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Framing Covid-19 in online news articles: a comparison between China and the Netherlands

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Framing Covid-19 in online news articles: a comparison between China and the Netherlands

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1. Introduction

By the end of December 2019, Covid-19 was first discovered in the Chinese city Wuhan. On February 27, the Netherlands determined its first infected patient and since then the virus started to spread quickly around the country. On March 11, the World Health Organization (WHO) made an official statement about the virus being a pandemic (World Health Organization, 2020), declaring that the virus would eventually spread all around the world. From the beginning of Covid-19, the global media followed events and developments around the virus closely and wrote about it extensively. Newspaper headlines stating the number of deaths or new government restrictions were coming in on a weekly, sometimes even on a daily basis. And as the virus developed, every country found its own way to deal with the virus and at the same time continue daily life as much as possible.

Information is important in times of uncertainty or fear, such as during the Covid-19 outbreak (Yang et al., 2014), and to reduce the uncertainty people are looking for more information, often in the news (Procopio and Procopio, 2007; So, 2013). The media are an important source of information for people, and the way that the media present this information can influence people's behavior. Previous research found that media coverage can influence public opinion and attitudes (An and Gower; 2009; Ogbodo et al., 2020; Poirier et al., 2020). With the use of frames, journalists guide the way people interpret information and thus shape mainstream perceptions (Poirier et al., 2020).

Previous research on framing crises in the news found that there are several factors that can influence the decision for a certain type of frame. For example, Ramasubramanian and Miles (2018) discovered that geography, politics, and the sociocultural environment all can shape the way that journalists represent and frame a global humanitarian crisis. The study suggests that the media and the context in which they operate, influence one another (Ramasubramanian and Miles, 2018). Besides the environment, journalists are also tempted to "sensationalize" stories to attract more readers (Frye, 2005; Pan and Meng, 2016). This can cause differences between media portrayals and the crisis reality. Thus, on the one hand there are factors that influence the choice for a frame type and on the other hand the type of frame influences the way people perceive the news.

Research of news coverage on Covid-19 helps us to better understand the news framing of health crises. For example, Ogbodo et al. (2020) found that the way that news about Covid-19 is presented to the audience, influences the tension that the crisis creates; it either escalates or reduces the tension. Hence, it does not matter what is said, but more importantly *how* it is said. Even more so, media coverage has the power to influence the

public's attitude and therefore can also influence people's willingness to abide by government's restrictions and measures, such as social distancing. In times of crisis and uncertainty people rely heavily on news media to get accurate and up-to-date information.

Many of the available studies on news media coverage during Covid-19 are quantitative. While this is an interesting approach to define statistics and patterns within the media landscape, qualitative research can add valuable information by connecting news frames to their political and cultural context. By comparing different countries' news media, this thesis aims to identify frames that journalists use to cover news on a health crisis, both in general and country specific. Previous studies provide generic frames that are often used in the media (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000) and with existing frames that are used often in the coverage of crises (Ogbodo et al., 2020; Poirier et al., 2020; Ramasubramanian and Miles, 2018; Pan and Meng, 2016). This thesis aims to recognize these frames in the coverage of Covid-19 in the Netherlands and in China, while also aiming to find frames that are unique to the Covid-19 crisis and/or unique to the Dutch or Chinese media landscape. Doing this, the thesis will add new academic insights on the topic of framing news in a health crisis and contribute to the broader field of news framing.

Analyzing existing research and raw data on Covid-19 news coverage, the thesis answers the following research question: *How do Chinese and Dutch online news articles concerning the initial phase of Covid-19 compare?* To answer this question, I will analyze online news articles in their original languages, in this case Mandarin and Dutch. The thesis consists of five parts. The first part includes background information regarding the Chinese and Dutch media landscape. The second part includes the theoretical framework of framing theory, which plays a key role in this thesis. The third part describes the method of analysis and justification of the decisions I made in the process of this thesis. The fourth part includes the findings of this project, providing evidence and analysis on the frames that this project identified. The fifth part presents this thesis' conclusion.

The main finding of this thesis is that the Chinese media mostly played a supportive role, continuously repeating the preventive measures and the responsible local governments to implement them. Doing this, the Chinese media, possibly in cooperation with the government, aimed to legitimize the initial government crisis response. The Dutch media were more exploratory, shedding light on different sides of the crisis and emphasizing the consequences of the crisis. Media from both countries published rather positively on the preventive measures implemented by the government.

2. Background of the Chinese and Dutch media landscape

The following chapter includes two parts. The first part describes China's media landscape, providing some relevant historical information and political background. The second part includes a description of the Dutch media landscape providing some political and cultural background as well as basic guidelines that news media outlets must abide by.

2.1. Media landscape China

China's media landscape is unique and developed quickly in the last decades, especially technologically. This section describes a part of China's history concerning news media, censorship, and the relationship between news media and the government.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, China's journalism system adopted some of the Soviet model of educating journalism principles (Hu, 2007). In this period, political orientation was very important in the media. In 1978, a period of economic growth and social changes began, and the state also loosened the control of newspaper organizations (Stockmann, 2007). In general, from this period forward, media practitioners felt confident to publish articles freely if they were not related to politics (Stockmann, 2007). Regarding politics, media practitioners were still constrained and forced to choose their topics and words carefully. The Chinese media industry became more dependent on economic imperatives whilst still having to deal with tight political agendas and rules (Poujol, 2019). Through the State Press and Publications Administration (SPPA), the Propaganda Department, and Party membership of key personnel, the Chinese government still controls the organizations of media practitioners (Stockmann, 2007; Zhao, 2008).

Media marketization divided newspapers in China into three types of papers: 'commercialized', 'semi-official', and 'official' papers (Stockmann, 2012). The commercialized papers are in the center of marketization, while official papers move slowly in terms of marketization (Stockmann, 2012). Official papers are most tightly controlled by the state, followed by semi-official papers, and commercialized papers are most autonomous within the limitations set by the Chinese state (Stockmann, 2012).

There are several departments in the institutional structure of the state that exert control over the media. The SPPA is responsible for "licensing, overall planning, regulation, and market discipline of print media and audiovisual publications, including newspapers, periodicals, books, and audio and video records" (Zhao, 2008, p. 22). The Propaganda Department manages the matters related to Chinese ideology and culture (Zhao, 2008), it also safeguards the message that goes overseas, often promoting Chinese culture internationally

(Zhang, 2013). Zhang (2007) argues that in this globalizing world, the Chinese state is actively trying to forward a positive message of itself, both domestically and internationally. Doing this, China aims to gain trust from Chinese citizens and other countries to get a more powerful voice on international matters (Zhang, 2007). Consequently, there are certain topics that the Party forbids to write about, or in certain events, Xinhua¹ is the only authorized reporting agent (Zhao, 2008). This prevents the spread of messages that possibly have a negative influence on the Party, for instance, in times of a (health) crisis.

In a tense event or issue, the Chinese government tends to carefully control the media's response to prevent a crisis from escalating or prevent the spread of negative information on the party-state. Authorities are challenged using the media for two slightly contradictory purposes: propaganda and public feedback (Repnikova, 2017). On the one hand, authorities want to shape public opinion through the media, while on the other hand, they rely on the media to manage crises effectively and avoid public discontent (Repnikova, 2017). Because of time pressure – people want information as quickly as possible in a crisis – controlling media content becomes harder.

Chinese journalists are challenged as well in a tense crisis, wanting to cover stories in a timely manner while experiencing tight control from the state (Repnikova, 2017). The Chinese media's response to the 2003 SARS outbreak suggests that political stability drives the news agenda (Zhang, 2007). The coverage on the outbreak was minimal in the early phase of the crisis, possibly because the government perceived it as a threat to the international image of China (Zhang, 2007). This illustrates that in China a "citizen's right to know" is limited and the reasons are the following: (1) there is no official law guaranteeing this right, and (2) not many Chinese journalists have the energy or the courage to challenge the powerful structure of the government, as journalists can lose their job challenging the rules of the government (Zhang, 2007). These limitations affect journalists in the way that they struggle between covering breaking news to reach commercial success or holding back to respect the government (Zhang, 2007). Challenges experienced by the government and by journalists are not unique to China, even in democracies, the media can play different roles in times of crises and governments try to influence the media agenda (Repnikova, 2017).

While it is widely known that Chinese journalists are under strict control by the Chinese state, Repnikova (2017) argues that there is a fluid, state-dominated partnership

¹ Xinhua is a Chinese state-owned news agency, it is the official and only CCP-mandated news agency in China (Xin, 2018).

between the state and the media, which is characterized by improvisation. This means that there is room for negotiation in terms of the boundaries on news coverage set by the Chinese state. Using the example of news coverage after the Wenchuan earthquake in Sichuan, China, Repnikova (2017) illustrates that the authorities actively worked together with media outlets to guide news coverage on the topic. In the immediate aftermath of the disaster there was no coverage on the event, the party-state eventually allowed news media to cover the topic while engaging the media in a fierce campaign of crisis management (Repnikova, 2017). In the first two weeks there were no censorship bans, only directives promoting positive reporting (zhengmian baodao, 正面报道) (Repnikova, 2017). Later, some commercial outlets received few further instructions while others were advised on the specific details of the coverage (Repnikova, 2017). In case of the Wenchuan earthquake, the fluid, state-dominated partnership between the state and the media resulted in the facilitation of critical journalists to cover the sensitive issue of the school scandal², however systemic change in terms of crisis news coverage has not yet happened (Repnikova, 2017).

Technological developments also changed the media landscape in China. The emergence of the Internet as one of the most important tools to spread news, made audiences active players in both traditional and new media (Hu, 2007), and changed the way Chinese people obtain information (Su and Xiao, 2020). Besides enriching the media landscape, this also increased the spread of misinformation, also during the Covid-19 outbreak in China. Because ineffective scientific communication can harm a society (Fischhoff, 2013), Leng et al. (2021) argue that different players in a society's media ecosystem all have essential roles to play in combating damaging effects of misinformation. This spread of misinformation might be another reason for the Chinese government to exert control over the media to avoid crises from escalating.

To conclude, journalists in China still find themselves in a very difficult position. Journalists in China are restricted by the government to avoid spreading negative messages that are related to the Party. In addition, media practitioners must contribute to the government's international strategy by producing content that promotes Chinese ideology and culture. Furthermore, especially state media, such as Xinhua are responsible to guide public opinion. The limitations and strategies, imposed by the government, inevitably influenced the Covid-19 media coverage in China.

² In the Wenchuan earthquake, some schools were collapsed while surrounding buildings remained intact. The situation aroused suspicion about the poor construction and corruption practices (Wong, 2008).

2.2. Media landscape the Netherlands

According to analysts Costera Meijer and Groot Kormelink, “the Dutch media landscape is characterized by increased media concentration, strong growth of digital news use, and the appearance of alternative and sometimes strongly partisan sources” (Reuters Institute, 2021). These alternative sources try to present different views than the mainstream media. In the last few years, alternative sources have appeared, mostly questioning the government’s response on Covid-19, 5G, and climate change (Reuters Institute, 2021). The Dutch media history is rich and papers in the Netherlands have developed political identities and are competing heavily with each other adapting to the digital age (Wijfjes and Harbers, 2019).

Dutch media includes genres ranging from the sole goal to entertain to educational and informative entertainment, by which I mean media with more serious content. There is one main public news outlet, which is the NOS, and several national commercially led outlets, such as De Volkskrant, Trouw, De Telegraaf, and many more. Apart from this, there are many regional news outlets. While there is a media law in the Netherlands that states all the responsibilities and tasks for the media in the Netherlands, the different news outlets do have different values (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2021b). For example, there are news outlets with a more conservative or more progressive political viewpoint. Ultimately, all different groups of society are informed on everyday news. While these specific news outlets might have some different values, they do still conform to the Dutch media law.

The Dutch media law is called the “Mediawet” and it outlines the responsibilities and tasks for the media. Besides diverse and reliable content, another important responsibility of the media is independence (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2021b). According to the media law, broadcasters, journalists, and other media producers can independently decide how they want to fill in their content, outside of commercial or governmental influence (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2015). To support this independence, the Dutch government has made special funds available that journalists and other media producers can use to broaden their content without being dependent on too many advertisements for financial resources (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2021a). The government also protects the quality and the diversity of media content via a specifically assigned commission (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2021b). The so-called Media Commission supervises all media producers. For example, the commission checks how media producers use their budget, what content they offer, and the quantity of commercials. The supervision aims to protect the independence, diversity, and accessibility of the media content (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2021b). The supervision of the Media Commission is also supposed to create a level playing field for

all the news outlets that are out there. According to the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Climate Policy (2018), a basic set of rules and guidelines is useful and necessary in times of a fast-changing and internationalizing media environment.

In terms of journalistic characteristics, the Netherlands is similar to the UK and the US. All three countries have mostly a privately owned, advertising dependent newspaper industry (Bergman, 2020). Other studies agree that commercial interests dominate the news media in the Netherlands (Bergman, 2013a; Prenger et al., 2011; Rutten and Slot, 2011). Rutten et al. (2011) argue that now, more than before, financial arguments are more valid in making investment decisions of media practitioners than for example news value. Moreover, Bergman (2013b) argues that the result of the commercial domination is that news media's content in the Netherlands is biased in favor of elite interests. In response to several critical events³, public trust in media performance in the Netherlands decreased (De Haan, 2012). Consequently, the media are forced to find ways to take the public into account and to increase public responsiveness and the trust of the public in the media again (De Haan, 2012). Political actors also blame the media for being too focused on entertaining and gaining popularity rather than focused on information, resulting in a loss of public trust in politics (De Haan, 2012).

In response to the critique, media organizations tried to shift their focus to media performance and accountability (De Haan, 2012). However, when it comes to day-to-day routines, journalists find it difficult to be more open and connect with the public, as they are so used to working autonomously (De Haan, 2012). Besides, journalists find it difficult to provide constructive feedback amongst colleagues, which could be helpful for the improvement of media performance (De Haan, 2012). However, while this autonomy issue is evident, there is also a transition going on in journalism in the Netherlands. The younger generation especially sees that it is necessary to be more transparent and interactive with the audience in the fast-changing media landscape of new technologies and social media (De Haan, 2012). Just like other countries, the Netherlands is finding its way into new media and combining social media with more traditional forms of media.

Now, what exactly makes Dutch journalism Dutch? Mark Deuze conducted research on journalists in the Netherlands and found that education is very important. He concluded that "Journalists in the Netherlands are not always typically Dutch, but they are always typically journalists" (Deuze, 2002). Journalism students in the Netherlands are schooled

³ De Haan: "There was criticism on how the media covered the Srebrenica massacre in 1995 and the position they took during the rise and death of politician Pim Fortuyn in 2002".

through books and taken-for-granted values of the profession and because of that are taught a rather uniform way of what it means to be a journalist (Deuze, 2002).

During the Covid-19 crisis, some Dutch journalists struggled with the continuation of their work. There was some debate in the Netherlands on how the media should report on the topic and the government's response to Covid-19 (Reuters Institute, 2021). The editor-in-chief of De Volkskrant, Pieter Klok, expressed his concern regarding the virus. Given the intensity of the crisis, Klok suggested that the media should “speak with one voice” and not “magnify contradictions” (Reuters Institute, 2021). Klok was not the only one that was concerned about news coverage on the virus. Several Dutch media practitioners point out that in the beginning phase of the crisis, they were somewhat more reserved because they did not want to cause unnecessary panic (Versluis et al., 2020). The debate led to criticism among the alternative media, accusing the mainstream media of one-sidedness (Reuters Institute, 2021).

To conclude, the differences between the Chinese and Dutch media landscape are significant and this thesis is likely to find differences between media coverage. Dutch journalists work largely independently and are critical of the government's decisions. Contrarily, Chinese journalists must conform to government rules and propagate the values of the Communist Party. Both Dutch and Chinese journalists position themselves in the debates of their own countries, hence debates that are influenced by respective nationalisms (De Burgh; 2005, Henke, 2020)

3. Theoretical Framework

This section describes the theoretical framework of this thesis. It provides an explanation of framing theory, followed by examples of media frames, and finally puts framing theory in the context of media coverage on crises.

3.1. What is framing?

Framing a story means providing a certain structure and meaning to the story. In the media, journalists think about how to structure and formulate stories every day. Researching the way that journalists *frame* their stories reveals the strengths and limitations of media and provides insights for future media coverage. Framing theory was first described by the sociologist Erving Goffman. Goffman (1974) argued that, according to framing theory, the way information is presented to an audience influences how people process this information. In other words, media frames can influence the way that people perceive information and, possibly, the way that people behave. Vreese argues that frames “are alternative ways of defining issues, endogenous to the political and social world” (De Vreese, 2005: 53), and that “frames are parts of political arguments, journalistic norms, and social movements’ discourse” (De Vreese, 2005: 53). Tuchman (1978) describes news as a window onto the world, and just as every window has a frame, so does the news. Journalists use frames to organize events happening in the world; it helps them to process all the information they gather and to summarize it for their audiences (Gitlin, 1980). Tuchman (1978: 193) describes it as follows: “An occurrence is transformed into an event, and an event is transformed into a news story. The news frame organizes everyday reality, and the news frame is part and parcel of everyday reality, for the public character of news is an essential feature of news.”

Besides organizing and structuring information, frames are consequential and can push the way people think into a certain direction. As such, Gamson and Modigliani (1987: 144) argue that frames “imply an implicit answer as to what should be done about an issue”. Journalists find their information in the world and news is the representation of this information via the journalist. Therefore, news stories also represent ideas, beliefs, values, theories, and ideologies (Qing, 2000). Through these ideas and values, news framing can influence the way the audience interprets the information, and it can also influence their behavior accordingly. In short, media frames can influence the way that people process information and the way that people behave. On the other hand, journalists’ surroundings, beliefs, values etc. can also influence the type of frame that they choose to present information. Thus, journalists and their environment are interconnected.

What part of a news story defines the frame of the story? Previous research suggests that there are different parts in an article that can constitute the frame. Shah et al. (2002) refer to “choices about language, quotations, and relevant information”. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) identified five framing devices: (1) metaphors, (2) exemplars, (3) catch-phrases, (4) depictions, and (5) visual images. All in all, there are textual and visual elements that can constitute a frame and they are different from the core news facts (De Vreese, 2005). This thesis focuses on the textual elements of the collected news articles to analyze the differences between China and the Netherlands.

3.1.1. Generic media frames

There are many media frames that journalists can use to present news and information to the audience. Previous framing research provides two types of main media frames: issue-specific frames and generic frames (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000; De Vreese, 2005). Based on earlier research, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) identified five generic media frames: conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility, morality, and economic consequences.

Conflict frame. This frame is used to emphasize a conflict element in a story (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000), which can be a conflict between individuals, such as presidents in an election campaign, conflict between groups, such as rivalry between sports clubs, or conflict between institutions, such as between companies and environmental activists.

Human interest frame. This frame gives the news a personal angle and makes the news more relatable or real to readers. While the industry of news media has become more and more competitive, news media have tried to diversify themselves from competitors. Framing the news in the human interest frame can attract more readers as it immediately gives an emotional angle to the news, which can be an effective way to stimulate readers to continue reading (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

Economic consequences frame. As the name already implies, this frame emphasizes the economic consequences of a certain event, situation, or issue.

Morality frame. This frame puts news in the context of certain general or religious norms and values. Sometimes, when journalists want to distance themselves from a certain moral viewpoint, they quote other individuals’ or organizations’ point of view on the situation, to suggest something to be (im)moral (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

Responsibility frame. In this frame, news media appoint a group, an individual, or the government as responsible for a certain problem or issue.

3.1.2. Issue-specific frames

Besides the generic frames, certain frames are only suitable for a specific event or issue; these frames are issue-specific frames (De Vreese, 2005). The case of Covid-19 is a specific issue as it is not just an economic crisis or just a health crisis, but it is a humanitarian, social, economic, and health crisis all at the same time. The advantage of an issue-specific approach in researching the news media, is the possibility to do detailed research on the specific event or issue under investigation (De Vreese, 2005: 55). Because of the detailed approach, the disadvantage of an issue-specific approach is that it is hard to generalize and compare the results (De Vreese, 2005: 55).

To avoid the limitations of using only a generic approach or only an issue-specific approach, it is possible to combine the two approaches. When the media write about a specific event or issue, they can also use generic frames. For example, while Covid-19 is a specific issue, I still expect to find the use of economic consequences frames, as the economic consequences of the Covid-19 crisis were evident from the very start of the crisis. Based on this, this thesis will try to answer the sub question 1: *What are the generic frames and are there any issue-specific frames in the sampled Dutch and Chinese newspapers on media coverage in the first phase of Covid-19?* To answer this question, coding and organizing the sampled newspapers helps to recognize the generic frames and compare them amongst the different countries.

3.2. News media in a crisis society

When a society experiences a crisis, people can become more reliant on the news for getting up-to-date and relevant information. Therefore, it is important that news media outlets present detailed and accurate information to their audiences. Because of the reliance on media during a crisis, much research is done on news frames and media practitioners' performance during crisis situations (e.g., An and Gower, 2009; Christians et al., 2010; Frye, 2005; Luther and Zhou, 2005). The media can influence people's behavior by using frames and sometimes, this can affect society. In times of a contagious epidemic, people's behavior might be more important to protect public health. Journalists are inevitably influenced by their environment while writing a piece of news and can be tempted to "sensationalize" the news to attract more readers (Frye, 2005). Previous research has found that journalists perform different roles, and in terms of disaster and crisis communication, they take on a facilitative role (Christians et al., 2010). This means that journalists observe what is happening and accordingly provide

information to the audience. Taking on the facilitative role, a journalist can influence the public's decision making in a crisis (Christians et al., 2010).

Evidently, the Covid-19 crisis is extensively covered in the media however during the crisis there was also much misinformation and “fake news” (World Health Organization, 2020). De Coninck et al. (2020) argue that the government is responsible for a clear communication strategy to combat the virus. Without a strong journalistic environment, people tend to conduct their own research, leading them to misinformation and even conspiracy theories. The consequence of getting the wrong information is that these people are less willing to follow the government restrictions and therefore can be a danger to public health. Thus, in-depth, and clear information regarding Covid-19 is important to maintain public health.

Reynolds and Seeger (2005) argue that in the early stage of a crisis, communication should focus on certain topics that are different from topics in later stages of the crisis. During the initial phase, rapid communication, seeking amongst other things; empathy, understanding, and confidence is preferable (Reynolds and Seeger, 2005). Clear, detailed, and rapid communication can increase empathy and understanding, and the tone of the articles can increase or decrease confidence (Holman et al., 2015). News coverage with a negative tone can increase readers' feelings of stress and anxiety (Holman et al., 2015). During the Covid-19 crisis, news media practitioners might have decided to adjust their tone to avoid negative consequences. Based on this information, this thesis aims to answer sub question 2: *What is the tone used in the media coverage in the early stage of the Covid-19 crisis (positive, negative, or neutral)?*

4. Method Section

This section includes a description of my methods during the thesis. This thesis uses a qualitative research approach because of the current state of the literature. When the current state of the literature is nascent, a qualitative strategy is useful (Edmondson & Macmanus, 2007; Eisenhardt, 1989). Previous research on framing the news is mainly quantitative, mainly testing theories and describing identified patterns. While the current state of the literature on news media coverage during Covid-19 is still in a nascent stage and many phenomena are not yet fully understood, I use an explorative qualitative research strategy. Another reason for a qualitative research design is that in such a process, elements of the approach can still be created and adjusted throughout the project (Edmondson & Macmanus, 2007).

4.1. Research Approach

To structure and analyze my data I carry out the following steps. First, I will use the five generic media frames - conflict frame, human interest frame, economic consequences frame, morality frame, and responsibility frame - identified by Semetko and Valkenburg to go through my data (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). While trying to identify these generic media frames, this thesis also aims to find new issue-specific frames for the news coverage on Covid-19. In this case, those will be frames that are specifically used in the case of Covid-19 news. While using the case of Dutch and Chinese news sources, this thesis aims to find media frames that are also found in other countries' Covid-19 news coverage. The research approach of this thesis is a mix of inductive and deductive approaches. For the inductive part of the research, this thesis uses the grounded theory approach, which means that a theory will be developed while collecting, analyzing, and comparing the data (Glaser et al., 1968). The deductive part of this research is mostly reflected in the literature review and theoretical framework, which describe the media landscapes of China and the Netherlands and demonstrate the generic frames that are used in the data analysis.

Besides finding more generic “Covid-19 media frames”, this project also aims to identify the differences between the Dutch and Chinese coverage on the topic. Because of their differences in media landscape, history, culture, and language, amongst other things, I will most likely determine differences between the Dutch and Chinese coverage. Researching multiple cases will provide different perspectives on the topic and give insights into the crisis media framing methods of Dutch and Chinese journalists.

4.2. Data Collection

The data that I collected for this thesis consists of news articles from different news outlets within China and the Netherlands. While other sources of news, such as TV or social media are also interesting, this thesis remains with articles because of the following reasons. News articles are all around us in our daily life, they get much public attention and have political influence. Consequently, they can also tell us something about what the dominant discourse is about. Secondly, news articles are easy to access; the news articles for this thesis are all available online. Lastly, news articles are powerful, their impact is large and because it reaches large audiences, they can shape widely shared constructions of reality (Wodak and Krzyżanowski, 2008).

For the timeframe, I chose to study the first three weeks of Covid-19 in both countries. For China, this is from the beginning to the end of January, 2020, and for the Netherlands this is from the end of February to mid-March, 2020. I chose this timeframe because in the first phase the content of news in the media was very rich and diverse. Furthermore, it is an interesting point of time in the crisis because Covid-19 at that time was still rather unknown to many people. Additionally, in these first weeks, the governments took some critical decisions in the attempt to combat Covid-19. Analyzing the way that the news media talked about these government decisions and how they supported or questioned these, can be an interesting angle because it tells us something about the relationship between government and news media in this crisis. Based on the description of the media landscapes, the Chinese media will most likely be supportive and the Dutch media more skeptical of the government's policy. Furthermore, the initial phase of the crisis was a time where news outlets had a large audience, since there was much interest in reading and watching Covid-19 related news (Savage, 2020; Benton et al., 2020). In a later stage of the crisis, the number of readers started to decline. Finally, some important events took place within these timeframes in both countries. In China, these events included the first media reports on Covid-19 and the first heavy lockdown measures. In the Netherlands, these events included the first press conferences, a speech from Prime Minister Mark Rutte from his office in The Hague, a speech from the king, and the first announcement of preventive measures. The next subchapter includes a description of the chosen news outlets, the case studies of this thesis.

In total, I collected 52 Dutch articles, eleven from De Volkskrant and 41 from NOS. I collected sixteen Chinese articles, ten from the Southern Weekly and six from Xinhua. The reason for the large quantity of NOS articles is that the articles from NOS were often really

short and thus a larger sample size was possible and necessary to reach about the same amount of content as De Volkskrant and the Chinese sources.

4.3. Case Studies

In terms of news outlets, this thesis selected two Dutch and two Chinese newspapers to compare with one another: two public news outlets and two commercial ones. The news outlets in question are Xinhua and Southern Weekly from China and NOS and De Volkskrant from the Netherlands. The reason for this choice is that they both have many readers and therefore can be quite influential in society. To illustrate, in the first quarter of 2021, the website and application of NOS together attracted an average of 4 million visitors (NOS, 2021). The exact number of subscribers of De Volkskrant is not known, however the website of De Volkskrant states that it is currently more than 300,000 (*Volkskrant Abonnementen*, 2021). Xinhua is seen as China's main state media agency (Brazys and Dukalskis, 2020). On average, Xinhua's website has more than 120 million visitors daily (Xinhua, n.d.). The Southern Weekly has 56 million users and 2.4 million WeChat followers (Southern Weekly, 2021). The reason to select sources from two different countries is to identify whether there are cross-country differences on the Covid-19 news coverage. The reason to select two news outlets from each country is to identify differences between public and commercial outlets. The next section provides a more detailed description of the news outlets used for the data collection.

4.3.1. Xinhua

Xinhua is a state-owned news agency officially authorized by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and representative of traditional Party journalism (Xin, 2018). On November 7, 1931, it started as the Red China News Agency and six years later changed its name into New China (i.e., the translation of Xinhua) News Agency (Xia, 2019). By the end of the 1980s, Xinhua was the largest news agency in China, with a domestic and international department (Brazys and Dukalskis, 2020). Since the 1930s, Xinhua plays an important role in covering politically sensitive issues concerning China and the CCP (Xin, 2012). Sometimes Xinhua is the only news outlet that can publish a certain topic and other news outlets copy the message or base their story on Xinhua's version (Zhao, 2008). Because of this key role in covering sensitive issues, Xinhua follows closely the instructions of the Party (Lee, 2000).

4.3.2. Southern Weekly

The other Chinese news outlet, Southern Weekly, was founded in 1984 by the Southern Press Media Group. It aims to publish serious news reports with high credibility (Fang, 2020). Southern Weekly is published every Thursday and focuses on in-depth news reports as well as other extra content such as reviews and columns. Examples of major and often used topics include among many more: society, current affairs, economy, environmental issues and protection, health, education, culture (南方周末, n.d.). Southern Weekly publishes on domestic as well as international news and also has readers outside of China (南方周末, n.d.). The Southern Weekly is one of China's most market-oriented and outspoken newspapers (Cho, 2007; Shirk, 2011). Based in Guangzhou, which was a central region in the process of China opening to the outside world, the Southern Weekly is highly market oriented. To meet the demand of readers and pursue market success, the Southern Weekly started to focus on social and government related issues (Cho, 2007).

4.3.3. NOS

The NOS is a publicly funded news agency that is a fundamental part of the Dutch public broadcaster. Its aim is to inform Dutch citizens about the world's developments. The NOS is present on many different platforms, such as television, radio, internet, Instagram, Facebook and YouTube. The NOS has high journalistic standards in terms of freedom, diversity, objectivity, reliability, and due diligence (NOS, 2021). NOS covers all serious news stories and has three departments: news, sports, and event (De Haan, 2012). This thesis focuses on the news department, *NOS Nieuws*. As a public broadcaster, *NOS Nieuws* does not focus on a specific audience, but rather provides news for all Dutch citizens.

4.3.4. De Volkskrant

The other Dutch news outlet that is used is De Volkskrant, a commercial news outlet in the Netherlands that covers a wide range of topics, from art and culture to politics and economy. De Volkskrant is published six days a week, publishes a weekly magazine and has extensive digital content (De Volkskrant, 2021). Originally, the company was related to a Catholic labor movement. In 1965, De Volkskrant moved to another building and distanced itself from the subheading "Katholiek dagblad voor Nederland" [Catholic daily for the Netherlands] (Hemels, 1981). From this moment on, De Volkskrant focused on a well-educated audience with a rather left-wing political angle (Van Gessel, 1995; Hemels, 1981).

I will collect and read the Chinese news articles in Mandarin and the Dutch news articles in Dutch, to stay as close to the original content as possible. Language is also influenced by culture and by reading it in the original language, I can more easily recognize the intercultural differences between the data (Carbaugh and Cerulli, 2017). In Appendix B, I inserted the links to the articles.

4.4. Coding process

To measure whether a generic frame appeared in a news article, I asked myself the following questions that were established by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000):

- Does the article reflect disagreement between parties/individuals/groups? (conflict)
- Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem? (human interest)
- Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem? (attribution of responsibility)
- Does the story contain any moral message? (morality)
- Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future? (economic)

For the responsibility frame, I added a question to emphasize the responsibility of people to prevent the further spread of Covid-19: Does the story suggest that groups of people are responsible to improve the situation around the issue/problem? This question suits the situation of Covid-19 better.

5. Findings

In this section, I provide an analysis of the evidence from the data collection. To solidify my conclusions, I present some quotes from the data that led me to find the frames, followed by my analysis. To structure the data, I made tables of the collected articles, including title, tone, and media frame. Appendix A includes the tables and Appendix B the links to the full articles.

5.1. Covid-19 media frames

Throughout all the sampled articles, I found the use of three of the generic media frames identified by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000): the economic consequences frame, the responsibility frame, and the human interest frame. The conflict frame and morality frame were not found in the sampled news articles. Some articles did not have one of the generic frames. In that case, I compared the articles with each other and tried to find another frame that was used multiple times throughout the Covid-19 coverage. In addition to the identified generic frames, this thesis proposes that the following frames are frequently used in Covid-19 news coverage: the healthcare consequences frame, the social consequences frame, the preventive measures frame, and the factual frame. In figure 1, I propose the set of media frames typical for coverage on the Covid-19 crisis.

I found the following frames in both Dutch and Chinese media coverage on Covid-19. The *healthcare consequences frame* emphasizes the consequences that Covid-19 has on hospitals, health care workers, and on public health. For example, this frame was used to describe the increasing pressure on health care workers. The *social consequences frame* emphasizes the consequences that a crisis has on a great part of society. For example, the closing of schools has an enormous impact on society both in the short term as well as the long term. The *preventive measures frame* emphasizes the measures that can be taken in a crisis to prevent the crisis from escalating, or that can help solve the crisis. In the case of Covid-19, these preventive measures were different among countries. Additionally, they changed in the different phases of the crisis, and above all, had an impact on all layers of society. I also identified a *factual frame* three times; these articles merely listed down facts related to the Covid-19 crisis. The frames above have been identified within Covid-19 news coverage from both China and the Netherlands, but I suggest they can also apply to other crises. Further studies could investigate whether these frames are also found in other crises' news coverage.

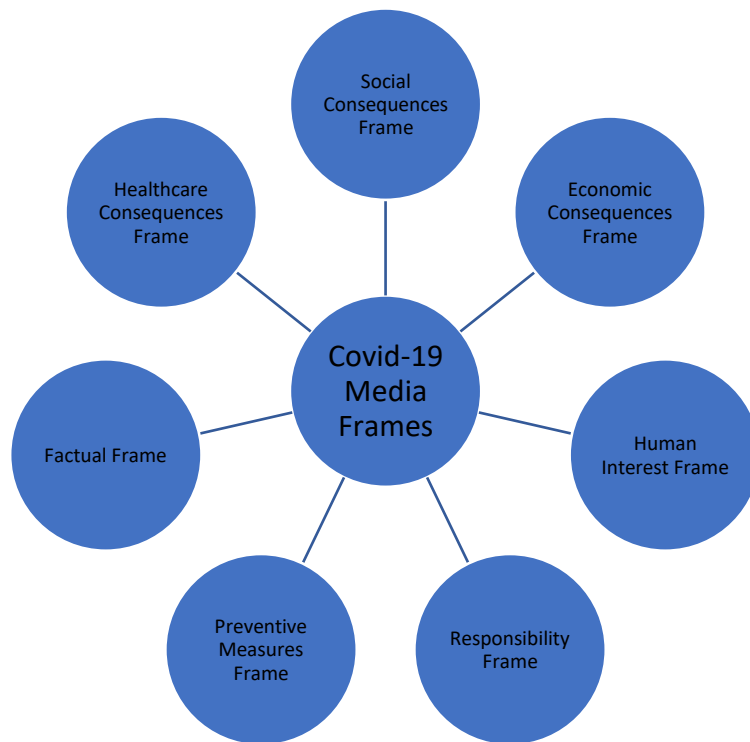


Figure 1: Covid-19 Media Frames

5.2. Chinese Media

This section presents the analysis from the Chinese data collection. First, I will point out the general remarks on framing that go for both Southern Weekly and Xinhua followed by a comparison between these two. Then I will make some remarks on the tone of the articles.

Before moving on to the framing analysis, it is worth mentioning the starting point of the news articles in China. Unusual is that both Xinhua and Southern Weekly did not report on the Covid-19 crisis until January 9, 2020, while the first Covid-19 infected patient was already determined in China at the end of December 2019. Analysts suggest that it shows that the government felt the risk of this crisis and wanted to regain control before spreading their approach to the outside world (Van der Putten & Van Middelaar, 2020). The government's Covid-19 approach tested the trust of people in the government; a failed approach was not an option (Van der Putten & Van Middelaar, 2020). Hence, the government first designed a strategy to deal with the crisis and then allowed the media to publish on the topic.

Frame	Southern Weekly	Xinhua
Responsibility	-	1
Healthcare Consequences	1	-
Preventive Measures	8	4
Factual frame	2	1

5.2.1. Framing

Within the Chinese news articles, the preventive measures frame was used most often compared to the other frames. This project identified the responsibility frame once, the healthcare consequences frame twice, and the factual frame twice as well. This paragraph will analyze these results by giving some evidence of the frame identification and providing arguments to the reasons for the frequent or little usage of a frame.

This project identified the **preventive measures frame** twelve times in total, eight times in the Southern Weekly and four times in Xinhua news articles. To recall, the preventive measures frame emphasizes the measures that can be taken to prevent the crisis from escalating, or measures that can help solve the crisis. From January 2020, the Chinese government started to implement measures, starting with closing down the Wuhan seafood market and advising people to watch personal hygiene (Yu and Li, 2020), and there are still measures in place right now, such as travel restrictions, maintaining the “zero tolerance” policy (CNBC, 2021). In article 2, Xinhua describes a report: *“The public should maintain indoor air circulation, try to avoid narrow, unventilated public places, and wear masks when necessary. Whenever having a fever or respiratory tract infections, go to a medical institution, especially when the fever persists”*⁴. The frequent use of the preventive measures frame and the lack of other frames demonstrates that the government wanted to focus on fighting the virus as quickly as possible (Yu and Li, 2020), with less attention to the economic consequences and human interest. Xinhua, as a state-owned news agency, supported the government’s decision and forwarded the message. Many people have questioned the period of hesitation of the government to react to the crisis, resulting in a delayed response (e.g.: Alon et al., 2020; Yu and Li, 2020). As mentioned, the news media did not report on the crisis until January 9, 2020 while the virus was identified a few weeks before. At this point, many

⁴ [公众要保持室内空气流通，尽量避免到封闭、空气不流通的公众场合和人群集中地方，必要时可佩戴口罩。如有发热、呼吸道感染症状，特别是持续发热不退，要及时到医疗机构就诊]

preventive measures were necessary to contain the situation, hence, the frequent use of the preventive measures frame.

Xinhua used the **responsibility frame** once to emphasize that the local governments are responsible to prevent the further spread of Covid-19. In article 5 Xi Jinping emphasizes the responsibility that all officials have in the fight against the virus: “*Party committees, governments, and relevant departments at all levels must put public safety and health in the first place, developing a thorough plan, organize all forces to carry out prevention and control, and take realistic and effective measures to resolutely contain the spread of the epidemic. We must try your best to treat patients, to find out the causes and transmissions of virus infections as soon as possible, strengthen infection monitoring, and standardize the treatment process*”⁵. Van der Putten and Van Middelaar (2020) suggest that the central government is distancing itself from the local issues in the first phase of the Covid-19 crisis and puts the responsibility in the hands of local governments to avoid responsibility when the measures taken fail to show results.

Overall, the Chinese news articles published mostly scientific and detailed information on what the virus exactly is and how people can prevent it from spreading, hence the extensive usage of the preventive measures frame. Continuously describing and explaining the preventive measures, the Chinese news media, possibly in cooperation with the Chinese government, aimed to legitimize the government’s Covid-19 policy. Schneider and Hwang (2014) researched the topic of disaster discourse and found that during the Wenchuan earthquake disaster, the CCP took a similar approach aiming to gain political legitimacy. To receive information, both Xinhua and Southern Weekly mainly interviewed healthcare professionals, epidemiologists, and government officials. In this first phase, there is no platform in the official news media for other professionals, like economic experts, crisis experts, sociologists or people affected by the virus or preventive measures. The media frames suggest that in the first phase the Chinese news media seems to treat the crisis mainly as a health crisis and not an economic or social one.

Between the two different outlets there are no striking differences. Southern Weekly’s articles sometimes were even very similar to Xinhua’s articles and also referred to other big state-owned news outlets, such as CCTV and People’s Daily⁶. This demonstrates that in the

⁵ [各级党委和政府及有关部门要把人民群众生命安全和身体健康放在第一位，制定周密方案，组织各方力量开展防控，采取切实有效措施，坚决遏制疫情蔓延势头。要全力救治患者，尽快查明病毒感染和传播原因，加强病例监测，规范处置流程]

⁶ CCTV is a state-owned TV agency and People’s Daily is a state-owned newspaper in China.

initial phase of the crisis, Chinese news media (both state-owned and commercialized) closely followed the information flow coming from the CCP.

5.2.2. Tone

Tone	Southern Weekly	Xinhua
Positive	3	3
Neutral	6	3
Negative	1	-

The tone of the Chinese articles is neutral or positive. This project did not identify any articles with a negative tone. The reason for this is that the central government wanted to increase the trust of people in them to prevent the crisis from escalating. An often-mentioned term when it comes to Chinese Covid-19 information spreading is “positive energy” (*Positive Energy*, 2021; Yang, 2021; Lu et al., 2021). On a symposium of news and public opinion, Xi Jinping explained what “positive energy” meant for the media: to guide the public opinion and strengthen positive energy (Zhang, 2021). The use of “positive energy” discourse is largely welcomed and reproduced by Chinese citizens on social media (Lu et al., 2021). Lu et al. (2021) argue that during the pandemic, even more people were in favor of news coverage with “positive energy” because of psychological fatigue, increased anxiety, and the uncertainty.

5.3. Dutch media

This section will describe the findings and the analysis of the Dutch news articles. Concerning the Dutch articles, I found the use of three of the generic frames and four of the new frames.

Frame	De Volkskrant	NOS
Economic Consequences	3	17
Responsibility	1	3
Human Interest	2	3
Healthcare Consequences	3	7
Social Consequences	1	5
Preventive Measures	2	10
Factual	1	-

5.3.1. Framing

I identified the **economic consequences frame** multiple times. Several textual elements demonstrate that there are heavy consequences to the economy and that there are some industries that are strongly affected by the crisis. For example, article 2 of De Volkskrant highlights the economic consequences in Italy: *“Several economists fear a recession, despite of the 3,6 billion euro that the government promises to invest in the worst affected industries”*.⁷ Moreover, some articles emphasize the corona measures that affect the economy. For example, article 1 quotes: *“The government measures reinforce the negative economic effect of the corona crisis”*.⁸ On the other hand, article 1 also mentions the winners of the crisis: *“There are also winners: Netflix, gaming companies and delivery companies are making profit out of the crisis according to Wessels”*.⁹

The NOS uses the economic consequences frame seventeen times and wrote about the economic consequences of the Covid-19 crisis almost on a daily basis in the first phase. Almost all the economic NOS messages had a negative tone with very alarming textual elements, such as: *“The panic meters of the stock exchange markets, the American VIX index and the Amsterdam VAEX index, which reflect the volatility and nervousity of trade, have skyrocketed and have not been this high since the end of 2008”*.¹⁰ Another example suggests that besides a health crisis, the world will face an economic crisis: *“The virus outbreak is paralyzing the entire economy and pushing the Eurozone into a recession this year”*.¹¹

At the beginning of the corona outbreak, much was still unknown. People did not know how contagious the virus was, what the symptoms were exactly, or what the best preventive measures would be. What people already did know, is that the impact on the economy was big and already visible on the stock markets. In times of uncertainty, the first thing that people look at are usually the financial consequences because they often have a large impact on many different parties (An and Gower, 2009). This is an evident reason for the frequent use of the economic consequences frame in the beginning phase in the Netherlands. When the virus first appeared in the Netherlands, it had already affected many

⁷ [Verscheidene economen vrezen voor een recessie, ondanks de 3,6 miljard euro die de overheid belooft te investeren in de zwaarst getroffen sectoren]

⁸ Translated from: [De maatregelen die overheden nemen, versterken het negatieve economische effect van de coronacrisis]

⁹ [Winnaars zijn er ook: Netflix, gamebedrijven en thuisbezorgers spinnen volgens Wessels garen bij de crisis]

¹⁰ [De paniekmeters van de beurzen, de Amerikaanse VIX-index en de Amsterdamse VAEX-index, die de bewegelijkheid en nervositeit van de handel weergeven, zijn door het dak geschoten en hebben sinds eind 2008 niet meer zo hoog gestaan].

¹¹ [De virusuitbraak verlamt de hele economie en duwt de eurozone dit jaar in een recessie]

people and industries in China and therefore the economic consequences were already visible in the Netherlands. Thus, one of the reasons for the frequent use of the economic consequences frame was simply that the information was out there and clearly visible, and therefore easier to report about.

Another reason for the use of the economic consequences frame is the news value of economic consequences. Before reporting something, news outlets consider whether a topic has enough news value or not (Harcup and O'Neill, 2016; Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). Economic consequences of the Covid-19 crisis have high news value as they influence every layer of society.

Notably, the economically framed articles often mention the company KLM, which is a famous Dutch airline company. Within the NOS article, KLM is mentioned 25 times and once in De Volkskrant articles. KLM is an important company to the Netherlands because it is an important driver of the Dutch economy and the largest user of Schiphol, the largest airport in the Netherlands (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2020). This observation strengthens Bergman's (2013b) argument that news media content in the Netherlands is often biased in favor of the elites, in this case KLM. Within the economic consequences frame, NOS covers mainly the consequences on large companies such as KLM and Rabobank whereas smaller businesses such as small restaurants were also largely affected by the crisis. Nevertheless, as this project only looks at news articles in the first few weeks, it makes sense that an airline company gets much attention as the airline industry was heavily affected from early in the crisis. All in all, the frequent use of the economic consequences frame represents that besides a healthcare crisis, Covid-19 is in the Netherlands framed as a severe economic crisis as well.

The articles with a **responsibility frame** are about groups of people being responsible for improving the situation around the issue/problem. Within the Dutch articles, I found the responsibility frame four times, once in De Volkskrant and three times in NOS. For example, article 2 of De Volkskrant demonstrates how Covid-19 became an epidemic and what people did to prevent it or to worsen it. I identified the responsibility frame because of the sentences that comment on the sensible or not so sensible measures taken by governments and hospitals. In article 3 of NOS, the responsibility frame is used to describe the responsibilities of employers in the Covid-19 crisis. In this article, the director of the institute for security and crisis management, Marco Zannoni, urges employers to think about the measures they can take: *"The most important advice for employers according to Zannoni is to start thinking*

about what they can do now and what they can do when an infection is identified”¹². Article 7 describes the responsibility of the government to react to the crisis. The responsibility frame, in this case, demonstrates the responsible ministers for the Dutch Covid-19 crisis approach.

One possible explanation for the little use of this frame is the government policy in the first phase of the crisis. In the Netherlands, the first phase was much focused on working together: the government’s quote read, and still reads: “Alleen samen krijgen we corona onder controle” [Only together we can control corona] (Antonides and Van Leeuwen, 2021; Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport, 2021). By pointing towards people being responsible for the crisis or for improving the crisis, people do not get the sentiment of togetherness and cooperation. In the beginning the government’s policy was still supported by most Dutch experts, journalists, politicians, and citizens (De Gruijter, 2020). The little use of the responsibility frame can represent the support of news media in the governments’ policy in the early days of the crisis.

Just as the responsibility frame, the **human interest frame** was not identified many times. I identified the frame five times in the Dutch articles, twice in De Volkskrant and three times in NOS. Article 8 of De Volkskrant clearly demonstrates a human interest frame, showing an emotional angle from the doctors working on the ICUs. They express their worries about the future, in which the amount of patients is too high and they cannot help everyone: “*We ICU professionals would find that heartbreaking. Dehumanizing actually*”¹³. On March 16, the NOS used the human interest frame to describe the situation of people working from home. The NOS also highlighted initiatives of people helping each other: A Dutch medical student: “*I love caring, if they call me up to assist in the corona department, I wouldn’t hesitate for a moment. In fact, I would be honored*”¹⁴. The little use of the human interest frame is not very surprising as various scholars have argued that in the beginning phase of a crisis, the public debate revolves much around information coming from scientific experts and government voices (Van Dijck and Alinejad, 2020; Weible et al., 2020; Garrett, 2020). The human interest frame involves a story with an emotional angle and is often not based on scientific or other expert voices. The little use of this frame represents that in the beginning phase of the crisis news media focused more on facts and advice from experts than on the emotional side of the crisis. In De Volkskrant, the human interest frame is in both cases

¹² [Het belangrijkste advies voor werkgevers is volgens Zannoni om alvast na te denken over wat ze nu kunnen doen, en wat ze kunnen doen als er een besmetting is]

¹³ [Dat zouden wij als ic-professionals hartverscheurend vinden. Mensonterend eigenlijk]

¹⁴ [Ik heb een ‘zorghart’, als ze me oproepen om op de corona-afdeling bij te springen dan twijfel ik geen moment. Sterker nog: het zou een eer zijn]

combined with the healthcare consequences frame. While these articles contain facts about what the consequences for healthcare look like, these articles also show an emotional side from doctors' experiences in the hospitals. The articles contain alarming messages from hospitals and might have caused fear among readers. On the contrary, when NOS uses the human interest frame, the messages are much more positive and focus on how people deal with the crisis in a positive way. The use of the human interest frame in a positive way was also evident on the coverage of the SARS crisis in China, Luther and Zhou (2005) found that the frame was used to show people the positive side of the crisis and to increase social stability.

The **healthcare consequences frame** was used ten times in total, three times by De Volkskrant and seven times by NOS. Just like the economic consequences, the healthcare consequences were quickly visible and alarming, and thus a topic with much news value. The healthcare consequences frame was sometimes used in combination with the preventive measures frame. This makes sense because the preventive measures taken by the Dutch government were often based on the healthcare capacity (Terpstra et al., 2021). When the pressure in the hospitals became higher, the measures in the Netherlands became stricter, when the pressure in the hospitals was lower, some measures were lifted. To explain the preventive measures, therefore, it is useful to point out the consequences on healthcare.

The social consequences emphasized the consequences of Covid-19 on society, such as on healthcare workers, students, people working from home, lonely elderly, and education. This project identified the **social consequences frame** six times in total, once in De Volkskrant and five times in NOS. In contrast to the economic and the healthcare consequences, the social consequences were not clearly visible in the first phase of the crisis. In the first few weeks of the crisis, it was mostly speculating what the social consequences of closing businesses and schools would be. The articles in this project identified with the social consequences frame were mostly speculations and expectations, rather than concrete proof of the social consequences.

The **preventive measures frame** was used twelve times, twice by De Volkskrant and ten times by NOS. Naturally, the Dutch news media published much information on the preventive measures taken by the government. Mostly, the articles contain an explanation of the measures and sometimes the possible consequences. The information about these measures is important and people wish to know them and have the most up-to-date information. The preventive measures had an impact on all layers of society and therefore received much attention by news outlets. Although the quantity of the articles on preventive

measures was high, there is some criticism on the way that information was communicated to Dutch citizens (Hameleers et al., 2020), and the communication has not improved until now (NOS, 2021). In the recent Covid-19 press conference on November 26, 2021, Prime Minister Mark Rutte even apologized for his poor communication on Covid-19 policies and preventive measures (*26 november 2021: Integrale persconferentie premier Rutte en minister De Jonge*, 2021).

To summarize, articles in the beginning phase of the crisis focus mostly on the (possible) consequences of the crisis and about the preventive measures. There is not much proof of other frames being used in the news, such as the human interest frame or responsibility frame. Scholars found that these frames are used more in later phases of the crisis (e.g., Ogbodo et al., 2020; El-Behary, 2021; Li et al., 2002). This project points out that the majority of the Dutch news articles in the first crisis phase contains more objective frames, such as economic consequences, healthcare consequences, and preventive measures frames. The reasons for these are likely the Dutch Covid-19 policy, the high level of support for the Dutch policy during the first phase of the crisis, and the high uncertainty level in this phase.

The main difference between the two news outlets is that De Volkskrant used the human interest frame relatively much more than NOS. Most likely, this relates to the commercial background and the sensationalist nature of De Volkskrant. In comparison to the NOS, De Volkskrant is more depended on subscribers for funding. To attract readers, news outlets sometimes sensationalize stories (Slattery et al., 2001). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) found a connection between the sensational nature of the news outlet and the emphasis on the human interest frame.

5.3.2. Tone

Frame	De Volkskrant	NOS
Positive	1	7
Neutral	6	18
Negative	4	16

A negative tone means that the article included negative words such as fear, code red, alarming, distress, fail etc. Articles with a neutral tone were neither negative nor positive, and mostly contained factual information such as the Covid-19 symptoms, government measures, or economic consequences. A positive tone indicated a hopeful message, such as a decrease of infected patients, or warmhearted gestures by people to help others. This project identified

eight articles in total with a positive tone (one of De Volkskrant and seven of NOS), 24 articles with a neutral tone (six of De Volkskrant and eighteen of NOS), and 20 articles with a negative tone (four of De Volkskrant and sixteen of NOS). The high number of negative articles correlates with the frequent use of the economic consequences frame, fourteen of the negative articles had an economic consequences frame. Previous research found that economic news is often negative, for example coverage on unemployment and inflation (Garz, 2013; Hester & Gibson, 2003; Soroka, 2006). Furthermore, the preventive measures articles were almost never combined with a negative tone, if they were, the article also contained another frame, such as the healthcare consequences frame or the economic consequences frame. This demonstrates that in the initial phase of the crisis the news media were largely supportive of the government's Covid-19 policies.

5.4. Cross-country comparison

By analyzing both Chinese and Dutch news articles, this project identified similarities and differences in terms of framing and the tone of Covid-19 news in the first few weeks. As described above, the most frequently used frame in Dutch media coverage was the economic consequences frame, while in Chinese media coverage it was the preventive measures frame. The differences of the countries' policies partially explain the use of different frames. While the Chinese government decided to deal with Covid-19 with a strict lockdown, including extreme quarantine measures, aiming to quickly fight the virus and have zero Covid patients, the Dutch government decided to only partially close businesses and schools, aiming to limit the economic and social damage. The differences in terms of media frames represent that the Chinese media mainly frames Covid-19 as a health crisis but that the Dutch media also frame it as an economic crisis and a humanitarian crisis.

In addition to different Covid-19 policies, different media landscapes explain the differences in use of Covid-19 media frames. Besides covering newsworthy topics, Chinese journalists have the task to carefully formulate sensitive news issues to avoid placing the Communist Party in a negative light, which inevitably impacted their work of publishing Covid-19 media coverage. Using the human interest frame or the economic consequences frame could have shed a negative light on the government's Covid-19 approach, as the implemented preventive measures of the government heavily impacted human wellbeing and China's economy (Ayittey et al., 2020; Wang et al., 2020; Zhang, 2020). As for the Dutch news media, Bergman (2013b) argues that they tend to be biased in favor of elite interests and

this framing analysis also demonstrates this bias with the frequent use of the economic consequences frame emphasizing the effects on large Dutch businesses.

Furthermore, differences in politics and in the relationships between politics and the news media explain the frame differences and differences in tone. Describing and continuously repeating the preventive measures and the responsibility of local governments to implement them effectively demonstrates that the Chinese news media, possibly in cooperation with the Chinese government, aimed to legitimize the government's crisis response. Besides describing preventive measures, extensively evaluating, for example, the economic consequences of the crisis demonstrates that the Dutch news media aimed to show different sides of the Dutch crisis' response. Doing this, the Dutch news media possibly tried to remain critical during the initial phase of the crisis by showing all sides of the crisis. On the other hand, the rather positive tone in the Dutch news articles demonstrates that the Dutch media was largely supportive and less critical towards the government's corona policy in the initial phase of the crisis.

According to the Chinese president Xi Jinping, the concept of "positive energy" should guide Chinese media practitioners to spread positive messages (Zhang, 2021). Within this data collection most of the Chinese articles are neutral or positive, which can be explained by the importance of "positive energy" in China. Some articles contain a difficult message however do have a slightly hopeful (i.e., positive) tone. In the Dutch news media, there are many articles with a negative tone in the however the negative articles are not the majority. Within the Dutch data collection there are positive, neutral, and negative articles.

6. Conclusion

To recall, the research question of this thesis is: *How do Chinese and Dutch online news articles concerning the initial phase of Covid-19 compare?* and in this chapter I will line up my concluding remarks, presenting the differences and similarities of Chinese and Dutch media covering the initial phase of the Covid-19 crisis.

Using framing analysis, this thesis demonstrates that in the first few weeks of the Covid-19 crisis, Chinese news media guided the public debate through describing the characteristics of the virus, the preventive measures, and the responsibility of local governments to implement them effectively. The Dutch news media mainly guided the public debate through describing the consequences of the Covid-19 crisis on the economy, on healthcare, and on society. While the Dutch news media naturally also covered the preventive measures several times, it was less extensive than in the Chinese media. In short, this thesis suggests that the Chinese news media was mainly *supportive* in the initial phase of the crisis, continuously describing the steps taken by the government to combat the virus, while the Dutch news media took a more *exploratory* approach, finding out what the different perspectives were on the crisis.

The framing analysis on Covid-19 news during the first few weeks is relevant as it reveals how news media guided the public debate by publishing or not publishing certain information. By staying positive and remaining close to the facts and preventive measures, the Chinese news media aimed to increase social stability and support the government's crisis response (Lu et al., 2021). On the other hand, the framing analysis on the Dutch news media demonstrates that they covered different perspectives of the crisis. Using more different types of frames, the Dutch news media tried to remain critical of the government's crisis response. The rather positive tone of the articles containing the preventive measures frame suggests that they were largely supportive of the government's crisis response in the initial phase of the Covid-19 crisis.

To sum up, in the initial phase of the Covid-19 crisis, the countries' news media are both rather supportive towards the by the government implemented preventive measures. This thesis suggests that the news media of both countries played a facilitative role in society in the initial phase of the Covid-19 crisis, merely informing citizens of the most up-to-date information. This also explains the relatively little use of the human interest frame in both countries, as this frame gives stories an emotional and less informative angle.

The countries' news media differ in terms of variety. The Dutch news media use many different frames showing the different sides to the crisis. Using the factual frame, the

healthcare consequences frame, and the preventive measures frame, China is largely one-sided, focusing on expanding the knowledge of Covid-19 and the preventive measures. In this initial phase of the crisis, the Chinese news media seem to avoid publishing on the severe social and economic consequences of the crisis. Avoiding sensitive topics relates to the persisting control that the Chinese state exerts over the Chinese news media (Repnikova, 2017). The silence of the news media on Covid-19 in the beginning of January, 2020 also relates to the Party wanting to regain control (Van der Putten & Van Middelaar, 2020).

The findings of this thesis are subject to some limitations. Firstly, the scope of the research is small and a larger sample size could strengthen or contribute to the conclusions of this thesis. Secondly, this thesis focuses only on online news articles, disregarding the news framing by offline and social media. Further research could enlarge the number of articles as well as the number of news outlets. Furthermore, researchers could compare the results to other countries and to other phases of the crisis. Doing that, we can get a better understanding of how news media frame crises.

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8. Appendices

Appendix A: Timelines of collected articles

To clarify:

EC = Economic Consequences Frame

R = Responsibility Frame

HI = Human Interest Frame

HC = Healthcare Consequences Frame

SC = Social Consequences Frame

PM = Preventive Measures Frame

F = Factual Frame

1. Southern Weekly

Nr.	Date	Title	Frame	Tone
1	9/1	武汉不明原因的病毒性肺炎疫情病原体初步判定为新型冠状病毒(The origin of Wuhan unknown transmissible virus has been determined for now as Covid)	F	Neutral
2	11/1	武汉卫健委：不明肺炎已检病例中死亡1例(Wuhan Health Association: 1 death from the confirmed cases as unknown lung infection)	PM	Neutral
3	15/1	武汉新型冠状病毒最新：不排除有限人传人可能，持续人传人风险低 (Latest on Wuhan Covid virus: cannot rule out the possibility of human transmission. Low risk of continuous human transmission)	F + PM	Neutral
4	16/1	新型冠状病毒：查明源头至关重要(Covid virus: key point is to find the origin)	PM	Positive
5	19/1	武汉市卫健委：新型冠状病毒感染预计新增病例可能继续增加(Wuhan health association: Covid infected number is predicted to be increasing)	PM	Positive
6	20/1	国家卫健委：广东确认首例输入性新型冠状病毒感染肺炎确诊病例 (National Health Association: Guangdong confirms the first case of Covid patient which is infected from out the province)	PM	Neutral
7	20/1	新型冠状病毒感染的肺炎有哪些症状？你想知道的全在这里！(What are the symptoms for Covid virus? Everything you want to know is here)	PM	Neutral
8	21/1	武汉实施进出武汉人员管控 遏制疫情扩散 (Wuhan implements control of personnel entering and exiting Wuhan to curb the spread of the epidemic)	PM	Neutral
9	21/1	武汉新型冠状病毒感染患者救治均由政府买单 (The government will pay for all the Covid cases' treatment fee)	HC	Positive
10	21/1	钟南山：新型冠状病毒尚无有效针对性药物，隔离病人是最有效方法 (Zhong Nanshan: There is not yet an effective medication against Covid virus, quarantine is the most effective measure)	PM	Negative

2. Xinhua

Nr.	Date	Title	Frame	Tone
1	9/1	专家称系新型冠状病毒 武汉不明原因的病毒性肺炎疫情病原学鉴定取得初步进展 (Experts state that about the Covid virus, the investigation about the reason for the unknown transmissible lung infection virus has got the first developments)	F	Neutral
2	11/1	武汉确诊41例感染新型冠状病毒肺炎患者 (Wuhan confirms with 41 patients who are infected by Covid virus)	PM	Neutral
3	11/1	专家称武汉不明原因的病毒性肺炎可防可控 (Experts state that the unknown transmissible lung infection can be prevented and can be contained)	PM	Neutral
4	19/1	疫情可防可控——武汉市就新型冠状病毒感染的肺炎综合防控工作答记者问(The pandemic can be prevented and contained – Responded by Wuhan Covid general control association)	PM	Positive
5	20/1	习近平对新型冠状病毒感染的肺炎疫情作出重要指示 强调要把人民群众生命安全和身体健康放在第一位 坚决遏制疫情蔓延势头 李克强作出批示 (Xi Jinping gave important instructions on the work against Covid. He emphasized to put people's safety and health first, strongly stop the spread of Covid pandemic, Li Keqiang agrees)	R + PM	Positive
6	21/1	疫情快速变化 防控处在关键节点——新型冠状病毒感染肺炎疫情防控焦点回应(The pandemic changes very rapidly, the work of containing is at a turning point – Responded by the Covid control center)	PM	Positive

3. De Volkskrant

Nr.	Date	Title	Frame	Tone
1	29/2	Bij crisis: blijven communiceren (In times of crisis: keep communicating)	EC	Neutral
2	5/3	Zo werd corona een epidemie (This is how corona became an epidemic)	R	Negative
3	9/3	Geen paniek (Don't panic)	EC	Positive
4	13/3	Het is tijd voor een apart epidemieziekenhuis (It is time for a separate epidemic hospital)	HC	Neutral
5	13/3	Maak je zorgen, leer toch van Italië (Worry, learn from Italy)	HI + HC	Negative
6	14/3	Scholen sluiten? Dat kost zeker mensenlevens (Closing schools? That will definitely cost lives)	SC	Neutral
7	14/3	Gemoederen werken in de richting van schoolsluiting (Closing of schools on the agenda)	PM	Neutral
8	16/3	Niet alleen ouderen komen terecht op ic (Not only the elderly end up at the ICU)	HI + HC	Negative
9	16/3	Waar slaat het virus het hevigst toe (Where does the virus strike most fiercely?)	F	Neutral
10	18/3	Het voelt als Russische roulette (It feels like Russian roulette)	EC	Negative
11	19/3	Afstand houden, of anders... (Keep distance, or else...)	PM	Neutral

4. NOS

Nr.	Date	Title	Frame	Tone
1	28/2	Q&A coronavirus: wat gebeurt er nu en moeten carnavalsgangers zich zorgen maken? (Q&A coronavirus: what is happening right now and do carnival celebrators have to worry?)	PM	Neutral
2	28/2	Beurzen verder onderuit door coronavirus; AEX verliest 13 procent in een week (Stock markets drop further because of the coronavirus; AEX loses 13 percent within one week)	EC	Negative
3	28/2	Werkgevers moeten alvast bedenken wat ze kunnen doen tegen coronavirus (Employees have to start thinking about what they can do against the coronavirus)	R	Neutral
4	1/3	Hans de Boer (VNO-NCW): corona hakt in op economie (Hans de Boer (VNO-NCW): corona has impact on economy)	EC	Negative
5	2/3	Huisartsen vrezen voor voortgang zorg door coronavirus (GPs fear continuation of healthcare due to coronavirus)	HC	Negative
6	3/3	Waarom er meer aandacht is voor corona dan voor griep (The reason that corona gets more attention than the flu)	SC	Neutral
7	3/3	RIVM vraagt in Kamer om aanpassing reisadvies Noord-Italië (RIVM asks Parliament to adjust travel advice to Northern Italy)	R	Neutral
8	5/3	Luchtvaartbranche vreest 113 miljard omzetverlies door coronavirus (Aviation industry fears turnover loss of 113 billion due to coronavirus)	EC	Negative
9	6/3	RIVM wil Brabanders thuishouden en ziekenhuispersoneel testen (RIVM wants people from Brabant to quarantine and to test hospital staff)	PM	Neutral
10	9/3	Rabobank: economische groei Nederland halveert door coronavirus (Rabobank: economic growth in the Netherlands cut in half due to coronavirus)	EC	Negative
11	9/3	Een bloedrode dag op de beurs, wat gaan we daarvan merken? (A dark day on the stock market, what will we notice from it?)	EC	Negative
12	9/3	AEX diep rood, Wall Street beleeft grootste verlies sinds 2008 (AEX deeply red, Wall Street experiences biggest losses since 2008)	EC	Negative
13	10/3	Kabinet: schud geen handen meer, werk in Brabant als het kan thuis (Government: do not shake hands anymore, if you work in Brabant: work from home when possible)	PM	Neutral
14	10/3	Olieruzie en coronavirus waren 'perfect storm' die beurzen rood kleurde (Oil quarrel and coronavirus were 'perfect storm' that caused stock markets to turn red)	EC	Negative
15	11/3	Hotelbranche: 'Aantal crises gehad, maar deze is echt vreselijk' (Hotel industry: 'We've had crises in the past, but this one is truly horrible')	EC	Negative
16	11/3	Crisis-experts: onze corona-aanpak is goed, communicatie kan beter (Crisis experts: our corona approach is good, communication could be better)	PM + HC	Positive
17	11/3	Meer coronapatiënten en minder beschermingsmiddelen, wat doen ziekenhuizen nu? (More corona patients and less protective equipment, what do hospitals do?)	HC	Neutral
18	11/3	Corona-uitbraak nu officieel pandemie, wat betekent dat? (Corona outbreak officially pandemic now, what does this mean?)	HC	Neutral
19	12/3	Aandelenbeurzen crashen, AEX en Dow boeken grootste verlies sinds 1987 (Stock markets crash, AEX and Dow experience greatest losses since 1987)	EC	Negative
20	12/3	Corona-maatregelen: thuisblijven bij milde klachten, evenementen massaal afgelast (Corona measures: if you have mild symptoms: stay at home, events cancelled)	PM + HC	Negative
21	12/3	Dit was de dag dat Nederland 'een patiënt' werd (This was the day that the Netherlands became 'a patient')	PM	Neutral
22	13/3	Slob: scholen blijven open, maar we vragen niet het onmogelijke (Slob: schools stay open, but we are not asking for the impossible)	PM	Neutral

23	13/3	KLM wil werktijdverkorting, schraapt minimaal 1500 banen (KLM wants short-time working support, cuts at least 1500 jobs)	EC	Negative
24	13/3	Coronavirus: grenzen dicht, thuiswerken en hamsteren (Coronavirus: borders closed, working from home and hoarding)	PM + HC + EC	Negative
25	15/3	Rutte spreekt morgen land toe over coronavirus (Tomorrow Rutte will address the country about coronavirus)	SC	Neutral
26	16/3	Economie koerst af op recessie: centrale banken in de aanval, beurzen in het rood (Economy is heading for recession: central banks are attacking, stock markets in the red)	EC	Negative
27	16/3	Air France-KLM stopt bijna helemaal met vliegen vanwege coronavirus (Air France-KLM almost completely stopped flying due to coronavirus)	EC	Negative
28	16/3	Plots thuiswerken met een huilende baby, hoe doe je dat? (Suddenly working from home with a crying baby, how to do that?)	HI	Neutral
29	16/3	Door coronacrisis zelfstandige krijgt makkelijker bijstand (Self-employed persons affected by the coronacrisis receive support more easily)	EC	Positive
30	16/3	'Laat mij maar helpen, ik kan toch niet drie weken Netflixen' ('Let me help, I can't just watch Netflix for three weeks straight')	HI	Positive
31	16/3	Coffeeshops mogen weer open voor afhalen (Coffeeshops can re-open for pickup)	SC	Neutral
32	17/3	Experts: Nederlands coronabeleid is goed, lockdown zou onzin zijn (Experts: Dutch corona policy is good, lockdown would be nonsense)	SC	Neutral
33	17/3	Miljardepakket voor corona-geduceerden: wat zit erin voor mijn bedrijf? (Billion dollar package for coronavictims: what's in it for my company?)	EC	Neutral
34	18/3	Dit jaar geen Songfestival in Rotterdam, 'alles op alles voor 2021' (No Eurovision Song Contest in Rotterdam this year, 'we'll do everything possible for 2021')	PM	Positive
35	18/3	Grote drukte bij banken met bedrijven in nood (Busy at banks with companies in distress)	EC	Neutral
36	18/3	Schiphol gaat grotendeels dicht: 'We maken een kern-Schiphol' (For the most part Schiphol will close: 'We are making a core Schiphol')	PM	Neutral
37	18/3	Kabinet gesteund in corona-aanpak, Kamer unaniem voor bonus zorgpersoneel (Government supported in corona approach, Parliament unanimously votes for healthcare staff bonus)	SC	Positive
38	19/3	'Bloedbanken gaan opbouw immuniteit coronavirus onderzoeken' ('Bloodbanks will investigate the build-up of immunity to coronavirus')	R	Positive
39	19/3	Wat zijn de economische gevolgen en risico's van de coronacrisis? (What are the economic consequences and risks of coronacrisis?)	EC	Neutral
40	19/3	Volgende week 500 tot 1000 coronapatiënten op IC's verwacht (500 to 1000 corona patients expected in ICUs next week)	HC	Negative
41	20/3	Koning: coronavirus kunnen we niet stoppen, eenzaamheidsvirus wel (King: we can't stop the coronavirus, but we can stop the loneliness virus)	HI	Positive

Appendix B: Links to the sample articles

1. Southern Weekly

Nr.	Link
1	Wu, Z. (2020, January 9). 武汉不明原因的病毒性肺炎疫情病原体初步判定为新型冠状病毒. <i>Southern Weekly</i> . Retrieved from http://www.infzm.com/contents/174091

2	Wu, Z. (2020, January 11). 武汉卫健委：不明肺炎已检病例中死亡1例. <i>Southern Weekly</i> . Retrieved from http://www.infzm.com/contents/174314
3	Wu, B., and Rou, F. (2020, January 15). 武汉新型冠状病毒最新：不排除有限人传人可能，持续人传人风险低. <i>Southern Weekly</i> . Retrieved from http://www.infzm.com/contents/174529
4	Tang, B., Zhu, L., and Ke, K. (2020, January 16). 新型冠状病毒：查明源头至关重要. <i>Southern Weekly</i> . Retrieved from http://www.infzm.com/contents/174679
5	Mai, X., and Wan, L. (2020, January 19). 武汉市卫健委：新型冠状病毒感染预计新增病例可能继续增加. <i>Southern Weekly</i> . Retrieved from http://www.infzm.com/contents/174808
6	Wu, Z. (2020, January 20). 国家卫健委：广东确认首例输入性新型冠状病毒感染肺炎确诊病例. <i>Southern Weekly</i> . Retrieved from http://www.infzm.com/contents/174875
7	(2020, January 20). 新型冠状病毒感染的肺炎有哪些症状？你想知道的全在这里！ <i>Southern Weekly</i> . Retrieved from http://www.infzm.com/contents/174880
8	Cheng, Y. (2020, January 21). 武汉实施进出武汉人员管控 遏制疫情扩散. <i>Southern Weekly</i> . Retrieved from http://www.infzm.com/contents/174970
9	(2020, January 21). 武汉新型冠状病毒感染患者救治均由政府买单. <i>Southern Weekly</i> . Retrieved from http://www.infzm.com/contents/174992
10	(2020, January 21). 钟南山：新型冠状病毒尚无有效针对性药物，隔离病人是最有效方法. <i>Southern Weekly</i> . Retrieved from http://www.infzm.com/contents/174990

2. Xinhua

Nr.	Link
1	Qu, T. (2020, January 9). 专家称系新型冠状病毒 武汉不明原因的病毒性肺炎疫情病原学鉴定取得初步进展. <i>Xinhua</i> , Retrieved from http://www.xinhuanet.com/2020-01/09/c_1125438971.htm
2	Liao, J., and Li, C. (2020, January 11). 武汉确诊41例感染新型冠状病毒肺炎患者. <i>Xinhua</i> . Retrieved from http://www.xinhuanet.com/2020-01/11/c_1125448269.htm
3	Liao, J., and Li, C. (2020, January 11). 专家称武汉不明原因的病毒性肺炎可防可控. <i>Xinhua</i> . Retrieved from http://www.xinhuanet.com/local/2020-01/11/c_1125448549.htm
4	Liao, J., and Le, W. (2020, January 19). 疫情可防可控——武汉市就新型冠状病毒感染的肺炎综合防控工作答记者问. <i>Xinhua</i> . Retrieved from http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2020-01/19/c_1125480602.htm
5	Check deze link, is een filmpje. (2020, January 20). 习近平对新型冠状病毒感染的肺炎疫情作出重要指示 强调要把人民群众生命安全和身体健康放在第一位 坚决遏制疫情蔓延势头 李克强作出批示. <i>Xinhua</i> . Retrieved from http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/leaders/2020-01/20/c_1125486561.htm

6	Wang, B., Qu, T., and Liao, J. (2020, January 21). 疫情快速变化 防控处在关键节点——新型冠状病毒感染肺炎疫情防控焦点回应. <i>Xinhua</i> . Retrieved from http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2020-01/21/c_1125491196.htm
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3. De Volkskrant

Nr	Link
1	Andersen, M. (2020, February 29). Bij crisis: blijven communiceren (In times of crisis: keep communicating). <i>De Volkskrant</i> . Retrieved from https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y9T-FVS1-DYRY-X059-00000-00&context=1516831
2	Van der Ploeg, J. (2020, March 5). Zo werd corona een epidemie (This is how corona became an epidemic). <i>De Volkskrant</i> . Retrieved from https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YBW-9T91-JC8X-6555-00000-00&context=1516831
3	Wagendorp, B. (2020, March 9). Geen paniek (Don't panic). <i>De Volkskrant</i> . Retrieved from https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YCR-6C61-DYRY-X0T7-00000-00&context=1516831
4	Boersma, H. (2020, March 13). Het is tijd voor een apart epidemieziekenhuis (It is time for a separate epidemic hospital). <i>De Volkskrant</i> . Retrieved from https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YDK-36D1-DYRY-X2BK-00000-00&context=1516831
5	Van der Ploeg, J. (2020, March 13). Maak je zorgen, leer toch van Italië (Worry, learn from Italy). <i>De Volkskrant</i> . Retrieved from https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YDK-36D1-DYRY-X2BY-00000-00&context=1516831
6	Mudde, T. (2020, March 14). Scholen sluiten? Dat kost zeker mensenlevens (Closing schools? That will definitely cost lives). <i>De Volkskrant</i> . Retrieved from https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YDT-2F11-JC8X-64S1-00000-00&context=1516831
7	Keulemans, M. (2020, March 14). Gemoederen werken in de richting van schoolsluiting (Closing of schools on the agenda). <i>De Volkskrant</i> . Retrieved from https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YDT-2F11-JC8X-64S3-00000-00&context=1516831
8	Effting, M., and De Graaf, P. (2020, March 16). Niet alleen ouderen komen terecht op ic (Not only the elderly end up at the ICU). <i>De Volkskrant</i> . Retrieved from https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YF7-0PX1-JC8X-63VW-00000-00&context=1516831
9	Frijters, S., and Van Uffelen, X. (2020, March 16). Waar slaat het virus het hevigst toe (Where does the virus strike most fiercely?). <i>De Volkskrant</i> . Retrieved from https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YF7-0PX1-JC8X-63W1-00000-00&context=1516831
10	Van Bergeijk, J. (2020, March 18). Het voelt als Russische roulette (It feels like Russian roulette). <i>De Volkskrant</i> . Retrieved from https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YFM-Y631-JC8X-62WG-00000-00&context=1516831

11	Kool, D., Lindhout, S., Bakker, M., and Van der Ploeg, J. (2020, March 19). Afstand houden, of anders... (Keep distance, or else...). <i>De Volkskrant</i> . Retrieved from https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YFV-X8Y1-DYRY-X1VC-00000-00&context=1516831
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4. NOS

Nr.	Link
1	(2020, February 28). Q&A coronavirus: wat gebeurt er nu en moeten carnavalsgangers zich zorgen maken? (Q&A coronavirus: what is happening right now and do carnival celebrators have to worry?). <i>NOS</i> . Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2324928-q-a-coronavirus-wat-gebeurt-er-nu-en-moeten-carnavalsgangers-zich-zorgen-maken
2	Meinema, A. (2020, February 28). Beurzen verder onderuit door coronavirus; AEX verliest 13 procent in een week (Stock markets drop further because of the coronavirus; AEX loses 13 percent within one week). <i>NOS</i> . Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2325001-beurzen-verder-onderuit-door-coronavirus-aex-verliest-13-procent-in-een-week
3	(2020, February 28). Werkgevers moeten alvast bedenken wat ze kunnen doen tegen coronavirus (Employees have to start thinking about what they can do against the coronavirus). <i>NOS</i> . Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2325010-werkgevers-moeten-alvast-bedenken-wat-ze-kunnen-doen-tegen-coronavirus
4	(2020, March 1). Hans de Boer (VNO-NCW): corona hakt in op economie (Hans de Boer (VNO-NCW): corona has impact on economy). <i>NOS</i> . Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2325277-hans-de-boer-vno-ncw-corona-hakt-in-op-economie
5	(2020, March 2). Huisartsen vrezen voor voortgang zorg door coronavirus (GPs fear continuation of healthcare due to coronavirus). <i>NOS</i> . Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2325508-huisartsen-vrezen-voor-voortgang-zorg-door-coronavirus
6	(2020, March 3). Waarom er meer aandacht is voor corona dan voor griep (The reason that corona gets more attention than the flu). <i>NOS</i> . Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2325546-waarom-er-meer-aandacht-is-voor-corona-dan-voor-griep
7	(2020, March 3). RIVM vraagt in Kamer om aanpassing reisadvies Noord-Italië (RIVM asks Parliament to adjust travel advice to Northern Italy). <i>NOS</i> . Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2325606-rivm-vraagt-in-kamer-om-aanpassing-reisadvies-noord-italie
8	(2020, March 5). Luchtvaartbranche vreest 113 miljard omzetverlies door coronavirus (Aviation industry fears turnover loss of 113 billion due to coronavirus). <i>NOS</i> . Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2325895-luchtvaartbranche-vreest-113-miljard-omzetverlies-door-coronavirus
9	(2020, March 6). RIVM wil Brabanders thuishouden en ziekenhuispersoneel testen (RIVM wants people from Brabant to quarantine and to test hospital staff). <i>NOS</i> . Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2326094-rivm-wil-brabanders-thuishouden-en-ziekenhuispersoneel-testen
10	(2020, March 9). Rabobank: economische groei Nederland halveert door coronavirus (Rabobank: economic growth in the Netherlands cut in half due to coronavirus). <i>NOS</i> . Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2326405-rabobank-economische-groei-nederland-halveert-door-coronavirus

11	(2020, March 9). Een bloedrode dag op de beurs, wat gaan we daarvan merken? (A dark day on the stock market, what will we notice from it?). NOS. Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2326447-een-bloedrode-dag-op-de-beurs-wat-gaan-we-daarvan-merken
12	(2020, March 9). AEX dieprood, Wall Street beleeft grootste verlies sinds 2008 (AEX deeply red, Wall Street experiences biggest losses since 2008). NOS. Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2326463-aex-dieprood-wall-street-beleeft-grootste-verlies-sinds-2008 fs
13	(2020, March 9). Kabinet: schud geen handen meer, werk in Brabant als het kan thuis (Government: do not shake hands anymore, if you work in Brabant: work from home when possible). NOS. Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2326486-kabinet-schud-geen-handen-meer-werk-in-brabant-als-het-kan-thuis
14	(2020, March 10). Olieruzie en coronavirus waren ‘perfect storm’ die beurzen rood kleurde (Oil quarrel and coronavirus were ‘perfect storm’ that caused stock markets to turn red). NOS. Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2326617-olieruzie-en-coronavirus-waren-perfect-storm-die-beurzen-rood-kleurde
15	Bogosavac, N. (2020, March 11). Hotelbranche: ‘Aantal crises gehad, maar deze is echt vreselijk’ (Hotel industry: ‘We’ve had crises in the past, but this one is truly horrible’). NOS. Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2326658-hotelbranche-aantal-crisis-gehad-maar-deze-is-echt-vreselijk
16	(2020, March 11). Crisis-experts: onze corona-aanpak is goed, communicatie kan beter (Crisis experts: our corona approach is good, communication could be better). NOS. Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2326736-crisis-experts-onze-corona-aanpak-is-goed-communicatie-kan-beter
17	(2020, March 11). Meer coronapatiënten en minder beschermingsmiddelen, wat doen ziekenhuizen nu? (More corona patients and less protective equipment, what do hospitals do?). NOS. Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2326760-meer-coronapatiënten-en-minder-beschermingsmiddelen-wat-doen-ziekenhuizen-nu
18	(2020, March 11). Corona-uitbraak nu officieel pandemie, wat betekent dat? (Corona outbreak officially pandemic now, what does this mean?). NOS. Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2326765-corona-uitbraak-nu-officieel-pandemie-wat-betekent-dat
19	(2020, March 12). Aandelenbeurzen crashen, AEX en Dow boeken grootste verlies sinds 1987 (Stock markets crash, AEX and Dow experience greatest losses since 1987). NOS. Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2326826-aandelenbeurzen-crashen-aex-en-dow-boeken-grootste-verlies-sinds-1987
20	(2020, March 12). Corona-maatregelen: thuisblijven bij milde klachten, evenementen massaal afgelast (Corona measures: if you have mild symptoms: stay at home, events cancelled). NOS. Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2326868-corona-maatregelen-thuisblijven-bij-milde-klachten-evenementen-massaal-afgelast
21	(2020, March 12). Dit was de dag dat Nederland ‘een patiënt’ werd (This was the day that the Netherlands became ‘a patient’). NOS. Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2326923-dit-was-de-dag-dat-nederland-een-patient-werd
22	(2020, March 13). Slob: scholen blijven open, maar we vragen niet het onmogelijke (Slob: schools stay open, but we are not asking for the impossible). NOS. Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2326976-slob-scholen-blijven-open-maar-we-vragen-niet-het-onmogelijke
23	(2020, March 13). KLM wil werktijdverkorting, schrapt minimaal 1500 banen (KLM wants short-time working support, cuts at least 1500 jobs). NOS. Retrieved from

	https://nos.nl/artikel/2327047-klm-wil-werktijdverkort-schrap-minimaal-1500-banen
24	(2020, March 13). Coronavirus: grenzen dicht, thuiswerken en hamsteren (Coronavirus: borders closed, working from home and hoarding). NOS. Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2327051-coronavirus-grenzen-dicht-thuiswerken-en-hamsteren
25	(2020, March 15). Rutte spreekt morgen land toe over coronavirus (Tomorrow Rutte will address the country about coronavirus). NOS. Retrieved from https://nos.nl/artikel/2327192-rutte-spreekt-morgen-land-toe-over-coronavirus
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