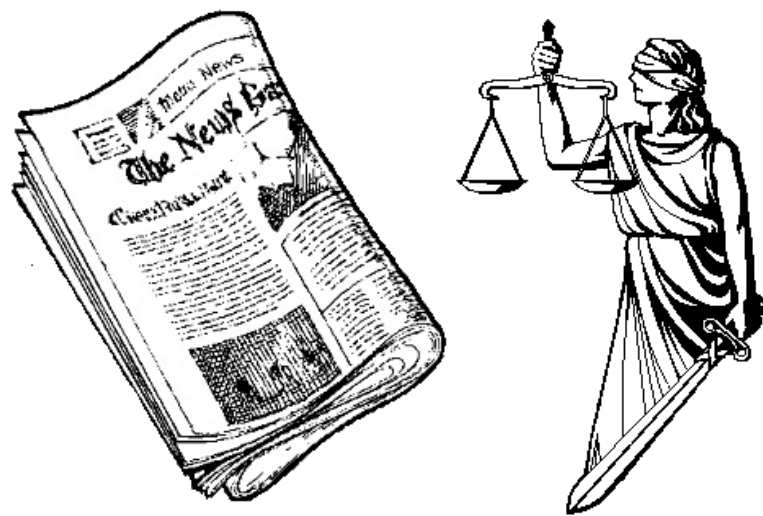


## National Media Bias in Quality and Popular Newspapers:

Analysis of American and Dutch news coverage of the disappearance of Natalee Holloway.



Claire Mutsaerts

Studentnummer: 361163

Master Thesis Media & Journalistiek

Begeleider: N. Ruigrok

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## **Introduction**

Justice and media both fulfil an important role in their relation to citizens. The rule of law and justice must protect people against unacceptable behaviour of other people, organizations and the government. The media are supposed to inform citizens about the practices of a court and make the process of justice more clearly towards the public. It is the media's job to make public, the potential dysfunctions during a trial. On the other side, judiciary could be used to protect people against the media. Practices of newsgathering can jeopardize the privacy of certain people, the right to a fair trial and the presumption of innocence (Voorhof, 1998). A judge is capable of sanctioning publications that could be harmful to the people concerned. These relations show the complex connection between media and judiciary.

The way trials, suspects and victims are portrayed in the news depends on how the media work and generate news, and all the influences and court rules to which journalists are subjected. The very structure and logic of media makes media-production a selective process. Journalists are limited by time, space, and many factors from inside and outside a media organization that determine their eventual output. The cultural, social and economic environment plays an important role in the creating of news content (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). Differences between media can therefore be explained by differences in environment. To guarantee the main functions of justice and media, namely enabling a fair trial and being a watchdog for democracy, the way the media actually work in relation to a court needs close supervision. The general objectives of a newspaper may not always be in tune with their actual content. Examining newspapers from different nationalities on the coverage of the same criminal case provides clarity on how different social and cultural environments and different media organizations result in various perspectives on the same event.

Differing coverage of the same event should not be taken lightly, for it presumes to reflect society and its democracy, and these can only function to its full potential if the media work according to it. Especially when the media are the main or only source of information, the public forms its perception around what the media portray (Ruigrok et al, 2011). Media logic leads to news stories in which certain aspects are more emphasized and a particular perspective is over-presented. This framing may result in unbalanced perceptions about the events and individuals portrayed. Individuals in the news can be harmed due to overexposure, and in the case of a legal case, the stereotyping of the victim or offender. When newspapers of different countries portray the same event in another way, it means that the media, determined by their country, take on a different role in the way they provide news on which the public

bases its understanding. Analyses of the different framing of news may provide a preference or criticism about the news content or a way of framing in a particular country or newspaper. This thesis will therefore research to what extent the media's role in reporting on justice is different in the U.S. than in the Netherlands, as a result of domestic bias. To realize this, American and Dutch newspapers will be analysed to compare their news coverage on a high-profile disappearance case.

Natalee Holloway disappeared in Aruba on May 30<sup>th</sup>, 2005, when she was on a school trip. The Dutch suspect Joran van der Sloot is never convicted despite his alleged involvement in the case. He has been convicted for murdering another girl in Peru in 2012. Regarding the first case, an American victim and a Dutch suspect will be newsworthy for both American and Dutch newspapers. These factors are likely to have influence on the content of the different countries, which will give conclusions about potential bias in relation to the country. Different newspapers write differently about the same event (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). Tabloids for instance are more inclined to write in a more sensational matter. Therefore this research will base its analysis on one American and one Dutch quality newspaper, and an American and a Dutch popular newspaper. This research is an addition to framing-research and provides specific answers to the different news content in American and Dutch newspapers, with consideration of the divide between quality and popular newspapers.

## **Theory**

Democracy entails the freedom of speech and a press independent from the state. The media inform about issues that are considered important to the public, so that citizens are well opinionated and media can function as a watchdog against abuse of power (Strömbäck, 2004).

### *1. Functions of the media*

The media have different functions: they (1) provide information, (2) provide a platform for debate and (3) function as watchdog (Van Lent, 2009: p. 206-207; Scholten 1982: p.3-17). A fourth function is that of (4) entertainment and amusement (Deuze, 2004). These four functions in general, and how they apply to the judiciary, are described as follows (Ruigrok et al, 2011):

1. The information-function: the media inform the public about recent events and developments in politics, governance and society. In the case of judiciary, the public's knowledge of the law and the justice system are largely determined by media representation (Surette, 1984). The media therefore report on different trials and developments within the judicial system.
2. The platform-function: the media provide a platform where citizens can evaluate and judge different thoughts and interpretations about the news. This function provides the democratic foundation of the legal system, because of its possibility for public debate on jurisprudence. Alternative or more strict penalties could become subject of discussion.
3. Watchdog-function: the media provide events and developments in politics, public administration and society with critical notes and evaluations. This critical function of the media is also applied to in legal cases and trials and developments in the justice system as a whole (Scholten, 1982).
4. Entertainment: The media communicate in a way that provides relaxation and entertainment for the public. In the case of jurisdiction, this means reporting on sensational (criminal) cases without providing actual, informational substance. Most attention is paid to conflict and negative emotions involved.

The first three functions are important, because democracy requires “a system for the flow of information, for public discussion and for a watchdog function independent of the state. This is where media in general and journalism enter the picture”. (Strömbäck, 2005: p. 332). This underlines the assumption that the public must need all the information to be free and self-governing (Kovach and Rosentiel, 2001). However, these functions falter, knowing that the publicity in the media is more and more based on the market system, in which the reader is most of all a consumer of news and sensation (Prakken, 2004)

The media are more and more aimed at attaining a great amount of readers/viewers, so advertisers can reach a high number of potential consumers. This results in a greater presence of amusement in media, than the providing of information and functioning as watchdog (Brants and Van Praag, 2000). These shifts in the media’s functions change the content of news coverage. The media show an increasing focus on infotainment (Surette, 2010), a combination of information and entertainment in the same format. By means of perspective, style and visuals, news is being presented as entertainment (Ruigrok et al, 2011).

Most of the literature discussing infotainment relate the term to politics, were journalists mainly pay attention to the tactics and strategies of politicians and political parties and personal aspects of, and conflicts between politicians in times of election (Brants & Neijens, 1998; Brants & van Praag, 2006, Groen and Van der Zwaan, 2005; Kleinnijenhuis et al, 2007). Brants and Neijens (1998: p. 149) have explained infotainment as: “television programs in which elements of information and entertainment are mixed or expected to appeal to the politically less interested viewer, the “zappers” in the audience”. These programs for example emphasise on the competition or ‘horse-race’ between political actors. This emphasis on competition between individuals also explains the personalisation in politics. In the first place personalisation refers to the people who carry out the viewpoints of their political party, which could indicate a political system that evolves around the political leaders (Wilke and Reinemann, 2001). Secondly, personalisation means the individual characteristics and private life of a politician is the main focus. This also indicates the blurring of boundaries between the private and the public life of politicians (Holz Bacha, 2000).

The commercially driven hunt for infotainment is also apparent when analysing crime-related and judicial news. Infotainment programs have led to a blurring line between news on crime and justice and entertainment in all media. The blurring is particularly apparent in traditional media, where the most serious and violent crimes are often given an entertaining slant (Surette, 2010). Violent crimes are also given a disproportionate large amount of

attention, in comparison to less serious crimes (Oliver, 1994). The voyeuristic and entertainment emphasis might give a false perception of reality (Surrete, 2002).

Because most people mainly get their knowledge about crime and justice through the media, it would be preferable that the media have an informative and neutral stance. An infotainment point-of-view has more chance to neglect or misrepresent important information to favour a more sensational portrayal. Regarding a criminal or legal case, the media should therefore function in an informative and watchdog manner, for democracy demands the most neutral reporting of its judiciary. However, the media themselves are the main determinants for what news they report and how the news is portrayed. This is due to the very characteristics of a medium and its position in society.

## *2. Media-logic*

The way media work, and the role they play in our society has lead to an increasing influence on society. The Board for Social Developments (RMO) has labelled the impact of the media as 'media-logic'. Media-logic means that news is more often brought in forms that derive their meaning not necessarily from the content of news, but more from the specific characteristics of a medium. The logic of a medium determines greatly the form of public debate and influences the way the debate is held (RMO, 2003: p. 3). The media-logic gives journalists, politicians and citizens no other option than to participate, because they are all a part of it (Ruigrok, et al, 2011).

The great presence of media and the influence of media-logic on our society has lead Strömbäck (2008) to differentiate four dimensions that illustrate the extend to which a society is mediatised:

1. The importance of the media as information source.
2. The independence of media towards political institutions.
3. The independence of media towards political logic.
4. The independence of political actors towards media-logic.

The first dimension refers to citizens and political institutions that communicate with each other through the media. The media give a platform for the political arena. The second dimension is the degree of independence that media organizations have towards political institutions. It is the extent to which media organizations are more determined by their media-



logic, than any political logic. The media are not simply transmitters of political news, but they transform political information into mediated content for the public.

The third dimension refers to the media and the degree at which they are independent communicators. Media are most of all producing content in accordance to the media-logic. Politicians can not just assume the media will be available for communication with the public. The last dimension of mediatisation is the degree of dominance of the media-logic, which political and social actors have accepted and behave according to it (Ruigrok et al, 2011).

The same link can be made between media and judicial actors. The media depend on the legal system for certain news, but at the same time produce content according to their own logic. Their logic and the range of different influences on journalists result in a particular selection and portraying of news, and judicial news in particular.

The media logic is explicitly apparent when an event is given so much attention, it is “taken over” by the media. In this case the informative function of the media is being counteracted by a media-generated news wave. This means the media give a disproportioned amount of attention to an event, by making news for the sake of news and not because new information or happenings have arisen. This could lead to a false impression of the news in relation to the real circumstances.

### *3. ‘Media-Hypes’*

Theories about media hypes will give clarity on news coverage of great intensity. The amount of news coverage in relation to the actual events shows if the event has turned into a ‘media-hype’, and to what extend it is taken over by all media (Vasterman, 2005). The term ‘media-hype’ describes a media-generated news wave that seems to have its own characteristic dynamic. Regarding the amount of coverage, the topic has mainly become important because the media have treated it as important news. This is what Vasterman (2005) calls ‘positive feedback loops’, which keeps feeding the news. Coverage within a news wave becomes more an echo of previous coverage than news based on a new event. Increasing coverage of a certain incident that does not reflect the frequency of the incident in real life, could lead to the impression that the number of these incidents is growing. Another feature of a ‘media-hype’ is that the media themselves play a central role in the development of the event, because they create massive news waves. News is what other media consider newsworthy and news is therefore highly referential (Wien and Elmelund, 2009).

A media-hype starts with a key event that receives more attention than usual. Instead of key event, Wien and Elmelund (2009) use the term 'trigger event', because it denotes the beginning of something and it does not imply that the event starting the media hype is the most important one. The concept of a news theme is used to explain the dissemination of a news theme across different media and becomes the starting point for follow-up reporting (Vasterman, 2005).

The impact of a news theme on media coverage can be described as lowering of the news thresholds for any event or statement that can be related to the central news theme (Vasterman, 2005). This makes the production concerning a 'media-hype' a selective process, because the news is based on thematically related news, and confirms to the previously chosen frames. The selectiveness of the news content also comes forward in the characteristic of a trigger event, in that a complex issue is being simplified to make it easily understood by the public. The event must not be essentially exciting but it provides an easily understood image of the problem for the public. But for the journalist to lower the news threshold, it must also contain a sufficient amount of news values. Wien and Elmelund (2009) see in their analyses of Danish media, more accordance with the in Norway established news values of Galtung and Ruge (1965), than the in England established news values of Harcup and O'Neill (2001). They conclude that this might suggest that news values differ according to the cultural context or the type of media. News values will later in this thesis be elaborated on further.

Vasterman states 'an interactive media momentum' to describe the generation of all kinds of responses from society. These actions and reactions feed the news wave and reinforce the 'media-hype'. The hype eventually declines: the sources for follow-up become exhausted and the decreasing news value of the original theme will raise the news thresholds for similar events (Vasterman, 2005).

In case of a media-hype, the media themselves are the main determinants for news, which means their informative and watchdog function is jeopardized. All the media feed each other and for a large part make news with no real substantial information, which limits the potential for other and more balanced, actual news. The media are essential for the democratic justification of the judiciary. Therefore, a media-hype can be harmful in the case of justice, for it could lead to false perceptions of suspects, victims and the judiciary in general.

The Holloway-case received a lot of media attention; according to a lexis-nexis report the story was at the top of the most talked about news stories in 2005 (Baynes, 2008). Holloway's disappearance was one of the top ten stories on network and cable television. Books have been written about the case, by Van Der Sloot himself and by Holloway's

parents. Two Dutch plays and a movie broadcast by Lifetime in the U.S. were also based on the disappearance of Holloway (Van Haaften et al, 2011). Natalee's mother also who made a lot of media appearances, in the hope to find out what happened to her daughter, to carry out a positive image of her daughter and to speak about safety issues for young people going abroad.

One television program in particular, by crime reporter Peter R. de Vries, generated a lot of attention in particular. Peter R. de Vries had followed Van Der Sloot with a hidden camera, with the intention to make him confess about what happened to Holloway. With the help of an acquaintance of Van Der Sloot, the Dutch suspect tell his "friend" that Natalee was having convulsions the night of her disappearance and he states that she was dumped in the sea.

Reijnders (2005) had studies the particular episode and according to him, any information that contradicts the stereotypical representation of the victim and offender is ignored. Rhetorical devices are used to convince the public of the innocence of the victim and the guilt of the offender. A lot of information is given about Van Der Sloot, details that enforce the idea that he is indeed an offender. Reijnders (2005, p. 644) states Peters R. de Vries "commits character assassination of suspects before they have been tried and convicted. De Vries also got an Emmy for the specific episode. The episode exerts a strong influence on the public opinion; first of all it reached a big public, and secondly the victim and offender were presented very stereotypically. This has influence on the perception people have about the case in all the following news to come.

The show exemplifies that the media in this case, not only report the news, but also generate the news they report. The media themselves are the reason the case gets more attention, and also frame it according to their own logic. The show of Peter R. de Vries got a lot of attention, and could possibly have generated aspects of a media-hype in the Holloway case. Therefore the articles researched in this thesis will also be analysed on the extent to which the articles refer to other media and the attention they have given to the case. The Peter R. de Vries' show is in indication for the disproportionate amount of coverage the Holloway-case has received in all media. This leads to the first hypothesis that states:

H1: The news coverage of the Holloway-case contains characteristics of a media-hype; being the reference to other media and their (excessive) attention to the case.

### *3. Judiciary and publicity*

The judiciary works on the basis of the so-called rule of law. Its logic means the appliance of all the rules, as formulated by the legislator, to the facts beforehand. Judges are presumed to conform to their legal frame (Ruigrok et al, 2011, Kaptein, 2007). The biggest part of the public does not have direct experience with the justice system, public knowledge and views of law. This results in a legal system that largely depends on media representations (Surette, 1984). The media contribute to the democratic sense of legitimacy of the legal system, for it provides openness and clarity on justice, and gives the public the possibility to contemplate and debate on the verdict in a specific trial. The way the public sees jurisprudence and the thoughts they have on jurisdiction are co-determined by news coverage in the media (Ruigrok, et al, 2011). This is both the result of the prominent position the media have in the providing of information, as of the reproduction of information of a trial according to media logic.

Journalists, scientists and lawyers criticize judiciary for not being completely transparent. Not all legal statements are made public, for a judiciary decides if a verdict and statements will be published. This means there is no complete openness between the legal system and the media. In the contemporary democratic society, it is necessary for the media to have all information at hand to give complete clarity in a criminal legal case report. With regard to the verdict, the public should be able to completely follow and understand it. The statements must therefore be clearly structured and linguistically comprehensible for every citizen (Ruigrok et al, 2011).

A balanced and neutral way of reporting of a criminal legal case is being counteracted by several problems. First of all, Malsch (2004) has stated that journalists do not see their watchdog function towards justice as the most important within their job. Other problems are insufficient service by press officers and inaccessibility of the legal language. This leads to a malfunctioning of the media in their reporting of a legal case. Critique on journalists is inadequate legal knowledge and inaccurate reporting, which is the result of limited providing and comprehension of legal information (Malsch, 2004). Analysis of the media's coverage of crime, law and justice has indicated that the media do not portray an accurate reflection of reality (Hans, 1990).

Since the 1980's, the Dutch media have given less attention to justice in their reporting and more to the first steps of investigation (Brants and Brants, 2002). Other research has shown that approximately 7% of all news in Dutch papers is the reporting of trials (Ruigrok, et al, 2011). There is a growing number of journalists who do not act in a desired professional manner, which could lead to violation of the suspect's privacy (Ruigrok et al, 2011). New

media has led to an increase in citizen journalism, with its ability to publish practically all sorts of information. This process explains an overall increase among journalists to publish sensitive and private information about suspects and victims.

With regard to American newspapers, researchers have noted that newspapers appear to report similar items in similar styles (Graber, 1979; 1980, Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). Research by Drechsel et al (1980) and Graber (1980), stated that crime coverage often created a negative impression of the court process in the U.S. This is a result from mainly reporting the prosecution's side in a criminal case (Karmen, 1978; Drechsel et al, 1980). The newspapers have a tendency to tell only one side, by favouring the victim and ignoring the alleged offender. This excludes the public from understanding "the social, political and economical forces that may have motivated some suspects" (Karmen, 1978: 196).

The incomplete reporting of crime and justice, and struggles between media on the one hand, and judges, officers and lawyers on the other hand, comes from the tension between the logic of the media and the legal system and the way they operate. The media must function as a platform for the public foundation of legal legitimacy, while the legal system is expected to act according to the law and should not be misled by other contemplations. This again underlines the importance for the media to function as an informative watchdog, in order to lower the tension between media and justice. However, what news is being selected and how the news is portrayed often represent a disproportionate and simplified representation of reality. There is a range of influences on journalists, which leads to the eventual selection and portrayal of news. These influences range from an ideological to an individual level (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). Another level includes the routines within a media organization that generates a frame of reference of what kind of news has sufficient value to be selected.

##### *5. The influences on journalists*

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) have defined these levels of influence on media content. The ideological level is the one that encompasses all the others. The extra-media level includes the sources of information, revenue sources, other social institutions, the economic environment and technology.

Based on this environment, Hallin and Mancini (2004) have classified the world's media systems into different models that characterise them. North America is characterised by a relative dominance of the market mechanisms and the commercial media. The democratic corporatist model that prevails across northern Europe is characterised by a historical coexistence of commercial media and media tied to organized social and political groups, and by a relatively active but legally limited role of the state.

The organization level shows how perspectives change depending on an individual's position in the hierarchy of the organization. In a national survey of American journalists in 1982 and 1992, Weaver and Wilhoit (1996) concluded that journalists viewed the newsroom as the most powerful force shaping their ethical thinking. The owners of the media, the number of foreign bureaus, editorial policies and budget constraints influence their content. Economic pressure can jeopardize a journalist's autonomy. When a certain solution is made about an issue, it can dominate among the editors and can transform into an editorial policy. This policy does not include written rules, but the 'covert and consistent orientation' of a newspaper's coverage about an issue (Breed, 1995). In this way a synchronization of news coverage can occur causing a thematisation of the issue.

The media routines-level refers to the routinized practices and forms that media workers use to do their jobs. Decisions are based on earlier patterns of practices in judging newsworthiness, which includes accuracy, the right length and the story's timeliness. They view these routines as a set of constraints on the individual worker. With regard to the individual worker they refer to their backgrounds, personal experiences and professional orientations and role conceptions that has potential influence on mass media content. These processes of influence are all working toward an ideologically related pattern of messages and on behalf of the higher power centres in society (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996).

## *6. News values*

Researchers (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Harcup and O'Neill, 2001) have a number of factors that amplify the news value of an event and increase the potential to be selected for news coverage:

- Conflict, negativity and bad news are more newsworthy than consensus between actors or good news.
- Unexpected or easily understood news is more newsworthy than a complex event that had already been covered.
- Events related to powerful countries and people are more newsworthy than abstract developments.
- Proximity of an event will generally make the news more recognizable because of its cultural proximity. This will make the event more likely to be selected by a medium for news production.
- Continuity and composition: when an event has become news, the chance that the event stays news increases. On the other hand, when there is a substantial amount of coverage of the same event, that chance of this event generating more news decreases.

With regard to crime news, especially unexpected or unusual events have a high news value. Criminal events that can easily be presented within previously reported stories are more likely to be selected. Surette (2010) notes specific criteria for news selection, being the seriousness of the event, whimsical circumstances, sentimental or dramatic elements and the involvement of high-status people. In the case of crime news, seriousness is the main factor for being selected. The media report those crimes that are the least common. Reporters are more encouraged to report a unique crime, which is misleading to the public who are being provided with a disproportional amount of news on typical and unique news, in comparison to criminal occurrences in reality (Surette, 2010). The value of seriousness, and proximity as well, are also applicable to the news of the Holloway-case. The seriousness and the proximity of the case, are equal to both countries, the only difference being the relation to the victim and the suspect; the former is an American girl, the latter a Dutch guy.

As several studies have pointed out, the cultural context in which the media are positioned is a determinant for their news selection (Wien and Elmelund, 2009; Rosengren, 1970, 1974; Hester, 1973; Östgaard, 1965). Cultural proximity and affinity stimulate the international news flow. Other factors that determine news selection are the hierarchy of nations, which

include physical size, population and economic development. This means first of all a country's own culture determines greatly what is being selected as news. Secondly news value and selection will increase in the case of other countries, with high geographical and cultural proximity. In the case of U.S. and Dutch news, this also means, that U.S. related news is of more news value to the Netherlands than vice versa because of the large size, population and economy of the U.S.

As mentioned before, the American media are driven by commerciality and the market mechanisms. Ever since U.S. television came to exist it is based on a commercial broadcasting system, which immediately received great popularity and therefore was of a big influence on the print media. This has led to very commercially and entertainment orientated newspapers. The Dutch media are commercially orientated, but are also partially aided by the state. Even though news is always influenced by social and political structure (Servaes & Tonnaer, 1992), the Dutch media have closer ties to social and political groups (Halin and Mancini 2004). This means the media in the two countries could differ in their news values, because the Dutch media select more news based on social and political ties. The U.S. media will generally ascribe a high news value to entertainment. Both media systems operate within their own national ideological framework.

There is a difference between tabloids and quality newspapers and the way they select and make their news. Tabloids are described as being simplifying, personalising and thriving on sensation and scandal (Ornebring and Jonsson, 2004). These characteristics are said to be more severe in the U.S., again because it operates in a highly commercial system. Blumler (1992) is more positive about European media and their tabloids content of (political) information. The U.S. news on politics is especially more sensational by means of focussing on the strategic games and horse-race. Deuze (2005) also states the tabloid press in the U.S. is more extreme than the popular newspaper in the Netherlands.

In the judicial domain, the way news is reported can have a negative effect on the perception people have on a court and its verdict. Roberts and Doob (1990) have researched specific views people have on criminal sentences, and found that most people described the sentences as too mild. The subjects who read a newspaper story about a criminal sentence were significantly more likely to believe that the ruling in court was too merciful, than people who read a summary of the court documents that the judge had considered in sentencing the same suspect. It also showed that tabloid versions created the most discontent with the ruling in a criminal case. (Roberts and Doob, 1990).



The difference between tabloids and quality newspapers can decrease significantly when a story has such a high news value it becomes a media-hype. In this case, the news content is mainly generated from within the media than based on a news event (Esser, 1999). This process can lead to “tabloidization”. The term means a “contamination” of the quality press by adopting the aspects of the tabloid (Esser, 1999). Kurtz (1993) describes “tabloidization” of the American media as: an overall decrease in journalistic standards; a decrease in hard news such as politics and economics and an increase in soft news such as sleaze, scandal, sensation and entertainment. Because of the persuasive nature of today’s media coverage, journalists have gotten more likely to write a sensational story and “cover almost every imaginable detail, including the most trivial. For example... Natalee Holloway would previously have afforded far less attention or national coverage.” (Fox, Sickel and Steiger, 2007: p.12).

In the U.S., media organizations are putting more stress on the accessibility of the language in which news is written and on covering issues that matter most to people. During U.S. political election for example, news stories were made by featuring comments of ordinary citizens (Blumler and Gurevitch, 1998). In the last decades, the Dutch media have also paid more attention to popular aspects. Both the popular and the “serious” press have focused more on the personal life of well-known people (Prenger, 2007). Even though there is a substantial difference between tabloid- and quality newspapers, in style and content, newspapers in general are increasingly reporting in a popular manner. The second hypothesis (2) will therefore state:

H2: There is no significant difference in the amount of coverage about the Holloway-case between quality and popular newspapers.

The U.S. media may have a different news orientation than the Dutch media, because its national news selection encompasses a much wider nation, and therefore probably covers more other national news. However, news values as seriousness and proximity are in both countries decisive for the amount of coverage concerning the case. A third hypothesis (3) therefore states:

H3: The newspapers in both countries will have a large amount of coverage concerning the Holloway-case.

In analysing how media work and function, besides news values, the way news stories are portrayed and how an event is treated are of equal relevance. In the production of news content, inevitable journalistic choices makes it impossible for all aspects concerning the story to be treated equally. The journalistic production that gives a story particular emphasises and perspectives must be explained by the concept of framing.

### *7. Framing the news*

Media coverage of crime is dominated by violent and sensational crimes of individuals, and emphasizes on law enforcement and the early stages of the justice process. Journalists themselves criticize the accuracy of media reporting. Incomplete reporting by journalists is problematic, for the public bases its perception of a legal case by the information the media provides. As mentioned before the incomplete reporting is a result of the media's logic and the influences on a journalist in general.

The media impose their own structure and logic on the events they portray (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). Media content singles out and highlights certain element over others, emphasizing certain behaviours and context of people (Entman, 1993). People are portrayed with different labels and the medium gives more attention to certain people, events and places than others (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). The influences on the journalist and the dominant elements that put a story in a certain perspective is explained by the concepts of framing, bias and slant. Entman (1993: p. 52) explains framing as “selecting a few aspects of a perceived reality and connecting them together in a narrative that promotes a particular interpretation”. The frames that are derived from the framing process can occur in two ways: media frames and individual frames. Entman (1991, p. 7) refers to media frames as ‘attributes of the news itself’. It also functions as a routine so that journalists can distinguish newsworthy events (Gitlin, 1980). Individual frames are stated by Entman (1993) as ‘mentally stored clusters of ideas’, schemata that may or may not reflect the frames appearing in the received message.

Frames have a cultural resonance and are determined by elements in our mind that are structured in schemas. These schemas are determined by our knowledge and perceptions from the past. Fiske and Taylor (1991, p. 131) define schemas as “cognitive structures that represent knowledge about a concept or type of stimulus, including its attributes and the relations among attributes”. New perceptions become intertwined with the old ones and

together they form a new understanding and feeling of the world. Our perceptions are partially determined by the frames the media present to us; they shape what people think about and therefore must influence what people think (Entman, 2010).

By framing issues in a specific way, media can show a one-sided emphasis on elements that suppresses others and this makes recipients more attentive towards certain aspects that consequently determine their interpretation. This process is called slanted-framing (Entman 2010). When slanted framing of mediated communication show patterns that support certain interests over a longer period of time, we can use the term media bias (Entman, 2010). McQuail (1992) defines bias as “a consistent tendency to depart from the straight path of objective truth by deviating either to left or right. In news and information it refers to a systematic tendency to favour one side or position over another”. Biased content persuades people to accept interpretations helpful to the favoured actor for a significant period of time.

Another use of the term bias concerns decision-making. It refers to the journalists' belief system that influences the text he/she produces. Ideology, defined as: "an integrated set of frames of reference through which each of us sees the world and to which all of us adjust our actions" (Becker, 1984, p. 69), may influence the news decisions of journalists. Schudson (1989) argues that all societies entail certain belief systems and cultural frameworks that guide journalistic judgements. He explains two different perspectives on the position of culture. Cultural objects are very powerful in shaping human action, derived from the interests of powerful social groups. Another view sees culture not as a set of ideas that is being imposed, but a set of ideas and symbols simply available for use, by which individuals select their meaning. The latter perspective would implicate that culture is less decisive for news decisions being made, than the former. Journalists themselves are part of a society that is pervaded by prejudices. They provide information in a way that it is in accordance with their own worldviews, which may include widespread prejudice (Cottle, 2000).

Just as cultural proximity is as of influence on the selection of news (Wien and Elemund 2009), the same is true for the way the media frame their news. Several studies have shown that the U.S. media frame international events based on government policy and in the nation's interest (Mann, 1999; Yu & Riffe; McChensey, 2002). The media frame other countries and international stories in a way as to shape public sentiment in their government's favour. Studies by McChensey (2002) and Yang (2003) and Reta (2000) have concluded that U.S. media give more attention to an issue or country that has a high level of U.S. interest. News selection and framing of international affairs can therefore be highly influenced by

domestic politics. By analysing certain frames in the news content, it will lay bare how the event is framed by different newspapers and shows what perspectives and emphasises are newsworthy for tabloids compared to quality newspapers, and U.S. versus Dutch newspapers.

Because this research concerns a judicial case, the framing of the Holloway-case is occupied with the victim and the suspect. Former research has noted that victims are generally viewed in a favourable light, while personal data regarding the suspect was generally unfavourable (Karmen, 1987). Drechsel et al (1980) stated that crime news focuses much more on criminals than on victims and only the prosecutor's point of view was normally reported in criminal cases.

When analysing the way the victim and the offender are framed, it shows to what extent the stereotypical characteristics of the victim and the offender are found. Reijnders (2005) en Vanderveen (2006) explicated these essential characteristics, as shown in table 1. Inconsistencies with these stereotypical characteristics can easily be ignored by media representations, which strengthen the position of the ideal victim versus the offender. Reijnders criticizes the Peter R. de Vries show for using this rhetorical device that convinces the public of the innocence of the victim and the guilt of the suspect. Because of this way of framing and the many viewers who watched the show, the specific episode with Van Der Sloot has had a great impact on the public and the following news coverage.

*Table 1. Essential characteristics of ideal victim and offender (Vanderveen, 2006; Reijnders, 2005)*

Victim	Offender
Weak, vulnerable, innocent	Evil, cruel, bad
Respectable (going to school, getting groceries for sick friend)	Unknown to victim
Protests and resists physically	Deliberately violent
Cannot be blamed for being at the specific time and place of incident.	Random and senseless violence or specific selection (eroticized murder)

From a competitive point of view, journalists and editors make it a priority to produce news that captures and maintains audience interest (Bennet, 1995). One way to achieve this is by framing news in human-interest terms. A human-interest frame refers to an effort to

personalize the news, dramatize or “emotionalize” the news. This frame brings a human face or emotional angle to the presentation of an event or issue (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). Neuman et al (1992) refers to this frame as the human-impact frame that combines emphasis on human misfortunes and the human suffering it causes. The emotional or sensational aspect of human-interest framing is also distinguished in crime related news. Marsh (1991) found that the vast majority of newspapers crime coverage pertains to violent or sensational crimes. Reports of violent crimes in newspapers do not match official crime statistics and are overrepresented when compared for example to property crimes. Knowing the popular newspapers are characterized by personal and emotional framing, regarding crime and legal news coverage, the following hypothesis therefore states:

H4: The popular newspapers USA Today and De Telegraaf will contain more human-interest framing of the Holloway-case than the quality newspapers.

The way we perceive jurisdiction is codetermined by how criminals and trials are framed. The emotional, personal and human aspects of a trial show the personalisation in news coverage. The media emphasise on controversial trials, with a negative, cynical perspective and a lot of attention for the individual. It is stated by Beale (2006), that when crime is attributed to personal characteristics of offenders, individuals are found to be more supportive towards punitive measures than those who attribute the problem to social factors. In this way, media output can have influence on people’s thoughts on policy.

The media are able to write personal, detailed information, or stereotypically, about individuals, because they are not easily counteracted by legal boundaries. This becomes problematic when media have a sensational or profound way of framing the suspect or victim in an ongoing trial.

## *8. Trail by media*

Trial by media illustrates how journalists portray suspects in court. The media do not have legal boundaries when they are discrediting a suspect's reputation. The media do not need to oblige to the presumption of innocence. As long as there are no lawful punishments regarding public allegations of judgments of evidence, the guilt of the suspect and presumed results of an ongoing trial, public condemnation by media will keep on prevailing. In the Dutch environment, politics will not be eager to introduce rights for subjects in expense of rights for citizens. Even so, if the sensationalist portrayal of criminal law by media keeps increasing, it may become necessary to prohibit by law public statements about a suspects presumed guilt. In this case, the law may guarantee a 'fair trial' and the integrity of the legal system (Schouten, 2011).

With regard to a 'fair trial', American and Dutch newspapers generally differ in the way they name a suspect. In contrast to Dutch newspapers, the American media typically publish names of all legal offenders, except when it concerns a juvenile criminal, or a person under 17 years of age. In news writing and reporting, Brian S. Brooks (2002) has said that those who oppose releasing the names of juvenile offenders, claim the publicity marks them for life as criminals and that there is a greater opportunity to change and become better citizens if the media do not stamp these individuals as criminals. This will be the reason for Dutch media to initially use the initials of a criminal suspect's name, so he will not be negatively labelled before being convicted, and is not being prejudiced by society.

Self-regulation and decency of traditional media have originally led to modest coverage of judicial affairs. But an increasing competition between media and competition with citizen journalism through new media has forced traditional media to adapt in accordance to the omnipresent media's occupation with trials and jurisdiction (Schouten, 2011).

Biological and psychological motivations for people to punish as reimbursement create a great desire to label the guilty. Media attention can lead to a harmful demonizing of the suspect. The public is no longer capable of judging the real facts and circumstances for what they are. The suspect is being judged by the public first, before the court's ruling. The European Court for Human Rights attribute great importance to freedom of press and expression, and even more so in the case of criminal justice. Interests of privacy, the principle of innocence, protection of a good name, guaranteeing a fair trial, and other legal restrictions to protect human rights, can limit freedom of speech. Especially when the principle of innocence is at stake, the press should be extra cautious. Even so the European Court of

Human Rights is strict for authorities that prohibit press' publications or punish journalists afterwards for indignity or violation of the law (Schouten, 2011).

The portrayal of a legal case is more often referred to as *tabloid justice*. It shows the attention has shifted from "court-news" to "crime-news". Tabloid justice is present, when many columns and all media give attention to a judicial process, which will be talked about and analysed. The public is witness of the process and to a certain extent uses the process to make sense of and form an opinion about, the legal system and the particular case (Fox et al, 2007). The characteristics of a tabloid-justice resemble the characteristics of a media-hype, because they both thrive on sensation and are taken over by all media. In the Holloway case, the cultural bias of the newspapers will appear in the way they have reported on this specific case. Tabloid justice and features of a media-hype will be more likely to have appeared in the popular newspapers than in the quality newspapers. The cultural bias however, becomes clear in the way the newspapers from both countries frame the victim and the suspect. Based on their news values and framing in both countries, the following hypotheses can be formulated:

H5: The U.S. newspapers USA Today and the New York Times have paid more attention to Natalee Holloway and her being the victim.

H6: The Dutch newspapers de Volkskrant en De Telegraaf have focussed more on the framing of the suspect/culprit Joran Van Der Sloot.

## **9. Research design**

In order to come to a conclusion about American or Dutch bias regarding the disappearance of Natalee Holloway, the way the victim and the suspect are framed will be quantitatively analysed by its content. To have a full understanding of the two newspapers' content, it is necessary to have knowledge of the character and background of the different newspapers. A newspaper's character attributes to the way it frames Holloway, Van Der Sloot en the case in general. Therefore, further elaboration will be given on the four newspapers analysed in this thesis: The New York Times, USA Today, de Volkskrant and De Telegraaf. From both countries a quality and a popular newspaper is chosen to encompass the diversity in news production within a country. In these four newspapers, all articles in which Joran van Der Sloot or Natalee Holloway are mentioned are used.

## **9.1 Newspapers**

### *The New York Times*

*The New York Times* started in 1851 as a local newspaper, but soon become one the most read papers in the world. Only the *Wallstreet Journal* and the *USA Daily* have a bigger circulation in comparison to the American papers. The New York Times is internationally a very prominent and powerful newspaper that for a large part determines what other news media write about, nationally and internationally. In comparison to the other American papers, the New York Times pays the most attention to foreign news. Several studies have also shown the newspaper's great influence on American political leaders and het American foreign policy. (Graber, 1980; Weiss, 1974; Peng, 2004). The New York Times is a media organization that has received the Pulitzer Price the most often (104 times). The paper's quality and international and influential position is the reason for its analysis in this research.

Kiousis (2004) has analysed the news content in the New York Times and the distribution of eight different political issues in 2000. The analysis showed that the media agenda was led by crime and violence. The crime issue fluctuated from approximately 400 to 600 stories and peaked during national elections. Education and defence come second and third in their share of the content. Research on the New York Times showed that the newspaper uses human-interest framing when reporting on politics. The coverage of presidential campaigns shows that discussion of the candidates' character was more common than discussion of their policy positions. The statements in the coverage were more often



negative than positive (Benoit, 2005). Another analysis of the New York Times by Chang, Shoemaker and Brendlinger (1987), showed that the newspaper's greatest determinant for their international news selection, is the relevance to the United States.

#### *USA Today*

“USA Today hopes to serve as a forum for better understanding and unity to help make the USA truly one nation.” – Allen Neuharth, founder September 15, 1982. This is stated on the website of the newspaper, under the ‘pressroom’ section. This quote tells us the newspaper is made for every American citizen. In this perspective the paper is in contrast with the international character of the *New York Times*. *USA Today* has a circulation of 1.8 million and a readership of 3.1 million. *USA Today* produces products with colour and graphics. People of the newspaper claim that research has shown that this presentation had led to their readers being visually driven, imaginative and artistic. According to the people of USA today, readers are drawn to them because they are provided a range of information in a concise, easy-to read format. In contrast to the New York Times, the newspaper has a section ‘Life’, especially for content concerning entertainment and celebrity news (usatoday.com). Because of the newspapers different presentation and approach to the public in comparison to the New York Times, and its large number of readers, USA Today is included in this research.

#### *De Volkskrant*

De Volkskrant was established in 1919, and was initially aimed at the catholic working-class (Van Vree, 1996). It was not until the 1950's that the newspaper began to take a less catholic stance, and became more critical and paid more attention to social cultural topics and the third world. In the seventies de Volkskrant was said to take on the politically left attitude of the Labour Party. From 1982 the newspaper became more versatile and informative and as Van Vree (1996) has claimed, de Volkskrant could be classified as the second quality newspaper of the Netherlands. De Volkskrant aimed at young, higher educated readers with a preference for progressive parties.

#### *De Telegraaf*

De Telegraaf was founded in 1893, and ever since, the newspaper has been known for its controversial hunt for news, the emotional journalistic style and bold layout that has led to a lot of criticism. The news selection and layout of the paper have been called frivolous and sensationally exaggerated. Nevertheless has the newspaper over the years, not made any

substantial changes. Of all Dutch newspapers, De Telegraaf is the most inspired by Anglo-Saxon press. The paper is practically always the first one to introduce aspects, sometimes literally extracted from the English newspapers. The English influence is seen in the news selection, human-interest stories, and summary leads. The newspaper is not wary to cross the line between news facts and opinions (Wolf, 2009). Like the USA Today, De Telegraaf also has a specific section for entertainment and celebrities. De Telegraaf is the most read, and most controversial Dutch newspaper, whose style and content is called sensational and commercial. For this reason this popular newspaper cannot be excluded from this research.

Semetko and Valkenburg (2006) have analysed the framing and subjects in different newspapers; 694 news stories in De Telegraaf and 573 news stories in de Volkskrant, were analysed by their type of content. In de Volkskrant 14% of these stories were concerned with crime, in comparison to 26.8 % of the stories in De Telegraaf that had crime as a subject. This last percentage also means that De Telegraaf's main subject of content is crime. De Volkskrant shows a different agenda setting, by reporting for its largest share on Europe and social welfare. The same study also showed a difference in the way the two Dutch newspapers generally frame their stories. The human-interest frame occurred significantly more often in the most sensationalist newspaper, De Telegraaf. This frame brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event or issue. The economic consequence frame occurred significantly more often in the two most serious newspapers, which is (NRC and) de Volkskrant. This frame reports on events of problems in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group or institution.

## **9.2 Method**

In the four newspapers, every article concerning the case is used since the day of Natalee Holloway's disappearance. Holloway disappeared on 30<sup>th</sup> May 2005. Joran van der Sloot has been suspect, but never convicted for the disappearance of Holloway. In 2012, Van Der Sloot was found guilty in murdering a girl, Stephany Flores, in Peru. Because this case generated news with reference to the Holloway case, articles concerning Van Der Sloot en Holloway until this year will be searched and used for analysis. From the LexisNexis database a much greater number of Dutch than American articles were found on Joran van der Sloot and Natalee Holloway. The following number of articles was found in the newspapers: *de Volkskrant* (262 articles) and *De Telegraaf* (304), *New York Times* (50) *USA Today* (42). They will be analysed both automatically and manual, in order to answer the earlier stated hypotheses:

H1: The news coverage of the Holloway-case contains characteristics of a media-hype; being the reference to other media and their (excessive) attention to the case.

H2: There is no significant difference in the amount of coverage about the Holloway-case between quality and popular newspapers.

H3: The newspapers in both countries will have a large amount of coverage concerning the Holloway-case.

H4: The popular newspapers USA Today and De Telegraaf will contain more human-interest framing of the Holloway-case than the quality newspapers.

H5: The U.S. newspapers USA Today and the New York Times have paid more attention to Natalee Holloway and her being the victim.

H6: The Dutch newspapers de Volkskrant en De Telegraaf have focussed more on the framing of the suspect/culprit Joran Van Der Sloot.

An automatic content analysis can encompass a large amount of content. By using the Amsterdam Contentanalysis Toolkit (AmCAT), the articles will be analysed by means of word-counting the specific search-terms, by using the navigator (Van Atteveldt, Ruigrok and Kleinnijenhuis, 2008). The search can be held based on the medium or the specific periods of time. This method is especially useful for analysing the presence of the victim or the suspects, and terms concerning their individual context. The first supposition will easily be answered by automatic analysis. Because both the victim and the suspect are likely to be mentioned both, the number of hits can tell how many times the victim and the suspect are mentioned by their name. Searching for other terms related to Holloway or Van Der Sloot can also show who is given more attention. Terms that encompass the names of Van Der Sloot and Holloway will take up the search query and determine the amount of presence in the articles.<sup>1</sup> Because this will only partially analyse the hypotheses regarding specific portrayal of the individuals, further insight in the context and the associations between actors is necessary to answer the suppositions. Therefore a manual content analysis will be held to give more details.

### *9.2.2. Manual content analysis*

Because of the little amount of content, especially regarding the American newspapers, analyses will also be held on the basis of manual content analysis. The manual analyses provide the possibility to analyse the texts very specifically. It shows in what way the victim and the suspect have been given meaning in a particular text. Manual analysis attributes to the automatically found appearances, because it looks for the relations between actors and context, for example Holloway's background.

Based on the study by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), a questionnaire-method is used to analyse the relations between actors. These are found by means of questions about the texts that will be answered yes (1) or no (2). Of all articles of the U.S. newspapers and a hundred articles of each Dutch newspaper, the first paragraph will be read to answer the

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<sup>1</sup> The search-terms are formulated as follows: `Joran van der Sloot#(joran OR "sloot joran"~10" OR ("van der sloot" AND joran)). Natalee Holloway#(natalee OR "natalee Holloway" OR (Holloway AND natalee)`

questions and code the texts. The questions are related to the predefined frames, and the codings will be statistically analysed to what to what extent the frames are absent or present in the different newspapers. The statistical output is listed in Appendix 3.

### *9.2.3. Coding-reliability*

Manual content analysis has a disadvantage, in that it is subjected to the interpretation of the coder. A media text can generate different meanings, which could lead to different interpretations, dependent of the personal frame of reference of the reader (Morley, 1992). To overcome the potential difference in interpretation when coding the articles, extensive explanations of the questions are provided (Appendix 2) and the reliability of the outcome is calculated by means of Cohens's Kappa.

The reliability of the codings was found sufficient, as in all four frames the reliability is above (Kappa =) 0.80. The victim frame has a reliability of (Kappa =) 0.95, the suspect frame 0.99, the media-hype frame 0.85, and the human-interest frame 0.8. The Cohen's Kappa is performed on every single question. All the results are listed in appendix 1.

### *9.3. Operationalisation*

The manual content analyses will be held in order to research hypothesis 2 and 3. It calculates how often the names of Joran van der Sloot en Natalee Holloway are mentioned and by doing so will provide the first indication to whom is given the most attention in which newspaper. These analyses based on their names, will be referred to as the "Joran" frame and a "Natalee" frame. In addition to the calculation of their mentioning, a search will be held to count if Van Der Sloot's name is shortened (Joran van der S.) at the beginning of the Holloway-case.

The victim frame (1) is based on the stereotypical characteristics of a victim as provided by Vanderveen (2006). The frame relates to a main focus on Holloway, personal information about her and her family and friends, and a portrayal of her as being a vulnerable and respectable person. Analyses of the victim frame and the "Natalee frame" will provide the research for hypothesis 5.

The suspect frame (2) is based on the characteristics as provided by Reijnders (2005) and is mainly interested in Van Der Sloot and the information concerning him and his

prosecution. The frame portrays him as violent and bad. The suspect frame and the “Joran” frame will provide the insight to what extent the newspapers focus on Van Der Sloot and his persona as being the suspect/offender (hypothesis 6).

The human-interest frame (3) is based on the frame as conceptualised by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000: p. 100). The human-interest frame refers to individual misfortune, emotional connotations and perspectives and personal information. Analysing the human-interest frame shows the potential difference between quality and popular newspapers, in that the latter are expected to write more sensational. This frame will therefore be used to research hypothesis 4,

The media-hype frame (4) is based on the theories on media-hypes as explicated by Vasterman (2005). In the Netherlands the show of Peter R. de Vries generated a lot of attention, therefore this name is put in the search query, together with the general terms ‘media’ and ‘television’, and in combination with the terming of Holloway and Van Der Sloot<sup>2</sup>. The frame is also considered of the fact that articles that mention the extensive media attention to the case may also mean a critique to similar cases that do not have gotten the same amount of attention. Analysing the media-hype frame illustrates the extent to which the newspapers generate news because of other media. This could indicate a lowering of the news-threshold and a disproportionate amount of coverage for the particular news theme. The first hypothesis assumes all four newspapers contain more media-hype related content. The four frames and the questions used for their analyses are listed in table 2.

*Table 2. Frames and related questions*

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<sup>2</sup> (“Joran van der Sloot” OR “Natalee Holloway”) AND (“Peter R. de Vries” OR media OR television)

Frame	Questions
1. Victim	<p>Is the article mainly focused on Natalee Holloway?</p> <p>Is Holloway portrayed as a respectable person, in consideration of her family/friends?</p> <p>Is Holloway characterised as being vulnerable, weak or innocent?</p> <p>Does the context imply Natalee has no blame in the situation?</p>
2. Offender	<p>Is the article mainly concerned with Van Der Sloot?</p> <p>Is Van Der Sloot portrayed as evil, cruel, bad?</p> <p>Does the text imply he was deliberately violent?</p> <p>Does the text mention Van Der Sloot did not know Holloway before the incident?</p>
3. Human-interest/ Sensational	<p>Is their emphasis on individual misfortune or suffering?</p> <p>Is the story written from an emotional angle?</p> <p>Does the text provide detailed personal information about Holloway or Van Der Sloot?</p>
4. Media-hype	<p>Does the text mention a great amount of media attention for the Holloway case?</p> <p>Is the article main purpose to make publicity for/or to refer to a program or documentary based on the Holloway case?</p> <p>Does the text mention a critique that similar cases to the Holloway-case have received less attention?</p>

## 12. Analyses and Results

*12.1 Media-hype frame*

	Dutch newspapers	U.S. newspapers
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The first hypothesis states the news coverage of the Holloway-case contains characteristics of a media-hype. The media-hype frame refers to these articles that mention the great attention that the media in general and television in particular have given to the case. An article in the New York Times writes “Cable news has played its part in the subversion, most dramatically last spring, when it produced pageantry out of the case of Natalee Holloway”. USA Today criticizes the media’s disproportionate attention to the Holloway, in comparison to other missing person in several articles: “...because the national media don't appear interested in all types of missing persons. Most of the media's attention goes to cases involving white women or white girls, such as 18-year-old Natalee Holloway from Alabama”. Another article states: “Their message (from internet bloggers) to the TV networks: Give Figueroa's story the same sort of attention networks have given to Natalee Holloway”. And: “...the disappearance of Alabama high school student Natalee Holloway, 18, in Aruba is getting lots of airtime on the cable news networks and morning news shows. Those networks, which drive such stories, are being asked a tough question: Do they care only about missing white women?” These articles criticize television for having paid too much attention to this particular case, which indirectly tells why they did not generate more reports on the case.

In the Dutch newspapers, the media-hype frame is found, in almost the same amount as in the U.S. papers. The Dutch papers mainly refer to the media attention in relation to the show of Peter R. de Vries. The American newspapers also refer to other (U.S.) documentaries and television-programs based on the disappearance. Table .. shows that in both countries the media-hype frame was present in the four newspapers. In the American papers the frame was found by a mean of 0.4505, and in the Dutch papers by a mean of 0.39. There is no significant difference between the presence of media-hype frame in the two countries,  $T(291) = 0.737, p = 0.5$ . Even though the U.S. newspapers have produced far less articles concerning the Holloway-case than the Dutch newspapers, both countries in general have paid a substantial amount of attention to the Holloway-case. The media-hype framing in the U.S. articles illustrates the amount of attention the case has received in the other media.



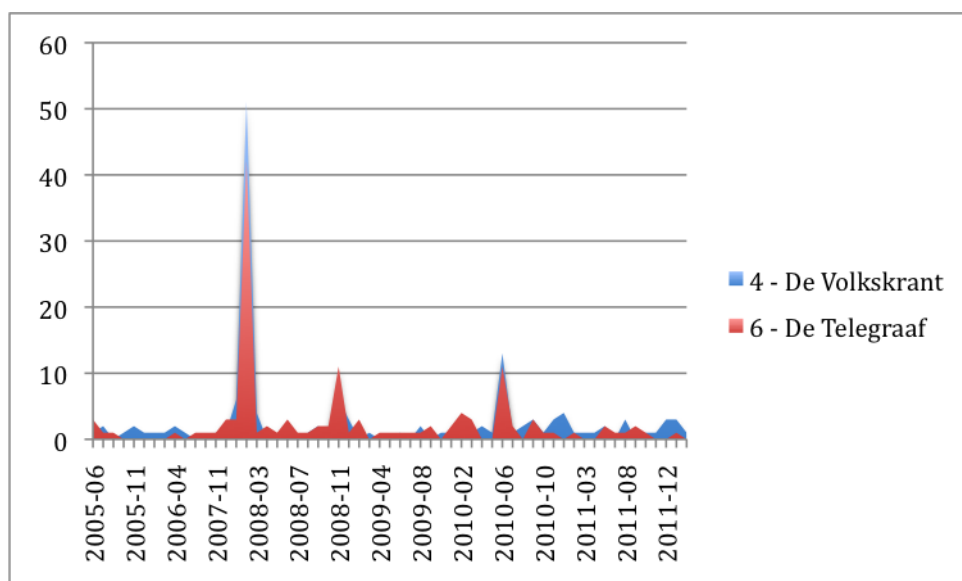
Media-Hype Frame (Mean)	0.39		0.45	
	De Volkskrant	De Telegraaf	New York Times	USA Today
	0.54	0.24	0.35	0.57

Table 3 Media-hype in the four newspapers.

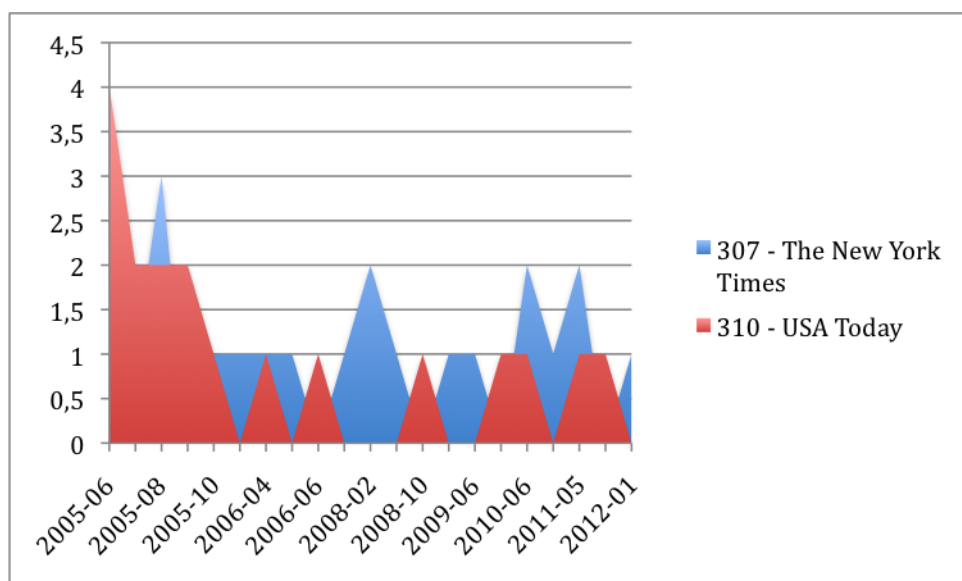
The media-hype framing is even more apparent in the Dutch articles, because of the many references made to the show of Peter R. de Vries. Both Dutch newspapers produced the most articles about the case at the time of the episode in which Van Der Sloot was filmed and asked about Natalee Holloway on a hidden camera. The graphic (1) below shows the distribution of the number of articles in which other media and their attention to the case are mentioned. It is striking that there were far less articles concerning the case, at the time of the actual disappearance, than at the time the show of Peter R. de Vries was broadcasted, in February 2008. When reading the actual content of the articles in this time period, de Volkskrant writes about a: “press-tsunami” that was brought upon the show, and the fact that Van Der Sloot was not arrested for his statements on camera. It is a clear example of news being generated from within media and fed by other media. The graphic also shows a third peak, which represents the news when Van Der Sloot murdered Stephany Flores, again on May 30<sup>th</sup>, 2010.

The distribution of the news in the New York Times and USA Today (graphic 2) is more logical, in the sense that the coverage starts with the most articles at the beginning, when Holloway was just known to have disappeared. Because of the small amount of articles in total, there are no substantial peaks; it shows just a few more articles written at the time of the Peter R. de Vries’ show and the murdering of Stephany Flores. The three articles from February 2008 only mention Natalee Holloway in one sentence by means of the television rates. The articles from June 2010 all report on Van Der Sloot being suspect in the murder of Stephany Flores, and refer to the disappearance of Holloway five years before.

*Graphic 1. Distribution of number of Dutch articles, with reference to the case in other media.*



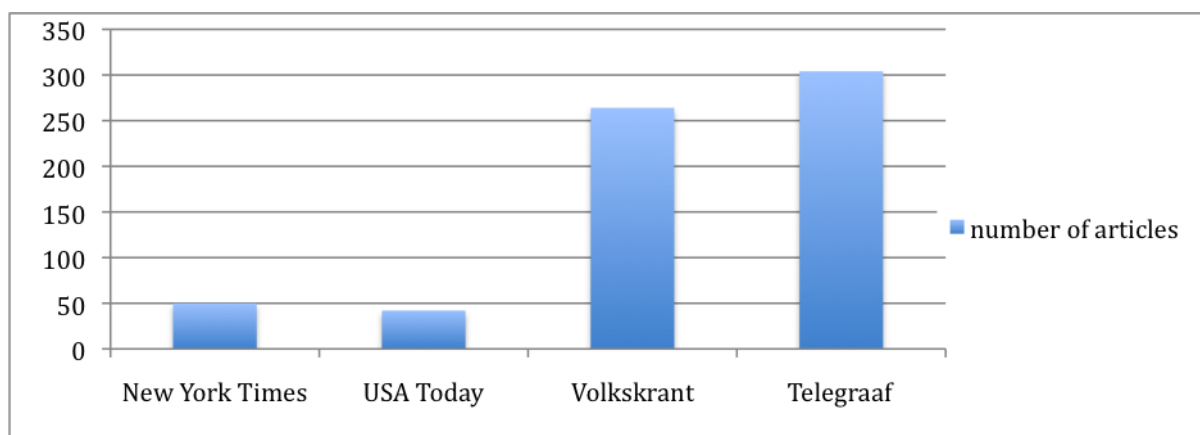
Graphic 2. Distribution of number of U.S. articles, with reference to the case in other media.



### 12.2 Amount of coverage

The second hypothesis states there is no significant difference in the amount of coverage about the Holloway-case between quality and popular newspapers. The Dutch newspapers have dedicated many more articles to the reporting or mentioning of Holloway and Van Der Sloot, but within one country we see practically the same amount of news: 262 articles in de Volkskrant and 304 in De Telegraaf, 49 articles in the New York Times and 42 in USA Today (table 4). The graphics (1, 2) above also illustrate practically the same distribution of the articles.

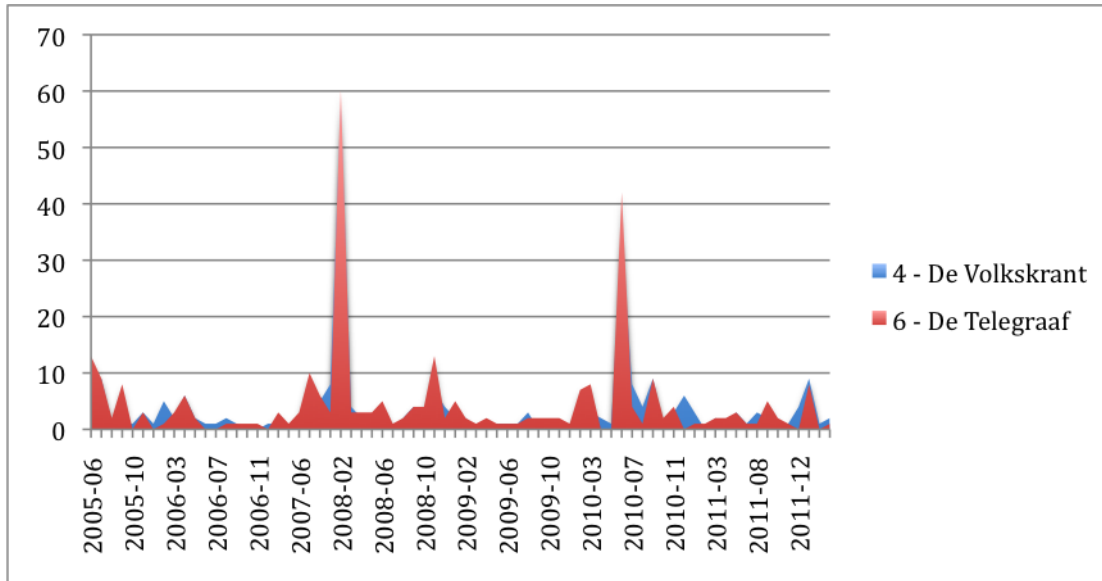
*Table 4. Number of articles that report on, or refer to, the Holloway-case in the four newspapers.*



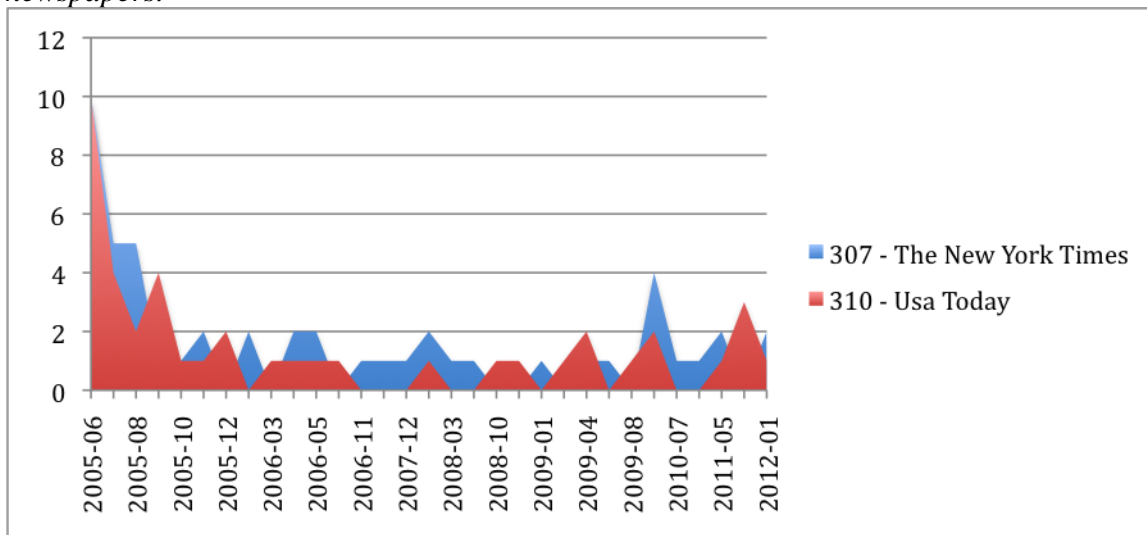
The third hypothesis states the newspapers in both countries have a large amount of coverage concerning the Holloway-case. As Table 1 shows, the Dutch Volkskrant and De Telegraaf have written 262 and 304 articles in which Joran van der Sloot and/or Natalee Holloway are mentioned. A much smaller amount of coverage was found in the New York Times (50) and the USA Today (42). The distribution of the articles are displayed in the graphics below (3, 4) This was not expected, because the news values as seriousness and proximity are equally relevant to both countries and the four papers. A reason for the case to keep its news value could be the mystery that Holloway's body was never found.

The smaller amount of coverage in the U.S. newspapers may be explained by the country's much greater size and its larger news orientation. Another reason could be that Aruba is Dutch and therefore has more cultural proximity to Dutch newspapers as to the U.S. The public's knowledge of the disappearance may for the main part be derived from the television programs and documentaries based on the Holloway-case.

Graphic 3. Distribution of articles related to Holloway and Van Der Sloot in de Dutch newspapers.



Graphic 4. Distribution of articles related to Holloway and Van Der Sloot in de U.S. newspapers.



### 12.3 Human-interest frame

The fourth hypothesis states the popular newspapers USA Today and De Telegraaf contain more human-interest framing of the Holloway-case than the quality newspapers. To answer this hypothesis, first the difference is analysed between the newspapers of the same country, by means of a T-test. First, the human-interest frame is analysed, while comparing de Volkskrant to De Telegraaf. De Telegraaf has a much higher mean of 0.8, in comparison to the mean of de Volkskrant: 0.44. This difference is found to be very significant:  $t(200) = -2.9, p = 0.004$ . When comparing the New York Times to the USA Today, the New York Times has a (slightly) higher mean than the USA Today. This difference is not significant. The hypothesis is only affirmed in the case of the Dutch newspapers. The outcome also shows the popular newspaper have a fairly same amount of the human-interest frame. For the quality newspapers however, it illustrates a great difference between the two newspapers, in that the New York Times has the highest mean of human-interest framing, in comparison to de Volkskrant with a mean of 0.44.

*Table 5. Human-interest frame, all four newspapers (mean).*

	New York Times	USA Today	De Volkskrant	De Telegraaf
Human-interest frame (Mean)	1.04	0.90	0.44	0.80

A good example of the human-interest framing in the Dutch newspapers is an article in de Volkskrant. It writes about the autobiographic story that Joran van der Sloot has written himself and in doing so tells a lot of personal information about Van Der Sloot. How he worked in little food shop in Thailand and use to be very good in tennis when he was little. De Telegraaf writes in a human interest frame in several articles, by not only writing about the suffering of Natalee on the night of her disappearance, but also about Natalee's mother Beth Holloway, who has visited Van Der Sloot in order to get him to confess. Other personal sensational details that are given by De Telegraaf relate to the confessions of Van Der Sloot, which leads to emotional aspects of the case, and other people, like his attorney that talks about his personality, his addiction to gambling and his search for serious relations.

The other frames are also analysed in the extent to which they are present in quality versus popular newspapers. A T-test shows significant differences between the Dutch

newspapers; first of all the De Telegraaf has mentioned Joran van der Sloot much more often than de Volkskrant. This difference between the means are found significant as well,  $t(551) = -2.739$ ,  $p = 0.006$ . Natalee Holloway was mentioned a lot less in both newspapers, but De Telegraaf again scores higher in the mentioning of Holloway:  $t(551) = -2.339$ ,  $p = 0.020$ . The victim frame is more present in De Telegraaf than in de Volkskrant as well ( $t(200) = -2.8$ ,  $p = 0.005$ ). The suspect frame was also more present in De Telegraaf:  $t(200) = -3.45$ ,  $p = 0.001$ .

The greater presence of the frames in De Telegraaf could indicate that most their articles are more extensively written with more emphasis on details and quotes. In one article the psychologist of Van Der Sloot is quoted: “He is cold and vicious, an antisocial psychopath, that behaves cheery and friendly in order to seduce and betray and acts very violent to misfortune”. Or: “According to the Peruvian media, prisoners are getting ready for a settlement with the ‘gringo asasino’, the killing foreigner. Police states Joran had traces of cocaine and marihuana in his blood at the time of his arrest”. These kinds of portrayals contribute to the negative characterization of Van Der Sloot and him being a stereotypical suspect/offender.

#### *12.4 Victim frame*

Hypothesis five states the U.S. newspapers USA Today and the New York Times have paid more attention to Natalee Holloway and her being the victim, than the Dutch newspapers. A T test did find a higher mean of victim frame in U.S. papers than in the Dutch papers,  $t(291) = 5.615, p = 0.0$  (table 6). The hypothesis is still affirmed when looking at the newspapers independently. Each U.S. paper is compared to each Dutch newspaper by means of an Anova test and found each U.S. paper has a significantly higher mean of the victim frame when compared to each Dutch newspaper. It illustrates the proximity of the American victim to the U.S. newspapers is newsworthy. This is also true when counting the amount of times Holloway was mentioned in the articles (table 7).

A correlation test was held on both the victim and the media-hype frame. This shows a (small) negative correlation between the two frames ( $0.131, p = 0.26$ ). This means when reference is made to other media, less information mentioned that portrays Holloway as a stereotypical victim.

Table 6. Victim frame, all four newspapers (mean)

	Dutch newspapers		U.S. newspapers	
Victim Frame (Mean)	0.40		1.08	
	De Volkskrant	De Telegraaf	New York Times	USA Today
	0.26	0.54	0.96	1.21

Table 7. "Natalee Holloway" frame, all four newspapers (mean)

	New York Times	USA Today	De Volkskrant	De Telegraaf
'Natalee Holloway' frame (Mean)	1.18	1.17	0.73	0.91

The USA Today for example, has written articles that mention the safety in school trips, also because the mother of Natalee, Beth Holloway has become a speaker on personal safety and has extensively used the media as a public platform. This also leads to articles from her point of view on the search for her daughter and the investigation process. The New York Times write about the investigation process by means of statements of the Aruban authorities, and in doing so focussing on Holloway, what she was doing and where she was staying on her vacation in Aruba and what they know about the night of her disappearance.

A clear example of this framing is illustrated in an article by the New York Times a couple weeks after Natalee has disappeared in 2005: “The three men detained earlier said they took Ms. Holloway, 18, who was vacationing in Aruba with students from her high school near Birmingham, to a beach but then dropped her off at her hotel, where, they said, she was approached by a security guard. Searches by the authorities, volunteers and tourists have come up empty, but the authorities have not said whether they believe Ms. Holloway is dead”. The victim frame is obviously present, by mentioning that the 18-year-old Natalee went to the beach with three men and eventually no searches have given clues of her whereabouts. The last sentence underlines that there was a big possibility that her life was taken.



### 12.5 Suspect frame

The sixth hypothesis states the Dutch newspapers, *de Volkskrant* en *De Telegraaf*, have focussed more on the framing of the suspect/culprit *Joran Van Der Sloot*. Based on the previous outcome, it seems logical that the Dutch newspapers have a higher presence of *Joran van Der Sloot* and the suspect frame, than the U.S newspapers. The analysis of the suspect frame indeed found this outcome by means of T test, with a significant difference between the countries:  $t(291) = -3.173, p = 0.002$ . However, looking at the individual newspapers per country, it shows that the difference is mainly due to the great presence of the suspect frame in *De Telegraaf* (mean = 1.19) and the low mean of the frame in *USA Today* (0.38). The means of the quality papers lie in between these two and are practically equal (see table 8).

A correlation test was performed on the suspect and human-interest frame and found a significant positive correlation between the two frames (0.125,  $p = 0.033$ ). This indicates that the suspect is also portrayed with personal and emotional aspects. Another correlation showed a (small) negative correlation between the suspect frame and the media-hype frame ( $-0.131, p = 0.025$ ). This means when other media are concerned, *Van Der Sloot* is likely to be mentioned, but not in full elaboration of him being the evil suspect.

The Dutch newspapers have initially referred to *Joran van der Sloot* by means of shortening his last name: ‘*Joran van der S.*’ 8 times in the *Volkskrant* and 13 times in *De Telegraaf*. Both papers stopped shortening his name in November 2011, six months after *Holloways* disappearance. In the U.S. newspapers, no shortening of *Van Der Sloot*’s name is found in any article.

Table 8. Suspect frame, all four newspapers (mean).

	Dutch newspapers		U.S. newspapers	
	0.93		0.52	
Suspect Frame	De Volkskrant	De Telegraaf	New York Times	USA Today
	0.66	1.19	0.63	0.38

Table 9. “Joran van der Sloot, all four newspapers (mean).

	New York Times	USA Today	De Volkskrant	De Telegraaf
‘Joran van der Sloot frame (Mean)	1.92	1.31	5.25	6.73

Examples of the suspect frame are found in the articles in which is stated Joran van der Sloot “went mad”, has confessed he dumped Holloway’s body in the sea, that he keeps being suspect in the case and many people consider him a monster. The articles from 2012 are concerned with the murder of Stephany Flores. Van Der Sloot was suspect and eventually convicted for the murder of Flores, and because many of the reports refer in this case to the Holloway-case, it strengthens the presumption he killed Holloway five years ago, even though he was not convicted then. In the Volkskrant Van Der Sloot is also mentioned as a psychopath and a trafficker in women, but most articles are more concerned with the judicial process, because of critique on the beginning of investigating the Holloway-case, and other statements about Van Der Sloot being arrested and the Aruban public prosecutor.

An overview of all frames and the extent to which they were found in the four newspapers is listed in table 10.

Table 10. Overview of all frame and newspapers (mean).

	Volkskrant (N = 100)	De Telegraaf (N = 100)	New York Times (N=49)	USA Today (N=42)
	Mean			
Victim frame	0.2600	0.5400	0.9592	1.2143
Suspect frame	0.6600	1.1900	0.6327	0.3810
Media-hype frame	0.5400	0.2400	0.3469	0.5714
Human-interest frame	0.4400	0.8000	1.0408	0.9048

## **Conclusion**

The main part of the public needs the media for their knowledge of jurisdiction. The media need the legal system for news and information and the legal system on their part needs the media for democratic justification in society. Unfortunately, the way the media's logic relates to the judicial logic can be problematic. The media generate news, under influence of their relevant culture and ideologies, and on a smaller scale by the media's organization (hierarchy), routine and a journalist's individual background and thoughts. Even though most media, and newspapers in specific, claim their reporting is neutral and the information balanced and true, the influences on journalists and the logic of media counteracts this objective. There are other newspapers, like De Telegraaf, who do not deny their controversial and sensational portrayal of news. This is not problematic in itself, but when victims and suspects in a legal case are framed in a way that is (slightly) slanted, it can result in a negative or wrongly funded perception of the public's perception about the individuals involved and justice in general.

Framing can become biased news, when one aspect of a report is being emphasised over another. In this case, the framing can focus on the victim, the suspect, the personal, or the media itself. Besides the way a news story is portrayed, media logic and the influences on journalists also determine what is of news value. In the case of criminal and legal cases, especially seriousness and proximity are criteria for the selection of news.

In the Holloway-case, the news values were not of equal importance to both countries, because the U.S. newspapers contributed a lot less articles about the case. The case did get a lot of publicity in both countries, but in the U.S., this was mainly due to the other media and especially television. This illustrates that the Dutch newspapers are more sensitive towards other media: first, because they paid a lot of attention to the case, just as the other Dutch media. Secondly, they also supported the news wave by making many references to the case in other media. The newspeak in the Dutch newspapers at the time of the Peter R. de Vries also illustrates a serious feature of a media-hype, in contrast to the U.S. newspapers, which did not contain any peaks in a later period of time.

The most obvious difference between the countries newspapers is the large amount of victim framing and the mentioning of "Natalee Holloway" by the U.S., while this was not the case in the Dutch newspapers. The suspect frame was expected to be significantly more apparent in both Dutch newspapers, both this was only true due to the high suspect framing in De Telegraaf. The USA Today on the other hand has the lowest suspect framing and the

highest victim framing. This illustrates the one-sided news in the USA Today, being the focus on Holloway.

Both popular newspapers did practically have an equal presence of the human-interest frame. However, this frame shows a significant difference between the two quality newspapers. In the New York Times, a high mean of the frame was found, in contrast to a very low mean of the human-interest frame in de Volkskrant. The New York Times has portrayed Holloway to a reasonable extent as a stereotypical victim and had provided a substantial amount of personal information. This is likely due to Natalee's mother who made a lot of media appearances, in the hope to find out what happened to her daughter, to carry out a positive image of her daughter and to speak about safety issues for young people going abroad.

Besides the differences between the countries, it is evident that the quality and popular newspaper of the same country are very alike in their news selection and the distribution of subject-related articles. It exemplifies that the media's news selection is determined by its nationality and culture. Analyses of the Holloway-case has illustrated that both the news selection and the framing of the suspect and the victim were influenced by national bias. This means the informative function is not being fulfilled, because the media focus on the part of the story that relates the most to the readers. This national bias and the increase of infotainment news are problematic for the portrayal of criminal and legal cases. First of all, it can be harmful for the people involved, by being overexposed and stereotyped. Second, it contributes to the misrepresentation of society and justice. Overrepresentation of violent crimes and incomplete reporting on trials leads to misconceptions about reality.

Framing-analyses therefore contribute to the understanding of news content and in doing so provides possibility for improvement. The research of the Holloway-case had its limitations because of the small amount of data available from the U.S. newspapers and the absence of news content from other media like television. If there would have been more U.S. articles at hand, the statistical results could give more certainty. Because other media have also given a lot of attention to the case, incorporating the relevant television broadcasts and publications would give better knowledge of the media dynamics. However, this comparative study of news coverage between two countries, has examined the media's functions and logic in a broad perspective, which illustrates its characteristics and comments for the better.

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## Appendix:

### 1. Coding reliability: Cohen's Kappa.

Checks the reliability for each variable in the manual content analyses of the frames of the Holloway-case. Some calculations could not be made, for all values contained 0, because the variable was not found in the articles. It does mean a complete accordance, between the two codings.

#### Victim frame

Victim 1: $K = 0.975 - 0.665 / 1 - 0.665 =$	0.925
Victim 2: $K = 1 - 0.95125 / 1 - 0.95125 =$	1
Victim 3: $K = (A: 40+0/40 = 1) - (E: 40/40 \times 40/40 + 0/40 \times 0/40) =$ $K = 1 - 1 / 1 - 1$ (nulwaarden)	0
Victim 4: $K = 0.975 - 0.7625 / 1 - 0.7625 =$	0.89

#### Suspect frame:

Suspect 1: $(29/40 \times 30/40) + (1/40 \times 0/40);$	0
Suspect 2: $K = 1 - 0.82 / 1 - 0.82 =$	1
Suspect 3: $K = A: 0.9 \quad E: (18/40 \times 22/40) + (4/40 \times 0/40) =$	0
Suspect 4: $K = 0.975 - 0.545 / 1 - 0.545 =$	0.945

#### Media-hype frame:

Media 1: $K = 0.85 - 0.675 / 1 - 0.675 =$	0.54
Media 2: $K = 1 - 0.78 / 1 - 0.78 =$	1
Media 3: $K = \text{zero-value } 40 \times 0$	0

#### Human-interest frame:

Human 1: $K = 0.925 - 0.515 / 1 - 0.515 =$	0.845
Human 2: $K = 0.95 - 0.50725 / 1 - 0.50725 =$	0.8985
Human 3: $K = 0.925 - 0.78 / 1 - 0.78 =$	0.67

## Appendix

### 2. Guideline perspective of interpretation text and coding.

#### Victim frame

Q3: When there is only referred to her disappearance without serious value judgements and emotional connotations about the case, she is not considered weak or vulnerable. When she is described as a young 18 year-old American student who had left a bar with three men on the night of her disappearance, than it is confirmable that she is portrayed as vulnerable.

#### Suspect frame

Especially in the Dutch newspapers, several articles presume that people already know who Van Der Sloot is and that he was involved in the disappearance of Holloway. This is for example the case in the articles about the incident at the television talkshow “Pauw & Witteman”, when Van Der Sloot threw a glass of wine to Peter R. de Vries, and that the U.S. media wanted these images.

Q2: When Van Der Sloot is only mentioned as being a suspect in the Holloway-case, he is not portrayed as evil, cruel or bad, unless these latter words or similar words are used in the text as well, to describe Van Der Sloot.

#### Human-interest frame

Q2: A text is considered written from an emotional angle, when value judgements, sensational subjective statements or exaggerated aspects are mentioned. Q3: many articles mention Natalee’s name and hometown, so in order to agree with the question that the text indeed provided personal information about Natalee, there must be given more details, for example by family and friends.

## Appendix

### 3. Statistical output

**Victim frame:**

#### Descriptives

totalvictim

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
					New York Times	49		
Volkscrant	100	.2600	.59662	.05966	.1416	.3784	.00	3.00
USA Today	42	1.2143	1.17982	.18205	.8466	1.5819	.00	3.00
De Telegraaf	100	.5400	.78393	.07839	.3845	.6955	.00	3.00
Total	291	.6117	.88497	.05188	.5096	.7138	.00	3.00

#### ANOVA

totalvictim

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	34.050	3	11.350	16.872	.000
Within Groups	193.070	287	.673		
Total	227.120	290			

#### Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable:totalvictim

	(I) mediumid	(J) mediumid	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
LSD	New York Times	Volkskrant	.69918*	.14302	.000	.4177	.9807
		USA Today	-.25510	.17247	.140	-.5946	.0844
		De Telegraaf	.41918*	.14302	.004	.1377	.7007
	Volkskrant	New York Times	-.69918*	.14302	.000	-.9807	-.4177
		USA Today	-.95429*	.15081	.000	-1.2511	-.6574
		De Telegraaf	-.28000*	.11599	.016	-.5083	-.0517
	USA Today	New York Times	.25510	.17247	.140	-.0844	.5946
		Volkskrant	.95429*	.15081	.000	.6574	1.2511
		De Telegraaf	.67429*	.15081	.000	.3774	.9711
	De Telegraaf	New York Times	-.41918*	.14302	.004	-.7007	-.1377
		Volkskrant	.28000*	.11599	.016	.0517	.5083
		USA Today	-.67429*	.15081	.000	-.9711	-.3774

\*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

**Suspect frame:**

**Descriptives**

totalsuspect

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
New York Times	49	.6327	1.05463	.15066	.3297	.9356	.00	4.00
Volkskrant	100	.6600	.93441	.09344	.4746	.8454	.00	3.00
USA Today	42	.3810	.85404	.13178	.1148	.6471	.00	3.00
De Telegraaf	100	1.1900	1.22016	.12202	.9479	1.4321	.00	4.00
Total	291	.7973	1.08761	.06376	.6718	.9227	.00	4.00

**ANOVA**

totalsuspect

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	25.915	3	8.638	7.818	.000
Within Groups	317.123	287	1.105		
Total	343.038	290			

**Multiple Comparisons**

Dependent Variable:totalsuspect

(I) mediumid	(J) mediumid	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval			
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
LSD	New York Times	Volkskrant	-.02735	.18330	.882	-.3881	.3334	
		USA Today	.25170	.22104	.256	-.1834	.6868	
		De Telegraaf	-.55735*	.18330	.003	-.9181	-.1966	
	Volkskrant	New York Times	USA Today	.27905	.19328	.150	-.1014	.6595
			De Telegraaf	-.53000*	.14866	.000	-.8226	-.2374
			USA Today	-.25170	.22104	.256	-.6868	.1834
	USA Today	New York Times	Volkskrant	-.27905	.19328	.150	-.6595	.1014
			De Telegraaf	-.80905*	.19328	.000	-1.1895	-.4286
			De Telegraaf	.55735*	.18330	.003	.1966	.9181
	De Telegraaf	New York Times	Volkskrant	.53000*	.14866	.000	.2374	.8226
			USA Today	.80905*	.19328	.000	.4286	1.1895

\*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Media frame:

**Descriptives**

totalmedia

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
New York Times	49	.3469	.63084	.09012	.1657	.5281	.00	2.00
Volkskrant	100	.5400	.64228	.06423	.4126	.6674	.00	2.00
USA Today	42	.5714	.85946	.13262	.3036	.8393	.00	2.00
De Telegraaf	100	.2400	.51483	.05148	.1378	.3422	.00	2.00
Total	291	.4089	.64950	.03807	.3340	.4839	.00	2.00

**ANOVA**

totalmedia

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	5.869	3	1.956	4.821	.003
Within Groups	116.468	287	.406		
Total	122.337	290			

**Multiple Comparisons**

Dependent Variable:totalmedia



	(I) mediumid	(J) mediumid	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
LSD	New York Times	Volkskrant	-.19306	.11109	.083	-.4117	.0256
		USA Today	-.22449	.13396	.095	-.4881	.0392
		De Telegraaf	.10694	.11109	.337	-.1117	.3256
	Volkskrant	New York Times	.19306	.11109	.083	-.0256	.4117
		USA Today	-.03143	.11713	.789	-.2620	.1991
		De Telegraaf	.30000*	.09009	.001	.1227	.4773
	USA Today	New York Times	.22449	.13396	.095	-.0392	.4881
		Volkskrant	.03143	.11713	.789	-.1991	.2620
		De Telegraaf	.33143*	.11713	.005	.1009	.5620
	De Telegraaf	New York Times	-.10694	.11109	.337	-.3256	.1117
		Volkskrant	-.30000*	.09009	.001	-.4773	-.1227
		USA Today	-.33143*	.11713	.005	-.5620	-.1009

\*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

**Human-interest frame:**

**Descriptives**

totalhuman

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
New York Times	49	1.0408	.91194	.13028	.7789	1.3028	.00	3.00
Volkskrant	100	.4400	.74291	.07429	.2926	.5874	.00	2.00
USA Today	42	.9048	.98301	.15168	.5984	1.2111	.00	3.00
De Telegraaf	100	.8000	.97442	.09744	.6067	.9933	.00	3.00
Total	291	.7320	.91556	.05367	.6263	.8376	.00	3.00

**ANOVA**

totalhuman

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	14.915	3	4.972	6.253	.000
Within Groups	228.177	287	.795		
Total	243.093	290			

**Multiple Comparisons**

Dependent Variable:totalhuman

	(I) mediumid	(J) mediumid	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval		
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
LSD	New York Times	Volkskrant	.60082*	.15549	.000	.2948	.9069	
		USA Today	.13605	.18750	.469	-.2330	.5051	
		De Telegraaf	.24082	.15549	.123	-.0652	.5469	
	Volkskrant	New York Times	Volkskrant	-.60082*	.15549	.000	-.9069	-.2948
			USA Today	-.46476*	.16395	.005	-.7875	-.1421
			De Telegraaf	-.36000*	.12610	.005	-.6082	-.1118
	USA Today	New York Times	Volkskrant	-.13605	.18750	.469	-.5051	.2330
			Volkskrant	.46476*	.16395	.005	.1421	.7875
			De Telegraaf	.10476	.16395	.523	-.2179	.4275
	De Telegraaf	New York Times	Volkskrant	-.24082	.15549	.123	-.5469	.0652
			Volkskrant	.36000*	.12610	.005	.1118	.6082
			USA Today	-.10476	.16395	.523	-.4275	.2179

\*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

**Correlations:**

Victim and Media-hype frame

**Correlations**

		totalvictim	totalmedia
totalvictim	Pearson Correlation	1	-.131*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.026
	N	291	291
totalmedia	Pearson Correlation	-.131*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.026	
	N	291	291

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Suspect and media-hype frame

**Correlations**

		totalmedia	totalsuspect
totalmedia	Pearson Correlation	1	-.131*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.025
	N	291	291
totalsuspect	Pearson Correlation	-.131*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.025	
	N	291	291

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Suspect and human-interest frame

**Correlations**

		totalsuspect	totalhuman
totalsuspect	Pearson Correlation	1	.125*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.033
	N	291	291
totalhuman	Pearson Correlation	.125*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.033	
	N	291	291

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).