

Bachelor's Thesis

DISASTERS IN THE NEWS: HURRICANE IRMA

A cross-cultural comparison of American and Dutch news coverage
about hurricane Irma in Sint Martin

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Abstract

The media and its news coverage have a big influence and possibly shape the public's opinion. An often used method to shape news coverage is framing; certain aspects of a perceived reality are selected and made more noticeable, to stand out in a news text (Entman, 1993). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) found five common frames: conflict frame, human-interest frame, attribution of responsibility frame, morality frame and economic consequences frame. The present study focused on these frames in combination with the topic disaster news. The aim was to measure to what extent American and Dutch news coverage of hurricane Irma in Sint Martin, differs when looking into the five frames by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). A corpus consisting out of 30 American news articles and 30 Dutch news articles was used, to see whether there were differences between both countries and their usage of frames. The analysis showed three significant differences between the Netherlands and US; the US made more use of the human-interest, and economic consequences frame, and the Netherlands made more use of the conflict frame. This could be due to the differences in political relationships the countries have with Sint Martin. The Netherlands has a long political history with Sint Martin, where there is conflict between both parties, which could have explained the usage of the conflict frame. The US considers Sint Martin as an easy reachable and safe vacation destination, which could explain the focus of the articles on the impact that the hurricane had on the citizens and tourists, resulting in the human-interest frame. Furthermore, cultural aspects, such as long-term orientation and masculinity, and journalistic characteristics could have influenced the usage of frames of the US and the Netherlands.

Keywords: Frames, framing, cross-cultural, the Netherlands, Unites States, Hofstede's cultural dimensions, journalistic characteristics

Introduction

Disasters in the news

Natural disasters are inevitable and cause a serious disruption of the functioning of a society or community which leads to widespread material, economic, environmental and human losses (United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction, 2017). Natural disasters happen all over the world and have been occurring more frequently the last decade (Ritchie & Roser, n.d.). When a (natural) disaster happens, millions of citizens turn to the media for facts and updates about the aftermath. Nowadays, disasters from the most remote places of the world can be brought to big audiences of readers, due to multiple forms of media through digital and mobile technology (Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011). However, the way in which disasters are covered differs per media outlet and per journalist. For example, certain parts of the disaster can be pointed out in a news article. Therefore, the media and its news coverage have a big influence and possibly shape the public's opinion.

Framing

An often-used and widely discussed method of shaping news coverage is framing. According to Entman (1993, p. 52) framing is "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation". Some aspects of this definition need further explanation. Perceived reality is a psychological process where an individual's subjective experience of reality is compared to a more objective reality (Pam, 2013). Hence everyone seeks to make sense, organize, classify and interpret our life experiences. The different aspects of the perceived reality can be defined as frames (Goffman, 1974). These frames of the perceived reality, and thus the information that the frames consist of, are selected and made more salient. This means that the aspects are made more noticeable, to stand out in a text, which can lead to a better remembrance (Entman, 1993). When using frames there is a bigger change the reader will perceive, process and store the information in its memory, since the frame becomes the central point around which news is presented (Entman, 1993; Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliveira, 2008).

Valkenburg, Semetko and de Vreese (1999) found four commonly used news frames that can be present in news texts; conflict frame, human-interest frame, attribution of responsibility frame, and economic consequences frame. The *conflict frame* highlights conflict between individuals, groups or institutions to capture the reader's interest (Neuman,

Just & Crigler, 1992). The *human-interest frame* introduces an individual's story or an emotional angle to personalize, emotionalize and dramatize the news (Valkenburg et al., 1999). In the *attribution of responsibility frame* an individual, group or the government is held responsible for causing or solving a certain problem or issue (Valkenburg et al., 1999). The *economic consequences frame* demonstrates the economic consequences an issue, problem or event will have on an individual, group, region, or country (Neuman et al., 1992). Via an experimental study Valkenburg et al. (1999) investigated to what extent specific media frames influence readers' recall. The results showed that news frames have a significant impact on readers' thoughts about the news and their recall of the news.

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) added another frame to the previous four frames: the morality frame. *The morality frame* highlights the event, problem, or issue in terms of a moral system, such as religion. A content analysis was conducted to see which frames were most commonly used in Dutch newspapers and in Dutch television news stories. The study looked at two different news topics: crime and European integration. Results showed that the frames varied per topic. The attribution of responsibility, conflict and economic consequences frame were used most often in stories about European integration, whereas the human-interest frame was used most often in crime stories. This was mostly due to the fact that crime stories describe personal details about victims and perpetrators and thus score higher on the human-interest frame. Furthermore, there was a significant difference between serious types vs. sensationalist news outlets. The attribution of responsibility and conflict frame were mostly used for sober and serious newspapers and television news programs, whereas the human-interest frame was mostly used by sensationalist outlets (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

Framing disaster news

A study that looked into disaster news coverage in relation to Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) frames is the study by Kuttschreuter, Gutteling and de Hond (2011). They studied the media coverage of the Enschede fireworks disaster in the Netherlands, where 22 people got killed due to firework explosions. Kuttschreuter et al. (2011) analyzed 3942 articles, derived from four newspapers. They noticed that after the disaster happened the coverage was high, after which a sharp decline followed, that later changed into a gradual decline. During the media coverage multiple peaks in media attention were identified. The peaks during the periods of gradual and natural decline of the media's attention, stimulated stories with a conflict or attribution of responsibility frame and not a human-interest frame. This is most likely due to certain events or new issues that arose during the peaks of media attention.

Overall, the most frequently occurring frame in the articles, was the attribution of responsibility frame, followed by the conflict frame, the human-interest frame and the economic consequences frame. Furthermore, the human-interest frame was used more often in articles that followed directly after the disaster happened. The results of the study support the assumption that due to amplification of the media coverage the public's risk perception was affected by it.

Study by Yan and Kim (2014) combined the five frames with another news topic, namely the Asiana Airlines crash. On July 6th 2014, an Asiana Airlines flight departed from Shanghai, had a layover in Seoul and eventually crashed on its final destination; San Francisco International airport. Therefore, three parties were involved in the disaster: the US, China and Korea. The study looked into how these three parties framed the disaster. Results showed that the conflict frame was used most often together with the attribution of responsibility frame, whereas the human-interest frame was often presented in combination with the morality frame. All three parties used the attribution of responsibility frame the most often, followed by the morality frame. A possible explanation for this was that the parties involved wanted to attribute the disaster to another party (Yan & Kim, 2014).

Frames across socio-cultural contexts

Frames do not only differ per topic, they can also differ across socio-cultural contexts. Identifying characteristics in the presentation of news can be linked to cultural aspects, since culture affects sociological, political, economical and psychological processes (Hofstede & Bond, 1984). Hofstede developed six cultural dimensions that define a culture: power distance, individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, long-term orientation and indulgence. These dimensions are applicable to every country. The present study will make a cross-cultural comparison between the United States of America and the Netherlands and their usage of frames. Hofstede's dimensions show that the US and the Netherlands score similarly on the following aspects: power distance, individualism, uncertainty avoidance and indulgence. However, the two countries do also differ. The US scores high on masculinity (62/100) and low on long-term orientation (26/100), while the Netherlands scores low on masculinity (14/100) and high on long-term orientation (67/100) (Hofstede Insights, 2019). This is a reflection of the fact that the US is more driven by achievement, success and competition (masculinity) and believes that good and evil is extinguished by clear guidelines and do not feel satisfied with efforts at doing good. The scores of the Netherlands reflect the fact that quality of life determines success (femininity) and long-term orientation results into

the believe that good and evil is subsidiary to the circumstances and therefore do not feel the urge to do more to correct social injustice (Bhagat & Hofstede, 2001).

When looking into the usage of frames in combination with Hofstede's cultural dimensions, previous study by Zhou (2008) showed that countries which score high on long-term orientation are most likely to use the economic consequences frame and are less likely to use the human-interest and conflict frame. Therefore, it is to be expected that Dutch news coverage will contain more often the economic consequences frame, and less often the human-interest and conflict frame than American news coverage.

American and Dutch journalism, and thus news coverage, have certain similarities, and differences. According to Deuze (2002) the majority of American and Dutch journalists are employed in the print media and believe that news media has a strong influential role in society. Dutch journalists claim that they value the reader's comments, but that they would not change their news coverage, because of public criticism. They are considered to have a holistic approach, which means Dutch journalists cover news topics and situations as a whole and not just parts of it. American journalists believe that readers are most interested in breaking news, and news that directly affects them, while Dutch journalists think the readers would rank analysis, above breaking news (Deuze, 2002).

Present study

The present study focused on the natural disaster of hurricane Irma, which occurred in the Caribbean island Sint Martin in 2017 on September 6th. Both the US and the Netherlands have explicitly reported about this disaster. However, there is a big difference between the political relationships that the US and the Netherlands have with Sint Martin, that could interfere with their news coverage. Sint Martin used to be part of the Dutch Antilles, which was a country made up of islands. Since 2010, Sint Martin is not part anymore of the Dutch Antilles, but is operating as an autonomous partner of the Netherlands, with a high degree of internal autonomy and its own government (Government of Sint Maarten, 2010). Therefore, Sint Martin and the Netherlands have a political relationship with a long political history. The US does not have a strict political relationship with Sint Martin. Many US citizens visit Sint Martin as a vacation resort. The US considers Sint Martin as an easy reachable and safe destination (U.S. News, 2019).

The method developed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) was used, but adjusted to fit the topic of disaster news. This study looked into whether the frames are present in the news articles and whether there are any differences regarding the frequencies of the frames

between the US and the Netherlands. In this way, this study applied Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) framework to disaster news in American and Dutch newspapers with the topic disaster news. Additionally, regarding the assumptions about Hofstede's dimensions, a comparison was made between the US and the Netherlands, which checked whether Hofstede's dimensions were accurate for the results of this study. Furthermore, the results of the study were compared with American and Dutch journalistic characteristics by Deuze (2002).

The research question for the present study is: *To what extent are there differences in American and Dutch news coverage of hurricane Irma in Sint Martin, when looking into the frames by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000)?*

The following sub-questions are part of the research question:

1. *To what extent does American and Dutch news coverage differ when looking into Hofstede's cultural dimensions?*
2. *To what extent does American and Dutch news coverage differ when looking into the journalistic characteristics by Deuze (2002)?*

Method

Materials

The corpus of this study consisted out of 60 online news articles about hurricane Irma in Sint Martin, of the United States of America and the Netherlands. The online news articles were published from the 6th of September 2017, when the hurricane hit Sint Martin, till the 6th of October 2017. Thirty articles from the US and thirty articles from the Netherlands were coded, in total 60 articles. The articles were obtained via LexisNexis and online databases of American and Dutch newspapers. The selection criteria for the corpus were that only articles from the top five newspapers according to the circulation numbers of that country could be used. The New York Times, Washington Post, USA Today, Houston Chronicle and The Wall Street Journal were the highest in circulation newspapers for the US (Agility PR, 2018). De Telegraaf, het Algemeen Dagblad (AD), De Volkskrant, het NRC Handelsblad (NRC) and Trouw were the top five newspapers of the Netherlands (van Geuns, 2018). Furthermore, the American articles had to contain the key words 'hurricane Irma' and 'Sint Martin' and the Dutch articles 'orkaan Irma' and 'Sint Maarten'. The articles were selected via the random sampling technique. The search options were narrowed down by using the key words, after which a certain amount of articles was left, 30 articles per country were randomly picked from this amount. Table 1 shows the distribution of the articles per paper. The articles were not equally distributed over the papers, since there were not enough articles available for an equal distribution.

Table 1. Distribution of articles per country, per paper.

	Paper	Number of articles
Unites States	The New York times	7
	Washington Post	6
	USA Today	8
	Houston Chronicle	3
	The Wall Street Journal	6
The Netherlands	De Telegraaf	6
	Het Algemeen Dagblad	7
	De Volkskrant	5
	Het NRC Handelsblad	5
	Trouw	7

Procedure

Due to the usage of the random sampling technique, there was no minimum or maximum set for the amount of words of the articles. The American articles contained on average 1048.83 words with a standard deviation of 620.49, and the Dutch articles contained on average 602.53 words with a standard deviation of 186.46. This difference has not been taken into account for this study.

To identify whether one or multiple of the five frames were present in an article, a question sheet created by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) was used. The question sheet was however adjusted to fit the topic disaster news. All the questions were renamed. For the human-interest frame one question was deleted, namely: 'Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy caring, sympathy, or compassion?', as the focus of this study is on written texts and not visual information. One question was added for the human-interest frame, namely: 'Does the story emphasize on the amounts of deaths due to the disaster?'. When a natural disaster happens, there are often casualties that the media could focus on, in order to generate certain feelings of empathy. Therefore this question about the amounts of deaths due to the disaster was added. The 20 questions can be found in appendix 1.

A qualitative analysis was conducted to look in more depth into an American and Dutch article, which contained the most frequently used significant frame. The American article contained the human-interest frame and the Dutch article the conflict frame. The two articles were selected by looking at the frequency of the frame. The articles that contained the most yes's (1's) for the corresponding questions of the frame were selected. The articles can be read in appendix 2.

To increase the reliability of the study two coders coded the corpus. The first coder coded all 60 articles, and the second coder coded 20 articles. To identify the intercoder reliability, Cohen's Kappa was calculated per frame, which is shown in the results section.

Statistical treatment

To measure the frequency of the frames, the questions by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), were answered for all the articles. A question could be answered with yes (1) or no (0). The mean and standard deviation was calculated per country, per frame. An independent t-test was conducted to see whether there were significant differences between the variable 'country of origin' (the US and the Netherlands) and the variable 'type of frame' (conflict, attribution of responsibility, human-interest, economic consequences and morality frame). To test the

intercoder reliability Cohen's Kappa was calculated per question. To measure the Kappa per frame, the average of the questions of the regarding frames were calculated.

Results

The aim of the present study was to measure to what extent American and Dutch news coverage of hurricane Irma in Sint Martin, differs when looking into the frames by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000).

Firstly, Cohen's Kappa was calculated per question to test the intercoder reliability of this study. In table 2 the average Kappa and average percentage of agreement per frame is shown. The Kappa per question is shown in appendix 3.

Table 2. Intercoder reliability per frame (average Kappa and average percentage of agreement).

	κ	Percentage
Conflict frame	0.003	75
Attribution of responsibility frame	0.47	79
Human-interest frame	0.43	72
Economic consequences frame	0.02	80
Morality frame	0.35	85

The intercoder reliability of the attribution of responsibility ($\kappa = .47$) and human-interest frame ($\kappa = .43$) were rated as moderate, the morality frame ($\kappa = .35$) as fair and the conflict ($\kappa = .003$) and economic consequences frame ($\kappa = .02$) as poor. However, the percentage agreements were all rated as good or very good. Therefore, it was decided to continue the study with coder one's codings.

The study looked into five different frames; conflict, attribution of responsibility, human-interest, economic consequences and morality frame and whether these frames were present in the articles. Table 3 gives an overview of the results.

Table 3. Distribution of the frames per country (mean and standard deviation).

	United States		The Netherlands	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Conflict frame	.15	.25	.33	.33
Attribution of responsibility frame	.31	.20	.35	.16
Human-interest frame	.49	.34	.31	.28
Economic consequences frame	.38	.23	.24	.26
Morality frame	.13	.22	.10	.18

Table 3 shows that the human-interest frame occurred most often in the US ($M = .49$, $SD = .34$), while in the Netherlands the attribution of responsibility frame occurred most often ($M = .35$, $SD = .16$). The morality frame occurred the least often in both the US ($M = .13$, $SD = .22$) and the Netherlands ($M = .10$, $SD = .18$).

To identify the significance of the distribution of the frames between the US and the Netherlands an independent t-test was conducted per frame. The independent t-test showed a significant difference between the US ($M = .15$, $SD = .25$) and the Netherlands ($M = .33$, $SD = .33$) with regard to the conflict frame ($t(58) = -2.32$, $p = .024$). Furthermore, the test showed a significant difference between the US ($M = .49$, $SD = .34$) and the Netherlands ($M = .31$, $SD = .28$) with regard to the human-interest frame ($t(58) = 2.19$, $p = .033$). Another significant difference was found for the economic consequences frame between the US ($M = .38$, $SD = .23$) and the Netherlands ($M = .24$, $SD = .26$) ($t(58) = 2.11$, $p = .039$). There was no significant difference found between the US and the Netherlands regarding the attribution of responsibility and morality frame.

A qualitative analysis was conducted to look in more depth into the articles. The articles can be read in appendix 2. The American article by Ahmed (2017) contained the human-interest frame very clearly. The article focused on the evacuation of citizens and visitors of Sint Martin, a week after the hurricane occurred. The article starts by providing a 'human face' on the disaster, whom is focused on during the rest of the article; "The woman carried a small suitcase, enough for her and her child to try to start over". As the article continues quotes of the woman mentioned before are added, which evoke feelings of empathy and compassion with the reader, such as " 'I can't take it anymore,' she screamed, crumpling onto the tarmac and pounding it with both hands" (Ahmed, 2017). A question part of the human-interest frame was 'Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected

by the disaster?'. This question was answered with 'yes', since it is clearly mentioned in the text; "Her home destroyed, her child forced to seek even the most basic things elsewhere, her country reckoning with the staggering task of rebuilding and, in the much more immediate term, simply surviving". All four corresponding questions with the human-interest frame were answered with 'yes', therefore this is a typical example of an American article containing the human-interest frame.

The Dutch article by den Hartog (2017) contained the conflict frame. The article focused on the emergency support that the government of the Netherlands wanted to give to Sint Martin and on the political relationship between both parties. The article clearly refers to two sides, namely: the government of the Netherlands, and the government of Sint Martin. There is a conflict, and thus disagreement, between both parties, since Sint Martin reproached the Netherlands of not lending support on time after the hurricane occurred; "Het verklaart niet waarom twee hulpvliegtuigen donderdag met vertraging uit Eindhoven vertrokken. Rutte wees gisteren echter alle kritiek van de hand"¹ (Den Hartog, 2017). However, the article does not refer to 'winners and losers' as mentioned in question four of the conflict frame. Nonetheless the conflict frame is evidently present in the article.

¹ It does not explain why two airplanes containing emergency goods left delayed from Eindhoven airport. Rutte ignored all the criticism.

Conclusion and discussion

Conclusion

This study set out to see to what extent there were differences in American and Dutch news coverage of hurricane Irma in Sint Martin, when looking into the frames by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). This study has shown that there are multiple differences between the US and the Netherlands and their coverage of news. The American news coverage made use of the human-interest frame the most, which significantly differs from the Netherlands.

Furthermore, the economic consequences frame was the second most used frame of the American news coverage, which differs significantly as well from the Netherlands. Lastly, the Dutch news coverage contained the conflict frame significantly more often than the American news coverage. For the remaining two frames (attribution of responsibility and morality frame) there were no differences found between the two countries.

Furthermore, a qualitative analysis of one American and one Dutch article containing the significant frame that occurred the most, was conducted. The analysis showed how the significant frames were present in the articles, to obtain a better understanding of the frames. The American article contained the human-interest frame, which was clearly present, since a 'human face' was provided on the disaster, whom was focused on during the whole article. The Dutch article contained the conflict frame evidently, since the article focused on a conflict between two parties; the government of the Netherlands, and the government of Sint Martin.

Discussion

The results of the study can be linked to Hofstede's cultural dimensions, to see whether there are differences between the US and the Netherlands (sub-question 1). The results showed that the US used the human-interest frame more often than the Netherlands, which concurs with previous results found by Zhou (2008). However, the Netherlands did use the conflict frame more often than the US, which contradicts with Zhou's (2008) results. This could be explained by the fact that the Netherlands has a different political relationship with Sint Martin than the US. The Netherlands has a long political history with Sint Martin, where there is conflict between both parties. The Dutch articles about Sint Martin often highlighted these conflicts, and addressed the political issues that were involved with the disaster, whereby the conflict frame was commonly used. The US considers Sint Martin as an easy reachable and safe vacation destination. This could explain the fact that the American articles about Sint

Martin mostly focused on the impact of destruction the hurricane had on the island and how the citizens and tourists were affected by the disaster. This resulted into the usage of the human-interest frame.

Moreover, according to the cultural dimensions of Hofstede, the US is more short-term oriented and masculine, while the Netherlands is long-term oriented and feminine (Hofstede Insights, 2019). The American articles mostly focused on the consequences of the disaster at the moment of writing the articles, which is a short-term orientation. The Dutch articles focused mostly on the political conflicts that occurred between the Netherlands and Sint Martin in the present as well as the past, which could have a big impact on future associations between the parties, which means a long-term focus. These results correspond with Hofstede's cultural dimensions.

The usage of frames could also be influenced by journalistic characteristics (sub-question 2). According to Deuze (2002), American journalists believe that their readers are most interested in breaking news and news that directly affects them. The American articles contained the human-interest frame the most, where a 'human face' is used throughout the article. When using a human example, people can relate to that person, which could cause feelings of empathy and compassion. This coincides with the American journalistic characteristics mentioned by Deuze (2002). Dutch journalists cover news topics and situations as a whole, and not just parts of it (Deuze, 2002). This could also have been the case for their news coverage of Sint Martin. The Netherlands made significantly more use of the conflict frame than the US. When reading the articles it was observed, that the articles not only focused on one side of the disaster. The disaster was described from multiple viewing points, e.g. the Dutch government and the government of Sint Martin, as well as the focus on casualties, but also on economic consequences. Nonetheless, results showed that certain frames were more present than others. The American articles did not describe the disaster as a whole, but mostly highlighted certain parts. This difference might have been due to the journalistic characteristics of the countries.

A few limitations apply to this study. The corpus consisted out of 60 articles, which may have been too small and could have influenced the results. Furthermore, to test the intercoder reliability, a second coder coded 20 out of 60 of the articles. Cohen's Kappa was calculated per frame, and the economic consequences and conflict frame were rated as poor. This could be due to the fact that the questions used to identify the frames can be interpreted in multiple ways by the different coders, and thus resulting in different codings and a poor-

rated Kappa. The qualitative analysis was only conducted for two articles. To increase reliability more articles should be analysed quantitatively.

The present study could be improved when repeated. Due to the relatively small corpus, the new corpus should consist out of more articles, to see if results may differ. Moreover, in the present study images were left out of the articles and have not been looked into. Further research should also focus on the images, to see if this influences the frequency of frames.

The method developed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) was used and applied to another disaster news topic, namely hurricane Irma. To further broaden the theory and method the study can be applied to another topic. There is also still not much research done about Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) frames in combination with Hofstede's cultural dimensions, while this could be useful since culture could possibly influence the frequency of frames.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Question sheet Semetko and Valkenburg (2000)

Conflict frame:

1. Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?
2. Does one party, individual, group, or country reproach another?
3. Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the disaster?
4. Does the story refer to winners and losers?

Attribution to responsibility frame:

5. Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the disaster?
6. Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the disaster?
7. Does the story suggest solution(s) to the disaster?
8. Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the disaster?
9. Does the story suggest the disaster requires urgent action?

Human interest frame:

10. Does the story provide a human example or 'human face' on the disaster?
11. Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?
12. Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the disaster?
13. Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?
14. Does the story emphasize on the amounts of deaths due to the disaster?

Economic frame:

15. Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future due to the disaster?
16. Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved due to the disaster?
17. Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action due to the disaster?

Morality frame:

18. Does the story contain any moral message?
19. Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?
20. Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave? (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000)

Appendix 2: American and Dutch example articles

American article (Ahmed, 2017)

More Than a Week After Irma, St. Martin Is Still Trying to Survive

By Azam Ahmed Sept. 15, 2017

GRAND CASE, St. Martin — The woman carried a small suitcase, enough for her and her child to try to start over.

The arduous passage to evacuate her broken island was nearly done — through the chaos of a port filled with capsized boats, the traffic-choked drive lined with buildings and homes torn from their foundations, and the desperation of the masses at the airport, hoping to flee the wreckage as armed soldiers kept order.

But as the evacuees finally prepared to board their flight, the airline announced that they could not take their suitcases with them. The woman, a civil servant, fell apart.

“I can’t take it anymore,” she screamed, crumpling onto the tarmac and pounding it with both hands. Her home destroyed, her child forced to seek even the most basic things elsewhere, her country reckoning with the staggering task of rebuilding and, in the much more immediate term, simply surviving.

A soldier rushed to comfort the woman while her daughter broke into tears, fighting with the attendant to keep her mother’s bag, a final indignity in a world stripped of its moorings.

Life, for now, is a fragile thing on St. Martin, one of the Caribbean islands hit hardest by Hurricane Irma. I first came here shortly after the storm, when severe food and water shortages were tearing at the social fabric, leaving residents to scavenge for food and, in some cases, fight over what little remained. Now, more than a week after the hurricane, a delicate order has been restored, for the most part.

But there is still almost no fuel or electricity, and food delivery, for now, remains erratic. A near total communication blackout throttles the island. Almost all of the schools are destroyed and will be closed for months, at best.

Hours-long lines wind through the port, as families, tourists and migrant workers alike wait for aid, receiving an odd assortment of items that on some days include frozen chicken and a three-pound bag of mozzarella cheese — on an island with no power and few working appliances to cook or refrigerate them.

With little phone or internet service, residents rely on chance encounters to learn the fate of their neighbors and loved ones. Just outside the local government’s makeshift emergency headquarters, a shriek rang out above the blare of car horns. Luce Kabache, the principal of a kindergarten who survived the storm with her family by hiding in a closet, saw one of her

students and her parents passing in a vehicle. They stopped instantly, threw open the doors, ran into the street and embraced, weeping with relief.

“There’s no news, no way to communicate,” said Ms. Kabache, 56.

The island will have to start from scratch, creating itself anew, physically and psychologically. Tin roofing and smashed concrete line practically every street and alley, the disembodied bits of what was once a haven.

Well beyond the urgent needs — distributing water and food to those without, restoring power and communications, repairing roofs and addressing the trauma inflicted by the storm — a faint possibility for the island’s rebirth is emerging.

For many, though, the future is confined to making it through the day.

“We have the chance to start back from zero,” said Daniel Gibbs, president of the local government on the French side of St. Martin. “It’s going to be tough for my population. They are suffering. But today we have the chance not to rebuild, but to build.”

The island — split between a French and a Dutch side, with a population of 75,000 over 34 square miles — has only just begun to take stock of its losses. The government on the French side has reported an official death toll of 11, but an assessment of the full extent of the islandwide destruction may be weeks or months away.

To many residents, including some doctors working in the emergency room on the French side, the death toll seems much too low. It is widely seen as unfathomable that so many people could have survived the harrowing Category 5 winds, which tore through the eastern Caribbean at speeds of up to 185 miles an hour. Some officials suggest that hundreds may have died in the storm.

“I have no idea how high the death toll will go, but I don’t think it will be in the hundreds,” said Mr. Gibbs, adding that the number of bodies recovered and people reported missing is small for now. “This thing was just so big, I think people believe the death toll has to be higher.”

Whatever new form the island takes, tourism will remain the heart of its economy. How long that will take is anyone’s guess. The storm did not differentiate between the island’s stark socioeconomic differences. Poor areas flooded and suffered the same as the high-cost, pastel-colored communities of Orient Bay.

Along the coastline of Marigot, the nerve center of the economy on the French side, the storm toppled restaurants, shops, banks and open-air markets, leaving them desolate, practically abandoned in the midday heat.

Rémy Thibaud sat on his battered patio in the shade of the only palm tree left standing, yelling into the phone. Around him were the splintered remnants of his restaurant and bakery. The sea, an inviting cerulean once again, offered a cruel contrast to the chaotic mess where he sat, alone and facing economic ruin.

A creditor had called, checking on his next payment for the baking equipment he'd bought two years earlier. What baking equipment, he wanted to know? The oven was filled with seawater when he came to check on his restaurant after the storm.

He hung up.

"Vulture," said Mr. Thibaud, 48, adjusting the motorcycle gloves he was wearing to clear debris. His insurance, he discovered, would not cover anything on the terrace, which was pretty much the entire restaurant. But he would stay, he had decided, and rebuild what he lost.

Many others are leaving. Two of his waiters had already fled. Others, too, have made the difficult choice to abandon their homes, at least temporarily.

Christiane Carvigant sat near the makeshift government offices with her three children, ages 17, 16 and 9, as they prepared to evacuate. The children cannot afford to miss school, she said, especially Emeline, a high school senior who is meant to graduate this year. Her two girls and little boy will stay with family on the French island of Guadeloupe, a little less than an hour away by plane.

The family had survived the hurricane in the bathroom of their home, huddled in the tiny space for four hours as the wind howled and tore at the roof. Ms. Carvigant would rebuild as her children studied. Who knew when they could come back?

A bus came past to collect the children for their flight. Ms. Carvigant began to cry.

"It will be a long time before we can live normally again," she said, "but at least we have our lives."

Ludmen Vincia, a Haitian woman whose children were born in St. Martin, is trapped. Her son, Michael, has special learning needs, and their social worker says he must leave the island to continue studying. But her residency permit expired two years ago, meaning that she cannot leave the island on one of the flights chartered for evacuees. And she cannot send the boy alone — there is no family in Guadeloupe to care for him, and she does not have the money to place him with one.

"I'm not really sure what to do," she said.

The island's physical scars — hillsides robbed of their lush greenery, disemboweled homes stacked on the roadside — are a constant reminder of all that has been lost, and the unrecognizable transformation the island endured in just a few hours of Irma's fury.

But the smashed storefronts from robberies that occurred in the aftermath of the storm have created a different kind of crisis.

The lawlessness that prevailed in the first days after the storms — when some people moved from scavenging food for survival to pillaging appliances, jewelry and cellphones — shattered the image many residents had of their island.

people did to this country," said Rosette Francillette, a 55-year-old resident of the lower-income neighborhood of Sandy Grounds, clutching her granddaughter in her arms. "I

understand stealing groceries, but these wicked people destroyed everything that wasn't already destroyed."

The beauty store where she works, called Lipstick, was ransacked, she said, leaving her jobless.

"I love my country, but I hate that people did this," she said.

Still, having peered over the precipice of natural catastrophe and social disorder, others have found reasons to be hopeful.

At a storm shelter in the neighborhood of Concordia, a motley crew assembled in the emptied classrooms of a converted elementary school. A Dominican mother quietly bathed her children over a drain in the playground, while homeless men reeking of rum stumbled around the hallways and the windswept parking lot.

Alvin Carrasco squatted beneath a tree, manning a grill fashioned from a metal tray and fueled by the branches and detritus left from the storm. Meat donated by a store owner near to where Mr. Carrasco has been cleaning the streets sat atop the metal grating, lightly sizzling.

"This is the best time to stay," he said. "I was here before the storm, suffering, not getting any work."

With the cleanup and construction in the months and years to come, he might rebuild his life, too.

"This is my chance to start all over," he said.

Dutch article (Den Hartog, 2017)

Hoe een orkaan uit '95 nu de hulp dwarsboomt

AD/Algemeen Dagblad

9 september 2017 zaterdag

TOBIAS DEN HARTOG

Hoe precair de verhouding is, blijkt als minister Ronald Plasterk donderdag opdracht wil geven meer militairen de straten van Sint-Maarten op te sturen. Het eiland staat te springen om hulp, maar als zelfstandig land moet premier Marlin daar toestemming voor geven. En dat valt niet mee. Het dak van Marlins werkplek is er afgewaaid. De telefoonlijnen liggen plat.

Uiteindelijk krijgt Plasterk zijn 'mandaat', maar het tekent de relatie tussen Nederland en Sint-Maarten. Of zoals Plasterk het gisteren zei: „Wat we nu doen, doen we op basis van boerenverstand. Meer kan ik er niet van maken.”

Zo gestroomlijnd als de regering reageerde na bijvoorbeeld de MH17-ramp, zo geïmproviseerd doet de hulpverlening na de orkaan Irma aan. Premier Rutte beklemtoonde gisteren daarom: „We laten Sint-Maarten niet in de steek.”

Daarmee hoopt hij de kritiek weg te nemen op de hulp die Nederland sinds woensdag biedt. Waarom werden niet eerder en meer militairen ingezet om plunderingen te voorkomen? Waarom wordt de gevolmachtigd minister van Sint-Maarten, dé vertegenwoordiger van het land, niet bij de crisisberaden betrokken? Waarom hebben de Fransen op hun deel van Sint-Maarten wél contact met bestuurders? Waarom vertrok een KDC-10 vrachtvliegtuig met militairen en hulpgoederen uren te laat? Net als een C-130 Hercules?

Autonomie

De houding van Nederland is deels het gevolg van de autonomie die Sint-Maarten opeiste. Het eiland is weliswaar deel van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, het is tegelijk een zelfstandig land. Met een eigen regering en premier. Ironisch genoeg is dat deels het gevolg van een andere orkaan. Nadat Luis in 1995 een spoor van vernieling over het eiland trok, kwam de wederopbouw traag op gang. Sint-Maarten verweet Nederland gekmakende bureaucratie, zoals bij de herbouw van huizen. Daardoor verslechterde de verhouding zienderogen. De bevolking voelde zich in de steek gelaten. Zo erg dat zij via een referendum in 2000 aanstuurde op splitsing. In 2010 werd Sint-Maarten autonoom.

Sindsdien is de verhouding met Nederland verder verslechterd, zegt historicus Gert Oostindie. „Sint-Maarten heeft een geschiedenis van integriteitproblemen. Corrupte politici, witwassen, Italiaanse maffia. Dat speelt al decennia, maar verergerde nadat het een apart land werd. Nederland bemoeit zich er in toenemende mate mee en dat leidt tot conflicten. Bestuurders daar hebben moeite met de kritiek.”

„De lijnen zijn gewoon minder kort geworden”, erkent een betrokkene. Politiek Den Haag nam zelfs de regie niet toen woningen van bestuurders in puin bleken te liggen en premier Marlin telefonisch onbereikbaar was. Inmiddels accepteert die 'bestuurlijke bijstand' vanuit Den Haag. Specificeren wat dat inhoudt, wil echter niemand.

Tekenend lijkt ook dat de gevolmachtigd minister van Sint-Maarten, die in Den Haag zetelt, ní-et bij de crisisberaden betrokken is. „We vergaderen over de Néederlandse hulp”, verklaarde

Rutte summier. De minister wordt weliswaar op de hoogte gehouden, maar aanschuiven is kennelijk een brug te ver.

Het verklaart niet waarom twee hulpvliegtuigen donderdag met vertraging uit Eindhoven vertrokken. Rutte wees gisteren echter alle kritiek van de hand. „Ik geef daar geen oordeel over. Iedereen doet al het mogelijke of zelfs onmogelijke. Het is ook niet zonder risico, want we opereren in de context van de zwaarste storm die ooit over het eiland is getrokken." Met de moeizame afwikkeling van orkaan Luis in het achterhoofd omzeilt Rutte ook vragen over wederopbouw. „Dat is nu écht nog niet aan de orde", zegt hij kortaf.

Corrupte politici, witwassen, Italiaanse maffia. Dat speelt er al decennia

Appendix 3: Cohen's Kappa

		κ	Percentage
Conflict frame	Q1	.177	90%
	Q2	.000	55%
	Q3	-.167	65%
	Q4	.000	90%
Attribution to responsibility frame	Q5	.286	75%
	Q6	.615	90%
	Q7	.468	75%
	Q8	1.00	100%
	Q9	-.023	55%
Human-interest frame	Q10	.600	80%
	Q11	.000	50%
	Q12	.238	60%
	Q13	.494	80%
	Q14	.798	90%
Economic consequences frame	Q15	.118	70%
	Q16	.000	85%
	Q17	-.071	85%
Morality frame	Q18	.318	85%
	Q19	.459	90%
	Q20	.273	80%