Wageningen University – Department of Social Sciences

Strategic Communication

Minor thesis

News coverage of Ebola in the Dutch media

January 2016

MSc International Development Studies (MID)   **Elyse Mastenbroek**

Communication, Technology and Policy   **Supervisor: Severine van Bommel**

Content

Acknowledgments

In this acknowledgement I would like to thank everyone who supported me during this research. Especially I would like to thank my supervisor, Severine van Bommel, for her advice, comments and support.

1. Introduction

The World Health Organization (WHO) stated that the current Ebola outbreak is larger than previous epidemics combined. In the West African countries Guinea, Liberia, Nigeria, Senegal and Sierra Leone, the number of deaths was 2296 on September 14, 2014 (Team 2014). This outbreak of Ebola has created a problem in West African countries which have to deal with this disease. But also in the rest of the world there is fear for a global outbreak and the possible consequences. Scientists for example, give the warning that Ebola should get attention: "*The problem of Ebola virus infection is the big global concern. Preparedness for ongoing Ebola virus infection is the topic that should be discussed*" (Yasri and Wiwanitkit 2014: 930). These authors believe that it is important to take the Ebola outbreak serious, in the whole world. This outbreak of Ebola is framed in a certain way. The media could play an important role because they talk about this topic. Research about the role of the media in the United States about Ebola has shown certain ideas about Africa in general: "*however, a few travel-associated cases in Nigeria, Senegal, Mali, and the United States have spotlighted the potential for contagion via travelers from Africa, and they have dominated American media portrayals of Ebola. The Ebola outbreak highlights ethnocentric and xenophobic understandings of Africa*" (Dionne and Seay 2015: 6). This quote shows that how the media looks at Ebola is focused on certain aspects. How Ebola is showed in the media could influence the believes of people in more than just the disease itself, but also about people in Africa in general. It could even influence attitudes towards other issues. As the authors continue, the "*framing Ebola as a disease that affects "others" has a negative impact on attitudes toward immigrants as well as public health responses*" (p. 6). In this case there is a difference between the risks and the framing used in the media. "*Although the risk of contracting Ebola in America remains virtually zero, emotions such as fear, anxiety, and disgust contribute to gaps in knowledge about the disease, support for restrictive policies, and increased prejudice* (Casey 2015: 7). So certain ideas and frames could have the consequences.

Because the outbreak of Ebola is a recent issue, the academic research and literature is limited. Plus most of the attention goes to the medical point of view and the media and existing frames are underexposed. An exception when it comes to the outbreak of Ebola and the consequences with relation to frames, can be found in the work of Dionne and Seay from the quotes mentioned before. They concluded that "*the Ebola outbreak highlights*

ethnocentric and xenophobic understandings of Africa" (p. 6). Although the (social) media has been the topic of research in some articles, there could be a difference in how the Dutch media deals with the outbreak of Ebola. For example, the program Nieuwsuur made a comparison between the Dutch media and the American media about the Ebola coverage: *"the 24-hours news station continue to report about Ebola, the risks and about the panic so it's not strange that the Americans that watch the news are not calm"* (Nieuwsuur 2015). The Dutch media itself, noticed that there is a difference between the Dutch coverage and American coverage. In the US, the media played an important role in the public opinion by running many stories and following the story of infected people (SteelFisher *et al.* 2015). By focusing on every (possible) infection in the United States, there is a major load of information for the public. This influences the public opinion. Different frames could be the consequence of a particular political system in a country and the role of the media in this system. SteelFisher *et al*. (2015) makes the link between politics and the media in the case of Ebola: *"The cases of Ebola inside the United States coincided with the lead-up to the November 3 national elections. This coincidence may have increased public concern, because media coverage increased as candidates commented about Ebola"* (p. 791). This data shows the role of the media in the United States. The role of the media in the Netherlands seems different and the perceived threat also. In the literature public fear is seen as a factor that likely impacts the issue. *"This EVD crisis has not been different to other public health crises in our country and in other parts of the world. The response to avian influenza or SARS, also fuelled by media pressure, resulted in a compulsive, excessive and unnecessary intervention, in an attempt to counter public fear"* (Mira *et al*. 2015: 1). The relation between public fear and the media is something that more authors have seen. For example by Buseh *et al.* (2014: p 34): *"Although much of the information seen in the media has centered on the lethal nature of Ebola and its potential for rapid spread to Western countries, this type of narrative only reinforces existing global health inequities".* The media could influence the ideas about Africa in general. Therefore is the need to study this topic in the specific case of the Netherlands, there seems to be a contrast between the two countries. The role of the media in the Netherlands and the United States seem to differ in which neutrality of the sources play a role.

Although these are reasons to assume that there are different frames about Ebola in comparison with the United States, we do not know this for sure because it has not been investigated yet.

First, specific research about Ebola in the media is not about the case in the Netherlands. Instead, the researchers focus on other countries, for example the United States by Dionne and Seay. They saw that there is a difference between the risks of Ebola and what is said in the media, where fear is the most visible emotion. But is this also visible in the Dutch media? Because this answer is not answered yet, this case study is different from previous research. It seems that in the Dutch media there is no general idea of fear for Ebola, as for example shown in the report of Nieuwsuur, mentioned before. This could also have a different response from the audience.

Secondly, there is a difference between the research about media coverage with regards to other diseases and epidemics, for example AIDS and SARS. This is for example visible by the fact that for the first time Giro 555, a cooperation of Dutch NGOs, has organized a national campaign to raise money. The previous 40 campaigns were focused on raising money for natural disasters or victims of wars (Giro 555A 2015). It is therefore necessary to see how in this case, Ebola is framed in the media and why this is the case.

As the foregoing discussions shows, there is a shortage of scientific research about Ebola in the Netherlands, the differences with other diseases and disasters and the change of frames and metaphors over time. This research can contribute to this problem by looking at the dynamic of metaphors over time and what it is associated with. For example, fear (Buseh *et al*. 2014), risk or the relationship between metaphors and hypes (Vasterman and Ruigrok 2013). These factors could also influence the case of news coverage of Ebola in the Netherlands.

2. Analytical Framework

In this chapter, the analytical framework for this research will be discussed. The media could have an influence on hypes. The idea of media hypes in relation to epidemics is used by scholars in their research about media coverage. Vasterman and Ruigrok describe it as following: "*Developments in media coverage can be linked to the successive stages of the epidemic. Previous research on Ebola, SARS and avian flu defined three stages in the coverage of a new virus, each with a different discourse: 'sounding the alarm', 'mixed messages' and 'hot crisis and containment'* "(2013: 439). In this case, the different stages in an epidemic go together with media hypes. They studied the case of A/H1N1 and found out that: "*decisive for generating the first news wave during the alarm stage was the framing of the Mexican flu as a potentially catastrophic pandemic. This matches with the conclusions in other studies: uncertainty about the threat leads to speculation about worst-case scenarios. The preparatory stage also showed two news waves, but smaller. The crisis stage had one large news wave almost reaching the same heights as the one in the alarm stage*" (p. 449). So a hype and the attention of the media could have influence on each other.

In the case of a hype, the media reports on disasters could be less neutral. "*Messages contained in the mass media and even in official discourse continue to promote ideas that have long been shown to be false in actual empirical research on disasters*" (Tierney *et al* 2006: 60). This quote shows that in the United States the role of the media changes during a hype.

2.1 Framing

2.1.1 Media frames

Scheufele (1999) makes a distinction between two concepts of framing, media frames and individual frames. Gamson and Modigliani (in: Sheufele 1999) define media frames as: "*a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strep of events… The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue*" (p. 143). An individual frame is the process of individuals. Another distinction that can be made with reference to previous research, is dependent variables and independent variables. The five factors that can influence the media frames of dependent variables with regards to a particular issue; social values and norms, organizational pressures and constrains, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines and ideological or political orientations of journalists (Scheufele 1999: 109). The studies about the undependable media frames, look at the link between

"media frames as an independent variable having an impact on attitudes, opinions, or individual frames" (Scheufele 1999: 109). Science has often considerable interest in studying the media from different perspectives (Harris and Sanborn 2013). The framing of a particular issue in the media can influence how the audience perceives the solutions and causes of problems (Davies 2009). Therefore, the media has a lot of power in how parties respond to issues and it is important to look at the existing frames in the media. Tierney *et al.* (2006) saw for example that the media influenced the response of the government after hurricane Katrina in the United States. The frames in the media are related to the idea of Entman, framing is about selection, as Reese (2007) points out in the following quote:

"News stories must select certain aspects of reality and emphasize them, but Entman's definition begs the question of how they are organized ''in such a way as to promote'' their effects. It is precisely the way that certain attributes come to be associated with particular issues that should concern framing analysis. It has been a major step forward in the empirical tradition to appreciate that there are features that, when taken together, tell a larger tale than the manifest story. The framing project opens up more room for interpretation, captures a more dynamic process of negotiating meaning, and highlights the relationships within discourse." (p. 152).

So framing could tell us a lot about how the media selection of certain aspects of a story or problem takes place. This study will specifically focus on the media frames about the Ebola case in the Netherlands.

2.1.2 Framing functions

Framing is often used in the communication science and other studies for analysis. Framing refers to the manner of organization and making sense of issues and events, in particular by the media, media workers and their audience (Baran 2001). According to Entman (1993) framing is about selection and salience; framing is *"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 for the item described"* (p. 52). He continues by naming the four fame framing functions:

- Define problems; determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values

- Diagnose causes; identify the forces creating the problem
- Make moral judgments; evaluate causal agents and their affects
- Suggest remedies; offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects.

In other words, *"Situations are labeled as problems (named), their causes are discussed (blamed) and those responsible are confronted (claimed)"* (Dewulf *et al*. 2009: 170). Framing is therefore not a static process but ongoing process. *"Framing is a construction of reality, shaped by cognitive processes (referring to the way our minds work), by social processes (referring to interaction with others who are 'actually' present), and by the continuous interaction between both"* (van Bommel and Aarts 2011: 3). The distinction between the second and third framing function is in practice however difficult to make. For this research, these two framing functions will not be discussed separately but taken together.

But how can you use framing as a tool of analysis in issues? Reese provides the following working definition of framing: *"Frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world"* (2001: 5). But there are also other tools that can be used to approach framing. For example, DeWulf *et al*. (2009) made a map of 6 different frames for conflict and negotiation research.

Table 2 Mapping approaches to framing for conflict and negotiation research

What is the nature of frames?	What is it that gets framed?		
	Issues	Identities and relationships	Process
Frames as cognitive representations	(Cell 1) Cognitive issue frames	(Cell 2) Cognitive identity and relationship frames	(Cell 3) Cognitive process frames
	How parties cognitively represent the substantive issues in the conflict situation	How parties cognitively represent self, others and relationships in the conflict situation	How parties cognitively represent the interaction process between them in the conflict situation
Framing as interactional co-construction	(Cell 4) Interactional issue framing	(Cell 5) Interactional identity and relationship framing	(Cell 6) Interaction process framing
	How parties interactively construct the meaning of issues in the conflict situation	How parties interactively construct the meaning of self, other and relationships in the conflict situation	How parties interactively construct the meaning of the ongoing interaction process between them in the conflict situation

Although these different kinds of frames are made for conflict and negotiation, it is also applicable to the frames of diseases; the different parties are negotiating the meaning and risks of a disease in the media. In this case, interactional issue framing could be used to analyze how the different parties interactively construct the meaning of a disease.

2.2 Frame parity

Frames are alone in the media; it goes together with counter frames. These counter frames offered by the media and other sources can influence the extent to which the public adopts certain frames (Liu and Kim 2011). According to Entman (2010) *"frame parity describes the condition that free press theories prefer: two (or more) interpretations receiving something like equal play. Parity requires not merely that the news provide bits of unrelated information critical of the administration's frame scattered throughout the coverage"* (p. 418). In other words, a meaningful frame contest involves at least two coherent frames presented often and prominently (Bennett *et al*. 2006: 472). This study will look at to what extend frame parity is present in the news coverage.

The objectivity of news messages can be analyzed by frame parity because *"to reach frame parity, the news must offer a counter frame that puts together a complete alternative narrative, a tale of problem, cause, remedy, and moral judgment possessing as much magnitude and resonance as the administration's"* (Entman 2010: 418). Bennett *et al.* (2006) used this concept to assess their data, which means that they looked at whether there were counter frames measured and why these counter frames were used or not used. The additional value of this research, is the fact that it will look at whether the frame parity changes over time, which metaphors are used in framing and how are the metaphors used in framing.

2.3 Metaphors

Metaphors are often visible in cases of disaster and diseases and can influence the way in which the situation or problem is dealt with by the international community. Metaphors that are used to frame diseases have become an important topic within the literature which shows the impact of metaphors in frames (Wallis and Nirlich 2005). However, there are different ways in which metaphors can be studied. In this study the following meaning of metaphors is used:"*By this we mean seeking to understand how metaphors function in various settings, how they intersect with other sets of metaphors, how they may create a common ground between discourses, and how they function in the complex interplay of science, media, and policy*" (Larson *et al.* 2005: 245).

Tierney *et al.* (2006) used metaphors to analyze the aftermath of hurricane Katrina. They saw that the metaphor of the "war zone" was first visible in the media, but was taken over by the discourse of public officials and staff of the military. This is an example of how metaphors can have major consequences after a disaster. There are two main metaphors visible in the literature about disasters and diseases. Namely, the 'war metaphor', described by Tierney *et al.* (2006), and the 'plague' metaphor (Gamson 1989).

Metaphors are not just used in case of natural disasters, they are also described by researchers when they investigate media framing by diseases and epidemics. If you look at diseases and epidemics in specific, the scientific literature views the same two metaphors as prominent in the media coverage about epidemics and diseases, namely war and plague. A disease that is often discussed in the terms of metaphors, is the debate of HIV/AIDS. "*Contagion metaphors widely used in debate about HIV/AIDS has led to the blaming of assumed 'contagious' groups, particularly gay communities, and a focus on the control of their 'risky' behaviours, restricting understanding of the multiple processes of transmission including the role of heterosexual men who have sex with other men*" (Petersen 2005: 204).

Again, the metaphors of war and plague are used: "*AIDS, where plural and overlapping metaphors, of war, plague, pollution, sin and the like, tended to be extensive rather than localised, permeating discussions of both disease and policy. For example, AIDS as sin was employed to describe cause (divine judgement), attitude to sufferer (sinner), and individual and public policy responses (repentance, abstinence, moral education)*" (Wallis and Nerlich 2005: 2637). This study about AIDS shows how the plague metaphor is visible in a case study about diseases.

Metaphors can have major impacts on the public opinion about certain issues. If you look at the foot and mouth disease, a particular metaphor became common sense. *"We claim that conceptual metaphors such as DEALING WITH FMD IS WAR pervaded FMD discourse, which is similar to other discourses about fighting off diseases. Some have claimed that war metaphors, especially when used in discourse about disease, "no longer sound like metaphors to our ears, but more like commonsense representations"* (Nerlich *et al*. 2002: 93). In this case, the researchers found out that metaphors can become the reality for people. When certain metaphors become the standard, this could influence the response to it.

Even though war and plague metaphors are often visible by coverage of diseases, it does not mean that they are visible in the news coverage of all diseases. For example, Wallis and Nerlich (2005) looked at the media coverage of SARS and saw that the two prominent views are almost not used. Instead of the use of the metaphors of war and plague, they saw that the English papers used 'SARS as a killer' as the main conceptual metaphor. SARS was labeled as the 'killer virus', 'killer plague', or 'deadly bug'. It 'claims victims', or simply kills people (p. 2634). But later, other scientist discovered that when the virus was seen as a natural disaster that could come to the West, other metaphors were used. At the moment that the virus was also coming to Europe and there was a higher level of threat, "war" metaphors were used in the media and by experts (Koteyko *et al*. 2008). So the content of the metaphors can change over time. However, this is not yet been investigated by other authors and this research will contribute to knowledge about this topic. And although empirical work in the field of disaster studies show that the 'war' and 'plague' metaphor are often used in case of media coverage about diseases and epidemics. It does not mean that they are always used. It is therefore necessary to find out whether in the case of Ebola in the news coverage in the Netherlands, specific metaphors can be found. And if they develop over time. This research can contribute to the knowledge gab and the debate regarding this topic.

The three concepts of the theoretical framework; 1) framing with the four framing functions of the problem, the causes, the solution and moral judgments 2) frame parity and 3) metaphors, help to look at how Ebola is discussed in the Dutch media. By taking these aspects together, it is possible to answer the main question because it shows how the types of frames are used in the media coverage.

2.4 Research question

The main research question of this research is: "how did the Dutch media discuss Ebola and how was Ebola framed?"

The following sub research questions derived from the analytical framework:

- How are the problem, the causes, the solution and moral judgments about Ebola framed?
- Is there frame parity present in the media coverage?
- Which metaphors are visible in the media articles?

3. Methodology

The case study of Ebola in the Netherlands is chosen according to ideas of Haverland and Yanow (2012): *"Case in interpretive research is often used as a synonym for "site" or "setting," the (semi)bounded location that is considered to have potential for illustrating the focus of the researcher's interest, in which the research is carried out"*(p. 406). The case is interpretive and derives from previous literature about frames and metaphors in case of disasters and diseases. Although other studies have focused on the media coverage after a disease, it seems that the Ebola case in the Netherlands is different from previous studies.

In this chapter the used methodology of this research will be discussed. The qualitative method and case study, the selection of newspapers, data collection, time span and data analysis will be used to explain the methodology.

3.1 Qualitative method and case study

A qualitative method approach will be used during this research. The frames and metaphors in the media about Ebola in the Netherlands and how they develop during time, will be the focus of this research. A qualitative approach, by using a case study, is appropriate because it takes the context and factor time into account. Some authors criticize this method because according to them, a constructivist approach is preferred and they assume that there is an existence of reality which can be analyzed independently from the researcher (Haverland and Yanow 2012). But as Flyvbjerg (2006) states, it is a misunderstanding that *"general, theoretical (context-independent) knowledge is more valuable than concrete, practical (context-dependent) knowledge"* (p. 221). Instead, in-depth case studies are an appropriate scientific method. As David states: *"One of the strengths of case studies is that they attempt to understand the significance of particular factors within the context of the whole case rather than by screening out this context"* (in: De Vaus and de Vaus 2001: 247). So this method can provide the context of the case which can help to understand how frames and metaphors change over time. The specific case, news coverage of Ebola in the Netherlands, has been chosen to do so. As Haverland and Yanow (2012) say *"an interpretive researcher's answer at the beginning of the research would be, "I do not know, although I have some informed expectations, and I want to find out more". This is in contrast with positivist research when "cases are deliberately selected for the particular properties they have in relation to a theory or a population. For instance, they might be least likely cases or most likely cases in relation to the phenomenon under discussion in the theoretical debate being investigated"* (p. 406). For this research it means that Ebola is not chosen because it is a case that has the right

properties for the theory or population, but because it is necessary to find out more about this topic and the expectations. According to Aarts and Blok, a case study is appropriate if you want to investigate the following aspects:

- The context: because events and phenomena are processes that are context dependent (Aarts 2009)
- A comparison: "comparison in this case does not function to make generalized statements about 'how things are going' but instead builds a better understanding of individual case" (Blok in: Aarts *et al*. 2007: 730)
- A historical perspective: "combining a historical perspective with comparative methods will make researchers more sensitive to connections (Blok in: Aarts *et al*. 2007: 730)

If you want to investigate these three aspects, you have to use a case study. In the case of Ebola, the context is firstly important; secondly, the time perspective is also important because this research looks at changes over time; and finally it also makes a comparison between different newspapers and media sources. The use of a case study is than the most logical and appropriate choice.

3.2 Selection of newspapers

For this research, two sources were selected for the media analysis namely the Telegraaf and Nu.nl. Because it is impossible to review all articles in the news sources, other criteria will be used to exclude new sources.

The first reason for choosing these news sources, is about the perceived neutrality of the sources. The Telegraaf is seen as a popular newspaper (Schaap and Pleijter 2015). De Wilde (2009) describes the Telegraaf as followed: *"somewhere in between the quality press and sensational tabloid press known from other countries"* (2009: 5). The website NU.nl is on the other hand more seen as a neutral source of news: *"since the majority and most popular stories come from a national press agency without a clear political profile, it can also be argued that the political profile of NU.nl is rather neutral"* (de Wilde 2009: 4). This contrast in perceived neutrality of both news sources is important in the decision to analyze these sources; it could shed some light on how different sources with different neutrality show particular kinds frames and metaphors.

The second reason for taking these two sources, is the range of them. The website www.NU.nl was chosen because of the importance of the news site as source of news for the

Dutch audience. According to the owner, Sanoma, the website has 2.5 million unique visitors each day, including the website and the app (Sanoma 2015). This data is accordance with the conclusions of the Dutch Journalism Lab (Jounalism Lab 2015) who state that NU.nl reached 43% of the Dutch internet users and is therefore the most used internet source. Also the choice for the Telegraaf is based on the reach of the different Dutch newspapers. According to the owner of the Telegraaf, *"four million people read the paper through the computer, tablet or Smartphone. More than 5.2 million people read de hard copy edition and more than 2.2 million people looked at the newspaper both on paper as well as digital"* (Villa media 2015). Telegraaf as biggest newspaper of the Netherlands is confirmed by the Newspaper academy (Cebuco 2015). These date show that NU.nl and the Telegraaf are two important news sources in the Netherlands.

3.2 Data collection

The data collection for this research will be focused on the on line data of newspapers and therefore rely on primary document sources. The database LexusNexus was used to find the articles of Telegraaf. The word EBOLA was used as a search term. For the data of the website NU.nl, the website itself was the source for this research. Again, the word EBOLA was used as the search term. Because EBOLA was the only search term, some articles were not applicable for this research and therefore not taken into account. An example of this exclusion, is the statement of Jean-Maria le Pen on May 21, 2014 on NU.nl:*"mister Ebola could take care of it in three months"*. This is an article that was not used in the analysis of this research. From the Telegraaf, more than 200 articles about Ebola were used and from the website NU.nl, almost 500 articles were analyzed for this case study.

3.3 Time span

The research period of this news analysis was from March 2014 to February 2015. The chosen time frame is therefore one year. This year was selected by looking at the first articles about the Ebola outbreak in February 2014. The time span of one year, gives this research the possibility to look at changes over time.

3.3 Data analysis

The first step of analyzing the data is the actual counting of the number of articles about Ebola in the Dutch newspapers. This data will be used to analyze whether the amount of articles are related to certain events during the time. As mentioned before, the first selection is to eliminate all non-Dutch newspapers. For example, time is a factor that influences the

selection of newspapers: the chosen time frame for the sample of this research is the previous year, from February 2014, the time of the first outbreak in Africa, to February 2015.

The content data of the news papers will be analyzed according to a frame analysis. Just like Bennett *et al*. (2006), the concept of frame parity will be used to assess the data and identify the different types of frames. This type of analysis is applicable in this case because *"it has been a major step forward in the empirical tradition to appreciate that there are features that, when taken together, tell a larger tale than the manifest story. The framing project opens up more room for interpretation, captures a more dynamic process of negotiating meaning, and highlights the relationships within discourse"* (Reese 2007:152). In order to assess which frames and metaphors exist in the news papers, a coding system will be used; the different frames get their own code. Afterwards, the codes will be analyzed and compared with each other to discover whether and how the frames and metaphors change over time.

4. The Telegraaf

In this chapter, the results of the analyses of the articles of the newspaper the Telegraaf will be discussed. First, the number of articles and which corresponding events trigger these waves are discussed. Second, the content of the articles are analyzed by the use of the following concepts: frames, metaphors and frame parity.

4.1 Number of articles

In the figure below, the number of articles about Ebola in the Telegraaf is visible.

The figure shows that the first article about Ebola was published on April 7 in the year 2014. But not until the end of June, more articles were written about this topic in this source. And the major wave of attention begins in the month August. This wave of interest comes at the same time Western people got affected and when there was more panic about the topic. In this case, the wave of the number of articles is related to the level of panic and the seriousness of the problem. In the following paragraphs you can see that in the second stage, there is agreement among actors that Ebola is a serious outbreak.

4.2 Framing

4.2.1 Problem

Defining problems is one of the four framing functions. Defining the outbreak of Ebola as a problem is already a debate on its own. Different parties disagree about the urgency of the Ebola outbreak and whether the Ebola outbreak is a crisis. Over time, the frame on defining the problem has changed.

In the first stage, there is disagreement among different actors about the seriousness of the problem. The following quote shows how two important actors, WHO and Doctor without

Borders, disagree about the seriousness of the problem: *"The World Health Organization WHO speaks of a relative small outbreak in West Africa. Ebola causes enough unrest, so we have to be careful in characterising this outbreak, according to WHO spokesperson Gregory Hart. Doctor without Borders does not agree with this. The organisation speaks about 'an epidemic of unprecedented scale'"* (April 7, 2014). While the WHO speaks in April of a relative small outbreak, Doctor without Borders speaks of an epidemic of unprecedented scale. This shows that during the process, different actors disagree about whether Ebola is a problem.

In the second stage, there is agreement among the actors and they all define Ebola as a major problem. The change in defining the problem is visible in the statements of the WHO. While on April 7, they speak of a small outbreak, on October, 16 they clearly recognize Ebola as a major problem. They state: *"the outbreak of the deathly Ebola virus forms a threat to the existence of communities and could lead to the collapse of complete states"* (Telegraaf). This shows that defining a problem as Ebola could change over time.

4.2.2 Diagnose causes and moral judgments

Another frame is about the diagnoses of the causes and thereby identifying the forces that are creating the problem and blaming the responsible actors. These frames are related to two sets of actors; the local population and the international community.

4.2.2.1 Local population

The first one is about the local population. The articles show a clear emphasis on the distrust of the local population. The first cause of the extreme outbreak of Ebola is the rituals and myths of the local population. The myths among the locals are seen as an important cause: *"Even more tragic is the observation that the West Africans are so laconic with the virus. Doctors without Borders already found that there was "a continuing resistance among infected people is to go to the doctor." Perhaps more telling is the fact that the government distributes flyers with three apparently persistent myths about Ebola"* (June 15, 2014). So the rituals that are used contribute to the problem. There is also a clear judgment: because the local population have these rituals, it becomes a major problem. Also the existing myths among the population are seen as a problem: *"Perhaps more revealing is the fact that the government distributes flyers with three apparently persistent myths about Ebola. No, Ebola cannot be cured by a mix of ginger, honey, garlic, onion and vinegar. And no, drinking alcohol is not a good way to prevent an infection. And no, Ebola is not a curse but a virus"* (June 15, 2014). In this article, three persistent myths are discussed. Both the rituals and the

myths are seen as a cause to the problem, but at the same time a judgment to the local population: if they did not exist, there would not be a problem.

A second prominent frame is related to the previous one and is also about the local population. But now, it is about the distrust regarding aid workers. The following statement illustrates this distrust very well: *"a lot of people believe that doctors of the Red Cross and Doctors without borders spread the virus instead of fighting"* (July 3, 2014). The most extreme form of distrust is also discussed*: "This week, villagers in Guinea have killed eight members of an Ebola education team, among them doctors and journalists"* (September 20, 2014). These examples show that this distrust frame is repeatedly visible in the articles.

4.1.2.2 International community
The international community is often seen as a cause to the problem and is therefore blamed in the articles.

The third frame is about the preparedness of the international community towards a possible outbreak of a disease. The bad preparation opinion is mentioned by the president of the World Bank: *"The slow approach of the Ebola-epidemic shows that the world is now badly prepared for the outbreak of viruses, according to the World Bank president Jim Yong Kim"* (October 13, 2014). Although this shows a moral judgement, a slow reaction, it also shows the underlying cause, namely that we are not prepared for any outbreak of a disease

The fourth frame is about the ignorance of the international community and the late reaction. In one article, the statement of the day is discussed: *"the Netherlands and Europe are too lax in addressing the Ebola crises, believes the vast majority of the participants on the statement of the day"* (October 22, 2014). But also "*Why is Ebola ignored by the West?"* (September 1, 2014) is an example of how the West is framed as an actor that ignores the problem. Also the late reaction is in this frame important: *"the world is very late with his reaction on Ebola"* (October 15, 2014). Clearly they blame the international community: *"but the international community was really awake when two white missionaries died of the disease" (November 6, 2014)*. This shows a clear judgement towards the slow response of the international community.

The last cause and judgment is towards the pharmaceutical industry. Because there is not a medicine or vaccine against Ebola, this sector is blamed. Again, this is seen as a cause to the problem, but also a judgement against this actor. Many articles discuss developments regarding medicines, and the critique on this actor. For example: *"That explains why just a*

few pharmacists focus on the market for Ebola. It seems to earn little money" (October 9, 2014) and *"Cause: research is expensive and transport is complex. That the disease is rare makes the revenue model uncertain"* (September 6, 2014). So reasons are given to explain why the pharmaceutical industry is cautious about making a medicine for Ebola.

These five frames show how both the local population, as well as the international community, contribute to the problem of Ebola but are also blamed for their role in causing the problem.

4.2.3 Remedies/solutions

The final framing function is suggesting a remedy or solution. Although the articles are full of the causes of the problem and moral judgements, the remedies are scarcer. In general, four remedies are suggested in the articles.

The first remedy is related to the way people deal with Ebola. The following quote summarizes which remedies are necessary in order to avoid a further outbreak: *"The experts point out that the outbreak of Ebola can be prevented by available methods like early detection, placing patients in quarantine and hygienic measures"* (August 13, 2015). This suggestion is focused on how local people and staff can contribute to the solution. To achieve this solution, a link with one of the causes is made: *"VN-children organisation hopes that people that survived Ebola, could contribute to the expelling of the myths of Ebola. Although a lot of survivors fear for a stigma, there are also courageous people that tell their stories, although UNICEF consultant Jo Dunlop. These testimonials can help communities to accept that Ebola is a serious disease that they should fight together"* (August 21 2014). Because one of the framed problems is how the local people deal with Ebola, the possible solution has to address these suspicions.

The second remedy is related to how the government of affected countries deal with Ebola; so the measures of the government to stop Ebola are discussed. This is seen as a solution: *"because their strict policy there are in Nigeria and Senegal no new cases reported"* (September 23, 2014). The implication of this quote is that if governments are strict in their policies, the outbreak could be stopped or minimized. So not only the local population should follow certain rules, the government should do this as well.

The third remedy deals with the availability of resources. This solution has to deal with a moral judgment about the international community that responds too late and too little. By supplying more resources to the affected areas, the outbreak could be stopped. To show

22

the need for more resources, in this cases medical knowledge, the Telegraaf uses a quote of Chan, head of the WHO: *"According to Chan there is now an urgent need for medical staff like doctors, epidemiologist and nurses to cope with the epidemic"* (August 1, 2014). Medical staff and knowledge is in this case seen as a solution to the problem of Ebola.

The fourth remedy is a treatment or medicine to cure Ebola. In order to cure Ebola, pharmacist should find a right medicine. Especially in the second half of the year, the lack of a medicine is mentioned often in the articles: *"There is no medication against Ebola. At this moment there are about ten vaccines and medicines in development... This means that we do not know if they work, are safe and are hardly in stock"* (September 13, 2014) and *"There is still no medicine that prevents or cures Ebola"* (November 10, 2014). This shows that a medicine or vaccine is seen as an important solution to the problem.

4.3 Frame parity

Frame parity describes the condition of multiple meanings, or counter frames, present in one article. However, this concept was barely visible in the news coverage of Ebola in the Telegraaf. Just two articles contain different opinions about the subject. The first frame parity describes a difference in the opinion of two major actors about the seriousness of the outbreak of Ebola: *"The World Health Organization, WHO, speaks of a relative small outbreak in West Africa. Ebola causes enough unrest, so we have to be careful in characterising this outbreak, according to WHO spokesperson Gregory Hart. Doctor without Borders does not agree with this. The organisation speaks about 'an epidemic of unprecedented scale'"* (April 7, 2014). This example shows an exception of frame parity in one single article. By using two counter opinions, in this case froe WHO and Doctor without borders, it is possible for the reader to from its own opinion. Defining the problem is in this case the topic of debate. The WHO and Doctors without Borders, two authoritative actors disagree about whether or not it is a major problem.

Later in the year, the Telegraaf used frame parity to describe differences in the opinion about a possible solution to the problem: *"The government of Sierra Leone wants to forbid citizens for three days from September 19 to go on the streets....Doctors without Borders fears however that this will work counterproductive, because people will hide disease symptoms. The trust between people and health workers is then in danger"* (8 September 8, 2014). Frame parity is clearly visible in this quote because again, two actors with different opinions are used.

Although frame parity is barely visible in a particular article, the articles over time contain opinions and quotes of different persons and organizations. The most used organizations are:

- ➤ Doctor without Borders
- ➤ World Health Organization
- ➤ United Nations
- ➤ African governments
- ➤ RIVM (Dutch Health Organization)
- ➤ Red Cross
- ➤ UNICEF
- ➤ Dutch ministers

So although there are not often counter frames, there are nuances in opinions between the different experts. If readers read the newspaper regularly than they can see multiple interpretations and meanings of the different actors. For example about the threat for the Netherlands of the West: *"Osterhaus is, despite the worldwide panic, convinced that Ebola in our part of the world will not be spread as in Western Africa"* (October 15, 2014) and *"We do not notice that the outbreak of Ebola could come through Lampedusa. Whole Africa will soon walk and will be on the run for Ebola"* (October 16, 2014). This example shows that different opinions about the threat for Europe and the Netherlands. A reader of the newspaper reacts in a letter on the statement of the previous day and gives a nuance to the opinion of the expert. So during the year, there are different nuances visible.

4.4 Metaphors

Metaphors are often visible in articles about diseases and disasters. Especially the 'war' and 'plague' metaphor are often used. But is this also the case by Ebola? And which other metaphors are visible in the articles?

4.4.1 War metaphor

Although war metaphors are often used in cases of the outbreak of diseases, this frame is not very dominant. From the 218 articles, only eight times is referred to a war. The most obvious one is stated by an expert: *"We are over taken by events, states Osterhaus. Surprisingly, to wait until wartime, because we are in war with Ebola, to assemble an army"* (October 15, 2014). In this case, Ebola is compared with a war and clear war language is used. But as said before, this is more an exception than the rule.

Besides using a war frame to describe fighting against Ebola, sometimes the situation on sight is described in a war frame. *"An Ebola treatment centre in Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone, is recently guarded day and night, as last Friday the hospital was attacked by a crowd of several thousand people..."* (July 28, 2014). In the rare cases that Ebola is looked at from a war point of view, it is either framed by experts or indirect used by describing the local situation.

You could also look at war related language, like fighting against Ebola. This specific world is only visible twice. The first one in a title: *"US soldiers fight against Ebola"* (September 17, 2014) and the second one in an article: *"More than to the virus, doctors and authorities should fight against the ignorance of the population"* (June 15, 2014). Although sometimes is referred indirectly to the war metaphor, it is not very prominent in the news coverage about Ebola in the Telegraaf.

4.4.2 Plague metaphor

Instead of referring to fighting Ebola, the Dutch word 'bestrijden' is often used. By using this particular word, the plague metaphor is much more applicable in this case. The metaphor plague has changes the most over time. The most important question hereby is whether the virus could also come to the West and the Netherlands.

In the beginning of the outbreak, fear was not prominent present in the articles. Until mid 2014, the virus in relation to the Netherlands of the West was not mentioned. After this time, the possibility of the arrival of Ebola in the West and the Netherlands was discussed, but the used experts stated that the chance is very little: *"Ebola not a threat to tourists"* and *"Coutinho considers the possibility that infections spread to Europe small"* (July 29, 2014). So the fear for Ebola was still very limited.

Over time, the fear for the consequences of Ebola in the West and the Netherlands became more prominent: "*Ebola is now anxiously nearby. Worldwide experts seem completely overwhelmed by the speed at which the virus on the African continent ruthlessly spreads around, it makes thousands of victims and the rest of the world now involves an ever firmer stranglehold. The World Health Organization is in a state of near-panic"* (October 15, 2014). This quote shows how the panic grows over time.

Although the fear for Ebola grows throughout the time, the state of mind remains relatively calm. *"It is inevitable that Europe will face in further infections with the Ebola virus, but the continent is well prepared to face the disease head. This enables Zsuzsanna*

Jakab, director Europe of the World Health Organization after it was announced that a Spanish nurse became infected with the disease" (October 8, 2014). This shows that although there is a fear for the virus, there is also reason for because the Western hospitals and governments are more prepared and could minimize the possible consequences.
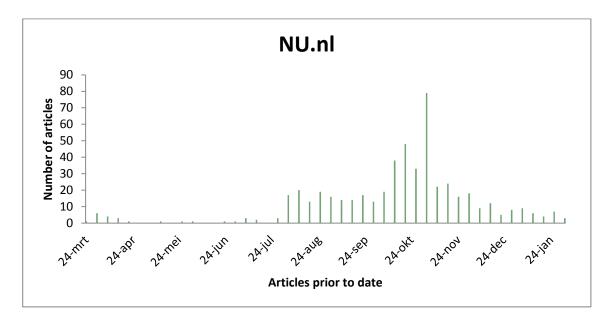
4.4.3 Famine metaphor

Although the actions of the local population are seen as a major cause of the outbreak, there is also attention to the other side. *"Ebola mainly affects the poor population. Families raise children of their last money and not give priority to soap and hygiene, which could prevent Ebola relatively easy"* (December 20, 2014). This shows how the focus shifts to a different metaphor. The disease is seen as a disease for poor people. One of the moral judgment fits within this frame. Because of the late and poor reaction of the international community, the Ebola became a crisis. Because the African countries do not have the right equipment and enough money, the consequence is that it is a poor population disease. This metaphor is especially visible in the following quote: *"It is clearly a poverty-related disease"* (Oktober 15, 2014). So constantly is referred to how poverty has caused the size of the problem, namely the large outbreak in Africa.

5. NU.nl

In this chapter, the results of the analyses of the articles of the website NU.nl will be discussed. First, the number of articles and which corresponding events trigger these waves are discussed. Second, the content of the articles are analyzed by the use of the following concepts: frames, metaphors and frame parity.

5.1 Number of articles

In the figure on the following page the amount of articles that were published on the website of NU.nl on the topic of Ebola is visible.

The figure shows a small interest wave around April. This wave is triggered by the first outbreaks of Ebola in Africa. In these articles, the affected countries and the number of deaths are mentioned. Then there is a large period with a relatively low number of articles about Ebola. From the month of August a large wave, with a peak in the first week of November, is visible. The attention of Ebola in August is triggered by the infection of an American citizen. *"At least one American, that is infected with the Ebola virus in West Africa, will be transported to the United States and further treated there"* (August 1, 2014). From this point, there is much attention for infected cases and possible infected cases in America and Europe. Also, possible vaccines, medicines and the need for more help are discussed. At the end of the year, you can see that there is much less attention for Ebola on the website. In this period, it seems that Ebola has reached a turning point. As the WHO states: *"The Ebola crisis has reached a turning point now the number of new cases in the three most affected*

countries decreases" (January 22, 2015). It seems that Ebola is not a big crisis anymore, which could lead to a decrease in the number of articles on the website.

5.2 Framing

5.2.1 Problem

As seen in the chapter of the Telegraaf, defining Ebola as a problem is already a debate on its own. However, on the website NU.nl, whether Ebola is a problem or not is not really part of the debate. Already in the first article the seriousness of the virus is discussed: *"It is the first time that Guinea was hit by an outbreak of the infectious virus. It is the largest outbreak in Africa in seven years. It is feared that the virus is spreading to Sierra Leone and Liberia"* (March 24, 2014). So in the early beginning of the outbreak, it is stated that the virus could spread to other countries and Ebola is already seen as a problem. However, there is disagreement among actors on how to describe Ebola: *"This week alarm bells have been rung by Doctor without Borders about the outbreak, and spoke of 'an epidemic with unprecedented scale when it comes to the spread of infection'. The World Health Organization says it is not an epidemic"* (April 2, 2014). Both actors see Ebola as a problem, but they disagree about whether you should call it an epidemic.

Over time, the words that are used to describe the seriousness of Ebola change however. As seen above, in the articles Ebola is first mentioned as "*the largest outbreak in Africa in seven years*". Later in time, the following description is used: *"the scale of the Ebola epidemic in West Africa is "seriously underestimated" according to WHO"* (August 15, 2014). Now, the WHO states that the problem of Ebola is underestimated. So Ebola is a larger problem than previously assumed. Over time, the scale of Ebola as a problem grows: *"The explosive growth indicates that the epidemic is taking on ever more dangerous forms. Thursday the WHO warned that the outbreak in West Africa is still going to be worse and possible get 20,000 victims"* (August 29, 2014) and later there is even a comparison with other major disasters: "*the Ebola outbreak in West Africa, according to the United Nations, is as big of a challenge for the international community as the great Asian tsunami of 20014 and the earthquake in Haiti in 2010. "It's one of the greatest health crisis which the United Nations has to deal with", said Deputy Secretary-General Jan Eliasson"* (September 3, 2014). All these quotes show that Ebola becomes a bigger problem over time.

At the end, Ebola is still seen as a problem but as a problem that is becoming less: "*therefore, it is possible that the current outbreak could have a "very long and somewhat*

bumpy tail". " We must prepare ourselves for a long effort, which we must persevere until
probably the rest of 2015"...Nevertheless he is positive" (December 24, 2014). Although
there are still challenges, there is a more optimistic view about the problem of Ebola. This is
confirmed by another article: *"Ebola is in retreat, but do not rejoice too quickly"* (January 30,
2015). This is an example of how in the latest articles, the problem of Ebola is described.
There is more optimistic view about Ebola, but there is still reason to see the Ebola outbreak
as a problem. This development over time shows that although there is agreement about
defining Ebola as a problem, the seriousness and scale of a problem can change over time in
the media coverage. Especially the choice of words to describe it, are influencing the frames
about Ebola as a problem.

5.2.2 Diagnose causes and moral judgments

The different diagnosed causes and moral judgments can be divided in two sets of
actors; the local population and the international community.

5.2.2.1 Local population

The first cause of the problem is the distrust of the local population towards aid
workers. *"The aid is not easy, because a lot of the local residents distrust the health workers"*
(August 7, 2014). So this cause is about the actions of the local population, because they
distrust the aid and health workers, the disease could be spread easily. This idea is confirmed
by the following statement: *"in the area, stories are circulating that health workers are*
plotting a conspiracy against the populations and that people do not come back from the
hospital" (July 2, 2014). Clearly, this is seen as a major cause to the problem and at the same
time a judgments towards the local population; if they would not distrust towards these
workers, Ebola would not have been such a problem.

The second cause and judgments towards the local population is about the rituals and
stories. Especially the funeral rituals are seen as a major problem: *"moreover, certain funeral*
rites require contact to the people, and people who are deceased by Ebola are still
contagious" (April 13, 2014). There is also a reference made about local myths, in this case
named as stories: *"due to a lack of reliable information moreover a lot of rumors are present,*
what makes the fight against Ebola even more complicated" (July 1, 2014) and *"in West*
Africa many ghost stories are being told" (August 17, 2014). So both the rituals of the local
population as well as the stories that are being told are considered to be a cause of the
problem.

A third cause of the problem is related to the source of virus, namely animals. Especially in the beginning, the habits of the local population towards eating certain animals are seen as a problem: *"the government of Guinea has forbidden the sale and consumption of bats to prevent the Ebola virus of spreading"* (March 25, 2014) and *"bats are seen as the natural carrier of the virus"* (March 31, 2014). This last quote in particular is often visible because at the bottom of many articles, a reference is made to 'six thing you should know about Ebola' and in this reference this cause of the problem is mentioned.

5.2.2.2 International community

The first cause and judgments is towards the provided resources: *"The staff of the center in Kenema is paid no fees. The employees have not been provided with clothing that protects them against Ebola infection and there is only one stretcher in the building for transporting patients and corpses. Furthermore, this stretcher is broken"* (August 30, 2014). The example of the stretcher is striking; the lack of resources causes a situation in which Ebola cannot be treated well. Besides the lack of means like medical equipment, also money is needed. *"Of the one billion dollars (nearly 773 million Euros) the United Nations (UN) say they needed to fight Ebola, they only received a quarter"* (October 10, 2014). In this case, a judgment is made towards the international community because they do not give enough money to face the problem of Ebola.

The second cause and judgment is attributed to the lack of international leadership. *"Operational Director Brice de le Vingne calls it "unacceptable that only five months after the epidemic was declared, serious talks get started about international leadership and coordination." "Self-protection seems to be the priority for countries that have the expertise and resources to make a big difference in the affected countries. They can do more. So why do they not? " Said de le Vingne"* (August 27, 2014). The lack of international leadership is in this case seen as a cause for the problem; nobody takes their responsibility and acts as a leader. This is also evident from the following statement: *"according to Doctors without borders the international help is, in all affected countries, "chaotic and falls drastically short"* (August 27, 2014). So the international community is seen as problematic and therefore blamed in this outbreak of Ebola.

The third cause and judgments towards the international community, is about the pharmaceutical industry. *"It is clear that the pharmaceutical industry has insufficient "anticipated" on the current Ebola outbreak. The disease cannot be dealt with"* (August 16,

2014). The lack of interest of the pharmaceutical industry is seen as an important cause of the problem. If there would be a right medicine or vaccine, the problem of Ebola could better be dealt with. So at the same time, this industry is blamed for their actions.

5.2.3 Remedies/solutions

The first solution is related to the need for more resources as mentioned by the first cause. *"In the fight against the most serious Ebola outbreak ever, more international experts and money is needed. Margeret Chan, head of the World Health organization (WHO), has said this in Conakry this Friday"* (August 1, 2014). This solution that is suggested by the WHO contains out of two things: more resources in relation to experts and knowledge and to money. For example *"governments and aid organisations should put more means in the fight against Ebola, otherwise it seems an unstoppable epidemic* (June 23, 2014). This point of view is repeatedly mentioned by several actors. From these examples you could conclude that more money and means is seen as an important solution to the problem.

A second solution is related to the actions of the government of affected countries. In this case, the governments should handle the Ebola crisis with hard measurements. *"The aggressive approach is needed to deal with the spreading of Ebola for now and always, he said"* (September 5, 2014). So in order to deal with the crisis, an aggressive approach is seen as the solution. An example of this is: *"in Sierra Leone there will be a two year sentence on hiding Ebola patients. The minister of Justice of the West African country has announced this. The measure should help to stop the spreading of the deadly virus"* (August 23, 2014). This is an example of how a measure could stop the crisis and how African governments could play a role in it.

The third solution is related to the development of a medicine. *"In addition, according to Doctor without Borders, "money must finally be invested in research into vaccines and rugs against Ebola"* (October 17, 2014). So also on the website NU.nl, a new medicine or vaccine is seen as an important tool to control the outbreak of Ebola. The importance of a new medicine or vaccine is not only visible in the text of the articles; also the large number of articles about this topic suggests the importance of it. A lot of articles are in fact about new medicines, tests and outcomes. An article on August 8, 2014 says for example: *"experimental medicine against Ebola may be used"*. This is a clear example of how important medicines are seen as a solution.

The fourth solution that is mentioned is about a travel ban. However, this solution is not seen as a good solution by everyone. *"According to Obama, this travel ban could backfire"* (October 17, 2014). While on the same day in a different article is said: *"Jamaica, Trinidad & Tobago and Guyana have set entry bans for people from countries in Africa where the Ebola virus prevails. Colombia and St. Lucia stated earlier this week a similar ban"* (October 17, 2014). These statements show that there is disagreement among different actors about a possible solution.

5.4 Frame parity

This chapter has shown a number of cases in which frame parity is used in the articles. For example, the case of whether the effort of the international community is enough, shows how different actors feel about a particular matter and how different frames are presented in the articles. There are however two counter frames present in the articles,

The first discussion in which counter frames are visible, is about the decision of the HvA (Collage of Amsterdam) to prohibit students to go to Africa for internships and study trips. On November 4, 2014 the school says: *"Students of HvA are not allowed to go to Africa due to insecurity".* A few days later, an article shows an opposite view: *"HvA spreads panic by not allowing students to go to Africa"* (November 7, 2014). It continues by: *"the school encourages fear psychosis. It is a stigmatization of Africa that has not previously been shown in the Netherlands".* The two opposite views show clear counter frames on Ebola. On one hand, there is the fear for Ebola and students should not go to Africa. On the other hand, there is the stigmatization of the continent Africa that is underlying this decision.

A second way of frame parity that is visible throughout the time is about the discussion of Ebola control at arrival. Different actors state different opinions about this matter. A few examples of these different actors and their opinion are:

➢ Government of Britain: *"Britain had previously ruled out additional checks, but changes his mind after requests from politics"* (October 9, 2014)
➢ Christian Democrat MEP Annie Schreijer-Pierik: *"All airline passengers from countries at risk should be obliged to get an Ebola test upon Arrival in Europe"* (October 10, 2014)
➢ Minister Edith Schippers: *" Ebola testing upon arrival in the Netherlands is unhelpful"* (October 21, 2014)

These three statements show how opposite frames are used in the discussion. Frame parity is in this case used to give counter frames on this matter. While some parties believe that checks could prevent Ebola from spreading in the West, others believe that these checks are not helpful.

A third important discussion is about a measure from the governments of the affected countries. In several articles these discussions is discussed and opposite opinions are mentioned. For example on September 21, 2014 the following statement is used: *"Although Gao Jia speaks of a "great success", not everyone is positive about the drastic measure. Doctor without Borders is worried that the disease will just not be noticed because people are hidden"*. This shows that measures can be questioned by other actors. The discussion continues the following day: *"The Sierra Leone Health Services announced that thanks to the lockdown of the country, new cases of infection have been determined and have prevented further spread. But there is also criticism on the operation. Critics call it a publicity stunt and say that the health advice that is given does not represent much"* (September 22, 2014). So the measure on its own and the possible consequences are differently valuated. Because the different frames are mentioned in particular articles, but also over time, frame parity is achieved in this case.

The website NU.nl uses a lot of different sources and quotes from actors in the articles. Because they use so much different actors and sources, there is more frame parity in the articles themselves and during the time. The following organizations and actors are for example often used in quotes:

➢ Doctor without Borders
➢ World Health Organization
➢ United Nations
➢ UNICEF
➢ NBC
➢ CNN
➢ BBC
➢ Ministers
➢ African governments
➢ RIVM (Dutch Health Organization)
➢ Red Cross

➢ IMF

Besides the use of different organization and opinions in the articles, also a lot of sources are used. The following sources are for example:

➢ GIC/ Groninger Internet Courant
➢ ANP / Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau (Dutch Press Agency)
➢ NOVUM
➢ DUIC / De Utrechtse Internet Courant
➢ Radio France Internationale
➢ Universitair Medisch Centrum Groningen
➢ AFP / Agence France-Presse
➢ NOS / Nederlandse Omroep Stichting
➢ AP / Associated Press
➢ New York Times
➢ The Guardian
➢ Omroep Gelderland
➢ Trouw

The long list of organizations/actors and sources ensure that a lot of different opinions are heard. Although not all the statements are real counter frames, it ensures that the reader gets to know the different (nuanced) opinions.

5.4 Metaphors
Metaphors are often visible in articles about diseases and disasters. Especially the 'war' and 'plague' metaphor are often used. But is this also the case by Ebola? And which other metaphors are visible in the articles?

5.4.1. War metaphor
The war metaphor was sometimes visible in the language about Ebola. There are two ways in which this metaphor is visible in the articles. The first one, is about the words that are used to describe the problem of Ebola. While in the beginning the Dutch word 'bestrijden' is used, from July the main focus is on the Dutch word 'strijd', so fighting against Ebola. This use of words is visible in the following sentence: *"The governments of the countries in West Africa will work more closely together in the fight against the deadly Ebola virus"* (July 3, 2014). The emphasis is therefore more on the fight against Ebola. The description of persons is also related to this war metaphor: *"Among the victims are also two renowned Ebola*

fighters" (July 30, 2014). The people that help in Africa, like medical staff, are seen as Ebola 'fighters'. So the use of war related language is regularly visible in the articles.

The second way in which the war metaphor is sometimes visible in the articles, is about the description of the 'battle' against Ebola. The war metaphor is in this case more literally present: *"In the border region Lofa County troops are deployed to isolate the community from the outside world. "We hope that no force is needed, but we must make every effort to keep the people in the affected areas", says Brown"* (August 6, 2014). So the situation is described as a war zone, in which force is maybe necessary in order to prevent a further outbreak. Later that month, this idea of a battle: *"On Wednesday the Liberian army has used live ammunition against protesters in the capital Monrovia. They wanted to break the quarantine of their neighborhood. The poor neighborhood of West Point is closed to prevent further spread of Ebola"* (August 27, 2014). Both examples show how a war metaphor is used to describe the situation. Words like 'army', 'live ammunition' and 'force' contribute to the idea of Ebola as a war zone. Also other actors use this metaphor in their communication. The following quote of the UN Security Council makes a connection between Ebola and the international peace and security: *"The UN Security Council labeled the outbreak as a 'threat to international peace and security' "* (September 18, 2014). The outbreak is seen as a threat to security, so the link with peace and war is made. Another example is about an Ebola bunker: *"Rome airport builds 'Ebola bunker'"* (October 9, 2014). This shows how the use of particular sentences and words contribute to the idea of Ebola as a war; the war metaphor is in this case sometimes clearly present.

5.4.2 Plague metaphor
Referring to Ebola is not only done by using the word 'fighting', also the Dutch word 'bestrijden' is sometimes used. Other words are also used to describe Ebola: *"There is no cure for this disease that spreads death and destruction"* (August 1, 2014). Ebola is seen as a plague in this case, because it spreads death and destruction. Already on March 28, 2014 Ebola is called *"highly infectious Ebola virus"*. This plague idea continues throughout the time: *"also in our country there are now extra measures to avert the feared virus"* (July 30, 2014). So the idea of Ebola as a plague is very visible in the articles of NU.nl.

The fear for the consequences of Ebola in the West and the Netherlands remains limited during the entire time. The change of the arrival of Ebola is considered small, but not impossible: *"According to the RIVM the risk of the virus emerging in the Netherlands is*

"very small", but the arrival cannot be ruled out entirely" (August 8, 2014). Also later in time, the reasons for concerns remain but the real change is small: *"Christopher Dye, director of strategy at the WTO, emphasized that there is, and remains, every reason to be concerned and vigilant in Europe and the US. 'But it is unlikely that we will get large outbreaks in those places', he says"* (October 16, 2014). These quotes show that the fear remains small.

The previous fear is specifically on the changes of the arrival of Ebola in the West and the Netherlands, but in the articles of Nu.nl there is also a focus on a different fear. Namely, the fear of the local and international staff that are working in the affected area. *"'The fear among aid workers is great. Every day you see people die and colleagues are affected. In many hospitals in the country it is very difficult to motivate medical staff to do your job'. 'At several places there have been strikes and in the holding centers, isolation wards where people reside who are suspected to have catch the virus, some of the nursing staff is afraid to go inside to administer a treatment. This makes ill patients prefer to stay at home, so they further spread the disease'"* (September 26, 2014). The fear of the working staff is clearly present in the articles. Another expression of this fear is written on October 13, 2014: *"Nurses Liberia threatening to strike because of Ebola".* The fear among the staff is such a big deal that even strikes are options. Here, you can see a big difference between the fear in the Netherlands and the West and the fear in the local situation. Because the fear in the Netherlands remains calm, while the fear for aid workers that are working in the affected areas is very high.

5.4.3 Famine metaphor
The link between Ebola and poverty is often made throughout the time. This is the most visible in the title of an article on August 16, 2014*: "Ebola is a disease of poor people in poor countries".* But the choice of language in other articles suggest also that Ebola and poverty is closely linked to each other: *"the poor neighborhood West Point is locked down to prevent Ebola from spreading"* (August 27, 2014) and *"the deadly Ebola virus prevails especially in poverty-stricken West African countries Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea"* (August 30, 2014). Poverty is seen as an important factor that influences the outbreak of Ebola. Instead of looking at Ebola as a war or a plague, it is also seen as a kind of famine that befalls the local population. In this case, the 'poor people of Africa' are the victims of this famine.
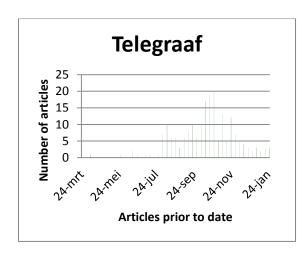
6. Comparison of the news sources

This chapter describes the comparison between the newspaper Telegraaf and the website NU.nl. The structure of the previous two chapters will be used to describe the differences between the two sources.
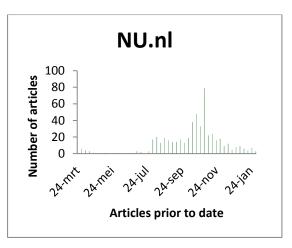
6.1 Number of articles

The comparison between the two sources has revealed one similarity and two differences. First, the two similarities will be discussed and then the two differences will be mentioned.

6.1.1 Similarity

The similarity between the two sources is about the figure that shows the number of articles over time. In both cases, the attention to Ebola reaches a peak around the end of the October/early November. From this point on, the attention becomes less and less until the beginning of February; at this point there is only little attention towards this topic. So the same figure is visible in the analyses of the number of articles of both the Telegraaf and NU.nl. This wave of interest is visible in the following figures:

These figures show a peak in the middle and the attention that fades away at the end of the analyzed period.

6.1.2 Differences

The first difference between the two sources on this perspective is the number of articles that contains the topic of Ebola. Almost 500 articles were used from the website NU.nl, while the Telegraaf only contained slightly more than 200 articles. This difference can be explained by the nature of the two sources; NU.nl released regularly more than one article about Ebola on a single day. For a website it is possible to have updates on the topic during

the day, while a newspaper can only publish articles on this topic once a day. The first difference is therefore the number of articles that were published on this topic in the investigated time period.

A second difference is related to the period in which the hype about Ebola is visible. Although both sources show the same figure in the number of articles that were published over time, the hype of Ebola began earlier on NU.nl. The hype began by this sources earlier, namely in the end of July. This is in contrast to the Telegraaf, where the hype began early August. This last source began later with writing more about the topic of Ebola. So in this case, the difference is the start of the hype that starts by the Telegraaf on to two weeks later.

By comparing the number of articles with each other, the same figure became visible by both articles but the number of articles itself, and the start of the hype differs between the two sources.

6.1.3 Media hype

As Vasterman and Ruigrok (2013) describe: "*the daily news generally contains regular flows of current affairs, but every now and then, there are events that trigger huge and fast developing news waves in which all media participate. between metaphors and hypes*" (p. 439). In the case of Ebola in the Netherlands, there is one major hype which is triggered by the seriousness and the fear of Ebola. At the same time, you can see that some events triggered news waves. This was especially related to the arrival of Ebola in the West and Netherlands. Infected and possible infected western people got a lot of attention in the media. These were the events that triggered small waves in the media.

6.2 Framing

In this part of the analysis three types of framing are discussed; defining the problem, diagnose causes/moral judgments and the remedies/solutions. The differences and similarities of all three framing functions will be discussed.

6.2.1 Problem

Defining Ebola as a problem has been done differently by the two sources. By Telegraaf, defining Ebola as a problem had two stages because the seriousness of the problem is highly debated in the first stage, while in de second stage there is agreement among the actors and Ebola is labeled as a major problem. So defining Ebola as a problem has been a debate on its own. While by NU.nl, the seriousness of the problem is already in the beginning clear although the words that are used to describe the seriousness of the problem changes over

time. So in the case of Telegraaf, defining Ebola as a problem has been a process and in the case of NU.nl, it is not whether Ebola is a problem, but the seriousness of the problem changes over time. This framing function is therefore different from each other.

6.2.2 Diagnose causes and moral judgments

In both sources there are causes mentioned and moral judgments made towards the involved actors. The similarities and differences between the Telegraaf and NU.nl will be described.

6.2.2.1 Similarities

The first similarity between the two sources, is about the distinction between diagnosing the causes and making moral judgments between the local population and the international community. In both cases, both of these sets of actors are seen as a cause of the problem and are therefore blamed for their actions.

The second similarity is about causes and judgments that are used by both of the sources, namely:

- ❖ the distrust of the local population towards the aid workers
- ❖ the rituals and stories/myths of the local population
- ❖ the lack of interest of the pharmaceutical industry

By diagnosing the causes and making moral judgment, there are quite some similarities in the responsible actors because both sources name similar frames. There are however some differences in certain frames towards Ebola.

6.2.2.2 Differences

The first difference is about the approach of the international community towards Ebola. By the Telegraaf the frame is about the preparedness of the international community while NU.nl talks about the provide resources of the international communities. One source blames the international community for a bad preparation for possible outbreaks of diseases. The other blames the international community for giving the right resources to overcome this problem. Even though these cases are related to each other, the specific problem is different. So in this case, there is a different frame about how Ebola could become such a problem and who is to blame for this.

The second difference is also about the international community. Although both sources see similar causes and judgments, they describe it differently. The Telegraaf talks about the ignorance of the international community while NU.nl talks about a lack of

international leadership. In both cases the result is that the problem is not addressed but the specific cause for this reaction is slightly different.

The third difference is that the website NU.nl names a different cause of the problem, namely animals. Certain animals are seen as a carrier of the virus and are therefore seen as a cause of the problem; the local population eats certain animals by which they can be infected. But the Telegraaf did not mention this at all, so this cause of the problem is therefore different for the two sources.

Although both sources show important overlaps in diagnosing causes of the problem of Ebola and making moral judgments towards actors, there are some differences in which frames are seen as important in this case and the describing of specific frames.

6.2.3 Remedies/solutions
The mentioned frames of diagnose causes and moral judgments, have influence on the suggested remedies or solutions in the articles.

6.2.3.1 Similarities
The first similarity between the two sources, is really related to the blaming of the pharmaceutical industry. Because a new medicine or vaccine is seen as an important contribution to the problem. In order to control this outbreak, this remedy is necessary so both sources mention this remedy a lot in their articles.

The second suggested remedy by both sources is about the actions of the affected countries governments. If the governments react in a proper way, the outbreak of Ebola could be less or even stopped. So both sources agree about this solution to the problem.

A third suggested remedy that is mentioned often by both sources is the need for more resources and the availability of the resources. Because the international community did not respond well on the crises, extra resources are seen as a solution to the problem.

6.2.3.2 Differences
The first difference is the discussion of a travel ban as a possible solution to the problem. By NU.nl, this solution is mentioned in their articles. Although different actors disagree about whether this could really be a solution the spreading of Ebola, it is mentioned and discussed by NU.nl. In the articles of the Telegraaf, this is not mentioned so this is a difference between the two of them.

The second difference is about how the local population deals with Ebola. The Telegraaf sees the right hygienic measures and information as a solution to the problem. Because the local population is a cause of the problem, according to them, there is also a solution that deals with these actions. But if you look at the articles of NU.nl, this is not really mentioned as a solution to the problem. There is therefore a clear difference between the two sources.

In the case of suggested remedies or solutions there are also similarities between the Telegraaf and Nu.nl, but at the same time there are also different opinions about certain solutions to the problem. So there are differences in how the two sources frame the remedies and solutions in their articles.

6.3 Frame parity

Frame parity could be used to describe the neutrality of news sources. Frame parity was not so visible in the analyses of the Telegraaf because frame parity in a single article was an exception. However, over time nuances in different opinions were mentioned. So regular readers could see some nuances of different opinions over time. And although the newspaper did not use as much sources as NU.nl, there were different sources and organizations used.

The analyses of the articles of NU.nl showed a lot of frame parity in the articles themselves. This was especially visible in the large amount of different actors that were cited and the counter frames of these actors that became visible in articles. Also discussions about certain topics were mentioned and the different opinions of the actors are used to describe the discussion. The opposite frames that are used in the articles themselves and over time, show frame parity. Also the long list of different actors, organizations and sources reveal a large number of different opinions about the topic of Ebola.

To compare the Telegraaf with NU.nl, you could say that NU.nl showed more frame parity in articles and over time. However, if you look over time, the Telegraaf also showed nuances in opinions.

6.4 Metaphors

Although metaphors are often used in cases of diseases and disasters, the analyses of the Telegraaf and NU.nl showed some differences.

6.4.1 War metaphor

Ebola was not really described as a war in the Telegraaf. Only in a few articles Ebola is seen as a war, for example by using the word fighting or name the local situation as a war site. So although sometimes the war metaphor is indirectly used, it was not prominent present in the articles. In contrast to the Telegraaf, this war metaphor was much more visible by NU.nl. The description of 'fighting Ebola' and 'battle against Ebola' was used throughout the time. So there is a big difference between the two sources: only one uses the war metaphor often in their articles.

6.4.2 Plague metaphor

Although the war metaphor was regularly visible by NU.nl, the plague metaphor was much more present in both sources. The Dutch word 'bestrijden' is often used and this is an example of how Ebola is framed as a plague. It is a plague that is associated with fear. This fear for Ebola in the West, is often topic of the articles of both sources. However, there is a difference in the amount of fear. By NU.nl the fear for the arrival of Ebola in the Netherlands and Europe remains relatively small, while you could see a growth in the panic towards Ebola by the Telegraaf. Although the plague metaphor is clearly visible in both cases, the related perceived fear is different.

6.4.3 Famine metaphor

Another metaphor that is really visible in the news coverage about Ebola is the idea of famine: Ebola is a poor population disease. This link between poverty and Ebola is often made by both sources. The underdevelopment of the African continent is the reason for the size of the problem so in this case there is no difference in how Ebola is seen by both the Telegraaf as well as NU.nl.

In the case of used metaphors, all three metaphors were visible but the level of visibility differs. Especially in the case of the war metaphor, there is a difference in the used quantity. Ebola is on the other hand seen as a plague but the related fear differs again, although the fear remains relatively calm. The final metaphor, Ebola as a famine, is however in both sources prominently present and dominates the idea of Ebola as a poor 'African' disease.

7. Conclusion

The aim of this research was to fill the knowledge gap of media framing in the case of Ebola in the Netherlands and the different media landscapes. The news coverage of Ebola in the Netherlands showed to be a unique case. The research question "how did the Dutch media discuss Ebola and how was Ebola framed?", is discussed in this chapter. The three concepts of the theoretical framework; 1) framing with the four framing functions of the problem, the causes, the solution and moral judgments 2) frame parity and 3) metaphors will show how the Dutch media discussed Ebola and how it was framed.

7.1 Framing of the problem, causes, solution and moral judgments

Problem framing was the first kind of framing that was discussed, and the results showed that looking at Ebola as a problem, was already a debate on its own. The Telegraaf showed two stages: a discussion about the seriousness of the problem in the first stage, and agreement about the seriousness in the second stage. NU.nl has shown just one stage: the seriousness of the disease was clear throughout the process.

Diagnose causes and moral judgments are other types of framing. Although there were some small differences, there were two important actors which were blamed in this situation. The local population and the international community are seen as the cause of the problem but are also blamed for their role in the process. The local population for the myths and stories about Ebola which led to an increase in Ebola cases. The international community is framed as an actor that is doing not enough to fight Ebola and help the local population.

The suggested remedies and solutions are related to the previous frames. The international community should give more resources to help the countries, by making a vaccine and give more money and resources to deal with the problem. Also, teaching the local population about the proper hygiene is also seen as a remedy of the problem. This last one, is only present in the articles of the Telegraaf.

7.2 Frame parity

The articles of NU.nl show frame parity by the use of several actors and organizations with different opinions about the topic. Although both sources use not the same kind of frame parity, over time both show a more neutral picture by using different sources and describe different opinions about the problem of Ebola, the causes and solutions. So even the Telegraaf, seen as a 'popular' source in the Netherlands, shows frame parity in this case.

7.3 Metaphors

The news coverage of Ebola has shown several metaphors in the case of Ebola. This study shows that three metaphors were visible in the news coverage of both sources namely war, plague and famine. The war metaphor is the first one that was used. However, this metaphor was occasionally visible. Only the description of 'fighting Ebola' and 'the battle against Ebola' are examples of how this metaphor was visible.

The second metaphor that was visible in this research, was the plague metaphor. In contrast to the previous metaphor, this one was regularly visible in both sources. The results showed that Ebola as a plague was linked to the fear of this disease. The fear of the spread of Ebola to the Western countries is often discussed in the media. However, although this metaphor was often visible, the perceived fear remains calm.

The third, and the most visible, metaphor in the media was the famine metaphor. This metaphor builds on old ideas about Africa. The African countries are seen as helpless and not able to deal with the problem.

8. Discussion

In this chapter, the scientific and social outcomes will be discussed. Also the research itself will be looked at and points for further research will be given.

8.1 Scientific discussion

Ebola in the Netherlands is different from previous studies about diseases in general and the case of Ebola in the American media. The presence of frame parity is the first new insight.

8.1.1 Frame parity, neutrality and the role of the media

Because there are different points of views in different articles, you can say that there is frame parity; it shows that the concept of frame parity should be broadened. Some articles provided a discussion about Ebola, for example about the risk. Entman describes the objectivity of news massage by frame parity: *"the news must offer a counter frame that puts together a complete alternative narrative, a tale of problem, cause, remedy and moral judgment possessing as much magnitude and resonance as the administration's"* (2010:418). Even the Telegraaf, perceived as a so-called popular newspaper, has frame parity over time because if you read the newspaper regularly than you could see multiple interpretations about Ebola. The results show that the idea of Frame parity of Entmen, could be interpreted in a broader way. Although there are no complete counter frames in particular articles, by giving different opinions over time, a more neutral picture is visible for the regular readers. And even though the Telegraaf writes in a more popular style, this does not mean that frame parity disappears. Looking at a perceived 'neutral' source and a 'popular' source shows that in the Dutch media even the perceived 'popular' source could be seen as quite neutral.

These results show a difference from the United States. In the case of hurricane Katrina, Tierney *et al*. (2006) saw a colored picture in the media during the hype. In the case of Ebola in the Netherlands, the role of the media is different. The role of the Dutch and US media seems to be different, but how could we explain that? Lack of frame parity could have major consequences: *"The history of Americans associating immigrants and disease and the implications for attitudes towards them should sensitize us to the impact of othering African immigrants during the current Ebola outbreak"* (Casey 2015: 7). This quote shows how certain ideas could have major impacts. If there is frame parity, counter frames are presented and readers could form a more considered opinion. In the Dutch media, there was frame parity present. The lack of frame parity could explain why the public fear in the US media was so

much larger. But what does this mean? SteelFisher *et al*. (2015) makes the link between politics and the media: *"The cases of Ebola inside the United States coincided with the lead-up to the November 3 national elections. This coincidence may have increased public concern, because media coverage increased as candidates commented about Ebola"* (p. 791). The amount of attention and the public fear of Ebola in the Unites States could have been caused by the political season. The role of the media is in this case different from the Netherlands. The media coverage in the case of the Netherlands is more nuanced and the fear and panic for Ebola is less. Although it is not possible to say how the cause-effect is, it shows that it is different from each other. The example of hurricane Katrina showed: *"the media also presented highly oversimplified and distorted characterizations of the human response to the Katrina catastrophe. Ignoring the diversity and complexity of human responses to disastrous events, media accounts constructed only two images"* (Tierney *et al*. 2006: 73). By simplifying the responses, a limited picture was visible in the news coverage. The difference with Ebola in the Netherlands could be explained by the use of counter frames. As Bennett *et al*. (2006: 472) state: *"a meaningful frame contest involves at least two coherent frames presented often and prominently".* There are differences in meanings about Ebola as a problem, the right approach and the dangers of Ebola. Also the risks about Ebola for the West and the Netherlands, is discussed in different articles by people that have different opinions. The results show that the role of the media is in the Netherlands different from the United States in the case of Ebola. This could have led to a difference in public fear towards Ebola in the two countries and could be explained by a different media culture, the influence of politics, and the existence of frame parity.

8.1.2 Development debate and the feminine metaphor

The second difference is about the metaphor that was visible in the results, namely the feminine metaphor. The case of Ebola has also shown a new kind of metaphor and is therefore different from previous diseases and disasters. As mentioned earlier, war and plague are often used by epidemics and diseases, like HIV/AIDS (Wallis and Nerlich 2005, Petersen 2005). In the case of SARS, the metaphor of 'SARS as a killer' was mainly used (Koteyko *et al*. 2008). But not previously, a famine metaphor was visible in the news coverage. In comparison to previous diseases, a different metaphor is used in the Ebola case. This idea of Ebola as a famine helps to understand why Ebola was looked at differently. And also why the actors' response was also different. Looking at an epidemic as a famine, explains why Giro 555 had a campaign to raise money: Africa needs help from the West. This idea is also visible in the

causes, judgments and solution mentioned in the news sources. First, the international community is seen as a cause to the problem, is blamed for their reaction and the possible solution is a different respond from this actor. The idea of Ebola as famine compliments this idea, because we as the 'West' or 'international community' should help in case of this disaster. Secondly, the myths and customs of the local population are also seen as a cause to the problem, they are blamed for their actions and the possible solution is more knowledge and information. This contributes to the idea that Ebola is seen as a famine and they need help to deal with it. Research about the media and Ebola in the United States revealed ethnocentric and xenophobic understandings of Africa: *The Ebola outbreak highlights ethnocentric and xenophobic understandings of Africa*" (Dionne and Seay 2015: 6). But in the Netherlands, the Ebola outbreak highlights old ideas about development and aid. The idea of 'we must help' and 'we now better' is dominant in the news coverage. This old type of metaphor about Africa in this perspective is for example discussed by Stillwaggon (2003:815): *"The metaphor suggests an African culture so different from that of Eurasia that it warrants a separate species classification" (p. 815)* and *"posits an African society isolated from Eurasia from the dawn of human development and evolving, albeit slowly, according to a separate cultural model"* (p. 816). In the case of Ebola, these old ideas about development and poor Africa, return.

Another difference with the United States is that it has not influenced the ideas about migrants: "*framing Ebola as a disease that affects "others" has a negative impact on attitudes toward immigrants as well as public health responses*" (Dionne and Seay 2015: 6). This xenophobic idea and negative feelings towards immigrants are not dependent of a hype, in this case Ebola. Instead, it is more nuanced; the role of the media is important and the existence of frame parity in the news articles could give a more neutral picture.

8.2 Social discussion
Ebola is different from previous outbreaks of diseases. This is already demonstrated by the fact that Giro 555, a cooperation of Dutch NGOs, has organized a national campaign. The previous 40 campaigns focused on war or natural disaster victims and this is the first time that an outbreak of a disease received this kind of respond. The reaction to this outbreak is different from other diseases. Again, this is linked to the feminine metaphor and a development idea of Africa. The famine metaphor is new when it comes to metaphors in disasters and diseases. If you look over time, the plague metaphor changes and this metaphor

became more visible when the amount of fear of Ebola grew. In this case, the change of this metaphor is related to perceived amount of fear.

Also in the Dutch media, for example by Nieuwsuur, the idea of differences between the Dutch and American media about Ebola and the fear, was noticed. The results of this research, show that there is truth in this idea. There are differences in the role of the media and how the problem is framed.

8.3 Limitation of research

This specific case study of the news coverage of Ebola in the Dutch media is not generalizable for other cases, like disasters such as Katrina or diseases like HIV/Aids or SARS. This was also not the goal of this research; instead it shows how in this case frames and metaphors are visible in the media and the possible consequences of these existing frames and metaphors in the media. So we have learned how in this specific case study, the media plays a different role than for example in the United States. The choice of this specific case study has also influenced the results. If a different case study was used, different results were probably found. However, because Ebola and the reaction to the outbreak of it is such a unique case it showed that there are different responses to different cases of disasters and diseases and differences between countries.

This study relied on the media analysis only. The use of addition and/or other research methods could also have led to different outcomes. For example interviews and the use of secondary sources about this topic could have given other or additional information about this topic. Because the study focused on the media coverage, it is logical to do a media analysis and it is therefore the most appropriate research methods and the only way to tells us how the media responded to the outbreak of Ebola.

The selection of the news sources had implications for the outcome of the research. The use of other sources, may have resulted in different findings. For example, social media and magazines could have influence on how people think about Ebola. Another restriction from this perspective, is the use of only two sources. In order to get a more complete overview, more Dutch sources could have been used. But given the limited resources and time, the decision of using both a perceived 'neutral' news source as well as a perceived 'popular' newspaper, different types of articles are being covered. It is therefore possible to give conclusions from the outcomes.

8.4 Further research

The findings of this study provided enough points that needed to be investigated by other scholars. It would be interesting to see how this topic was framed in social media and which metaphors are visible on this media form. In this research, the social media and other sources were not taken into account. It gives a foundation of how two important sources, Telegraaf and NU.nl, in the Netherlands deal with this issue, but how it plays out on social media is an important question for the future. A large majority of the Dutch population reads the Telegraaf and/or NU.nl, but social media plays also an important role in the perception of people about certain topics.

This study made a comparison of the Dutch media, which had frame parity and less fear and panic in their articles with the American media, which had an overload of articles with often a lot of fear for Ebola in it. It is however the question whether this also applies for other countries in Europe. Such an analysis of news sources in other countries could tell us more about possible differences in the media coverage and used frames and metaphors and whether this has implications for the reaction on the problem of Ebola.

Literature

Aarts, N. (2009). Een gesprek zonder einde: over strategische communicatie in een voortdurend veranderende omgeving. Amsterdam University Press.

Aarts, N., Van Woerkum, C., & Vermunt, B. (2007). Policy and planning in the Dutch countryside: The role of regional innovation networks. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, *50*(6), 727-744.

Baran, S. (2001). Prologue—Framing Public Life: A Bridging Model for Media Research. *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World*, 7.

Bennett, W. L., Lawrence, R. G., & Livingston, S. (2006). None dare call it torture: Indexing and the limits of press independence in the Abu Ghraib scandal. *Journal of Communication*, *56*(3), 467-485.

van Bommel, S. & Aarts, N. (2011) 'Framing nature conservation experts and expertise in the Drentsche Aa area in the Netherlands: a contextual approach.' In: Rogan, R.G., Donohue, W.A., Kaufman, S.(2011). *Framing Matters. Perspectives on Negotiation Research and Practice in Communication*. New York: Peter Lang.

Buseh, A. G., Stevens, P. E., Bromberg, M., & Kelber, S. T. (2014). The Ebola Epidemic in West Africa: Challenges, Opportunities, and Policy Priority Areas. *Nursing Outlook*.

Casey, L. S. In: Gronke, P. (2015). The Politics and Policy of Ebola. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, *48*(01), 3-18.

Dagblad academy. Retrieved at December 1, 2015. http://www.cebuco.nl/uploads/artikeldownloads/Dagbladen_NOM_Print_Monitor_2011-I_2011-II.pdf

Davies, J. J. (2009). The effect of media dependency on voting decisions. *Journal of Media Sociology*, *1*(3/4), 160-181.

Dewulf, A., Gray, B., Putnam, L., Lewicki, R., Aarts, N., Bouwen, R., & Van Woerkum, C. (2009). Disentangling approaches to framing in conflict and negotiation research: A meta-paradigmatic perspective. *Human relations*, *62*(2), 155-193.

Dionne, K.Y. and Seay, L. in: Gronke, P. (2015). The Politics and Policy of Ebola. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, *48*(01), 3-18.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of communication*, *43*(4), 51-58.

Entman, R. M. (2003). Cascading activation: Contesting the White House's frame after 9/11. *Political Communication,*, *20*(4), 415-432.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative inquiry*, *12*(2), 219-245.

Gamson, J. (1989). Silence, death, and the invisible enemy: AIDS activism and social movement "newness". *Social Problems*, *36*(4), 351-367.

Giro 555A. Retrieved at: February 16, 2015.
http://samenwerkendehulporganisaties.nl/eerdere-acties/

Harris, R. J., & Sanborn, F. W. (2013). *A cognitive psychology of mass communication*. Routledge.

Haverland, M., & Yanow, D. (2012). A hitchhiker's guide to the public administration research universe: surviving conversations on methodologies and methods. *Public Administration Review*, *72*(3), 401-408.

Journalism Lab. Retrieved at: April 4, 2015
http://www.journalismlab.nl/2014/05/nieuws-op-alle-platformen-nu-nl-nos-nl-en-telegraaf-nl-op-1-2-en-3/

Koteyko, N., Brown, B., & Crawford, P. (2008). The dead parrot and the dying swan: The role of metaphor scenarios in UK press coverage of avian flu in the UK in 2005–2006. *Metaphor and Symbol*, *23*(4), 242-261.

Larson, B. M., Nerlich, B., & Wallis, P. (2005). Metaphors and Biorisks The War on Infectious Diseases and Invasive Species. *Science communication*, *26*(3), 243-268.

Liu, B. F., & Kim, S. (2011). How organizations framed the 2009 H1N1 pandemic via social and traditional media: Implications for US health communicators. *Public Relations Review*, *37*(3), 233-244.

Mira, J. J., Lorenzo, S., Gea, M. T., Aranaz, J., & Aibar, C. (2015). Ebola's media outbreak: lessons for the future. *The European Journal of Public Health*, cku237.

Nieuwsuur. Retrieved at: March 9, 2015.
http://nos.nl/video/711144-amerikaanse-media-gaan-helemaal-los-op-ebola.html

Nerlich, B., Hamilton, C., & Rowe, V. (2002). Conceptualising foot and mouth disease: The socio-cultural role of metaphors, frames and narratives. *Metaphorik. de*, *2*(2002), 90-108.

Petersen, A. (2005). The metaphors of risk: Biotechnology in the news. *Health, Risk & Society*, *7*(3), 203-208.

Reese, S. D. (2007). The framing project: A bridging model for media research revisited. *Journal of communication*, *57*(1), 148-154.

Sanoma. Retrieved at: April 4, 2015.
http://www.sanoma.nl/merken/artikel/nunl/digital/merk-profiel/

Schaap, G. J., & Pleijter, A. R. J. (2012). Het sensatiegehalte van voorpaginafoto's: Een inhoudsanalyse van populaire en kwaliteitskranten in Nederland.

Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of communication*, *49*(1), 103-122.

SteelFisher, G. K., Blendon, R. J., & Lasala-Blanco, N. (2015). Ebola in the United States—Public Reactions and Implications. *New England Journal of Medicine*, *373*(9), 789-791.

Stillwaggon, E. (2003). Racial metaphors: interpreting sex and AIDS in Africa. *Development and Change*, *34*(5), 809-832.

Team, W. E. R. (2014). Ebola virus disease in West Africa—the first 9 months of the epidemic and forward projections. *N Engl J Med*, *371*(16), 1481-95.

Tierney, K., Bevc, C., & Kuligowski, E. (2006). Metaphors Matter: Disaster Myths, Media Frames, and Their Consequences in Hurricane Katrina. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 604, 57-81.

Vasterman, P. L., & Ruigrok, N. (2013). Pandemic alarm in the Dutch media: Media coverage of the 2009 influenza A (H1N1) pandemic and the role of the expert sources. *European Journal of Communication*, *28*(4), 436-453.

Wallis, P., & Nerlich, B. (2005). Disease metaphors in new epidemics: the UK media framing of the 2003 SARS epidemic. *Social science & medicine*, *60*(11), 2629-2639.

Villa media. Retrieved at: October 4, 2015
https://www.villamedia.nl/artikel/telegraaf-lagere-oplage-hoger-bereik

de Wilde, P. Fragmented online public spheres: Participatory Journalism online in the European Parliament Elections of June 2009: The Case of the Netherlands.

Yasri, S., & Wiwanitkit, V. (2014). Asian Pacific Journal of Tropical Disease. *Infect Dis*.
De Vaus, D. A., & de Vaus, D. (2001). *Research design in social research*. Sage.