Trust in news media in a post-truth era

A study into the difference between online and offline news media among younger and older people



Author	
Student number	
Study	
Supervisors	
Date	

Michel Ridder 1906356 Master of Communication Science Dr. J. F. Gosselt and Dr. R. S. Jacobs 16.12.2020

Abstract

Trust in news media is decreasing overall, affecting democracies. While an abundance of research in comparing social media news and mainstream news like newspapers is present, comparisons between trust in offline and online news media are lacking. There is also limited research on the influence of demographics on trust in news media. Age differences in particular are important, because of the high social media use as a news source of younger people and the lower consumption of newspapers by younger people compared to older people. The increased spread of fake news has made research into trust in news media even more compelling, as fake news has a proven impact on politics, with a fear of a much broader impact. Therefore, this study examined the differences in offline and online news media among younger and older people and looked into the possible effect of fake news on trust in news media.

An online 2 (newspaper article vs. news website article) x 2 (younger people vs. older people) betweensubjects factor experiment was conducted among 162 participants. After exposure to the stimulus material in the form of either a fictional newspaper or news website article, participants answered questions regarding trust in news media, problem perception of fake news and news consumption. In contrast to many previous studies, trust was measured using a multilayered trust scale covering trust in; information, medium, source and the general propensity to trust.

The results showed that younger people trust news websites significantly more than older people. While older people did not trust newspapers significantly more than younger people. Overall differences in trust between online and offline news media were not found. Regarding the problem perception of fake news, younger people had a significantly higher problem perception of fake news compared to older people. Problem perception of fake news also had negative associations with trust in information and trust in local news organizations.

Studies suggesting higher trust in offline media included social media in measuring trust in online media, which could have significantly lowered trust in online news media based on the overall low trust in social media news. The insignificant difference in trust in newspapers among younger and older people could be explained by the non-existent connection of news consumption and trust in news media. A higher trust in newspapers for older people was assumed based on higher newspaper consumption by older people. However, this study has shown that alternative goals for news consumption like entertainment, diversion and identity needs might have become more important than trust. For problem perception of fake news, the negative association with trust in information and trust in local news organizations suggest that fake news affects local sources more, rather than the media in general.

Table of contents

1. Introd	luction	5
2. Theor	etical Framework	6
2.1.	The importance of reliable news media	6
2.2.	Trust in news media	6
2.3.	Offline news media	9
2.4.	Online news media	9
2.5.	How demographics might affect trust in news media	10
2.5	.1. Age	11
2.5	.2. Gender	11
2.5	.3. Education	12
2.6.	News media consumption	12
2.7.	Problem perception of fake news	13
3. Me	thods	15
3.1.	Study design	15
3.2.	Procedure	15
3.3.	Stimulus material	16
3.4.	Measurements	17
3.4	.1. Constructs and construct reliability	17
3.5.	Participants	18
3.6.	Normality check of the sample	18
4. Res	sults	19
4.1.	Main and interaction effects	19
4.2.	Correlations between variables	20
4.3.	Validity of the mediational trust model	20
4.4.	Additional analysis	22
4.4	.1. Age differences in trust in online media and offline media	22
4.4	.2. Gender differences in trust variables	23
4.4	.3. Educational differences in trust variables	23
4.4	.4. Age differences in newspaper consumption	24
4.4	.5. Age differences in problem perception of fake news	24
4.5.	Overview of hypotheses	25
4.6.	Overview of research questions	25
5. Dis	cussion	26
5.1.	Trust in news media	26
5.2.	Problem perception of fake news	27
5.3.	News consumption	28

6.	Lim	nitations and recommendations	28
	6.1.	Limitations	28
	6.2.	Recommendations	29
7.	Con	nclusion	29

1. Introduction

Reliable news media are essential when it comes to the formation of opinions and views (Lewis, 2006). Reliable news media tells people what they need to know, secures a democratic society and enables people to take part in political discussion (Karnowski et al., 2018; Lewis, 2006). The extent to which news media are considered reliable, is mostly determined by trust. Trust in news media, however, has decreased in the last years (Ardèvol-Abreu & Gil De Zúñiga, 2017; Edelman, 2018). Whether all news media types are affected by this decrease in trust, and to which extent, is however unclear.

First, while there are multiple studies that compared social media news and mainstream news, there is limited research on differences in trust between **online and offline news media**, especially in the form of news websites and newspapers. As the consumption of online news media has increased overall (Shearer & Gottfried, 2017; Westerman & Spence, 2014), this raises the question whether people put more trust in online news media.

Second, a comparison of trust between **age categories** is lacking. Consumption of online news media is high among younger people (Bachmann et al., 2010; Casero-Ripollés, 2012) and as people mature, they tend to show more interest in newspapers (Casero-Ripollés, 2012). Nevertheless, it is unclear whether trust in online and offline news media is dependent on age.

Third, we live in a post-truth era with **fake news** trending (Corner, 2017; McGonagle, 2017). Fake news is described as news that is; false, sensational, exaggerated, deceiving and misleading (Bhaskaran et al., 2017; Corner, 2017; Jankowski, 2018; McGonagle, 2017). Bhaskaran et al. (2017) argue that fake news had an impact on politics in the US and Great Britain and might have a broader effect than just politics. This could mean that fake news is a threat to trust in news media and therefore a threat to democracy.

Fourth, **news consumption** and trust in news media are shown to be connected in many studies (Ardevol-Abreu et al., 2018; Ceron, 2015; Schranz et al., 2018; Verma et al., 2018). Other studies however have shown that consuming news might be done with other goals in mind (e.g. entertainment and companionship) than acquiring trusted information (Blumler, 1979; Katz et al., 1973; Rubin, 2009). Whether there is still a connection between news consumption and trust in news media is therefore investigated in this study.

In summary, trust in online and offline news media will be compared in this study. Additionally, the level of trust in news media between younger and older people will be compared, based on the assumption that young people trust online media more and older people trust offline media more. Furthermore, problem perception of fake news and news consumption are added as factors of influence on trust in news media.

The following research question addresses the aforementioned main gaps:

RQ: "Is there a difference in trust in online and offline news media among younger and older people and to what extent is this affected by problem perception of fake news and news consumption?"

In the next chapter, the theoretical framework explains; the importance of reliable news media, trust in news media, the difference between offline and online news media, how demographics affect differences in trust in news media, the effect of news consumption and lastly, the possible effect of fake news. The theoretical framework is followed by the method section, explaining the study design, procedure, stimulus material, measurements, participants and the normality check of the sample. After the method section, the results are presented in both differences and correlations, followed by the validity check of the trust model. Finally, in the discussion the main findings are discussed, followed by the limitations and recommendations of this study, and the overall conclusion.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. The importance of reliable news media

News media have been around for ages and many researches stress the fact that people heavily rely on news media to form their opinion or even change their behavior based on what they encounter (Karnowski et al., 2018). News is also essential in informing citizens, telling them what needs to be known, therefore securing a democratic society (Lewis, 2006). More specifically, the well-being of a democracy heavily relies on high quality news information that citizens take in about public affairs and politics, which in turn leads to meaningful political dialogue and consideration (Cohen, 1997; Iyengar, 1991; McNair, 1994, 2005; Neuman et al., 1992 as cited by Lewis, 2006). Journalism is regarded essential to a democracy, as it does not only reason and inform, it also brings participation by citizens on a rational base (Gil de Zúñiga, 2015; Gunther, 1992; Habermas, 1996 as cited by Ardèvol-Abreu & Gil De Zúñiga, 2017). The idea that a democratic society needs citizens that are well informed remains not just a broad-ranged standard but (at least in theory) is one of the most progressive, superior notions within our age (Lewis, 2006). Based on reliable news media, risky choices are made like political voting or investments. In turn, these risky choices depend on our trust in the news media (Prochazka & Schweiger, 2019).

2.2. Trust in news media

In social sciences, trust is used to explain the relations between two sides over time. There is the trustor; which places trust, and the trustee; which is being trusted (Quandt, 2012; Tsfati & Cappella, 2010). Trust is a crucial foundation for social order and social cohesion and is considered an important

variable for media effects (Tsfati & Cappella, 2003), which informs how news media is evaluated and interpreted by individuals (Kohring & Matthes, 2007). Individual knowledge of the world essentially relies on news media, making it a risk to put trust in news media (Prochazka & Schweiger, 2019). Coleman (2012) even goes as far to say that, the notion of the 'public' (collective body having common concerns) collapses when news media cannot be trusted to bring common knowledge. Other studies have shown that trust in news media also plays an important role in the production of citizen news, as trust predicts the inclination to create news (Ardèvol-Abreu et al., 2018). But why is trust used in news media research?

The difference between trust and credibility needs to be explained first, to clarify why trust is used in news media research. While a significant section of literature uses credibility and trust interchangeably (Kohring & Matthes, 2007), some use trust as an element of credibility (Metzger et al., 2003; Meyer, 1988), and others characterize credibility as an element of trust (Kohring, 2004). Both concepts (credibility and trust) are closely linked and are used to illustrate identical constructs (Prochazka & Schweiger, 2019). This study will focus on the concept of trust, as trust is well-established in many different fields of studies (Kohring & Matthes, 2007). Using the concept of trust enables linkage with other fields in research like politics and sociology, making interdisciplinary studies on trust much simpler and more accessible (Prochazka & Schweiger, 2019). At the broadest level, trust is a concept that is referring to the relation between news media (trustee) and the citizen (trustor) where the citizen is at risk in an uncertain situation and expects that use of news media will induce gains instead of losses (Kohring & Matthes, 2007; Prochazka & Schweiger, 2019; Tsfati & Cappella, 2003; Yale et al., 2015 as cited by Strömbäck et al., 2020).

Trust in news media is measured in several reports (e.g. Edelman Intelligence, 2018; European Commission, 2017a, 2017b; Reuters Institute, 2018; Schmeets, 2018; Statista, 2017a, 2017b), but mostly with a general overview and a simplistic measurement of 'trust' with just one item. The measurement of trust with one item is criticized on the base that trust is too complex to measure it with just one item (Pjesivac et al., 2016). While these measures are convenient in comparisons, applied in a simple way, and are time-efficient (Prochazka & Schweiger, 2019), these measurements do not conceptualize trust and therefore do not capture the complexity of trust as proven by for example Kohring and Matthes (2007) and Lucassen and Schraagen (2012).

Unfortunately, there is no set or agreed-upon measurement of trust in media (Engelke et al., 2019; Fischer, 2018). Trust in news media in this study is conceptualized through the trust model used in the research of Lucassen and Schraagen (2012) and a part of the trust model of Kohring and Matthes (2007). In the trust model of Lucassen and Schraagen, four layers of trust are presented that build on each other (see Figure 1). Starting at the outer circle working inwards, the respective layers of the model include the 'propensity to trust', 'trust in the medium', 'trust in the source' and 'trust in the information'. The propensity of trust is seen as an individual factor that influences the extent to which a person has trust (Metzger, Flanagin & Medders, 2010, as cited by Lucassen & Schraagen, 2012). This is the starting point of the model on which the other specific trust variables build. It is argued by several researchers (Chueng & Lee, 2010; Lee & Turban, 2001) that propensity of trust is an important factor in predicting trust in information. Trust in the medium is the second layer of trust. The third layer is the trust in the source. The fourth and last layer is the trust in information. Curiously, Lucassen & Schraagen (2012) used only a single item to measure the trust in information scale, being 'How much trust do you have in this article?' compared to the multiple items used in other scales. In this study the "Selectivity of facts" scale of Kohring & Matthes (2007) is used additionally to measure trust in information, as the measure should give a more accurate measure of trust in information. This study will investigate whether the trust model of Lucassen and Schraagen holds for offline and online news media with a local news organization as a source regarding validity. The trust model will be tested on mediational validity with propensity to trust as the independent variable, trust in Tubantia as sequential mediators, and trust in information as the dependent variable. All direct and indirect effects are measured to establish whether the trust model suits the context of offline and online news media.

RQ1: Is the trust model of Lucassen & Schraagen valid with local news organizations and news media?



Figure 1. Proposed layered trust model by T. Lucassen & J. M. Schraagen, 2012, *Journal of Information Science*, *38*, p. 569. Copyright 2012 by the Library and Information Association

Recently, research has shown that citizens' mistrust in news media has increased (Ardèvol-Abreu & Gil De Zúñiga, 2017; Edelman, 2018). A fair amount of research already has been conducted in the area of trust in news media, including research regarding the impact of trust in news media on online news consumption and online participation (Fletcher & Park, 2017), exposure to online news and trust in the

(mainstream) media (Tsfati, 2010), exploring associations between media skepticism and media exposure (Tsfati & Cappella, 2003, 2010), factors predicting trust in news media (Lee, 2010) and the effect of trust in media on citizen news production (Ardèvol-Abreu et al., 2018). Even though these studies do capture trust in media in certain ways, they do not capture trust in news media as a comparison between specific offline and online news media among age groups, as most studies focus on online media, and in particular; social media (Ceron, 2015; Ciceri et al., 2015; Flintham et al., 2018; Heravi & Harrower, 2016; S. K. Lee et al., 2017; Metzger & Flanagin, 2015; Paisana et al., 2020; Quintanilha et al., 2019; Westerman & Spence, 2014).

2.3. Offline news media

Offline news media consisting of print news media, television and radio, has been around far longer than the online based news media. Television news episodically (through addressing problems or issues regarding an instance, event, or individual) encourages citizens to come up with individual explanations for problems on a social level (Iyengard, 1987 as cited by Carr, Barnidge, Lee, & Tsang, 2014). Analyses signify that television news is perceived, compared to print news, as more credible (Abel & Wirth, 1977; Carter & Greenberg, 1965; Gaziano & McGrath, 1986; Jacobson, 1969 as cited by Kiousis, 2001). However, people tend to especially evaluate the person delivering television news, instead of evaluating the entire organization as it happens with newspapers and print media. This causes more positive opinions on television news (Kiousis, 2001).

Print news media, even though arguably perceived less credible as compared to television news, is older and more valuable in terms of historical information of societies (Hasenay & Krtalić, 2010), not found in television or radio news. Print news is used by consumers in parallel with television news to strengthen the information learned (Chaffee, 1982; Wanta, 1997 as cited by Kiousis, 2001).

Regarding radio news; according to Statista (2017), 50% of the people in Europe (in 2017) listen to the radio every day, or almost every day. This makes it very likely that these people are exposed to radio news. Statista (2017) also shows that people put the most trust in radio as a media outlet, followed by television and the printed media, respectively.

2.4. Online news media

Online news media can be divided into two categories; article based news websites and social media news (Ceron, 2015; Ciceri et al., 2015).

News websites communication is, just as offline news media, mostly one-directional (Deuze, 2003 as cited by Ceron, 2015). Going online with newspapers opens up a plethora of opportunities. News organizations can tie communities from mass media together through the use of different advertising agencies to increase the chance of survival in the sector, they can diminish the costs in printing, and

(through the cost savings and extended reach) increase competitive value over other mass media (Brain, 2008; Xigen, 1998 as cited by Al-radaideh, Abu-shanab, Hamam, & Abu-salem, 2011). Therefore, most press companies offer both a newspaper and a news website.

Social media also emerged in the news media scene and is being used more and more as a news source (Westerman & Spence, 2014). Compared to news websites, social media differs in the way information is produced and noted, in that users have become both the publisher and the consumer of content (Ciceri et al., 2015). Researchers generally refer to these users practicing journalism, without being a journalist, with the term 'citizen journalism' (Goode, 2009; Thurman, 2008). Furthermore, the structure of social media like Facebook is very different than previous media technologies and content can be distributed without significant checking for facts, (third party) filtering or judgement by editors (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017), showing the possible dangers that can come with the spreading of fake news through social media (Bhaskaran et al., 2017).

Research into social media in regards to news is plentiful (e.g. Ardèvol-Abreu et al., 2018; Carr et al., 2014; Ceron, 2015; Gainous et al., 2019; Heravi & Harrower, 2016; Kalogeropoulos et al., 2019; Quandt, 2012; Quintanilha et al., 2019), and these studies mostly agree on rather low trust in social media as compared to more traditional news media (De Coninck et al., 2019; Fletcher & Park, 2017). This is strengthened by the sheer amount of fake news that is easily spread through social media (Quintanilha et al., 2019; Verma et al., 2018) however, whether trust in news websites also has a connection to fake news is not clear.

A comparison between trust in online and offline news media in the form of news websites and newspapers is lacking. Kiousis (2001), did compare (perceptions of) news credibility between television, newspapers and online news. Results of this study show that newspapers are rated with the highest credibility, followed by news from online sources, and lastly, television. However, the sample for the online news opinions was significantly smaller than the other two channels causing sample bias. In contrary, research from Statista (2017a) indicates that radio news is the most trusted media, followed by television, the printed media and internet and social media, respectively. Differences in these studies could be based on the area where the studies were conducted, as well as the measurements used to measure trust. However, both studies conclude a reasonably high trust in offline news media as compared to online news media. Based on this the following hypothesis is established:

H1: Trust in offline news media is higher than trust in online news media.

2.5. How demographics might affect trust in news media

There is limited research on the influence of demographics on trust in news media. With the decreasing trust in news media, it is even more important to look at how demographics might influence trust in news media. Additionally, the emergence of social media news with a mostly

younger consumer base (Bachmann et al., 2010) demands an investigation into trust differences in demographics. Age, gender and education will be looked at as possible factors of influence on trust in news media.

2.5.1. Age

Lee (2010) showed that age is barely of any predictive value when it comes to trust in news media. While the European Commission (2018) more recently did show that young respondents (aged between 15-24 years) have the tendency to trust online news more. However, further research on comparing age with trust in the news media is limited, making it difficult to assess whether there is a difference in trust in news media between age groups. Still, based on the report of the European Commission (2018), the following hypothesis is established:

H2: Younger people trust online news media more compared to older people.

Traditionally, it could be counted upon that young people would become readers of newspapers as they mature (Bogart, 1989; Schlagheck, 1998 as cited by Huang, 2009). In Huang's (2009) study however, it is argued that younger people are out of touch with newspapers. Additionally, Althaus and Tewksbury (2010) found that older people being more familiar with newspapers and younger people more familiar with online media, made it more likely that older people choose newspapers and younger people choose online news media as a news source. These findings are supported by the study of Diddi and Larose (2010), saying that older people (compared to college students) are more likely to watch television news and read print news media (Bennett, 2000; Pew Research Center, 2002 as cited by Diddi & Larose, 2010). Based on the higher usage and consumption of newspapers by older people, the following hypothesis is formulated:

H3: Older people trust offline news media more than younger people.

The limited previous studies including age comparisons in trust in news media, did not explain the reasoning behind classifying age groups. The age categories (younger and older people) in this study are divided based on the average age (in 2019) in the Netherlands, being around 40 years (CBS, 2019). Younger people therefore refer to people that are 40 years and younger, and older people refer to people that are 41 years and above. The Dutch average age was chosen, as the study was conducted in the Netherlands.

2.5.2. Gender

Previous research has found that gender can influence the establishment of trust judgments (Verma et al., 2018). For example the study of Huang et al. (2016) has shown that gender is associated with several predictors of trust in information on Wikipedia (information accuracy, validity and stability) with more reliance on stability and accuracy by men, and more reliance on validity by women. Heravi and

Harrower (2016) showed that men have a higher level of trust in online news sources which is supported by Gronke and Cook (2007) who found that men trust the media in general more compared to women. On the contrary Jones (2004) and Tsfati and Ariely (2014) found that women trust the media more than men. And studies found no differences across gender regarding trust levels like the study of Bennett et al. (1999) that showed that gender is not a predictor for media trust. Findings on the matter of trust and gender seem inconclusive and should be investigated further (Verma et al., 2018). Therefore the following research question is formulated:

RQ2: Are there gender differences in trust in news media regarding news websites and newspapers?

2.5.3. Education

A survey by Gallup/Knight Foundation has shown that higher trust in news media was found among people with a higher education level ("postgraduate") and people with a "high school education or less" as compared to people with a "four-year college degree only" or "some college" (Gallup, 2018). The study of Bennett et al. (1999) also found education to be a positive predictor for trust in media, while Gronke and Cook (2007) found the opposite with education being a negative predictor of media trust, just like Tsfati and Ariely (2014) who found that trust decreases slightly with each schooling year. Furthermore, Paisana et al. (2020) showed that people with lower literacy tend to have higher social media news trust. In sum, the relationship of trust in news sources and education is unclear and should be explored more widely (Verma et al., 2018).

RQ3: Are there differences in trust in news media regarding newspapers and news websites among different educational levels?

2.6. News media consumption

Several researchers found a relationship between news consumption and trust in news media. For example, Ceron (2015) showed that consumption of news from news websites is positively related to trust and Ardèvol-Abreu et al. (2018) consider news consumption or production to be motivated by trust in media. Tsfati and Cappella (2003, 2010), Tsfati and Ariely (2014), and Gainous et al. (2019) also found that media exposure and media use is positively related to trust in media and in the study of Schranz et al. (2018) it was also shown that people that consume traditional media develop a higher level of media trust. However, the changes in how people consume news and the emergence of digital and distributed news sources call for a reexamination of the relationship between news use and trust in news (Kalogeropoulos et al., 2019).

A matter of concern is that the relation of media consumption and trust is mostly based on the assumption that people consume news to accurately inform themselves about what is going on in the world (Tsfati & Cappella, 2003). While a connection between media consumption and media trust can be theoretically expected, it should also be noted that media consumption in many cases is habitual instead of active and ritualized instead of instrumental (A. Rubin, 2009; Ruggiero, 2000) and that news media is used for other goals as well than just acquiring accurate information (Strömbäck et al., 2020). Moody (2011) explains that people have certain motivations or goals that supersede the need for trusted information. These goals include (e.g.); entertainment, identity needs, diversion and as companionship (Blumler, 1979; Katz et al., 1973; Rubin, 2009). This is backed up by the research of Moody (2011), that found that trust in media plays less of a role in exploring political news, as people would rather use sources that they do not trust (like social media and interpersonal communication) for convenience reasons. Brlek et al. (2016) also found no connection between use of media and trust in media like newspapers, the internet and radio. It used to be that (due to the small amount of media sources) people returned to the same sources, this changed through the innovations of communication technologies, enabling us to use what we want to know, how we want to know it, and how often we want it (Moody, 2011).

In summary, the relation between media consumption or media use and trust in media is complicated (Strömbäck et al., 2020). Still, the majority of research shows a positive relationship (especially in mainstream media) between media consumption and trust in news media, therefore:

H4: News media consumption is positively related to trust in news media.

As stated before, traditionally, it could be counted upon that young people would become readers of newspapers as they mature (Bogart, 1989; Schlagheck, 1998 as cited by Huang, 2009). However, some studies argue that young people are out of touch with newspapers (Huang, 2009) and newspapers are no longer a primary information source for younger people (Corroy, 2008 as cited by Casero-Ripollés, 2012). Still, most research points at older people reading more print news compared to younger people (Althaus & Tewksbury, 2000; Diddi & Larose, 2010).

H5: Older people consume more offline news media compared to younger people.

In case of younger people, they grow up with social media as a news source and are using the internet more intensively (Bachmann et al., 2010). Indeed Casero-Ripollés (2012) has shown that young people's (16 to 30 years old) consumption of news is more oriented towards new media (social media in particular), while a decline among young people in reading newspapers was found (Huang, 2009).

H6: Younger people consume more online news media compared to older people.

2.7. Problem perception of fake news

In recent years possible influences on trust in news media have been examined, the main reason, to find out why humans do (or do not) trust the news media (Otto & Köhler, 2018). In this so-called 'post-truth' era with 'fake news' trending (Corner, 2017; McGonagle, 2017) and with fake news

dominating the public political discourse recently (Jankowski, 2018), exploring a possible relationship to trust in news media is important. The overall decrease in trust in media according to the Edelman Trust Barometer (Edelman, 2018), Statista (2017a) and researchers (Ardèvol-Abreu & Gil De Zúñiga, 2017) is worrying to say the least. However, Flintham et al. (2018) say that the extent of the concerns of news consumers are not known yet regarding the circulation of fake news. This study explores the fake news concerns of consumers relation, towards trust in news media.

H7: Problem perception of fake news negatively relates to trust in news media.

Fake news might seem "new", but it has a long existence and every technological innovation has brought new ways to mislead and deceive (Gelfert, 2018). An agreed-upon definition of fake news still seems absent, but characteristics of fake news described by researchers are; false, sensational (based on revenue), exaggerated, deceiving and misleading (Bhaskaran et al., 2017; Corner, 2017; Jankowski, 2018; McGonagle, 2017), and most importantly, fake news is misleading by design (Gelfert, 2018). Fake news should be misleading by design, otherwise honest mistakes in small news coverage details could be counted as fake news (Gelfert, 2018). In this study a stipulative definition will be used that defines fake news as:

"The deliberate presentation of (typically) false or misleading claims as news, where the claims are misleading by design" (Gelfert, 2018, p. 108).

Fake news research is heavily focused on British and American politics however, the concern is that the impact is broader (than just the US and Europe) based on the proven effect of fake news on areas such as journalism education in countries like India, as argued by Bhaskaran et al. (2017). Fake news can have a detrimental effect, which became clear in American politics. Recent research on the 2016 US elections is in abundance, some showing that Trump supporters did believe statements less after proven that they were wrong, but there was no correlation between the extent to which they shifted their belief when a statement was corrected and their according actions – voting (Lewandowsky et al., 2017). The Gallup Knight Foundation survey also shows that the majority of adults in their survey expressed that fake news is found to be "a very serious threat" in regards to democracy (Gallup/Knight Foundation, 2018).

Additionally, research has shown that heavy social media consumers tend to have reduced trust in fake news (Verma et al., 2018). This is in line with the findings of Tsfati (2010), showing that people are more critical towards online news when they are heavy users of social media. This would imply that the people who are least affected by fake news would be the people who are exposed the most to fake news (Verma et al., 2018). This could mean that informed judgments about fake news could be assisted through heavy use of social media (Verma et al., 2018). Still, social media is one of the main playing fields for fake news, as news curators can directly communicate to readers with cutting out the middlemen, and the sensational news gets shared quickly by acquaintances that are trusted (Gelfert, 2018). It

is recognized that the internet is particularly conductive to the establishment of fake news (Gelfert, 2018). Which brings up the question whether online media consumption of traditional media (news website consumption) is connected to the problem perception of fake news.

RQ4: Does news website consumption relate to the problem perception of fake news?

Because younger people turn away from the traditional media (newspapers and daily news programs), and choose to inform themselves through social media (Flintham et al., 2018), it is expected that younger people have an overall higher problem perception of fake news because they are exposed to fake news more through higher social media use. This is supported by the study of Marchi (2012) who found that young people tend towards fake news, for the reason of the possibility to discuss the news. However, it should be noted that people, even though they are aware of the existence of fake news on social media, still consume news through fake news susceptible sources like Facebook and even take some of it at face value (Flintham et al., 2018).

H8: Younger people have a higher problem perception of fake news compared to older people

While fake news is present with its potentially harmful features, sources are in place that try to combat fake news. There are already multiple ways fake news is countered, be it through interventions and resolutions from individual people (like education on media literacy) (Chen & Cheng, 2019) or through technologies like detection algorithms (Conroy et al., 2015; Rubin et al., 2015; Ruchansky et al., 2017; Wang, 2017).

3. Methods

3.1. Study design

A 2 (offline vs online media) x 2 (younger vs older people) factor experiment with a between-subjects design was conducted in which the effects of type of media in combination with age were investigated on trust in news media and how this relates to problem perception of fake news and news consumption.

3.2. Procedure

Qualtrics software was used to manage and distribute the survey. Both media type conditions (Online - news website and offline - newspaper) started with a "thank you for participating" message, stating the duration, and an explanation note regarding privacy, questions and consent. First the demographic questions were asked, including place of residence/origin, gender, age and educational level. After this, the participant was randomly assigned to one of the media type conditions (offline or online

media) after which the respondent was asked (depending on the condition) whether he/she occasionally reads a newspaper or a news website article. Respondents who said no were excluded from further participation. Then the respondent was exposed to the stimulus material in the form of a fictional (online or offline) news article. After that, questions followed on trust in information, design of the article, trust in Tubantia, trust in newspapers/news websites in general and propensity to trust. After the trust questions, questions regarding news consumption (in general and of Tubantia specifically) and problem perception of fake news followed. At the end, a debriefing took place in which participants were made clear that the article they just read was fictive and therefore not real. Participants were also thanked again for participating, shown an e-mail address to receive the outcomes of this study, and they were given the chance to ask a question or make remarks.

3.3. Stimulus material

A fictional article of news source "De Twentsche Courant Tubantia" was used as stimulus material. The article was about the closure of a popular clothing shop in Enschede (the Netherlands) due to foundation problems. Two different versions of the article were made: one in an offline newspaper layout and one in an online news layout, both containing the exact same information, see Figure 2. The content of the article was made by the author. Beforehand, several articles were made with various topics. The articles were aimed to be perceived as, to an extent, dramatic news (in the region of Enschede) that is still believable. Topics ranged from the fireworks disaster investigations to a found bomb in the regional airport. Through multiple discussions with n = 5, the current topic was chosen based on a less emotional load and increased believability compared to the other topics.

Regio Algemeen Sport Video 👂

Primark Enschede sluit deuren, pand wordt mogelijk gesloopt

ENSCHEDE – Door problemen met de fundering is de Primark in Enschede vanaf morgen gesloten. Dat heeft de vestiging besloten na overleg met de gemeente Enschede. De fundering is zelfs zodanig aangetast dat het gebouw eventueel gesloopt zal moeten worden



De problemen kwamen aan het licht toen een medewerker opmerkte dat de vloer gedeeltelijk was ingezakt op de begane grond aan de oostzijde van het pand. "Het was daar altijd al wat was ingezakt op de begane grond aan de oostzijde van het pand. "Het was daar atlijd al wat oneven, maar nu zijn er gewoon hele tegels digebroken", aldus een medewerker. De Primark, die sinds 2014 het bezoek aan de binnenstad van Enschede een impuls geeft, heeft meteen actie ondernomen. "Gezien het mogelijke gevaar hebben wij geen andere keus dan de vestiging vanaf morgen te sluiten" zegt een woordvoerder. Klanten reageren geschrokken.

 Intern stutt ter vestiging op advies van een inspectieteam dat was ingeschakeld door de gemeente. Uit hun onderzoek blijkt dat de fundering een groot probleem vormt. Meerdere funderingspalen zijn aangetast en weggezakt, waarschijnlijk vanwege klei en vocht in de ondergrond. Mogelijk kampen omliggende winkels naast de Primark met hetzelfde probleem.. Primark sluit de vestiging op advies van een inspectieteam dat was ingeschakeld door de

De komende dagen voert de inspectie aanvullende controles uit in het pand, waarna duidelijk wordt of het pand gesloopt moet worden. Die kans is groot volgens een woordvoerder van het inspectieteam: "Er zit bijna niets anders op gezien het instortingsgevaar."



Twentse webwinkel laat klanten zelf betalen voor hun rete

Primark Enschede sluit deuren, pand wordt mogelijk gesloopt

ENSCHEDE – Door problemen met de fundering is de Primark in Enschede vanaf morgen gesloten. Dat heeft de vestiging besloten na overleg met de gemeente Enschede. De fundering is zelfs zodanig aangetast dat het gebouw eventueel gesloopt zal moeten worden.

Redactie

De problemen kwamen aan het licht, toen een medewerker opmerkte dat de vloer gedeeltelijk was ingezakt op de begane grond aan de oostzijde van het pand. 'Het was daar altijd al wat oneven, maar nu zijn er gewoon hele tegels afgebroken", aldus een medewerker. De Primark, die sinds 2014 aan de binnenstad van Enschede een impuls geeft, heeft meteen actie ondernomen.

"Gezien het mogelijke gevaar hebben wij geen andere keus dan de vestiging vanaf morgen te sluiten" zegt een woordvoerder. Klanten reageren geschrokken. Primark sluit de vestiging op advies van een inspectieteam dat was ingeschakeld door de gemeente. Uit hun onderzoek blijkt dat de fundering een groot probleem vormt. Meerdere funderingspalen zijn aangetast en weggezakt, waarschijnlijk vanwege klei en vocht in de ondergrond. Mogelijk kampen omliggende winkels naast de Primark met hetzelfde probleem. De komende dagen voert de inspectie aanvullende

De komende dagen voert de inspectie aanvullende controles uit in het pand, waarna duidelijk wordt of het pand gesloopt moet worden. Die kans is groot volgens een woordvoerder van het inspectieteam. "Er zit bijna niets anders op gezien het instortingsgevaar."

Figure 2. Fictional articles used as stimulus material: on the left the online news website condition and on the right the offline newspaper condition

3.4. Measurements

3.4.1. Constructs and construct reliability

For all constructs described below the complete scales can be found in Appendix B (for trust) and Appendix C (for problem perception of fake news). All construct items were translated form English to Dutch. Furthermore, *trust in medium, trust in news websites, trust in newspapers* and *trust in "de Twentsche Courant Tubantia"* were transformed from questions into statements.

Propensity to trust was measured based on a section of the NEO-PI-R personality test, consisting of eight items as created by Lucassen and Schraagen (2012). The questions were answered on a five-point Likert scales. Items include; "I believe that most people inherently have good intentions" and "my first reaction is to trust people". The Cronbach's Alpha for this construct was .86, indicating excellent reliability.

Trust in medium was measured with five statements on a five-point Likert scale and is based on the construct "Trust in the internet" as created by Lucassen and Schraagen (2012). The Cronbach's Alpha for this construct was .68. One item from the *trust in medium* scale was removed, improving the α from .56 to .68. Increasing α above .70 was possible with the deletion of another item, however, this would mean that just two items would remain. For this reason, and the fact that $\alpha = .68$ is very close to .70 being a good reliability, no further items were deleted.

Trust in "de Twentsche Courant Tubantia" was measured with six statements (news website condition) and three items (newspaper condition) on a five-point Likert scale. The construct is based on the construct "Trust in Wikipedia" of Lucassen and Schraagen (2012). Items include; "Tubantia is credible" and "there is a risk of getting inaccurate information from Tubantia". The Cronbach's Alpha for this construct was .72, indicating good reliability.

Trust in information was measured with nine statements on a five-point Likert scale and is based on a subsection of the trust in news media scale by Kohring and Matthes (2007), using the "Selectivity of facts" and "Accuracy of depictions" sections, also including the item from "trust in information" from Lucassen and Schraagen (2012). Example items include; "the information in this article is factual" and "the focus is on important facts". The Cronbach's Alpha for this construct was .85, which indicates excellent reliability.

Problem perception of fake news was measured with six statements on a five-point Likert scale and is largely based on proven problems and effects of fake news explained by Bakir and McStay (2017). The studies of Bhaskaran et al. (2017), Flintham et al. (2018), Gelfert (2018), and McGonagle (2017) contributed in creating the construct as well. Items include; "In my opinion, fake news contributes to emotional response and outrage" and "in my opinion, fake news influences the emergence of misinformed citizens". The Cronbach's Alpha for this construct was .85, showing excellent reliability.

Table 1.

Construct reliability

	Items	Mean	SD	α
Construct				
Propensity to trust	8	3.54	0.60	.86
Trust in medium	3	3.33	0.63	.68
Trust in Tubantia	6	3.12	0.52	.72
Trust in information	9	2.85	0.66	.85
Problem perception fake news	6	4.14	0.52	.85

3.5. Participants

A total of 260 respondents filled in the survey of which 56 of the newspaper variant were excluded for "not reading the newspaper articles occasionally" and 6 respondents of the website variant were excluded for "not reading news website articles occasionally". Another 36 (25 of the news website condition and 11 of the newspaper condition) respondents were excluded for not answering the question "the article I just read was from a [news website – newspaper – I don't know]" correctly, coming to a total of N = 162 usable respondents for this study, with n = 101 respondents for the news website condition and n = 61 for the newspaper condition. Of the total of N = 162 respondents, n = 91 (56%) respondents were female and n = 71 (44%) were male. Regarding education, overall n = 13 respondents had a lower education level, n = 66 had a secondary education level and n = 83 had a higher education level. For age, the mean for N = 162 was 40.77 with a *SD* of 14.85, the distribution over younger and older people was n = 88 (54%) younger (40 and below) people and n = 74 (46%) older (41 and older) people.

3.6. Normality check of the sample

Normality was checked for the younger (40 years and younger) and older (41 years and above) people within the dependent trust variables. While several conditions were skewed, kurtotic and not normally distributed according to Shapiro-wilk, the Central Limit Theorem does apply as the independent trust variables do build on each other in some sense. Furthermore, the variance for all dependent variables in the different age groups is less than 0.57 and all conditions have n > 28.

4. Results

4.1. Main and interaction effects

Possible interaction and main effects are investigated of age groups (Group 1: 40 years and younger; Group 2: 41 years and above) and the type of media (newspapers and news websites) on trust in news media. Two-way between-groups analysis of variance were conducted to investigate the effects. The results shown in Table 2, show no significant interaction effects. Therefore the main effects of type of media and age category on trust in news media are safe to interpret.

Age category had several significant main effects in propensity to trust, trust in medium and problem perception of fake news. Older people (M = 3.63, SD = 0.63) had significantly higher propensity to trust than younger people (M = 3.46, SD = 0.57) with a small effect size (partial eta squared: .02). On the other hand, younger people (M = 3.46, SD = 0.61) had significantly higher trust in medium compared to older people (M = 3.18, SD = 0.61) with a small effect size (partial eta squared: .05) and younger people (M = 4.25, SD = 0.49) also had a higher problem perception of fake news compared to older people (M = 4.01, SD = 0.52) with a moderate effect size (partial eta squared: .06).

Type of media saw no significant main effects (see Table 2).

Table 2.

Dependent variables	Source	df^*	F	Sig.
Propensity to trust				
	Type of media	1, 158	0.34	.563
	Age category	1, 158	3.93	.049
	Type of media * Age category	1, 158	1.65	.423
Trust in medium				
	Type of media	1, 158	0.00	.955
	Age category	1, 158	7.68	.006
	Type of media * Age category	1, 158	1.01	.932
Trust in Tubantia				
	Type of media	1, 158	3.66	.058
	Age category	1, 158	0.55	.461
	Type of media * Age category	1, 158	1.22	.644
Trust in information				
	Type of media	1, 158	1.20	.276
	Age category	1,158	1.20	.277
	Type of media * Age category	1, 158	1.02	.894
Problem perception of fake news				
	Type of media	1, 158	3.00	.085
	Age category	1, 158	9.30	.003
	Type of media * Age category	1, 158	1.54	.217

ANOVA of type of media and age category on trust variables and problem perception of fake news

4.2. Correlations between variables

Pearson correlation was used to investigate the relationship between the trust variables, problem perception of fake news, news consumption and age (see Table 3).

Table 3.

Correlations of trust variables, problem perception of fake news, news consumption, and age

				Problem			
	Trust in	Trust in	Propensity	perception	Consumption	Consumption	
	Tubantia	medium	to trust	FN	medium	Tubantia	Age
Trust in information	,23**	,33**	,16*	-,17*	-,18*	,04	-,08
Trust in Tubantia	-	,30**	,17*	-,20*	-,01	,27**	-,02
Trust in medium		-	,13	,05	,07	-,02	-,20*
Propensity to trust			-	-,10	,04	,11	,13
Problem perception FN				-	-,02	-,26**	-,29**
Consumption medium					-	,47**	,24**
Consumption Tubantia						-	,41**

Note. **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Except for trust in medium, none of the trust variables were significantly associated to age (see Table 3). The small negative correlation indicates that lower age is associated with higher trust in medium.

Problem perception of fake news had a significant small negative association with age where lower age is associated with higher problem perception of fake news. Problem perception of fake news also had significant negative correlations with trust variables; being a small negative correlation with trust in information and a small negative correlation with trust in Tubantia (See Table 3). The negative correlations indicate that higher problem perception of fake news is associated with lower trust in information and higher trust in Tubantia.

News consumption had a small positive correlation with age as expected, with higher age associated with higher news consumption. However, no associations of news consumption with trust variables were found except for trust in information which was negatively correlated to a small extent, meaning high news consumption associates with lower trust in information (see Table 3).

4.3. Validity of the mediational trust model

As stated by Lucassen and Schraagen (2012), the validity of their model (used in this research) should be proven on validity in different contexts, other than the proven validity for internet (medium) and Wikipedia (source). For that, a bootstrap mediation analysis was conducted through the PROCESS utility for SPSS by Hayes (2013) using bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals with a 1000 bootstrapped sample. Advantages to this analysis method is that this analysis estimates effects (both direct and indirect) including several mediators at the same time, without a need for an assumed normal distribution. Figure 3 shows the layered trust model for news websites with unstandardized regression coefficients between the respective constructs. The propensity to trust was entered as the independent variable, trust in news websites and trust in Tubantia as sequential mediators, and trust in information as the dependent variable.



Indirect effect: .01

Figure 3. Mediational trust model for news websites showing unstandardized regression coefficients. Coefficients marked with three asterisks are significant at the 0.001 level.

While the majority of direct effects are significant, the total indirect effect of the model was insignificant (see Figure 3). Therefore, trust in news websites and trust in Tubantia do not mediate the effect of propensity to trust on trust in information. However, the total indirect effect of trust in Tubantia mediating the effect of propensity to trust on trust in information was significant at .07 (95% CI - 0.00-0.17).

Figure 4 shows the layered trust model for newspapers with unstandardized regression coefficients between the respective constructs. The propensity to trust was entered as the independent variable, trust in newspapers and trust in Tubantia as sequential mediators, and trust in information as the dependent variable.



Indirect effect: -.00

Figure 4. Mediational trust model for newspapers showing unstandardized regression coefficients. Coefficients marked with three asterisks are significant at the 0.001 level.

The total indirect effect of the model was insignificant, as were the direct effects except for trust in newspapers on trust in Tubantia (see Figure 4). Therefore, trust in newspapers and trust in Tubantia do not mediate the effect of propensity to trust on trust in information.

The research question (RQ1) regarding the validity of the trust model of Lucassen & Schraagen (2012) with Tubantia as a source and Newspapers – or – News Websites as a medium were answered in the validity testing. The trust model of Lucassen & Schraagen (2012) is not suitable with Tubantia as a source matched with newspapers as a medium, however for Tubantia as a source and news websites as a medium, the trust model of Lucassen & Schraagen (2012) is partially valid.

4.4. Additional analysis

To answer several hypotheses and research questions, additional analysis has been conducted.

4.4.1. Age differences in trust in online media and offline media

While age differences in trust in medium were analyzed (see Table 2), age differences in trust in online media specifically have not been addressed yet. Therefore, an independent sample t-test was conducted to look for differences in age category on trust in online media, with the intent of answering *H2: Younger people trust online news media more compared to older people*. A significant difference was found in trust in online media between younger (M = 3.47, SD = 0.64) and older (M = 3.18, SD = 0.66) people, with a small effect of mean difference (eta squared = .05). Showing that younger people have higher trust in online media compared to older people.

Table 4.

T-test of age category wit	h trust in online media
----------------------------	-------------------------

	t	df*	Sig. (2-tailed)
Trust in online media	2.196	99	.030

Note. * degrees of freedom

Checking for age differences in trust in offline media, an independent sample t-test was conducted with the intent of answering *H3: Older people trust offline news media more compared to younger people.* No significant difference was found.

4.4.2. Gender differences in trust variables

An independent t-test was conducted to look for differences between gender (males and females) in trust variables, with the aim of answering RQ3 (Are there differences in trust in news media regarding news websites and newspapers among gender?). A significant difference was found in propensity to trust between males (M = 3.41, SD = 0.66) and females (M = 3.64, SD = 0.54), with a small effect of mean difference (eta squared = .04). Showing that females have higher propensity to trust than males.

Table 5.

T-test of gender with propensity to trust

	t	df^*	Sig. (2-tailed)
Propensity to trust	-2.498	160	.013

Note. * degrees of freedom

4.4.3. Educational differences in trust variables

A one-way between-groups analysis of variance was conducted to investigate differences between educational levels on trust variables, intending to answer RQ4 (Are there differences in trust in news media regarding newspapers and news websites among different educational levels?). Respondents were divided in three groups according to their educational level (Lower education level, secondary education level, high education level). A significant difference was found in trust in medium at the p<.05 level for the three educational levels (F(2, 158) = 3.18, p = .044) with a small effect size (eta squared = .04). Post-hoc comparisons using Tukey HSD and Bonferroni correction indicated that the mean for secondary education level (M = 3.19, SD = 0.55) was significantly different from higher education level (M = 3.44, SD = 0.69). Lower education level (M = 3.39, SD = 0.43) did not differ significantly from either secondary or higher education level.

4.4.4. Age differences in newspaper consumption

While age differences in trust in medium were tested, age differences in trust in newspapers specifically were not covered. To test whether there is a difference of newspaper consumption among age categories, which is assumed through the positive correlation of age and news consumption (see Table 3), an independent sample t-test was conducted to explore the differences of *age category* on *newspaper consumption*. There was a significant difference in scores for younger (M = 1.63, SD = 0.60) and older (M = 2.70, SD = 1.11) with a large magnitude in the difference (eta squared = .63). Older people indeed consume newspapers significantly more compared to younger people.

Table 6.

	t	df*	Sig. (2-tailed)
Newspaper consumption	-4.777	50.82	.000

Note. * degrees of freedom

4.4.5. Age differences in problem perception of fake news

Between-groups analysis of variance found no significant main effect of problem perception of fake news and age category (see Table 2), while correlation testing did find a significant negative relationship (see Table 3). An independent sample t-test was conducted to dive deeper into the difference between age category in problem perception of fake news. A significant difference was found between younger (M = 4.25, SD = 0.49) and older (M = 4.01, SD = 0.52) with a moderate mean difference (eta squared = .06). Younger people have higher problem perception of fake news compared to older people.

Table 7.

T-test of age category with problem perception of fake news

	t	df*	Sig. (2-tailed)
Problem perception of fake news	3.066	160	.003

Note. * degrees of freedom

4.5. Overview of hypotheses

H1: Trust in offline news media is higher than trust in online news media	Rejected
H2: Younger people trust online news media more compared to older people	Accepted
H3: Older people trust offline news media more compared to younger people	Rejected
H4: News media consumption is positively related to trust in news media	Rejected
H5: Older people consume more offline news media compared to younger people	Accepted
H6: Younger people consume more online news media compared to older people	Rejected
H7: Problem perception of fake news negatively relates to trust in news media	Rejected
H8: Younger people have a higher problem perception of fake news compared to	Accepted
older people	

4.6. Overview of research questions

<i>RQ1:</i> Is the trust model of Lucassen & Schraagen valid with local news organizations as a source and news media?	Partially - News websites No - Newspapers
<i>RQ2: Are there gender differences in trust in news media regarding news websites and newspapers?</i>	No
<i>RQ3: Are there differences in trust in news media regarding newspapers and news websites among different educational levels?</i>	Yes
<i>RQ4: Does news website consumption relate to the problem perception of fake news?</i>	No

5. Discussion

5.1. Trust in news media

The goal of this study was to investigate the possible influence of age on trust in online and offline news media. The results have shown that younger people did trust news websites significantly more compared to older people, which supports the findings of the European Commission (2018), that argues that younger people have a tendency to put more trust in online news media. Overall, younger people also had significantly higher trust in news media in general. However, trust in news media consisted of trust in online and offline media with no significant age difference found in trust in offline media. Comparisons of age on trust in news media are lacking, this study added to the limited research and showed that younger people trust online news media more compared to older people.

Higher trust in newspapers was expected among older people based on the findings that older people consume more offline media and in particular newspapers and based on the assumed positive association of news consumption and trust in news media,. However, trust in newspapers was not higher among older people in this study. This could be explained by the non-existent connection of news consumption and trust in news media in this study, in line with the research of Brlek et al. (2016) and Moody (2011), which will be elaborated on in section 5.3. News consumption. Interestingly, this study found a negative connection between news consumption and trust in information. This suggests that the more people consume news, the less they trust information. While this connection might be coincidental as other trust variables were not related to news consumption, it is something to keep in mind for further research.

The overall difference between trust in offline and online news media was insignificant. The theory suggested higher trust in offline media compared to online media (Statista, 2017a). However the studies either did not measure trust as elaborate as this study (e.g. Edelman Intelligence, 2018; European Commission, 2017a; Reuters Institute, 2018), or combined online media with social media in the measurement of trust in online media which could have lowered trust in online news media drastically based on the overall low trust in social media news (De Coninck et al., 2019; Fletcher & Park, 2017). The gap of research in comparing online and offline news media in the form of news websites and newspapers has been addressed with this study, suggesting no significant difference in trust in news media when the source (in this case a local news organization) and information are the same in both the online and offline context.

The validity testing of the trust model used in this study showed some interesting results as well. This model explains how the trust variables are related to each other and several significant coefficients were found. The predictive power of the individual variables however, is limited by several other factors that could influence trust at different levels, like information skills and familiarity with the media (Lucassen & Schraagen, 2011). While the trust model of Lucassen & Schraagen (2012) showed

no total indirect mediational effect – trust in medium and trust in tubantia mediating the effect of propensity to trust on trust in information – it did show partial mediation with news websites as a medium and local news organizations as a source. The indirect effect of trust in Tubantia mediating the effect of propensity to trust on trust in information was significant. Furthermore, the significant coefficients show that:

- Trust in Tubantia is influenced by; trust in news websites, trust in newspapers and propensity to trust
- Trust in information is influenced by trust in news websites and trust in tubantia

The only variable within the online context (news websites) with non-significant coefficients was propensity to trust, with no proven influence on trust in news websites and trust in information. However, in situations where the need for credibility of information is high, the influence of propensity to trust is less, because trust is fine-tuned to actual credibility of information through a deeper evaluation of credibility (Metzger, 2007). This could explain the non-significant effects of propensity to trust in this study.

The trust model might proof suitable for internet related sources and media, as the model was validated with Wikipedia as a source and internet as a medium in the original study of Lucassen & Schraagen (2012). Contrary, the trust model only yielded one significant connection in the offline context with newspaper as a medium and Tubantia as a source, suggesting an unfavorable fit within an offline field.

5.2. Problem perception of fake news

Fake news has been studied in several contexts, but was not researched as a possible influence of trust in news media to this extent. This study shows that, while problem perception of fake news does not relate to trust in medium or propensity to trust, it does negatively relate to trust in information and trust in Tubantia. This suggests that problem perception of fake news affects trust in local sources and trust in information from those sources rather than the media in general. This suggests that local news organizations might suffer from a high problem perception of fake news. Furthermore, the created construct of problem perception of fake news was reliable in this study and proves promising for use in further research.

Younger people do have a significantly higher problem perception of fake news compared to older people as expected. This is in line with the findings of Flintham et al. (2018) and Marchi (2012) who argue that younger people consume more fake news, especially through social media. News website consumption however, did not relate to problem perception of fake news in this sample. Fake news is mainly present in news through social media (Flintham et al., 2018; Gelfert, 2018) therefore, social media consumption is more likely to correlate negatively with problem perception of fake news as

stated by Tsfati (2010) and Verma et al. (2018). Still, overall this study made clear that fake news can have an effect on trust in news media and that it differs within age categories.

5.3. News consumption

Overall news consumption (newspapers and news websites) was significantly higher among older people compared to younger people as assumed. The difference in consumption between older and younger people was especially apparent in the newspaper condition, where older people read more newspapers than younger people. This is supported by Althaus and Tewksbury (2010) and Diddi and Larose (2010) saying that older people generally read more print news, and in line with the statement of Casero-Ripollés (2012) about peoples' increased need to be informed when they get older.

Matching the findings of Brlek et al. (2016), Moody (2011), and Strömbäck et al. (2020), no relationship was found between news consumption and trust variables suggesting that people consume news for different reasons than just trusting news media. A possible explanation was already discussed in the theory section. As Strömbäck et al. (2020) argue, news media is also used for different goals than gathering information that is trusted. Furthermore, it is argued that news information is explored, while the information is not particularly trusted, for convenience reasons (based on repertoires of consumption of media they usually follow for certain news) in the political sphere (Moody, 2011). As stated by Tsfati & Cappella (2003), the connection between media consumption and trust in news media is based on the assumption that people have a need to inform themselves about ongoing events and happenings in the world and therefore consume news. In this study older people consumed significantly more newspapers compared to younger people, while not trusting newspapers significantly more. This suggests that older people have other reasons for consuming newspapers than trust alone, which could be (e.g.); entertainment goals, diversion, identity needs or companionship (Blumler, 1979; Katz et al., 1973; A. Rubin, 2009).

6. Limitations and recommendations

6.1. Limitations

Like all research, this study has limitations. The sample was relatively small with N = 162 and the spread over the conditions was not entirely equal, with newspaper condition n = 61 and news website condition n = 101. Therefore, this study was not perfectly balanced between the conditions. It is recommended to balance the conditions so that they are weighted equally.

The respondents were asked at the beginning of the survey whether they occasionally read a newspaper or news website (depending on the condition). When the answer was "no" they were

excluded from participation. Not including data from people that do "not occasionally read newspapers or news websites" may have caused systematic bias.

While several connections were significant among variables through correlation testing, causality was not tested in this study. Therefore, this study is limited in regards to statements about causation.

6.2. Recommendations

This study gave interesting insights in age differences in trust in news media, news consumption and problem perception of fake news. The limitations of this study give implications for future research which are described below.

The trust model used in this study needs further research to determine applicable study fields and more validity testing with larger samples and in other contexts, so far only the original study by Lucassen and Schraagen (2012) and this study have applied this model. The suggestion that the trust model fits an online context better also needs to be researched, but so far it proves reliable in the internet context.

Furthermore, this study showed that news consumption and trust in news media do not correlate for this sample, it is therefore recommended not to assume a correlation between news consumption and trust in news media in future studies. Future research regarding news consumption and usage of news media should include reasons to consume like entertainment purposes, diversion, and companionship to react on a possible non-correlation between news consumption and trust in news media.

7. Conclusion

This study looked at differences in trust in news media among younger and older people. Younger people trusted online news media more compared to older people. However, there was no difference in age for offline news media which was expected through the significantly higher news consumption of offline news by older people. This can be explained by the fact that news consumption in this study did not relate to trust in news media. Furthermore, the validity of the trust model used in this study showed an overall good fit for news websites as a medium and Tubantia as a source. Seeing the initial use of the model being in an internet related context, and the internet related fit in this study, it could be that the trust model generally applies better in internet contexts. Within research where the need for credible information is of importance, propensity to trust is of less significance in the trust model as proven in this study. For problem perception of fake news, this study concludes that problem perception affects local news organizations and the information they publish, more than the media in general.

Reference list

- Al-radaideh, Q. A., Abu-shanab, E., Hamam, S., & Abu-salem, H. (2011). Usability evaluation of online news websites: A user perspective approach. *International Journal of Computer and Information Engineering*, 5(2), 202–210.
- Allcott, H., & Gentzkow, M. (2017). Social media and fake news in the 2016 election. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *31*(2), 211–236. https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.31.2.211
- Althaus, S. L., & Tewksbury, D. (2000). Patterns of internet and traditional news media use in a networked community. *Political Communication*, 17(1), 21–45. https://doi.org/10.1080/105846000198495
- Ardèvol-Abreu, A., & Gil De Zúñiga, H. (2017). Effects of editorial media bias perception and media trust on the use of traditional, citizen, and social media news. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 94(3), 703–724. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699016654684
- Ardèvol-Abreu, A., Hooker, C. M., & Gil de Zúñiga, H. (2018). Online news creation, trust in the media, and political participation: Direct and moderating effects over time. *Journalism*, 19(5), 611–631. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917700447
- Bachmann, I., Kaufhold, K., Lewis, S. C., & Zúñiga, H. G. De. (2010). News platform preference : Advancing the effects of age and media consumption on political participation. *International Journal of Internet Science*, 5(1), 34–47.
- Bakir, V., & McStay, A. (2017). Fake News and The Economy of Emotions: Problems, causes, solutions. *Digital Journalism*, 6(2), 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1345645
- Bakir, V., & McStay, A. (2018). Fake News and The Economy of Emotions: Problems, causes, solutions. *Digital Journalism*, 6(2), 154–175. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1345645
- Bennett, S. E., Rhine, S. L., Flickinger, R. S., & Bennett, L. L. M. (1999). "Video malaise" revisited: Public trust in the media and government. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 4(4), 8–23. https://doi.org/10.1177/1081180X9900400402
- Bhaskaran, H., Mishra, H., & Nair, P. (2017). Contextualizing fake news in post-truth era: Journalism education in india. *Asia Pacific Media Educator*, 27(1), 41–50. https://doi.org/10.1177/1326365X17702277
- Blumler, J. G. (1979). The role of theory in uses and gratifications studies. *Communication Research*, 6(1), 9–36. https://doi.org/10.1177/009365027900600102
- Brlek, S. S., Zajc, J., & Mance, B. (2016). Connections between trust in journalism and patterns of media use. *Medijska Istrazivanja*, 22(1), 41–63. https://doi.org/10.22572/mi.22.1.2
- Carr, D. J., Barnidge, M., Lee, B. G., & Tsang, S. J. (2014). Cynics and skeptics : Evaluating the credibility of mainstream and citizen journalism. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 91(3), 452–470. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699014538828
- Casero-Ripollés, A. (2012). Beyond newspapers: News consumption among young people in the digital era. *Comunicar*, 20(39), 151–158. https://doi.org/10.3916/C39-2012-03-05
- CBS. (2019). Bevolking; kerncijfers. https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/cijfers/detail/37296ned
- Ceron, A. (2015). Internet, news, and political trust: The difference between social media and online media outlets. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 20(5), 487–503. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12129
- Chen, Z. F., & Cheng, Y. (2019). Consumer response to fake news about brands on social media: the effects of self-efficacy, media trust, and persuasion knowledge on brand trust. *Journal of Product and Brand Management*, 29(2), 188–198. https://doi.org/10.1108/JPBM-12-2018-2145

- Ciceri, E., Fedorov, R., Umuhoza, E., & Brambilla, M. (2015). Assessing online media content trustworthiness, relevance and influence: an introductory survey. *1st International Workshop on Knowledge Discovery on the WEB, September*.
- Coleman, S. (2012). Believing the news: From sinking trust to atrophied efficacy. *European Journal* of Communication, 27(1), 35–45. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323112438806
- Conroy, N. J., Rubin, V. L., & Chen, Y. (2015). Automatic deception detection: Methods for finding fake news. *Proceedings of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, October. https://doi.org/10.1002/pra2.2015.145052010082
- Corner, J. (2017). Fake news, post-truth and media–political change. *Media, Culture and Society*, 39(7), 1100–1107. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443717726743
- De Coninck, D., D'Haenens, L., & Joris, W. (2019). Investigating intergroup attitudes in Europe: Cross-national data on news media, attitudes towards newcomers, and socio-psychological indicators. *Data in Brief*, 26, 1–6. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dib.2019.104535
- Diddi, A., & Larose, R. (2010). Getting hooked on news : Uses and gratifications and the formation of news habits among college students in an internet environment. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 50(2), 193–210. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15506878jobem5002 2
- Edelman. (2018). 2018 Edelman Trust Barometer Release 1-16 Final. 34. http://cms.edelman.com/sites/default/files/2018-02/2018_Edelman_Trust_Barometer_Global_Report_FEB.pdf
- Edelman Intelligence. (2018). 2018 Edelman trust global report. In *Edelman Trust Barometer*. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1751731115001846
- Engelke, K. M., Hase, V., & Wintterlin, F. (2019). On measuring trust and distrust in journalism: Reflection of the status quo and suggestions for the road ahead. *Journal of Trust Research*, 9(1), 66–86. https://doi.org/10.1080/21515581.2019.1588741
- European Commission. (2017a). Share of Europeans that tended to trust media in 2017, by age and medium. Statista. https://www.statista.com/statistics/453783/europe-trust-in-media-by-age-and-medium/
- European Commission. (2017b). *Standard Eurobarometer 88* (Issue Autumn). https://doi.org/10.2775/116707
- European Commission. (2018). Fake news and disinformation online. https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/2d79b85a-4cea-11e8-be1d-01aa75ed71a1/language-en
- Fischer, C. (2018). What is meant by 'trust' in news media? In *Trust in Media and Journalism* (pp. 19–38). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-20765-6_2
- Fletcher, R., & Park, S. (2017). The impact of trust in the news media on online news consumption and participation. *Digital Journalism*, 5(10), 1281–1299. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1279979
- Flintham, M., Karner, C., Bachour, K., Creswick, H., Gupta, N., & Moran, S. (2018). Falling for fake news: Investigating the consumption of news via social media. *Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems, April*, 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1145/3173574.3173950
- Gainous, J., Abbott, J. P., & Wagner, K. M. (2019). Traditional versus internet media in a restricted information environment: How trust in the medium matters. *Political Behavior*, *41*(2), 401–422. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-018-9456-6
- Gallup/Knight Foundation. (2018). *American views: trust, media and democracy*. https://kf-siteproduction.s3.amazonaws.com/publications/pdfs/000/000/242/original/KnightFoundation_Ameri cansViews_Client_Report_010917_Final_Updated.pdf

- Gelfert, A. (2018). Fake news : A definition. *Informal Logic*, *38*(1), 84–117. https://doi.org/10.22329/il.v38i1.5068
- Goode, L. (2009). Social news, citizen journalism and democracy. *New Media and Society*, *11*(8), 1287–1305. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444809341393
- Gronke, P., & Cook, T. E. (2007). Disdaining the media: The American public's changing attitudes toward the news. *Political Communication*, 24(3), 259–281. https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600701471591
- Hasenay, D., & Krtalić, M. (2010). Preservation of newspapers: Theoretical approaches and practical achievements. *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science*, 42(4), 245–255. https://doi.org/10.1177/0961000610380818
- Hayes, A. F. (2017). Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process Analysis A regression-based approach (2nd ed.). Guilford.
- Heravi, B. R., & Harrower, N. (2016). Twitter journalism in Ireland: sourcing and trust in the age of social media*. *Information Communication and Society*, 19(9), 1194–1213. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1187649
- Huang, E. (2009). The causes of youths' low news consumption and strategies for making youths happy news consumers. *Convergence*, *15*(1), 105–122. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856508097021
- Huang, J., Shi, S., Chen, Y., & Chow, W. (2016). How do students trust Wikipedia? An examination across genders. *Information Technology & People*, 29(4), 750–773. https://doi.org/10.1108/ITP-12-2014-0267
- Jankowski, N. W. (2018). Researching fake news: A selective examination of empirical studies. *Javnost*, 25(3), 248–255. https://doi.org/10.1080/13183222.2018.1418964
- Jones, D. A. (2004). Why Americans don't trust the media: A preliminary analysis. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 9(2), 60–75. https://doi.org/10.1177/1081180X04263461
- Kalogeropoulos, A., Suiter, J., Udris, L., & Eisenegger, M. (2019). News media trust and news consumption: Factors related to trust in news in 35 countries. *International Journal of Communication*, 13, 22.
- Karnowski, V., Leonhard, L., & Kümpel, A. S. (2018). Why users share the news: A theory of reasoned action-based study on the antecedents of news-sharing behavior. *Communication Research Reports*, *35*(2), 91–100. https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2017.1379984
- Katz, E., Blumler, J. G., & Gurevitch, M. (1973). Uses and gratifications research. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, *37*(4), 509–523. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2747854
- Kiousis, S. (2001). Public trust or mistrust? Perceptions of media credibility in the information age. *Mass Communication & Society*, 4(4), 405–418. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327825MCS0404
- Kohring, M. (2004). Vertrauen in Journalismus: Theorie und Empirie (Issue January).
- Kohring, M., & Matthes, J. (2007). Trust in news media: Development and validation of a multidimensional scale. *Communication Research*, 34(2), 231–252. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650206298071
- Lee, S. K., Lindsey, N. J., & Kim, K. S. (2017). The effects of news consumption via social media and news information overload on perceptions of journalistic norms and practices. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 75, 254–263. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2017.05.007
- Lee, T. T. (2010). Why they don't trust the media: An examination of factors predicting trust. American Behavioral Scientist, 54(1), 8–21. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764210376308

Lewandowsky, S., Ecker, U. K. H., & Cook, J. (2017). Beyond misinformation: Understanding and

coping with the "post-truth" era. *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition*, 6(4), 353–369. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jarmac.2017.07.008

- Lewis, J. (2006). News and the empowerment of citizens. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 9(3), 303–319. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549406066075
- Lucassen, T., & Schraagen, J. M. (2011). Factual Accuracy and Trust in Information: The Role of Expertise. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 62(7), 1232–1242. https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.21545
- Lucassen, T., & Schraagen, J. M. (2012). Propensity to trust and the influence of source and medium cues in credibility evaluation. *Journal of Information Science*, *38*(6), 566–577. https://doi.org/10.1177/0165551512459921
- Marchi, R. (2012). With Facebook, blogs, and fake news, teens reject journalistic "objectivity." *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 36(3), 246–262. https://doi.org/10.1177/0196859912458700
- McGonagle, T. (2017). "Fake news": False fears or real concerns? *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights*, *35*(4), 203–209. https://doi.org/10.1177/0924051917738685
- Metzger, M. J. (2007). Making Sense of Credibility on the Web: Models for Evaluating Online Information and Recommendations for Future Research. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 58(13), 2078–2091. https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.20672
- Metzger, M. J., & Flanagin, A. J. (2015). Psychological approaches to credibility assessment online. In *The Handbook of the Psychology of Communication Technology* (pp. 445–466). John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118426456.ch20
- Metzger, M. J., Flanagin, A. J., Eyal, K., Lemus, D. R., & McCann, R. M. (2003). Credibility for the 21st century: Integrating perspectives on source, message, and media credibility in the contemporary media environment. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 27(1), 293–335. https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2003.11679029
- Meyer, P. (1988). Defining and measuring credibility of newspapers: Developing an index. *Journalism Quarterly*, 65(3), 567–574. https://doi.org/10.1177/107769908806500301
- Moody, K. E. (2011). Credibility or convenience? Political information choices in a media-saturated environment. *Media International Australia*, *140*, 35–46. https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878x1114000107
- Otto, K., & Köhler, A. (2018). *Trust in media and journalism*. Springer US. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-20765-6_1
- Paisana, M., Pinto-Martinho, A., & Cardoso, G. (2020). Trust and fake news: Exploratory analysis of the impact of news literacy on the relationship with news content in Portugal. *Communication* and Society, 33(2), 105–117. https://doi.org/10.15581/003.33.2.105-117
- Pjesivac, I., Spasovska, K., & Imre, I. (2016). The truth between the lines: Conceptualization of trust in news media in Serbia, Macedonia, and Croatia. *Mass Communication and Society*, *19*(3), 323–351. https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2015.1128548
- Prochazka, F., & Schweiger, W. (2019). How to measure generalized trust in news media? An adaptation and test of scales. *Communication Methods and Measures*, *13*(1), 26–42. https://doi.org/10.1080/19312458.2018.1506021
- Quandt, T. (2012). What's left of trust in a network society? An evolutionary model and critical discussion of trust and societal communication. *European Journal of Communication*, 27(1), 7–21. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323111434452
- Quintanilha, T. L., Da Silva, M. T., & Lapa, T. (2019). Fake news and its impact on trust in the news. Using the portuguese case to establish lines of differentiation. *Communication and Society*, 32(3), 17–33. https://doi.org/10.15581/003.32.3.17-33

- Reuters Institute. (2018). Mediamonitor 2018. In *Reuters Institute Digital News Report Nederland* 2018.
- Rubin, A. (2009). Uses-and-gratifications perspective on media effects.
- Rubin, V. L., Chen, Y., & Conroy, N. J. (2015). Deception detection for news: Three types of fakes. Proceedings of the Association for Information Science and Technology. https://doi.org/10.1002/pra2.2015.145052010083
- Ruchansky, N., Seo, S., & Liu, Y. (2017). CSI: A hybrid deep model for fake news detection. International Conference on Information and Knowledge Management. https://doi.org/10.1145/3132847.3132877
- Ruggiero, T. E. (2000). Uses and gratifications theory in the 21st century. *Mass Communication and Society*, *3*(1), 3–37. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327825MCS0301 02
- Schmeets, H. (2018). Vertrouwen op de kaart.
- Schranz, M., Schneider, J., & Eisenegger, M. (2018). Media trust and media use. In K. Otto & A. Köhler (Eds.), *Trust in Media and Journalism* (pp. 73–91). Springer VS. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-20765-6
- Shearer, E., & Gottfried, J. (2017). News use across social media platforms 2017 | Pew Research Center. http://www.journalism.org/2017/09/07/news-use-across-social-media-platforms-2017/
- Statista. (2017a). *Europe media trust index 2017 Survey*. https://www.statista.com/statistics/454409/europe-media-trust-index/
- Statista. (2017b). *Media usage in Europe*. https://www-statista-com.esc-web.lib.cbs.dk:8443/study/42088/media-usage-in-denmark/
- Strömbäck, J., Tsfati, Y., Boomgaarden, H., Damstra, A., Lindgren, E., Vliegenthart, R., & Lindholm, T. (2020). News media trust and its impact on media use: toward a framework for future research. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 44(3), 139–156. https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2020.1755338
- Thurman, N. (2008). Forums for citizen journalists? Adoption of user generated content initiatives by online news media. *New Media and Society*, *10*(1), 139–157. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444807085325
- Tsfati, Y. (2010). Online news exposure and trust in the mainstream media : Exploring possible associations. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *54*(1), 22–42. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764210376309
- Tsfati, Y., & Ariely, G. (2014). Individual and contextual correlates of trust in media across 44 countries. *Communication Research*, *41*(6), 760–782. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650213485972
- Tsfati, Y., & Cappella, J. N. (2003). Do people watch what they do not trust? *Communication Research*, 30(5), 504–529. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650203253371
- Tsfati, Y., & Cappella, J. N. (2010). Why do people watch news they do not Trust? The need for cognition as a moderator in the association between news media skepticism and exposure. *Media Psychology*, 7(3), 251–271. https://doi.org/10.1207/S1532785XMEP0703
- Verma, N., Fleischmann, K. R., & Koltai, K. S. (2018). Demographic factors and trust in different news sources. *Proceedings of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, 55(1), 524–533. https://doi.org/10.1002/pra2.2018.14505501057
- Wang, W. Y. (2017). "Liar, liar pants on fire": A new benchmark dataset for fake news detection. ACL 2017 - 55th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics, Proceedings of the Conference (Long Papers), 422–426. https://doi.org/10.18653/v1/P17-2067

- Westerman, D., & Spence, P. R. (2014). Social media as information source : Recency of updates and credibility of information. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *19*, 171–183. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12041
- Yale, R. N., Jensen, J. D., Carcioppolo, N., Sun, Y., & Liu, M. (2015). Examining first- and secondorder factor structures for news credibility. *Communication Methods and Measures*, 9(3), 152– 169. https://doi.org/10.1080/19312458.2015.1061652

Appendix A

Hartelijk dank voor uw deelname aan dit onderzoek. Dit onderzoek gaat over uw mening over nieuwsberichten. Uw deelname is anoniem en uw gegevens zullen niet worden gedeeld met derden. Het onderzoek zal maximaal 10 minuten duren en deelname kan op elk moment stop worden gezet.

Mocht u vragen of opmerkingen hebben betreffende dit onderzoek, neem dan gerust contact op via: m.ridder@student.utwente.nl

Nadat u op de pijl heeft geklikt gaat u akkoord met het onderzoek en krijgt u vier vragen over uzelf en daarna een nieuwsbericht te zien. Nadat u het bericht heeft gelezen volgen enkele vragen over dit nieuwsbericht en nieuwsmedia in het algemeen.

Als u gereed bent kunt u op de pijl klikken.

Komt u uit, of woont u in, de regio Twente? (Almelo, Borne, Dinkelland, Enschede, Haaksbergen, Hellendoorn, Hengelo, Hof van Twente, Losser, Oldenzaal, Rijssen-Holten, Tubbergen, Twenterand, Wierden)

🔿 Ja

O Nee, ik woon in _____

Wat is uw geslacht?

🔿 Man

O Vrouw

Wat is uw leeftijd in jaren?
Wat is uw hoogst afgeronde opleidingsniveau?

O Basisschool	
O MAVO/VMBO/LBO	
⊖ havo	
○ vwo	
О мво	
O HBO/WO-Bachelor	
O WO-Master	
O Anders, namelijk:	

Leest u wel eens nieuws artikelen op een nieuws website?

🔿 Ja

O Nee

Lees het volgende artikel aandachtig door



Primark Enschede sluit deuren, pand wordt mogelijk gesloopt

ENSCHEDE – Door problemen met de fundering is de Primark in Enschede vanaf morgen gesloten. Dat heeft de vestiging besloten na overleg met de gemeente Enschede. De fundering is zelfs zodanig aangetast dat het gebouw eventueel gesloopt zal moeten worden.

Redactie



De problemen kwamen aan het licht toen een medewerker opmerkte dat de vloer gedeeltelijk was ingezakt op de begane grond aan de oostzijde van het pand. "Het was daar altijd al wat oneven, maar nu zijn er gewoon hele tegels afgebroken", aldus een medewerker. De Primark, die sinds 2014 het bezoek aan de binnenstad van Enschede een impuls geeft, heeft meteen actie ondernomen. "Gezien het mogelijke gevaar hebben wij geen andere keus dan de vestiging vanaf morgen te sluiten" zegt een woordvoerder. Klanten reageren geschrokken.

Primark sluit de vestiging op advies van een inspectieteam dat was ingeschakeld door de gemeente. Uit hun onderzoek blijkt dat de fundering een groot probleem vormt. Meerdere funderingspalen zijn aangetast en weggezakt, waarschijnlijk vanwege klei en vocht in de ondergrond. Mogelijk kampen omliggende winkels naast de Primark met hetzelfde probleem..

De komende dagen voert de inspectie aanvullende controles uit in het pand, waarna duidelijk wordt of het pand gesloopt moet worden. Die kans is groot volgens een woordvoerder van het inspectieteam: "Er zit bijna niets anders op gezien het instortingsgevaar."

Nadat u op de pijl heeft geklikt volgen een aantal vragen en stellingen over het artikel dat u zojuist heeft gelezen.

Het artikel dat ik zojuist heb gelezen was afkomstig van een:

O Papieren krant

🔘 Nieuws website

O Weet ik niet

	Helemaal oneens	Oneens	Neutraal	Eens	Helemaal eens
De informatie in dit artikel is nauwkeurig	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	0
De informatie in dit artikel is feitelijk	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
De focus is op belangrijke feiten	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
De informatie bevat verschillende perspectieven	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
Het artikel is compleet en bevat alle belangrijke punten	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	0
Er is informatie weggelaten in dit artikel	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
Er is informatie vervormd in dit artikel	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
De informatie in dit artikel is eenzijdig	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
De informatie in dit artikel is te vertrouwen	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc

De volgende stellingen gaan over het <u>vertrouwen dat u heeft in de informatie</u> die u zojuist heeft gelezen. Geef per stelling aan in hoeverre u het er mee eens/oneens bent.

De volgende stellingen hebben eveneens te maken met het door u gelezen <u>artikel.</u> Geef per stelling aan in hoeverre u het er mee eens/oneens bent.

	Oneens	Neutraal	Eens	Helemaal eens
De vormgeving van het gelezen artikel is hoe ik het gewend ben	0	0	0	0
Het gelezen artikel lijkt op artikelen die ik normaal op een nieuws website tegenkom	0	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc

De volgende stellingen hebben te maken met uw **algemene vertrouwen** in de <u>Twentsche Courant</u> <u>Tubantia</u> (hierna Tubantia). Geef per stelling aan in hoeverre u het er mee eens/oneens bent.

	Helemaal oneens	Oneens	Neutraal	Eens	Helemaal eens
Bij het zoeken naar nieuws gebruik ik de Tubantia in plaats van andere bronnen	0	0	0	0	0
De Tubantia is geloofwaardig	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
De hoofdredactie van de Tubantia is te vertrouwen	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	0	0
De journalisten van de Tubantia zijn te vertrouwen	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	0
Bij behoefte aan nieuws, kan het gevonden worden in de Tubantia	0	0	\bigcirc	0	0
Er is een risico op onjuiste informatie vanuit de Tubantia	0	0	\bigcirc	0	0

De volgende stellingen hebben te maken met uw vertrouwen in <u>nieuws websites in het algemeen</u>. Geef per stelling aan in hoeverre u het er mee eens/oneens bent.

	Helemaal oneens	Oneens	Neutraal	Eens	Helemaal eens
Bij het zoeken naar nieuws gebruik ik nieuws websites in plaats van papieren kranten	0	0	0	0	0
Nieuws websites zijn geloofwaardig	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
De organisaties en mensen achter nieuws websites zijn te vertrouwen	0	\bigcirc	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
Bij behoefte aan nieuws, kan het gevonden worden op nieuws websites	0	\bigcirc	0	0	0
Mijn privacy is beschermd op nieuws websites	0	0	0	0	0

	Helemaal oneens	Oneens	Neutraal	Eens	Helemaal eens
Ik geloof dat de meeste mensen van nature goede bedoelingen hebben	0	0	0	0	0
Wat betreft de intenties van anderen, ben ik nogal sceptisch	0	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
Ik geloof dat je wordt gebruikt door de meeste mensen als je dat toelaat	0	0	0	\bigcirc	0
Ik geloof dat de meeste mensen met wie ik te maken heb, eerlijk en betrouwbaar zijn	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	0
Ik word wantrouwig als iemand mij een gunst verleent	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
Mijn eerste reactie is om mensen te vertrouwen	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
Ik heb de neiging om van het beste van anderen uit te gaan	0	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	0
Ik heb vertrouwen in de menselijke aard	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc

De volgende stellingen hebben te maken met uw <u>vertrouwen in het algemeen</u>. Geef per stelling aan in hoeverre u het er mee eens/oneens bent. De volgende vragen gaan over uw <u>nieuwsconsumptie</u>.

	Minder dan een keer per maand	Maandelijks	Wekelijks	Meermaals per week	Dagelijks
Hoe vaak leest u het nieuws via een nieuws website?	0	0	0	\bigcirc	0
Hoe vaak leest u het nieuws via de website van de Tubantia?	0	0	\bigcirc	0	\bigcirc

De volgende vragen gaan ook over uw <u>nieuwsconsumptie</u>.

	Minder dan een half uur	Half uur tot één uur	Meer dan één uur, tot anderhalf uur	Meer dan anderhalf uur, tot twee uur	Meer dan twee uur
Hoeveel tijd besteedt u gemiddeld per dag aan het lezen van nieuws via een nieuws website?	0	0	0	\bigcirc	0
Hoeveel tijd besteedt u gemiddeld per dag aan het lezen van de Tubantia via de website?	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc

Het volgende onderdeel gaat over 'fake news', oftwel; nepnieuws. Hieronder volgt een omschrijving van het begrip. Lees de omschrijving aandachtig door.

Definitie nepnieuws: Nepnieuws is de opzettelijke presentatie van foute en misleidende informatie, gebracht alsof het echt nieuws is.

Nadat u op de pijl heeft geklikt volgen stellingen die te maken hebben met 'nepnieuws'.

Geef per onderstaande stelling aan in hoeverre u het er mee eens/oneens bent:

Naar mijn mening...

	Helemaal oneens	Oneens	Neutraal	Eens	Helemaal eens
heeft nepnieuws invloed op het algemene vertrouwen in de nieuwsmedia	0	0	0	0	0
heeft nepnieuws invloed op het ontstaan van verkeerd geïnformeerde burgers	0	0	0	0	0
heeft nepnieuws invloed op de geloofwaardigheid van de informatie van nieuwsmedia	0	0	0	0	0
draagt nepnieuws bij aan emotionele reacties en verontwaardiging	0	0	\bigcirc	0	0
heeft nepnieuws invloed op het ontstaan van een tunnelvisie (eigen overtuigingen veranderen niet meer) bij mensen	0	0	\bigcirc	0	0
is nepnieuws een fenomeen dat ook in de toekomst nog voor zal komen	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	0	0

<u>Hartelijk dank voor uw deelname!</u> Het artikel dat u heeft gelezen was een fictief artikel en was dus niet echt. Dit onderzoek heeft te maken met het vertrouwen dat mensen hebben in de nieuwsmedia en nieuwsberichten. Mocht u interesse hebben in de resultaten, of uw voorheen gegeven toestemming in willen trekken, dan kunt u mij benaderen via: m.ridder@student.utwente.nl Mocht u vragen of opmerkingen hebben dan kunt u die hieronder kwijt

Vragen/opmerkingen:

Leest u wel eens een papieren krant?

🔿 Ja

O Nee

Lees het onderstaande artikel aandachtig door



Twentse webwinkel laat klanten zelf betalen voor hun rete

Primark Enschede sluit deuren, pand wordt mogelijk gesloopt

ENSCHEDE – Door problemen met de fundering is de Primark in Enschede vanaf morgen gesloten. Dat heeft de vestiging besloten na overleg met de gemeente Enschede. De fundering is zelfs zodanig aangetast dat het gebouw eventueel gesloopt zal moeten worden.

Redactie

Enschede

De problemen kwamen aan het licht, toen een medewerker opmerkte dat de vloer gedeeltelijk was ingezakt op de begane grond aan de oostzijde van het pand. "Het was daar altijd al wat oneven, maar nu zijn er gewoon hele tegels afgebroken", aldus een medewerker. De Primark, die sinds 2014 aan de binnenstad van Enschede een impuls geeft, heeft meteen actie ondernomen.

"Gezien het mogelijke gevaar hebben wij geen andere keus dan de vestiging vanaf morgen te sluiten" zegt een woordvoerder. Klanten reageren geschrokken.

Primark sluit de vestiging op advies van een inspectieteam dat was ingeschakeld door de gemeente. Uit hun onderzoek blijkt dat de fundering een groot probleem vormt. Meerdere funderingspalen zijn aangetast en weggezakt, waarschijnlijk vanwege klei en vocht in de ondergrond. Mogelijk kampen omliggende winkels naast de Primark met hetzelfde probleem.

De komende dagen voert de inspectie aanvullende controles uit in het pand, waarna duidelijk wordt of het pand gesloopt moet worden. Die kans is groot volgens een woordvoerder van het inspectieteam. "Er zit bijna niets anders op gezien het instortingsgevaar."

Nadat u op de pijl heeft geklikt volgen een aantal vragen en stellingen over het artikel dat u zojuist heeft gelezen.

Het artikel dat ik zojuist heb gelezen was afkomstig van een:

O Papieren krant

O Nieuws website

O Weet ik niet

De volgende stellingen gaan over het <u>vertrouwen dat u heeft in de informatie</u> die u zojuist heeft gelezen. Geef per stelling aan in hoeverre u het er mee eens/oneens bent.

	Helemaal oneens	Oneens	Neutraal	Eens	Helemaal eens
De informatie in dit artikel is nauwkeurig	0	0	0	0	0
De informatie in dit artikel is feitelijk	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
De focus is op belangrijke feiten	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
De informatie bevat verschillende perspectieven	\bigcirc	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
Het artikel is compleet en bevat alle belangrijke punten	0	0	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
Er is informatie weggelaten in dit artikel	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
Er is informatie vervormd in dit artikel	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
De informatie in dit artikel is eenzijdig	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
De informatie in dit artikel is te vertrouwen	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc

De volgende stellingen hebben eveneens te maken met het door u gelezen <u>artikel.</u> Geef per stelling aan in hoeverre u het er mee eens/oneens bent.

naal eens	Hel	Eens	Neutraal	Oneens	Helemaal oneens	
0		0	0	0	0	De vormgeving van het gelezen artikel is hoe ik het gewend ben
0		0	0	0	0	Het gelezen artikel lijkt op artikelen die ik normaal op in een papieren krant tegenkom
(0	\bigcirc	0	\bigcirc	normaal op in een papieren

De volgende stellingen hebben te maken met uw <u>algemene vertrouwen</u> in de <u>Twentsche Courant</u> <u>Tubantia</u> (hierna Tubantia). Geef per stelling aan in hoeverre u het er mee eens/oneens bent.

	Helemaal oneens	Oneens	Neutraal	Eens	Helemaal eens
Bij het zoeken naar nieuws gebruik ik de Tubantia in plaats van andere bronnen	0	0	0	0	0
De Tubantia is geloofwaardig	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
De hoofdredactie van de Tubantia is te vertrouwen	\bigcirc	0	0	\bigcirc	0
De journalisten van de Tubantia zijn te vertrouwen	0	0	0	\bigcirc	0
Bij behoefte aan nieuws, kan het gevonden worden in de Tubantia	0	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	0
Er is een risico op onjuiste informatie vanuit de Tubantia	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	0

	Helemaal oneens	Oneens	Neutraal	Eens	Helemaal eens
Bij het zoeken naar nieuws gebruik ik papieren kranten in plaats van nieuws websites	0	0	0	0	0
Papieren kranten zijn geloofwaardig	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
De organisaties en mensen achter papieren kranten zijn te vertrouwen	0	0	0	0	0
Bij behoefte aan nieuws, kan het gevonden worden in papieren kranten	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc

De volgende stellingen hebben te maken met uw vertrouwen in **papieren kranten in het algemeen**. Geef per stelling aan in hoeverre u het er mee eens/oneens bent.

	Helemaal oneens	Oneens	Neutraal	Eens	Helemaal eens
Ik geloof dat de meeste mensen van nature goede bedoelingen hebben	0	0	0	\bigcirc	0
Wat betreft de intenties van anderen, ben ik nogal sceptisch	0	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	0
Ik geloof dat je wordt gebruikt door de meeste mensen als je dat toelaat	\bigcirc	0	0	\bigcirc	0
Ik geloof dat de meeste mensen met wie ik te maken heb, eerlijk en betrouwbaar zijn	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
Ik word wantrouwig als iemand mij een gunst verleent	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
Mijn eerste reactie is om mensen te vertrouwen	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
Ik heb de neiging om van het beste van anderen uit te gaan	\bigcirc	0	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc
Ik heb vertrouwen in de menselijke aard	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	0

De volgende stellingen hebben te maken met uw <u>vertrouwen in het algemeen</u>. Geef per stelling aan in hoeverre u het er mee eens/oneens bent. De volgende vragen gaan over uw <u>nieuwsconsumptie</u>.

	Minder dan een keer per maand	Maandelijks	Wekelijks	Meermaals per week	Dagelijks
Hoe vaak leest u het nieuws door middel van een papieren krant?	0	0	0	0	0
Hoe vaak leest u de Tubantia als papieren krant?	0	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc

De volgende vragen gaan ook over uw <u>nieuwsconsumptie</u>.

	Minder dan een half uur	Half uur tot één uur	Meer dan één uur, tot anderhalf uur	Meer dan anderhalf uur, tot twee uur	Meer dan twee uur
Hoeveel tijd besteedt u gemiddeld per dag aan het lezen van nieuws via een papieren krant?	0	0	0	\bigcirc	0
Hoeveel tijd besteedt u gemiddeld per dag aan het lezen van de Tubantia als papieren krant?	0	0	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	0

Het volgende onderdeel gaat over 'fake news', oftwel; nepnieuws. Hieronder volgt een omschrijving van het begrip. Lees de omschrijving aandachtig door.

Definitie nepnieuws: Nepnieuws is de opzettelijke presentatie van foute en misleidende informatie, gebracht alsof het echt nieuws is.

Nadat u op de pijl heeft geklikt volgen stellingen die te maken hebben met 'nepnieuws'.

Geef per onderstaande stelling aan in hoeverre u het er mee eens/oneens bent:

Naar mijn mening...

	Helemaal oneens	Oneens	Neutraal	Eens	Helemaal eens
heeft nepnieuws invloed op het algemene vertrouwen in de nieuwsmedia	0	0	\bigcirc	0	0
heeft nepnieuws invloed op het ontstaan van verkeerd geïnformeerde burgers	0	0	0	0	\bigcirc
heeft nepnieuws invloed op de geloofwaardigheid van de informatie van nieuwsmedia	0	0	\bigcirc	0	\bigcirc
draagt nepnieuws bij aan emotionele reacties en verontwaardiging	0	0	0	0	\bigcirc
heeft nepnieuws invloed op het ontstaan van een tunnelvisie (eigen overtuigingen veranderen niet meer) bij mensen	0	0	0	0	\bigcirc
is nepnieuws een fenomeen dat ook in de toekomst nog voor zal komen	0	0	\bigcirc	0	\bigcirc

Hartelijk dank voor uw deelname!

Het artikel dat u heeft gelezen was een fictief artikel en was dus niet echt. Dit onderzoek heeft te maken met het vertrouwen dat mensen hebben in de nieuwsmedia en nieuwsberichten. Mocht u interesse hebben in de resultaten, of uw voorheen gegeven toestemming in willen trekken, dan kunt u mij benaderen via: m.ridder@student.utwente.nl

Mocht u vragen of opmerkingen hebben dan kunt u die hieronder kwijt

Vragen/opmerkingen:

Appendix B

Trust scales based on Kohring and Matthes (2007), and Lucassen and Schraagen (2012).

Original scale	Translated and modified scale	
Propensity to trust	Neiging tot vertrouwen	
I believe that most people inherently have good	Ik geloof dat de meeste mensen van nature goede	
intentions	bedoelingen hebben	
Regarding the intentions of others I am rather	Wat betreft de intenties van anderen, ben ik nogal	
cynical and skeptical	sceptisch	
I believe that you will be used by most people if	Ik geloof dat je wordt gebruikt door de meeste	
you allow them to	mensen als je dat toelaat	
I believe that most people, with whom I have	Ik geloof dat de meeste mensen met wie ik te	
dealings, are honest and trustworthy	maken heb, eerlijk en betrouwbaar zijn	
I become distrustful when someone does me a	Ik word wantrouwig als iemand mij een gunst	
favor.	verleent	
My first reaction is to trust people	Mijn eerste reactie is om mensen te vertrouwen	
I tend to assume the best of others	Ik heb de neiging om van het beste van anderen	
	uit te gaan	
I have a good deal of trust in human nature	Ik heb vertrouwen in de menselijke aard	
Trust in news websites	Vertrouwen in nieuws websites	
When you are looking for information, how	Bij het zoeken naar nieuws gebruik ik nieuws	
often would you use news websites as opposed	websites in plaats van papieren kranten	
to offline sources?	websites in plaats van papieren kranten	
What do you think is the credibility of news	Nieuws websites zijn geloofwaardig	
websites?	Nieuws websites zijn geloofwaardig	
How much do you trust the institutes and people	De organisaties en mensen achter nieuws	
'running news websites'?	websites zijn te vertrouwen	
How much confidence do you have in the people	_	
with whom you interact through news websites?		
If you are in need of information, how confident	Bij behoefte aan nieuws, kan het gevonden	
are you that you can find it on news websites?	worden op nieuws websites	
How well do you think your privacy is protected	Mijn privacy is beschermd op nieuws websites	
on news websites?	wigh privacy is deschering op metuws websites	
Trust in newspapers	Vertrouwen in papieren kranten	
When you are looking for information, how	Bij het zoeken naar nieuws gebruik ik papieren	
often would you use newspapers as opposed to	kranten in plaats van nieuws websites	
online sources?	Manten in plaats van nieuws wedslies	

What do you think is the credibility of newspapers?	Papieren kranten zijn geloofwaardig
How much do you trust the institutes and people	De organisaties en mensen achter papieren
'running newspapers?	kranten zijn te vertrouwen
If you are in need of information, how confident	Bij behoefte aan nieuws, kan het gevonden
are you that you can find it on newspapers?	worden in papieren kranten
Trust in de Twentsche Courant Tubantia	Vertrouwen in de Twentsche Courant Tubantia
When you are looking for information, how often would you use Tubantia as opposed to other sources?	Bij het zoeken naar nieuws gebruik ik de Tubantia in plaats van andere bronnen
What do you think is the credibility of Tubantia?	De Tubantia is geloofwaardig
How much do you trust the institutes and people	De hoofdredactie van de Tubantia is te
'running Tubantia'?	vertrouwen
How much confidence do you have in the people	De journalisten van de Tubantia zijn te
who add information to Tubantia?	vertrouwen
If you are in need of information, how confident	Bij behoefte aan nieuws, kan het gevonden
are you that you can find it in Tubantia?	worden in de Tubantia
How large do you think the risk of getting	Er is een risico op onjuiste informatie vanuit de
How large do you think the risk of getting inaccurate information from Tubantia is?	Er is een risico op onjuiste informatie vanuit de Tubantia
inaccurate information from Tubantia is?	Tubantia
inaccurate information from Tubantia is? Trust in information	Tubantia Vertrouwen in informatie
inaccurate information from Tubantia is? Trust in information The reports recount the facts truthfully	Tubantia Vertrouwen in informatie De informatie in dit artikel is nauwkeurig
inaccurate information from Tubantia is?Trust in informationThe reports recount the facts truthfullyThe reported information is true	TubantiaVertrouwen in informatieDe informatie in dit artikel is nauwkeurigDe informatie in dit artikel is feitelijk
inaccurate information from Tubantia is?Trust in informationThe reports recount the facts truthfullyThe reported information is trueThe focus is on important facts	Tubantia Vertrouwen in informatie De informatie in dit artikel is nauwkeurig De informatie in dit artikel is feitelijk De focus is op belangrijke feiten De informatie bevat verschillende perspectieven Het artikel is compleet en bevat alle belangrijke
inaccurate information from Tubantia is? <i>Trust in information</i> The reports recount the facts truthfully The reported information is true The focus is on important facts Reporting includes different points of view The essential points are included	TubantiaVertrouwen in informatieDe informatie in dit artikel is nauwkeurigDe informatie in dit artikel is feitelijkDe focus is op belangrijke feitenDe informatie bevat verschillende perspectieven
inaccurate information from Tubantia is?Trust in informationThe reports recount the facts truthfullyThe reported information is trueThe focus is on important factsReporting includes different points of view	Tubantia Vertrouwen in informatie De informatie in dit artikel is nauwkeurig De informatie in dit artikel is feitelijk De focus is op belangrijke feiten De informatie bevat verschillende perspectieven Het artikel is compleet en bevat alle belangrijke
inaccurate information from Tubantia is? <i>Trust in information</i> The reports recount the facts truthfully The reported information is true The focus is on important facts Reporting includes different points of view The essential points are included All important information regarding the topic of	Tubantia Vertrouwen in informatie De informatie in dit artikel is nauwkeurig De informatie in dit artikel is feitelijk De focus is op belangrijke feiten De informatie bevat verschillende perspectieven Het artikel is compleet en bevat alle belangrijke punten
inaccurate information from Tubantia is? <i>Trust in information</i> The reports recount the facts truthfully The reported information is true The focus is on important facts Reporting includes different points of view The essential points are included All important information regarding the topic of * is provided	TubantiaVertrouwen in informatieDe informatie in dit artikel is nauwkeurigDe informatie in dit artikel is feitelijkDe focus is op belangrijke feitenDe informatie bevat verschillende perspectievenHet artikel is compleet en bevat alle belangrijkepuntenEr is informatie weggelaten in dit artikel

Appendix C

Problem perception of fake news scales based largely on problems of fake news explained by Bakir and McStay (2018). The last three statements are based on the research of Bhaskaran et al. (2017), Flintham et al. (2018), Gelfert (2018), and McGonagle (2017).

Original scale	Translated and modified scale
Fake news is problematic	Naar mijn mening
because of its production of wrongly informed	heeft nepnieuws invloed op het ontstaan van
citizens	verkeerd geïnformeerde burgers
because citizens are likely to stay wrongly	heeft nepnieuws invloed op het ontstaan van een
informed in echo chambers	tunnelvisie (eigen overtuigingen veranderen niet
	meer) bij mensen
because citizens are emotionally antagonized or	draagt nepnieuws bij aan emotionele reacties en
outraged given the affective and provocative	verontwaardiging
nature of much fake news	
	heeft nepnieuws invloed op het algemene
	vertrouwen in de nieuwsmedia
	heeft nepnieuws invloed op de
	geloofwaardigheid van de informatie van
	nieuwsmedia
	is nepnieuws een fenomeen dat ook in de
	toekomst nog voor zal komen