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The different dimensions of risk perception: The role of individual traits and watching TV

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The goal of this study was to investigate the relation between watching various types of TV programs and risk perception. Because risk perception is a complex phenomenon, we focused also on the role of personal (gender, educational level, personality) and contextual characteristics (living in a large, mid-sized, or small city) in the development of social concerns. A self-reported pen and paper questionnaire was administered to 316 Italian adults. We conducted an exploratory factor analysis to identify different groups of perceived risk causes, which revealed three factors: Violence, Politics and Economy, and Environment. We verified the relations among factors of risk perception, TV genres, and personal dimensions via structural equation modelling. Viewing News and Public Affairs was positively related to all dimensions; Films and TV series were positively related to Violence, and Reality and Variety Shows is not related to any factor of risk perception. Educational level was negatively related to all risk perception factors and to watching Reality and Variety Shows. Neuroticism was positively associated with Violence and Politics and Economy, whereas living in a large city was negatively related to Violence.

Key words: Risk perception, Television programs, Insecurity, Personality, Structural equation modeling

Highlights:

- The study assessed the relation between watching various types of TV programs and risk perception.
- 316 adults (aged 18 to 69 years) living in a large, mid-sized or small city participated in the study.
- Three dimensions of risk perception were identified: Violence, Politics and Economy, and Environment.
- TV exposure increased all types of risk perception.
- TV plays different roles depending on the genres of TV programs that affect the dimensions of risk perception in different ways.

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Risk is "a situation or an event where something of human value (including humans themselves) is at stake and where the outcome is uncertain" (Rosa, 2003, p. 56). Over the centuries, the constellation of factors promoting risk perception and identifying insecurity appear to have changed. At present, health, environmental, financial, and technological risks, often broadened by mass media, pervade our existence and engender great cause for concern, negative emotions, and feelings of insecurity (Savadori & Rumiati, 2005). Perceiving the world as a dangerous place and experiencing feelings of insecurity because of hidden dangers are the outcomes of global and social issues (e.g., terrorist attacks, global warming, new waves of immigration, economic downturn, a potential flu pandemic, etc.) and personal psychological traits. Some researchers believe that contemporary social concerns, their essence and extent, are different from that of the past because, currently, threats take many forms and appear to reside everywhere (Altheide, 2002). Because of the peculiarities characterizing contemporary social concerns, an effort to understand their characteristics must involve not only their quantity but also their quality and meaning. Both personal and social dimensions play a role in perceiving risks and effects of these many and varied hazards. Specifically, if dispositional characteristics affect one's perception of risk and determine what causes concern, social norms determine how we address and display our emotions and influence the manner in which we assess hazards. Now more than ever, cultural outlook, as well as personal experience, are relevant dimensions in this process (Wang, 2017). The past decades have witnessed a large amount of empirical studies that have provided strong empirical evidence in support of the role of mass media in shaping collective perceptions and emotions (see Potter & Riddle, 2007). A rich body of literature in psychology, sociology, communication, and other fields of social sciences has demonstrated the effect of media use on fears about the social world (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, Signorielli, & Shanahan, 2002), political behavior (Graber, 2002), and a wide range of other effects (see Bryant & Zillman, 2002). As many scholars (Altheide, 2007; Furedi, 2007; Weitzer & Kubrin, 2004) have noted, among social factors, mass media have a powerful and pervasive effect, framing what people learn about the world and creating modern history. As well as the strong relevance of the mass media on perceiving and interpreting social world, the literature has also shown that the array of television genres variously contributes to the manner in which people construe social reality (Gattino & Tartaglia, 2015). Therefore, we sought to extend current knowledge of the association between watching TV and risk perception by examining various types of television programs that may contribute to this process. To better understand the complexity of risk perception, in this study, we also focus on the role of personal (i.e., gender, educational level, personality) and contextual characteristics (i.e., living in a large, mid-sized, small city, or a village) in the development of social concerns.

Mass Media and Risk Perception

The term *mass media* includes an extensive range of media, from the press (e.g., newspapers and magazines) to broadcast media (e.g., television and radio) to new electronic media (e.g., the Internet, videogames, etc.). Each medium can affect the manner in which we see the world and influences individuals' perceptions of reality (Callanan, 2012), and all media merit close examination. However, this study focuses on television (TV). We chose this specific medium because television is still the primary outlet for entertainment and news and because TV has come to be the nation's primary storyteller (Signorielli, 2001). The spread of internet access changed the TV viewing but did not replace it (Given, 2016; Wolff, 2015). The internet video services serve up a specific form of television. The new smart TV allows viewing these services at home together with traditional television networks.

It is generally accepted in social sciences that viewing television is related to people's perceptions of social context (Shrum, 2001). Specifically, that there is a relation between TV viewing and a conception of the world as a scary place has been well documented (Altheide, 2007; Callanan, 2012; Gunter, 1987). What is disputed is the nature of this relation. The recent media effects theories maintain that this relation is complex and multidirectional (Slater, 2007; Valkenburg, & Peter, 2013). Dispositional, social, and developmental variables may directly influence the media use and indirectly the people's response to media contents determining media effects. Finally, media effects may influence the media use by reinforcing it. For these reasons, it is necessary to investigate the media effects process assessing the effects of nonmedia variables too, i.e., individual-difference variables, social context (Valkenburg & Peter, 2013).

TV audience reception research has suggested that diverse audience types may receive and decode messages in different manners and affect the interpretation of those messages (e.g., Altheide, 2007; Eschholz et al., 2003). These studies suggested that audiences model reception of TV messages and, as Altheide (2007) stated: "While one message may produce fear in certain types of individuals, it may actually be comforting to others" (p. 43). Therefore, personal dimensions are also relevant to the manner in which audiences choose TV genres and internalize the messages: individuals who share common features (e.g., gender, educational level, core personality traits) may be more likely to understand TV messages in a comparable manner. The educational level is associated with watching different TV programs (Gattino & Tartaglia, 2015). Specifically, scholars pointed out that more education increased the frequency of watching news and public affairs programs and a low educational level increased the viewing of reality and variety shows (Gattino & Tartaglia, 2015). Finally, although social concerns are multifaceted, the literature has primarily investigated the connection between TV consumption and fear of crime (Callanan, 2012; Chiricos, Padgett, & Gertz, 2000; Eschholz, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2003; Weitzer & Kubrin, 2004) and has consistently observed that TV plays a key role in promoting fear. In this study, we examine the relation among viewing different TV genres and fear of crime and social concerns across various fields.

Individual Differences, Contextual Dimensions, and Social Concerns

Studies have produced copious evidence showing that individual differences are related to people evaluation of different hazards (Chauvin, Hermand, & Mullet, 2007; Klama & Egan, 2011; Mueller & Roeder, 2014; Sjöberg, 2000; Sjöberg, 2003; Sjöberg & Wahlberg, 2002). Among personal dimensions, personal traits play a key role. The psychological literature has observed consistent results regarding the link between individual differences variables and risk perception (Bouyer, Bagdassarian, Chaabane, & Mullet, 2001; Chauvin et al., 2007; Sjöberg, 2003). In particular, many studies have highlighted a consistent association between high levels of neuroticism (one dimension of the five-factor model of personality) and an increase in such feelings as fear, concern, anxiety, and poor impulse control (Lauterbach & Vrana, 2001; Leary & Hoyle, 2009; Minnebo, Eggermont, & Vandenbosch, 2014). People who score high on neuroticism are more likely to react inadequately to environmental stress, to interpret normal situations as threatening and can experience minor frustrations as completely devastating.

Another factor affecting how people perceive social hazards is gender. As Leary and Hoyle (2009) noted, "although not a 'personality' attribute per se, gender is certainly [a] potent individual-difference variable that relates to a wide array of socially relevant thoughts, emotions and behaviors" (p. 3). In this regard, many studies have noted that in most situations, women generally claim to be more concerned and insecure than men (Braungart & Hoyer, 1980; Mueller & Roeder, 2014; Gilchrist, Bannister, Ditton, & Farrall, 1998). Educational level also affects how people perceive their social context. As has been thoroughly reported (Foster & Giles-Corti, 2008; Hale, 1996), certain socio-demographic groups tend to be more concerned with social risks because these groups perceive themselves to be more vulnerable. People with lower educational attainments and fewer socioeconomic resources tend to be less informed about the world (Morrone, 2008; Censis, 2011) and have limited defensive resources. Living in conditions of cultural and material deprivation fosters an increase in personal concern regarding various social hazards. An additional factor that can affect feelings of concern is the dimension of the place in which one lives. The fear of crime, for example, is higher in larger cities than in smaller cities because larger cities have higher crime rates (Amerio & Roccato, 2005). In any case, the manner in which people react to crime is a complex process related to more than their knowledge of crime rates (Warr, 1995). Since the classical work of Furstenberg (1971), the literature has distinguished two psychological reactions to crime: the fear of crime, defined as a sensation of anxiety for one's own safety, and concern about crime as a social problem. The former is affected by direct experience, crime rates, and urbanization; the latter is primarily associated to media exposure. In a previous study in Italy, concern regarding crime was not related to living in big cities although the fear was related to city living (Amerio & Roccato, 2005).

The Current Study

Previous research has extensively examined the relation among TV messages and fear of crime and areas such as environmental concern (Holbert, Kwak, & Shah, 2003; Weitzer & Kubrin, 2004; Shanahan, Morgan, & Stenbjerre, 1997; Wang, 2017); to our knowledge, however, no study to date has investigated

the association between different TV genres (films, news, entertainment) and social concerns in various areas simultaneously. To fill this gap, we examined whether viewing different TV genres may be related to one's perception of various social concerns. Because of the relevance of personal characteristics of audiences, we investigated the role of personal and social factors as well.

We conducted the analysis in two steps. The first step was exploratory, identifying the primary dimensions grouping different risk perceptions. The second step tested the relations between TV genres, personal and social factors one side and risk perception dimensions on the other.

We expected the following: 1) The exposure to different TV genres would be related to risk perception dimensions; 2) Having a higher level of education would be negatively related to risk perception dimensions (Foster & Giles-Corti, 2008; Hale, 1996) and TV consumption (Gattino & Tartaglia 2015); 3) Neuroticism would be positively related to the perception of personal risk, i.e., personal aggression or criminality (Leary & Hoyle, 2009; Minnebo et al., 2014); 4) Living in a large city would be related to the risk perception concerning criminality (Amerio & Roccato, 2005).

Method

Procedure

We recruited participants for this study in Italian cities of various sizes using a snowball sampling method. Although the sampling technique was not purely random, every attempt was made to access a wide range of respondents in terms of age, gender, educational level, and occupational status. We contacted participants directly at home using personal contacts.

Participants

This study included 316 adults (39.6% males, 60.4% females; age range 18–69 years, M = 43.97, SD = 12.80). Regarding education, 35.2% were college graduates, 44.8% were high school graduates, and 20.0% had an educational level lower than high school. Of the respondents, 28.5% had never been married, 62.3% were married, 6.7% were divorced, and 2.6% were widowed. With regard to occupational status, 78.5% were working, 5.8% were retired, 11.3% were unemployed, and 4.5% were housewives; 25.9% lived in a large city (> 100,000 inhabitants), 22.8% in a big city (30,000–100,000 inhabitants), 37.7% lived in a mid-sized city (10,000–30,000 inhabitants), and 13.6% lived in a small town (< 10,000 inhabitants).

Measures

We collected the data by means of a self-reported pen and paper questionnaire. The questionnaire took approximately 20 minutes to complete. The anonymity of respondents was guaranteed. The instrument included different sets of indicators:

Risk Perception. A list of 14 possible risk causes concerning various types of events: crime related (e.g., organized crime), economic issues (e.g., loss of job), environmental issues (e.g., global warming), and other events (e.g., war). For each item, participants were requested to rate the degree to which the respondent was worried about a specific event on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from *not worried at all* (1) to *very worried* (5).

TV genres. Seven items investigated how frequently participants watched various types of television programs (Gattino & Tartaglia, 2015). Following the authors of the instrument

indications we aggregated the items into three primary TV genres, namely Reality and Variety Shows (two items), News and Public Affairs (three items: i.e., politics, news, and documentaries), and Films and TV series (two items). Participants rated the frequency of viewing each type of program on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from *never* (1) to *often* (5).

Neuroticism. A single item used the Bipolar Response Scale (Woods & Hampson, 2005). The item comprises two opposing descriptions representing the poles of the Big Five factor. A nine-point scale was situated between the two descriptions. We requested that participants indicate the extent to which one pole or the other best described them.

A list of sociodemographic items. Data were collected on participant age, gender, marital status, educational level and occupational status. Participants were asked to indicate the number of inhabitants of the place where they live to differentiate between little versus large town

Data Analysis

We conducted an exploratory factor analysis to identify different causes of risk (maximum likelihood, Oblimin rotation). We used a parallel analysis to determine the number of factors to retain. Finally, we verified the hypothesized relations via structural equation modelling using AMOS software 20 (Arbuckle, 2011).

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 shows the mean score of worry for each cause of risk. The most worrisome event for participants was the economic crisis, followed by contaminated food, the loss of jobs, and air pollution. The less worrisome items were homicides, wars, and terrorism. Table 2 shows means and standard deviations of watching different TV programs. News and Films were the most viewed whereas Reality shows was the less viewed TV genre. The mean score of Neuroticism was 6.52 (SD = 2.38).

Table 1

	Mean	SD
Economic crisis	4.08	.97
Contaminated food	4.04	1.00
Loss of job	3.87	1.20
Air pollution	3.84	1.05
Political instability	3.75	1.21
Global warming	3.72	1.05
Thefts and robberies	3.70	1.04
Organized crime	3.63	1.13
Migration flows	3.58	1.34
Melting of the glaciers	3.49	1.18
Political crisis	3.48	1.26
Terrorism	3.46	1.18
War	3.40	1.23
Homicides	3.33	1.26

	Mean	SD
Variety Shows	2.49	1.23
Reality Shows	1.74	1.14
Documentaries	2.98	1.27
News	3.73	1.25
Politics	2.63	1.31
Films	3.72	1.16
TV Series	2.82	1.43

Table 2TV genres: Descriptive statistics

The Dimensions of Risk Perception

To determine the number of factors of risk perception we performed a parallel analysis based on simulations of 1000 samples following the procedure of O'Connor (2000). Because the first three eigenvalues exceeded their respective upper 95th percentile, we extracted three factors accounting for 65.02% of the variance. The structure was easily interpretable after rotation (see Table 3). On the basis of item loadings, we labeled the three factors Politics and Economy, Environment, and Violence.

	Politics and Economy	Environment	Violence
Political instability	.92		
Political crisis	.85		
Economic crisis	.66		
Loss of job	.48		
Migration flow	.37		
Global warming		86	
Melting of the glaciers		82	
Air pollution		81	
Contaminated food		56	
Terrorism			.84
Homicides			.82
Organized crime			.82
War			.54
Thefts and robberies			.51

 Table 3

 Explorative factor analysis of risk perception: Factor loadings

Note. Loadings below .35 were omitted.

Predictors of Risk Perception

To verify our hypotheses, we tested a structural equations model assuming that: watching News and Public Affairs is related to all of the risk perception factors; watching Films and TV series is related to the Violence factor (crime, terrorism, and war are typical topics of these programs); watching Reality

and Variety Shows is not related to any factor of risk perception. Concerning other variables, we assumed that years of education is negatively related to risk perception; Neuroticism is positively related to risk perception; living in a large city is related to the Violence factor of risk perception because of the crime rates of this environment; years of education is negatively associated with watching Reality and Variety Shows and is positively related to watching the other TV genres. The model tested had acceptable fit indexes: $\gamma^2(237) = 475.07$, p < 100.001; SRMR = .071; CFI = .91; TLI = .89; RMSEA = .056. Figure 1 shows the model in graphic form. The path linking Neuroticism to Environment was not significant. The other estimated parameters were all significant with p < .001, p < .01, or p < .05. We observed that: (a) watching News and Public Affairs had a positive relation to the factors of risk perception, Violence ($\beta = .20$), Politics and Economy ($\beta = .15$), and Environment ($\beta = .18$); (b) watching Films and TV series had a positive relation to Violence ($\beta = .19$); (c) years of education had a negative relation to all risk perception factors, Violence ($\beta = -.24$), Politics and Economy ($\beta = -.19$), and Environment ($\beta = .-15$); (d) Neuroticism was positively related to Violence ($\beta = .19$) and Politics and Economy ($\beta = .14$); (e) living in a large city was negatively related to the Violence factor ($\beta = -.11$); and (f) years of education had a negative relation to watching Reality and Variety Shows ($\beta =$ -.17). The entire set of predictors explained 19% of the variance of the Violence factor, 8% of Politics and Economy, and 6% of Environment.

Discussion

The first goal of the study was to identify the main sources of concern. The factor analysis allowed the identification of a three-factor structure of risk perception that was consistent and easily interpreted. The three dimensions of risk perception are Violence, Politics and Economy, and Environment. The first dimension groups events that imply a direct attack on the person, varying in seriousness from theft and robbery to terrorism and war. The second dimension describes negative political and economic events (e.g., political instability, economic crisis), and the third dimension describes events threatening the environment. These three dimensions, although correlated, describe different concerns. The first describes concern primarily for individual safety, the second concern for society, and the third one concern for the environment.

As expected, TV exposure was associated with all three types of risk perception. This result is consistent with literature on fear of crime, maintaining that TV plays a key role in promoting fear (Callanan, 2012; Eschholz et al., 2003; Weitzer & Kubrin, 2004). TV plays different roles depending on the genres of TV programs that affect the dimensions of risk perception in various manners. TV series and films genre was associated with the perception of risk of violent events most likely because war, terrorism, and crime are common topics in fiction. These programs may be related to the perception of reality, leading to an overestimation of the spread of violent events. Consistently with previous research, viewing News and Public affairs programs was associated with all three dimensions of risk perceptions (Callanan, 2012; Chang, Kim,

Shin, & Ma, 2016). Information may lead to greater concern linked to all the possible risks. Viewing reality and variety shows was not related to any of the risk dimensions. This result is not surprising because of the contents of these types of programs.

As expected, education level is negatively associated with all risk perceptions (Foster & Giles-Corti, 2008; Rundmo & Moen, 2006; Hale, 1996).

People with less education may have inadequate cultural tools with which to comprehend the social world and may perceive the world to be more dangerous because these people do not understand the world. This interpretation is consistent with the evolution of cultivation theory (Altheide, 2007). Moreover, people with less education generally have fewer socioeconomic resources. Less educated people may feel more vulnerable and thus are more concerned about social risks.

As expected, Neuroticism was associated with the perception of personal and social risk, i.e., the Violence and Politics and Economy dimensions (Leary & Hoyle, 2009; Minnebo et al., 2014). This variable did not relate to the environmental dimension of risk perception. It is possible that environmental risks were viewed as less threatening to the individual than personal and social risks and then the perception of this kind of risk was not affected by neuroticism. Anyway, further research is needed to verify this interpretation.

Regarding the residential environment, living in a large city had a contraintuitive negative effect on the perception of the risk of violent events. Fear of crime is generally linked to crime rates; consequently, several studies reported higher levels of fear in larger cities in which criminality is widespread (Kuo. Bacaicoa, & Sullivan, 1998; Perkins, Wandersman, Rich, & Taylor, 1993). Previous studies have demonstrated the distinction between fear of crime and a general concern about crime as a social problem (Furstenberg, 1971; Lane & Meeker, 2003; Perkins & Taylor, 1996; Warr, 1995). As Warr (2000) pointed out "fear is not a perception of the environment (an awareness or experience of sensory stimuli), but a reaction to the perceived environment. Although fear may result from the cognitive processing or evaluation of perceptual information (e.g., a judgment that an approaching male is armed, or that a sound signals danger), fear is not itself a belief, attitude, or evaluation" (p. 453). Fear is related to crime rates whereas concern is not always correlated with crime. In some cases, concern about crime is inversely related to actual crime rates (Roché, 1993). We measured concern regarding different types of events, including crime and other violence, to obtain a measure of concern and not a measure of fear. A previous study conducted in Italy (Amerio & Roccato, 2005) reported a positive relation between living in a large city and fear of crime but did not observe any relation between the dimension of the place of residence and concern about crime. In our sample, living in a large city was negatively associated with the Violence risk perception. Interpreting this relation requires further investigation; however, we note that in our sample (see Figure 1) residents of large cities had a higher educational level than residents of smaller towns. Some cultural differences (e.g., reading books, being interested in politics), as well as some differences within the context in which

people live (e.g., whether or not there are immigrants in the neighborhood), not investigated in the present study may have caused different perceptions in the two groups. Future studies may use also some indicators of fear of crime to investigate the relation between risk perception and actual fear.

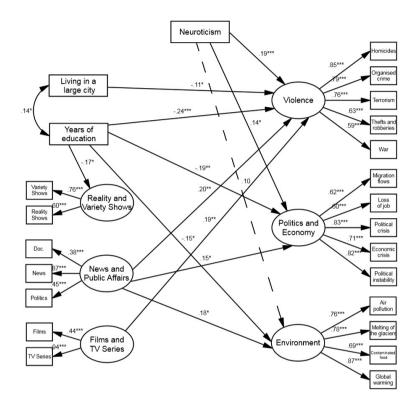


Figure 1. Risk perception prediction model: Standardized regression weights.

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

Note. Errors of latent variables and correlations among those variables are omitted from the figure to enhance viewing. Correlations: Violence and Environment ($r = .52^{***}$); Violence and Politics and Economy ($r = .66^{***}$); Politics and Economy and Environment ($r = .43^{***}$); Reality and Variety Shows and News and Public Affairs ($r = .25^{*}$); Reality and Variety Shows and Films and TV Series ($r = .45^{***}$).

Conclusions and Limitations

To summarize, this study confirms the association between watching TV and how people perceive their social world (Shrum, 2001) and contributes by illuminating the various roles played by different TV genres. Watching television is mainly related to crime-related events and, in fact, the larger variance explained by our model is that of the Violence factor. Nevertheless, TV viewing is related to political, economic, and environmental risks as well. Educational level is strongly related to risk perception. A low educational level was positively associated with all the risk perception dimensions.

This study does have some limitations, particularly its cross-sectional research design, which requires a certain caution in a causal understanding of the pattern of findings. Media effects theories suggests the test of conditional and indirect media-effects models requiring experimental and longitudinal designs (Valkenburg & Peter, 2013). Moreover, our results cannot be generalized to other cultures and countries, further implying that we should be cautious in interpretation. Despite these caveats, these data may provide a starting point for further research. Given the large number of media shaping how people perceive their social context, one line of inquiry would be to investigate the effects that various media (TV, radio, newspaper, Internet, etc.) have on risk perception. Another line of development could be conducted along ideological dimensions, investigating whether watching public or commercial television channels with different editorial policies can be related to social concerns and risk perception. Finally, because the size of the town or city in which one lives and educational level affect how people perceive their social context, it would be useful to investigate the roles of these variables and explore other cultural dimensions (e.g., going to the cinema, to the theater, and seeing exhibitions).

In spite of the recent diffusion of new media internet based, our findings confirm the role of TV in constructing reality in the contemporary society.

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Različite dimenzije opažanja rizika: uloga ličnih osobina i gledanja TV-a

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Cilj ovog istraživanja je bio da se ispita odnos između gledanja različitih vrsta TV programa i opažanja rizika. Kako je opažanje rizika složeni fenomen, fokusirali smo se na ulogu koju lične osobine (pol, nivo obrazovanja, ličnost) i osobine okoline (život u velikom, srednjem ili malom gradu) imaju u razvoju društvenih briga. Upitnik samoprocene tipa papir-olovka zadat je uzorku od 316 odraslih Italijana. Da bismo identifikovali različite grupe izvora opaženog rizika sproveli smo eksplorativnu faktorsku analizu koja je identifikovala tri faktora: Nasilje, Politika i ekonomija i Okolina. Potvrdili smo odnose između faktora rizika, TV žanrova i ličnih osobina pomoću strukturalnog modelovanja. Gledanje (žanra) vesti i javnih poslova (na TV-u, prim. prev.) je pozitivno povezano sa svim dimenzijama; gledanje (žanra) filmova i serija je pozitivno povezano sa Nasiljem, dok gledanje (žanra) rijaliti i varijete programa nije povezano ni sa jednim faktorom opažanja rizika. Nivo obrazovanja je u negativnoj vezi sa svim faktorima opažanja rizika, kao i sa gledanjem rijaliti i varijete programa. Neuroticizam je bio pozitivno povezano sa Nasiljem.

Ključne reči: opažanje rizika, TV programi, nesigurnost, ličnost, strukturalno modelovanje

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APPENDIX