

***News Frame of Typhoon Haiyan Disaster Coverage: A Comparative Study of
Philippines Inquirer and The Wall Street Journal News Sites***

Lim Lai Hoon, Tunku Abdul Rahman University College, Malaysia
Ngori Kok Shen, Tunku Abdul Rahman University College, Malaysia
Tan Ching Mei, Tunku Abdul Rahman University College, Malaysia

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Abstract

Natural disasters, which strike without warning and leaves limited scope of preparedness, is a potentially traumatic event that is collectively experienced with severe consequences. With its high news values, natural disasters gain attention of the media, and therefore is given foremost and extensive coverage, particularly on news sites which allow readers to access to the updates anytime anywhere. Natural disaster coverage is always of great concern for people as it involves massive deaths, human suffering and brings huge impact to the aftermath life of the victims. Debates were going on that media depicted natural disaster from different perspectives, especially between the Asian media and the Western media, due to the geographical, cultural, political interest and ideological divergences. Therefore, by taking Typhoon *Haiyan* news coverage as case study, this research aims to investigate the differences of news frame featured in the Asian local media, *Philippine Inquirer* and Western media, *The Wall Street Journal* news sites. The findings indicated the news framing of Typhoon *Haiyan* disaster showed resemblance in primary news source and theme coded for both *Philippine Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal*. Both local and international news media “mediatised” disaster which has gone beyond national spectrum of interest. The proliferation of new media, irrespective of Western or Asian media, has transformed the world of disaster into a global context.

Keywords: natural news disaster, framing, Typhoon *Haiyan*

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Introduction

Natural disaster news coverage is increasingly getting popular concern as it does not only involve enormous deaths and human suffering, but also brings huge impact to the life aftermath. Natural disaster strikes anytime without warning and leaves limited scope of preparedness (Hanusch, 2012). It may come in series or time-delimited and is a potentially traumatic event that is collectively experienced with an acute onset. The consequences of natural disaster are severe from physical, social, psychosocial, social economic, social demographic and even political perspectives (McFarlane & Norris, 2006; Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz, 2012, p.607).

In time crisis, effective communication is important for response, recovery and next-stage preparedness for the local and international community. At this critical moment, people are relying on mass media for updated information. People trust the information provided by media even though there is no further justification for the natural hazards. People are outrageous seeing the calamity of others but yet very interested in knowing more about the mass destruction due to the natural disaster (ZarqaAli, 2013). Apparently, what average citizens come to know about the disaster are primarily learned from mass media (Quarantelli, 1991). For the past few decades, natural disaster news has taken up foremost and extensive coverage of the mass media (Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz, 2012).

Natural disaster reporting on the media always gains substantial audiences. Thus, when a big natural disaster happened, media suspend regular programming and start broadcast 'disaster marathons' by providing updated information and ongoing occurrences (Liebes, 1998). Reporters have to cover disaster news in hurry and provide developments of the disaster. In an unknown and hazard situation, they have to immediately reach the scene to get exclusive and first-hand news in the rush. According to Zarqa (2013), hype is accelerated by journalistic competition with a drive of being the first during disaster. ¹As during Hurricane *Katrina*, media were unable to gather contextually rich information about the causes and consequences of natural disaster (Miller & Goidel, 2009).

Given the point of people keep turning to mass media for providing description of what has actually occurred, the community recovery progress and the dreadful impact of the disaster, it is important to have constant studies on how media depict natural disaster, especially between the Asian media and the Western media which may report from different perspectives due to the geographical, cultural, political interest and ideological differences (Broinowski, 1999; Leach, 2005; Knight, 2005). As such, by taking Typhoon *Haiyan* disaster as case study, this research aims to examine the differences of news frame featured in the Asian media and the Western media, namely *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites (NPR, "Nothing is fixed", 26 Jan 2014).

The emergence of online news has posed a challenge to the traditional mass media particularly in the production routine and presentation format. News websites is a great source of news which involves lesser gatekeepers. The users could access to the

¹Typhoon *Haiyan* was reported as the strongest storm recorded at landfall, and unofficially the strongest typhoon ever recorded in terms of wind speed, which happened in Philippines on 8 November 2013, killed at least 6,000 people in that country alone ("Nothing is fixed", 26 Jan 2014).

news updates of their interest for 24 hours a day with a wide selection of news content (Mellese & Müller, 2012). *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites were chosen as they carry the highest circulation, both in printed and digital format, in Philippines and United States respectively (“Top 10 newspaper by circulation”, 30 April 2013; “Inquirer top newspaper, says poll”, 7 April 2014).

Research Questions

Framing analysis is used in this study to examine the selection of ‘some aspects of a perceived reality’ that makes those aspects more salient to a media audience. Framing is useful in analyzing, interpreting, organizing and understanding the information in order to define problem, diagnose causes or make judgments (Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz, 2012, p.608). Alatas (1997) criticized that framing is the journalistic routine of giving a news article a central theme by focusing on certain aspects of a multifaceted event. Different frames define an event or issue causes this same event or issue to be understood in different ways (Gandy, 2001). As pointed by Price and Tewksbury (1997), how the news is presented will affect public opinion about the reported stories and actors involved in it. Thus, it is important to understand framing scheme. The framing scheme of this study is the news theme and news source. The framing scheme examined themes and primary source emphasized on *Haiyan* disaster news coverage on *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites. According to Tankard (2001), several news features such as headlines, subheads, photographs, photo caption and leads commonly convey frames. Thus, the news frames of *Haiyan* disaster coverage are addressed in the following research questions:

RQ1: What are the themes of Typhoon *Haiyan* news coverage on *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites?

RQ2: Who are the news sources in Typhoon *Haiyan* coverage on *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites?

Entman (1991) suggested that the possible frames for a particular event can be reliably detected by comparing the journalistic texts of two or more news-media outlets. Based on the Typhoon *Haiyan* disaster, this study focuses to compare cross-media framings, between Philippines and USA. Particularly, this comparative study investigates the themes and the news sources of Typhoon *Haiyan* coverage on *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites and highlights whether these themes change over time. The study provides an insight and better understanding on the news coverage of Asian natural disaster from the perspectives of both Asian and Western media. It is critically important to understand how the Asian disaster news is presented on Asian media and Western media. News stories often reflect the predominant cultural norms, political power structures, and media systems in which journalists work (Hallin & Manini, 2004). According to Hanitzsch (2007), journalists working in Asian countries are less likely to openly challenge the powerful. As such, this study compares the two news media from different countries because they have different political power structures and media systems that reflect broader differences in professional norms, cultural values and social ideologies (Frith & Mueller, 2003). Through a comparison of the news frames of Typhoon *Haiyan*

coverage on *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites, we address the third research question as follows:

RQ3: What are the differences of news frame featured in Typhoon *Haiyan* news stories on *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites?

Methodology

Approach

This study employs quantitative and qualitative content analysis to examine how two online news sites frame the *Haiyan* disaster news. The study followed Matthes and Kohring's approach (2008) by coding different frame elements of the text.

Scope

The unit analysis is the individual news story. 'Haiyan' stories uploaded on *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal* news sites were downloaded. The database search covered a 2-month time frame from 8 November 2013 which is the occurrence day of Typhoon *Haiyan* to 8 January 2014 by using 'Haiyan' keyword search. To qualify as a unit analysis, a news story has to relate to Typhoon *Haiyan*. After the process of screening and filtering, the total data set contained 509 stories that were related to Typhoon *Haiyan* found. *Philippines Inquirer* produced 336 stories whereas 173 stories were from *The Wall Street Journal*.

Variables

Based on past researches (Knight, 2005; Barnhurst & Mutz, 1997; Worawong, Wang & Sims, 2007), coding scheme was initially constructed. The coding variables included name of the news site, the dateline of the story, the headline, the first two paragraphs of the news story, the primary source of the news story-local government, foreign government, police, medical authorities, victims' relatives and friends, business organizations, non-government organizations, benefactors, eyewitness/victims, locals, prominent figures, religious groups, media and expert and the news theme –politics of local government, economy, health and environment, human interest, victim count, relief, fund-raising & donation, science & facts, communication, search & rescue, damage, recovery, rehabilitation & aftermath, religious matters, crime, politic of foreign government, aid effort, refuge and historical & tourism.

The categories of news theme used were initially drawn from the study of Knight (2005) which examined media reportage of the 2004 Tsunami. The appropriate news of each story was coded based on the story focus in the headline and lead. If the coder could not identify the theme from the story's headline and lead, then the rest of the story is examined until the theme is identified. Primary source in the study refers to the source the person who was first mentioned or quoted in the article. Source categories were also initially drawn based on two studies that focused on natural disasters (Knight, 2005; Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz, 2012).

Procedure

After defining coding categories, the coders pre-tested twenty *Haiyan* related news articles posted on *Philippines Inquirer* and *The Wall Street Journal*. After the pre-test, the coders resolved their disagreement through discussions to achieve intercoder agreement. This process was repeated twice. Then, changes were made to categories of news theme and sources. Three coders then separately coded all the 509 news stories.

After the coding process, through quantitative content analytic technique, the total of each category of source and theme was counted. Then, the result was analyzed by using interpretive qualitative approach.

Literature Review

The Concept of ‘Disaster’ and the Role of Media

Disasters, either natural or manmade, have always been one of the top news stories that best captured the general public’s attention (Pew Research Center, as cited in Houston, Pfefferbaum&Rosenholtz, 2012). The term ‘disaster’ has been defined and described meaningfully by the disaster researchers, as ‘an event concentrated in time and space’ or ‘mass emergencies’ that brings observable negative consequences, like ‘physical harm and social disruption’ (Fritz, 1961; NSC, 2011; Perry, 2006, as cited in Lindell, 2013). The characteristics of disasters, being ‘unusual, dramatic, and often have great impact upon people’s lives’ have made disasters newsworthy, and driven by commercial imperatives that news outlets are ‘expected’ to report them (Belle, 2000). In short, media are pressured to report accurate information speedily and spread to the largest audience possible (Kodrich&Laituri, 2005).

A disaster’s concentration in time can be defined according to temporal periods, e.g. pre-impact, trans-impact, and post-impact (Lindell, 2013). According to the emergency management of National Governors Association (NGA), the time frame can also be understood through the activities in different phases, e.g. hazard mitigation, disaster preparedness, emergency response, and disaster recovery (Lindell, 2013). The ‘issue-attention cycle’ proposed by Downs, attempted to illustrate the different stages of a disaster: (1) a pre-problem stage, (2) alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm, (3) realizing the cost of significant progress, (4) gradual decline of intense public interest, and (5) a post-problem stage (Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz, 2012). But what is crucial, is the amount of time since a disaster occurred, not only affects individuals and community at large in terms of needs, activities and concerns, but also influences the new coverage on the disaster over time (Houston, Pfefferbaum&Rosenholtz, 2012).

Media involvement in disasters has contributed significantly to those who are in areas at risk, victims or those who show concerns. Though not exclusively, but yet recognizing the contribution of media, the Disaster Research Center has given the credit to mass media as the primary source of information that fulfills the average citizens’ and officials’ expectations about disasters, that they know and learn from the disasters that happened (Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz, 2012). The roles of mass media, can range from communicating the risk warning, describing the real event, informing the public about post event, to contributing to individual and

community recovery and resilience when reporting a disaster (Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche & Pfefferbaum, as cited in Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz, 2012).

Being an integral part of the social and political response to disasters, news media helps to foster immediate reaction of the international relief efforts, particularly in forming public opinions and shaping their demands for government policies such as the preparedness and prevention efforts for future disasters, as well as determining their support for relief aids (Belle, 2000). Besides, news media have also been 'shaping citizens' knowledge of natural disasters' (Cowan, McClure & Wilson, 2002).

In the 1970s, a survey done in the United States reported that 80 percent of respondents, whom has no direct experience with the natural disaster, relied heavily on firstly, the electronic media and secondly, the newspapers for disaster information (Wenger, Dkys, Sebok & Neff, as cited in Belle, 2000). Belle (2000) analyzed United States news coverage of foreign disasters using a set of contextual influences variables on the amount of coverage, indicating 'distance' of the event from United States demonstrates expected relationship with the amount of coverage when the magnitude of the disaster event is controlled.

Though it might suggest disaster news own great prominence in the media, nevertheless disaster reporting has also been claimed to influence people's judgments about the actual damage and their preparation towards disasters (McClure & Williams, 1996). Studies found that media coverage on disasters are lacking of coverage comprehensiveness, contain inaccuracies, overdramatize social and individual reactions, and interpret statistics without context (Wilkins & Patterson, 1987; Hiroi, Mikami & Miyata, 1985, as cited in Cowan, McClure & Wilson, 2002). Assuming representation of the disaster occurred is accurate, media have nevertheless, presented 'an inaccurate image of mass devastation' to the public (Cowan, McClure & Wilson, 2002).

The effects of disaster reporting towards its audiences as well as the normative roles of media have further discussed and challenged in the recent studies. Simon Cottle (2014) staged disaster in a global context, has adopted a more critical view. He questioned the way disasters was conceptualized, and argued that 'what's ruled in and what's ruled out' carries political or ideological implications. Echoed by Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz (2012), who questioned the implications of disaster coverage on wider political conversations about disaster-related issues, also urged an investigation on the normative function of media in relation to disasters.

The contemporary disaster has no longer confined geographically. Cottle (2014) argued using the studies of Hurricane Katrina, what was once 'national' has turned 'global' with the emergence of new media. Examine the roles of new media, specifically news sites, in the formation of a disaster community in Cyberspace after the Gujarat earthquake happened in India in 2001, Kodrich and Laituri (2005) wrote that the advancement of new technology, which is interactive in nature, has dramatically changed the way media report disaster, forcing the media to take 'an active humanitarian role' than the role traditionally taken.

Furthermore, media's involvement with the disaster has exceeded what was once solely reporting disaster news, but has intervened in disaster management

(Kodrich&Laituri, 2005). Murthy (2013) argued that blogs functioned as a democratizing agent in Sri Lanka during the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami, where the new media has given the 'local' journalists 'global voices' to challenge disaster coverage which they found problematic. Also, drawing the case of Typhoon *Haiyan* which swept across Philippines in November 2013, Cottle (2014) quoted the efforts of Google, in developing online tools - 'crisis map' and a 'people finder' to assist people in the immediate disaster aftermath. In his conclusion, he claimed that the 'mediated disasters in a global age' today have become increasingly dependent on media and communications, and thus causing disasters to be 'defined, dramatized and publicly constituted' (Cottle, 2014).

Theoretical Framework

Framing and Framing Analysis

Entman's definition of 'framing' is "possibly the most widely accepted" (David, Atun, Fille&Monterola, 2011, p.330) amongst the scholars. Matthes (2009) in his analysis of media framing studies found that Entman's definition is the most influential definition in the studies of media frames. Framing means 'selecting 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 for the item described' (Entman, 1993, p.52). He suggested that framing functions to define problem, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies. Recognizing the power of news media coverage, text and visual presentation in framing and formulating a picture of an issue in the mind of the public within a political realm, Entman (2004, p.6) argued that media frames are able to 'stimulate support or opposition to the sides in a political conflict' through emphasizing elements of depicted reality while de-emphasize elements that construct a counter frame.

Framing can occur generally within a culture, or in the minds of professional communicators and members of the lay public, or in specific media texts such as articles and broadcasts (Entman, Matthes&Pellicano, 2009). Frames are 'selective' in nature, and therefore suggesting ideas that construct reality in a certain way (Matthes, 2012). Through selecting and highlighting some information at the expense of others, news frame is capable of shaping the mind of audiences and influencing their interpretations towards issues, candidates and events. In short, framing is considered 'an active process of creating, selecting, and shaping the frames' (Matthes, 2012).

Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) suggested news frames can be analyzed at macro and micro levels. Macro level emphasizes on the mode of presentation used to disseminate information which communicates an underlying schemas among the audiences, while micro describes how audience use the information and presentation features to make sense of an issue. Besides, news frame can also be studied from media and audience perspective (Matthes, 2009). Matthes (2012) commented in his studies on framing politics that although news frames are impactful, however, audience frame towards the political issues is not always consistent with what was suggested by political elite or the news media. In addition, frames tend to change over time, depending on whether the issues and events are well known (Houston, Pfefferbaum&Rosenholtz, 2012).

Framing analysis today is found commonly used in news framing studies at national level (Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz, 2012; Yang & Ishak, 2012; David, Atun&Vina, 2010; Dahmen, 2010) and recently, at cross-national level (Mellese & Muller, 2012; Oh, Hove, Paek, Lee, Lee & Song, 2012; Kwon & Moon, 2009). Amongst these studies, traditional news media like newspapers, broadcast and newsmagazine are commonly studied.

David, Atun and Vina (2010) analyzed news framing on population debate in Philippines comparing source and news frames in broadsheet newspapers. Even though some started to investigate online news reports, news sites and blogs, but comparative research in recent years has indicated a growing interest in exploring framing at a larger context, sampling the new media. Kwon and Moon (2009) took a cross-national approach, and ran a cross-media investigation between newspapers and blogs on collectivism in news framing. They highlighted two important aspects in the development of framing research. Firstly, “framing” carried cultural and national differences with the emergence of globalization. Secondly, the embedded values, based in current national interests, political ideology and cultural norms and values, that build the common frames bridging journalists’ news and public’s interpretation, need to be studied in the new media environment. Capturing a similar vision, Ohet *al.* (2012) conducted a cross-national study of US and Korean newspaper coverage, comparing the cross-cultural variations in news frames and sources.

Though studies of how disaster news is framed are not new, yet very few studies can be found on natural disasters. One of them is Li’s (2007) study of news framing on the television coverage of a human-made disaster – the September 11 terrorist attacks. The study suggested a coverage frame scheme based on Entman’s conceptualization of framing, and it has later adopted by Houston, Pfefferbaum & Rosenholtz(2012) in their studies of news framing of natural disasters. Considering its applicability in analyzing disaster news, six main categories of coverage frames have been used to analyze the leads and headlines in disaster news, namely (1) political; (2) economic; (3) environment; (4) human interest; (5) criminal; and (6) other. Investigating the newspaper and news broadcasts coverage of natural disasters in the United States over a period of ten years, they also found that, disaster news today tend to emphasize on disaster economic while giving attention to the current impacts of disaster on humans, the built and natural environment, as well as the affected state and region. However, very little convincing evidence was shown that media play a role in contributing to the aspects of disaster preparedness, recovery and resilience (Houston, Pfefferbaum&Rosenholtz, 2012).

Finding and Discussion

To determine the news sources and the news themes appeared in Typhoon *Haiyan* news coverage, a total of 509 stories were content analyzed within two-month (62 days) of *The Wall Street Journal (WSJ)* and *The Philippines Inquirer (PI)* reporting. Of this total, 173 items or 33.99 per cent of stories appeared in *WSJ* whereas 336 items or 66.01 per cent appeared in *PI*. The news coverage of Typhoon *Haiyan* in *PI*, happened in the country in which the media operates, is double in number of stories of *WSJ*. Table 1 below shows the total number of news and the percentage of Typhoon *Haiyan* coverage in *WSJ* and *PI*.

News sites	Number of News	Percentage of News
<i>The Wall Street Journal (WSJ)</i>	173	33.99
<i>The Philippines Inquirer (PI)</i>	336	66.01
Total	509	100.00

Table 1: The total number of news and the percentage of Typhoon *Haiyan* coverage in *WSJ* and *PI*.

The finding indicated that 67.63 and 62.50 per cent of the total news stories were covered, respectively for *WSJ* and *PI*, in the first 2 weeks (8/11/2013 – 22/11/2013) when the typhoon story was first reported. In the following weeks (23/11/2013 – 7/12/2013), the number of stories dropped significantly - 43.35 and 38.69 per cent each for *WSJ* and *PI*. Entering the 2nd month, the total number of stories covered by *PI* was 46 (13.69 per cent) whereas *WSJ* reported only 14 news (8.09 per cent) out of the total coverage for the entire study period. Table 2 shows the comparison of *WSJ* and *PI* news coverage from stage to stage.

News Site	Stage 1*		Stage 2*		Stage 3*		Stage 4*		Total
	No. of News	%	No. of News	%	No. of News	%	No. of News	%	
<i>WSJ</i>	117	67.63	42	24.28	10	5.78	4	2.31	173
<i>PI</i>	210	62.50	80	23.81	31	9.23	15	4.46	336

Table 2: The comparison of *WSJ* and *PI* news coverage from stage to stage.
 * Stage 1 (8/11/2013 – 22/11/2013); Stage 2 (23/11/2013 – 7/12/2013); Stage 3 (8/12/2013 – 22/12/2013); Stage 4 (23/12/2013 – 8/1/2014).

News stories were coded for the primary source and the main theme based on the first two paragraphs of the stories. This study found 14 categories of news sources cited by *WSJ* and *PI* in the news coverage of Typhoon *Haiyan*, which include ‘local government’ (232 items or 45.58 per cent), ‘foreign government’ (22 items or 4.32 per cent), ‘police’ (8 items or 1.57 per cent), ‘medical authorities’ (2 items or 0.39 per cent), ‘victim’s relatives and friends’ (10 items or 1.96 per cent), ‘business organizations’ (28 items or 5.50 per cent), ‘non-government organizations’ (NGO) (49 items or 9.63 per cent), ‘benefactors’ (22 items or 4.32 per cent), ‘eyewitness or victims’ (32 items or 6.29 per cent), ‘locals’ (5 items or 0.98 per cent), ‘prominent figures’ (8 items or 1.57 per cent), ‘religious groups’ (10 items or 1.96 per cent), ‘media’ (65 items or 12.77 per cent), and ‘expert’ (16 items or 3.14 per cent). Table 3 below shows the comparison between *WSJ* and *PI* in news sources.

Source	WSJ		PI		Total	
	No. of News	%	No. of News	%	No. of News	%
Local government	55	31.79	177	52.68	232	45.58
Foreign government	14	8.09	8	2.38	22	4.32
Police	3	1.73	5	1.49	8	1.57
Medical Authorities	1	0.58	1	0.30	2	0.39
Victim's relatives and friends	2	1.16	8	2.38	10	1.96
Business Organizations	9	5.20	19	5.65	28	5.50
NGO	21	12.14	28	8.33	49	9.63
Benefactors	6	3.47	16	4.76	22	4.32
Eyewitness /victims	12	6.94	20	5.95	32	6.29
Locals	3	1.73	2	0.60	5	0.98
Prominent figures	7	4.05	1	0.30	8	1.57
Religious groups	0	0.00	10	2.98	10	1.96
Media	29	16.76	36	10.71	65	12.77
Expert	11	6.36	5	1.49	16	3.14
TOTAL	173.00	100.00	336.00	100.00	509.00	100.00

Table 3: The comparison between *WSJ* & *PI* in news sources

The finding indicated the top three sources cited by both *WSJ* and *PI* were the same, namely 'local government', 'NGO' and 'media'. The total cited sources for 'local government', 'NGO' and 'media' of *Haiyan* stories for both news sites separately were 232 items (45.58 per cent), 49 items (9.63 per cent) and 65 items (12.77 per cent). The news sources cited the least in all the stories were 'medical authorities' and 'locals' in which the percentage for each category is less than one.

Sources of 'local government' were widely cited by *PI* (177 items or 52.68 per cent) and *WSJ* (55 items or 31.79 per cent). They were given enormous highlight as the people whose statements were primarily, at time, extensively emphasized. This was followed by news source from 'media' in which the reporting is a compilation of data and facts by the journalists based on the researches done. Those stories with the 'media' as the primary source take up 36 items (10.71 per cent) in *PI* and 29 items

(16.76 per cent) in *WSJ*. On the other hand, the ‘NGO’ was another preferred source of the journalists. These sources included spokespersons from United Nations, World Bank, The Philippines Red Cross, Global Peace Mission Malaysia, Focus on the Global South, The Rural Poor Institute for Land and Human Rights Services (Rights) Network, Greenpeace, Save the Children and etc.

The remaining 11 categories of sources cited in the news carried almost the same percentage in the coverage of both *WSJ* and *PI*, except for ‘religious groups’, ‘prominent figures’ and ‘foreign government’. *WSJ* did not cite any single source from the religious groups in its reporting of Typhoon *Haiyan*.

As for the main themes of the stories in *WSJ* and *PI*, 19 categories were found in this study. Table 4 below shows the comparison between *WSJ* and *PI* in news themes.

Theme	WSJ		PI		Total	
	No. of News	%	No. of News	%	No. of News	%
Politics of local government	18	10.40	53	15.77	71.00	13.95
Economic	18	10.40	18	5.36	36.00	7.07
Health & environment	6	3.47	9	2.68	15.00	2.95
Human interest	18	10.40	41	12.20	59.00	11.59
Victim count	13	7.51	34	10.12	47.00	9.23
Relief	16	9.25	32	9.52	48.00	9.43
Fund-raising & donation	4	2.31	16	4.76	20.00	3.93
Science, technology & facts	11	6.36	9	2.68	20.00	3.93
Communication	3	1.73	2	0.60	5.00	0.98
Search & rescue	2	1.16	3	0.89	5.00	0.98
Damage	7	4.05	3	0.89	10.00	1.96
Recovery, rehabilitation & aftermath	26	15.03	42	12.50	68.00	13.36
Religious matters	0	0.00	3	0.89	3.00	0.59
Crime	4	2.31	13	3.87	17.00	3.34
Business	2	1.16	8	2.38	10.00	1.96

Politics of foreign government	8	4.62	5	1.49	13.00	2.55
Aid effort	11	6.36	38	11.31	49.00	9.63
Refuge	2	1.16	4	1.19	6.00	1.18
Historical & tourism	4	2.31	3	0.89	7.00	1.38
TOTAL	173	100.00	336	100.00	509.00	100.00

Table 4: The comparison between *WSJ* and *PI* in news themes

In the combined analysis, the three main themes covered by *WSJ* and *PI* were ‘politics of local government’ (71 items or 13.95 per cent), ‘recovery, rehabilitation and aftermath’ (68 items or 13.36 per cent) and ‘human interest’ (59 items or 11.59 per cent). Among others, the least frequent themes reported included ‘religious matters’, ‘search and rescue’ and ‘communication’ categories which carried less than one per cent of the total news coverage of Typhoon *Haiyan*.

‘Politics of local government’ theme was given great emphasis as to show strong leadership and confidence in assuring people that they were well-prepared for the devastation aftermath. The people were not alone and should have no worry with the aftermath. Local government was portrayed as a backbone for recovery and rehabilitation actions. With that ‘reality’ constructed by the media, the status quo of the Philippines government is secured. Along with calamities were some human interest stories which were poignant and included elements of heroism and etc. The stories of how ordinary people reacted in the calamities were widely covered.

Conclusion and Implications

Framing is a social construction of reality. The news media do not operate in a political, economic and ideological vacuum, and the ‘nature of news’ is not an objective reflection of truth. When journalists seek to actively classify and interpret their life experiences to make sense of what happens, they engage in a cognitive processed named ‘news framing’. The messages produced by the journalists are interpretation that has been crafted, among selected and highlighted competing facts, to reflect ‘reality’ that packaged efficiently for the audiences.

Framing is vital. The way a given piece of information is presented has the potential to influence the public opinion about the reported occurrences. It influences audiences’ interest, attention and comprehension of the news that they cannot witness directly. The audiences respond on the occurrences based on their perception and understanding to the ‘facts’ that journalists choose to play up or down in their reports. The audiences also tend to believe in the reality constructed by the journalists to be the most salient aspects of a natural disaster. In revealing the social world to the audiences, framing analysis debunk the myth of so-called ‘balance and objectivity’ of news reporting which is tainted with ideologies and operational constraints.

In this study, journalistic act of framing the news of natural disaster, Typhoon *Haiyan*, through core themes in *WSJ* and *PI* did not show much difference. That means journalists' choices of highlighting or reducing elements of the perceived reality to make them more or less salient are not obvious in both coverage. *WSJ* and *PI* have emphasized on the similar themes with consistent societal sentiments – humanitarian.

The same trend goes to the news sources in this study. Just as what was argued by Entman (1993) and Fahmy (2005), to certain extent, source is the story. It confines the simple nature of the stories, as well as the flow of information in the news media. In *WSJ* and *PI* news reports, local government was heavily cited as the official source which legitimizes the state and all its actions and policies. However, the hegemony of the Philippines Government is framed as being challenged. The State strives to prove that local strategies are relevant and sustainable, alongside with international aid efforts and fundraising.

The news framing of Typhoon *Haiyan* disaster shows resemblance in primary source and theme coded for both Western media, *WSJ* (an American English-language international news media) and an Asian media, *PI* (a Philippines-based English-language news media with the mission of 'We are a multi-media organization passionately telling the Filipino story'). In line with Simon Cottle's (2011 & 2014) findings, infused within natural disaster reporting on news sites, media has reached a new global height of extensity and intensity, in terms of speed and scale. With the universalizing technologies, media and communication environment changed. Natural disaster that strikes the country no longer remains as 'a state's misfortune'. Instead, it is a 'mediated disaster' which becomes 'globalised media event' that exhibits extensive scale. These communication technologies also provide greater prospects for the audiences from all over the world to "witness" disaster before they hurdle into humanitarian response. In other words, the proliferation of new media, irrespective of Western or Asian media, has transformed the world of disasters into a global context.

In today's global news ecology, both local and international news media 'mediatized' disasters from different views and values which could in pursuing of open to national integration, striving for political change or mobilizing sympathy for humanitarian response. Through borderless news reporting, journalistic framing has gone beyond national spectrum of interests to offer a philanthropic support to the storm victims. By such communication means, Typhoon *Haiyan* reporting on both *WSJ* and *PI* exhibits not only a 'national event', but a 'media event' that manifests public opinion at global public sphere.

Limitation of the Study and Recommendation for Future Research

This study focuses on "media framing" without empirical data from audience analysis. Therefore it is beyond the scope of this study to draw conclusion about audiences' cognitive understanding of Typhoon *Haiyan*. A future research could be done on "audience framing" to further comprehend the meaning constructed by audiences on natural disaster reporting. It would be remarkable to juxtapose the findings of this study with the impact of news frames on public's perception and opinion towards the disaster.

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Contact email: laihoonlim@gmail.com
meimeitan21@gmail.com
louisengoi@hotmail.com

Appendix A
Coding Sheet

News Source and News Theme in Typhoon Haiyan Disaster Coverage

1.	News Sites <i>(please tick ONE)</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> Inquirer <input type="checkbox"/> Wall Street Journal (WSJ)
2.	Date and time	
3.	News headlines	
4.	First two paragraphs of the news story	
5.	Primary News Source <i>(tick only one)</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> Local Government <input type="checkbox"/> Foreign Government <input type="checkbox"/> Police <input type="checkbox"/> Medical Authorities <input type="checkbox"/> Victims' Relatives and Friends <input type="checkbox"/> Business Organisations <input type="checkbox"/> Non Government Organisations (NGO) <input type="checkbox"/> Benefactors <input type="checkbox"/> Eyewitnesses/victims <input type="checkbox"/> Locals <input type="checkbox"/> Prominent figures <input type="checkbox"/> Religious groups <input type="checkbox"/> Media <input type="checkbox"/> Experts
6.	News Theme <i>(tick only one)</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> Politics of local government <input type="checkbox"/> Politics of foreign government <input type="checkbox"/> Economy <input type="checkbox"/> Health and environment <input type="checkbox"/> Human interest <input type="checkbox"/> Victim count <input type="checkbox"/> Relief <input type="checkbox"/> Fund-raising and donation <input type="checkbox"/> Science, technology and facts <input type="checkbox"/> Communication <input type="checkbox"/> Search and rescue <input type="checkbox"/> Damage <input type="checkbox"/> Recovery, rehabilitation and aftermath <input type="checkbox"/> Religious matters <input type="checkbox"/> Crime <input type="checkbox"/> Business <input type="checkbox"/> Aid effort <input type="checkbox"/> Refuge <input type="checkbox"/> Historical and tourism

Appendix B

Coding Scheme

Date and time: The day and time where the story was published / updated on the news site.

News Headlines: The headline of the online news story.

First two paragraphs of the news story: The first two paragraphs of the story start from the dateline.

Primary source: The main spokesperson of the story who appear in the first two paragraphs.

News theme: The main idea of the news story.

News Source

1.	Local Government	Local government includes the authorities of Philippines, e.g. Philippines president, ministers, senators, mayors, lawmakers, Justice, state or government authorized spokespersons. It also includes official statements, cabinet papers and media release.
2.	Foreign Government	Authorities of countries other than Philippines, e.g. President, ministers, senators, mayors, lawmakers, Justice, state or country authorized spokespersons. It also includes official statements, cabinet papers and media release.
3.	Police	The country authorized security personnel.
4.	Medical Authorities	Medical authorities include doctors, nurses, medical personnel, treatment centre and hospital spokespersons.
5.	Victims' Relatives and Friends	Family members and acquaintances of victims.
6.	Business Organisations	Trade companies and their spokespersons.
7.	Non Government Organisations (NGO)	Any non-profit, voluntary citizens' group which is organized on a local, national or international level, e.g. United Nations, international and national Aids Agencies and bodies, e.g. International Red Cross.
8.	Benefactors	People or organisations which have given financial

		or other help to the victims of the disaster.
9.	Eyewitness or victims	People who involved in the actual event and its aftermath, e.g. tourists, victims, survivors, journalists and etc.
10.	Locals	Ordinary people and members of the community, e.g. fisherman, shopkeeper, and etc.
11.	Prominent figures	People who are famous and popular in local or internationally, e.g. local personalities, boxing fighter, sport player, film star, community leader, former leader and etc.
12.	Religious groups	Religious group include priest, church father, monk and etc.
13.	Media	The reporting is a compilation of data and facts by the journalists based on research. There is no official or obvious sources coded but the story is very much depending on the facts presented by the journalists from the media organisations.
14.	Experts	People who has expertise in respective field such as scientist, economist, media analyst, etc.

(Knight, 2005; Barnhurst&Mutz, 1997; Worawong, Wang & Sims, 2007)

News Theme

1.	Politics of local government	Reports of Philippines government, authorities or political leaders' effort in providing aids. It also includes policies, enactment and enforcement of laws and actions taken by Philippines President, mayor, senator, leaders of opposition party and the governmental department authorities.
2.	Politics of foreign government	Reports of foreign government, authorities or political leaders' effort in providing aids, policies and opinions.
3.	Economy	Economic issues, financial impacts or cost of events.
4.	Health and environment	Issues related to environment and health, hazard, disease and safety.
5.	Human interest	Stories related to victims' experiences; human well-being.
6.	Victim count	Stories that report on the progressive number of deaths, missing or injured.
7.	Relief	Stories that report on the application of aid and issues related to distribution of food and water supplies, shelter-box supplies, medical supplies and other supplies.
8.	Fund-raising and donation	These stories cover the "monetary support" issues and events for the survivors.
9.	Science, technology and facts	Scientific speculation, research, scientific data or technology issues of the disaster.
10.	Communication	Stories that report on the impacts of the event towards communication, e.g. telecommunication network disruption.
11.	Search and rescue	Stories report on the efforts in searching and rescuing victims.
12.	Damage	Stories related to the physical harm on the victims and local community.
13.	Recovery, rehabilitation and aftermath	Stories related to efforts in making victims' life return to normality, e.g. rebuilding victims' home, provide job opportunities, etc.
14.	Religious matters	Stories that were relating to a religion.

15.	Crime	Issues related to crime and investigation, e.g. looting.
16.	Business	Stories that report on the impacts towards local and small businesses, e.g. grocery shops, restaurant.
17.	Aid effort	Stories related to humanity efforts or actions provided to victims as a kind of mentally or moral support to ease their pain.
18.	Refuge	Stories related to impact caused by the refugees and issues related to refugees.
19.	Historical and tourism	Stories that report on the impacts of the event towards historical and tourist spots or buildings.

(Knight, 2005; Houston, Pfefferbaum, & Rosenholtz, 2012)