WHEN FEAR GOES VIRAL

TRAVEL RISK PERCEPTION AND VIRAL DISCOURSE ON FACEBOOK AND TWITTER AFTER THE 2015 PARIS ATTACKS

DIANTHA DE JONG

Diantha de Jong
Contact details:
dianthadejong@hotmail.com (e-mail)
https://nl.linkedin.com/in/dianthadejong (LinkedIn)

Supervisor: Karina M. Smed
Date: 31 May 2016

This page is intentionally left blank.

Abstract

The current study was conducted to gain insight into the possible influence of viral discourse on Facebook and Twitter on travel risk perception of Dutch users after the Paris attacks on 13 November 2015. This case study of social media after the Paris attacks was particularly interesting because the Paris attacks were the largest terrorist attack in Europe in many years and received much attention in discourses around the Western world. The problem formulation addresses an under-researched area in travel research, namely the role of travel in viral crisis discourse on social media, in the context of the particular case study.

The viral discourse of the Paris attacks on Facebook and Twitter contained a vast amount of public data that could be investigated. The scope of the study was defined by the boundaries of what was practically possible to analyze. Therefore, different methods were used to investigate the problem area. An inductive and qualitative content analysis of travel-related Tweets and Facebook comments formed the main focus, because this online data was able to investigate expressions of Dutch users as they had happened after the Paris attacks. A quantitative word cluster analysis was used to investigate the general viral discourse on Twitter after the attacks, which gave insight into the interpretation of meaning in the viral discourse. Unstructured interviews were conducted to gain insight into participants' reflection on social media's influence on their perceptions as well as other factors that were of influence. Because of the exploratory nature of the case study, the researcher used the method of the hermeneutic circle to reflect on previous understanding of the problem throughout the study.

The analysis showed that the discussion of travel in the relevant viral discourse touched upon many different interpretations which both reflect users' travel risk perception and can influence it. Rationalizing fear was a major way of decreasing the perceptual impact of terrorism. Furthermore, resistance against fear and terrorism made users ignore their perceptions of risk. Risk perception was likely further influenced in the data through narrations of users' strong destination image and positive experiences with travel to Paris after the attacks. However, the data of the viral discourse also seemed to amplify fear through comments and statuses that expressed how terrorist attacks seemed to happen increasingly often and closer to home. In addition, social risk and negative stories about Paris and travel to the destination spread through the viral discourse as well, which does not contribute to the recovery of Paris' destination image and, therefore, likely increased Dutch users' travel risk perception to Paris. Facebook and Twitter seemed to be very important in the data for the discussion of emotions and other issues related to the Paris attacks. Through the different interpretations and the fast-spreading nature of Facebook and Twitter, the Paris attacks viral discourse can influence the terrorists' message of fear both positively and negatively. By changing the interpretation of the terrorists' message in the environment of Facebook and Twitter, travel risk perception of Dutch users of these platforms is influenced.

Table of contents

1. Introduction

On the evening of 13 November 2015 the world was shaken by news coming in from France of an explosion at Stade de France in Paris (“Paris attacks”, 2015). Five minutes after the second explosion at the stadium, a shooting took place at Rue Alibert and others at the bar Le Carillon and restaurant Le Petit Cambodge. Over the course of the next 20 minutes, four more attacks took place in the city, bringing the total to seven attacks in six locations and a total of 130 fatalities. The deadliest attack was a shooting at Bataclan theater, where the rock band Eagles of Death Metal was performing for more than 1,500 people. The shooting turned into a hostage taking before the police could finally save the hostages at 00:20, three hours after the first attack at 21:20. Social media played an important role for people in this horrible event. The first tweet regarding the explosion at Stade de France was sent out mere minutes after it happened (“How the Paris attacks”, 2015). According to BBC, “social media was the place where millions of people around the world first heard about it” (ibid.). Within an hour after the attack, Facebook activated a security check option for people in Paris to mark themselves safe for their friends (Facebook Safety, 2015). Traditional media could hardly keep up with the speed of information spread on social media. As public and personal information continued to be published and shared on social media, the Paris viral discourse began.

1.1 The problem area

The role of social media in crisis management and discourse has become increasingly important, especially in spreading real-time peer-to-per crisis information (Houston et al., 2014; Schwarz, 2012). However, it can also play an important role in the emotional aftermath of a crisis (Kaufmann, 2015). Emotions are important when forwarding content on a social media platform and for this reason, crises as emotional events often go viral (Dobele et al., 2007; Vie, 2014). The Paris attacks were no exception to this. What also started almost immediately after the attacks took place was the cancellation of holidays to Paris (“Honderden Nederlanders”). In the first weekend, hundreds of Dutch people cancelled or rebooked their holiday to Paris and Disneyland. According to Cavlek (2002), terrorism will cause tourism to a destination to decrease temporarily, for reasons such as perceptions of danger. The role of social media in crisis communication has been researched as well as the effect of terrorism on tourism flows (Xiao et al., 2015; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998). However, what has not received much attention in academic research is how viral discourse on social media connects to consumers’ travel risk perception after terrorism, i.e. whether and how viral social media discourse influences risk perception of users regarding travel to Paris after terrorism.

This interplay will be investigated in the case study of social media after the Paris attacks and be guided by the following problem formulation:

How is travel discussed in the Dutch viral discourse on Facebook and Twitter during and after the 2015 Paris attacks and how can this influence Dutch users' perception of travel risk to Paris?

The current case study is Dutch Facebook and Twitter discourse during and after the Paris attacks. The relevant problem within this case is the influence of social media on travel risk perception to Paris of Dutch social media users after the Paris attacks. Facebook and Twitter rather than other social media platforms were chosen as sources of investigation because they are the most used social media platforms in the Netherlands (Hendriksma, 2015). Investigating the influence of viral social media discourse after a terrorist crisis on people's travel risk perception in general would be difficult due to the immense amount of social media data available. Viral discourse during and after the Paris attacks was unique in the sense that it discusses a terrorist attack in a country with the most tourist arrivals in the world (UNWTO, 2015). Therefore, it drew attention on social media from people in many countries. The Dutch were no exception. Due to their geographical and cultural proximity, many Dutch people feel connected to the French people or have had travel experience to Paris (Geling, 2015). This made the Paris attacks more personal to them than other terrorist attacks in the world, despite there being no Dutch victims ("Deze mensen", 2015). In addition, because the Paris attacks were the most recent major terrorist attack in Europe at the time of the commencement of the current research, it provided a current framework for a discussion of travel in viral discourse and its influence on travel risk perception. In this project, the problem in the case study will be discussed using netnographic methods as well as interviews.

2. Methodology

This chapter will discuss how and why the problem formulation will be investigated. Firstly, the philosophy of science and the relevance of other paradigms for the study will be examined. Secondly, the method of the hermeneutic circle will be discussed, because it forms the underlying practice of the project. It is also explained how understandings in this project are attempted to be made rigorously. Afterwards, methodology will be discussed by explaining the specific methods that are used to gather and analyze data, such as a case study, qualitative and quantitative netnography and interviews. Finally, a consideration of ethical issues that are specifically relevant to this project will be made.

2.1 Philosophy of science

In academic literature there are many different methods, methodologies and conclusions, even on the same topics. A theoretical framework shows the variety of academic research available. The reason academic research is so varied and complex is that there are many different ways of conducting research, different goals for different studies and different views on what constitutes good research. In order to clarify the views and goals of this research to the reader, it is important in social sciences to discuss the ontological and epistemological views of the researcher in relation to other viewpoints (Bunniss & Kelly, 2010).

2.1.1 Ontology and epistemology

Allen and Varga (2007) describe ontology in simple words with a complicated meaning: “ontology is about what there is to know – what is outside” (p. 19). This is relevant to discuss in research, because it shapes the foundation on which epistemology is built. Ontology in this way is a philosophical concept which is concerned with an abstract understanding of reality. Epistemology has been described as the relation between the researcher and the researched (Ponterotto, 2005). In other words, “epistemology is about what we know and how we know what we know – what is inside” (Allen & Varga, 2007, p. 19). However, Meerwald (2013) argues that talking about researcher and researched in that way divides them in a static way and focuses on the role of the researcher as the investigator of knowledge, whereas it can also be argued that data is *created* through the researcher and the researched (ibid.). This discussion of the role of the researcher and the researched is founded on the way the world is seen in general and “shapes the way the research question is asked” (Bunniss & Kelly, 2010, p. 359). Therefore, ontology and epistemology cannot be seen as separate, because one influences the shape of the other (ibid.; Allen & Varga, 2007).

Naturally, there are many different opinions on reality. Thinkers are generally grouped in research paradigms, which are shared beliefs in ontology and epistemology (Bunniss & Kelly, 2010). However, it must be kept in mind that generalizing thinkers of different paradigms reduces their complexity and individuality. That is to say, within a paradigm, every thinker will also have their unique perspective. One conclusion is not more valuable or true than another; its use and value depends on the paradigm of the researcher and the reader as well as how they wish to apply the conclusions of a study. In order to explain to the reader why certain decisions were made, the researcher's perspective and paradigm will be discussed, but also in relation to the other paradigms (section 2.1.3).

2.1.2 The base of the researcher's paradigm: constructivism

The base paradigm of this research is constructivism. Often seen as the opposite of positivism, constructivism is based on the ontology that "realities exist in the form of multiple mental constructions" (Guba, 1990, p. 27). This means that every individual has their own view of reality. This reality can change (Bunniss & Kelly, 2010) and some elements may be shared within a group (Melucci, 1995), but the individual reality is unique. Constructivism is an interpretivist, emic approach that puts emphasis on the construction of meaning occurring between people, objects, groups, the researcher (in a research situation) and other phenomena (Ponterotto, 2005; Vine, 2009). However, a constructivist view of the world needs to be tempered somewhat. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) argue that "strong constructivism runs into problems" (p. 16), for example when it comes to considering biological facts (Kukla, 2000). Constructivism should be more concerned with the individual meaning that is constructed in response to such undisputable matters.

In research, constructivism is manifested in this argument: the researcher's reality will influence the research design as well as the interpretation of data, and vice versa (Ponterotto, 2005). Meerwald (2013) describes this as the researcher and the researched creating data together. Through interaction, the researcher and the researched create a constructed meaning (Bunniss & Kelly, 2010). This is particularly evident in face-to-face methods such as interviews. However, in the current research, data will also be gathered through netnography. Content on social media is analyzed through an in-depth content analysis (see section 2.3.3.2). In this case, the researcher interprets one piece of content and does not get to know the person behind it. In addition, there are very many online users that belong to many different fluid communities (Vie, 2014). Nevertheless, such a method allows the researcher to gather many "diverse interpretations" (Bunniss & Kelly, 2010), which allow for more transferable insights. In addition, interpreting content in their original context of a social media environment may give a different insight than a participant's reflection on their social media use.

Although the goal of constructivist research is not generalization to a larger population, in contrast to positivist types of research (ibid.), conducting research that is empirically sound and transferable to other situations is important. For those reasons a detailed description of the researcher's paradigm and values is provided. Axiology has been described as part of epistemology and contains the researcher's personal values (Ponterotto, 2005). In this case, it is important to note that the researcher has experienced the viral discourse from personal social media accounts as it happened after 13 November 2015 and has the same ties to the French people that other Dutch people have in general, namely through geographical and cultural proximity.

2.1.3 Relevance of paradigm thinking for this project

Researchers with different paradigms who investigate the same problem will go about investigating it in different ways and may reach different conclusions. The reason for this is because different paradigms have different goals for an investigation. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) argue for what they call a mixed methods approach. They state that "[t]he goal of mixed methods research is not to replace either of these approaches but rather to draw from the strengths and minimize the weaknesses of both in single research studies and across studies" (pp. 14-15). In other words, adopting a "soft" paradigm that allows room for the strengths of other paradigms can open up the researcher's perspective and create a wider perspective to answer the problem formulation. In order to draw from the strengths of more than one way of thinking, the paragraphs below explore how other paradigms than constructivism can be applied to the problem in this project and what can be gained from doing so.

2.1.3.1 Relevance of post-positivism

Post-positivists act on the notion that the world consists of numerous cause-and-effect-occurrences (Vine, 2009). This means that reality is measurable and observable (ibid.). According to Ponterotto (2005), "[t]he primary goal of positivistic inquiry is an explanation that (ultimately) leads to prediction and control of phenomena" (p. 128). Post-positivists generally argue that complete objectivity on the part of the researcher is impossible due to human nature and flaws (ibid.; Bunniss & Kelly, 2010). Nevertheless, it should always be aimed for.

Since the population of Dutch users on Twitter and Facebook is very large, a post-positivist researcher is likely to put value on systematically gathering large amounts of data to support a more representable generalization to this population. What this research can learn from the post-positivist paradigm is that the investigated data comes from a population that is very large and fluid. Therefore, ways must be found to gather data that can give insight into the many different viewpoints in the population. Even if generalization is not the goal of the study, aiming to be exhaustive enhances the plausibility of conclusions in the project. In this project that is done by doing an in-depth content analysis as well as a word cluster analysis of a large amount of online data. In addition, interviews provide a different perspective on the online data.

2.1.3.2 Relevance of critical theory

Critical theory is another paradigm among the most common in research. It has ties to interpretivist constructivism as it focuses on individual interpretations and relations (Ponterotto, 2005; Vine, 2009).

The difference is that critical theorists are interested in the power influence on meaning, how meaning is constructed between groups and individuals and how this changes constantly (Bunniss & Kelly, 2010). Research within the spectrum of critical theory focuses on entangling the power influences on interpretation bring about some sort of positive change (ibid.; Ponterotto, 2005). For this reason, the researcher's axiology plays a major role (Ponterotto, 2005).

In this research, focusing on power structures would mean looking at the problem from the perspective of the people, governments, or organizations that are great influencers of people's perceptions, and how these influences translate to a viral context. The concept of meaning making in a crisis (see section 3.3.2) touches upon this perspective of the problem. This research focuses on the perspective of individuals and their experiences, but critical theory is useful in acknowledging the role of institutions or people who have some power of the process of meaning making in- and outside the viral discourse. Therefore, the political and social context of the case study must be taken into account.

2.1.3.3 A combined paradigm

It has been discussed before that every researcher will construct their own meaning within their paradigm. Therefore, a research paradigm is personal and complex. The paradigm from which this research is written is constructivist, but adopts a mixed methods approach in the sense that it tries to incorporate strengths of some other paradigms. This can enhance the transferability and plausibility of the study and improve some of the difficulties of conducting a constructivist research in an online environment. According to Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), convictions about epistemology should not be an obstacle for researchers to use certain methods that are best suited to investigate the problem formulation. In conclusion, the current constructivist research contains theories, methods, and considerations that can be traced back to different paradigms, because this was believed to allow for the most complete investigation of the problem.

2.2 Hermeneutics

It has been discussed that constructivism is an interpretivist paradigm, i.e. it is concerned with the way people interpret their surroundings. In the case of constructivism, interpretation is believed to be unique to every individual. This means that research in which conclusions are drawn can run into trouble if the reader interprets the data and theory differently. In addition, Arnold and Fisher (1994), argue that a researcher's understanding of a topic is always developing as well. For these reasons, it is important to pay more attention to how understanding develops as well as discuss the importance of reflexive research to incorporate the developments.

2.2.1 The development of understandings

The process of understanding starts with a pre-understanding (Gillham, 2000; Kezar, 2000). The pre-understanding is part of the values that the researcher brings into the topic, such as ontology, epistemology, axiology, and previously acquired knowledge of the problem area (Kezar, 2000). A thorough description of the researcher's pre-understandings is given in this project to enhance the opportunity for the reader's understanding of why certain decisions have been made. However, the role of hermeneutics is more than simply describing pre-understandings. Pre-understandings can be used in research as a starting point for an investigation and as a guidance, as long as the researcher is open to information that is contradicting these pre-understandings (Arnold & Fisher, 1994). In research, as more information is gathered, such as academic theory, empirical data or even constructed feedback from peers, the researcher's understanding will change (ibid.). An understanding in the early phase is likely based on the researcher's pre-understanding. For this reason, a developing understanding that has incorporated and considered different sorts of data and theory is likely a more plausible one (cf. Arnold & Fisher, 1994). In order to reach such an understanding a researcher must constantly reflect on and develop their previous understanding.

2.2.2 Reflecting on understandings

Reflection on understanding occurs in many research processes. For example, Pfeil and Zaphiris (2010) have created a step-by-step process of conducting inductive category development for content analyses of textual data. They suggest that reflection on previous work needs to happen at several stages of the data processing, always linking back to the research question as a starting point. They argue that by reflecting in between and after doing work, the initial research question and subsequent categories will become qualitatively better. In addition, Bunniss and Kelly (2010) state that the researcher needs to reflect on how knowledge was constructed in data collection to provide a critical interpretation of it.

However, reflection of the researcher does not only occur in data processing. A method of reflecting in a circular motion can be applied to the entire research process. This is called the hermeneutic circle or spiral (Arnold & Fischer, 1994). Debesay et al. (2008) explain this notion as a circle in which developed understanding of a certain part in the project contributes to the whole of the project, which in turn contributes to previous understandings in previously written parts in the project. Debesay et al. (2008) describe the argument for the concept of a spiral rather than a circle, because a researcher will not re-obtain a pre-understanding after developing it. This argument seems to view the hermeneutic circle as a sort of vicious circle in which understanding will eventually be reverted to a starting point. Instead, the hermeneutic circle is better seen as a whole which encompasses all the parts of a study, with no circular motion of understanding, but inward and outward motions of developed understanding towards the different parts.

2.2.3 Relevance in this study

The hermeneutic circle method is adopted in this project for its aim to "achieve an understanding free of contradictions" (Arnold & Fisher, 1994, p. 63). Therefore, the project was not written in a chronological order, but written, read, reflected on, and adapted back and forth.

Development of understanding in this way does not only occur for the researcher, but also for participants. For example, in order to make online data gathering possible within the time span of the study, a time period had to be chosen. However, this does means the understandings of both the researcher and the people whose comments have been collected developed after the point where data collection stopped, for example because of new information about the terrorists, the attacks in Brussels in March 2016 or personal considerations. In this investigation, interviews were conducted 4 months after the Paris attacks. These participants had encountered more information that could contradict their pre-understandings. It must therefore be considered, when analyzing the data of these different methods, that the understandings of the data in the first are likely less developed and more contradictory than the understandings of the later interviews. However, the first group of data is also more in-the-moment and clearly conveys emotions such as fear and anger, which can decrease over time but still have an influence. For this reason, it is interesting to include data that consists of pre-understandings and their interaction with new information in the form of the Paris attacks, as the development occurred. Therefore, the understandings expressed in the interviews are not necessarily more plausible or valuable than the data from an earlier point in time.

2.2.4 Rigorous understandings

Plausibility of this study's conclusions is enhanced by incorporating the relevant academic literature as well as through continuous reflection on understandings. However, plausibility is only one part of rigorous research. Rigor is important in academic research, because it shows that a study is transparent and acknowledges methodological weaknesses to increase its integrity (Bunniss & Kelly, 2010; Tobin & Begley, 2004). In this research, much use was made of methods for online investigations. One of the major criticisms on netnographic methods is their reliance on the subjective interpretation of the researcher (Kozinets, 2002). The researcher is used as an instrument rather than an invisible data gatherer (ibid.). It has been discussed in section 2.1.2, that as a constructivist research, the subjectivity of the researcher can and will not be completely removed from an investigation. However, *credibility* must be maintained by providing the most accurate representation of the participants' perspectives as possible (Tobin & Begley, 2004; Johnson & Onwuegbuezie, 2004). As mentioned before, the researcher must be open to information that contradicts their understandings and reflect on their understanding. But there are also other ways to increase the rigor of understandings in this project.

According to Kozinets (2002; cf. Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004), triangulation of methods is a good way to minimize the impact of researcher's subjectivity and gain an exhaustive view of a topic. In this research, a quantitative content analysis was conducted alongside a qualitative analysis and interviews. Counting the frequency of words in a certain context and assessing such context gave a somewhat shallow understanding of the relevant themes in viral discourse about the Paris attacks, compared to the deeper qualitative content analysis. However, it was able to provide a more objective support to the interpreted qualitative data. It also increased the *transferability* of the research by including the perspectives of a much larger sample of individuals even if information about these individuals was scarce (Tobin & Begley, 2004). This was especially useful because the sample of interview participants was small and rather limited in the sense that it only included women and most were of student age.

Another strategy, which was adopted in this research, is an exhaustive description of the process of analysis of data (Elo & Kungäs, 2008) and the original context of the data (Koch, 2006). In order to "demonstrate a link between the results and the data" (Elo & Kungäs, 2008, p. 112), the gathered data is included in appendices and the researcher's notes and thoughts are included in this trail of evidence. According to Elo and Kungäs (2008), if the categories of a content analysis can be shown to cover the data well, the credibility and reliability of the results are increased. In addition, *dependability* is increased by explicitly discussing the researcher's decisions (Koch, 2006). For these reasons, an attempt was made in this study to provide an extensive trail of evidence. This was made somewhat more difficult by the language difference between the gathered data and the study. In the case of interviews, English summaries incorporating researcher's notes were made from the transcriptions of the Dutch data. Because of the unstructured nature of the interview, this immediately filtered out some of the irrelevant discussions. In the case of the qualitative content analysis, each category is discussed in detail in the analysis and relevant quotes were translated.

Finally, great value was placed in the current research on researcher feedback. According to Elo and Kungäs (2008), there is much insight to be gained from discussion between different researchers. Because the investigation and interpretation was done by one researcher, the gathered theories, thought process, and the categories of the qualitative content analysis and parts of the collected data were discussed with other researchers. Two of these researchers had discussed feedback in several parts of the project and therefore had a certain degree of academic knowledge on the investigated topic and the development of the research. Other researchers whose feedback has been asked had minimal knowledge of the topic. Through these methods the researcher hopes to achieve *confirmability*, a reader's conviction that the findings in this study are rigorous and in line with the data (Tobin & Bengley, 2004).

2.3 Research design

This section will focus on the specific methods that were used to investigate the topic and analyze the data. The project is a case study design and uses three different methods. Figure 2A illustrates how these methods contribute to answering the problem formulation.

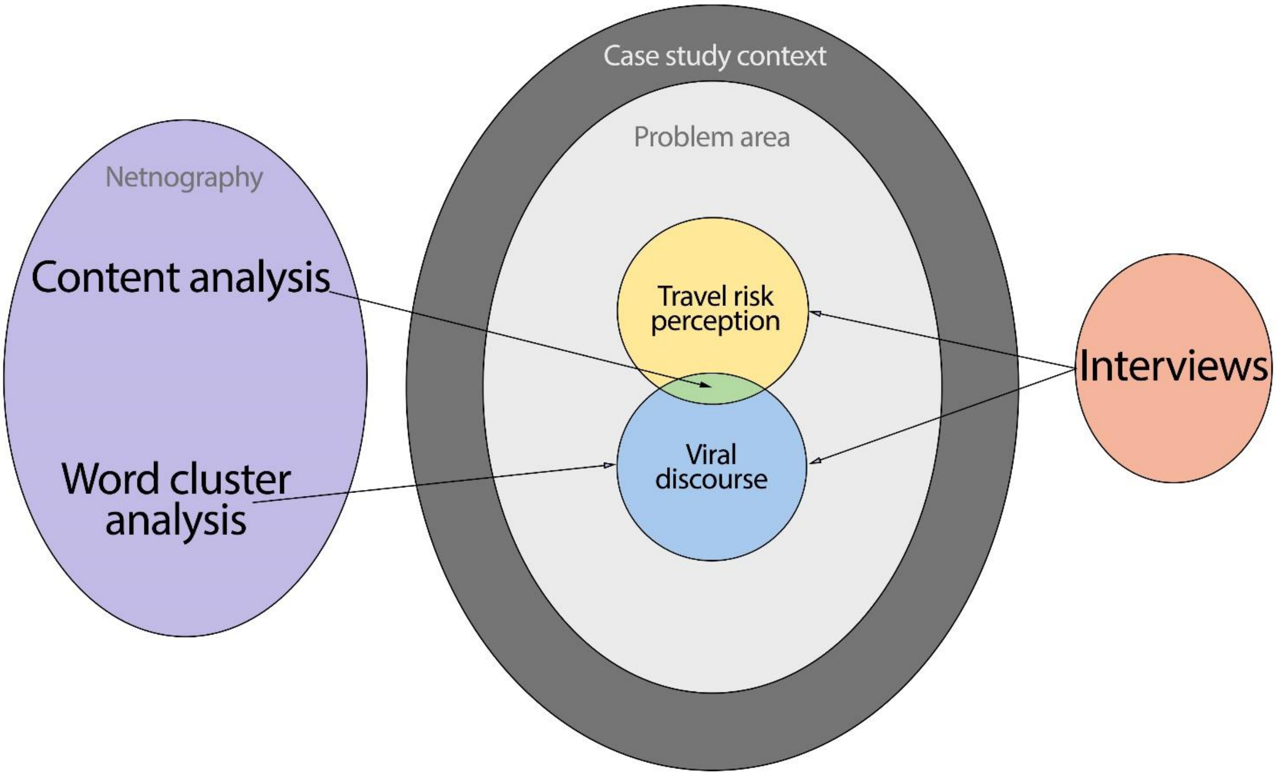

Figure 2A. The methods design

The figure requires some clarification. The problem formulation investigates how travel risk perception and viral discourse may influence each other. This forms the problem area in the wider case study context of Dutch social media discourse after the Paris attacks. The two problem elements are investigated by three different methods: Firstly, unstructured interviews investigate participants' reflection on their experience of travel risk perception as well as viral discourse on social media during and after the attack. However, while the discussion in the interviews may touch upon the overlapping area at times, the goal of the interviews was to gain a broader insight into online and offline influences on travel risk perceptions and viral discourse behavior. Online behavior was the focus of netnographic methods: A quantitative word cluster analysis was conducted on the general viral discourse of the Paris attacks to identify themes and development of the discourse. It served as the basis for the content analysis and made it possible to better understand the content that social media users would generally consume in the viral discourse. Thirdly, a qualitative content analysis formed the main data of the study, as it was able to investigate where and how the two themes in the problem area overlapped. The other data served to facilitate the interpretation of the data in the content analysis. The following sections will explain in detail and in this order how and why these methods were used.

2.3.1 Case study design

A case study is meant to gain deep insight into a phenomenon or its context (Bailey, 2010). According to Gillham (2000), a case study is made up of the following characteristics: they are "a unit of human activity embedded in the real world; which can only be studied or understood in context; which exists in the here and now; that merges in with its context so that precise boundaries are difficult to draw" (p. 1). The current research has adopted a case study approach because it does not investigate social media behavior in a crisis in general, but it investigates this in the specific case of the Paris attacks and for Dutch potential tourists. In addition, this case study will be looked at from different angles using different types of data.

The current case study is instrumental in the sense that it may give insight into the broader issue of social media in a crisis (ibid.), even if generalization is not the goal. According to Gillham (2000), a case study design needs to make use of different types of data in order to gain insight into all facets of the case: "what people *say*, what you see them *doing*, what they *make* or *produce*, what documents and records *show*" (ibid., p. 20, emphasis in original). This way, arguments can be supported by different data in a chain of evidence (Yin, 2009). Case studies are by nature exploratory; it is not possible to start with a pre-defined set of theory and methods, because every case is different (Gillham, 2000). However, the researcher's pre-understandings and values will shape the start of a case study investigation. These values and understandings have been acknowledged and will be developed throughout the project.

2.3.2 Unstructured interviews

Method	Unstructured interviews
Goal	Gain insight into how Dutch participants experienced the Paris attacks and what factors played a role in their perspective of travel risk to Paris.
Data gathering	4 interviews with Dutch participants from 21 to 34 years old, all female. Interviews were conducted at the end of March via Skype or other video-calling software.
Data processing	Interviews were transcribed in Dutch, an English summary in themes was made.
Appendices	English summaries (App. A1, B1, C1, D1), Dutch transcriptions (App. A2, B2, C2, D2), interview guide (App. E).

Table 2A. Outline of the unstructured interviews

Because little has been investigated about the connection between viral social media discourse and travel risk perception, an unstructured interview approach was chosen to gain insight into the factors which influenced participant's travel risk perception and social media behavior in the case of the Paris attacks. According to Wilson (2014), unstructured interviews are good to gather in-depth and unlimited expressions of experiences. Therefore, it was believed an unstructured approach was the best way to allow participants to freely talk about their experiences during and after the Paris attacks. As a result of the lack of structure, the investigated topics played a more important role in some interviews than in others. It must be noted that the interviews were conducted at the end of March, roughly four months after the Paris attacks. They therefore take place in a different time frame than the other methods of data gathering. The implication of this is that the understanding of the participants will have developed throughout the months after the attacks and will also have been further influenced by the Brussels attacks which took place on 22 March 2016. Because of this, the interviews reveal a more developed reflection on participants' experience of the Paris attacks, which can add to social media data directly after the attacks.

All of the participants had a degree of acquaintanceship with the researcher. This can be seen as an advantage, because of the unstructured nature of the interviews. Having previous acquaintance with the researcher can make it easier for participants to share their stories (Blichfeldt & Heldbjerg, 2011). Because the Paris attacks are a crisis with substantial associated emotions, this could be an advantage to make participants feel comfortable to share their opinions; An acquaintanceship with the participants allowed the researcher to bring up examples of, for example, mutual acquaintances going to Paris, which made the interviews more personal for the participants. However, previous acquaintance with the participant can also be a disadvantage, because it is likely that all participants are part of the same social circle as the researcher. In addition, the participants were all female and roughly of the same age, which decreased transferability to other contexts. Therefore, other methods of data gathering in this project brought in more perspectives than the ones expressed in the interviews. Demographics of the participants are laid out in table 2B.

	Age	*Gender*	*Appendix*
Participant 1	23	Female	App. A
Participant 2	22	Female	App. B
Participant 3	34	Female	App. C
Participant 4	22	Female	App. D

Table 2B. Demographics of interview participants

A loose interview guide was created, because this made it easier for the researcher to set out the goals for the interview (Wilson, 2014). Writing down certain particularly loaded questions also made it easier for the researcher not to accidentally resort to leading questions in an interview, which is one of the pitfalls of an unstructured interview (ibid.). Naturally, some participants found it easier to speak freely than others. This resulted in some interviews being more structured and of different lengths than others. Each interview contained 15-30 minutes of conversation before and in many cases also after the interview, which was not included on the recordings or the transcriptions. The time before the interview was meant to break the ice between the researcher and the participant and create a comfortable atmosphere. The time after the interview was used to talk about what the participant thought about the interview as well as unrelated topics. In a few cases, the conversation after the recording had been stopped turned back to more reflection on the topic of the interview. In these cases, the researcher made additional notes. The transcriptions of the interviews have been included in the appendices. If the reader wishes to obtain audio recording of the interviews, the researcher can be contacted (p. 2).

Applying the previously discussed hermeneutic circle method to the interviews, it must be stated that not only did the researcher gain more experience in conducting the interviews, other methods of data gathering, such as a quantitative word cluster analysis, occurred at the same time, which developed the researcher's understanding. This will also have influenced later interviews. Nevertheless, because the structure of the interviews was led mostly by the participant, no adjustments to the interview guide were made.

2.3.3 Netnography

In order to investigate the Paris viral discourse in particular, it is interesting to look at the online environment where behavior occurred during and after the crisis. Netnography, sometimes called virtual ethnography, is a relatively new method that has received a lot of praise as well as a lot of criticism (Kozinets, 2002; Pfeil & Zaphiris, 2010). According to Apgar (1983, in Pfeil & Zaphiris, 2010, p. 6), ethnography's main goal is for the researcher to untangle a complex world through their own observation. Netnography applies this principle to an online environment through immersion (Mkono & Markwell, 2014). According to Mkono and Markwell (2014), "[i]t is the candour and richness of online community members' first person accounts of their experiences . . . which make this form of data so compelling for researchers" (p. 290). It has been praised for being "naturalistic and unobtrusive" in the sense that observation can happen while the researcher remains (partly) invisible (Kozinets, 2002, p. 61). However, it has been criticized for "being insufficient" without non-verbal cues (Kozinets, 2012, p. 106; Pfeil & Zaphiris, 2010) and possibly biased, because it relies much on researchers' interpretations (Elo & Kungäs, 2008; Kozinets, 2002). To ensure an exhaustive investigation, Pfeil and Zaphiris (2010) suggest a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. This way, broader insight into the problem can be attained and the influence of the researcher is somewhat decreased.

In this project, two netnographic methods are used: a quantitative word cluster analysis and a qualitative content analysis. The following section will discuss the time frame in which data was gathered and relevant characteristics of the social media platforms that were used. Then, specific considerations for the word cluster analysis and the content analysis respectively will be discussed.

2.3.3.1 Time frame and social media platforms

The netnographic methods in this study were applied to data from two social media platforms: Facebook and Twitter. Each method had their own dataset, which were gathered in different ways. This section will discuss the characteristics of Facebook and Twitter as well as why a certain time frame was chosen for data gathering.

Facebook is one of the most popular social networking sites in the world (Park et al., 2012). In the Netherlands, it is the most popular social media network, with more than 6 million daily users (Hendriksma, 2015). It is diverse in the sense that it allows not only for status sharing, but also photo sharing, reacting to friends' content and public content (ibid.). On Facebook, relationship maintenance is the main focus (Golder, Wilkinson & Huberman, 2007, in Park et al., 2012). The social media platform therefore has a more private nature, where content is shared among friends. However, pages from companies, newspapers, media channels, and interest groups are often public and can be "liked" to receive updates about new content that is posted on these pages. This is where public interaction can take place. Twitter is characterized by the restriction of the length of statuses (max. 140 characters). It is one of the biggest microblogging platforms on the Internet. In the Netherlands, Twitter takes the place of second most popular social media network with more approximately 1 million daily users (Hendriksma, 2015). Twitter has been argued to be more fast-paced and more in the public sphere than Facebook (Kwak et al, 2010). For example, on Twitter the use of hashtags makes it easy to follow and read public tweets of people who use the same hashtag outside a user's immediate network (Hiltz & Plotnick, 2013). In addition, according to Java et al. (2007), "shorter posts . . . [lower] users' requirement of time and thought investment for content generation" (p. 2). This would mean that data gathered from Twitter is less thought out, but more "raw" and immediate. Gathering data on Twitter can be done through its advanced search option, which makes it easy to gather public tweets in a certain time period. When searching for tweets, the Twitter API (the algorithm used by Twitter when performing a search in the database) shows a random 1% of all public tweets in the search parameter (Roth, 2015). Differences between the effect of content on Facebook and Twitter were not included in the scope of this research. Nevertheless, to be aware of possible differences for future research, attention was paid in data processing to how the data from different channels distributed in the word cluster as well as the themes of the content analysis. The data from the two social media channels did not show any major differences as to the themes and word clusters they were sorted into.

Because of the mass of online comments and statuses, setting a time period for investigation was necessary to not be overwhelmed with data. Data was gathered from the time period of 13 November 2015 to 31 December 2015. The starting date is the day that the attacks took place. The ending date was chosen after the researcher started to explore the available data. It appeared to the researcher that the online participation in the discourse on the Paris attacks began to decrease throughout December. 31

December 2015 was chosen because it was the last day of the year; it makes sense for people to want to start fresh in the new year and put the Paris tragedy behind them. In addition, the Charlie Hebdo attacks from January 2015 were memorialized in the first week of January. In this week Paris was discussed in relation to a different terrorist attack of which the effects were outside of the scope of this research.

2.3.3.2 Quantitative word cluster analysis

Method	Quantitative word cluster analysis
Goal	To investigate themes in the viral discourse on Twitter of Dutch people after the 2015 Paris attacks. This to provide a more complete image of the development of the viral discourse.
Data gathering	5140 status updates from Twitter in the time period 13 November 2015 to 31 December 2015.
Data processing	Word frequency searches and word cluster analysis in NVivo 11.
Appendices	Word cluster summaries (App. F1). Word frequency searches and word clusters (App. F2).

Table 2C. Outline of the word cluster analysis

Table 2C briefly outlines the goal of the word cluster analysis in this project and how data is gathered and processed. A world cluster analysis is a way of exploring data and can be conducted in many different ways (Kaufman & Rousseeuw, 2005). For the word cluster analysis in this project, data was gathered from Twitter. In the case of a terrorism event such as the case study, people are likely to turn to Twitter for real-time information and public sharing (Oh et al., 2010). In addition, on Twitter viral messages spread easily through hashtags (Kwak et al., 2010). For these reasons, Twitter is well-suited to provide an overview of the relevant viral themes in the Paris discourse. Furthermore, it was not possible to gather large amounts of data for the quantitative analysis from Facebook, because the search option on this platform did not allow for a time frame restriction.

The keywords that were used for searching units were chosen with the help of Google Keyword Planner. This tool for Google Adwords shows the most common search terms for certain themes and their most popular alternatives. The keyword search revealed that “parijs aanslagen” [paris attacks] (Twit1) were the most common terms to talk about the Paris attacks in an online environment. The data on Twitter was also gathered by using hashtags; the hashtags #jesuisparis (Twit2) and #Prayforparis (Twit3) were most used to talk about Paris on Twitter in the Netherlands (Van der Laan, 2015). For these reasons, the three keyword sets were thought to be representative for the general discourse on the Paris attacks on social media. In order to account for the Twitter API search mentioned in the previous section, the researcher chose to conduct searches for each day of the investigated time frame separately, for the three different keyword sets. This way of conducting the search supplied the researcher with many available units. Therefore, of the searches for each day only the first 4 pages of Tweets were collected for analysis. Depending on the length of the tweets and their use of pictures, this amounted to 70-100 tweets per day.

This number of units was thought to give a sufficient impression of the discourse on every particular day. The more time between the crisis event and the social media unit, the fewer units would be available; For days where a random 1% of the available posts in the Twitter search would not fill the 4 pages, all available tweets of that search were collected. The language of the search was set to Dutch to increase the likelihood of the posters being Dutch users. Consequently, this setting also allowed non-Dutch but Dutch-speaking users to be included in the search. However, Dutch-speaking users are likely to have affinity with the Dutch people and are therefore more likely to share the perspectives of Dutch users in the social media discourse. In addition, this method does not allow Dutch users who share statuses in a different language than Dutch to be included in the data. Because users' private information was not available to the researcher, filtering out non-Dutch users and including Dutch users who post in a different language was not practically possible. Therefore, it should be kept in mind that not all perspectives found in the data will belong to Dutch users and not all perspectives of Dutch users may be included in the data. This is true for all the social media data in this project.

The number of tweets that were gathered in total can be found in table 2D. While gathering data, the researcher was able to immerse herself in the data, meaning she already got an impression of what users were talking about, which aided in understanding the word clusters later in the analysis.

Twitter search	*Number of tweets*
Twit1 (*parijs aanslagen*)	3717
Twit2 (*#jesuisparis*)	411
Twit3 (*#prayforparis*)	1012
Total number of units	5140

Table 2D. Data for the word cluster analysis

Tweets were captured using NCapture and imported into NVivo Pro 11. This program allows for qualitative as well as quantitative content analyses (Penna, 2013). Because coding the number of tweets manually was not possible in the time span of this research, word frequency queries were conducted on each search to form an idea of the general themes in the discourse. The language of the word search was set on "Other" because Dutch is not available in NVivo (NVivo 11, a). The implication of this is that similar words, for example grammatical structures, could not be grouped together in the frequency search. Because just looking at one word in high frequency can make it difficult to deduce the meaning of a text (Brier & Hopp, 2011), attention was specifically focused on the word clusters provided by NVivo, which shows the most common contexts in which the frequent words appear using Pearson's correlation coefficient (NVivo 11, b). This was believed to give a better overview of the themes in the data. Words that related to Twitter's system interface were also captured by NCapture, but were filtered out in the word frequency queries. In order to create a timeline to show the development of the discourse in the data, keyword searches were grouped and word clusters were created for every week. Where the meaning of a word cluster was unclear, the researcher looked in more detail at the original units. This was done to better understand the context of a word and decrease misinterpretation in cases where a word can be used for more than one meaning (Brier & Hopp, 2011).

The original social media units are not included in the appendices, because it was not possible to make them anonymous for the reader. The reason for anonymity in social media data is further discussed in section 2.4. If the reader wishes to consult the original social media units, the researcher can be contacted (contact details on p. 2).

2.3.3.3 Qualitative content analysis

Method	Qualitative content analysis
Goal	To investigate the interplay between viral discourse and the travel risk perception of Dutch people in the case study context.
Data gathering	458 status updates and comments in total from Facebook and Twitter in the time period 13 November 2015 to 31 December 2015.
Data processing	Manual coding of social media units into categories and themes using NVivo 11.
Appendices	Social media units in the different themes and categories (App. G-M).

Table 2E. Outline of the qualitative content analysis

The interplay between viral discourse on the Paris attacks and Dutch users' travel risk perception was investigated in the place where the viral discourse occurred: on social media. A qualitative content analysis of social media data was applied. This method is a way of structurally analyzing textual data and discovering patterns (Norman & Damschroder, 2008; Stepchenkova et al., 2009). The advantages of a *qualitative* content analysis over a *quantitative* one is that in the latter the textual data is taken out of context, whereas in the first the researcher can incorporate the context of the data (Norman & Damschroder, 2008). The qualitative method relies more on the interpretation of the researcher than a computer analysis, but through close analysis and reflection, this method has a higher chance of understanding the intended meaning of a message. According to Stepchenkova et al. (2009), a qualitative approach to content analysis is generally preferred in tourism research.

In a qualitative content analysis, categories are formed inductively from the data through a close analysis from the researcher (Morgan, 1993, in Norman & Damschroder, 2008). According to Lai and To (2015), this method allows for an unlimited investigation of a topic, without previous theoretical restrictions, which can aid the discovery of new theories. Category development was done through close reading and continuous reflection on the categories (Norman & Damschroder, 2008). According to Krippendorff (1989), a researcher's understanding changes through reading and analyzing the data, which allows them to identify patterns that may not have been seen at first sight. Therefore, reflection in category development is of paramount importance. In the current project; the different units were first ordered into two sides: intention to travel to Paris and no intention to travel to Paris. However, these later developed into a division with different themes such as fear and freedom, which gave better insight of the different influences of the viral discourse and the discussion that took place. This is one example of reflexive category development that took place in this project.

How categories are used in an analysis differs for every researcher (Norman & Damschroder, 2008). Some researchers emphasize the act of counting instances in categories to reveal patterns (ibid.; Stepchenkova et al., 2009)). This thematic approach can still be considered qualitative content analysis, because the instances were sorted into categories in a qualitative manner. However, it is also possible to analyze the data qualitatively without counting, but focusing on the meaning of each individual instance (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This approach is adopted in the current project: social media units, e.g. comments and statuses, were sorted into themes, which were sorted into categories and sometimes subcategories. It was the *meaning* of these themes, categories, subcategories, and individual units that was of interest to the researcher for the analysis.

Because it was complicated to find a part of viral discourse where travel risk perception became clear enough for investigation, different strategies of gathering data were adopted to increase the possibility of finding data that related to travel. As a result of these different strategies, the content analysis was applied to units of analysis from different sources of data. These are discussed below:

Newspaper data from Facebook

Firstly, data was gathered from the Facebook pages of Dutch newspapers. It has been argued that people no longer just consume information from one-way-media such as television broadcasts anymore. Many consumers watch the news with a mobile device in their hand (Belmaaza, 2015). It was therefore believed that Facebook pages of news channels would be a places for consumers to receive information and share opinions during and after the attacks.

Facebook pages of Dutch newspapers and news channels with the largest online followings were searched for posts relating to the Paris attacks and tourism. Users’ comments on shared newspaper articles related to travel on Facebook were gathered. It is argued that comments on articles related to travel to Paris in this time period are likely to be more concerned with travel risk perception. The theme of viral discourse was present in the fact that newspapers were using the virality of Paris at the time to attract readers, and readers are consuming this viral discourse. All sources contained a link to an online news article with a short introduction to suggest what the article was about. Table 2F gives more information about the different articles that were used as sources for gathering social media units.

File name	*Newspaper*	*Article name*	*Content of the article*	*Date*	*Likes*	*Comments*
News1	AD.nl	“Terreurdreiging niet altijd redden tot terugbetalen vakantie”	Cancelling a trip to Paris can cost people money because the tour operators are not required to restitute money if there is no negative travel advice.	26-11-15	58	31
News2	NRC	“Deze oorlog draait om angst”	The atmosphere in the subway of Paris is one of fear.	21-11-15	14	6
News3		“Mickey en Pluto zwaaien de toeristen uit”	Attractions are closed in Paris and it is quiet everywhere. But Frans and Lisette are in love and want to see the Eifel Tower, so they travel anyway.	14-11-15	35	20
News4	Volkskrant	“Terroristische aanslagen kosten 32.568 levens in 2014”	A mother is afraid of going to Paris with her two kids, so she tries to rationalize her fear by comparing casualty numbers of terrorism and other causes of death.	29-11-15	145	90
News5		“Niemand durft meer naar de Mona Lisa”	Tourism in Paris is stable with 20-30% less tourists than usual in December. Therefore, it is the perfect time to travel there without crowds.	23-12-15	147	125
News6	NOS op 3	“Honderden Nederlanders toch niet naar Parijs”	Many people want to postpone or cancel their holidays to Paris.	15-11-15	19	14
Total number of units						286

Table 2F. Sources of social media units on Facebook.

The Facebook pages can be viewed as public sphere, because if users go to these public pages to share their opinions, they likely except their content to be read by others (Pfeil & Zaphiris, 2010). Therefore, this data can give insight into the public discussions relating to travel in the Paris viral discourse.

Status data from Twitter

The less advanced search option and stricter privacy settings on Facebook compared to Twitter made it difficult to find data related to travel outside the public discussion on newspaper pages. Still, it was interesting to get a more personal view in the form of personal status updates, because this was thought to be the place where people share their personal concerns regarding travel to Paris. In order to get this more personal view, statuses were searched for on Twitter using keywords. Although the gathered units were publicly shared, they were personal status updates in that they came from users’ personal profiles and were self-initiated by the users. The consequence of this is that the media content that is responded to in the newspaper data from Facebook likely influences certain *types* of responses from users, whereas the status data from Twitter does not respond to anything but the viral discourse itself.

File name	*Keywords*	*Comments*
Twit4	‘ik ga naar Parijs’	96
Twit5	‘reis naar Parijs’	61
Twit6	‘vakantie naar Parijs’	15
Total number of units		172

Table 2G. Twitter units

The keywords used for these searches are *ik ga naar Parijs* [I am going to Paris], *reis naar Parijs* [travel to Paris], *vakantie naar Parijs* [holiday to Paris]. The specific keywords were chosen because they are colloquial Dutch ways of talking about a journey to Paris and yielded the most results in Twitter’s advanced search. The number of tweets gathered from Twitter can be found in table 2G.

2.4 Ethics in online research

A discussion of ethics is particularly important to this research, because it is ambiguous in online research (Mkono & Markwell, 2014). The terms that cause the most discussion are those of “public and private online spaces” (ibid., p. 290; Eysenbach & Till, 2001). Some have argued that online environments blur the line between public and private and it is not appropriate to apply traditional guidelines of ethics to this new situation (Kozinets, 2002; Pfeil & Zaphiris, 2010). Kozinets (2002) offers four points for ethical conduct: that the researcher should reveal itself, “ensure confidentiality and anonymity to informants” (p. 66), ask for feedback from participants, and be careful to not cross the line between private and public. However, following such guidelines has been argued to eliminate the netnographic value of non-obtrusive research, especially in sensitive topics, and is also not always practically possible (Langer & Beckman, 2005; Pfeil & Zaphiris, 2010). In addition, Pfeil and Zaphiris (2010) argue that many researchers “see the internet as a public space, because the access to online communities is often open and people should know and expect that their messages will be read by a wide audience” (p. 5). Langer and Beckman (2005) agree that a space with unrestricted access can be regarded as public.

Nevertheless, it is argued that researchers should not be careless with the information that they gather in an online public space, because information shared in online environments is often very personal (Sharf, 1999, in Pfeil & Zaphiris, 2010). In addition, without asking consent, the social media user is not aware that their content is being used for research. According to Zimmer (2010), some argue that, because of the fluid boundaries between public and private, content shared within an online public sphere is shared with the intent that it stays *within* that particular public sphere. Therefore, if the content is taken out of the public sphere, it should be given as much anonymity as possible. Some academics have argued that even a literal quotation of a user’s comment can be recovered on the Internet using search engines which “might destroy the anonymity of the participants” (Pfeil & Zaphiris, 2010, p. 5). In the current investigation, decisions had to be made to conduct ethical research. Because of users’ privacy settings and the time frame of this project, no consent or feedback could be asked for the use of online data in this project. However, anonymity was maintained through deleting personal information such as usernames and profile pictures from the original data of the content analysis. The gathered data was mostly in Dutch; therefore, quotes that were used in the analysis were translated into English. Personal information was removed from the appendices.

3. Theoretical framework

The main purpose of the theoretical framework is to form a framework on which the analysis of data can be built. For this purpose, relevant aspects of the problem area are addressed and discussed using contemporary academic literature. The relevance of the theory is improved by reflection on the theory during later stages of the project, such as the analysis, following the hermeneutic circle discussed in the previous chapter. Consequently, this means that the theoretical framework develops as the rest of the project does. The framework will begin by discussing different perspectives on what a crisis is (section 3.1). Then, risk perception of tourists and influencers on risk perception, such as terrorism, will be discussed (section 3.2). Afterwards, the social media aspect will be explored by looking at viral messages, the discussion of crises on social media and the role of social media in terrorist communication (section 3.3).

3.1 The crisis approach

In order to investigate any effect of crisis and disaster on consumers' perceptions, it is necessary to first identify and understand the concepts of crisis and disaster and how these are going to be used in this project.

Perry (2007) names three "trends" of defining disaster, which are roughly similar to different researchers' paradigms. The most straightforward is the classic approach, which defines disaster as an "interruption of normalcy" (p. 6) and an event, which sets a disaster in a set "time and space" (ibid.). The "hazard-disaster tradition" (p. 8) moves away from this static definition and argues for a view of the processes of a disaster. It focuses on people and "moves to examine [disasters] in social terms, particularly of vulnerability and resilience." (p. 9), i.e. how people respond to and recover from disasters. Finally, researchers who define disasters within the "social phenomenon" approach (Perry, 2007, p. 10) see disaster as a social construct. They "use the word occasion rather than event when speaking of disaster" (p. 12), because this implies that the actual damage of, for example, a hurricane is not the focus of an investigation, but the disaster lies in the social change that is brought about as a response to the damage. Therefore, these researchers argue crisis research to focus on the individual and collective perspective when attempting to understand a crisis and its context.

Boin and 't Hart (2007) describe the difference between crisis and disaster as one of a threat to a specific group and a generally unquestioned threat to a collective such as a natural disaster, respectively. It is argued that while a disaster is always also a crisis, a crisis does not necessarily develop into a disaster (ibid.). This distinction can be made because of the word *threat*, which is in the view of the social phenomenon approach a constructed concept in people's minds. Ultimately, threat can be perceived before, during and/or after any physical damage may occur (and it may not even occur), and may be perceived by some groups and not by others.

The “crisis approach”, argued by Boin and ‘t Hart (2007) combines the three earlier described movements in a valuable argument. Firstly, the traditional approach is adopted in describing the cause of a problem as “agents of disturbance” (p. 46), such as an earthquake or a human mistake, but “a crisis does not automatically entail victims or damages.” (p. 44). This is where the hazards-disaster approach is evident: Boin and ‘t Hart (2007) argue that “the ultimate cause of the crisis lies in the inability of a system to deal with the disturbance” (p. 46). Finally, the crisis approach acknowledges the construction of a crisis as a social phenomenon in emphasizing the adversity of a crisis: “What is a crisis to some may be an opportunity to others” (p. 42). Hence, their conclusion that crisis is a “product of shared perception” (p. 44). Any crisis investigation should thus be analyzed with regards for the perspectives of the investigated individuals.

Furthermore, Sönmez et al. (1999) mention that a *tourism* crisis differs from the concept of crisis, because it starts after a disaster and can go on for a long time because of media attention and a damaged destination image. Boin & ‘t Hart’s approach combines all the approaches described by Perry (2007), because it gives the most complete understanding of a crisis. Sönmez et al.’s (1999) addition emphasizes the tourism aspect of a crisis. For these reason, this project will use the crisis approach when discussing the case study of social media in the 2015 Paris attacks, with particular focus on the aftermath of the crisis for the tourism industry in Paris.

3.2 Risk perception in tourism

This project is concerned with the role of risk perception in tourism within the case study of social media discourse of the 2015 Paris attacks. However, before risk perception on social media can be investigated, the general effects of crises and tourists’ perception of risk in tourism need to be discussed. This is necessary in order to better understand the development of a crisis and people’s responses to it.

3.2.1. Effects of tourists’ perception of risk

Tourism as a sector is extremely vulnerable to crises (Araña & Léon, 2008; Cavlek, 2002; Sönmez, et al., 1999). According to Sönmez et al. (1999), “[r]egardless of whether tourism crises are triggered by natural or human-caused disasters, travelers will shy away from afflicted areas.” (p. 14). The reason for tourists’ quick willingness to stay away is straightforward: “nothing can force them to spend a holiday in a place that they perceive as insecure” (Cavlek, 2002, p. 479). In other words, high risk perception can lead to travel fear or anxiety, which can cause tourists to opt for alternative destinations or not travel at all (Reisinger & Mavondo, 2005). Many academics have found that risk perception plays an immensely important role in tourists' behavior and intention to travel, more so than facts about a destination's risk (Bowen & Clarke, 2009; Reisinger & Mavondo, 2005; Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009; Roehl & Fesenmaier, 1992). This is further discussed in section 3.2.1.1.

The word *risk* covers a whole range of different types of risks. Roehl & Fesenmaier (1992) identify seven types of risk, which have been put out in table 3A.

Equipment risk	Experiencing mechanical or organizational problems on holiday
Financial risk	The holiday does not provide value for money
Physical risk	Physical danger, injury or sickness on holiday
Psychological risk	The holiday does not reflect an individual's personality or self-image
Satisfaction risk	The holiday does not provide personal satisfaction
Social risk	The holiday affects other people's opinion of an individual
Time risk	The holiday will be a waste of time

Table 3A. Types of risk in tourism. Adapted from Roehl & Fesenmaier (1992, p. 18).

The risks identified by Roehl & Fesenmaier (1992) can be part of risk perception during but also before a trip. Therefore, they are likely to influence travel intention. According Tsaur, Tzeng and Wang (1997 in Reisinger & Mavondo, 2005), "risk was defined as what is perceived and experienced by the tourists during the process of purchasing and consuming traveling services and at the destination" (p. 213). However, this project only focuses on the risk perceived *before* traveling to a destination. Although risk perception continues to develop throughout the tourism experience during travel, this aspect is not included in the scope of this project, because it is likely social media discourse will play a more important role before travel.

3.2.1.1. Actual risk vs. perceived risk

As it turns out, tourists' perception of risk does not always add up to the actual risk of a crisis at a destination (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998; Reisinger & Mavondo, 2005; Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009; Roehl & Fesenmaier, 1992) According to Boin and 't Hart (2007), "[c]risis is the product of shared perception- and it is not always clear when people agree that an urgent threat exists and combines with a high degree of uncertainty" (p. 44).

The tourist experience has often been argued to an individual concept (Mossberg, 2007). In a similar fashion, risk in the tourism experience is perceived differently by different individuals (Boin & 't Hart, 2007; Perry, 2007). Because risk perception is a personal phenomenon, it is likely that an individual's previous experience, values and personality play a role in the severity of the perceived risk. Roehl and Fesenmaier (1992) already suggested that an individual's "personality traits are used in explaining individuals' risk taking tendencies" (p. 121). Individuals who are novelty-seekers may be less concerned with maintaining a sense of familiarity and are thus not always dissuaded by situations which are out of the ordinary, which a destination in crisis may be argued to be (Lepp & Gibson, 2003; Floyd et al., 2004;

Bowen & Clarke, 2009). According to Sönmez & Graefe (1998), "[i]nternational attitude, risk perception level and income were found to directly influence international vacation destination choice" (p. 112). Individual personality and situation must therefore be taken into account when investigating individual perceptions of risk (Reisinger & Mavondo, 2005), because it can influence the perception of risk itself and its effect on tourists' behavior and decision-making process.

3.2.1.2 Risk perception and destination image

Risk perception plays a role in tourists' general perception of destination image (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998). According to Sönmez et al. (1999), "[b]ecause of the intangible nature of the travel experience, tourism depends heavily on positive images" (p. 15; Tasci & Gartner, 2007). The importance of a good destination image for success in tourism is not denied by any author in the field, because destination image is infused in the entire tourist decision-making process (Tasci & Gartner, 2007). Consequently, a newly obtained perception of severe risk can play a role up to the latest stages of decision-making. In practice this has often led to "the cancellation of plans to travel to a destination" (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998, p. 121).

According to Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty (2009), a personal relationship with a destination and the realization that a destination has not changed since a visit before a crisis may create a strong destination image for an individual. Therefore, previous travel experience resulting in a strong destination image can counter the perceived risk of a destination even after terrorism and compel some tourists to (repeat-)visit a destination in crisis that other tourists would avoid. For example, in a study by Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty (2009), some repeat-tourists saw terrorism as a possibility for every destination rather than attached to a particular destination. For this reason, Sönmez et al. (1999) argue that "[a]lthough the repercussions of a tourism crisis are likely to damage all destinations, the period of recovery can vary for each" (p. 14). According to Araña and Léon (2008), a crisis may not play a role at all in the long-term effects on a destination. This argument may be relevant in the case study of the Paris attacks. Because Paris is such a popular and established tourism destination, there is a considerable chance of a number of people having a strong destination image of Paris and previous travel experience to the city. Because of this, the effects of terrorism may be reduced or the post-crisis period shortened. However, Cavlek (2002) warns against simply trusting on established destination image for a destination to recover after a crisis. He argues that "[t]he situation requires commitment and considerable investment to re-establish the business with tour operators and travel agencies to restore traffic and regain the earlier position in the international market." (p. 494).

3.2.2 Influencing tourists' perceptions of risk

With the previously discussed evidence of the impact of crisis on tourism and risk perception, it can be assumed that for many tourists the risk of traveling to Paris after the attacks is perceived as higher than before. In order to investigate if and how social media discourse has influenced this perception, it is useful to look at different ways in which tourists' perception of risk can be influenced, by media and other factors. In this project, influencing methods are discussed from and for the perspective of the potential tourist to better understand how tourists' perception of risk is shaped before travel.

3.2.2.1 Meaning makers

According to Boin & 't Hart (2007), there are five stages or challenges for crisis managers, for example in a government. These challenges come into play during crises of any scale and sort, but can have much more severe consequences if handled incorrectly in a major crisis. They are: "sense making, decision making, meaning making, terminating, and learning" (Boin, 't Hart, Stern & Sundelius, 2005, in Boin & 't Hart, 2007, p. 49). Sense making refers to understanding what has happened to develop a crisis. For this there is often little time during a crisis (Boin & 't Hart, 2007). Decision making describes the challenge of making critical decisions under pressure, by the people in charge of a company or government. Meaning making is used to describe communications to the public as to why the crisis has occurred. This is necessary to make people understand and respect the decisions that have been made (ibid.). Terminating refers to a shift back to the normal routine when the time is right: if the crisis process is ended too early, it can have negative consequences for the crisis manager. Finally, learning, is the post-phase in which reforms can be made to avoid future crises of the same sort (ibid.).

It is the meaning making stage or challenge which is of particular relevance to the topic of this project. According to Boin & 't Hart (2007), it is important for public leaders to "frame the crisis" (p. 51) by attaching meaning to it. This serves to "get others to accept their definition of the situation" (ibid., p. 51). However, crisis managers are bound by certain limitations. One of which is that they cannot always "provide correct information right away" (ibid., p. 51). The public opinion at the time of a crisis is often emotional and anxious, which in many cases turns into anger or contempt towards the government, who is not always trusted even before a crisis occurs. Secondly, meaning making towards the public by government crisis managers is hindered by "other parties, who hold other positions and interests" (ibid., p. 51). It has been discussed that every individual can have a different perspective of a crisis. This naturally results in a lot of alternative opinions which, when shared, can obstruct the meaning created by the government crisis manager. In other words, alternative *meaning makers* can dominate the meaning making process and have a great influence on the public opinion. Boin & 't Hart (2007) suggest these meaning makers are companies with an interest that can be enhanced or impaired by the crisis. They may also be journalists of mass media, with the goal of selling sensationalism. Through alternative meaning makers with different goals, images of a destination in crisis and perspectives on risk can be affected.

3.2.2.2 The media as meaning maker

The media has been an old player in the field of meaning making, but new technology has changed the way media can share meaning and the scale on which meaning making happens. This has a direct influence on tourists' understanding of the crisis, their perception of risk and their perspective on a destination's image. According to Tasci & Gartner (2007), media have the ability to reach a large audience and generally enjoy high credibility among their consumers. This allows them to be "more influential on image formation" (ibid., p. 415). Sönmez & Graefe (1998) argue that "[w]atching violent images of terrorism or regional war on television is probably enough to discourage most people from traveling" (p. 137). According to Rittichainuwat and Chakraborty (2009), "media coverage sometimes creates unnecessary fear and exaggerates the extent of perceived risks" (p. 416), which can also affect the image of a destination. Cavlek (2002) and Tasci and Gartner (2007) also state that media plays a major role in providing knowledge when tourists have none. Through this, they can shape tourists' expectations of a destination (Picard, 2012). In the case of Paris, tourists, and Dutch consumers in particular, are likely to have a greater degree of knowledge about the destination, because of its status as popular tourist destination. This may mean that the influence of media is not as great as in cases where a destination is relatively unfamiliar to tourists.

Nevertheless, the effect of media on tourists' perception of risk after a crisis is not necessarily negative. It has been suggested that receiving more information about a crisis can decrease some of the perceived risk (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998). Furthermore, seeing images of a destination through media may enhance a sense of personal relationship or experience with a place even if an individual does not have this experience themselves (ibid.). Previous experience has been argued before to be a positive influence to people's perceptions of risk and the destination. In addition, in some cases the media attention given to a destination after crisis can be beneficial advertisement (Tasci & Gartner, 2007). However, whether this is also the case in a terrorism crisis remains questionable. It is first necessary to look at how terrorism as a tourism crisis differs from other types of crises.

3.2.3 Terrorism as a tourism crisis

So far, the concept of crisis has been taken as one, because the focus of the previous discussion lay on the dynamics of risk perception instead of the complexities of crises themselves. Now it is time to consider the specific characteristics and difficulties of terrorism crises. In crisis research a distinction is usually made between natural and human-caused disasters (Cavlek, 2002). Natural disasters are said to be "earthquakes, floods, tsunamis, and hurricanes" (Tasci & Gartner, 2007, p. 415) among other things and human-caused disasters "political upheaval, riots, terrorism, insurgency, crime, and war" (ibid.). According to Cavlek (2002), human-caused crises are different from natural crises in that they are usually made up of three phases: pre-, inter-, and post-phases. In the pre-phase there are usually already "signals of a possible outbreak of a crisis" (p. 479). The inter-phase is the event stage of a crisis in which the damage is inflicted. The post-phase is the period in which a destination recovers, both in tourism and other aspects of social life. Cavlek (2002) argues that tourism and positive destination image are decreased in all these stages of a human-caused crisis. In this project, investigation starts in the inter-phase of the crisis by gathering social media data from during the attacks. It will be interesting to analyze the development into the post-phase on social media.

Terrorism is a distinct crisis from other types of crises because of its undeniably political and/or ideological nature (Radu, 2002; Reisinger & Mavondo, 2005). Its main goal is to inspire fear (Radu, 2002). According to Cavlek (2002), "[a]ll disasters can turn tourism flows away from impacted destinations, but war, terrorism, or political instability have a much greater psychological negative effect on potential tourists when planning their vacations" (p. 479). Even experienced travelers are argued to perceive terrorism as a major risk factor in travel (Lepp & Gibson, 2003; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998). According to Pizam and Fleischer (2002), the impact of a terrorist attack can be felt up to nine months after the attack in tourism, depending on the severity of the attack and the frequency of terrorism in the destination. It is argued that especially the frequency of terrorism can have severe long-term effects on destination image and risk perception for a destination (Floyd et al., 2004; Pizam & Fleischer, 2002). In theory this puts Paris at risk as a travel destination, having suffered two well-published terrorism attacks in one year: the first was the Charlie Hebdo attack in January 2015, the latter the Paris attacks in November 2015. It is possible that remembrance of the Charlie Hebdo shooting forms part of the discourse on the Paris attacks in November. This way the first attacks could amplify the effects of the second. If this is the case, sentiments which express that terrorism happens more often can be expected. The question is whether social media draws more awareness to the frequency argument or helps to decrease the effect.

There are several reasons why terrorism can be argued to have greater psychological effect on tourists than other types of crises. Firstly, it may be because tourists are often the victim of terrorist attacks, either intentionally or unintentionally (Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009; Bowen & Clarke, 2009). Tourists are valuable targets for terrorism attacks, as it gives the attack international attention while effectively crippling a destination's tourism flow, often with great financial consequences (Kuto & Groves, 2004). Naturally, this argument can create travel anxiety among tourists (Bowen & Clarke, 2009). According to Reisinger and Mavondo (2005), "today the perception of risk that an individual will be a victim of terrorism, an international conflict, or a health hazard is higher than ever before" (p. 212). This may also be a consequence of the increase in media attention for such crises. A second factor of risk may be related to social risk as described earlier by Roehl and Fesenmaier (1992). Selmi et al. (2012) acknowledges that there is a moral issue involved in traveling to a place after a tragedy. Miles (2002) argues that the length of time since a crisis event can influence how emotionally involved people are with a destination and how real the crisis at a place feels to them. In addition, emotional involvement can also be shaped by individual experiences and personality (Crouch, 2000). Therefore, social risk, i.e.

the judgment of other people on a tourist's choice of travel destination, may be argued to be more prevalent for destinations that are recovering from a recent and sensitive crisis event, such as terrorism.

Other reasons for terrorism's psychological influence are more complex. They are concerned with the values that are under threat in a terrorism crisis and the communication hereby established by terrorists. These reasons will be further explained in the next two sections.

3.2.3.1 Attack on the right to travel

Terrorism is often described as more than an attack with physical damage; it is an attack on values of a certain group (Bianchi, 2006; Reisinger & Mavondo, 2005). Attacking tourists can be symbolic for attacking "Western capitalism, consumption, and values" (Reisinger & Mavondo, 2005, p. 213). Bianchi (2006) describes this as attacks against "the 'right' to travel and the liberal conception of freedom which underpins these rights" (p. 64). The right to travel is argued to be a concept within Westernized and capitalist cultures that "one is *entitled* to travel since it is an essential part of one's life" (Urry, 2002, p. 157). It is part of a personal freedom that is impaired by terrorism.

This right to travel is impaired by terrorism in two ways. Firstly, the immediate response by governments to a terrorism crisis is usually "to close their borders" (Bach, 2003, p. 227 in Bianchi, 2006, p. 67). This is done as a way of regaining control of the situation. Secondly, the right to travel may be unwillingly impaired by the public opinion after terrorism. A study by Floyd et al. (2004) was conducted in the month after the 9/11 attacks in the United States and found that social risk played an important role after the terrorist attack. Social risk is the possibility of friends and family judging an individual for their holiday choice (see section 3.2). Floyd et al. (2004) state that "many individuals commented that relationships were first and foremost in the "mind" of the public" (p. 33) at such a short time since the attacks. Therefore, the opinion of people emotionally close to an individual were of a greater influence when traveling after a terrorist attack and formed part of these tourists' risk perception.

3.2.3.2 The dialogue of terrorism

Terrorist crises are different from other crises because they have a human agent who causes the damage (Houston et al., 2014; Reisinger & Mavondo, 2005). More importantly, the reason for causing the damage is to establish communication (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998). Sönmez & Graefe (1998) describe a theory by Karber (1971) in which a terrorist is characterized as a "transmitter of message", a terrorism target as the "intended recipient of message" and the terrorist act itself as the "message" (pp. 117-118). The final node of communication is described by Karber (1971 in Sönmez & Graefe, 1998) as "feedback", which is the recipient's reaction (p. 118). Cavlek (2002) argues that the immediate period after a terrorism crisis is of great influence on tourists' perceptions of destination safety. Therefore, feedback after terrorism may further serve the terrorists' purpose by spreading fear. For example, it has been stated that media use crisis events as "good sellable stories" (Bowen & Clarke, 2009, p. 201). It has also been argued that by the attention media give to terrorists, the act of communication is amplified (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998; Sönmez et al., 1999). Sönmez et al. (1999) state that "despite different motives, the media and terrorists converge to aid each other in the effort to communicate with the audience; the media achieves higher ratings and terrorists achieve their goal of publicity" (p. 15). Because media attention has, unwillingly, served the purpose of terrorism in the past, terrorism has now been established as a "'legitimate' method of intimidation" (p. 118), according to Sönmez & Graefe (1998). If terrorism can be seen as a way of communicating, it is not surprising that terrorism can have greater psychological effects on tourists. It has been mentioned above that tourists are often valuable targets for terrorism. In the perspective of terrorism as communication, tourists can be seen as "ambassadors for their countries" (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998, p. 118), which consequently gives the situation an extra political angle and more media attention.

Karber's theory is an interesting view of terrorism as a *two-way dialogue*. The argument may be further explored by applying a conventional communication model to Karber's argument. Dahlén et al. (2010) describe marketing communications with figure 3A, but their framework is applicable to many communication processes.

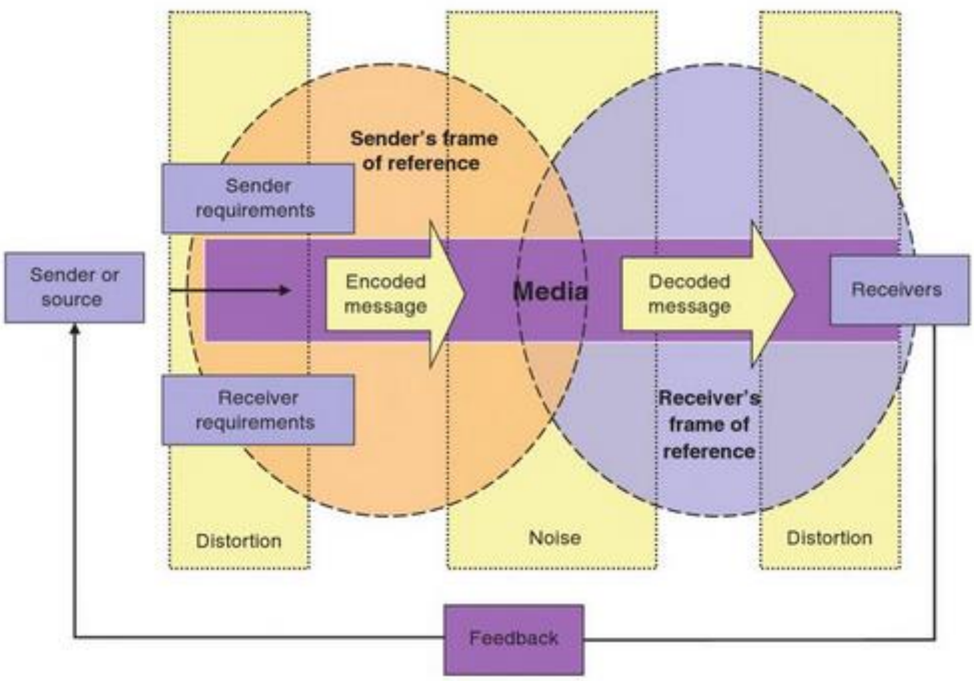

Figure 3A. The communication process, taken from Dahlén et al. (2010), p. 38

The figure illustrates that the interpretation of a sent message relies both on the way it is encoded by the sender and the way it is decoded by an audience. The frames of reference are influenced by personal experience, values, environment, etc. It can be argued that this way of thinking is a constructivist point of view. In addition, Dahlén et al. (2010) argue that successful interpretation of a message is affected by noise and distortion. Distortion refers to bad coding of a message, for example if a message is relayed incorrectly to other people through word-of-mouth. Noise can be physical, e.g. through messages of poor quality, or psychological, e.g. "mixed meanings, poor credibility of source or the irrelevance of the message to consumer requirements" (ibid., p. 38). According to Dahlén et al. (2010), if a message is "not understood by the receiver, communication of the message will not take place" (p. 37). Applying the model by Dahlén et al. (2010) to the argument of terrorism as communication adds the dimension that the terrorists' message may be distorted by certain factors. Word-of-mouth may be such a factor. How social media can be such a factor is discussed in the next section.

3.3 Social media and viral crisis discourse

Social media are becoming increasingly important in tourism as a place of information, inspiration, and relationship building with destination and company brands (Gyimóthy, 2014). The media have a complex new angle: virality (Ho & Dempsey, 2010). A viral message is simply said: content being forwarded from person to person, the online version of word-of-mouth, but with the ability to reach a lot of people (Watts and Peretti, 2007 in Ho & Dempsey, 2007, p. 1000; Dahlén et al., 2010). The discourse on the Paris attacks on social media, part of this project's case study, also went viral after the crisis. Therefore, it is important to look at why certain messages go viral, how virality can change the meaning of a message, and what role social media can play in crisis discourse and communication. However, in the discussion it should be kept in mind that online behavior does not always reflect offline behavior (Huang et al., 2014).

3.3.1 What is viral discourse?

According to Asur and Huberman (2010), "social media has exploded as a category of online discourse where people create content, share it, bookmark it and network at a prodigious rate" (p. 492). In this project, viral social media discourse is argued to be all viral content on social media relating to or originating from a specific topic, because it combines virality with online public discourse. According to Ho and Dempsey (2010), viral messaging is interesting because content is forwarded from person to person through completely voluntary decisions. There is no immediate value taken from forwarding content for the consumer at first sight. There is no blueprint for what makes up viral content, as it is "related to the phenomenon of social sharing of emotions" (Dobele et al., 2007, p. 293). However, there are certain elements that occur in all or most viral content and can be argued as reasons a message may go viral.

3.3.1.1 Causes of virality

Botha and Reyneke (2013) argue that "consumption of emotion" (p. 163) and "consumption of experiences" are at the core of virality. Emotions are the main reason content is forwarded. Dobele et al. (2007) and Vie (2014) both describe that content will likely be forwarded if the emotions of the content align with an individual's feelings at the time of sharing. In the case of human-caused disaster, anger infused in the content would be an effective emotion in reaching virality (Dobele et al., 2007). In addition, fear in a message can also make consumers forward it if the issue is contemporary and relevant for a target group (ibid.). However, simply containing an emotion is not enough to achieve forwarding of the content by consumers (Botha and Reyneke, 2013). There has to be a personal, emotional connection between the content and consumers' *identity* (ibid.) as well as political or social opinions (Vie, 2014). According to Vie (2014), sharing content can "be a complex decision that involves personal identity as well as group affiliation" (p. 10). Conscious and subconscious impression management seems to play a major role in deciding to forward content online. Important to note is that content is interpreted by the user; therefore, it is the user's interpretation which has to fit their identity. This interpretation may differ from the intended meaning of a picture or text.

Ho and Dempsey (2010) argue for the importance of "e-mavens", "people who forward content in high frequency" (ibid. p. 1001). E-mavens may be created through a personality trait, but may also have to do with other factors that make up their motivations for forwarding (ibid.). Ho and Dempsey (2010) suggest forwarding content may be "part of a conversation and … a possible forum for interpersonal communication" (p. 1001). Naaman et al. (2010, in Acar & Muraki, 2011) argue that there is a difference between "meformers" and "informers" (p. 394), suggesting that most information-sharing is centered around the self. This is in accordance with the arguments made in the previous paragraph (Botha & Reyneke, 2013; Dobele et al., 2007; Vie, 2014). Ho and Dempsey (2010) conducted a study which further explains the role of the self and impression management in an electronic environment. Through a quantitative survey of over 500 participants, they investigated different personal motives for sharing and forwarding electronic content. Ho and Dempsey (2010) state that "the e-maven is willing to disseminate online content with others as a way of showing his/her uniqueness" (p. 1004). The interesting conclusion of this study is that *altruism*, i.e. selflessness, and *individuation*, i.e. self-projection, seem to go hand-in-hand. Identity-building and impression management therefore seems to happen in a subtle way through supporting others. This may be relevant to the case study of Paris, i.e. people may share supporting messages in the social media discourse on Paris with more than one motive.

3.3.1.2 Meaning in viral discourse

It has been argued that the meaning of viral content can change, depending on the person who interprets it (Gyimóthy, 2014). This argument is a constructivist way of thinking: every person will see a message in their own way. According to Illia (2002, in Botha & Reyneke, 2013), online individuals receive messages, modify and add to them, and send them out again. A study by Blichfeldt and Smed (2015) on a controversial Danish Youtube video shows comments which range from different opinions on the video to slightly related and far-related discussions. Also in Vie (2014)'s study, "mutations of the original [HRC] logo" (p. 2) occurred in discourse on the Human Rights Campaign, each carrying their own related or unrelated meaning. An explanation for the creation of these associated meanings has been given by Anderson (1983). He states that knowledge connections that have been made in the past can be retrieved from long-term memory, at varying levels of ease. Upon encountering an instance that triggers activation, it "can spread from these elements to associated elements in the network of elements and units" (ibid., p. 3-4). This network is personal and made up past experiences and outside influences. Association can be triggered by something as simple as a word or phrase (ibid.). Blichfeldt and Smed (2015) apply this theory to an online environment in investigating a marketing video. They argue that associated nodes can trigger further associations, causing more different meanings.

In the context of the case study of this research, the originator of meanings was not one video or message, but many user's reactions to a real-time crisis event. Therefore, Anderson's spread of activation theory becomes even more complex by the vast amount of co-created meanings that are shared and their unclear origins. Social media users in this case are not only interpreters and co-creators of received meaning, but also forwarders and creators of meaning. Although meaning can change, it has also been argued that social media users are often very aware that there are shared messages which may contain wrong or biased information (Acar & Muraki, 2011). Therefore, some users may also investigate to find a meaning that is closer to the actual situation on social media, which makes the viral process filled with many different influences and therefore fluid and complex.

3.3.2 Crisis discourse users

It is important to realize that participation in the new media sphere is limited to viral discourse users. A digital divide excludes some people and groups from consuming this kind of information (Palen, 2008; Xiao et al., 2015). In addition to these people, social background can influence the degree participation on social media (Xiao et al., 2015). Social media and viral research is therefore always limited to the group of people who have access, both in technical as well as societal terms. In the context of crisis research, these can be called "crisis discourse users" (Houston et al., 2014).

At the same time, a definition of crisis discourse users is complicated (Houston et al., 2014). The reason for this is that crisis discourse users take all shapes and sizes. They have differing degrees of involvement, may be consumers only or also creators of content, and have different motivations for using social media (Houston et al., 2014; Palen, 2008). Some users may be "lurking, such as reading postings and viewing photos without actively posting messages" (Park et al., 2012, p. 1701). According to Palen (2008), the main objective for using social media among all crisis discourse users is "seeking and providing peer-to-peer information" (p. 76). Nevertheless, some users prefer to stay in the background and not share content themselves (Kaufmann, 2015). These users will be difficult to include in an online investigation, but may be found through different methods such as interviews.

3.3.3 Levels of crisis discourse on social media

A social media network is not just a place to share happy information (Hiltz & Plotnick, 2013). In fact, according to Schwarz (2012), the three major crises in 2011 were also the most discussed topics in Facebook statuses. Social media is a popular new medium for crisis management by businesses and governments (Xiao et al., 2015; Houston et al., 2014; Kaufmann, 2015). Although not being the only way of communicating, social media is often used as a way of gathering information for emergency services and communicating with the public during a crisis (Xiao et al., 2015). According to Houston et al. (2014), social media discourse after and during a disaster consists of different levels. Xiao et al. (2015) attempt to clarify these different levels by identifying three uses for social media in a crisis situation. These three levels are discussed in the following sections.

3.3.3.1 Real-time information during a crisis

The first level of crisis discourse on social media is the spread of news as the crisis unfolds (Xiao et al., 2015). This way, social media acts as an alternative to mass media. However, according to Kaufmann (2015), the interviewees in his study still preferred turning to traditional media such as (online) newspapers for facts. Austin et al., (2012) discuss the flow of crisis information on different media using the "social-mediated crisis communication model" (p. 191). This model is particularly relevant for the current case study as it incorporates both online and offline sources of information in crisis communication. Figure 3B is taken from their study (p. 192):

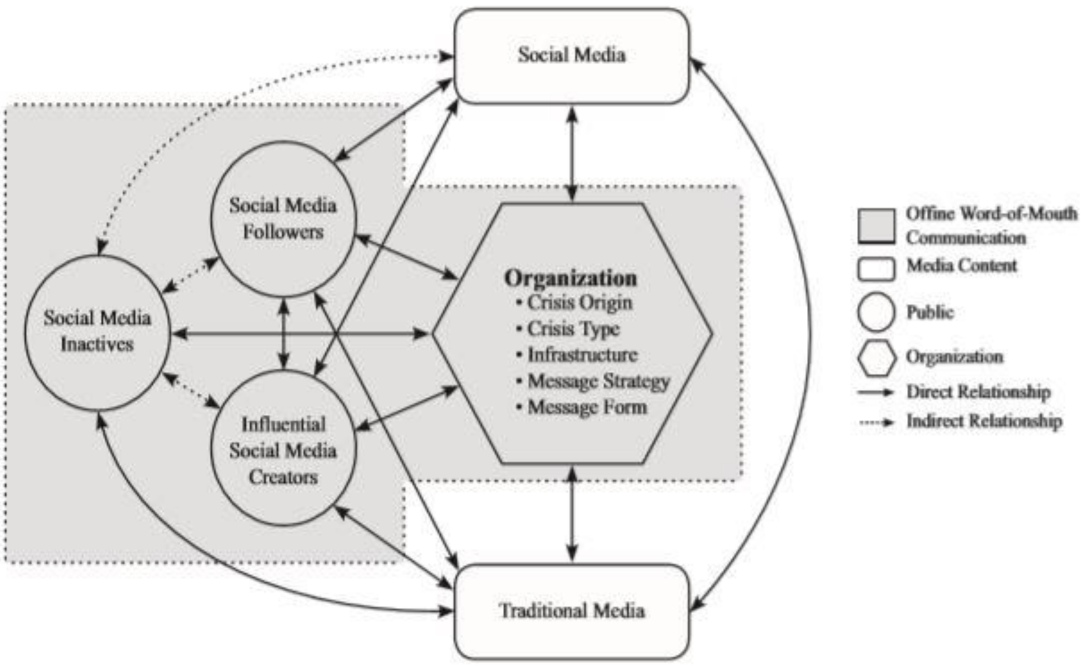

Figure 3B. The social-mediated crisis communication model.

Austin et al. (2012) suggest that for people who are inactive on social media, traditional media is the most direct form of consuming crisis information. It is argued that consumers rather use social media for peer-to-peer-information and personal contact (p. 201). Kaufmann (2015) also argues that for his participants social media had a more emotional and personal role. Therefore, Houston et al. (2014) argues that gathering information from social media is especially important if more traditional channels of communication are not available because of the crisis. The model also illustrates that there are people who consume social media information passively and "indirectly through word-of-mouth communication with social media followers and/or traditional media who follow influential social media creators and/or social media followers" (Austin et al., 2012, p. 192). In addition, it shows that offline communication plays a major role next to online crisis communications. Mostly, the model describes offline and online crisis communication as a dynamic and complex concept, influenced by the role of the consumer (as follower, inactive, and/or creator) and the availability and input of traditional and social media (ibid.).

3.3.3.2 Overview of a crisis and information overload

Social media during a crisis can establish a sense of the area in which the crisis takes place, which can be useful for rescue operations and police actions (Xiao et al., 2015). From a users' perspective, this means that social media can create an overview of the crisis event by sorting and searching information (Kaufmann, 2015). According to Hiltz and Plotnick (2013), establishing this situational awareness is necessary before users can start to make sense of a crisis situation. Showing self-initiative by searching for information which creates situational awareness is, according to Kaufmann (2015), an example of showing resilience in a crisis. The information on social media is "more direct and personal" (ibid., p. 979-80), but this also has a downside: social media can be invasive in the way that it impairs the possibility for users to "[follow] their habit of browsing social media for everyday purposes" (ibid., p. 980). This can lead to a sense of terrorism being everywhere and contribute to fear and information overload, which impairs resilience (ibid.).

According to Malholtra (1984), consumers get overloaded when they encounter too much information that is relevant to them. This could lead to rash decisions that are not satisfying to the consumer (ibid.). Rodríguez-Molina et al. (2015) state this in a destination image perspective; information overload can be triggered in consumers if they have high involvement in a destination and they can find many alternatives in travel information about that destination. They state information overload can lead to a negative destination image for consumers who experience it (ibid.). Information overload also occurs in a crisis situation: Hiltz and Plotnick (2013) identify information overload as one of the major obstacles for crisis discourse and management on social media. They state that information overload occurs on social media in non-crisis situations as well, but is amplified by crisis discourse because "[s]o much information is now broadcast during mass emergencies that it is infeasible for humans to effectively find it, much less organize, make sense of, and act on it" (p. 824). According to Austin et al. (2012), information overload was a reason for their participants to ignore all media, both traditional and social, during a crisis.

3.3.3.3 Peer-to-peer sharing and slacktivism

Thirdly, peer-to-peer information and information sharing in a crisis occurs on social media (Xiao et al., 2015). According to Schwarz (2012), peer-to-peer information on social media is generally regarded as trustworthy, even if the source of the information is not clear. In addition, Kaufmann (2015) states that during the 2011 attack at Utøya in Norway, "[s]ocial media, especially Facebook's network, were used to spread updates about one's own wellbeing" (p. 978). He argues that informing others of your wellbeing is a way to bring back normality in society and of regaining self-governance (ibid.). At the same time, the interactive nature of this occurrence can lead to sensationalism and collective resistance. In the case of the Utøya attacks this was expressed by visiting the Facebook profile of the attacker in a stroke of sensationalism or showing the Norwegian flag on their own profile as an act of resistance (ibid.). In some cases, online support can even lead to self-initiated offline action (Vie, 2014). The main effect of online support is that it draws awareness to a cause (Vie, 2014). However, according to Huang et al. (2014), online promises or action does not always lead to offline support. In some cases, online behavior is seen "as the end rather than the means to an activity" (Huang et al., 2014, p. 437). This has coined the term "slacktivism" (Kristofferson et al., 2014).

It has been argued before that impression management plays a role when sharing messages on social media. Online support may therefore also be shared as a way of being a part of a group, rather than being driven by the cause (Vie, 2014). According to Kristofferson et al. (2014), "when the initial support situation is high in social observability, impression-management motives become activated" (p. 1150). After satisfying the need for impression management, they state consumers are not likely to contribute more effort to a cause. In addition, people can use the wide reach and attention of viral support campaigns to draw attention to their own political or social opinions within an online discourse (Vie, 2014). Nevertheless, Vie (2014) argues that online support in the form or memes "are not simply minor moments of slacktivism, but are part of a complex web of digital activism that involves creating content, transmitting memes, and remixing messages that can have significant impacts on off–line behaviors."

3.3.3.4 A fourth level: emotionally connecting

Not included in the three types of crisis discourse by Xiao et al. (2015) is an emotional perspective. This may be the case because the three uses are mostly focused on social media crisis discourse *during* a crisis. According to Kaufmann (2015), "organizational and technical dimensions" (p. 977) are found to be most important in the first stage during and after the attack. He states that "emotion functions . . . emerged in the longer aftermath of the attacks and can be associated with a sense of grief and coping" (ibid.). Therefore, it is useful to look back at the different phases in a crisis, argued by Cavlek (2002) and discuss the role of social media in a wider time frame. Houston et al. (2014) does this by describing different functions for social media during different phases of a crisis. They can be found in the figure below.

Disaster social media use	Disaster phase
Provide and receive disaster preparedness information	Pre-event
Provide and receive disaster warnings	Pre-event
Signal and detect disasters	Pre-event → Event
Send and receive requests for help or assistance	Event
Inform others about one's own condition and location and learn about a disaster-affected individual's condition and location	Event
Document and learn what is happening in the disaster	Event → Post-event
Deliver and consume news coverage of the disaster	Event → Post-event
Provide and receive disaster response information; identify and list ways to assist in the disaster response	Event → Post-event
Raise and develop awareness of an event; donate and receive donations; identify and list ways to help or volunteer	Event → Post-event
Provide and receive disaster mental/behavioural health support	Event → Post-event
Express emotions, concerns, well-wishes; memorialise victims	Event → Post-event
Provide and receive information about (and discuss) disaster response, recovery, and rebuilding; tell and hear stories about the disaster	Event → Post-event
Discuss socio-political and scientific causes and implications of and responsibility for events	Post-event
(Re)connect community members	Post-event
Implement traditional crisis communication activities	Pre-event → Post-event

Figure 3C. Functions of disaster social media. Taken from Houston et al. (2014), p. 8.

Some elements of the types of crisis discourse described by Xiao et al. (2015) can be found in the table, such as seeking help or gathering information. However, the table adds to the discussion by Xiao et al. (2015) in the post-event stage, for example when talking about "express[ing] emotions, concerns, well-wishes" and "memorialise victims" (see table). The table suggests that information about the crisis and its response is not only gathered, but the information and its consequences is also *discussed*. According to Kaufmann (2015), even on platforms where discussion is not the focus, social media "still allow[s] for accessing different perspectives and comments" (p. 983). In this way, social media can enhance the ability to return normality through user discussion, but it can also distance users from each other through polarized debates (ibid.).

An element of emotional discussion is not included in the types of crisis discourse by Xiao et al. (2015). Therefore, a fourth type of crisis discourse can be added to Xiao et al.'s (2015) typology: one of viral emotional sharing and consumer discussion which takes place during and after the crisis. According to Dobele et al. (2007), "the more disruptive the event, the sooner and more frequently it is shared" (p.

193), because emotions are a lot more intense. According to Schwarz (2012), digital social convergence also occurs after a crisis and connects people. This may be part of the fourth type of crisis discourse as it facilitates emotional sharing and discussion. According to Kaufmann (2015), social media is where emotions after an emergency “are expressed and dealt with” (p. 975). He states this is an important part of the resilience of a society after terrorism and disasters. The fourth level of crisis discourse can be argued to be the last level before normality is restored on an emotional level. However, how long the fourth level is continued is likely dependent on the geographical and emotional closeness of a crisis destination as well as a tourists’ individual perceptions (Miles, 2002; Crouch, 2000).

4. Analysis and discussion

This chapter will combine gathered data with arguments from the theoretical framework in order to investigate the influence of viral discourse on Facebook and Twitter during and after the Paris attacks on Dutch users’ perception of travel risk to Paris. As discussed in Chapter 2 Methodology, data was gathered in different ways and from different sources. Figure 2A in section 2.3 shows how the different methods add to each other to investigate the problem formulation. In order to briefly review the different sources of data and make the terminology used for the different types clear, the following table contains a summary of the methods used in this project.

Method	**Interviews**	**Word cluster analysis**	**Qualitative content analysis**	
Goal	To investigate Dutch participants’ experience and behavior both *online* and *offline* during and after the Paris attacks and their *travel risk perception* of Paris.	To gain insight into *general* topics in the Dutch viral discourse of the Paris attacks	To gain insight into the *interplay between viral discourse and travel risk perception* for Dutch social media users.	
Sources of data	4 participants	Keyword searches on Twitter	Comments on shared newspaper articles on Facebook pages of Dutch newspapers	Keyword searches on Twitter
Time frame	Conducted March 2016	13 November – 31 December	13 November – 31 December	
Coding titles		Twit1 (3717) Twit2 (411) Twit3 (1012) **Total (5140)**	News1 (31) News2 (6) News3 (20) News4 (90) News5 (125) News6 (14) **Total (286)**	Twit4 (96) Twit5 (61) Twit6 (15) **Total (172)**
Terms for data	**Participants**	**Clusters**	**Units**, shared by **users**	

Table 4A. Summary of methods and terminology

Figure 4A below shows a network of themes, categories, and subcategories relating to travel risk perception to Paris and viral discourse. These categories were created *inductively* from the perceived meaning of the units of the content analysis and comments from the interview. The word cluster analysis was not sorted into the themes in Figure 4A, because it relates to the general viral discourse, whereas the figure focuses on travel in the viral discourse of the Paris attacks. In addition, because of the unstructured nature of the interviews, comments from the interviews did not all relate to travel. The same is the case for some units in the content analysis. The word cluster analysis is therefore discussed alongside units of the content analysis and comments from the interviews that did not relate to the travel part of the viral discourse. This discussion of this data with relevant theory forms the first section *General viral discourse* and will provide an overview of the viral discourse. An overview is relevant, because it shows the influences social media users consume in online crisis discourse beside the investigated travel discussions.

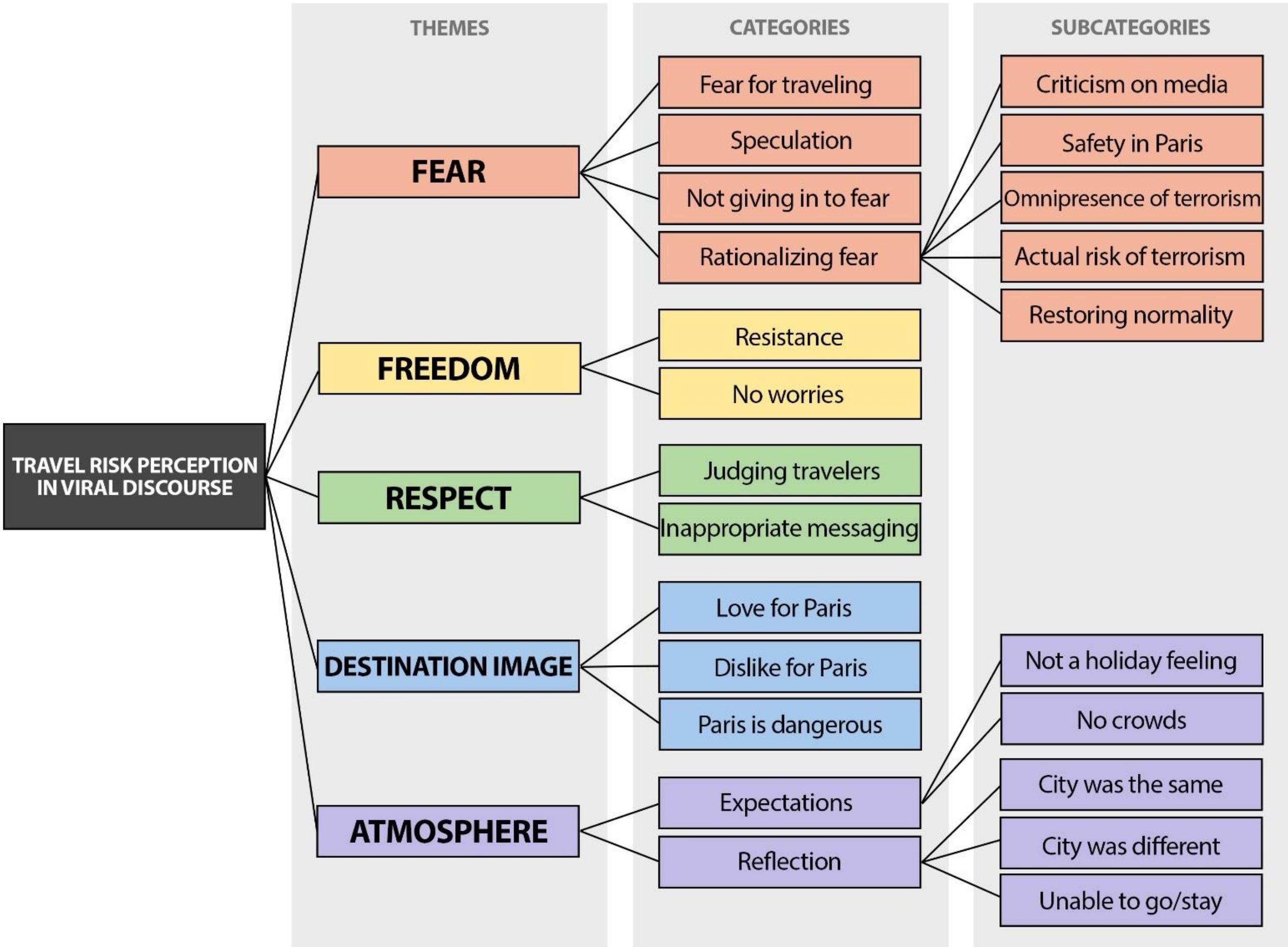

Figure 4A. Themes and categories in the data.

It must not be forgotten that there are people who cannot participate in the viral discourse because of a digital divide (Palen, 2008; Xiao et al., 2015). Furthermore, from the people who are able to participate, so-called crisis discourse users (Houston et al., 2014), there are users who do not actively post comments in the public sphere (Park et al., 2012). As the netnographic methods in this project focus on users' shared content, these "invisible" users are difficult to investigate, but that does not mean they do not consume the same content that the investigated units replied to (Austin et al., 2012). The experience of viral discourse was discussed in interviews with participants who were not very active on social media as creators, in order to add another perspective to the online data.

Chapter 4 Analysis and discussion will start with this discussion on the *General viral discourse*. Then, the inductive themes and categories of figure 4A guide the structure of the analysis. The discussion will explain the categories in detail in relation to the theoretical framework and argue how the units and comments in the theme may have an influence on Dutch people's travel risk perception of Paris. Finally, the influence of viral discourse on social media as a way of responding to terrorism will be discussed.

4.1 General viral discourse

The theme of *General viral discourse* gives an overview of the viral discourse as it developed in the time frame of data collection. This overview serves as a basis for understanding the discourse that users may have consumed after the attacks and possible influences of this general discourse for their travel risk perception to Paris. The word clusters of the 100 most frequent words in the data for every week illustrated the developing discussions on the social media platform Twitter. Because the elements came forward in a large sample of Tweets, they are argued to be part of the viral discourse. Summaries for every word cluster can be found in Appendix F1, but the following timeline has been created to visualize the word clusters:

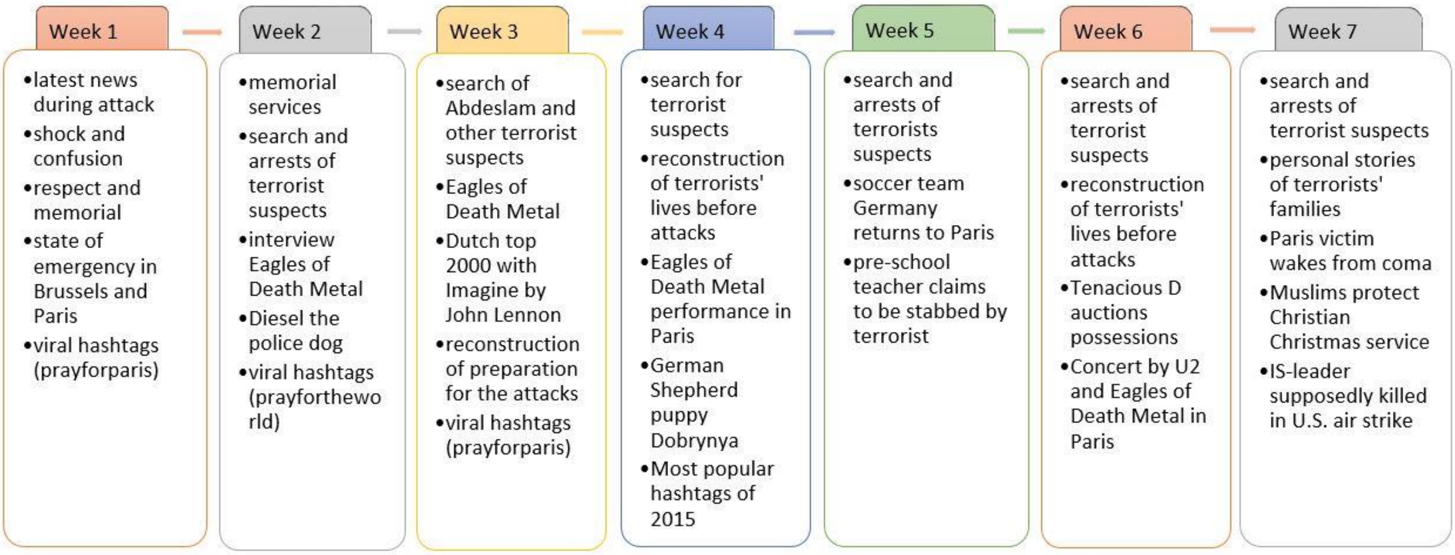

Figure 4B. Word cluster analysis timeline

Looking at the timeline in figure 4B, it can be seen that some elements remain the most discussed viral topic throughout the investigated 7 weeks whereas others appear and disappear in one week. It is likely that offline as well as online crisis communications have shaped the viral discourse in this crisis situation, because users do not consume input from just one source (Austin et al., 2012). Therefore, the viral discourse elements in the timeline are a reflection of crisis communications in other spheres as well. Xiao et al. (2015) discuss three levels of crisis discourse, which have been set out in addition to a fourth level in the theoretical framework. Because this section discusses the *general* viral discourse, there is an abundance of different data in this project that can be discussed in this perspective. To keep the discussion clear and relevant for the rest of the analysis, Xiao et al.'s (2015) framework, with use of other theory, will be used to guide the discussion of the general viral discourse.

The first level in crisis discourse is the consumption of real-time information during a crisis; in the timeline this can be seen in the first week, which began on the day of the attacks and is dominated by the *latest news*. For the interview participants 3 and 4 social media was a place to gather information to keep up-to-date about the situation as well. Some units in the content analysis also revolve around real-time information, but of a more practical nature; they ask questions about cancelled holidays to Paris and the restitution of travel costs (App. G3, G5). These units occurred mostly in the first weekend after the attacks and show the use of Facebook and Twitter for immediate answers on pressing issues such as cancelling travel to Paris due to the state of emergency in the city. According to Cavlek (2002), there are three phases in a human-caused crisis: pre-, inter-, and post-crisis. Real-time information plays an important role in the inter-phase, as information came in while the attacks were still going on. However, the timeline shows that the line between inter- and post-phase is not very clear in the viral discourse; discussion and information about the search and arrests of terrorist suspects continued throughout the weeks of data collection. Kaufmann (2015) argues that social media also has a more emotional role; in the timeline, some word clusters related to shock and confusion as well as memorial of the victims, indicating that emotion was a major part of the online viral discourse of the Paris attacks.

The second level described by Xiao et al. (2015) refers to the creation of an overview of the situation of a crisis by finding and consuming information about the crisis. One of the recurrent topics in the word cluster analysis timeline is news relating to the search and arrests of terrorist suspects in Brussels, Paris, and other cities in Europe. This can be argued to be part of creating situational awareness and the sense making process (Hiltz & Plotnick, 2013). In the word cluster analysis, it appears that the longer since the crisis event the more personal the situational information becomes. For example, in week 3 after the attacks a reconstruction of the terrorists' preparations for the attacks was a frequent topic in the viral discourse. In week 4 and 6, however, the focus seems to shift towards the personal situation of the terrorists, i.e. who they were and why they did what they did. In week 7, the terrorists' families get a voice by sharing statements in traditional media about their family member who was one of the terrorists in the attacks. These statements were widely shared on social media. This shows that the viral information in the discourse becomes increasingly personal, which is argued by Kaufmann (2015) to be one of the characteristics of social media. It is also mentioned by Hiltz and Plotnick (2013) that so much information in the crisis discourse can make it more difficult to make sense of the situation. The inclusion of such informational but also personal themes in the viral discourse may be a reason for Twitter users to ignore crisis communication altogether (Austin et al., 2012). That users may get tired of the discourse can also be seen in the sharing of viral hashtags in the word cluster analysis timeline; four weeks after the attacks, the most frequent hashtags for sharing viral content of the Paris attacks were no longer among the most frequent word clusters. In addition, the Twitter search yielded increasingly less results for Paris-related keywords after week 3. These occurrences indicate that the viral discourse abated as the time from the crisis events increased and people became less invested in it or overloaded with it.

The third level of crisis discourse discussed by Xiao et al. (2015) is that of peer-to-peer-sharing. According to Schwarz (2012), the trustworthiness of peer-to-peer information is one of the strengths of social media. Kaufmann (2015) suggests that telling other users that you are safe is a way of self-governing a crisis, which is important to restore normality in society. Peer-to-peer-sharing about personal well-being did not clearly come forward in the word cluster analysis on Twitter, other than in the inclusion of the viral hashtags meant for peer-to-peer-sharing. This may be because the data was gathered on Twitter, which is argued to be more public than personal (Kwak et al., 2010). A user informing others of their well-being may have occurred on a more personal channel such as Facebook (Kaufmann, 2015). However, peer-to-peer-sharing did occur in the associations with elements of the viral discourse which were shared. Some viral elements in the Dutch Twitter discourse contained specific Dutch associations with the Paris attacks, such as the Dutch top 2000 being won by Imagine from John Lennon in honor of Paris. These elements can be argued to be associated meanings from an individual's personal experiences and opinions (Anderson, 1983) and the result of peer-to-peer-sharing and individual and collective interpretation. The associated elements can be argued to be part of a particular phase in Houston et al.'s (2014) model: narrating the disaster. Doing so on social media is a transfer from the event to post-event phase (ibid.). According to Cavlek (2002), recovery of society and tourism flows happens in the post-crisis stage. Therefore, the narration of different associations in the viral discourse is important to restore normality. Peer-to-peer-sharing also became clear in the interaction between users in units from the content analysis. Tagging friends was a major part of non-travel-related units (App. G1). Forwarding is an essential part of participating in viral discourse (Ho & Dempsey, 2010). According to Vie (2014), in order to forward content, it has to fit with the user's opinions and identity. It is difficult to say if that was the case in the data, because content was often forwarded only by tagging the name and not including a further comment. In some cases, however, comments were added along with the tag. These suggest that only friends were tagged for whom the user thought information was relevant. The relevance of communicating content to other users is that this can (re)connect people in a community after a crisis (Houston et al., 2014; Schwarz, 2012) which has been argued to contribute to the resilience of society (Kaufmann, 2015).

The fourth level of crisis discourse which has been argued in the theoretical framework is that of emotional discussion and connection (section 3.3.3.4). According to Houston et al. (2014), social media after a crisis can be useful in expressing emotions and memorializing victims as well as connecting people together. This is also evident in the first week after the attacks in the word cluster analysis. In this week, emotions played a major role in the frequent topics of viral discourse on Twitter. Memorial messages and services were also among the most talked about topics in the word clusters of week 2. However, social media discourse can move beyond mere sharing of emotions to a discussion of different perspectives on viral topics (Kaufmann, 2015). The negative side of social media being a platform for different perspectives and discussions is that opinions can be fragmented or polarized (ibid.). This becomes clear in one of the major viral topics that came forward in the non-travel-related units of the content analysis: debate about the Islam. In the Facebook and Twitter data, there were discussions between users about the Islam and whether or not Muslims could be blamed for the Paris attacks. Some also discussed whether it was right that the Netherlands had not called a national state of emergency after the attacks. There were a few users who commented on the attacks being staged by governments for more control. In the user discussions in the data, the Islam debate became heated and personal as three users discussed extremism in the Islam. Participant 2 also talked about the Islam debate and conspiracy theorists. She stated: *"There are so many different kinds of people. I think that the people who think that [conspiracy theorists] are people who don't trust anything. Those are people that don't trust the media on principle, but also don't trust the government or anything"* (App. B1). The polarization which is clear in her statement and in the social media units may disconnect members of a community from each other rather than (re)connect them (Houston et al., 2014) and slow down the process of recovery.

<u>4.1.1 Relevance of *General viral discourse*</u>

This section has discussed the general viral discourse on social media after the Paris attacks, based on the most frequent word clusters in Twitter data, part of the units from the content analysis, and comments from the interviews. An overview of the general viral discourse is relevant because it shows the development of viral topics and suggests factors such as time since the attacks, emotional involvement and space for emotional and political discussion may be of influence on restoring normality after the terrorist attacks. In addition, data that is used to discuss travel risk perception on social media is likely partly influenced by other elements in the viral discourse. Therefore, although the data in this section had no direct connection to travel risk perception, it illustrates valuable points about the role of social media in and after the Paris attacks.

4.2 Fear

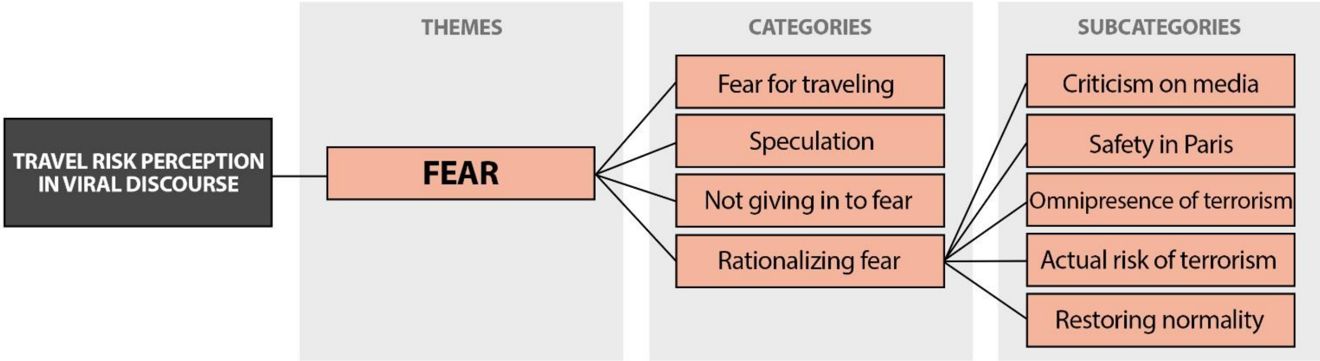

Figure 4C. The categories of Fear

The theme that was most prominent in the content analysis and the interviews was *Fear*. Naturally, fear plays a major role after a terrorism crisis, because it is its main goal (Radu, 2002). According to Reisinger and Mavondo (2005), the risk perception of terrorism in society is higher than ever. This presence of fear is troubling in a travel context, because a perception of insecurity can be detrimental to tourism in a destination (Cavlek, 2002). Fear in the data was expressed in many different ways, which have been illustrated in figure 4C. The effect of the different categories and subcategories will be analyzed in detail in the following sections, which follow the order of the model.

4.2.1 Fear for traveling

The category *Fear for traveling* contains the most units of the content analysis from all categories in this theme. The units and interview comments in this category all express a fear for traveling to Paris after the attacks, some also to other big cities or social gatherings. For example: *"Oh yes, I don't really feel at ease anymore in public spaces. I won't go to Paris just for fun anymore either"* (Ref 6, Twit4, App. H1). Because fear is the main goal of terrorism, it is not surprising that many people express a fear or lack of desire to travel to Paris in this time. Social media may amplify such fears by the kind of information it provides (Kaufmann, 2015). According to Kaufmann (2015), stories on social media are often more personal. For participant 4, very personal content meant video images of during and after the attacks. She said that moving pictures made a lot more impact on her. Therefore, she preferred newspapers to social media or television. Participant 1 experienced the closeness of a personal account in the form of a video of a young French boy and his father talking about the memorial flowers after the attacks. She kept thinking about it because it appealed to her personally. Sharing content has been argued to be a personal process that also includes a consideration of group affiliation (Vie, 2014). Therefore, social media is likely to bring a user more content that appeals to them because friends of that user will forward it to them. Boin and 't Hart (2007) state that a perspective of threat is constructed first and foremost in and between people's minds. Forwarding of emotional content to other social media users' can be argued to be a way of constructing this feeling of threat. This way social media could have a greater effect on a user's fear and risk perception of Paris.

In some cases, fear for traveling was not only directed at travel to Paris. For example: *"What am I going to do in the week after the Paris attacks? To London. Am I afraid? Yes"* (Ref 5, Twit4, App. H1). According to Bianchi (2006), terrorist attacks can be seen as attacks against a right to travel, because it impairs the freedom of travel by fear amongst other things. Therefore, fear can be reflected upon travel in general. This is further explored in the next category of this theme.

4.2.2 Speculation

The category *Speculation* contains data that seems to speculate about the future and where terrorists might strike next. In most interviews speculating and thinking as a terrorist was a major part of the participants' consideration of fear. Even participant 4, who traveled to Paris herself after the attacks and stated she was not afraid, said that she did wonder at times if she was in a busy public place or traveling if it was going to happen again at that particular time and place. A user also speculated about the place of a next attack: *"If I were a terrorist, I would really think... Brussels, Paris, state of emergency! How about I go to Amsterdam, they don't do anything anyway…"* (Ref 1, Twit4, App. H2). According to Reisinger and Mavondo (2005) high risk perception can make a tourist change their destination of choice or prevent a tourist from traveling altogether. In the previous category it has been mentioned that fear for traveling can be reflected upon other destinations than Paris as well, because terrorism can be seen as an attack on the right to travel itself. The insecurity of the thought that it could happen in other places may be the reason why speculation came forward as a category in the data.

Participant 2 said that thinking like a terrorist scared her a little. She stated: *"And then suddenly, right because you start to feel a little bit safe again,* then *it happens. And now we know that in a few- well, I feel like we can expect it. It will happen again in 5 months. And nobody knows where"* (App. B1). Her statement indicated that speculation does not only refer to considering what destination could be the next victim of an attack, but also when the next attack is going to be. It has been discussed that frequency of terrorism in a destination can have severe negative effects on a tourist destination (Floyd et al., 2004; Pizam & Fleischer, 2002). Participant 2 seemed to have the feeling that terrorist attacks were happening regularly and anticipated a next one. The same feelings were expressed by participants 3 and 4.

4.2.3 Not giving in to fear

The previous two categories expressed a negative influence of fear on travel risk perception. However, there was also an opposite voice in the data. The category *Not giving in to fear* contains data which expressed a resistance against fear. The following quote from the content analysis data illustrates the category: *"What can I do about it? We will not let our lives be controlled by fear. We are going to Paris next week"* (Ref 1, Twit4, App. H3). A possible reason that the resistance against fear is expressed by some people is that these people are simply less concerned with risk (Bowen & Clarke, 2009; Roehl & Fesenmaier, 1992). This was also expressed by participant 1: "*I think it very much depends on the person themselves. If you have a life view of nothing is going to happen to me or anything, then you would go"* (App. A1). It has been argued that risk perception is an individual experience and personality and past experience is a major part of that. In this case, it seems that risk perception is not necessarily low, but weighs less in these people's decision-making process.

4.2.4 Rationalizing fear

Rationalizing fear is a category with 5 subcategories in which the data expressed different ways of decreasing users' own or other's fear. Kaufmann (2015) describes resilience as the way people recreate a sense of security for themselves after a crisis. Rationalizing fear is a major part of resilience (ibid.). The data in this category shows the process of rationalization, but also suggests that social media may contribute to resilience.

4.2.4.1 Criticism on media

The biggest way in which fear was rationalized was by arguing that the perception of fear was increased by other sources than the terrorist attack: There was a lot of *Criticism on media* for exaggerating fear or presenting untrue information that could increase risk perception: *"The fear is mainly put into everybody's head by the media, which apparently cannot talk about anything else anymore. If you would stop this for once and bring some more positive messages into the world. That would help a lot"* (Ref 2, News2, App. H4.1). Boin and 't Hart (2007) have stated that after a crisis, meaning has to be attached to what happened. This can be done by the government, but media also has a large influence on framing the crisis, because they can reach a large audience (Tasci & Gartner, 2007). However, this also means news coverage can make a situation seem worse than it is (Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009). Part of the reason criticism on media occurred often in the data is likely that many online units were gathered from the comment sections of shared news articles on the Facebook pages of news channels and newspapers. However, it is not just the place in which information was gathered that created this subcategory; participant 2 elaborated on her views of the influence of media in forming perceptions as well. She talked about the multitude of negative messages after the attacks: *"I think that the news is just really big business, and that there's people on top that earn such an incredible amount of money with what they show. And fear mongering, like negative things, I think those have a lot bigger impact on people than positive things. So negative stories will sell better as well"* (App. B1). This comment is in accordance with arguments in the theoretical framework that the media can amplify and help the impact of terrorism because crisis stories sell well (Bowen & Clarke, 2009; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998; Sönmez et al., 1999). Social media may further increase this effect by making news and personal information available wherever people go on their phones (App. A1). Participant 2 talked about a dilemma that she felt: she wanted to stay up-to-date about the Paris attacks, but she feared that all the information she could receive was biased and formed her opinion against a certain group. For example, she mentioned that Caucasian people who conduct a terrorist attack are hardly ever called terrorists whereas Muslims usually are, which shaped her perspective of Muslims. This argument did not just apply to traditional media for her. She talked about information on Facebook: *"Even if you don't want it, your attention is drawn by it and you still read it anyway. And unconsciously, even if you feel like you know that this is only one side of the story, unconsciously you will still form an opinion based on the story that you have read"* (App. B1). Criticism on media in a social media environment suggests that people do not always believe all messages that they receive on social media, as argued by Acar and Muraki (2011). This may have a positive influence on travel risk perception, because it breaks the perception that news channels have shaped that Paris is very dangerous.

4.2.4.2 Safety in Paris

The second subcategory of the rationalization of fear is *Safety in Paris* and includes a discussion of why Paris is perceived by some people to be the safest place to travel to after the attacks because of increased security measures: *"I definitely want to go there. I don't think people will want to do the same again there"* (Ref 4, News5, App. H4.2). For participant 4 the extra security measures were one of the major reasons why she saw no harm in traveling to Paris herself. She also stated that she thought the presence of soldiers in the city would discourage new terrorist attacks, a view which was shared by participant 3. In addition, she said: *"I actually thought if they do another attack in Paris, then it won't be now but in a few months or a few years"* (App. D1). Participant 2 also said that she thought it unlikely attacks would happen in the same place twice, especially in a short period of time. Therefore, these participants and users perceived Paris as a safer place than the rest of Europa after the attacks.

4.2.4.3 Omnipresence of terrorism

The third subcategory is called *Omnipresence of terrorism* and contains units which argue that terrorism could happen anywhere: *"Many people criticize me because I'm going on holiday to #Egypt (Muslim country). No, eating in a #restaurant in #Paris is without risk. So…."* (Ref 2, Twit4, App. H4.3). Participants 2 and 4 also talked about their perspective that terrorism could happen in any country, even though participant 4 believed it was a lot more common in countries such as Pakistan than in Europe. According to Kaufmann (2015), the feeling that terror is everywhere can increase risk perception and impair resilience of society. However, the data suggested that the feeling that terrorism is omnipresent could also be a reason not to stop traveling. This is illustrated in participant 1's statement: *"And how long would you not go to Paris otherwise? Then you may never go there again because you're always afraid. It could also happen in Amsterdam"* (App. A1). Participant 4 elaborates more on this opinion by stating that other people travel more than her, so the odds of it happening to them were a lot higher than it happening to her personally. Furthermore, participant 3 stated that because it happened more and more often, terrorist attacks were becoming normal to people. It seems that for the data in this category, an overall risk of terrorism is accepted because it is simply "there" and because the odds of it happening to the individual may be perceived as low. Therefore, this perception does not necessarily contribute to a higher travel risk perception. This is related to the next subcategory.

4.2.4.4 The actual risk of terrorism

The *Actual risk of terrorism* is another way of rationalizing the fear after the Paris attacks that is closely related to considering the omnipresence of terrorism, because both conveyed that the risk of dying or getting hurt is everywhere. However, the way fear was rationalized differed slightly; the risk perception of terrorism was decreased not because *terrorism* can happen anywhere, but because a *lethal crisis* can happen anywhere. The theoretical framework is centered on the argument that actual risk in a destination can differ from tourists' perception of risk (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998; Reisinger & Mavondo, 2005; Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009; Roehl & Fesenmaier, 1992). The data suggested the discrepancy between actual and perceived risk was a way for people to rationalize their fear; it conveyed statements that terrorist attacks are not as lethal as people think when put into perspective: *"There are 675,000,000 people living in Europe. Each year a few hundred people die because of terrorism. Learn to put things in perspective"* (Ref 2, News4, App. H4.4). By doing so, the data seemed to acknowledge that people associate terrorism with more threat than other crises. According to Boin and 't Hart (2007), it is not always clear why this happens. However, it is likely that the nature of a terrorism crisis has great influence on this, i.e. that terrorism is caused by humans rather than nature (Cavlek, 2002) and that it is a political or ideological act with damage on values of a group (Bianchi, 2006; Radu, 2002; Reisinger & Mavondo, 2005).

4.2.4.5 Restoring normality

The last subcategory of rationalizing fear is *Restoring normality*. This subcategory contained expressions that eventually everything will and should go back to normal. The subcategory was included in the category of *Rationalizing fear*, because it considers the actual impact of terrorism on society. According to Sönmez et al. (1999), a tourism crisis can last long if it is fostered by media attention and the destination image is damaged. However, in the long-term the effect of a crisis may disappear altogether (Araña & Léon, 2008). In the interviews, four months after the attacks, all participants had trouble remembering their experience during the Paris attacks at first. Participant 3 stated that the actual impact of the Paris attacks in her life was not very severe. She said it was easy to forget about the attacks because a lot of other events happen. Participant 2 also suggested that over time she felt less afraid and forgot about it. Miles (2002) has argued that emotional involvement in a crisis event decreases over time and makes the crisis feel less real. The length of recovery can vary for each destination (Sönmez et al., 1999). It can be argued that social media increases the time before normality is restored by the continuing discourse on the attacks. However, the following unit was posted on Twitter one week after the attacks: *"Last Saturday I was really searching for information and clarity on the situation in Paris. Now I am* *over it. I feel safe. Going to do something fun"* (Ref 1, Twit4, App. H4.5). This unit suggests that for some people the post-crisis phase can be very short. In the word cluster analysis timeline (figure 4B), signs that normality were slowly being restored in the viral discourse can be seen in the most frequently used words; themes in the timeline move from emotional reactions in the first week after the attacks to further-related and less emotional associations such as the gift of a new police dog from Russia to France, only a month after the attacks.

One reason for this might be that users experience information overload. According to Kaufmann (2015), crisis discourse can be invasive because it impairs users' habit of browsing social media. This was also expressed by participants 2 and 4, as well as 1: *"it just gets pushed in your face actually. If you scroll through your timeline then you already see things on Facebook"* (App. A1). People are argued to be particularly susceptible to information overload if they are highly involved in a situation (Rodríguez-Molina et al., 2015). All participants stated that the Paris attacks felt closer to them because of personal experience to the destination or because the culture was similar to their own. Therefore, it is likely that they are more involved with the destination and experience information overload more rapidly. In addition, a wealth of information in a crisis can make it difficult for people to organize (Hiltz & Plotnick, 2013) which can lead to them ignoring crisis discourse altogether (Austin et al., 2012). Participant 4 mentioned that information was coming in from all sides, offline as well as online. In addition, participant 3 said that so much emotional information about the attacks made her depressed and she would turn off all channels of communication. A unit on Twitter suggested that information was getting less useful over time: *"And now they're interviewing a camera man who was packing for a trip to Paris. 'Roel is alert.' Turning #radio1 off now"* (Ref 3, Twit5, App. H4.5). This suggests information overload can also happen when the information is redundant and unasked for.

A consideration that needs to be made in this subcategory is that it can be complex to determine when normality has been restored in a community. It may be when the media stops paying attention to the Paris attacks, or when a person experiences information overload or forgets about the attack because of other events. Restoration of normality is therefore an individual perspective that depends on experience and involvement with Paris, with the attacks, and a personal readiness to go back to normal.

4.2.5 Relevance of *Fear*

The relevance of discussions and expressions of fear on social media is that it shows there are different ways of reacting to fear after the Paris attacks. Users' expressions of high travel risk and speculations on the next terrorist targets may influence travel risk perception by spreading fear through the viral discourse. However, users' discussions on whether fear is exaggerated by media or people themselves and signs that normality is being restored may be able to counter such expressions. This may draw more attention to the actual risk of terrorism rather than the perceived risk that infuses the discourse.

4.3 Freedom

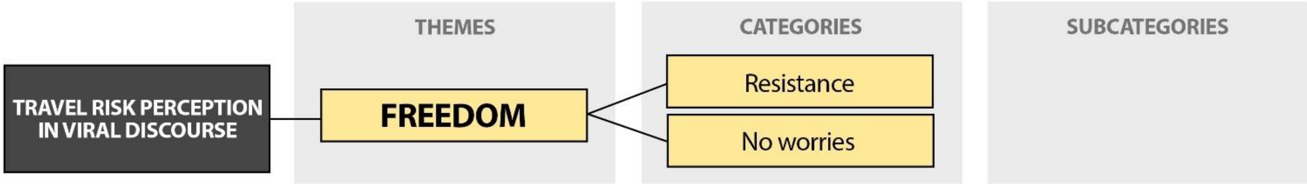

Figure 4D. The categories of Freedom

In the previous section it has been discussed that many units as well as participants expressed that they would not give in to fear. The theme of *Freedom* is an extension of that sentiment. However, it sets itself apart from the category in the Fear theme by focusing on terrorism rather than fear. Both categories in this theme have to do with the decision to travel as an act of freedom.

4.3.1 Resistance

The category *Resistance* contains data which express an explicit motive of wanting to travel to Paris as a way of standing up to terrorism and making sure they do not achieve what they want to achieve. It has been argued that the primary goal of terrorism is to create fear in a cultural group (Radu, 2002). Therefore, the category shares similarities with the previously discussed category *Not giving in to fear*. The difference lies in that *Not giving in to fear* is more concerned with standing up to fear in general, whereas the units in *Resistance* express a specific desire to disrupt the *terrorists*' goal and support Paris in a non-violent way. It has been argued in the theoretical framework that terrorism can be seen as an attack on the right to travel; a general perspective in Western cultures is that travel is one of life's needs (Bianchi, 2006; Urry, 2002). Resistance is therefore possibly not only the result of feeling threat but also a way of taking back a right that has been attacked by terrorism. Resistance is illustrated in the following unit: "[in reply to people cancelling their holidays] *And that's exactly what France doesn't need. Ohoh, some Dutch people give up so quickly. You should just go there to show that violence does not get the upper hand"* (Ref 1, News6, App. J1).

Resistance against terrorism and violence was also expressed in some of the interviews. Participant 4 traveled to Paris herself in December after the attacks and stated: *"I think you should not be led by terrorists. If you don't go you achieve exactly what they want. Because they want you to be afraid"* (App. D1). Lepp and Gibson (2013) state that some people have the personality to be simply less worried by extraordinary situations and are therefore not scared away by crisis destinations. However, this did not necessarily seem to be the case in this category, because the data did not seem to show a low travel risk perception to Paris. Instead, a threat is perceived (Boin & 't Hart, 2007), but the data showed these people purposefully ignored their perceived risk to support the cause of resistance.

Apart from participant 4, it is unclear whether the people who expressed such arguments online actually did travel to Paris after the attacks. It is possible that the support stopped at an online expression of it (Huang et al., 2014). An example of online support was the changing of users' profile pictures on Twitter and Facebook into their pictures with an overlay of the French flag. Participant 1 thought changing a profile picture was a nice gesture towards France, but would not help much against terrorism itself. Participant 4 also said that it was nice; her concerns with the practice were that she would not know how long she would have to wait until it was appropriate to remove the picture again. She stated: "*Is it after a week or after two weeks? Then I think it is a bit weird to stop again. Because it makes it seem like it is over or something, but those people are dead of course and it will remain to be very terrible"* (App. D1). The viewpoints in the data seem to reflect the academic discussion of the use of slacktivism (Kristofferson et al., 2014). Posting a comment or a picture requires little effort but may give users a sense that they have supported Paris in some way (cf. Vie, 2014). However, it is only temporary.

Some participants were also concerned with whether an online expression of support was genuine. Participant 3 said that it felt like people would think she did not care about Paris if she did not show support on her social media page. Participant 2 argued a similar thing; she said that showing support and sharing news articles on social media was a way of showing others that you are concerned with a topic. Therefore, she said, people only share things that personal to them. The argument by participant 2 is in accordance with previous academic theory that information-sharing (Naaman et al., 2010, in Acar & Muraki, 2011) as well as online support (Kristofferson et al., 2014) revolve around the self and identity-building. In addition, Kristofferson et al. (2014) and Ho and Dempsey (2010) argue that where many people are watching, the motive for support is mostly impression management, and more support than the initial act usually does not take place. Participant 4 stated that she felt that everybody was only showing support because everybody else was doing it. This is in accordance with Vie's (2014) observation that being part of a group is an important consideration in impression management and slacktivism. Furthermore, it has is argued by Dobele et al. (2007) that emotional content is quickly shared and forwarded online if the emotions fit with the feelings of users at that time. Therefore, participating in the viral discourse of Paris in this way can be a way to accumulate likes and shares in the impression management process more easily (cf. Vie, 2014).

However, showing support in the viral Paris discourse is not only an act with ulterior motives and little result. According to Vie (2014), slacktivism can bring awareness to a situation and result in offline support as well. The relevance of slacktivism in a travel perspective is that reading expressions of support such as *"I think I am going to Paris soon. If we stay away IS will have won!"* (Ref2, Twit4, App. J1) may encourage people to adopt a positive perspective towards travel to Paris and reduce the effects of fear. If group affiliation plays a role in participating in support, as argued by Vie (2014) and participant 4, the same group pressure may positively influence users' travel risk perception to Paris. Kristofferson et al. (2014) argue that for support with high social observability, support often does not go beyond the initial act of online expression, but in order to combat increased risk perception after the Paris attacks, more than online expression may not be necessary. This does not mean that travel to Paris after the attacks will suddenly increase because of online slacktivism, but a positive perspective towards travel to Paris may combat long-term effects that terrorism may have on the destination.

4.3.2 No worries

The category *No worries* was included in this theme as well, because freedom to travel is not impaired by any factors in this category. It contained data that was not concerned about increased perceived risk at all. Most of the units in the content analysis were not explicit about why they had no worries about traveling to Paris. Some stated that it is what they had always done and nothing had changed, whereas others did not mention the attacks at all. One unit illustrates the seemingly carefree attitude: "*We are going to Paris on the 31st. And 1/1 to Disney. With kids and we don't see a problem. My parents also went to New York with us after 9/11"* (Ref 1, News5, App. J2). For this unit, previous travel experience after a crisis may have influenced the decision to travel. Nevertheless, the suggestion that travel to Paris in the weeks after the attacks can happen without mentioning or considering any increased risk is surprising, because the attacks and fear were such prominent factors in other units of the content analysis and in the interviews. It has been discussed before that information overload can be responsible can be a reason for people to not be bothered anymore. However, information overload is more likely to occur when people are highly involved (Rodríguez-Molina et al., 2015) and this does not seem to be the case in the data of this category. It is more likely that the low perception of risk in this category is the result of different personalities. Roehl and Fesenmaier (1992) argue that personality plays a role in the tendency to take risks in traveling. In addition, according to Lepp and Gibson (2003) and Bowen and Clarke (2009), a novelty-seeker personality type is likely to be less dissuaded by situations that are not normal, such as a destination recovering from a terrorist attack. In addition, Crouch (2000) argues that personality can also shape how emotionally involved people are with a destination, and this may influence their perception of risk as well. Because of the anonymous character of the social media data, it is not possible to draw any conclusions on the influence of the personalities of the specific users in this data set. However, it does draw awareness to the argument that personality is a factor that should be kept in mind when discussing travel risk perception to Paris.

4.3.3 Relevance of *Freedom*

This section has discussed two categories in the data of the content analysis and the interviews that relate to the concept of freedom for travelers. The categories are related but have a different take on freedom: *Resistance* is related to freedom by not giving in to terrorism; *No worries* is related to freedom because travel is not impaired by increased risk perception. The relevance of the theme is that it shows that an online reaction to the Paris attacks can be shaped by factors such as personality, group affiliation and identity-building. It also suggests that slacktivism may be more useful than is commonly argued, because it may be able to influence users' perspectives towards travel to Paris after the attacks in a positive way, despite it being low-effort and having more than one motive.

4.4 Respect

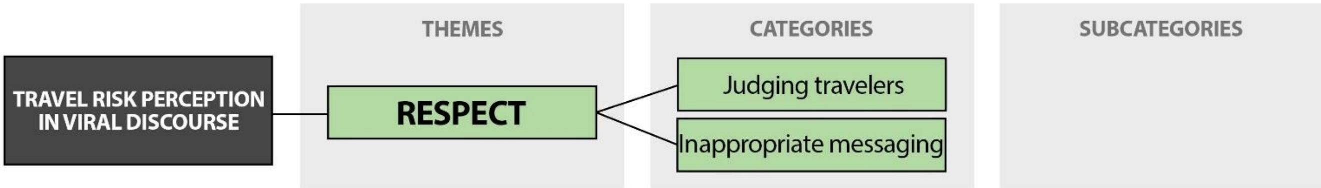

Figure 4E. The categories of Respect

The previous section has talked about data that showed that freedom was a value for some people to be positive towards travel to Paris. The theme of *Respect* deals with a factor that may inhibit the freedom felt in the previous section and may be a reaction to it. It contains data which express reactions of Dutch people on travelers to Paris and content that was deemed inappropriate after the attacks. The underlying argument in this section is that the opinions of other people can be of influence on people's travel risk perception as a form of social risk (Roehl & Fesenmaier, 1992).

4.4.1 Judging travelers

The category of *Judging travelers* contains data that expressed negative judgment from Dutch people towards people who have traveled or decided to travel to Paris after the attacks. It has been argued in the theoretical framework that traveling to a crisis destination always involves a moral consideration (Selmi et al., 2012). If the crisis event happened longer before the travel, this moral issue is less present (Miles, 2002), but in the case of Paris, the first seven weeks after the attacks were investigated online. Therefore, it is likely that a moral consideration was still a major factor in tourists' decision to travel to Paris. This can be seen in the data of the content analysis in this category. These units mostly contained reactions to an article published and shared on 14 November 2015, a day after the attacks, about a couple in love who were still going to see the Eifel tower despite the terrorist attack: *"Just wait a few days! Simply out of respect! And yes… the world stands still for a moment. Fortunately, love does not!"* (Ref 3, News3, App. K1). One factor that this unit suggested was an issue for the commenter was that the couple traveled so quickly after the attacks. This particular unit stated that waiting a few days would be more appropriate. However, Pizam and Fleischer (2002) suggest it can be nine months before terrorism is completely disassociated with a place. This depends on the frequency of the attacks, but also the emotional involvement that people feel with a destination (Miles, 2002; Crouch, 2000). The earlier discussed general viral discourse showed that discourse on the Paris attacks decreased rapidly less than a month after the attacks. If the same is true for the discussion in the viral discourse that relates to travel, it can be argued that the moral issue becomes weaker a lot faster than has been suggested in the theory. This may be because social media is a platform for dealing with emotions (Kaufmann, 2015). However, participant 4 stated that the Paris attacks were still one of the first things that people talked about if they had not seen each other for a while, suggesting that she thought the crisis is still not past the post-phase. Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that social media is not the only force of influence on people's travel risk perception and its effect will always be shaped by other sources as well (Austin et al., 2012).

The concern of other people for travelers is not surprising, according to previous theory; Floyd et al. (2004) state that after terrorism people are more concerned with personal relationships. They found that for some time after a terrorist attack the opinions of relatives and friends weighed more in tourists' decision-making than before the attack. In the data, however, the negativity was aimed at two people who were distanced from the users, in a news article. It may be due to the private nature of Facebook (Kaufmann, 2015) that people still felt called upon to share their opinions on this couple's decision, even if they were not acquainted with them. Such units did reveal that there is a social risk involved in traveling to Paris after the attacks and that the moral issue needs to be considered by travelers. This may have an influence on the travel risk perception of users who read such comments and may apply this to their personal situation, either by expressing the opinion towards others themselves or expecting others to possibly have such an opinion. Floyd et al.'s (2004) argument applies to reactions from close relatives and friends, which people in the public sphere of Facebook are likely not. Therefore, the effects of social risk on social media in this case may not be as severe as offline opinions about travel. However, it has been argued that impression management and group affiliation is an important part of behavior on social media (Vie, 2014). Therefore, opinions of online users may still play a major role in the shaping of users' travel risk perception if users feel the opinions belong to a community that is part of or fits their identity.

Offline reactions to travel were talked about in the interviews. Participant 1 said that she felt it was a taboo altogether to go to Paris after the attacks. Participant 4 went to Paris herself after the attacks and stated that many people reacted negatively towards this. However, she thought people mostly reacted in that manner because they thought it was dangerous to go to Paris and not because it was disrespectful. She said: *"If I told people I was going to Paris . . . The first reaction was immediately about the attacks. So they didn't say anything like oh that's fun. ... So I actually had to sort of defend why I was going"* (App. D1). Although the motive for people's reactions seemed to be different for participant 4, social risk is still evident in this example. The participant also said that if she had had a personality that was easily influenced by other people, she would likely have cancelled her holiday.

4.4.2 Inappropriate messaging

Social risk was also evident in another category that was concerned with respect regarding the Paris attacks. The category *Inappropriate messaging* contained data that condemned marketing messages about Paris that had been published after the attacks. The category shows that judgment towards others was not only aimed at tourists, but also at businesses. For example, a Twitter unit read: *"Oh NS [national railways]… 'Did you have a nice trip to Paris?'. Hey no, cancelled because of… you do know that, right?"* (Ref3, Twit5, App. K2). Another unit labeled such behavior with *"#fail #disrespectful"* (Ref10, Twit5, App. K2). According to Dobele et al. (2007), anger is one emotion that can play a role in creating virality after a human-caused crisis. Therefore, the viral nature of social media could allow these irritated messages to spread fast in the viral discourse, possibly resulting in bad advertisement for organizations. For that reason, some organizations also shared their apologies on social media or expressed their respect for the situation: *"Today a video was planned about our travel to #Paris. Out of respect for everything that happened yesterday this one will be moved"* (Ref6, Twit5, App. K2). The category did not seem to be directly related to people's travel risk perception. However, it was included in the categories of this analysis, because it shows that social media is a place where users can deal with a range of emotions; Irritation at the marketing of organizations after the attacks can be one of those emotions and expressing it may help to decrease the intensity of the emotions for these users (cf. Kaufmann, 2015). In addition, it suggested that respect for Paris if the time since the crisis event is short, as argued by Miles (2002), is not only a part of social risk in peer-to-peer communications, but also in business-to-consumer communications.

4.4.3 Relevance of *Respect*

This section discussed two categories that deal with a form of respect towards Paris. The main argument in this theme is that social risk seems to play a role in the data. However, it does not only play a role in offline communication, but is also expressed in online media, towards unfamiliar people, and towards organizations. The fact that social risk on Facebook and Twitter occurs in the viral public sphere of the Paris attacks may make its effect less intense. However, the importance of building identity and belonging to communities, defined or fluid, for users on social media may strengthen the negative effect of other people's judgments.

4.5 Destination image

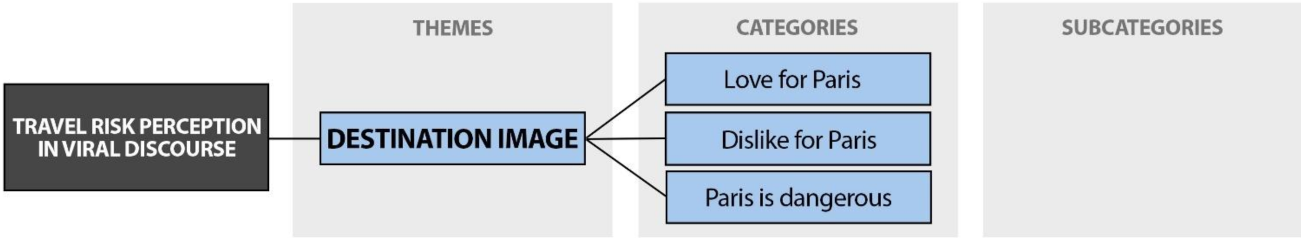

Figure 4F. The categories of Destination image

So far, fear, freedom, and respect have been described as factors which can influence people's travel risk perception in the current case study. The theoretical framework suggested destination image can be affected by terrorism (Pizam & Fleischer, 2002), but a destination image may also contribute to decreasing risk perception (Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009). *Destination image* was a theme which came forward in both data in the content analysis as the interviews, but in three different ways. The categories of this theme will describe these.

4.5.1 Love for Paris

A positive destination image in tourism has widely been regarded as being of vital importance (Sönmez et al., 1999; Tasci & Gartner, 2007). This is even more true in a tourism crisis, such as the Paris attacks. It has been argued in the introduction of this project that Paris is a well-established tourist destination (UNWTO, 2015). This became evident in the data as well. Interview participants 1, 2, and 4 all expressed themselves positively about the city of Paris as a tourist destination. Some units on Facebook and Twitter also expressed a love for Paris. They indicated that this love was their motive to travel to the city: *"#paris Despite all that madness I will just go to 'my Paris' again this year. I will certainly not let some idiots take that away from me"* (Ref3, Twit4, App. L1). The person who shared this content is likely a repeat-tourist to the city, which can be seen in the way the city is called. It is suggested by Rittichainuwat and Chakraborty (2009) that previous travel experience to a place can result in a strong destination image. In their study, they found that repeat-tourists perceived terrorism as something that happened anywhere and did not associate it with the specific destination that a terrorist attack happened. It is interesting to note that for the discussed unit it was not necessarily the case that there was no higher perceived risk for going to Paris. Like data in the categories of *Resistance* and *Not giving in to fear* there could be a higher perceived risk, but this perception was ignored for a certain motive; in this case, a positive destination image.

4.5.2 Dislike for Paris

A dislike for Paris did not clearly come forward in the interviews. Participant 1 stated that she thought Paris was generally very expensive. This could indicate that there was more risk of wasting money if a holiday to Paris would not provide enough value, i.e. financial risk (Roehl & Fesenmaier, 1992). However, this did not seem to be the case for participant 1, because she did express a strong wish to revisit the city, because she had good memories of it. A strong negative image of Paris was evident in a few units on Facebook and Twitter. Not knowing more about the participants than the unit they have shared, it is not possible to find out whether they had been to Paris before saying this. However, the units did express their negative destination image of Paris and the influence this had for them: *"City of love? A stinking city with an ugly iron tower"* (Ref 1, News5, App. L2). Following the argument by Sönmez et al. (1999) that tourism relies on positive images, it is unlikely that users with a negative destination image will travel to Paris before or after the attacks. However, for the units in this category, a higher perceived risk after the attacks did not seem to play a role in their decision, because they would not travel to Paris anyway for their dislike of the destination. Because of their negative destination image it is likely the perceived risk of travel to Paris for these users is built up of time risk, financial risk, and satisfaction risk rather than types of risk that are more common after terrorism, such as physical risk or social risk (cf. Roehl & Fesenmaier, 1992; Floyd et al., 2004).

4.5.3 Paris is dangerous

The third category that will be discussed is a perception that *Paris is dangerous*. The data in this category shows that for some people the attacks on Paris negatively impacted their destination image of the city through their perception of risk. This is illustrated by the following units: *"You can't compare Paris to the way it used to be in the past anymore. The modern Paris has been poisoned by the extremists and it isn't safe any longer!"* (Ref 1, News4, App. L3). It has been argued that a terrorist crisis always has effects on destination image, especially if terrorism occurs frequently (Floyd et al., 2004; Pizam & Fleischer, 2002). However, Araña and Léon (2008) argue that a crisis may not have any effect on destination image in the long term. The social media data was gathered in the seven weeks after the attacks. Therefore, it is not possible to draw conclusions for long-term effects. However, the interviews were conducted 4 months after the attacks and may give more insight: Participant 4 mentioned that countries such as Turkey and Pakistan are places where terrorism happens very often, but she called Paris *"very civilized"* (App. D1). This made the attacks feel more personal to her, but also suggests that she feels it is not part of the image of Paris that such attacks happen in the city. In addition, participant 4 was positive about the future of Paris' destination image, despite the attacks: *"I think that people will still have good memories about it. If they have been somewhere once. I think it will still just be known for the Eifel tower and the lock bridge and those sort of things, you know"* (App. D1). Applying Araña and Léon's (2008) argument to the data, it can be argued that as more time passes perceived risk and its influence on Paris' destination image will further decrease. Nevertheless, Cavlek (2002) states that work is needed to restore destination image after a crisis. Social media discourse may play a role in this recovery, because it can help in shaping changes in destination image after the attacks. According to Rittichainuwat and Chakraborty (2009), for repeat-visitors a positive destination image after a crisis can be retained after a crisis by realizing that the destination has not changed at all. This is where personal accounts on social media of travels to Paris after the attacks may play a role in restoring a changed destination image after the Paris attacks.

4.5.4 Relevance of *Destination image*

The first two categories of this section showed that destination image can play an important role for some users in travel decision-making. Sönmez and Graefe (1998) already suggested that a negative perception of risk in a tourist's destination image can lead to a negative travel decision. However, the categories suggest that destination image in this case can also play a positive role in encouraging people to travel to Paris despite there being an increase in fear and risk perception after the terrorist attacks. Discourse on Facebook and Twitter may therefore contribute to the recovery of Paris' destination image.

4.6 Atmosphere

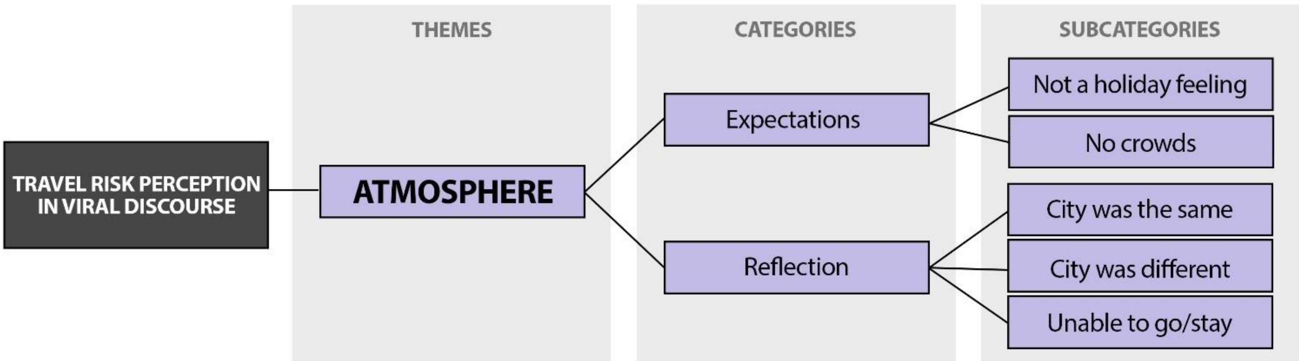

Figure 4G. The categories of Atmosphere

The previous section briefly discussed that a repeat-visit to a destination after a crisis can strengthen the destination image and decrease perceived risk. The theme of *Atmosphere* contained data that was related to either the expected or the experienced atmosphere in Paris.

4.6.1 Expectations of travel experience

Some of the data expressed an expectation of how people thought the atmosphere and the travel experience to Paris would be and how this affected their intention to travel to the city. According to several sources, media can play a major role in shaping expectations (Cavlek, 2002; Picard, 2012; Tasci & Gartner, 2007). This will be discussed in the following two sections.

4.6.1.1 Not a holiday feeling

Some data expressed that expectations for a travel experience to Paris were negatively affected by increased perceived risk. One unit showed: *"I think a holiday stands for enjoyment, but that is very difficult like this!"* (Ref 2, News1, App. M1.1). The same feeling was discussed by participant 1 as well as 3 who said: *"Look, if you really can't walk there and it's really sad there and you're going on some happy holiday or something, that also doesn't feel right, I think"* (App. C1). According to participant 2, the risk could be felt in that the image of Paris would not line up with the atmosphere that you could experience there after the attacks. Comparing this data to the types or risk described by Roehl and Fesenmaier (1992), satisfaction risk seemed to be expressed. The risk that the holiday will not satisfy the needs that a holiday should satisfy, such as enjoyment, seemed to have increased after the Paris attacks for these people. Participants 1, 2, and 3 seemed to have developed an expectation of Paris' atmosphere that it is full of sadness. Participant 2 stated: *"People travel to have a good experience, a fun experience. To make memories that they like to remember. While if you would go there now, you would see grief everywhere"* (App. B1). The question is what shaped the impression of these people that the city would offer a less enjoyable tourist experience after the attacks. This perspective was likely based on many influences, such as media, past experiences, and personal environment. Participant 2 said her perception of the city's atmosphere was mostly shaped by images she saw in the media. However, experiences of other users that were shared on Facebook and Twitter may also be an influence.

4.6.1.2 No crowds

This subcategory contained data that did not consider the expectation of a changed atmosphere in the city a problem but an opportunity. According to Boin and 't Hart (2007), what some people perceive as a threat can be an opportunity to others. This seemed to be true in the data. Many people expressed a desire to travel to Paris after the attacks because a news article described the atmosphere as being without tourists and quiet. Units such as *"then I can finally make a decent picture"* (Ref 14, News5, App. M1.2) expressed these sentiments. Almost all of the units were comments on the news article, which suggests that the article may have been beneficial advertisement of Paris for people who did not have a high perception of risk for traveling there, as mentioned by Tasci and Gartner (2007).

4.6.2 Reflection on travel experience

So far, different ways that travel risk perception can be influenced on social media have been discussed. Despite the Paris attacks, there were still Dutch tourists traveling to Paris in the investigated seven weeks after the attacks. Participant 4 traveled in December 2015 and was able to reflect on her travel experience. In the online data, some users had traveled to Paris as well. They shared their experience in the Dutch viral discourse on social media. Their reflection is relevant to discuss, because they likely influenced the expectations of other users. There were three groups of experiences that came forward in the data and formed subcategories.

4.6.2.1 City was different

Some people traveled to Paris and stated that the city was different in their experience than it had been before the attacks. One unit stated: *"Yes, indeed there were not as many tourists as usual. For example, at the Eifel tower it was pretty quiet! And there was a lot of police on the street"* (Ref 1, News5, App. M2.1). One unit described that the user was in Paris at the time of the attacks, but returned because the atmosphere in the city was not good: "*We arrived Friday afternoon, just saw the hotel room. Took the car back Saturday morning. That was our 'weekend away'. (not afraid of more attacks by the way, but everything is closed and the atmosphere is completely ruined.)"* (Ref 2, News6, App. M2.1). If people use social media to find information about traveling to Paris after the attacks, units like these may confirm any negative perspective people have of Paris in an emergency state and shape the expectations of social media users in a negative way for Paris. According to Dahlén et al. (2010), social media works like word-of-mouth and enjoys high credibility and trustworthiness. Therefore, sharing negative experiences about Paris may have a large impact on people's travel risk perception to the destination.

4.6.2.2 City was the same

As mentioned in the theoretical framework, the tourist experience is different for every individual (Mossberg, 2007). Therefore, it is not surprising the data also revealed a counter-voice for the described experiences in the previous subcategory. Data in the subcategory *City was the same* expressed that the situation in Paris was not experienced as negatively different from before the attacks. This was also described by participant 4, who said that she did not feel there were less tourists than expected. The participant did talk about extra security measures that she noticed, but did not think it changed the good atmosphere of the city. She stated: *"If I had not known there had been attacks, I really would not have noticed. Then I would have thought, well, those soldiers are always here. You have that sometimes in those larger cities that there are soldiers walking around"* (App. D1). On Facebook, the perceived discrepancy between a news article stating that there were less tourists in Paris and the experienced situation caused anger for some users. They seemed to be annoyed at the source for not providing correct information or causing unnecessary fear among readers: *"What nonsense! Came back from Paris yesterday and the queue still reached halfway across the square. Lots of armed militaries, that's true, but I haven't felt unsafe for one moment. Crowded like always. The media can make people so frightened, bah"* (Ref 2, News5, App. M2.1). Criticism on media and its possible influence on travel risk perception have already been discussed in section 4.2.4.1. The relevance of this unit for the current section is that it communicates a positive experience to a wide audience. It has already been discussed that a destination image can be strengthened if people realize the destination has not changed after a crisis event (Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009). If other users read the positive experiences on social media this may contribute to the recovery of Paris' destination image, which can decrease people's travel risk perception. In addition, it has been argued in the theoretical framework that images on media can enhance a personal experience with a destination even if an individual has never traveled there (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998). A narration of other users' experiences may have the same effect. This could decrease travel risk perception as well. Participant 2 remarked that people are more likely to believe something that is said on social media. Academic authors have also discussed the credibility that people attach to social media information. Sharing experiences can happen in an offline situation through word-of-mouth as well as online. However, social media sharing allows the effect to happen on a larger scale, because the experience is not only shared with friends, but also people outside that group, in the public sphere (Vie, 2014). This puts social media in a unique position to deliver word-of-mouth experiences to a large number of people (Watts and Peretti, 2007 in Ho & Dempsey, 2007, p. 1000). The same can happen to positive, as well as negative, experiences of Paris after the attacks.

4.6.2.3 Unable to go/stay

The subcategory *Unable to go/stay* contains units that expressed the stories of users who were not able or allowed to go to Paris after the attacks or had to leave during their stay. This occurred either through a decision of a travel agent to cancel holidays to Paris, or because the event they were attending did not happen due to the emergency state of France. Most units expressed a sense of uncertainty, as for many people it was unclear whether their trip would be continued, moved or cancelled altogether. Some also expressed disappointment that they could not go. The decision to leave or cancel was likely a result of the state of emergency in Paris that has also been mentioned in the word cluster analysis. However, sharing such messages on social media may make the crisis more personal to users who read them and increase a sense of fear or resistance.

4.6.3 Relevance of *Atmosphere*

The theme of *Atmosphere* contained two discussions: the expectations of people for travel to Paris after the attacks and the experience that people had. The data contained positive as well as negative views for both these discussions. The section revealed that people's expectations for the city were changed by the Paris attacks and shaped by the discussions in the viral discourse. Some people in the data thought there would be no crowds in the city and therefore had positive expectations of travel to Paris. Other people were afraid the atmosphere in the city would not be happy or holiday-like. In the case of the latter, travel risk perception can be argued to be higher, in the form of satisfaction risk. Users sharing their travel experiences to Paris after the attacks on social media may contribute to alleviating some of that risk and retain a strong destination image. However, it may also increase travel risk perception by sharing negative experiences.

4.7 Communication through viral discourse

In this analysis, the general viral discourse of the Paris attacks and different themes regarding the discussion of travel in the discourse have been analyzed with data, theory, and in relation to travel risk perception. The current section will combine the discussed possible influences of every theme and discuss the influence of viral social media discourse in the wider context of communications.

The theoretical framework has discussed a theory by Karber (1971, in Sönmez & Graefe, 1998) that terrorism is a form of communication, where terrorists send a message to a terrorism target. Because media pays much attention to terrorism, at least in the case of the Paris attacks, terrorism is able to get their message broadcasted to a large audience (Sönmez et al., 1999), which may be amplified by social media's wider reach. Because the Paris attacks were seen as an attack on the values of a cultural group (Reisinger & Mavondo, 2005), namely the Western world, it was not just Parisians who felt attacked by terrorists; Dutch people in the data of this study also felt the attacks were close to them and were more emotionally involved. If communication with the audience is what makes terrorism "successful", the wide and pervasive nature of social media should serve this purpose even more. Consequently, it is likely that through social media more fear, travel anxiety and a higher perception of risk will spread. However, it has also been suggested that discussion on the transmission of the message may draw awareness to the actual risk of terrorism and its impact. This argument is one of several examples of how social media can influence the terrorist message.

It has been discussed that every individual will interpret a message in their own way. This has become clear in the analysis through the five different themes. Both in the discussion of general viral discourse on Twitter and in the sections of the themes it became clear that people interpret messages on social media through their own experiences and outside influences in their environment, as has been suggested by Anderson (1983). Dahlén et al. (2010) calls this a receiver's frame of reference. In this project, it was not possible to gain much insight into anonymous users' frames of reference. However, the unique aspect of social media is that rather than simply interpreting a message for themselves, users can interpret a message, modify its meaning and share their interpretation with others again (Illia, 2002, in Botha & Reyneke, 2013). It is the interpreted meaning of the terrorist message in the form of status updates, comments, and interview reflections that formed the data for this study. Therefore, the researcher attempted to understand the changes that were made to the meaning of the terrorist message and the influence of these changes on other people's interpretation and, ultimately, their risk perception.

An extensive communication model by Dahlén et al. (2010) has been discussed in the theoretical framework (figure 3A). It shows that a message is influenced by frames of reference, noise (poor quality or irrelevance of the message), and distortion (incorrect communication of the message). The theoretical framework suggested that Dahlén et al.'s (2010) model can be applied to Karber's (1971, in Sönmez & Graefe, 1998) theory of the communication of terrorism. In other words, the terrorist message is sent through media to receivers who provide feedback back to the sender. In the receiver's process of decoding the message, there can be many influences. Austin et al. (2012) state that offline word-of-mouth communications and traditional media influence crisis communication for social media users and, consequently, these users' interpretation of social media messages. This has also come forward in the interviews, for example in the importance of traditional media for crisis information and the influence of other people on social risk perception. Social media can influence the communication process through the direct availability of other perspectives on the message, which users can consume. These perspectives have been discussed through the different themes in the analysis. In addition, users themselves can spread out their own interpretation on the message, not just as feedback to the sender/terrorists, but also as possible distortion to other people's interpretation. In this way, social media may be a new meaning maker (Boin & 't Hart, 2007) in understanding the Paris attacks, which can be beneficial or detrimental to the interpretation of the terrorist message. It has been argued by Dahlén et al. (2010) that communication cannot take place if a message is not properly understood by receivers. If social media is able to distort the terrorist message of fear, as has been suggested in the analysis of the data in the case study of social media in the Paris attacks, communication may not take place and terrorism will no longer be a "legitimate" mode of communication, as argued by Sönmez and Graefe (1998).

5. Conclusion

The aim of this project was to explore the discussion of travel in the Dutch viral discourse on Facebook and Twitter after the Paris attacks. In addition, the goal was to investigate a possible influence between this discussion of travel in the viral discourse and Dutch users' perception of travel risk to Paris. For the purpose of investigating this problem in the context of the Paris attacks, different methods were adopted. Unstructured interviews gave insight into participants' reflection on their experience during and after the Paris attacks, offline influences on travel risk perception, and their own participation in the viral discourse of the attacks. A quantitative word cluster analysis of a large number of Tweets related to the Paris attacks was conducted to explore viral themes and the development of social media discourse relating to Paris in the seven weeks after the attacks. The main method of the study was a qualitative content analysis, which analyzed Facebook comments and Twitter status updates relating to travel in the viral discourse of the Paris attacks. These analyses were combined with previous theory on risk perception, terrorism, virality, and crisis communication to attempt to answer the problem formulation.

Terrorism has been discussed as a way of communicating and it has been suggested that social media may play a role in distorting the interpretation of the terrorist message. The main argument for this is that messages that go viral are interpreted by many people with individual frames of reference, emotions, and associations. The viral social media discourse of the Paris attacks was massive and diverse because of this. The data of this study showed that the Dutch discussion on travel in the viral social media discourse was interpreted in many different ways that could distort the original message. Firstly, fear was rationalized in the data by criticizing media channels for paying too much attention to the Paris attacks and spreading fear among readers. Other ways that fear was rationalized were through focusing on the actual risk of a terrorist attack, the current safety in Paris, and the desire to restore normality in society, either through rationalizing the actual impact of terrorism in people's daily lives or because information overload made people want to put the situation behind them. In addition, the data showed a resistance against giving up control of people's lives. Therefore, it was expressed that people should not give in to fear. Furthermore, resistance against terrorism itself took shape in slacktivist support for Paris on Facebook and Twitter, which were reasons for users to ignore their increased perception of risk. Finally, it was argued that the destination image of Paris was likely damaged by the attacks, as is often the case in terrorism, but elements of the viral discourse may contribute to its recovery. In the data, this was done by people expressing their love for Paris, but also through the narrated positive experiences of people who traveled to Paris after the attacks. Because these influences can distort interpretation of the terrorist message in the way it was intended by the attackers, they show ways viral social media discourse can limit the spread of fear on Facebook and Twitter. Although Dutch people's travel risk perception was said to be influenced by other factors besides social media discourse, the different elements that came forward in the data can contribute to lowering the risk perception of Dutch users of Facebook and Twitter.

Where many individuals interpret a message, there are many different expressions of the interpretations. Therefore, the elements in the viral discourse discussed in the previous paragraph were not the only interpretations that were shared in the data of the viral discourse. Some interpretations, although also distorting the terrorist message in a way, could have amplified the effect of viral fear. There were many expressions of fear in the discussion of travel in the investigated viral discourse. Because of these expressions by Dutch users of Twitter and Facebook others seemed to have the impression that the Paris attacks were more intense and that terrorist attacks happen more and more often in general. Because the severity of terrorism's effects on destination image and risk perception has been argued to be partly dependent on its frequency, this may further cripple tourism to Paris. In addition, the data showed that some people made use of the viral discourse of the Paris attacks to express their negative or damaged destination image of the city. This in combination with narrations of negative travel experiences to Paris after the attacks can increase other Dutch users' perception of satisfaction risk, i.e. travel to Paris would no longer be worth undertaking. This is especially likely because negative content spreads very easily through social media. In addition to satisfaction risk of travel to Paris, the investigated viral discourse also drew awareness to a social risk by users expressing negative judgment on travelers to the city after the attacks.

In conclusion, the different elements show that there are various ways in which viral discourse on Twitter and Facebook may have influenced Dutch users' travel risk perception. One overarching characteristic of social media is relevant to the discussion of travel risk perception in the viral discourse; social media gives people a place to discuss their emotions and any issue they relate to the Paris attacks. The investigation of the general viral discourse of the Paris attacks showed that within a month after the attacks, the discourse received increasingly less participation. Because the theory suggested a tourist destination's recovery after terrorism is much longer, the ability to discuss emotions and find different perspectives on social media may have accelerated Dutch users' perceptual recovery of Paris. These findings can be relevant for other contexts as well, because they suggest how users can handle crisis communications on social media and further explored the influence of social media in tourism.

5.1 Limitations and further research

The current study has been limited by the disadvantages of online research, namely the lack of available information about participants and the difficulty to investigate invisible users who do not share content on social media. Four interviews were conducted which gave some insight into perspectives of less active social media users. However, an investigation of a larger and more diverse group of interview or focus group participants could give a more exhaustive insight into these social media users' changes of travel risk perception to Paris. Another limitation of this study has to do with the size of the case study, social media in and after the Paris attacks. Although the quantitative word cluster analysis of many Twitter updates was conducted to explore many perspectives in the viral discourse, the immense amount of online data available meant that there were likely many viewpoints left uninvestigated.

Further research could be conducted into possible differences between social media platforms in terms of their influence on travel risk perception of users. For example, although Facebook and Twitter also include visual in addition to textual information, the visual aspect plays a much more important role on social media platforms such as Instagram and Snapchat. Because images came forward in this project as being more emotionally intense, the influence of a visually focused platform on users' risk perception may be different. Furthermore, it would be interesting to investigate the themes and categories which came forward in this study in the context of other cases of terrorism. An example could be the Brussels bombings in March 2016. Such a study could investigate whether the arguments for the Paris case translate to another context, but also how they are likely to change for a second terrorist attack in Europe in the time span of five months.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Karina Madsen Smed for her useful feedback and encouragement in the different stages of this master thesis. Furthermore, I would like to thank the participants for sharing their time to do an interview. I also express my thanks to Maiken Ann Højrup and Christine Hellesø Nicolajsen, for their constructive criticism and friendly support in the research process. Finally, I would like to thank my family for supporting me in a personal way.

References

Acar, A. and Y. Muraki (2011) Twitter for crisis communication: lessons learned from Japan's tsunami disaster. *International Journal of Web Based Communities. 7*(3). pp. 392–402.

Allen, P. M., & Varga, L. (2007). Complexity: the co-evolution of epistemology, axiology and ontology. *Nonlinear dynamics, psychology, and life sciences, 11*(1), 19-50.

Anderson, J. R. (1983). A spreading activation theory of memory. *Journal of verbal learning and verbal behavior*, *22*, 1-33.

Araña, J.E. & León, C.J. (2008). The impact of terrorism on tourism demand. *Annals of Tourism Research, 35*(2), 299-315. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2007.08.003

Arnold, S. & Fisher, E. (1994). Hermeneutics and consumer research. *Journal of Consumer Research, 21*(1), 55-70. doi:10.1086/209382

Asur, S., & Huberman, B. A. (2010). Predicting the future with social media. *Web Intelligence and Intelligent Agent Technology (WI-IAT), 1,* 492-499.

Austin, L., Fisher Liu, B., & Jin, Y. (2012). How Audiences Seek Out Crisis Information: Exploring the Social-Mediated Crisis Communication Model. *Journal of applied communications research*, *40*(2), 188-207. doi:10.1080/00909882.2012.654498

Bailey, L. E., (2010). Case Study Research. Ed. Kridel, C. A.. *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies*, 103-105. SAGE Publications. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412958806.n59

Belmaaza, M. (2015, 18 November). What the media can learn from coverage of the Paris attacks. *Journalism.co.uk.* Retrieved from https://www.journalism.co.uk/news/what-the-media-can-learn-from-coverage-of-the-paris-attacks/s2/a584743/

Bianchi, R. (2006). Tourism and the globalisation of fear: Analysing the politics of risk and (in) security in global travel. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, *7*(1), 64-74.

Blichfeldt, B. & Heldbjerg, G. (2011). Why not? The interviewing of friends and acquaintances. Retrieved from Aalborg University: http://vbn.aau.dk/da/publications/what-is-good-anyway(ee7d7f4a-e6ed-401c-b9ea-62620d513bec).html

Blichfeldt, B. & Smed, K. (2015). 'Do it to Denmark': A case study on viral processes in marketing messages. *Journal of vacation marketing*, *21*(3), 289-301. doi:10.1177/1356766715573652

Boin & ‘t Hart (2007). Chapter 3: The Crisis Approach. In Rodríguez, H., Quarantelli, E.L., & Dynes, R.R. Eds. *Handbook of Disaster Research.* Springer, New York, NY, 42-54.

Botha, E., & Reyneke, M. (2013). To share or not to share: the role of content and emotion in viral marketing. *Journal of public affairs*, *13*(2), 160-171. doi:10.1002/pa.1471

Bowen & Clarke (2009). *Contemporary Tourist Behaviour: yourself and others as tourists*. Wallingford: Cabi Tourism Texts.

Brier, A., & Hopp, B. (2011). Computer assisted text analysis in the social sciences. *Quality & Quantity*, *45*(1), 103-128. doi:10.1007/s11135-010-9350-8

Bunniss, S., & Kelly, D. R. (2010). Research paradigms in medical education research. *Medical education*, *44*(4), 358-366. doi:10.1111/j.1365-2923.2009.03611.x

Cavlek, N. (2002). Tour operators and destination safety. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *29*(2), 478-496. doi:10.1016/S0160-7383(01)00067-6

Crouch, D. (2000). Places around us: embodied lay geographies in leisure and tourism. *Leisure studies*, *19*(2), 63-76. doi:10.1080/026143600374752

Dahlén, M., Lange, F. & Smith, T. (2010). *Marketing communications: A brand narrative approach.* Chichester: John Wiley & Sons

Debesay, J., Nåden, D., & Slettebø, Å. (2008). How do we close the hermeneutic circle? A Gadamerian approach to justification in interpretation in qualitative studies. *Nursing Inquiry*, *15*(1), 57-66. doi:10.1111/j.1440-1800.2008.00390.x

Deze mensen lieten het leven bij de aanslagen in Parijs. (2015, 15 November). *AD.nl*. Retrieved from http://www.ad.nl/ad/nl/37521/Terreurdreiging-Europa/article/detail/4186928/2015/11/17/Deze-mensen-lieten-het-leven-bij-de-aanslagen-in-Parijs.dhtml

Dobele, A., Lindgreen, A., Beverland, M., Vanhamme, J., & Van Wijk, R. (2007). Why pass on viral messages? Because they connect emotionally. *Business horizons*, *50*(4), 291-304. doi:10.1016/j.bushor.2007.01.004

Elo, S. & Kungäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, *62*(1), 107-115. doi:10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04569.x

Eysenbach, G. & Till, J.E. (2001). Ethical issues in qualitative research on internet communities. *Information in practice, 323*, 1103-1105.

Facebook Safety. (2015, 14 November). Yesterday, we activated Safety Check in Paris… Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/fbsafety/posts/930229667014872

Floyd, M. F., Gibson, H., Pennington-Gray, L., & Thapa, B. (2004). The effect of risk perceptions on intentions to travel in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, *15*(2-3), 19-38. doi:10.1300/J073v15n02_02

Geling, G.J. (2015, 23 November). Wat dichtbij is, raakt ons altijd meer. *Nieuwwij.nl*. Retrieved from http://www.nieuwwij.nl/opinie/wat-dichtbij-is-raakt-ons-altijd-meer/

Gillham, B. (2000). *Case Study Research Methods.* London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Guba, E. (1990). *The Paradigm Dialogue.* London: Sage

Gyimóthy, S. (2014). Symbolic Convergence and Tourism Social Media. *Tourism Social Media: Transformations in Identity, Community and Culture*, 55-71. doi:10.1108/S1571-5043(2013)0000018006

Hendriksma, K. (2015, 24 February). Social media in Nederland in 2015: de laatste cijfers. *Redmax.* Retrieved from http://www.redmax.nl/nieuws/social-media-in-nederland-in-2015-de-laatste-cijfers/

Hiltz, S. R., & Plotnick, L. (2013). Dealing with information overload when using social media for emergency management: emerging solutions. *Proceedings of the 10th international ISCRAM conference*, 823-827.

Ho, Jason Y.C. & Dempsey, Melanie (2010). Viral marketing: Motivations to forward online content. *Journal of Business Research*, *63*(9-10), 1000-1006. doi:10.1016/j.jbusres.2008.08.010

Honderden Nederlanders toch niet naar Parijs. (2015, 15 November). *NOS op 3.* Retrieved from http://nos.nl/op3/artikel/2069245-honderden-nederlanders-toch-niet-naar-parijs.html

Houston, J.B., Hawthorne, J., Perreault, M.F., Park, E.H., Hode, M.G., Halliwell, M.R., McGowen, S.E.T., Davis, R., Vaid, S., McElderry, J.A., Griffith, S.A. (2014). Social media and disasters: a functional framework for social media use in disaster planning, response, and research. *Disasters, 39*(1), 1-22. doi:10.1111/disa.12092

How the Paris attacks unfolded on social media. (2015, 17 November). *BBC trending.* Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-34836214

Hsieh, H., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative health research*, *15*(9), 1277-88. doi:10.1177/1049732305276687

Huang, A., Wang, H., Yuan, C.W. (2014). De-virtualizing social events: Understanding the gap between onlne and offline participation for event invitations. *CSCW 2014*. doi:10.1145/2531602.2531606

Java, A., Song, X., Finin, T., & Tseng, B. (2007). Why we twitter: understanding microblogging usage and communities. *Proceedings of the 9th WebKDD and 1st SNA-KDD 2007 workshop on Web mining and social network analysis*, 56-65.

Johnson, R. B., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2004). Mixed methods research: A research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational researcher, 33*(7), 14-26.

Kaufmann, M. (2015). Resilience 2.0: Social media use and (self-)care during the 2011 Norway attacks. *Media, Culture & Society, 37*(7), 972-987. doi:10.1177/0163443715584101

Kaufman, L., & Rousseeuw, P. J. (2005). *Finding groups in data: an introduction to cluster analysis, 344*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons. Retrieved from Google Books.

Kezar, A. (2000). The importance of pilot studies: Beginning the hermeneutic circle. *Research in Higher Education, 41*(3), 385-400. doi:10.1023/A:1007047028758

Koch, T. (2006). Establishing rigor in qualitative research: the decision trail. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 53*(1), 91-103. doi:10.1111/j.1365-2648.2006.03681.x

Kozinets, R. V. (2002). The Field behind the Screen: Using Netnography for Marketing Research in Online Communities. *Journal of marketing research*, *39*(1), 61-72.

Krippendorff, K. (1989). Content analysis. In E. Barnouw, G. Gerbner, W. Schramm, T. L. Worth, & L. Gross (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of communication, 1*, 403-407. New York: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from http://repository.upenn.edu/asc_papers/226

Kristofferson, K., White, K., Peloza, J. (2014). The nature of slacktivism: How the social observability of an initial act of token support affects subsequent prosocial action. *Journal of consumer research, 40*, 1149-1166. doi:10.1086/674137

Kukla, A. (2000). *Social constructivism and the philosophy of science.* Routledge, Londen & New York.

Kuto, B.K., & Groves, J.L. (2004). The Effects of Terrorism: evaluating Kenyas tourism Crisis. *e-Review of Tourism Research (eRTR), 2*(4), 88-95.

Kwak, H., Lee, C., Park, H., & Moon, S. (2010). What is Twitter, a social network or a news media? *Proceedings of the 19th international conference on World wide web*, 591-600.

Lai, L.S.L. & To, W.M. (2015). Content analysis of social media: A grounded theory approach. *Journal of Electronic Commerce Research*, *16*(2), 138-152.

Langer, R. & Beckman, S.C. (2005). Sensitive research topics: netnography revisited. *Qualitative market research, 8*(2), 189-203. doi:10.1108/13522750510592454

Lepp, A., & Gibson, H. (2003). Tourist roles, perceived risk and international tourism. *Annals of tourism research*, *30*(3), 606-624. doi:10.1016/S0160-7383(03)00024-0

Malholtra, N. K. (1984). Reflections on the Information Overload Paradigm in Consumer Decision-Making. *The Journal of consumer research*, *10*(4), 436-440.

Meerwald, A. M. L. (2013). Researcher | Researched: repositioning research paradigms. *Higher Education Research and Development*, *32*(1), 43-55. doi:10.1080/07294360.2012.750279

Melucci, A. (1995). The process of collective identity. *Social movements and culture, 4*, 41-63. Retrieved from http://sociology.sunimc.net/

Miles, W. (2002). Auschwitz: Museum interpretation and darker tourism. *Annals of tourism research, 19*, 1175-1178. Retrieved from Elsevier.

Mkono, M., & Markwell, K. (2014). The application of netnography in tourism studies. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *48*, 289-291. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2014.07.005

Norman, J., & Damschroder, L. (2008). Qualitative content analysis. In Jacoby, L. & Siminoff, L.A. (Eds.) *Empirical Research for Bioethics: A Primer.* Oxford, UK: Elsevier Publishing, 39-62. doi:10.1016/S1479-3709(07)11003-7

Mossberg, L. (2007). A Marketing Approach to the Tourist Experience. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism, 7*(1), 59-74. doi:10.1080/15022250701231915

NVivo 11, a. Set the text content language and stop words. *NVivo 11 for Windows Help.* Retrieved from http://help-nv11.qsrinternational.com/desktop/procedures/set_the_text_content_language_and_stop_words.htm

NVivo 11, b. How are cluster analysis diagrams generated? *NVivo 11 for Windows Help.* Retrieved from http://helpnv11.qsrinternational.com/desktop/deep_concepts/how_are_cluster_analysis_diagrams_generated_.htm

Oh, O., Kwon, K. H., & Rao, H. R. (2010). An Exploration of Social Media in Extreme Events: Rumor Theory and Twitter during the Haiti Earthquake 2010. *Thirty First International Conference on Information Systems, St. Louis 201*, 1-14.

Palen, L. (2008). Online Social Media in Crisis Events. *Educause Quarterly, 3.*

Paris Attacks: What happened on the night. (2015, December 9) *BBC*. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34818994

Park, N., Lee, S., & Kim, J. H. (2012). Individuals' personal network characteristics and patterns of Facebook use: A social network approach. *Computers in human behavior*, *28*(5), 1700-1707. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2012.04.009

Penna, S. (2013). Qualitative data analysis with NVivo. *Webinar Lane Medical Library*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0YyVySrV2cM

Perry. (2007). Chapter 1: What is a disaster? In Rodríguez, H., Quarantelli, E.L., & Dynes, R.R. Eds. *Handbook of Disaster Research.* Springer, New York, NY, 1-15.

Pfeil, U., & Zaphiris, P. (2010). Applying qualitative content analysis to study online support communities. *Universal Access in the Information Society*, *9*(1), 1-16. doi:10.1007/s10209-009-0154-3

Picard, D. (2012). Tourism, awe and inner journeys. In D. Picard & M. Robinson (Eds.), *Emotion in motion: Tourism, affect and transformation*, 1-19. Farnham, England: Ashgate Pub. Co.

Pizam, A. & Fleischer, A. (2002). Severity versus frequency of acts of terrorism: Which has a larger impact on tourism demand? *Journal of travel research*, *40*(3), 337-339.

Ponterotto, J., G. (2005). Qualitative Research in Counseling Psychology: A primer on research paradigms and philosophy of science. *Journal of Counseling Psychology 52*(2), 126-136. doi:10.1037/00220167.52.2.126

Radu, M. (2002). Terrorism After the Cold War: Trends and Challenges. *Orbis*, *46*(2), 275-287. doi:10.1016/S0030-4387(02)00108-4

Reisinger, Y., & Mavondo, F. (2005). Travel anxiety and intentions to travel internationally: Implications of travel risk perception. *Journal of Travel Research*, *43*(3), 212-225. doi:10.1177/0047287504272017

Rittichainuwat, B. N., & Chakraborty, G. (2009). Perceived travel risks regarding terrorism and disease: The case of Thailand. *Tourism Management*, *30*(3), 410-418. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2008.08.00

Rodríguez-Molina, M.A., Frías-Jamilena, D.M., & Castaneda-García, J.A. (2015). The contribution of website design to the generation of tourist destination image: The moderating effect of involvement. *Tourism Management, 47,* 303-317. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2014.10.001

Roehl, W. S., & Fesenmaier, D. R. (1992). Risk perceptions and pleasure travel: An exploratory analysis. *Journal of Travel Research*, *30*(4), 17-26.

Roth, N. W. (2015). Learning how to explore and visualize your data with NVivo | NVivo Brown Bag Webinar. *QSR International.* Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ez7PB6ZIA5I

Schwarz, A. (2012). How publics use social media to respond to blame games in crisis communication: The Love Parade tragedy in Duisburg 2010, *Public Relations Review, 38*(3), 430-437. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2012.01.009

Selmi, N., Tur, C., & Dornier, R. (2012). To what extent may sites of death be tourism destinations: The cases of Hiroshima in Japan and Struthof in France. *Asian Business & Management, 11*(3), 311-328. doi:10.1057/abm.2012.7

Sönmez, S. F., & Graefe, A. R. (1998). Influence of terrorism risk on foreign tourism decisions. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *25*(1), 112-144.

Sönmez, S. F., Apostolopoulos, Y., & Tarlow, P. (1999). Tourism in crisis: Managing the effects of terrorism. *Journal of Travel Research*, *38*(1), 13-18.

Stepchenkova, S., Kirilenko, A.P., Morrison, A.M. (2009). Facilitating content analysis in tourism research. *Journal of travel research, 47*, 454-469. doi:10.1177/004728750832650

Tasci, A.T. & Gartner, C.G. (2007). Destination Image and Its Functional Relationships. *Journal of travel research*, *45*(4), 413-425. doi:10.1177/0047287507299569

Tobin, G. A., & Begley, C. M. (2004). Methodological rigour within a qualitative framework. *Journal of advanced nursing*, *48*(4), 388-396.

UNWTO (2015). *UNWTO Tourism Highlights 2015.* eISBN:978-92-844-1689-9. Retrieved from http://www.e-unwto.org/doi/book/10.18111/9789284416899

Urry, J. (2002). The Tourist Gaze. London: Sage Publications.

Van der Laan, M. (2015, 4 December). Het jaar 2015 op Twitter. *Twitter*. Retrieved from https://blog.twitter.com/nl/2015/het-jaar-2015-op-twitter

Vie, S. (2014). In defense of "slacktivism": The Human Rights Campaign Facebook logo as digital activism. *First Monday*, *19*(4), doi:10.5210/fm.v19i4.4961

Vine, R. (2009). Research paradigms: positivism, interpretivism, critical approach and poststructuralism. *Ruby Vine Blogspot.* Retrieved from http://rubyvine.blogspot.nl/2009/10/research-paradigms-positivism.html

Wilson, C. (2014). *Interview Techniques for UX Practitioners: A user-centered design method.* Amsterdam: Elsevier Inc.

Xiao, Y., Huang, Q., Wu, K. (2015). Understanding social media data for disaster management. *Nat Hazards*, *79,* 1663-1679. doi:10.1007/s11069-015-1918-0

Yin (2009). *Case study research: design and methods.* Sage publications. Retrieved from Google books.

Zimmer, M. (2010). "But the data is already public": on the ethics of research in Facebook. *Ethics and information technology*, *12*(4), 313-325. doi:10.1007/s10676-010-9227-5