SCM
Studies in Communication and Media

FULL PAPER

International perspectives on information avoidance during the coronavirus pandemic: Comparing media evaluations and media use in Pakistan, Germany, and Indonesia

Internationale Perspektiven zur Informationsvermeidung während der Coronapandemie: Ein Vergleich der Medienbewertungen und der Mediennutzung in Pakistan, Deutschland und Indonesien

Christina Schumann, Waqas Ejaz, Mira Rochyadi-Reetz, Eni Maryani & Anna Agustina

Christina Schumann (Dr.), Technische Universität Ilmenau, Research Group on Empirical Media Research and Political Communication, Ehrenbergstraße 29, 98693 Ilmenau, Germany. Contact: christina.schumann(at)tu-ilmenau.de. ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3697-0263

Waqas Ejaz (Dr.), Reuters Institute for Studying of Journalism, 13 Norham Gardens OX2 6PS, Oxford, United Kingdom. Contact: waqas.ejaz(at)politics.ox.ac.uk. ORCID: 0000-0002-2492-4115

Mira Rochyadi-Reetz (M.A.), Technische Universität Ilmenau, Research Group on Empirical Media Research and Political Communication, Ehrenbergstraße 29, 98693 Ilmenau, Germany. Contact: mira.rochyadi-reetz(at)tu-ilmenau.de. ORCID: 0000-0002-4738-5177

Eni Maryani (Dr.), Universitas Padjadjaran, Center for Study of Communication, Media and Culture, Jl. Raya Bandung Sumedang KM 21, Indonesia 45363. Contact: eni.maryani(at)unpad.ac.id. Orcid:0000-0002-0196-5221

Anna Agustina (Ph.D.), Faculty of Communication, Universitas Pancasila, Jl. Srengseng Sawah, Jagakarsa, Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia. Contact: annaagustina(at)univpancasila.ac.id. ORCID: 0000-0003-0665-0672

FULL PAPER

International perspectives on information avoidance during the coronavirus pandemic: Comparing media evaluations and media use in Pakistan, Germany, and Indonesia

Internationale Perspektiven zur Informationsvermeidung während der Coronapandemie: Ein Vergleich der Medienbewertungen und der Mediennutzung in Pakistan, Deutschland und Indonesien

Christina Schumann, Waqas Ejaz, Mira Rochyadi-Reetz, Eni Maryani & Anna Agustina

Abstract: This study investigates the comparative prevalence of information avoidance concerning the coronavirus and its relationship with media evaluation and use. We argue that information avoidance is a behavior that broadly signifies the intermittent and conscious practice of shunning specific content. It is problematic because having an informed citizenry is essential, especially during a global pandemic. Given the global affectedness of the world by the coronavirus, we believe in the necessity for international comparative research and conduct our study in Pakistan, Germany, and Indonesia. Based on the existing literature, which stems predominantly from the Global North, we assume that media use and its evaluations are associated with information avoidance and test our assumptions against cross-cultural differences. Hence, we collected data in Germany (n = 822), Indonesia (n = 1164), and Pakistan (n = 467). The results indicate important differences with regard to the prevalence of information avoidance as well as media use and its evaluations across the three countries. The analysis further confirms a rather stable relationship between media evaluations with information avoidance but revealed interesting differences in the associations between media use and avoidance.

Keywords: Information avoidance, media use, media evaluations, media trust, issue fatigue, coronavirus, international comparison.

Zusammenfassung: Diese Studie untersucht die Informationsvermeidung während der Coronapandemie und analysiert, in welchem Zusammenhang Informationsvermeidung mit Mediennutzung bzw. Medienbewertungen steht. Wir verstehen Informationsvermeidung als zeitweises und bewusstes Vermeiden von Medieninhalten und persönlichen Gesprächen. Vermeidung ist problematisch, da eine gut informierte Bürgerschaft besonders während einer globalen Pandemie wichtig ist. Da Länder weltweit vom Coronavirus betroffen sind, sehen wir die Notwendigkeit international vergleichender Forschung und führen unsere Studie in Pakistan, Deutschland und Indonesien durch. Abgeleitet aus dem bestehenden Forschungsstand, der überwiegend aus dem Globalen Norden stammt, gehen wir davon aus, dass Mediennutzung und deren Bewertung mit Informationsvermeidung in Zusammenhang stehen. Methodisch arbeiten wir mit einer international vergleichenden Befragung in den drei Ländern (Deutschland: n = 822, Indonesien: n = 1164 und Pakistan: n =

467) und testen unsere Annahmen auf kulturelle Unterschiede. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass es in den drei Ländern große Unterschiede in der Informationsvermeidung sowie in der Mediennutzung und deren Bewertung während der Pandemie gibt. Die Analysen zeigen zudem eine recht stabile Beziehung zwischen Medienbewertungen und Informationsvermeidung, aber auch interessante Unterschiede in den Zusammenhängen zwischen Mediennutzung und Informationsvermeidung.

Schlagwörter: Informationsvermeidung, Mediennutzung, Medienbewertung, Medienvertrauen, Themenverdrossenheit, Coronavirus, internationaler Vergleich.

1. Introduction

Information is valuable because it helps individuals to make informed decisions (Golman et al., 2017), and its utility greatly increases during times of crisis (Soroya et al., 2021). Due to its global scale, the coronavirus pandemic is one such crisis that has affected 192 countries regardless of their geography or development status (Johns Hopkins Coronavirus Resource Center, 2021). Moreover, the pandemic goes beyond a health crisis as it has become an economic as well as a political and societal crisis in many countries.

Since the pandemic has affected the whole world, its successful containment is a global challenge, which requires the commitment of everyone, and an informed citizenry is the core of such a global commitment (World Health Organization (WHO), 2020). In addition, from a political standpoint, informed citizens are vigilant with regard to making political decisions and exercising their rights through active civic participation (de Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2006; Shehata, 2016). During the pandemic, citizens need to continuously keep themselves informed about the ever-evolving coronavirus policies of their respective countries in order to make informed decisions. In this context, the mass media plays a crucial role in keeping citizens informed, allowing governments and experts to disseminate necessary information to concerned citizens (Soroya et al., 2021). However, media systems and access to reliable information vary between countries. As such, while the fight against the pandemic is a global one, the information available on the pandemic differs depending on regional contexts and media systems. In this paper, we are interested in how different access to communication as well as citizens' evaluations of it interact with how people inform themselves in a global pandemic.

Also, the media landscape itself was highly influenced by the outbreak of the coronavirus in many countries. Information concerning the coronavirus has been present in almost every news medium and has flooded the public sphere worldwide like no other crisis before. This extensive access to information, on the one hand, could stimulate the public's awareness of and knowledge about the virus (Siebenhaar et al., 2020). However, on the other hand, excessive coverage of the issue can prompt people to avoid this information (Gurr & Metag, 2021; So & Alam, 2019) and make them less likely to be aware of new relevant information, thus potentially endangering their own and others' health (Fletcher et al., 2020). A recently released digital news report based on the survey data in 46 countries by the Reuters institute also shows the increase in people's tendency to engage in such selective avoidance (Newman et al., 2022). Given the significance that information has, the present

study – in a comparative setting – aims to explore information avoidance during the coronavirus pandemic and the role the media plays in this context.

Regarding the organization of the present paper, we first elaborate on the necessity of international comparative research and the rationale behind the selection of the countries chosen. We describe the structural factors of each country relating to its political and media system as well as its coronavirus infection rate. Next, we present our theoretical framework on avoidance and its assumed relationship with media use and evaluation. We then focus on potential country-specific differences as deduced from the structural factors. Subsequently, the study presents the operationalization of the variables as well as the data collection process in the three countries. Finally, we present and discuss the results along with the study's limitations and its implications for future research.

2. International research on global problems

Coronavirus is a global threat and does not stop at borders. Therefore, insights from various countries help in better understanding potential differences and similarities in terms of its successful containment. However, the global affectedness also makes it a comparable phenomenon between countries, which is needed for international comparative research (Claussen, 2020). Given this necessity *and* the possibility of obtaining international comparative research in the context of the coronavirus, we used our research network to conduct our study in three countries: Germany, Pakistan, and Indonesia.

This approach allowed us to address one major point of criticism of the #CommunicationSoWhite-Movement (Ng et al., 2020), which highlights how many countries of the Global South are simply not represented in the current scientific discourse (for empirical evidence, see Demeter, 2019). In line with this, scholars have demanded a so-called de-Westernization of communication research (Emmer & Kunst, 2018) to understand the social constructs of non-Western countries (Chakravartty et al., 2018). This is particularly important as "theoretical models developed in the global north do not necessarily apply to other contexts. […]. We know even less about whether, say, agenda setting or spiral of silence theories (or any of the others) would be the same all over the world if anyone ever tried to find it out" (Claussen, 2020, p. 4 and 7[1]). Taking this into account, using our approach with one Global North and two Global South countries allows us to scrutinize the generality of existing theories and findings, and forces us to test our interpretation against cross-cultural differences (Livingstone, 2016). Of course, another combination of Global South and Global North countries would have also fulfilled these criteria, but given the composition of our research team, we are able to address the requirement of "looking inward" (Claussen, 2020) with regard to these countries, which is crucial in operationalizing, conducting, interpreting, and understanding international comparative research (Pathak-Shelat et al., 2015).

1 The first part of the quote is taken from Magdalena Saldana from a panel discussion titled "The Comparison Trap? Current Theoretical and Methodological Challenges in Comparative Journalism Research," as indicated by Claussen (2020, p. 4).

3. Structural factors in asymmetrical countries: Germany, Pakistan, and Indonesia

The three countries under consideration are asymmetrical in many ways: Table 1 gives an overview of relevant variables characterizing Germany, Pakistan, and Indonesia.

Table 1. Country profiles of Germany, Indonesia, and Pakistan

Indicators		Germany	Pakistan	Indonesia
Demographic[a, b]	Population	83.1 mil (median: 46 years old)	233.5 mil (median: 23 years old)	268 mil (median: 30 years old)
Development[b]	HDI (rank)	0.939 (4)	0.560 (152)	0.707 (111)
Democracy[c]	Global freedom classification	Free	Partly free	Partly free
Communication[b, e]	Internet users (in mil)	77.8	76.38	175.4
	Active social media users	38 (48.8% of internet users)	37 (48.4% of internet users)	160 (91.2% of internet users)
Media system[e, g, c, d, f]	Public broadcasting	Strong	Weak	Weak
	Media reach	TV as primary news source, medium use of social media, strong newspaper readership	High TV use, medium use of social media, and a strong newspaper tradition	High TV and social media use, low print media use and high use on digital news media
	Media trust[d(1)] (%)	52 (neutral)	n.a.*	72 (trust)
	News trust[d(2)] (%)	53	n.a.*	39
Press freedom[h]	World Press Freedom Index 2020	Rank 11 (score 12.16)	Rank 145 (score 45.52)	Rank 119 (score 36.82)
Coronavirus situation during data collection	Positive cases[i]	17.676–18.858	648–779	6.095–7.310
	Deaths (average/7 days)[i]	111–158	7–10	132–223
	Positivity rate[j]	7.10 %	1.9 %	21.8 %
	Restrictions during the time of field phase	2nd national lockdown	Removal of national lockdown	2nd partial lockdown

Note. Compiled by authors from: a. CIA (2020); b. UNDP (2020); c. Freedom House (2020); d. (1) Edelman Trust Barometer (2021), it divides the category into distrust, neutral and trust. Countries with percentage less than 50 considered as "distrust", between 50-59 as "neutral", more than 60 as "trust"; d. (2) Reuters Digital News Report (Newman et al., 2021); e. We Are Social (2020); f. Rochyadi-Reetz and Löffelholz (2019); g. Din (2020); h. Reporters Without Borders (2020); i. Johns Hopkins University; j. positivity rate is the percentage of positive case per cumulative tests case per week. Data from Germany: RKI (2021), Indonesia: Noprian, 2020, Pakistan: Khokhar, 2020 *No information available

Germany is a developed country in Europe with a relatively old population, while Indonesia and Pakistan are developing countries in Asia with comparably younger populations. With respect to their media systems, Germany has a strong public broadcast system and enjoys a free press, whereas Pakistan and Indonesia have weak public broadcast systems and a partly free press. Access to internet varies remarkably between the countries, but among the internet users, Indonesians are the most active social media users. Contradictory findings are reported about the levels of media and news trust in Indonesia by the Edelman Trust Barometer (2021) and Reuters Digital News Report (Newman et al., 2021). Finally, the infection and death rate were higher and the restrictions were stronger in Germany than in Pakistan and Indonesia by the time of data collection. For Indonesia, partial lockdown meant that some of the most affected islands had a strict lockdown, while others that were less affected had fewer restrictions.

Structural and contextual factors might impact the way people use or perceive media (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, 2012). More precisely, it was found that they can affect citizens' information avoidance (Toff & Kalogeropoulos, 2020; van den Bulck, 2006), their media evaluations (Schumann, 2018), and their media use (Chao Su et al., 2020; Hasebrink et al., 2015). Anyhow, as with the majority of mass communication theories and approaches (Demeter, 2019), the body of research we address in our study has been largely developed and tested in the Global North, and considerations of countries with differing structural factors are scarce. This is problematic insofar as we should not assume that theoretical mechanisms are the same in other cultural contexts until we have tested them (Claussen, 2020). In the following, we will now turn to the existing body of research and present our variables of interest. Afterwards, we will use the country profiles to reflect on potential differences in a) the prevalence of and b) the relations between the variables.

4. Issue-specific information avoidance

Amid the global pandemic, the contemporary media landscape, with its ample supply of information, has seemingly made it impossible for people to remain unaware of information related to the coronavirus (Geers, 2020). Yet, contrary to the World Health Organization's recommendation to keep up to date on the latest information (WHO, 2020), many remain uninformed regarding local and global sociopolitical events concerning the virus (Edgerly, 2020). The existing literature identifies such behavior as news or information avoidance, among which two different types are distinguished: intentional and unintentional avoidance (Skovsgaard & Andersen, 2020). Given the plethora of information on the coronavirus, it is almost impossible to avoid it unintentionally. We, therefore, focus on intentional avoidance, which is defined as deliberately shunning or delaying the acquisition of available information (Kim et al., 2020). Within this study, the term *information* constitutes not only the traditional news but also other related information on the coronavirus that comes from interpersonal talks or health advisories from governmental institutions. Moreover, information avoidance is not necessarily a dichotomous concept. Instead, people can be more or less rigorous in terms of avoiding

information, ranging from reducing the attention paid to it to strict avoidance (Wonneberger et al., 2013).

Considering the impact of the coronavirus pandemic on people's lives, we argue that information avoidance is not an immediate phenomenon but develops over time. Research shows that the intense initial interest the public has in an issue dissipates after some time and that people then start to avoid the topic (Downs, 1972). Thus, people probably did not avoid such information right from the beginning of the pandemic. Additionally, we do not consider information avoidance in general but focus on the avoidance of a specific topic. General information avoiders, as opposed to issue-specific information avoiders, are those who feel overloaded by the news and tune it out completely (Skovsgaard & Andersen, 2020; Toff & Kalogeropoulos, 2020). Hence, we are interested in persons who generally follow the news but stop doing so after a certain timespan. We therefore see that our conception of information avoidance is also a certain type of (issue-specific) political withdrawal or disengagement.

5. The role of media evaluations and media use

It is no secret that news media are a central source from which citizens obtain information about current issues and make sense of reality (Luhmann, 2000). This media dependency increases during a crisis (e.g., a global pandemic; Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976). Yet, the constant growth of a plethora of information during the corona pandemic has been called an infodemic (Gallotti et al., 2020). This infodemic was found to be the base for information avoidance, as it caused overload and distress among the citizens (Bruin et al., 2021; Siebenhaar et al., 2020). However, what has been overlooked so far is that this infodemic with its ubiquitous amounts of information from myriad of sources (Link, 2021) is not homogenous. It is our aim to get a clearer picture on the question, how that medial infodemic caused information avoidance. To realize this, we will focus on media evaluations and media use of different sources, as we assume that citizens' (negative) experiences of, interactions with, and evaluations of the discrete news coverage of an issue might trigger information avoidance. This is in line with a central element of the Risk Information Seeking and Processing model (RISP), arguing that information avoidance can be driven by individuals' evaluations of how (un)biased or trustful information is and/or characteristics and utility of specific information channels (Dunwoody & Griffin, 2015).

5.1 Media evaluations

Outcomes of media exposure may depend on how people evaluate the information they receive (Ejaz et al., 2017; Tsfati, 2003). In case of the aforementioned infodemic, we see that avoidance might be triggered particularly when recipients feel overloaded (Bruin et al., 2021) with information that they evaluate as negative: Negative evaluations can make the news consumption process an emotionally and/or cognitively negative experience (Boukes & Vliegenthart, 2017; Kühne & Schemer, 2015), which might lower recipients' information processing motiva-

tion (Schemer, 2014). Therefore, avoiding information is a coping strategy for escaping negative experiences (Ytre-Arne & Moe, 2021) and maintaining individual well-being (Boukes & Vliegenthart, 2017).

In the following, we introduce three concepts of media evaluations that might be associated with information avoidance:

(1) *Trust in the media coverage:* Previous research on information avoidance highlights the role of media trust (Siebenhaar et al., 2020; Skovsgaard & Andersen, 2020; Toff & Kalogeropoulos, 2020). Generally, media trust describes recipients' trust in journalistic selectivity (Kohring & Matthes, 2007) and their expectation that journalists produce balanced and objective news stories (Ardèvol-Abreu & Gil de Zúñiga, 2017). In contrast, media distrust (Ladd, 2010) refers to the subjective feeling "that journalists are not fair or objective in their reports about society and that they do not always tell the whole story" (Tsfati, 2003, p. 159). We assume that citizens who are confronted with news about an issue that they do not perceive as trustworthy will engage in more information avoidance than citizens who trust the coverage.

(2) *Perceived victimization of other issues:* In some countries, the pandemic can be considered a killer issue that changes the news agenda dramatically (Brosius & Kepplinger, 1995). Such issues have a killer–victim relationship with other important topics on the media agenda, meaning that some other issues (victim issues) are taken off the schedule in favor of the killer issue (Geiß, 2011). Moreover, when the (assumed) real-world impact of the killer issue is comparably lower than the importance of the victim issues, the sudden outburst of coverage is called a news wave or hype (for an overview, see Vasterman, 2018). Such news hype has been found to raise levels of information avoidance among the public (Beyer & Figenschou, 2018). Based on this, we assume that recipients may regard the coronavirus as an important topic but, at the same time, continue to judge other issues, such as climate change or corruption scandals, as relevant and newsworthy. If these other issues are "killed" by excessive coverage of the pandemic, recipients could perceive the news as hype. We call this the *perceived victimization of other issues* and argue that this perception fosters information avoidance.

(3) *Issue fatigue:* The intense and persistent coverage of the coronavirus may also provoke *issue fatigue* among citizens as a consequence of overexposure (Kuhlmann et al., 2014; Metag & Arlt, 2016). Issue fatigue is a dual-process phenomenon comprised of negative emotions and cognitions toward intensively covered news issues, including feelings of annoyance and not wanting to hear or see anything related to the respective issue anymore (Schumann, 2018). In line with previous findings on overexposure and fatigue, such as compassion fatigue, which is emotional burnout or desensitization regarding social problems (Kinnick et al., 1996), or message fatigue concerning health campaign messages (So & Alam, 2019), issue fatigue seems to provoke information avoidance on the respective issue (Gurr & Metag, 2021; Kuhlmann et al., 2014).

5.2 Media use

Recently, Toff and Kalogeropoulos (2020) have underlined the importance of studying the exposure to various types of news media as an influencing factor on news avoidance. But, to our knowledge, empirical tests of this demand are still pending. In principle, various types of news media serve the recipients with a "typical" but differing input (Schuck, 2017; Wolling, 1999). For example, television in general and private broadcasting in particular focus on infotainment and tabloidization at the expense of more substantial news (Dahlgren, 1995; Robinson, 1976). Typically, in communication research, these infotainment formats are criticized because they can have detrimental effects on the democratic society (e.g. by lowering political engagement and participation; for an overview, see Adegbola & Gearhart, 2019).

For our study, it is an open question *how* associations between exposure to various types of news media and information avoidance will occur. The corona-infodemic was particularly criticized for provoking distress and anxiety among the citizens (Siebenhaar et al., 2020). Such reactions can be rooted in characteristics of the news coverage itself, such as (too) offensively portrayed threats (Atkin, 1985). Entertaining material, on the other hand, can "cure" such negative responses (Rieger et al., 2014). Hence, it is an open question how e.g. the consumption of more infotaining material (e.g. in private broadcasting) will be associated with information avoidance when compared to the more substantiated news (e.g. in quality newspapers or public broadcasting).

In recent years, social media use has also been considered a relevant variable to explain information avoidance or political disengagement (e.g., Toff & Kalogeropoulos, 2020; Yamamoto et al., 2017). However, to our knowledge, the understanding that the type of media is some kind of "proxy" for the content a recipient receives has not been retained or transferred to respective studies. This is problematic insofar as due to the highly personalized content on the individual timelines of these platforms, little can be discerned about what kind of information people receive on their feeds. As such, using Facebook to obtain information could mean anything from being exposed to content from traditional news media to receiving information direct from the government or criticism posted by anti-government groups. For our study on information avoidance, we see the need to get a more insightful picture of people's social media use and to scrutinize its association with information avoidance.

6. Research questions, hypotheses, and research model

As stated earlier, the presented body of research is based on studies from the Global North. In consequence, first, we do not know how prevalent the constructs under consideration are in Global South countries and, in our case, in Indonesia and Pakistan. Therefore, we focus on a descriptive perspective. Second, the existing body of research allows us to deduce hypotheses about the associations between media evaluations, media use, and information avoidance, but we have to *explore* if and how these associations exist in Indonesia and Pakistan. We will use information presented in the country profiles as a frame to identify valid

explanatory factors (Kang & Mastin, 2008) for potential differences between the countries. This systematic comparative illustration (Smelser, 1976) allows us to establish plausible and meaningful claims about country differences. However, it is not a causal test and does not "solve" the inherent challenge in cross-national comparisons with few countries where other explanatory factors also exist.
Starting with the descriptive perspective, we first ask the following:

> *RQ1: How prevalent are information avoidance, media evaluations, and different types of media use during the pandemic in the three countries?*

We see that the level of press freedom, in particular, might play a role in terms of descriptive differences: Existing research shows that lower levels of press freedom raise levels of information avoidance (Toff & Kalogeropoulos, 2020; van den Bulck, 2006), so we suppose:

> *H1.1: Information avoidance concerning the coronavirus will be higher in Indonesia and Pakistan than in Germany.*

Considering media trust, the existing findings are contradictory, with some sources arguing that media trust is lower in countries with low press freedom (Hanitzsch et al., 2018; Liu & Lu, 2020), while others show opposing findings (Edelman, 2021). Therefore, we do not formulate a hypothesis. Regarding the victimization of other issues, the current state of research does not allow us to deduce a cross-national comparative hypothesis either. However, previous research into issue fatigue argues that it can be extreme in countries with low press freedom, especially if the controlling institutions have an interest in covering certain issues more than others (Schumann, 2018).

> *H1.2: Issue fatigue will be higher in Pakistan and Indonesia than in Germany.*

For media use, we assume based on the importance of public and private broadcasting when compared to the other media types in the three countries (see Table 1):

> *H1.3: In Germany, public television will be the most important mainstream media used to get information about the coronavirus, while in Indonesia and Pakistan, it will be private television.*

Concerning social media use, as stated above, we aim to get a clearer picture of the content on the individual timelines of a user. In this context, we adopt the idea from Ceron and Memoli (2015) that the slant of the information communicated is important. Thus, we scrutinize if and how receiving information from the government, as well as citizens criticizing or supporting the national policy, has an impact on information avoidance. However, we do not deduce a hypothesis.
Continuing with the associations between the variables, we ask:

> *RQ2: How are media evaluations and the use of different media types associated with information avoidance in the three countries?*

The body of research previously presented allows us to make the following hypotheses with regard to media evaluations:

H2.1: The lower the trust in the media, the higher the information avoidance.

H2.2: The higher perceived victimization of other issues, the higher the information avoidance.

H2.3: The higher the issue fatigue, the higher the information avoidance.

In relation to our perspective on types of media use, we cannot formulate hypotheses and leave it an open question to explore how types of media use will be associated with information avoidance.

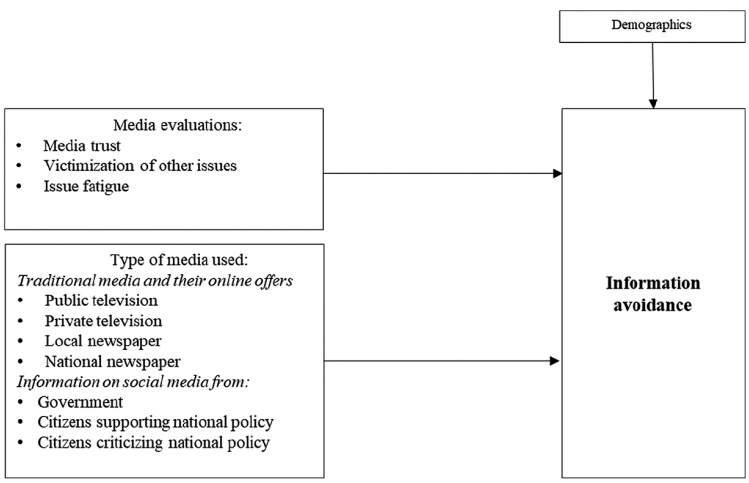
Given the US- and Eurocentrism of the current state of research and the lack of tests beyond the Western world, we finally aim to scrutinize the theoretical stability of our model against cross-cultural influences and ask:

RQ2.1: Are the assumed associations stable across the differing cultural contexts of our study?

In principle, two assumptions are possible for this question: On the one hand, scholars assume that the way people use and interact with media depends on cultural practices (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, 2012). This points to the assumption that information avoidance behavior and its determinants can vary due to cultural influences. On the other hand, theory should be universally applicable and valid regardless of contextual factors, such as culture, and indeed, international comparative studies on media and political trust indicate that the relationships do not fundamentally differ across countries; the strength of such relationships, however, does vary (Hanitzsch et al., 2018).

The relationships between the variables we have proposed in this study are presented in Figure 1. The model further includes the control variables that have been previously found to affect information avoidance, such as gender and education (Gurr & Metag, 2021; Toff & Palmer, 2019).

Figure 1. Research model for the relationships between media evaluations and media use and information avoidance



7. Method

7.1 Data collection and participants

Data were collected through conducting a quantitative survey in all three countries. The survey was first developed in German; afterwards, it was translated to Bahasa Indonesian for Indonesia and to English for Pakistan. In all countries, we strived to find the best balance between the quality of the data and our financial resources. While there were no problems in Germany with regard to finding an affordable and good quality online access panel from a market research company, it turned out to be rather problematic in Pakistan and Indonesia. In both countries, the prices of online access panels are much higher than in Germany, and the companies were less transparent in declaring the data collection and participant recruitment processes. However, for Indonesia, we finally found a market research company, but for Pakistan, this was not possible.

Germany

We used data from an eight-wave panel survey carried out by a public university and collected by the market research company respondi AG (certified according to Global ISO 26362). For this study, we used data from the fourth panel wave, as it is the closest to the Indonesian and Pakistani timeframe for data collection. Adopting an online panel-based approach, the sample represents a multiple stratified quota selection of German-speaking online users over 18 years old based on the parameters of gender, age, and education. The fourth survey wave (n = 822) took place from 4th to 10th November 2020. This was during the second German lockdown, at which time public and private life in Germany was largely restricted and the number of new infections was high again after a relaxed summer. As younger people in the sample were slightly underrepresented when compared to the actual demographic structure in Germany, we weighted the data according to age. Based on the weighted data, 49% of the participants were male. Age (mean = 47, SD = 15.71) was distributed as follows: 18–19 years = 19%; 30–39 years = 16%; 40–49 years = 17%; 50–59 years = 21%; and 60+ years = 27%. Concerning education, 32% had a low educational qualification (no secondary or elementary school leaving certificate); 31% had a mid-level educational qualification (medium-level secondary); and 36% had a high educational qualification (high school graduation/university entrance qualification or higher).

Indonesia

We used data from the national representative survey, which was conducted from 4th to 31st December 2020 during a partial lockdown. During that time, Indonesia was facing the first wave of the pandemic. The questionnaire items were based on those developed in Germany but were modified to fit the Indonesian context. Jakpat Indonesia, a market research company, collected the representative survey in Indonesia. 1,164 respondents participated in our study, of which 57.6% were

male. Due to the nature of the online survey, the number of older participants (above 60 years old) was slightly underrepresented when compared to the actual demographic structure in the country; thus, we weighted the data based on age. Age (mean = 32, *SD* = 10.98) was distributed as follows: 18–19 years = 46%; 30–39 years = 33%; 40–49 years = 15%; 50–59 years = 0.5%; and 60+ years = 5,1%. Of the participants, 8.2% had an elementary and a junior high school certificate, 55% had a senior high school certificate, and the rest had a college or a university degree.

Pakistan

We conducted an online survey from 24th of September to 24th of October 2020. Here, it is pertinent to note that during the four weeks of data collection, the government lifted the lockdown restrictions, and the country began to see a spike in the number of cases after initially flattening the curve (i.e., the second wave of coronavirus infections).

Furthermore, due to the above-mentioned issues concerning local research companies, including high costs and the lack of transparency, the data collection was carried out entirely by the authors, who had to opt for a convenient sampling technique. Accordingly, an online survey using Google Forms was created and distributed using social media platforms as well as personal social contacts in different universities.

The final data contained 467 respondents, of which 49% were female and 51% were male with an average age of 23 years old. Furthermore, 32% of the respondents had a high school certificate, 51% had college (bachelor) degrees, and 14% had higher level degrees. Hence, the Pakistani sample of our study is similar to the average national population in terms of gender (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2021) and age (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2019). However, the sample is skewed towards highly educated people and thus is not representative of the literacy rate in Pakistan (Finance Division Government of Pakistan, 2019). In comparison to the two other samples, the data from Pakistan is dissimilar in terms of age – on average Pakistani are younger – but it is similar with regards to education (only for the Indonesian sample) and gender (for both Germany and Indonesia).

7.2 Measures, translation, and analytical strategy

To address our research questions, the main categories of the variables were assessed: First, information avoidance; second, media evaluations with media trust, the perceived victimization of other issues, and issue fatigue; and third, media use with various measures for traditional and social media. For the operationalization of issue fatigue as well as media trust, we used the scales presented by Arlt et al. (2020), and the measurement of information avoidance was based on the approach from Toff and Kalogeropoulos (2020). We used these scales as they have been found to be reliable in the mentioned studies and because they provide rather short measures for our constructs of interest. This was important as the present

study forms part of the broader project "RCCC" (the Relevance of Communication during Corona Crisis, conducted by the research group for "media research and political communication" at Technische Universität Ilmenau, Germany), that does not focus predominantly on information avoidance. As such, the space available in the survey for the measures of our study was limited. When considering social media use, as argued above, we asked about the sources and the potential slant, namely the government itself, citizens criticizing coronavirus policy, and citizens supporting the national coronavirus protocol.

The survey items were originally designed in German. The questionnaire was then tested twice with a pretest comprising of 10 persons. After the German survey was finished, the items were then translated to Bahasa for the survey in Indonesia and English for the survey in Pakistan. A back and forward translation with professional translators was not affordable due to resource constraints. To assure reliability in the translation and adaptation of the questionnaire, several steps were conducted: first, one of the authors with multilingual ability (Bahasa Indonesia, English and German) translated the questionnaire into English and Bahasa. For Indonesia, in the second step, the author conducted a discussion with two communication scientists from Indonesia to discuss the cultural adaptation needed and revise the language. Afterwards, a pretest was conducted with 30 Indonesian respondents to identify any translation deficit. The Indonesian author team then revised the questionnaire based on feedback from the pretest and finalized it before data collection. As for Pakistan, the already translated and internally validated survey from German to English by first three authors was used to collect data. Operationalizations and translation of the questionnaire can be found in the appendix.

Regarding the data analysis, we presented ANOVA tests for single items as well as for indices, which are separated for the three countries (RQ1). Afterwards, we tested our research model using hierarchical linear regression analysis (RQ2). In order to scrutinize whether there are any differences in the associations – either in terms of their existence or strengths – we first analyzed our model separately for each country. Second, we merged the data, added a "country" variable, and tested the whole model against cross-cultural differences (RQ2.1). For this, we followed the procedure for using categorical variables in regression analysis (Kassambara, 2018). We defined one country as the baseline category (Germany), recoded the other country affiliations into categorical variables with two levels of either belonging to the country (1) or not belonging to the country (0), and used them as predictors in the regression model. In consequence, the regression coefficients of the predictors must be interpreted relative to the baseline category.

8. Results

Table 2 shows the descriptive results for RQ1, which asks about the prevalence of the constructs under consideration in the three countries.

Concerning information avoidance, Germans display the highest tendency to avoid information when compared to Pakistanis and Indonesians. This result is opposite from that expected in H1.1, in which we assumed that Pakistanis and Indonesians would display the highest levels of information avoidance.

Table 2. Information avoidance, media evaluations, and media use in the three countries

	Germany		Pakistan		Indonesia	
Operationalization of variables	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Information Avoidance (scale: 1 = disagree to 5 = fully agree)						
I increasingly avoid information about the coronavirus	2.44[a]	1.20	2.26[b]	1.00	2.27[b]	1.43
			F = 5.830/p = .003			
Media evaluations (scale: 1 = disagree to 4 = fully agree)						
Media trust: The news I use to access information about the coronavirus is …						
trustworthy	2.90[a]	0.77	2.66[b]	0.65	2.87[a]	0.62
			F = 17.799/p < .000			
correct	2.94[a]	0.78	2.63[b]	0.66	2.89[a]	0.62
			F = 26.663/p < .000			
"Media trust" index (mean value)	2.91[a]	0.73	2.65[b]	0.59	2.88[a]	0.85
			F = 25.323/p < .000			
Reliability: Spearman-Brown coefficient	.88		.76		.80	
Victimization of other issues: The reporting on the coronavirus …						
replaced other important political issues	2.94[a]	0.89	2.50[b]	0.81	2.48[b]	0.77
			F = 78.140/p < .000			
draws attention away from other political problems	2.99[a]	0.90	2.48[b]	0.94	2.70[c]	0.76
			F = 54.988/p < .000			
"Victimization of other issues" index (mean value)	2.96[a]	0.84	2.49[b]	0.78	2.57[b]	0.69
			F = 75.775/p < .000			
Reliability: Spearman-Brown coefficient	.86		.70		.75	
Issue fatigue						
News coverage about the coronavirus annoys me	2.42[ab]	1.02	2.51[a]	0.85	2.43[b]	0.78
			F = 5.784/p = .003			
I don't want to hear and see reports about the coronavirus Anymore	2.40[a]	1.05	2.49[a]	0.94	2.40[a]	0.87
			F = 1.387/p = .250			

	Germany		Pakistan		Indonesia	
Operationalization of variables	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
"Issue fatigue" index (mean value)	2.41[ab]	0.99	2.50[a]	0.77	2.37[b]	0.74
			F = 3.330/p = .036			
Reliability: Spearman-Brown coefficient	.91		.61		.74	
Media use (scale: 0 = never to 5 = several times daily)						
Exposure to traditional media: To inform myself about the coronavirus, I use …*						
public television and its online channels	2.73[a]	1.73	1.39[b]	1.49	2.36[c]	1.59
			F = 93.233/p < .000			
private television and its online channels	2.06[a]	1.75	2.51[b]	1.59	2.35[c]	1.38
			F = 157.796/p < .000			
local newspapers (in print and online)*	1.84[a]	1.66	1.50[b]	1.54	3.34[c]	1.44
			F = 732.375/p < .000			
national newspapers and magazines (in print and online)*	1.20[a]	1.53	1.56[b]	1.65	3.41[c]	1.65
			F = 537.728/p < .000			
Exposure to content on social media: Through the social media channels, I get information on the coronavirus from …						
the federal, state, and district governments	1.54[a]	1.45	1.89[b]	1.65	2.97[c]	1.40
			F = 221.594/p < .000			
citizens who are critical of the decisions of the federal Government	1.19[a]	1.36	1.47[b]	1.56	2.59[c]	1.46
			F = 222.615/p < .000			
citizens who support the decisions of the federal government	1.17[a]	1.36	1.62[b]	1.56	2.76[c]	1.41
			F = 281.423/p < .000			

*In Indonesia, this only applies to online national and local news channels.

When it comes to media evaluations (no hypotheses for media trust and victimization), we found that Germans and Indonesians share similar trust levels, while people from Pakistan appear to have significantly lower trust. In this respect, our result is closer to the one of the Edelman Trust Barometer (2021) when compared to that of the Reuters Digital News Report (Newman et al., 2021). Regarding the victimization of other issues, our data showed that it was highly present in Germany but significantly lower in Pakistan and Indonesia. No clear pattern emerged for issue fatigue. Despite some significant differences, the overall amount of fatigue was rather similar in the three countries. As such, we reject H1.2.

Concerning media use, for Germans, public television is by far the most used media channel, while for Pakistanis and Indonesians, this is the least or second-least used option, respectively. Instead, Pakistanis turn predominantly to private television channels. For Indonesians, national online newspapers are the most important information source, followed by local online newspapers. Thus, we accept H1.3 for Germany and Pakistan and reject it for Indonesia, as we supposed that Indonesians would also predominantly use private TV.

Turning to social media (no hypotheses), of the three sources considered, direct channels from federal, state, or district governments played the most important role with regard to people's information acquisition in all countries. In Pakistan, they are even in second place in relation to people's media importance ranking of all the media types analyzed in this study. As a general pattern, we see that Germany has the comparably lowest exposure levels to all three sources, Pakistan "scores" in the middle, and Indonesia is in the lead in terms of the amount of exposure.

To answer RQ2, Table 3 shows the results from the multiple linear regression analysis. The first three columns display the results for the data separated by country, and the last column presents the results for the merged data with the country as indicator (baseline = Germany).

To begin with, from our hypotheses on media evaluations (H2.1–H2.3), we fully accept H2.1 and H2.3, as trust was negatively and issue fatigue was positively associated with information avoidance in all three countries. In line with results from Hanitzsch et al., (2018), only the effect size varies. Issue fatigue showed a high association with information avoidance in Germany, while it was comparably weaker in Pakistan in particular. Regarding the victimization of other issues (H2.2), the results vary between the countries: Only in Pakistan does the perceived victimization of other issues trigger information avoidance, while in Germany and Indonesia, there was no such association. As such, we reject H2.2 for Germany and Indonesia and accept it for Pakistan.

Table 3. Relationships between information avoidance, media evaluations, and media use in the three countries: Results from the hierarchical linear regression analysis*

	Germany[1)]	Pakistan	Indonesia[1)]	All countries[1)]
	beta	beta	beta	beta
Block 1: Demographics				
Gender	0.008	0.098	0.015	0.018
Education	0.073	0.119*	-0.023	-0.000
R^2	0.002	0.028	0.003	0.001
Block 2: Media evaluations				
Media trust	-0.086*	-0.110*	-0.065*	-0.090***
Victimization of other issues	0.034	0.188**	0.055	0.067**
Issue fatigue	0.627***	0.167**	0.407***	0.456***
R^2	0.529	0.148	0.235	0.311
ΔR^2	0.526	0.120	0.232	0.310
Block 3: Exposure to traditional media				
Public television	-0.048	0.071	0.077*	0.024
Private television	-0.007	-0.175**	-0.123***	-0.071***
Regional newspapers	-0.071*	-0.079	-0.039	-0.065*
National newspapers	-0.032	0.021	0.007	-0.006
R^2	0.537	0.167	0.247	0.316
ΔR^2	0.008	0.018	0.012	0.005
Block 4: Exposure to content on social media provided by …				
Federal, state, or district government	0.019	-0.046	-0.037	-0.030
Citizens criticizing national policy	0.008	-0.052	0.061	0.042
Citizens supporting national policy	-0.076	0.162*	-0.005	-0.008
R^2	0.535	0.174	0.250	0.305
ΔR^2	-0.002	0.007	0.002	-0.010
Block 5: Country				
Pakistan	-	-	-	-0.035
Indonesia	-	-	-	0.059
R^2	-	-	-	0.309
ΔR^2	-	-	-	0.004
Total N (complete cases)	594	321	997	1912

Note. Standardized regression coefficients are reported and the p-value significance varies: * < 0.1; ** < 0.05; ***< 0.01 / listwise regression analysis

[1)] Data weighted for age in the samples from Germany and Indonesia

Turning to media use, we asked how types of media used will be associated with information avoidance. For Germany, we found that regional newspaper exposure lowered information avoidance. In Pakistan and Indonesia, it was exposure to private TV that *lowered* information avoidance, while no such association was observed in Germany. Finally, in Indonesia, we found a significant association for public broadcasting that information avoidance was higher for Indonesians exposed to it.

Social media exposure did not affect information avoidance with one exception: Pakistanis receiving information from citizens supporting the governmental decisions showed higher levels of information avoidance.

Results from the fourth model, in which we tested our theoretical assumptions against cultural differences, revealed the general stability of the associations. However, we want to emphasize that these results must be interpreted cautiously, because of the differences in sample sizes and sampling procedure applied in the countries.

9. Discussion

For the discussion, we again follow the approach of a systematic comparative illustration (Smelser, 1976) in order to identify potential and valid exploratory factors without providing a causal test. Given the composition of our research team, we rely on our capability of "looking inward" (Claussen, 2020) in order to interpret our results.

To start with, we found that information avoidance was highest among Germans, while Pakistanis and Indonesians showed a significantly milder tendency to tune out. This result is astonishing, as a free press and political stability are supposed to reduce avoidance (Toff & Kalogeropoulos, 2020; van den Bulck, 2006). In contrast to this assumption, in our sample, it was indeed the population that is "served" with the freest press and strongest political stability that showed the highest avoidance levels. The background situation in the three countries helps in better understanding this pattern: As shown in Table 1, the absolute infection rates indicated that Pakistan and Indonesia were less affected by the coronavirus at the time of the data collection. In comparison, Germany was in its second lockdown due to high infection rates and had the highest restrictions of the three countries. The related constant stream of negative coverage in Germany probably resulted in a negative mood amongst the recipients, and avoidance is a strategy through which recipients can strive to improve their mental well-being (Boukes & Vliegenthart, 2017). In addition, in Indonesia, coronavirus news was highly "blended" with entertainment elements, and eventually, this made the reception process less harmful. For example, in Indonesia, one of the spokespersons of the national taskforce on the coronavirus outbreak is a medical doctor who is, at the same time, also a professional model, influencer, moderator, and the winner of Indonesia's 2011 beauty pageant (Wolipop, 2020). Her appearance (make up, hair, clothes) during press conferences was often highlighted by the media despite this having nothing to do with the number of coronavirus infections that she was reporting to the public (e.g., detikHot, 2020; Vina Fadhrotul Mukaromah, 2020). In line with this, Rochyadi-Reetz et al. (2020) found that Indonesian media use during the pandemic is motivated more by the need for entertainment than the need to seek information and direction. In Pakistan, we see the characteristics of the media landscape as a potential explicatory factor. In comparison to Indonesia and Germany, there is a clear lack of entertainment programs and channels. In contrast, the Pakistani media landscape is characterized by an omnipresence of news media, and citizens heavily rely on them (Khalid et al., 2021). The lack of

entertainment channels as an alternative to the news could be seen as a restriction that shapes individuals' media use practices (Vowe & Wolling, 2001) and that makes it harder for people to tune out the news in this context.

Continuing with the media evaluations, concerning trust, Germans and Indonesians scored significantly higher than Pakistanis. Structural factors, such as patterns of media ownership and press freedom, are seen as important influencing factors on citizens' media trust (Adegbola & Gearhart, 2019). Against this backdrop, the similar media trust levels in Germany and Indonesia were surprising, as both countries differ remarkably in terms of press freedom and media ownership. This result is in line with the data from the Edelman Trust Barometer (2021) but in contrast to those from the Reuters Digital News Report (Newman et al., 2021).

The perceived victimization of other issues was most prevalent in Germany. Indeed, content analysis showed that in Germany, coronavirus formed a so-called killer or leader issue (Geiß, 2011), which completely replaced other important issues that the German media intensively discussed before the pandemic (Wolling et al., 2021). In contrast, Pakistan and Indonesia seemed to follow more of a "normal" issue attention pattern, with several issues receiving focus in the public arena (Geiß, 2015): In both countries, besides the coronavirus outbreak, other urgent problems, such as natural disasters, economic crisis, and political instability, were still at the top of the media agenda. As an example, parallel to the pandemic in 2020, 2,925 natural disasters occurred in Indonesia, among them earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, floods, and landslides (Badan Nasional Penanganan Bencana, 2020) which received significant media attention.

Regarding issue fatigue, despite some significant differences, the overall levels were rather similar between the countries. Put differently, in all three countries, we found evidence that citizens reacted with annoyance and satiation toward coronavirus news.

Concerning media use, clear and significant distinctions between the countries emerged for all the types of media we considered. Germans get their information about coronavirus predominantly from public broadcasting, private broadcasting is the most used source in Pakistan, and Indonesians are the biggest newspaper readers. Maybe, the most important message we can take from this is rather simple: Each country has its own specific pattern of media use that might be a result of its technical, economic, and political structure (Hasebrink et al., 2015). However, something that the three countries have in common is that: A traditional media type in each country, respectively, was the most important information source during the crisis. This result may be attributed to our operationalization of (social) media exposure, in which we did not distinguish, for example, if content from public television was received through Facebook or via a "traditional" TV channel. Nevertheless, this approach clearly tells us that – regardless of the channel through which the information was received – traditional media played a crucial role in the information diet of Germans, Pakistanis, and Indonesians at the time of the data collection. As such, we found a cross-national stable importance of traditional news media in times of crisis, which extends the existing knowledge of similar findings in the Western context (e.g., Vermeer et al., 2022) based on insights from two Global South countries.

Turning now to the *relationships* between the media variables and information avoidance, our data point to rather stable associations when considering the *media evaluation variables*: The more citizens of the three countries trusted the coverage, the less they avoided such information. Moreover, in all the countries, citizens experiencing issue fatigue more intensively avoided coronavirus news. Despite some differences in the strength of these associations, it seems that the assumptions developed and tested predominantly in the Global North are also valid in our two countries from the Global South. However, there was one exception: Only in Pakistan was the perceived victimization of other issues associated with information avoidance. One reason for such an association could be that at the time of data collection, the coronavirus cases in Pakistan were quite low, and people were more concerned with other problems, including severe economic crisis, political instability, and protests against inflation. As a result, people could have perceived coverage of Corona as overblown (Vasterman, 2018), thus prompting them to avoid information related to it.

Regarding media use, exposure to private broadcasting was *negatively* associated with information avoidance in Pakistan and Indonesia. As argued previously, in Indonesia, news is characterized by infotainment (Armando, 2019). As noted earlier, media malaise research generally accuses "sensational" or "tabloized" content of having a negative effect on people's attitudes or behavior with regard to politics. Of course, our study does not tell us anything about the attitudes of the people during the coronavirus crisis, but we have reason to believe that it was this infotainment that prevented people from tuning out in Indonesia: Eventually, their news consumption was a less negative experience, which, in consequence, made the crisis and the information on it more bearable. In Pakistan, characteristics of the media landscape made us assume that the omnipresence of news on private TV (Khalid et al., 2021) and the lack of alternatives makes it hard to tune out.

10. Limitations and future research directions

While our data show promising insights into people's issue-specific information avoidance from an international comparative perspective, our approach can be improved and extended.

First, conducting representative surveys in Pakistan and Indonesia is difficult because it is challenging to collect high-quality data from thousands of islands (in the case of Indonesia) and rural areas (in the case of Pakistan), which lack a communication technology infrastructure. Thus, online data collection methods suffer from a bias, since they cannot represent the opinions of marginalized people who lack internet access. Moreover, in Pakistan, no affordable online access panel or similar data acquisition possibility was available. Particularly when merging the data together, this imbalance in sample sizes and sample procedures might cause problems.

Second, the constructs and their measures used in our study are taken from research conducted in the Global North. Due to time and constraint, it was not possible to apply a back and forward translation procedure in this comparative study. Third, we measured information avoidance using self-identification per-

formed by our participants. Future studies could also apply other measures, such as relative or absolute cut-off points (for an overview, see Skoovsgard & Andersen, 2020), to achieve a more coherent picture of the phenomenon.

Apart from these methodological limitations, we see some promising theoretical gateways for future studies on information avoidance. To start with, our study revealed the existence of issue fatigue among citizens of our three countries and identified its association with information avoidance. Scholars theorizing on issue fatigue argue that the ongoing and intensive coverage of an issue is the root cause behind the emergence of fatigue (Gurr & Metag, 2021; Kuhlmann et al., 2014). This is opposed to the widely assumed positive effects of extensive media coverage on, for example, citizens' attention or knowledge (e.g., McCombs, 2005; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Given the cross-cultural stability of the impact of issue fatigue on information avoidance, we see that the negative effects of ongoing and intensive media coverage merit closer scientific inspection in future communication studies.

Finally, we ask what we can learn from this international comparison of information avoidance during a global and long-lasting crisis. Our results suggest that information avoidance regarding coronavirus was less prevalent in Indonesia and Pakistan when compared to Germany. Furthermore, our results lead to assumption that, in Indonesia, less "harmful" coverage – via infotainment – might have contributed to this result. Indeed, it was argued that political news can be more engaging if it is not always the "equivalent of swallowing bitter medicine" (Jones, 2005, p. 9). In this context, we recognize the need to focus on the potential role of infotainment in news coverage in times of crisis and if and what kind of infotainment practices would be accepted in different cultural contexts. Moreover, given the potential explication in Pakistan, we argue for a stronger consideration of restrictions and opportunities in explaining individual media use, as proposed in the economic model on individual behavior (Kirchgässner, 2008). We see this as a worthwhile endeavor, particularly for studies on cross-national differences in media exposure.

References

Adegbola, O., & Gearhart, S. (2019). Examining the relationship between media use and political engagement: A comparative study among the United States, Kenya, and Nigeria. *International Journal of Communication*, *13*, 1231–1251.

Ardèvol-Abreu, A., & Gil de Zúñiga, H. (2017). Effects of editorial media bias perception and media trust on the use of traditional, citizen, and social media news. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *94*(3), 703–724. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699016654684

Arlt, D., Schumann, C., & Wolling, J. (2020). Upset with the refugee policy: Exploring the relations between policy malaise, media use, trust in news media, and issue fatigue. *Communications*, *45*(s1), 624–647. doi: https://doi.org/10.1515/commun-2019-0110

Armando, A. (2019). Public political communication: Ideologies, partisanship and media freedom in Indonesia. In A. Grüne, K. Hafez, S. Priyadharma, & S. Schmidt (Eds.), *Media and transformation in Germany and Indonesia: Asymmetrical comparisons and perspectives*, (pp. 49–71), Frank & Timme.

Atkin, C. (1985). Informational utility and selective exposure to entertainment media. In D. Zillmann & J. Bryant (Eds.), *Selective exposure to communication* (pp. 63-91). Lawrence Erlbaum.

Badan Nasional Penanganan Bencana. (2020). *Sebanyak 2.925 bencana alam terjadi pada 2020 di tanah air, bencana hidrometeorologi mendominasi* [2.925 cases of natural disaster reported in 2020 in Indonesia, dominated by hydrometeorology disaster]. National Agency on Disaster Management. https://bnpb.go.id/berita/sebanyak-2-925-bencana-alam-terjadi-pada-2020-di-tanah-air-bencana-hidrometeorologi-mendominasi

Ball-Rokeach, S. J., & DeFleur, M. L. (1976). A dependency model of mass-media effects. *Communication Research, 3*(1), 3–21.

Beyer, A., & Figenschou, T. U. (2018). Media hypes and public opinion: Human interest frames and hype fatigue. In P. Vasterman (Ed.), *From media hype to Twitter storm: News explosions and their impact on issues, crises and public opinion* (pp. 249–266). Amsterdam University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt21215m0.16

Boukes, M., & Vliegenthart, R. (2017). News consumption and its unpleasant side effect. *Journal of Media Psychology*, *29*(3), 137–147. https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-1105/a000224

Brosius, H.-B., & Kepplinger, H. M. (1995). Killer and victim issues: Issue competition in the agenda-setting process of German television. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, *7*(3), 211–231. https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/7.3.211

Bruin, K. de, Haan, Y. de, Vliegenthart, R., Kruikemeier, S. & Boukes, M. (2021). News avoidance during the Covid-19 crisis: Understanding information overload. *Digital Journalism*, *9*(9), 1286–1302. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2021.1957967

Ceron, A., & Memoli, V. (2015). Trust in government and media slant. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *20*(3), 339–359. https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161215572634

Chakravartty, P., Kuo, R., Grubbs, V., & McIlwain, C. (2018). #CommunicationSoWhite. *Journal of Communication*, *68*(2), 254–266. https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/jqy003

Chao Su, C., Jund Liu, & Baohua Zhou (2020). Two levels of digitalization and internet use across Europe, China, and the U.S. *International Journal of Communication*, *14*, 5838–5859.

CIA – Central Intelligence Agency (2020). *The world fact book*. https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/

Claussen, D. S. (2020). Beware of international comparative research. *Newspaper Research Journal*, *41*(1), 3–7. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739532919898774

Dahlgren, P. (1995). *Television and the public sphere: Citizenship, democracy and the media*. SAGE Publications Ltd.

De Vreese, C. H., & Boomgaarden, H. (2006). News, political knowledge and participation: The differential effects of news media exposure on political knowledge and participation. *Acta Politica*, *41*(4), 317–341. https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.ap.5500164

Demeter, M. (2019). The winner takes it all: International inequality in communication and media studies today. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *96*(1), 37–59. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699018792270

DetikHot (2020). *Reisa Broto Asmoro: Model luar negeri, host Dr Oz hingga jubir COVID-19* [Reisa Broto Asmoro: International model, host Dr Oz until spokesperson COVID-19]. https://hot.detik.com/celeb/d-5047078/reisa-broto-asmoro-model-luar-negeri-host-dr-oz-hingga-jubir-covid-19/2

Din, N. U. (2020). *Media landscape in Pakistan*. https://medialandscapes.org/country/pakistan

Downs, A. (1972). Up and down with ecology: The issue-attention cycle. *Public Interest, 28*, 38–50.

Dunwoody, S. & Griffin, R. J. (2015). Risk information seeking and processing model. In H. Cho, T. Reimer, & K. McComas (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of risk* communication, 102-116. SAGE.

Edelman (2021). *2021 Edelman Trust Barometer*. https://www.edelman.com/trust/2021-trust-barometer

Edgerly, S. (2020, October 15). *Both sides of news avoidance*. The Hill. https://thehill.com/opinion/education/520056-both-sides-of-news-avoidance

Ejaz, W., Bräuer, M., & Wolling, J. (2017). Subjective evaluation of media content as a moderator of media effects on European identity: Mere exposure and the hostile media phenomenon. *Media and Communication*, *5*(2), 41. https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v5i2.885

Emmer, M., & Kunst, M. (2018). Digital citizenship revisited: The impact of ICTs on citizens' political communication beyond the Western state. *International Journal of Communication*, *12*, 2191-2211.

Finance Division Government of Pakistan (2019). *Pakistan Economic Survey 2018-19*. https://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_19/Economic_Survey_2018_19.pdf

Fletcher, R., Kalogeropoulos, A., & Nielsen, R. K. (2020). *News avoidance in the UK remains high as lockdown restrictions are eased*. Reuters Institute, University of Oxford. UK Covid-19 News and Information Project: Factsheet 8. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/news-avoidance-uk-remains-high-lockdown-restrictions-are-eased

Freedom House (2020). *Freedom in the world*. https://freedomhouse.org/countries/freedom-world/scores

Gallotti, R., Valle, F., Castaldo, N., Sacco, P., & Domenico, M. de (2020). Assessing the risks of 'infodemics' in response to COVID-19 epidemics. *Nature human behaviour*, *4*(12), 1285–1293. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-020-00994-6

Geers, S. (2020). News consumption across media platforms and content. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *84*(S1), 332–354. https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfaa010

Geiß, S. (2011). Patterns of relationships between issues: An analysis of German prestige newspapers. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, *23*(3), 265–286. https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edq050

Geiß, S. (2015). *Die Aufmerksamkeitsspanne der Öffentlichkeit*. [The attention span of the public] Nomos.

Golman, R., Hagmann, D., & Loewenstein, G. (2017). Information avoidance. *Journal of Economic Literature*, *55*(1), 96–135. https://doi.org/10.1257/jel.20151245

Gurr, G., & Metag, J. (2021). Examining avoidance of ongoing political issues in the news: A longitudinal study of the impact of audience issue fatigue. *International Journal of Communication*, *15*, 1789–1809.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. *Communication, Society and Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (Eds.). (2012). *Comparing media systems beyond the Western world*. *Communication, Society and Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

Hanitzsch, T., van Dalen, A., & Steindl, N. (2018). Caught in the nexus: A comparative and longitudinal analysis of public trust in the press. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *23*(1), 3–23. https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161217740695

Hasebrink, U., Jensen, K. B., van den Bulck, H., Hölig, S., & Maeseele, P. (2015). Changing patterns of media use across cultures: A challenge for longitudinal research. *International Journal of Communication*, *9*(1), 435–457.

Johns Hopkins Coronavirus Resource Center. (2021). *COVID-19 Map*. https://coronavirus.jhu.edu/map.html

Jones, J. P. (2005). *Entertaining politics: New political television and civic culture*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Kang, D. S., & Mastin, T. (2008). How cultural difference affects international tourism public relations websites: A comparative analysis using Hofstede's cultural dimensions. *Public Relations Review*, *34*(1), 54–56. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2007.11.002

Kassambara, A. (2018). *Machine learning essentials: Practical guide in r*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

Khalid, A., Nawaz, M. B., & Nazeer, J. (2021). The effect of news TV channels coverage during pandemic Covid-19 on youth in Pakistan. *Global Mass Communication Review*, *VI*(I), 302–320. https://doi.org/10.31703/gmcr.2021(vi-i).23

Khokhar, R. (2022, October 9). *Pakistan Covid-19 update: Current trends and future projections*. Stimson. https://www.stimson.org/2020/pakistan-covid-19-update-current-trends-and-future-projections/

Kim, H. K., Ahn, J., Atkinson, L., & Kahlor, L. A. (2020). Effects of COVID-19 misinformation on information seeking, avoidance, and processing: A multicountry comparative study. *Science Communication*, *42*(5), 586–615. https://doi.org/10.1177/1075547020959670

Kinnick, K. N., Krugman, D. M., & Cameron, G. T. (1996). Compassion fatigue: Communication and burnout toward social problems. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, *73*(7), 687–707. https://doi.org/10.1177/107769909607300314

Kirchgässner, G. (2008). *Homo oeconomicus: Das* ökonomische *Modell individuellen Verhaltens und seine Anwendung in den Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften* [Homo oeconomicus: The economic modell of individual behavior and its application in economics and social sciences]. Mohr Siebeck.

Kohring, M., & Matthes, J. (2007). Trust in news media. *Communication Research*, *34*(2), 231–252. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0093650206298071

Kuhlmann, C., Schumann, C., & Wolling, J. (2014). "Ich will davon nichts mehr sehen und hören!" Exploration des Phänomens Themenverdrossenheit [I do not want to hear or see anything about this anymore!" Exploration of the phenomenon issue fatigue.] *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft*, *62*(1), 5–24. https://doi.org/10.5771/1615-634x-2014-1-5

Kühne, R., & Schemer, C. (2015). The emotional effects of news frames on information processing and opinion formation. *Communication Research*, *42*(3), 387–407. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650213514599

Ladd, J. M. (2010). *Why Americans hate the media and how it matters*. Princeton Univ. Press.

Link, E. (2021). Information avoidance during health crises: Predictors of avoiding information about the COVID-19 pandemic among German news consumers. *Information processing & management*, *58*(6). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ipm.2021.102714

Liu, X., & Lu, J. (2020). Comparatives media studies in the digital age: Does the internet erode trust in media? A comparative study of 46 countries. *International Journal of Communication*, *14*, 5822–5837.

Livingstone, S. (2016). On the challenges of cross-national comparative media research. *European Journal of Communication*, *18*(4), 477–500. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323103184003

Luhmann, N. (2000). *The reality of the mass media. Cultural memory in the present*. Stanford Univ. Press.

McCombs, M. (2005). A Look at Agenda-setting: past, present and future. *Journalism Studies*, *6*(4), 543–557. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616700500250438

Metag, J., & Arlt, D. (2016). Das Konstrukt Themenverdrossenheit und seine Messung. Theoretische Konzeptualisierung und Skalenentwicklung. [Issue fatigue and its meas-

urement: Theoretical conceptualization and scale development]. *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft*, *64*(4), 542–563. https://doi.org/10.5771/1615-634X-2016-4-542

Mukaromah, V. F. (2020). *Mengenal Dokter Reisa, Anggota Tim Komunikasi Gugus Tugas Percepatan Penanganan Covid-19* [Getting to know medical doctor Reisa, member of communication team of Covid-19 taskforce]. https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2020/06/09/141500665/mengenal-dokter-reisa-anggota-tim-komunikasi-gugus-tugas-percepatan?page=2

Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Robertson, C., Eddy, K., & Nielsen, R. (2022). *Reuters Institute digital news report 2022*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2022-06/Digital_News-Report_2022.pdf

Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Schulz, A., Andi, S., Robertson, C.T. Nielsen, R.K. (2021). *Reuters institute digital news report 2021*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2021-06/Digital_News_Report_2021_FINAL.pdf

Ng, E., White, K. C., & Saha, A. (2020). #CommunicationSoWhite: Race and power in the academy and beyond. *Communication, Culture and Critique*, *13*(2), 143–151. https://doi.org/10.1093/ccc/tcaa011

Noprian, E. (2020, December 27). *Data positivity rate Covid-19 sampai 27 Desember 2020* [Data positivity rate Covid-19 until 27 December 2022]. Berita Satu. https://www.beritasatu.com/berita-grafik/713881/data-positivity-rate-covid19-sampai-27-desember-2020

Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (2019). *Compendium on gender statistics of Pakistan 2019*. https://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/social_statistics/publications/Compendium_of_Gender_Statistics_2019.pdf

Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (2021). *Population and housing census – 2017 report*. https://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/population/census_reports/ncr_pakistan.pdf

Pathak-Shelat, M., Kotilainen, S., & Hirsjärvi, I. (2015). A polycentric approach to comparative research: Reflections on an international youth media participation study. *Journal of Children and Media*, *9*(3), 386–393. https://doi.org/10.1080/17482798.2015.1053645

Rieger, D., Reinecke, L., Frischlich, L., & Bente, G. (2014). Media entertainment and well-being-linking hedonic and eudaimonic entertainment experience to media-induced recovery and vitality. *Journal of Communication*, *64*(3), 456–478. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12097

RKI (2021). *Aktuelle Daten und Informationen zu Infektionskrankheiten und public health* [Current data and information on infectious diseases and public health]. https://www.rki.de/DE/Content/Infekt/EpidBull/Archiv/2021/Ausgaben/06_21.pdf?__blob=publicationFile

Robinson, M. J. (1976). Public affairs television and the growth of political malaise: The case of "The selling of the pentagon". *American Political Science Review*, *70*(2), 409–432. https://doi.org/10.2307/1959647

Rochyadi-Reetz, M., & Löffelholz, M. (2019). A pressing tale of two countries: Comparing the media system of Indonesia and Germany. In A. Grüne, K. Hafez, S. Priyadharma, & S. Schmidt (Eds). *Media and transformation in Germany and Indonesia: Asymmetrical comparisons and perspectives* (pp. 31-48). Frank et Timme.

Rochyadi-Reetz, M., Maryani, E., & Agustina, A. (2020). Public's media use and gratification sought during Corona virus outbreak in Indonesia: A national survey. *Jurnal Komunikasi Ikatan Sarjana Komunikasi Indonesia*, *5*(1). https://doi.org/10.25008/jkiski.v5i1.381

Schemer, C. (2014). Emotional effects in political communication. In C. Reinemann (Ed.), *Political Communication* (pp. 569–589). De Gruyter Mouton.

Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, agenda setting, and riming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of Communication*, *57*(1), 9–20. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00326.x

Schuck, A. R. T. (2017). Media malaise and political cynicism. In P. Rössler, C. A. Hoffner, & L. Zoonen (Eds.), *The International Encyclopedia of Media Effects* (pp. 1–19). Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118783764.wbieme0066

Schumann, C. (2018). Is topic fatigue an international problem? Four theses. *Global Media Journal (German Edition)*, *8*(2) 1-12. https://doi.org/10.22032/dbt.37780

Shehata, A. (2016). News habits among adolescents: The influence of family communication on adolescents' news media use—Evidence from a three-wave panel study. *Mass Communication and Society*, *19*(6), 758–781. https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2016.1199705

Siebenhaar, K., Köther, A., & Alpers, G. (2020). Dealing with the COVID-19 infodemic: Distress by information, information avoidance, and compliance with preventive measures. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *11*. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2020.567905

Skovsgaard, M., & Andersen, K. (2020). Conceptualizing news avoidance: Towards a shared understanding of different causes and potential solutions. *Journalism Studies*, *21*(4), 459–476. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2019.1686410

Smelser, N. J. (1976). *Comparative methods in the social sciences*. Prentice-Hall methods of social science series. Prentice-Hall.

So, J., & Alam, N. (2019). Predictors and effects of anti-obesity message fatigue: A thought-listing analysis. *Health Communication*, *34*(7), 755–763. https://doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2018.1434736

Soroya, S. H., Farooq, A., Mahmood, K., Isoaho, J., & Zara, S. (2021). From information seeking to information avoidance: Understanding the health information behavior during a global health crisis. *Information Processing & Management*, *58*(2), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ipm.2020.102440

Toff, B., & Kalogeropoulos, A. (2020). All the news that's fit to ignore. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *84*(S1), 366–390. https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfaa016

Toff, B., & Palmer, R. A. (2019). Explaining the gender gap in news avoidance: "News-is-for-men" perceptions and the burdens of caretaking. *Journalism Studies*, *20*(11), 1563–1579. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2018.1528882

Tsfati, Y. (2003). Does audience skepticism of the media matter in agenda setting? *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *47*(2), 157–176. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15506878jobem4702_1

UNDP (2020,). *Human development reports*. http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-index-hdi

van den Bulck, J. (2006). Television news avoidance: Exploratory results from a one-year follow-up study. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *50*(2), 231–252. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15506878jobem5002_4

Vasterman, P. (Ed.). (2018). *From media hype to Twitter storm: News explosions and their impact on issues, crises and public opinion*. Amsterdam University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt21215m0

Vermeer, S., Kruikemeier, S., Trilling, D., & Vreese, C. de (2022). Using panel data to study political interest, news media trust, and news media use in the early stages of the COVID-19 pandemic. *Journalism Studies*, *23*(5-6), 740–760. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2021.2017790

Vina Fadhrotul Mukaromah (2020, June 9). Mengenal Dokter Reisa, Anggota Tim Komunikasi Gugus Tugas Percepatan Penanganan Covid-19. *Kopmas.Com*, https://www.

kompas.com/tren/read/2020/06/09/141500665/mengenal-dokter-reisa-anggota-tim-komunikasi-gugus-tugas-percepatan?page=2

Vowe, G., & Wolling, J. (2001). Die Organisationsfunktion der Netzkommunikation. Wie lassen sich Unterschiede in der Nutzung von Online-Angeboten erklären? [The organizing function of internet-communication. How can differences in the use of online-services be explained?]. In U. Maier-Rabler & M. Latzer (Eds.), *Kommunikationskulturen zwischen Kontinuität und Wandel: Universelle Netzwerke für die Zivilgesellschaft* (pp. 269–285). UVK.

We Are Social (2020). *Digital 2020: Global digital overview*. https://wearesocial.com/digital-2020

Wolipop (2020). *Gaya dr Reisa yang bikin adem saat jumpa pers Corona, ini ciri khasnya* [Here are some calming style pf Reisa (dr. med) during press release on Corona]. https://wolipop.detik.com/celeb-style/d-5104002/foto-gaya-dr-reisa-yang-bikin-adem-saat-jumpa-pers-corona-ini-ciri-khasnya?_ga=2.250396806.1682711801.1649242954-1760642998.1621429181

Wolling, J. (1999). *Politikverdrossenheit durch Massenmedien? Der Einfluß der Medien auf die Einstellungen der Bürger zur Politik* [Political alienation through mass media? The influence of the mass media on citizen's attitudes towards politics]. Westdeutscher Verlag.

Wolling, J., Kuhlmann, C., Schumann, C., Berger, P., & Arlt, D. (2021). *Corona 2020 – Zerreißprobe für die Gesellschaft? Persönliches Erleben und mediale Vermittlung einer multiplen Krise* [Corona 2020 – crucial test for societies? Personal experience and medial mediation of a multiple crisis]. Universitätsverlag Ilmenau. https://doi.org/10.22032/dbt.48770

Wonneberger, A., Schoenbach, K., & van Meurs, L. (2013). Dimensionality of TV-news exposure: Mapping news viewing behavior with people-meter data. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, *25*(1), 87–107. https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/eds004

World Health Organization (2020). *Advice for the public*. https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/advice-for-public

Yamamoto, M., Kushin, M. J., & Dalisay, F. (2017). Social media and political disengagement among young adults: A moderated mediation model of cynicism, efficacy, and social media use on apathy. *Mass Communication & Society*, *20*(2), 149–168. https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2016.1224352

Ytre-Arne, B., & Moe, H. (2021). Doomscrolling, monitoring and avoiding: News use in COVID-19 pandemic lockdown. *Journalism Studies*, *22*(13), 1739–1755. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2021.1952475

Appendix

Operationalization of variables and questions in German, English and Bahasa Indonesia

Variables	Questions		
	English	German	Indonesia
Information avoidance	I avoid information about the coronavirus	Ich vermeide Informationen zum Thema Corona zunehmend.	Saya cenderung menghindari informasi tentang Corona
Media Use on traditional media and their online offers	To inform myself about the coronavirus, I use…	Nachfolgend sind verschiedene Informationsangebote aufgelistet. Bitte kreuzen Sie jeweils an, wie häufig Sie aus diesen in den letzten vier Wochen Informationen über Corona erhalten haben.	Dari manakah anda mendapatkan informasi seputar Corona selama dua minggu terakhir dan berapa sering?
	• National public television and its online channels	• Öffentlich-rechtliche Fernsehsender wie ARD, ZDF und ihre Onlineangebote	• TVRI pusat atau daerah
	• National private television and its online channels	• Private Fernsehsender wie RTL oder SAT.1 und ihre Onlineangebote	• TV swasta nasional (RCTI, SCTV, KOMPAS TV, dll) atau siaran online-nya
	• local newspapers (in print and online)	• Lokale und regionale Zeitungen und ihre Onlineangebote	• Berita media online lokal
	• national newspapers and magazines (in print and online)	• Überregionale Zeitungen und Nachrichtenmagazine sowie ihre Onlineangebote	• Berita media online national
Social media use	Through the social media channels, I get information on the coronavirus from…	Über soziale Medien, Blogs, Webseiten oder Podcasts habe ich Informationen erhalten …	Saya mendapatkan informasi seputar Corona dari Wesbite/Sosial media/podcast..
	• the federal, state, and district governments	• von der Bundesregierung, Landesregierung oder Gemeindeverwaltung.	• pemerintah pusat dan pemerintah daerah
	• citizens who are critical of the decisions of the federal government	• von Bürgerinnen und Bürger, die sich kritisch über die Entscheidungen der Bundesregierung äußern.	• masyarakat yang tidak setuju dengan kebijakan pemerintah
	• citizens who support the decisions of the federal government	• von Bürgerinnen und Bürger, die die Entscheidungen der Bundesregierung im Großen und Ganzen unterstützen	• masyarakat yang mendukung kebijakan pemerintah

Variables	Questions		
	English	German	Indonesia
Media Evaluation			
Media trust	The news I use to access information about the coronavirus is trustworthy	Die Berichterstattung über Corona ist vertrauenswürdig	Berita tentang Corona di media yang saya gunakan dapat dipercaya
	The news I use to access information about the coronavirus is correct	Die Berichterstattung über Corona halte ich für korrekt.	Berita tentang Corona di media yang saya gunakan benar
Victimization of other issue	News on Coronavirus neglects other important news	Die Berichterstattung über Corona verdrängt andere wichtige politische Themen.	Berita tentang Corona di media yang saya gunakan mengabaikan berita penting lainnya
	News on Coronavirus diverts people from other important political issues	Die Berichterstattung über Corona lenkt von anderen politischen Problemen ab.	Berita tentang Corona di media yang saya gunakan mengalihkan perhatian masyarakat dari permasalahan politik penting lainnya
Issue fatigue	News on Coronavirus is annoying	Die Berichterstattung über Corona nervt mich.	Berita tentang Corona di media yang saya gunakan mengganggu/ menyebalkan
	News on Coronavirus is something I don‘t want to see or hear anymore	Die Berichterstattung über Corona mag ich nicht mehr hören und sehen.	Saya tidak ingin melihat dan mendengar lagi berita tentang Corona