%]* *Known Group -0.09 (0.38) [-9%] -0.43 (0.43) [-35%] -0.42 (0.40) [-34%] -0.16 (0.39) [-14%] -0.22 (0.42) [-19%]* *Significant Date 0.09 (0.38) [9%] 0.02 (0.36) [2%] -0.18 (0.36) [-16%] -0.21 (0.36) [-19%]* *Target Muslim -0.52† (0.30) [-41%] -0.43 (0.40) [-35%]* *Target Minority -0.47 (0.30) [-38%] -0.57† (0.30) [-44%]* *Perpetrator & Group Unknown -1.26 (0.48) [-72%] -1.18 (0.45) [-69%]* *Perpetrator, Group & Motive Unknown -0.19 (2.81) [-17%] -0.29 (2.40) [-25%]* *AIC 892.245 887.8346 887.2319 896.7967 894.9642 BIC 912.5299 916.813 916.2103 925.7751 923.9426* *Negative binomial regression models. Constants not reported. Coefficients are presented with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses and are in bold if significant. Percent change in expected count reported in brackets. † p < 0.10. p < 0.05. p < 0.01. p < 0.001. MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 49* *Table A10. News Coverage by Terrorism Episode when all GTD Terrorism Criteria Met without Boston Bombing or Fort Hood, including measure for known group affiliation (N=111)* *Model A36 Model A37 Model A38 Model A39 Model A40* *Perpetrator Muslim 1.63 (0.51) [412%] 1.41 (0.53) [311%] 1.34 (0.55) [282%] 1.58 (0.48) [383%] 1.46 (0.50) [333%]* *Perpetrator Arrested 1.28 (0.34) [259%] 0.90 (0.35) [147%] 1.04 (0.37) [184%] 1.26 (0.36) [251%] 1.35 (0.33) [286%]* *Target Law Enforcement/ Government 0.62 (0.40) [85%] 0.38 (0.41) [46%] 0.38 (0.39) [46%] 0.52 (0.43) [68%] 0.44 (0.42) [56%]* *Number Killed 0.47 (0.16) [60%] 0.40 (0.15) [49%] 0.42 (0.16) [52%] 0.47 (0.17) [60%] 0.48 (0.21) [62%]* *Known Group -0.07 (0.37) [-6%] -0.38 (0.47) [-32%] -0.35 (0.42) [-29%] -0.14 (0.44) [-13%] -0.18 (0.42) [-16%]* *Significant Date 0.18 (0.47) [20%] 0.12 (0.41) [13%] 0.06 (0.41) [6%] 0.02 (0.38) [2%]* *Target Muslim -0.61 (0.42) [-46%] -0.49 (0.50) [-39%]* *Target Minority -0.55 (0.36) [-43%] -0.62† (0.37) [-46%]* *Perpetrator & Group Unknown -1.00 (0.47) [-63%] -0.88† (0.47) [-59%]* *Perpetrator, Group & Motive Unknown 0.07 (7.08) [8%] -0.03 (6.51) [-3%]* *AIC 727.4156 726.8947 726.1247 732.1616 730.3527 BIC 746.3823 753.99 753.22 759.2569 757.448* *Negative binomial regression models. Constants not reported. Coefficients are presented with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses and are in bold if significant. Percent change in expected count reported in brackets. † p < 0.10. p < 0.05. p < 0.01. p < 0.001. MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 50* *Table A11. News Coverage by Terrorism Episode – Comparing Major and Non-Major Media outlets (N=136)* *Model A41 Model A42 Model A43 Model A44 Model A45* *Major NonMajor Major NonMajor Major NonMajor Major NonMajor Major NonMajor Perp. Muslim 2.15 (0.53) [758%] 1.19 (0.38) [228%] 1.92 (0.51) [579%] 0.89 (0.36) [144%] 1.96 (0.58) [611%]*



(0.55) [-32%] -0.54 (0.35) [-42%] -0.50 (0.55) [-39%] -0.61† (0.36) [-46%] Perp. & Group Unknown -1.08 (0.51) [-66%] -0.94 (0.43) [-61%] -0.92 (0.61) [-60%] -0.88† (0.46) [-58%] Perp., Group & Motive Unknown 0.16 (6.88) [17%] -0.02 (5.69) [-2%] 0.17 (6.01) [19%] -0.14 (5.99) [-13%] AIC 498.871 694.514 498.406 694.780 500.815 692.912 501.890 699.816 503.288 697.297 BIC 515.236 710.878 522.953 719.326 525.362 717.459 526.437 724.362 527.834 721.843 Negative binomial regression models. Constants not reported. Coefficients are presented with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses. Percent change in expected count reported in brackets. †  $p < 0.10$ .  $p < 0.05$ .  $p < 0.01$ .  $p < 0.001$ . MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 52 Table A13. News Coverage by Terrorism Episode without Boston Bombing or Fort Hood – Comparing Major and Non-Major Media outlets (N=134) Model A51 Model A52 Model A53 Model A54 Model A55 Major NonMajor Major NonMajor Major NonMajor Major NonMajor Major NonMajor Perp. Muslim 2.22 (0.62) [816%] 1.21 (0.41) [237%] 1.95 (0.75) [603%] 0.92 (0.46) [150%] 1.99 (0.64) [633%] 0.83† (0.45) [130%] 2.26 (0.65) [854%] 1.16 (0.48) [219%] 2.20 (0.55) [805%] 1.03 (0.42) [180%] Perp. Arrested 1.39 (0.38) [302%] 1.33 (0.28) [277%] 1.03 (0.42) [181%] 0.85 (0.36) [133%] 1.09 (0.44) [199%] 0.95 (0.40) [159%] 1.45 (0.38) [327%] 1.29 (0.30) [264%] 1.51 (0.39) [355%] 1.37 (0.29) [295%] Target LE/ Gvmt 1.11 (0.42) [204%] 1.19 (0.40) [229%] 0.82† (0.44) [128%] 0.88 (0.40) [140%] 0.86 (0.39) [136%] 0.83 (0.37) [129%] 1.03 (0.44) [180%] 1.11 (0.45) [202%] 0.99 (0.45) [168%] 0.99 (0.41) [169%] Number Killed 0.55 (0.23) [73%] 0.37 (0.17) [45%] 0.47 (0.21) [60%] 0.33 (0.14) [39%] 0.47 (0.21) [60%] 0.34 (0.14) [40%] 0.54 (0.21) [72%] 0.38 (0.15) [47%] 0.54 (0.21) [72%] 0.39 (0.14) [48%] Sig. Date -0.47 (0.64) [-38%] 0.12 (0.35) [13%] -0.56 (0.59) [-43%] 0.07 (0.34) [7%] -0.66 (0.63) [-48%] -0.10 (0.34) [-10%] -0.72 (0.76) [-51%] -0.13 (0.35) [-12%] Target Muslim -0.63 (0.51) [-47%] -0.37 (0.36) [-31%] -0.60 (0.51) [-45%] -0.33 (0.40) [-28%] Target Minority -0.26 (0.46) [-23%] -0.46 (0.29) [-37%] -0.43 (0.45) [-35%] -0.55† (0.29) [-43%] Perp. & Group Unknown -1.27 (0.54) [-72%] -1.15 (0.42) [-68%] -1.18† (0.61) [-69%] -1.09 (0.49) [-67%] Perp., Group & Motive Unknown -0.25 (4.46) [-22%] -0.18 (3.04) [-17%] -0.29 (5.37) [-26%] -0.29 (1.55) [-25%] AIC 560.702 822.478 558.689 819.829 559.748 818.457 563.667 827.640 563.904 825.405 BIC 578.089 839.865 584.769 845.909 585.828 844.537 589.748 853.720 589.985 851.485 Negative binomial regression models. Constants not reported. Coefficients are presented with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses. Percent change in expected count reported in brackets. †  $p < 0.10$ .  $p < 0.05$ .  $p < 0.01$ .  $p < 0.001$ . MEDIA COVERAGE OF TERRORISM 53 Table A14. News Coverage by Terrorism Episode when all GTD Terrorism Criteria Met without Boston Bombing or Fort Hood – Comparing Major and Non-Major Media outlets (N=131) Model A56 Model A57 Model A58 Model A59 Model A60 Major NonMajor Major NonMajor Major NonMajor Major NonMajor Major NonMajor Major NonMajor Perp. Muslim 2.20 (0.52) [804%] 1.32 (0.37) [274%] 1.89

(0.61) [560%] 1.08 (0.47) [194%] 1.95 (0.56) [600%] 0.98 (0.41)  
 [167%] 2.14 (0.69) [750%] 1.26 (0.43) [254%] 2.13 (0.61) [739%] 1.13  
 (0.45) [208%] Perp. Arrested 1.29 (0.41) [264%] 1.26 (0.32) [252%]  
 0.98 (0.45) [167%] 0.89 (0.38) [145%] 1.11 (0.44) [205%] 0.99 (0.39)  
 [169%] 1.35 (0.42) [286%] 1.21 (0.34) [236%] 1.44 (0.44) [324%] 1.28\*  
 (0.33) [260%] Target LE/ Gvmt 0.48 (0.42) [62%] 0.65† (0.37) [92%]  
 0.26 (0.46) [30%] 0.49 (0.42) [63%] 0.34 (0.45) [40%] 0.43 (0.39) [54%]  
 0.40 (0.47) [50%] 0.57 (0.42) [76%] 0.43 (0.52) [53%] 0.46 (0.39) [59%]  
 Number Killed 0.58 (0.22) [78%] 0.43 (0.16) [53%] 0.52 (0.18) [68%] 0.38  
 (0.15) [47%] 0.53 (0.21) [70%] 0.40 (0.14) [49%] 0.59 (0.21) [80%]  
 0.44 (0.16) [55%] 0.59 (0.30) [81%] 0.45 (0.17) [56%] Sig. Date  
 -0.08 (2.22) [-8%] 0.21 (0.40) [24%] -0.25 (2.05) [-22%] 0.18 (0.37)  
 [20%] -0.22 (0.77) [-20%] 0.14 (0.39) [15%] -0.36 (0.64) [-30%] 0.12  
 (0.38) [12%] Target Muslim -1.06 (1.16) [-65%] -0.37 (0.39) [-31%]  
 -0.97† (0.52) [-62 %] -0.32 (0.42) [-28%] Target Minority -0.40  
 (0.53) [-33%] -0.56 (0.37) [-43%] -0.50 (0.53) [-39%] -0.62† (0.36)  
 [-46%] Perp. & Group Unknown -0.98 (0.49) [-63%] -0.88† (0.47)  
 [-58%] -0.83 (0.53) [-56%] -0.81† (0.45) [-55%] Perp., Group & Motive  
 Unknown 0.24 (6.77) [28%] 0.04 (6.55) [4%] 0.25 (6.81) [29%] -0.09  
 (6.25) [-8%] AIC 468.252 664.330 468.275 665.400 470.483 663.400  
 471.101 669.703 472.411 667.092 BIC 484.509 680.587 492.661  
 689.786 494.869 687.785 495.487 694.088 496.797 691.478 Negative  
 binomial regression models. Constants not reported. Coefficients  
 are presented with bootstrapped standard errors in parentheses.  
 Percent change in expected count reported in brackets. †  $p < 0.10$ .  
 $p < 0.05$ .  $p < 0.01$ .  $p < 0.001$ .