The Media's Representation of Airplane Disasters: An Analysis of Themes, Language and Moving Images

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This thesis is dedicated to those affected by the fateful flights of
Malaysia Airlines 370, Germanwings 9525, Air France 447, Malaysia Airlines 17,
Indonesia AirAsia 8501, Metrojet 9268, EgyptAir 804, Saratov Airlines 703,
Lion Air 610 and Ethiopian Airlines 302.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the representation of airplane disasters in broadcast news. Although airplane incidents tend to receive a disproportionate amount of media coverage, research is lacking in journalism studies and disaster communication on how these disasters are reported in traditional mainstream media and broadcast news. These news sources are dominant in the UK and, given the extensive coverage attributed to airplane disasters, have the power to shape our understanding of the incidents. By drawing on relevant concepts from the academic literature, this thesis establishes that the representation of airplane disasters can be understood through several key features: media interest, the topics of the broadcasts, the causes and responses to the incidents, emotionality and 'suffering', safety and risk, uncertainty, ignorance and speculation as well as different types of visuals. The findings contribute to knowledge in journalism studies and disaster communication more generally as they refine our understanding of the concepts of speculation, emotionality and risk, and the visuals of television news. The research also suggests that there may be a shift in television news from traditional journalism to a more narrative form of reporting, which produces compelling coverage in line with ideals to 'objectivity' and truth-telling.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Airplane disasters are rare phenomena. Statistically, it is much more likely for a person to die from heart disease and cancer, in a motor vehicle crash or from choking on food (National Safety Council 2017; Jenkins 2017). Yet, when incidents do occur, they "capture our attention" (Cobb and Primo 2003: 2). One reason for this might be that it is relevant to any travellers and "bring[s] to the fore a fact about flying that is often unexpressed: Once the cabin door closes, passengers are at the mercy of the crew and the equipment. By nature, humans are loath to relinquish control over their fate, but that is precisely what travellers do each time they fly" (Cobb and Primo 2003: 2). This pertains to the human desire for control (Cobb and Primo 2003: 143); more precisely, it is a "loss of control (from having literally no exit option)" (Cobb and Primo 2003: 143), which means that "the level of concern that one may become a victim oneself … is out of proportion to the reality" (Hood 2012: 28).

This interest in airplane disasters has implications for their news reporting as it leads to incidents dominating the news agenda when they do occur (Hood 2012: 28; Sonnevend 2018: 78; Jenkins 2017; Hay 2015; Garner 1996[a], 1996[b]). Hood (2012: 28), for instance, notes that "[a]irline disasters are an area of fascination for many. They are among the most written and accessed stories, receiving 'media coverage disproportionate to their death toll'". It is not surprising then that, according to a Google Trends analysis, the news media gave 43 per cent more coverage to the "deadly year of flight" in 2014/2015 than they did to "all of the 1.24 million ground traffic deaths worldwide" (Hay 2015). Likewise, CNN increased their prime-time viewership by 68 per cent during the coverage of the missing Malaysia Airlines flight 370 in 2014; while similar stories by the BBC produced the most audience traffic since the 2011 Japanese tsunami (Hay 2015).

Much of this coverage relates to the political economy of news outlets and their striving for income through increased ratings and the selling of publications (Hay

2015; Cobb and Primo 2003: 6-7). Cobb and Primo (2003: 6-7), for instance, point out that "the media operate in a competitive economic marketplace and need viewers or readers to survive and prosper" and that specific issues – amongst which are airplane disasters – "are more media friendly than others".

However, despite the extensive coverage attributed to airplane incidents (Cobb and Primo 2003: 1-2; Kim and Lee 2008: 85; Vincent et al. 1989: 1; Hood 2012: 28; Englehardt et al. 2004: 127-128), there is a considerable lack of research in journalism studies and disaster communication on how these disasters are reported in traditional mainstream news media and broadcasts specifically. This is important because, according to Ofcom's "News Consumption in the UK" report (2018: 2), our most-used source of news in the UK remains television, and television journalism thus has the power to shape our understanding of such events (Joye 2010[a]: 586; Carter 2013: 8, 1).

This thesis aims to fill this gap in knowledge by establishing a framework for understanding the media's representation of airplane disasters through broadcast news. Attention is paid to media interest, the topics of the broadcasts, the reported causes and disaster responses, emotionality and 'suffering', safety and risk, uncertainty, ignorance and speculation as well as the use of visuals. While these features explain the representation of airplane disasters, some of them advance knowledge in journalism studies and disaster communication more generally as they refine our understanding of the concepts of speculation, emotionality and risk, and the use of television visuals. By drawing on the results obtained, a broader conclusion is drawn that there may be a shift in (television) journalism to a more narrative form of reporting, which produces compelling coverage in line with the ideals of traditional journalism to 'objectivity' and truth-telling by juxtaposing information and discourses of emotionality or dramatisation.

The next seven chapters set out to explain all this in more detail. Chapter 2 establishes a theoretical background for this thesis, positions the research in the broader academic context and identifies key justifications and questions for the analysis. For this purpose, literature from various subject areas is reviewed. This includes studies from the field of disaster communication, such as those on defining the term 'disaster', the relationship between disasters and the media, the mediation of disasters and the representation of 'suffering'. The chapter also pays attention to literature which relates more directly to airplane disasters, such as discussions on the definition and representation of 'risk' as well as the limited number of previous studies on airplane disaster news. These expand on the previous foundation and establish the primary justification for the conduct of the research in this thesis.

Chapter 3 develops the methodological underpinning of the research. It begins with an argument in favour of combining qualitative and quantitative methods for the enrichment of research findings. Based on the literature review, the chapter then establishes the key research questions and explains the methodological approach taken to them, including details on the different methods employed.

Chapter 4 introduces the findings along with the supporting evidence and explains general aspects of the news coverage, including the extent of media interest in airplane disasters, the topics of the broadcasts and reports on the causes and disaster responses. The chapter demonstrates that four features typically characterise the coverage: (1) a high amount of initial media interest that reduces and vanishes over time, (2) topics which focus on informing the viewer of the events and the emotional response to the disasters, (3) a marked change in the reporting of (potential) causes in two distinct phases which will be called the ignorance and epilogue phases and (4) the reporting of policy changes, activism and security as a result of discoveries emerging from the investigation.

Chapter 5 engages with key concepts from the disaster communication literature and examines the role of emotionality and 'suffering' in the reporting. The chapter shows that the reporting of airplane disasters draws on emotionality in two ways, using (1) emotional content and (2) stylistic features which construct emotions. The emotional content refers to situations which, by nature, appeal to the emotional side of audiences and primarily relates to the experiences of those affected. Thus, the chapter also deals with the human response to the incidents and examines representations of 'suffering'. The stylistic features bring across emotions from a linguistic level as they actively construct and place "them in story plots and wider narratives" (Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007: 5). Therefore, the chapter explores a variety of narrative, linguistic and technical tools, including the use of personalised storytelling, the outsourcing of emotions, detailed descriptions, juxtapositions and contrasts, conditional perfect as well as technical features such as emotional language, visuals and sounds (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013).

Chapter 6 consists of two parts. The first part explains how the media deal with representations of safety and risk and argues that, contrary to arguments in the literature, the media take an ethical approach to the communication of safety and risk through a discourse of reassurance. It is necessary to add that an additional study in appendix A also demonstrates a discourse of dramatisation. This suggests that there is, in fact, a juxtaposition of factual and compelling reporting (Naranjo 2017: 49). The second part of chapter 6 illustrates how the media deal with reality and 'truth' when the information available is incomplete or non-existent and may draw on speculation as a proposed answer to some of this. The findings show that the concepts of uncertainty, ignorance and speculation are usually linked to specific topics in the reporting and may be expressed linguistically through words or expressions that "refer prototypically" to the concepts and linguistic modality (Simmerling and Janich 2016: 964), both of which help to express caution and stress the uncertain, ignorant and speculative nature of some statements by being indefinite about the information provided.

Chapter 7 shows how the media rely on visuals to form "part of the way in which news creates meaning" (Machin and Polzer 2015: 2) by using several different image groups. These include shots of (1) interviews and press conferences, (2) the disaster operation, (3) the (potential) crash location, (4) supporting visuals, (5) informational graphics, (6) the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers, (7) commemoration, (8) the passengers and (9) the suspects or perpetrator. As becomes evident, each of these visual groups can take on similar compositions and functions. This means that footage can be filmed from proximity or at a distance and be informative (interviews, press conferences and footage from the operation), emotionally appealing (footage of grief, commemoration, death and destruction) or supportive to the news story (supporting visuals and informational graphics).

Finally, chapter 8 concludes the main arguments of this thesis and discusses their relevance to journalism studies and disaster communication. The chapter illustrates that the main contribution was to advance our knowledge on the representation of airplane disasters, but that some aspects of this thesis can also apply to media coverage, journalism studies and disaster communication more generally. These include arguments on uncertainty, ignorance, speculation, emotionality, risk and the visual representation of television news. By drawing on the results obtained, the chapter establishes a broader conclusion that there may be a shift in (television) journalism to a more narrative form of reporting, which produces compelling coverage in line with the ideals of traditional journalism to 'objectivity' and truth-telling. Chapter 8 concludes by pointing out the limitations of the overall research and making suggestions for areas of future study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter establishes a theoretical framework for this thesis, positions it in the broader academic context and identifies key justifications. The chapter begins by situating the project in the academic field of disaster reporting, exploring the various definitions of the term 'disaster', the relationship between disasters and the media and previous studies of how disasters have been mediated (looking at frames, tones, discourses, visuals and emotions). It also examines the mediated representation of 'suffering' and discusses more closely the relationship between disaster 'victims', their mediated representation and audiences. The focus then shifts to studies on the mediated representation of 'risk', a key element in reporting because airplane disasters are improbable events that dominate the news media when they do occur (Hughes et al. 2006: 255; National Safety Council 2017; Garner 1996[a], 1996[b]). The final part of this review identifies ways in which the reporting of airplane disasters is an under-researched field and points out the shortcomings of previous studies, demonstrating the need for further research and establishing the primary justification for this thesis. As part of this, the chapter also examines related areas of study, such as the idea and role of speculation in journalism as well as the influences of aviation terrorism on media coverage.

2.2. WHAT IS A 'DISASTER'?

Many authors in the field have paid little attention to the definition and conceptualisation of what constitutes a 'disaster' (Quarantelli 1985: 43). In fact, the point of view is frequently adopted that "a disaster is perhaps easier to recognize than it is to define" (Barkun 1974: 51). However, "anyone who conducts studies of or undertakes planning for disasters must have at least an implicit

image or conception of the phenomenon" (Quarantelli 1985: 43). This is because it clarifies underlying definitional discrepancies and lays an essential foundation for the use of the term.

To start, the word 'disaster' offers a broad spectrum of possible definitions and meanings. Perry (2007: 14), for instance, argues that there is a variety of co-existent views – "some differing significantly – of the defining features of the disaster". Given the definitional lack of clarity around the term, Quarantelli (1985: 43) attempted to summarise and classify the already existing assumptions about the phenomenon and uses of the term: He established that 'disasters' could be defined as physically impacting phenomena, socially disruptive events or some hybrid combination of both (Quarantelli 1985: 45).

Definitions that describe disasters as 'physically impacting' focus on the physical causes and impacts of disasters by suggesting that there "is "something" that can potentially produce an effect on the environment" (Quarantelli 1985: 45). In other words, the "characteristics of the disaster agent may affect impact and the sphere in which the impact occurs" (Quarantelli 1985: 45). In comparison, definitions that describe disasters as socially disruptive phenomena suggest that the "magnitude of the [disaster] impact – as indicated by property damage and casualties – is believed to be high enough to result in disruption of social life" (Quarantelli 1985: 46). Here, the physical impact plays a less important role because merely a belief in "danger to such important values as life, well-being, property, and social order" can already lead to a social-impact classification (Quarantelli 1985: 46).

This latter definition is supported by Perry (2007), who views the term from a "socially focused tradition", proposing a "move toward a more fully "social" understanding of disasters as "social phenomena"" (Pantti et al. 2012: 15). However, Perry (2007, cited in Pantti et al. 2012: 15) also introduces a so-called "classic approach" to understanding 'disasters', which suggests that disasters in the classic period of disaster research, that is the aftermath of World War II,

"acted as a catalyst for what would now be described as failure of the social system to deliver reasonable conditions". This approach focuses on the "disruptions of routines" (Perry 2007: 8), and "researchers generally emphasized how disasters could be characterized in terms of a cycle of stability-disruption-adjustment" (Pantti et al. 2012: 15). Furthermore, Perry (2007, cited in Pantti et al. 2012: 15) mentions a so-called "hazards-disaster tradition". This views:

> each disaster as "an extreme event that arises when a hazard agent intersects with a social system" (Perry, 2007, p. 9) and paved the way for a more concerted exploration of preceding conditions of vulnerability– conceptualizing disasters as "the interface between an extreme physical event and a vulnerable human population" (Hewitt, 1998, cited in Perry, 2007: p. 9). (Pantti et al. 2012: 15).

However, Quarantelli (1985: 59) suggests that important critique points of definitions of a 'disaster' are that they omit some dimensions of the incidents "that might be regarded as important". This primarily includes the role of the population in the affected community or the disaster's casualties (Quarantelli 1985: 59). Rutherford and de Boer (1983: 10), therefore, propose the following definition by the International Working Party on Disaster Medicine (cited in Rutherford and de Boer 1983: 10): "A disaster is a destructive event which, relative to the resources available, causes many casualties, usually occurring within a short period of time".

This is a useful definition as it hints at the destructive power of disasters – be it the "physical destruction", the social impact and psychological damage (Rutherford and de Boer 1983: 10) – and at the affected population, the damage and injuries caused. Moreover, this definition suggests that a 'disaster' only occurs "when the demands for action exceed the capabilities for response" (Rutherford and de Boer 1983: 10). This means that an incident "need not be a disaster if there are adequate facilities for rescue and treatment" (Rutherford and de Boer 1983: 10): For instance, the pile-up of the motorway may not be a

'disaster' if there are enough resources "such as the police, fire brigade, ambulance services or hospitals" available for "rescue and treatment" (Rutherford and de Boer 1983: 10).

Despite the various approaches to defining a 'disaster', it is important to mention that there are numerous different types of disasters (Bromet 1989: 121). Pantti et al. (2012: 14-15), for example, suggest that 'disasters' may refer to various phenomena, such as natural catastrophes (floods, fires, hurricanes etc.); "technological and industrial failings (aviation crashes, train derailments, industrial accidents, toxic releases); politically precipitated crises and conflicts … and longer term and system failings (poverty, human rights abuses, environmental collapse)". Shaluf (2007: 704-706) classified all these different types and proposed that they fall into three primary domains: natural, human-made and hybrid disasters.

Natural disasters refer to "catastrophic events resulting from natural causes … over which man has no control" (Shaluf 2007: 704). Indeed, they are sometimes described as "Acts of God" and may include disruptive events, such as earthquakes, tsunamis, windstorms or volcanic eruptions (Shaluf 2007: 704-706). Human-made disasters stand in direct contrast to this because they describe disasters "that result from human decisions" exclusively (Shaluf 2007: 705; Quarantelli 1985: 45). These can be both sudden and long-term (Shaluf 2007: 705). Sudden, human-made disasters "include structural, building and mine collapses when this occurs independently without any outside force" or can refer to transportation disasters in the air, sea or on land (Shaluf 2007: 705). Long-term human-made disasters may be national and international conflicts (Shaluf 2007: 705) or side-effects, such as the displacement of people. Finally, some disasters may not be easily classified into either of these categories and seem to be more a combination of both disaster types. These are known as hybrid disasters, which are disruptive events that "result from both human error and natural forces", and can include "the extensive clearing of jungles causing soil

erosion" or floods ravaging communities that are "built on known floodplains" (Shaluf 2007: 705-706).

This exploration of the various definitions of a 'disaster' helped to outline an understanding of the subsequent use of the term. It also provided different lines of research areas to follow up on when researching disasters such as airplane incidents. These include questions regarding causes, impacts, available or necessary resources and the role of the affected population and casualties.

The next section continues with a general examination of previous literature on the role of the media in times of disasters. On the one hand, this is important because the media play a "leading role in the public constitution of disasters, conditioning how they become known, defined, responded to and politically aligned" (Pantti et al. 2012: 5). On the other hand, this examination is necessary as this project aims to contribute to already existing knowledge on the mediated representation of disasters by focusing on how the news media shape airplane disasters. Therefore, the next section is intended to provide the first fundamental justification for the conduct of the research.

2.3.   THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA DURING DISASTERS

Vasterman et al. (2005: 107) suggest that disasters "cannot be studied without focusing on the role of the mass media". This is because the news of a disaster, or the information about its occurrence, most often reaches people through the media (Granatt 1999: 104). Quarantelli observes:

> we think a strong case can be made that what average citizens and officials expect about disasters, what they come to know on ongoing disasters, and what they learned from disasters that have occurred, are primarily if not exclusively learned from mass media accounts. (Quarantelli, cited in Scanlon 2007: 416)

Joye (2010ᵃ: 587) supports this when he argues that "[f]or most people living in the so-called developed world, disasters are a priori foreign news. When a foreign society undergoes severe damage and incurs such losses to its members, most Western spectators receive this information not first-hand or by personal experience, but through the media". According to Granatt (1999: 104), the reasons for this are straightforward because the media are information processors whose techniques and technology allow them to deal with disasters more resourcefully, faster and more accessibly "than anybody else involved".

However, as a result of this, audiences who are not amid the events "become particularly reliant upon the media to inform them" (Happer and Philo 2013: 321). This leads to the media being attributed with a power to represent and shape our understanding of events (Joye 2010ᵃ: 586). Carter (2013: 1), for instance, points out: "Since the news is written, journalists are essentially telling stories about what events occur. Such narrations are usually framed in a certain context; they represent reality subjectively rather than objectively" (Carter 2013: 8). This also means that the media can "focus on one aspect of reality, elevating the importance of that reality" (Carter 2013: 3, 1).

According to Cottle (2014: 10), this can "have far-reaching consequences for the [disaster] victims and survivors involved, relief agencies and the wider conduct of social relations". Pantti et al. (2012: 5-6) note:

> media and communications enter into their [the disasters'] course and conduct, shaping their forms of public elaboration and engagement and channeling disaster responses–as humanitarian agencies dependent on donations, political elites struggling to maintain control, and citizen activists and survivors struggling to be heard are keenly aware. (Pantti et al. 2012: 5-6).

Just as much as the media can "actually *construct* [the representation of] disasters" (Benthall 1993: 27) and impact how they are understood and acted on,

they also possess the power to decide when a disaster becomes a disaster in the public eye or, reversely, when it does not. Benthall (1993: 11), for instance, points out that the coverage of disasters by the media is arguably "so selective and arbitrary that, in an important sense, they 'create' a disaster when they give institutional endorsement or attestation to bad events which otherwise have a reality restricted to a local circle of victims".

This means that some events are attributed with "intense media exposure and invested with emotions and calls for help", while others are relatively unreported and neglected in the competition for the news receiver's attention, help and action (Pantti et al. 2012: 4; Franks 2008: 27; Joye 2010[b]: 260). Franks (2008: 27), for example, argues that disasters "exist only when they are covered by the media. Plenty of terrible things happen that remain unreported. Most disasters are known about only by those directly affected" (Franks 2008: 27; Joye 2014: 580, 2010[b]: 254).

The disasters that typically tend to receive media attention are those that are characterised by the unusual, suddenness and "high death counts" (Benthall 1993: 27). Cottle (2012: 259) refers to this as a "calculus of death":

> When reporting disasters, a terrible "calculus of death" has seemingly become institutionalized and normalized in the professional judgments, practices, and news values of the Western news media. Based on crude body counts and news thresholds as well as proximities of geography, culture and economic interests, this journalistic calculus recognizes some deaths, some disasters as more newsworthy than others. (Cottle 2012: 259).

Similarly, the media also play a defining role in deciding when the news of disasters ceases to be news. Indeed, Benthall (1993: 39-40) points out that there "is increasing evidence that repeated or long-lasting emergencies do sap donor's goodwill" because we as individuals are "able to think of good reasons for *not*

responding to needs". Therefore, when the media, "too, get the impression that a … disaster has become a normal way of life, it thereby ceases to be news" (Benthall 1993: 39-40).

This phenomenon refers to the life cycle of disasters: It suggests that "the news media aggressively cover an issue for a short time, after which coverage [then] fades as the event recedes into the past" (Kuttschreuter et al. 2011: 202; Gortner and Pennebarker 2003: 580). Birkland (2004: 179) attributes this to the fact that "media, and public attention to issues, no matter how "big" the issues are, will fade over time, as "newer" news displaces the old issues". The distinctive media coverages of sudden versus chronic disasters provide an example of this phenomenon (Benthall 1993: 39-40). Benthall observes:

> Public disasters are like the private disasters affecting our individual lives. Even the gravest of sudden accidents or misfortunes are made a little less difficult to bear because of the atmosphere of high drama that surrounds them, rallying support from relatives, friends and neighbours. It is the chronic, gnawing affliction which is most difficult to manage and assuage, and which too often fails to hold friends' attention. This is true on the domestic scale, where we communicate as individuals one-to-one; it is no different on the public scale, when communication is through the mass media (Benthall 1993: 40)

Other functions of the media during disasters include its role as a warning, "early signalling" or rumour control system (Scanlon 2011: 237; Cottle 2014: 4); and its "linkage" and "social utility" capacities (Perez-Lugo 2004: 212-213). The first aspect refers to the idea that the media in times of disasters can be used to pass on warnings if potential threats exist or put down false rumours (Scanlon 2011: 237-238). The idea behind "linkage" is that the media have the "ability … to unite people with similar interests" (Perez-Lugo 2004: 212). For example, this refers to "people who are experiencing the impact of the same natural event" and can connect or establish social relations through the means of the media (Perez-Lugo

2004: 212). Lastly, the function of "social utility" suggests that the media "fulfil needs other than the need for information" (Perez-Lugo 2004: 213). This approach assumes that "people need companionship and emotional support and that the media can provide them in the absence of other human beings" (Perez-Lugo 2004: 213).

This section highlighted how the media and "the information received from media shape[] our view of the world" (Joye 2010[a]: 587). Based on previous academic literature, it established that the news of a disaster most often and almost exclusively reaches people through the media (Granatt 1999: 104). As previously discussed, this provides the media with a power to shape our understanding of events and positions them in a "leading role in the public constitution of disasters, conditioning how they become known, defined, responded to and politically aligned" (Pantti et al. 2012: 5; Joye 2010[a]: 586). Indeed, Joye (2013: 110) argues that "[i]n exercising their symbolic power, (news) media occupy a key position in social processes of for instance public understanding and political response". This justifies the conduct of research on media representations.

The section predominantly focused on traditional mainstream media forms and neglected ideas regarding the increasing connectedness of the world and the upcoming use of multi-media forms through the rise of the Internet and social media. Theoretically, these ideas pose important objections to previous claims as they propose alternative pathways to access information and news. However, the next section demonstrates that, although these ideas can challenge previous theoretical assumptions, they are, at the time of writing, not reflecting dominant ways of news consumption. Therefore, the subsequent findings strengthen, rather than contradict, previous arguments in favour of research on traditional mainstream media forms.

2.4. NEW MEDIA AND DISASTERS

The communication and news environments have transformed with the rise of the Internet (Cottle 2008: 859). Cottle (2008: 859), for instance, argues that the Internet enabled a shift from a vertical 'top-down' hierarchy to a more horizontal network of communication:

> The Internet, while certainly no panacea for the continuing inequalities of strategic and symbolic power mobilized in and through the mass media, evidently contains a socially activated potential to unsettle and on occasion even disrupt the vertical flows of institutionally controlled 'top-down' communications and does so by inserting a horizontal communications network into the wider communications environment. (Cottle 2008: 859).

This gives rise to alternative channels for accessing news and information other than through traditional mainstream media forms. As Westerman et al. (2013: 171) observe, "[n]ewer communication technologies have increased the possibilities for how people can send and receive information". The trend of social media demonstrates this as social media are "one such technology that has seen increased usage as an information source" (Westerman et al. 2013: 171). Indeed, a Pew Research Center report observes that "people use online social tools to gather information, share stories, and discuss concerns" (Fox 2011, cited in Westerman et al. 2013: 171). This challenges the previous claims about the role of the media during disasters by suggesting that citizens and audience members do not exclusively rely on the mainstream media for information anymore but can draw on various other informative pathways.

However, Ofcom's "News Consumption in the UK" report (2018: 2) suggests that the most-used source of news in the UK remains television (79%). The Internet and apps rank second (64%), while radio (44%) and newspapers (40%) rank last (Ofcom 2018: 2). Therefore, one can argue that, even though the claims regarding the Internet, social media and changing communication processes are valid

objections, traditional mainstream media, and especially television, remain a prominent source of news information and consumption. A study by the Reuter's Institute for the Study of Journalism (BBC 2014) supports such an argument. After having surveyed more than 18,000 people across ten countries, the Institute had found that, amongst all online news sources, traditional "media organisations remain the dominant source of online news in the UK" (BBC 2014). According to the research, more "than half of those polled said they followed the news through an established brand" (BBC 2014). By contrast, sources of citizen journalism only reached a total of 16 % (BBC 2014).

Therefore, given these findings, this research project puts aside previous objections and sides with the scholars who view traditional mainstream media as important information processors during disasters. This confirms the project's foundation and initial justification for the conduct of research on mainstream media representations.[1] The next section considers the role of the media in more detail by examining previous literature on how the media represent disasters.

2.5. REPORTING DISASTERS

Disasters with ample consequences are very often transformed into major news stories (Steffens et al. 2012: 75; Joye 2014: 580; Juneja and Schenk 2014: 14). This is because they "generally fit the universal standards of a newsworthy story" (Joye 2014: 58, 2010[b]: 256): They "contain the very essence of hard news" and involve "ordinary people, with whom everyone can identify, who have become the victims of extraordinary and horrible events. Few stories have such a powerful

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[1] The arguments in this section make clear-cut distinctions between traditional and new media forms. However, it is important to mention that, with the rise of the Internet and new technologies, the boundaries between the different media forms have become blurred (Kelly 2009; Domingo et al. 2008; Liu et al. 2009; Deuze 2009; Gunter et al. 2009). This means that, while traditional mainstream media forms are frequently accessed sources of news, they also include and sometimes rely on user-generated content. Given the significance, this thesis would examine the contribution of this in mainstream media content. However, the natures of the chosen case studies, as explained in chapter 3, prohibited or did not lead to citizen-generated content.

draw for the potential reader, listener and viewer – and therefore the media. Intense media interest in a disaster is inevitable" (Granatt 1999: 101).

Although each disaster differs in type, size and impact, the reporting of the news follows a particular pattern, which is "the rhythm of the classic 'big story' which breaks suddenly, swells to a climax, keeps going for a time with the help of new journalistic angles, and finally peters out." (Benthall 1993: 109). Indeed, Granatt (1999: 106) establishes that disaster coverage can be characterised by these four "recognisable phases":

- **Mayhem:** the immediate aftermath: a mad scramble to know what, where, when, why and how, and to get the picture
- **Mastermind:** a search for all the relevant background information and history
- **Manhunt:** the search for error, fault, and the head that must roll
- **The Epilogue:** the long-term aftermath and follow-up; the inquiries, trials, memorial services, reconstructions and documentaries. (Granatt 1999: 106)

Here, the first three stages may occur and develop within a short period if the cause of the disaster becomes evident during the manhunt stage (Granatt 1999: 106). This can be seen in the Germanwings flight 9525, which crashed into the French Alps in 2015. However, if the question of fault remains unclear, the phase of the Manhunt can continue, with new leads being explored continuously, making the epilogue "last for years" (Granatt 1999: 106). An example of this is the disappearance of the Malaysia Airlines flight 370, the cause of which remains unknown and allows for speculation about potential explanations (see sections 4.4, 6.3 and 6.4).

Studies by Steffens et al. (2012: 73), Kuttschreuter et al. (2011: 201) and Houston et al. (2012: 615) approach disaster coverage through framing. Steffens et al. (2012: 73) find that, in most cases, disasters are framed by one or some of the

following viewpoints: economics, blame, conflict, prediction or inability to predict, devastation, helplessness and solidarity. The scholars highlight that specific frames also carry or tend to carry positive and negative connotations (Steffens et al. 2012: 73). This demonstrates that disasters may not be mediated neutrally, but that their journalistic coverage may convey an image of valuation through negativity or positivity (Steffens et al. 2012: 73).

Kuttschreuter et al. (2011: 201) support this, examining the framing and tone-of-voice in the coverage of an explosion in a fireworks facility in Enschede, the Netherlands (Kuttschreuter et al. 2011: 201). The scholars point out that the following aspects characterise media reporting: "(1) events in the aftermath of the disaster resulted in increased media coverage, (2) the media framed the disaster in terms of conflict and responsibility and (3) the framing was in a negative tone-of-voice regarding governmental authorities" (Kuttschreuter et al. 2011: 201). The study by Houston et al. (2012: 606) focuses on natural disasters and demonstrates a so-called "environment frame" in the reporting; in line with the previous argument, the scholars establish a frame of destruction and death as well as human interest focusing on affected individuals (Houston et al. 2012: 615-616).

Other studies by Ashlin and Ladle (2007: 330), Ploughman (1995: 308), Galperin (2002: 1) and Stallings (1990: 80) pay more attention to discourses, disaster constructions and linguistic choices. Ploughman, for instance, argues:

> Analysis of the American print news media coverage of these disasters [five international, 'natural' disasters] indicated an emphasis upon the dramatic, descriptive, climatological or geological qualities of these events rather than upon causal explanations emphasizing the role of human acts or omissions in the development of the disasters. The print news media 'constructed' these events as 'natural' despite clear evidence of their hybrid, natural – human origins (Ploughman 1995: 308).

Imagery can also play a crucial part in the reporting of disasters (Steffens et al. 2012: 73; Juneja and Schenk 2014: 14-15; Corner 1995: 5; Hanusch 2013: 497): Steffens et al. (2012: 75) observe that "[c]ompelling and memorable disaster images are routinely found in print and television news stories". This is because "visualness is one of the most dominant news values of our times", given that especially the showing of visuals can have a powerful effect on how news audiences perceive the representation of disasters, their destruction and the 'suffering' caused (Papadopoulos and Pantti 2011: 9; Chouliaraki 2006: 5; Juneja and Schenk 2014: 24). Juneja and Schenk explain:

> images derive their persuasive power not least from their aesthetic dimension. This includes their ability to mobilize a broad range of feelings including thrill, awe, a sense of loftiness, astonishment, surprise, fear and horror, but at the same time they work to sublimate fear, to evoke compassion and solidarity with the victims. (Juneja and Schenk 2014: 36)

In other words, images serve a variety of "functions and needs" and are "immensely deployable" (Juneja and Schenk 2014: 18). This means that images:

> can moralize, be instrumentalized for political or religious purposes, can help sublimate the fear, console, aestheticize the terrible, gratify voyeurism, mobilize emotions. ... There is little doubt that the mediatization of catastrophic events contributes to channel emotions, which in turn are a decisive factor in the production as well as the consumption of images of disaster (Juneja and Schenk 2014: 18).

This highlights the diverse impact of images in the media coverage of disasters and, in turn, provides an incentive to pay increased attention to the utilisation of visuals. As Zeller (2014: 51) notes, it "is inevitably the image that first meets the eye; then the caption, depending on one's level of literacy; and only then the text". The next section elaborates on the argument by Juneja and Schenk (2014: 18) and explores the role of emotions in journalism and disaster coverage. This provides

an overview of how different journalistic news texts that are filled with varying degrees of emotion can appeal to or, reversely, disengage audiences.

2.6. JOURNALISM, DISASTERS AND EMOTIONS

The relationship between journalism and emotions has been complicated ever since the profession's "coming of age around the turn of the twentieth century" (Wahl-Jorgensen 2016: 129-130). In fact, journalism or, more specifically, 'good' journalism has always been linked to ideas of objectivity, rationality and the aim to present "an emotionally detached view of the news" and events (Dennis and Merrill, cited in Wahl-Jorgensen 2016: 130). According to Schudson (2001: 150), this striving for objectivity helps "journalists to separate facts from values and to report only the facts" and "something called 'news' without commenting on it, slanting it, or shaping its formulation in any way". Tuchman's idea of the strategic ritual of objectivity relates to this:

> newspapermen … believe they may mitigate such continual pressures as deadlines, possible libel suits, and anticipated reprimands of superiors by being able to claim that their work is "objective". … objectivity may be seen as a strategic ritual protecting newspapermen from the risks of their trade. (Tuchman 1972: 660)

Therefore, academic discussions suggested that the very nature of 'good' journalism opposes a relationship between journalism and emotions and that "emotionality typically represents a decline in the standards of journalism" (Pantti 2010: 169). As Pantti (2010: 169) notes, "while "quality" journalism informs and educates citizens by appealing to reason, other kinds of journalism focus on pleasing their audiences by appealing to the emotions" (Pantti 2010: 169). This means that the use of emotions in journalism has often been linked to tabloid journalism and ideas of sensationalism (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 131, 2016: 130; Pantti 2010: 169; Örnebring and Jönsson 2004: 283):

the sensationalized journalism of tabloid media is often denigrated in public and scholarly discourses precisely because the sensational is perceived to involve emotion in such a way as to preclude rationality and hence serious quality journalism (Sparks, 2000). While quality journalism is traditionally seen as 'objective' and rational, tabloid news discourse is considered to be anti-rationalist or sensationalist, in part due to its personalized story-telling and its intention to evoke emotional responses (Connell, 1998). (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 131)

However, recent academic research highlighted that emotions are, in fact, "profoundly constitutive" of quality news coverage (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 131; Kotišová 2017: 5). Building on Tuchman's strategic ritual of objectivity, Wahl-Jorgensen (2013: 130) argues that there is a strategic ritual of emotionality in high quality journalism, which exists alongside that of objectivity and needs scholarly recognition. She points out that – just as the trade of news reporting almost ritual-like attempts to protect itself from risks by means of objectivity – "there is an institutionalized and systematic practice of journalists narrating and infusing their reporting with emotion, which means that journalistic story-telling, despite its allegiance to the ideal of objectivity, is also profoundly emotional" (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 130). In other words, emotionality "is just as embedded in, and central to, journalistic practice as is the strategic ritual of objectivity, though it is rarely explicitly acknowledged because it is [or may seem] at odds with journalistic self-understandings" (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 130).

Pantti (2010: 168) explored how this argument translates into practice. The scholar investigated how emotions are employed in routine journalism by "examining journalists' perceptions of the value of emotional expression in broadcast news" (Pantti 2010: 168). The results showed that journalists had a "benign view of the presence of emotional elements in television news" and that their presence and use in quality television news has become and is perceived as increasingly normal (Pantti 2010: 171-172). Pantti (2010: 174) also established

that emotions have vital functions in news reports: For instance, emotion *"facilitates the intelligibility of the news story and … shape[s] the way in which the viewers watch news"*; "emotion … helps deliver information … [and is] a thought-provoking and attention-capturing rhetorical device (Pantti 2010: 176).

There are three main ways in which emotions are expressed (Pantti 2010: 174). First, they can be seen through "the emotional states of sources" (Pantti 2010: 174). This involves explicit or "subtle emotional expressions" of grief and empathy by ordinary people "through emotional displays" or "ritual performances" (Pantti 2010: 174). Second, emotions can be expressed through images (Pantti 2010: 175). Pantti explains:

> The emotional power of images is such that they reveal the 'truth' without explanations: 'The image is everything. When you have emotions, you do not need to say anything in the voice-over. Just show it' (deputy editor-in-chief, RTL4). Journalists shared the view that (emotional) images tell more than words and that emotional images in television news always have greater impact than an 'emotion-laden piece in a newspaper' (editor-in-chief, NOS). (Pantti 2010: 175).

Third, emotions relate to the news topic (Pantti 2010: 175). This means that "emotional content is more appropriate to some topics than to others" and can also be more easily justified for some than others (Pantti 2010: 175). In this context, Pantti (2010: 175) cites a journalist saying, "[m]aybe it is harsh to say so, but I do consider it odd to raise emotions in news production, apart from these tsunamis and such global disasters, where it comes automatically."

This leads to the argument that 'emotions' "embedded in disaster narratives" play an essential role in "disaster communications" (Pantti et al. 2012: 61). Pantti et al. (2012: 61) relate this to the fact that "emotional discourses are integral to processes of assigning meaning, i.e. to shaping how we understand and respond to specific disasters". Abu-Lughod and Lutz (1990: 11-12) argue that emotional

discourses are "a form of social action that creates effects in the world, effects that are read in a culturally informed way by the audience for emotion talk".

Therefore, Pantti et al. (2012: 62) suggest that there is a need to consider emotionally evocative media content "to fully analyse how disasters are defined, responded to and politically aligned". As Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007: 5) state, disaster reporting is "emotional by nature" – be it because it pays attention to the emotions of "individuals directly affected by the tragic events" or because it focuses on "the collective emotions of the larger community reacting to the misfortunes of others like them": "Disasters make emotions prominent because they involve reportorial practices outside of ordinary structural routines" (Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007: 5).

Studying emotional discourses in disaster news, Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007: 7-8, 10) explored this argument further by tracing and comparing the changing and continuing presence of emotional discourses. Based on selected case studies of human-made disasters since the 1920s, they found that disaster reporting is characterised by "four distinctive discourses through which the public emotion was articulated" (Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007: 21):

> Our cases suggest that the coverage of disaster always opens with an account of the horrific aspects of the event – what we here call "the discourse of horror". This is followed by the discourse of grief, which focuses on the suffering of victims and bereaved. Such accounts, in turn, give rise to the discourse of empathy, which constructs imagined communities of shared loss by telling stories of individuals acting empathetically and heroically for the benefit of others. They call on feelings of national and community pride in accounts of heroes who provide hope and optimism by having victims. Finally, discourses of anger assign blame and call those responsible to account by telling stories of the justified rage of the afflicted (Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007: 21).

Although the idea of tracing changing emotional discourses over more extended periods is less relevant for this thesis, the study, nonetheless, provided insights into the media's use of emotionality. It also established a justification for the conduct of research in this area and highlighted the need and importance for further studies. Therefore, given the importance of the field for disasters and more recent acknowledgements of the role of emotions in news reporting, one of the research questions of this thesis examines how emotions feed into the reporting of airplane disasters and how the media actively construct them (see chapter 3). The next section explores previous literature on the media's representation of 'suffering' because "crises, disasters, and emergencies are not about issues … They are, usually, about people" (Harrison 1999: 3).

2.7. THE MEDIATION OF 'SUFFERING'

The representation of "the suffering of distant others" (Boltanski 1999: I) has received much scholarly attention in journalism and media studies (Chouliaraki 2006; Boltanski 1999; Robertson 2010: 148; Joye 2010[a], 2013; Ong 2009; Naficy and Gabriel 1993; Hallam and Street 2000). Cottle (2009: 101, cited in Joye 2013: 110), for instance, argues that a number of scholars questioned "how the media position[] us, the audience, in relation to reports and scenes of suffering, those who suffer and the sorts of responses and obligations that are incumbent upon us when they do". In the context of mediated suffering, these "relationships of power to one another" (Chouliaraki 2006: 7) are often discussed in two fundamental terms and concepts: otherness and cosmopolitanism.

The idea of 'otherness' suggests difference – a clear distinction between 'us', the Western spectators, and 'them', the 'sufferer' at a distance (Naficy and Gabriel 1993: ix; Joye 2010[a]: 587; Elias and Scotson 1994, p. 37). Indeed, Chouliaraki explains that the media have the power:

to classify the world into categories of 'us' and 'the Other' and orientate (or not) the Western spectator towards the 'Other' in need. ... In Western media imagery, Third World people are, however, generally portrayed as the exotic 'Other', most typically characterized in terms of helplessness, negativity and as inferior to 'us' (Chouliaraki, cited in Joye 2010[a]: 587)

This, in turn, suggests an imbalance between the Western spectator and the 'other', which, according to Chouliaraki (2006: 4, 7), derives from the "comfort of spectators in their living rooms and the vulnerability of sufferers on the spectators' television screens".

In comparison, the idea of 'cosmopolitanism' suggests an openness towards 'the other' and "divergent cultural experiences" (Hannerz 1990: 239). Especially the media play a crucial role here because stories "have the capacity to bring us to the Other, or bring the Other to us, or otherwise urge us to consider that 'this could be *me*'". (Robertson 2010: 148). Robertson notes:

the media provide our symbolic connection to the distant other. They provide a 'thick' moral space in which otherness and sameness are made available to the construction of global imaginaries – 'a sense of there being an elsewhere; a sense of that elsewhere being in some way relevant to me; a sense of my being there' (Silverstone 2007: 10) (Robertson 2010: 148)

This argument is essential in two ways: On the one hand, it demonstrates that the concepts of cosmopolitanism and otherness, though they may seem to present two different points, are not mutually exclusive and incompatible but may co-exist alongside each other. On the other hand, the argument links to two other conceptualisations in the studies of 'suffering', which are the elicitations of 'compassion' and 'pity'. The general understanding behind these terms is similar in the sense that both presuppose "two classes which are not unequal by reference to merit ... but solely by reference to luck" and require "sufficient contact between

these two classes for those who are fortunate to be able to observe, either directly or indirectly, the misery of the unfortunate" (Boltanski 1999: 5).

However, the scholarly discussion in the field does note some differences in the definition of both terms. 'Compassion', as defined by Arendt (1990: 86) and Boltanski (1999: 6), is "directed towards particular individuals, particular suffering beings, without seeking to develop any 'capacity for generalisation'" (Boltanski 1999: 6). Arendt (1990: 86) notes that "compassion speaks only to the extent that it has to reply directly to the sheer expressionist sound and gestures through which suffering becomes audible and visible in the world". As a result, it stands in some contrast to the idea of 'pity', which "generalises in order to deal with distance, and in order to generalise becomes eloquent, recognising and discovering itself as emotion and feeling" (Boltanski 1999: 6).

Another definition by Cartwright (1988: 559) suggests that the term 'pity' is associated with "a lack of respect for the object of my pity" and implies that "the speaker is in some way better off than the person who is pitied". This is in line with the previous presupposition, which distinguishes pity and compassion into the interaction between two classes that are unequally divided by luck (Boltanski 1999: 5), although Cartwright's definition seems to be characterised by a much more negative connotation. The scholar notes:

> The pitier is superior in status to the pitied. We do not pity those we respect or those we judge superior to ourselves – unless we wish to level them by devaluing their status ... The same is true when I pity someone who is suffering. ... The sufferer is helped, but helped in order to enhance my feelings of superiority. In these regards, pity is self-regarding. If we have general duties to respect others, pity incites their violations. If the moral goodness of beneficence is due to a desire to pursue another's well-being, the help rendered out of pity is not morally good. (Cartwright 1988: 559).

In comparison, Cartwright's definition of the term 'compassion' lacks these "pejorative tones" and is not used "to express contempt or to insult others" (Cartwright 1988: 560). In fact, individuals might be praised "for being compassionate and [we] criticize those who lack this feeling" (Cartwright 1988: 560). 'Compassion' in that sense is not self-reflexive and, unlike 'pity', focuses exclusively on another human being's condition (Cartwright 1988: 560):

> Like pity, it [compassion] is directed towards another's suffering. … It is because the other suffers that one pursues the other's well-being. Insofar as others have interests in not suffering, compassion is an incentive in which the agent adopts the same interests as the other. Compassion, however, has as its ultimate end another's well-being. It is ultimately other regarding (Cartwright 1988: 560).

Just like 'pity', 'compassion' encompasses "a relative position of superiority" in the sense that the "agent is both free from the other's misery and may be able to do something for the other that the other cannot" (Cartwright 1988: 560). This stands in line with Boltanski's presupposition of two classes that are unequally divided by luck (Boltanski 1999: 5). However, 'compassion', according to Cartwright (1988: 560), is still "an altruistic motive because its ultimate end is another's well-being". Therefore, the term is preferred as its meaning does not encompass any active denigration of the 'sufferer', as subtle as it may be, but focuses on the solving of the 'sufferer's' situation.

2.8. NEWS REPORTS AND THE REPRESENTATION OF 'SUFFERING'

Even though the previous examination of the relationship between the spectator and the 'sufferer' has provided valuable insights into scholarly ideas and positions regarding distant 'suffering', the role of the media has been put aside in the discussion. This role is essential because:

> Mediated disasters can also be performatively enacted and culturally charged by the news media, inviting and instantiating a moral universe in which boundaries of community, from the local and national and the international to transnational, are variously redrawn and bonds of solidarity correspondingly invoked (Pantti et al. 2012: 33).

Chouliaraki (2006: 6) conducted a study on how this translates into practice by examining more closely "the ways in which particular news texts present the sufferer as a moral cause to western spectators". The scholar establishes that 'suffering' is often found to be mediated as an "aesthetic spectacle", but that news reports offer varying degrees of "emotional and practical engagement with the distant sufferer" for the spectator (Chouliaraki 2006: 8). As a result, Chouliaraki (2006: 8) introduces three news discourses, "three regimes of pity", which categorise media reporting into adventure, emergency and ecstatic news, depending on the degree and extent of invitation for pity or compassion found in the coverage.

Adventure news primarily consists of news reports that lack an invitation for pity or compassion in their structure (Chouliaraki 2006: 10). Chouliaraki (2006: 10-11, 98) argues that this is because the news reports focus on "descriptive narratives that only register 'facts'" or consist of "only short reports accompanied by maps". In other words, the presented scenes of 'suffering' show "the distant misfortunes in a strictly objective and abstract way" and present the 'sufferer' of adventure news as an "other", with "no possibility of human contact between the other and the spectator" (Chouliaraki 2006: 106, 10). This means that the presented scenes establish a maximum distance between the spectator and the scene of 'suffering' and "restrict the emotional and ethical appeal of the sufferings that they report" (Chouliaraki 2006: 10, 97).[2]

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[2] The implications of this finding play an important role in the debate about the compassion fatigue thesis, which is a controversial concept suggesting that Western news audiences have become increasingly tired or 'fatigued' to feel pity or compassion for the distant 'sufferer' due to the constant mediation of suffering in the news (Cottle 2009: 127-128; 131-145; Scholz 2012: 58;

The second category of emergency news stands in contrast to adventure news as it consists of news reports that do invite for compassion and "demand for immediate action on distant misfortune" (Chouliaraki 2006: 10, 118). According to Chouliaraki (2006: 124), this is accomplished by a representation of the "human quality of the sufferers" and "their capacity to act". Thus, the 'sufferer' in emergency news may be "visualized as *motion*, where … he participates in concrete, purposeful activity"; "as g*aze*, where … he enters into an active relationship with the camera"; or "as *condition*, where … he symbolizes a 'universal' human state of experience" such as "calling up the most universal quality of (Western) humanity, motherhood" (Chouliaraki 2006: 124). This, in turn, attributes the 'sufferer' with an agency (Chouliaraki 2006: 124). However, this agency is restricted or "conditional" (Chouliaraki 2006: 124) because:

> [As] active as they may be, the sufferers of emergency news cannot effectively change the condition of their misfortune. Jumping from one boat to another saves the refugees' lives, but does not promise them a better destiny. Looking into the camera invites the spectators' engagement with the children's gaze, but does not improve their life conditions (Chouliaraki 2006: 124).

This suggests a gradation in the portrayal of the 'sufferers': "From being the 'Other' – the subject of radical existential and cultural difference – the sufferer gradually becomes an 'other' – still an outsider, but now closer to the spectator's own experiential world and within reach" (Chouliaraki 2006: 125).

The third category of ecstatic news also involves an invitation for compassion, but more through identification with incidents that have occurred in "what is

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Tester 2001: 13). Although one could argue that the objective and distant nature of adventure news supports the thesis (Chouliaraki 2006: 106), Chouliaraki (2006: 97) herself claims that "compassion fatigue … may have less to do with the fact that people are tired of the omnipresence of suffering on their television screens and more to do with the fact that television is selective about which sufferings it dramatizes and which ones it does not". This argument relates back to previous ideas about the power and role of the news media in the construction of media events (see section 2.3).

normally [seen as] a zone of safety" (Chouliaraki 2006: 11). Chouliaraki (2006: 159) argues that, in this category, the relationship between the 'sufferer' and the Western spectator is construed by "*reflexive identification*, whereby the spectator engages with the misfortune of the sufferer continuously, intensely and on multiple occasions", bringing the 'sufferer' close to the spectator.

An example which illustrates this can be seen in the reporting of the September 11 attacks and, more specifically, in the "we are all Americans" headline published about the incidents on the front page of the French newspaper *Le Monde* (Chouliaraki 2006: 11). Through reflexive self-identification, the distance between the 'sufferers' and the spectators decreases and brings the "United States' sufferers as close to the European spectators as possible" (Chouliaraki 2006: 11). As a result, the 'agency' in ecstatic news changes from being conditional in emergency news to being universal: "This does not necessarily mean that everyone from everywhere actually acts on the scene of suffering. Rather, 'universal' agency works to invite spectators to concede that action vis-à-vis this suffering is not possible but also necessary and relevant to all" (Chouliaraki 2006: 176).

Joye (2015[a]: 603-606, 2015[b]: 682-694, 2009: 45-61) also produced formative arguments concerning the mediation of 'suffering'. The scholar examined how the news media can ask "audiences to care for and relate with a distant other in need" by attributing a domestic sense of relevance to the 'suffering' (Joye 2015[a]: 605, 2015[b]: 692, 682). This may be accomplished by "testimonies from Belgians abroad who ... gave a personal and often emotional account of what has happened and how they have personally lived through the experience" (Joye 2015[b]: 687); or by focussing on the implications and repercussions of the international event "for the audience's home country" (Joye 2015[b]: 688). Other forms of domestication may familiarise "the unfamiliar" by creating a "sense of familiarity and recognition" with the 'sufferers' (Joye 2015[b]: 688-689). This means that examples may be used which allow the (Belgian) spectators to relate with an experience of

'suffering' which is "generally unknown to them": "For instance, in order to make the radiation risks in Fukushima tangible, the journalist briefly referred to the radiation rate of 'a X-ray taken in the hospital'." (Joye 2015[b]: 689).

Moreover, Joye (2010[a]: 589) argues that the previous typology by Chouliaraki is still incomplete and proposes that, next to the three regimes of 'suffering', there is also a potential or need of recognition for an additional fourth category of "neglected news". This category would include "what is absent or what is neglected in the news coverage" (Joye 2010[a]: 589) and demonstrates the "power of the media to sway public perception by choosing what to publish and what not". (Joye 2010[a]: 589, 593). This refers to previous arguments about the role and power of the media (see section 2.4).

Finally, while previous arguments viewed 'suffering' more like a distant phenomenon, a recent development in academic literature began to establish it as a "proximal … and even everyday condition" (Ong 2015[b]: 607). Work by Ong (2015[a]: 5, 2015[b]: 619) explores how Philippine media audiences respond to the 'suffering' close to them (Joye 2015[a]: 604). The research itself takes a de-westernised and ethnographic approach and focuses on classed moralities and the differences in responses of upper- and lower-class audiences (Ong 2015[b]: 610). However, it still begins to consider implications of proximity and reframes "current debates about … distant suffering in [Western] media with a consideration of how suffering is witnessed and acted upon by people who live within everyday contexts of poverty – and their everyday mediations through their television at home" (Ong 2015[a]: 6).

The previous sections provided knowledge about the representation of 'suffering' and justified the study of those affected by disasters as part of a bigger chapter on the construction of emotionality (see section 2.7). The next section examines previous academic literature on risk and its mediated representation. This situates the statistical probabilities of an airplane disaster in the academic context and provides a stronger foundation for the overall research.

2.9.   THE MEDIATION OF RISK

Risks are part of our everyday life (Painter 2013: 26; Stallings 1990: 81). According to Stallings (1990: 81), we tend to ignore them most of the time. However, "when the taken-for-granted outcomes of routine activities fail to occur – a commercial airliner crashes rather than landing safely ... – risk and safety often become matters of public discussion and remedial public policy making" (Stallings 1990: 81). We then start to "watch, listen, and read about the likely causes of the unsettling event and hope to be reassured about the absence of future harm" (Stallings 1990: 81).

This 'obsession' is part of what Beck (2006) termed the 'risk society'. The scholar argues that "modern society has become a risk society in the sense that it is increasingly occupied with debating, preventing and managing risks that it itself has produced" (Beck 2006: 322). This changes the public's expectation of governments in the sense that, while governments used to be judged about "their ability to deliver "goods"", they are "now increasingly expected to protect citizens (and their descendants) from the "bads" presented by environmental, technological, and other risks" (Murdock et al. 2003: 157).

More precisely, however, the idea of the 'risk society' brings to the fore the importance of the mass media because it is through them that risks become known to the public (Beck 2006: 332; Campbell 2016: 156). Kitzinger and Reilly (1997: 320) note that risk had "become a defining concept in public and political debate and the mass media are seen to play a key role in this social transformation". Before delving into a more profound discussion of this, it is important to explore what is understood by the term 'risk' first.

Much attention has been paid to ideas of risk over the past 50 years, with various definitions of the concept existing (Knowles 2014: 420; Rosa 2003: 55; Painter 2013: 26). Most of these are similar in the sense that they define 'risk' by using terms such as 'probability', likelihood' and 'chance' to describe the "possibility

that an undesirable state of reality [e.g. harm or loss] … may occur" (Renn 1992: 56; Allan 2002: 90; Gerrard 2000: 442; Redmill 2002: 95; Singer and Endreny 1993: 6). In other words, 'risk' implies "*the potential for something to occur*" that is typically linked to an adverse impact, outcome or consequence (Gerrard 2000: 442; Allan 2002: 90; Painter 2013: 26).

In theory, one can argue that 'risk' distinguishes between "reality and possibility" because "[i]f the future is … predetermined or independent of present human activities, the term *risk* makes no sense" (Renn 1992: 56). In that regard, 'risk' is usually accompanied by an atmosphere of uncertainty around the previously mentioned 'possibilities', 'chances' and 'likelihoods' (Taylor-Gooby and Zinn 2006: 1). 'Uncertainty', here, means "'that in a particular situation more than one outcome is consistent with our expectations, and it is often expressed by giving a margin of error with every measurement'" (Pielke 2007: 55, cited in Painter 2013: 11). This expressed uncertainty can either result "from lack of information or from disagreement" (Painter 2013: 11). Zehr (1999: 9), for instance, states that an "individual scientist may make knowledge claims that, on the surface, appear quite certain. However, when several such claims exist, divergent data, interpretations, or consequences may emerge, producing the appearance of scientific uncertainty."

As a result of this, the academic discussion also suggested that 'risk' cannot be distinguished from risk perception (Rosa 2003: 67; Shrader-Frechette 1991: 84; Friedman et al. 1999: xii-xiii). Shrader-Frechette demonstrates this position more clearly: "In sum, there is no distinction between perceived and actual risks because there are no risks except perceived risks. If there were hazards that were not perceived, then we would not know them" (Shrader-Frechette 1991: 84). Scholars, therefore, assume that 'risk' is "subjective" in the sense that it "is only when conditions in the world are dangerous and are perceived to be so that risk has meaning" (Rosa 2003: 67). Rosa (2003: 68) and Slovic and Flinn (cited in Rosa 2003: 68) propose that "indeed, unperceived threats to humans … actually

do exist in the world. But these threats are not risks; they are "dangers." Dangers are "out there" all right; but we cannot perceive them" (Rosa 2003: 68).

This argument lays the foundation for the "social construction of risk framework" (Kasperson et al. 2003: 13; Pidgeon et al. 2006: 100; Vasterman et al. 2005: 111). The idea presupposes that our perception of risk "is neither entirely abstract nor wholly physical: it is socially constructed" (Gerrard 2000: 435-436). This means that 'risk' is both "an *objective threat of* harm" and "*a product of culture and social* experience" (Kasperson 1992: 154). However, as a result of these subjective influences, our understanding of 'risk' is also dynamic (Pidgeon et al. 2006: 100), it is "never constant" but "exists *in and through* processes of discourse. ... It is created and recreated in discussion" (Stallings 1990: 82). This is important as it allows perceptions of risk to "be changed, magnified, dramatized or minimized within knowledge" (Beck, cited in Allan 2002: 94):

> The framework [of the social construction of risk] ... serves, more narrowly, to describe the various *dynamic* social processes underlying risk perception and response. In particular, those processes by which certain hazards and events that experts assess as relatively low in risk can become a particular focus of concern and sociopolitical activity within a society (risk amplification), while other hazards that experts judge more serious receive comparatively less attention from society (risk attenuation). (Kasperson et al. 2003: 13)

To come back to the role of the media in discussions of risk, the mass media have been attributed to be one of the key actors in the processing and social construction of risk (Kasperson et al. 2003: 21; Zinn and Taylor-Gooby 2006: 59-60; Stallings 1990: 91): After all, the majority of the UK population receives information about science and risk from the media (Painter 2013: 8). This attributes the media with a power to exert considerable influence on "social identities, risk definitions, risk selection, and the knowledge people have about risks" (Zinn and Taylor-Gooby 2006: 59). Surely, there is more to the argument

than described (Zinn and Taylor-Gooby 2006: 59-60). However, these theoretical considerations provide essential arguments in favour of examining the media's representation of the risk of airplane disasters. The following paragraphs highlight previous directions of academic research in this area.

The media coverage devoted to risk is highly selective because, even "if 'risk' is inherently newsworthy, not all risks can be in the news all of the time" (Kitzinger and Reilly 1997: 320). Petts et al. (2001: 58) found that the attention of the UK media on risk-related events or issues predominantly focussed on three main areas: "health risks and risk associated with medicines and medical procedures; risks related to travel, and risk related to work" (Petts et al. 2001: 58). Besides the different topic areas, three other factors also influence when a risk-related incident or issue becomes news and, reversely, when it does not.

First, risk reporting is often event- and not issue-orientated (Hughes et al. 2006: 255). This means that the media favour "sudden catastrophes and unusual risks" to more common or routine "sources of danger" (Hughes et al. 2006: 255). Hughes et al. (2006: 255) explain that a famine, for example, will receive coverage, while the process leading up to it and a discussion of the issue at hand have "little media value" (Hughes et al. 2006: 255). Singer and Endreny argue that there is a:

> media "bias" in the reporting of risk: a tendency to overemphasize dramatic events, often resulting in multiple deaths, at the expense of illnesses that cumulatively cause many more deaths a year. This bias occurs not only because illnesses "claim one victim at a time" … but also, we suspect, because accidents are inherently more dramatic. (Singer and Endreny 1993: 55)

Second, risk reporting "rarely neatly parallel[s] scientifically defined hierarchies" (Hughes et al. 2006: 250). This means that there is no correlation between the severity of the risk and the amount of coverage it receives. Hughes et al. (2006:

250), for instance, explain that a death from an airplane accident "is 6,000 times more likely to make the front page [of the newspaper] than a death from cancer"; likewise, "nuclear accidents receive far greater attention than the fatalities caused by smoking".

Third, risk reporting does not "parallel the actual trajectory of any particular threat" (Hughes et al. 2006: 250). This means that, while risk-related incidents may increase, coverage is not necessarily guaranteed to increase at the same time (Hughes et al. 2006: 250). To illustrate the point, Hughes et al. (2006: 250) use the example of salmonella poisoning, arguing that "coverage ... [was] dramatically decreasing, whilst actual incidents increased" (Hughes et al. 2006: 250).

These three observations showed how journalists make use of risk in their reporting (Hughes et al. 2006: 250). Yet, in the process of mediation, risks usually also undergo a stage of "journalistic narrativization" to "'make sense' to a public facing unknown ... risks" (Allan 2002: 94). This is usually accomplished by "numerical odds" and "frequencies" because these aid in expressing the "magnitude of a risk" to increase comprehension (Calman and Royston 1997: 939; Gerrard 2000: 442). One such example is that "the risk of being struck by lightning is about one chance in 10 million per year" (Gerrard 2000: 442). This "is only an estimate" based on the "average number of people being struck by lightning each year" and could be higher for some people (Gerrard 2000: 442). However, it does provide a "natural anchor for a risk scale" with which people can orientate themselves (Calman and Royston 1997: 941).

Orientation is additionally accomplished by a comparison of the magnitude of one risk "with that of some other risk" (Calman and Royston 1997: 941). Drawing on the previous example, one could state that "the risk of being killed by lightning is about one thousandth of that of being killed in a road accident" (Calman and Royston 1997: 941). This is useful insofar as it places risks in the context of other

risks with which some people might be more familiar. Calman and Royston, however, emphasise caution about using this technique because:

> Risk comparison is a somewhat contentious area, particularly when it involves comparing risks with very different features, but even this can be useful where the emphasis is on conveying a feeling of the magnitude of a risk, rather than on insisting that a given risk must be acceptable if it is smaller, or unacceptable if it is larger, than some other risk that people already take. Comparisons of risks with similar features do not present such difficulties but even then when relative risks are stated it is important also to state the risk in absolute terms. (Calman and Royston 1997: 941)

To illustrate, Calman and Royston (1997: 941) present the risks of comparative treatments. The scholars argue that even "if the risk of treatment A is, say double that of treatment B", people's reactions to the treatments may still be "very different depending on the level of absolute risk". For example, this means that if a "risk has doubled from one in a million to two in a million", it likely elicits other reactions than if a risk has risen from "one in a hundred to two in a hundred" (Calman and Royston 1997: 941). This highlights that, although risk comparisons may provide valuable guidelines of orientation, it is ultimately the magnitude of risks that helps understand them.

This section established an understanding of the concept of risk and how it is or can be communicated. It also opened lines of questioning for the research of this thesis and provided a foundation for the study of airplane disasters because airplane disasters are improbable events, which, when they do occur, are favoured by the media to common or routine "sources of danger" (Hughes et al. 2006: 255). The next section builds on this to establish the primary justification of this thesis and critically evaluates the limited number and shortcomings of previous studies on the media's representation of airplane disasters.

2.10.   AIRPLANE DISASTERS AND THE MEDIA

Airplane disasters are rare phenomena. According to the U.S. based National Safety Council, the probability of an individual dying in an airplane crash, including private flights and air taxis, is one in 9,821 in one's lifetime (National Safety Council 2017; Jenkins 2017). Statistically, it is much more likely for one to die from heart disease and cancer (odds: 1 in 7), in a motor vehicle crash (odds: 1 in 114) or choking on food (odds: 1 in 3,461) (National Safety Council 2017; Jenkins 2017).[3]

However, when incidents, despite their unlikeliness, do occur, they tend to dominate the news agenda and "capture our attention" (Cobb and Primo 2003: 2; Hood 2012: 28; Kim and Lee 2008: 85). Hood (2012: 28), for instance, notes that "[a]irline disasters are an area of fascination for many. They are among the most written and accessed stories, receiving 'media coverage disproportionate to their death toll'". It is not surprising then that, according to a Google Trends analysis, the news media gave 43 per cent more coverage to the "deadly year of flight" in 2014/2015 than they did to "all of the 1.24 million ground traffic deaths worldwide" (Hay 2015). Likewise, CNN increased their prime-time viewership by 68 per cent during the coverage of the missing Malaysia Airlines flight 370 in 2014 (Hay 2015); while similar stories published by the BBC produced the most audience traffic since the 2011 Japanese tsunami (Hay 2015).

Much of this coverage relates to the political economy of news outlets and their striving for income through increased ratings and the selling of publications (Hay 2015; Cobb and Primo 2003: 6-7). Cobb and Primo (2003: 6-7), for example, suggest that "the media operate in a competitive economic marketplace and need viewers or readers to survive and prosper" and that certain issues – amongst

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[3] According to the U.S. National Safety Council, "these odds are statistical averages over the entire U.S. population and do not necessarily reflect the chances of death for a particular person from a particular external cause. Odds of dying are affected by an individual's activities, occupation, and where he or she lives and drives, among other things" (National Safety Council 2017). As a result, findings may differ slightly for the UK population and individuals and can change depending on circumstances.

which are airplane disasters – "are more media friendly than others". Regardless, this only supports the interest of the people and the media in airplane disasters.

There are a few, though not many, scholarly studies which try to account for this (Cobb and Primo 2003: 1-2; Kim and Lee 2008: 85; Vincent et al. 1989: 1; Hood 2012: 28; Cohl 1997: 114). Kim and Lee (2008: 85), for instance, state that "[a]ir disaster reporting is compelling and dramatic". Vincent et al. (1989, cited in Kim and Lee 2008: 85) explain that airplane disasters possess the elements of a news story that "allow television news to do what it does best: tell a compelling story by capitalizing on dramatic visual and narrative". Cobb and Primo (2003: 2, 143) suggest that our interest invested in airplane disasters might also be rooted in a completely different, more psychological factor related to the human nature of control, or rather "a greater loss of control (from having literally no exit option)".

However, irrespective of the reason, there is still a considerable lack of research in journalism studies and disaster communication on how airplane disasters are reported in traditional mainstream news media, despite the extensive coverage attributed to them (Cobb and Primo 2003: 1-2; Kim and Lee 2008: 85; Vincent et al. 1989: 1; Hood 2012: 28; Englehardt et al. 2004: 127-128). As sections 2.3 and 2.4 showed, this is important because traditional mainstream media forms are a dominant source of news in the UK and thus have the power to shape our understanding of such events (Joye 2010[a]: 586; Carter 2013: 8, 1). Therefore, the argument provides the primary justification for this thesis. The following paragraphs critically evaluate the few existing studies on the media's representation of airplane disasters and then link the field to a larger discussion on speculation and terrorism.

Cobb and Primo (2003: 11, 1) focus on the impact of airplane crashes on public and "airline transportation policy" as well as more pertinent issues such as the causes, the role of experts and, most importantly, the media's role and reporting of airplane disasters (Cobb and Primo 2003: 12). The scholars note:

> This [aviation] industry reflects an interesting duality. It is the most reliable of all the transportation modes in death avoidance. Yet a crash involving many fatalities achieves maximum media attention and causes concern for the public at large (Cobb and Primo 2003: 2, 44, 143)

As previously discussed, Cobb and Primo (2003: 9) attribute this media attention to the fact that "[p]lane crashes are tailor made for … [news] stories, having all the necessary elements: death, destruction, mystery, conflict, human interest, and tragedy". This argument indirectly feeds into a larger debate in journalism studies about the newsworthiness and selection of stories (Galtung and Ruge 1981; Harcup and O'Neill 2001: 262; Campbell 2004: 117-122; Cobb and Primo 2003: 7; Entman 1989). Galtung and Ruge (1965) introduced the idea of news values in the 1960s, suggesting that there are factors, which are news values, that determine and ""seem to be particularly important" in the selection of news" (Harcup and O'Neill 2001: 262; Galtung and Ruge 1965, 1981; Lewis 2012: 25). Some of these features are "timeliness, proximity, impact, conflict, sensationalism, and novelty" (Traugott and Brader 2003: 183; Gans 1980).

However, other studies also develop the arguments and suggest that some incidents or events are more newsworthy than others by nature (Lewis 2010, 2012: 258; Williams 1998; Rantanen 2009). Lewis (2012: 258), for instance, argues that "the development of news as a genre tends to privilege certain kinds of ideas and narratives". Indeed, Cobb and Primo (2003: 145) recognise this as they argue that, next to the number of newsworthy elements, the scope of the disaster is an important determinant for the extent of coverage it receives:

> If only a few are killed, minimal coverage results, because the accident resembles a car wreck or a bus crash. The sheer enormity of the tragedy is seemingly lessened. If hundreds perish, the story will get saturation coverage for many days after a crash (Cobb and Primo 2003: 145)

This refers back to two previous arguments: (1) Cottle's point on the "terrible "calculus of death"", which suggests that some disasters and deaths are recognised by the media as "more newsworthy than others" (Cottle 2012: 259) and (2) Benthall's argument that the disasters that usually tend to receive the media's attention are those characterised by the unusual, suddenness and "high death counts" (Benthall 1993: 27, 12). Other issues that were raised in the study by Cobb and Primo (2003: 8, 55, 44, 10, 120, 140) relate to ideas on speculation, terrorism and risk in relation to air safety and security after the September 11 attacks. However, these are picked up at a later stage as this section focuses on the few existing studies on the media's representation of airplane disasters.

Hood (2012, 2013, 2014) conducted research on the Japan Airlines flight 123, which had occurred in Japan in 1985. He suggests that, with its scale and social impact, the disaster could be considered "Japan's and the aviation world's equivalent of the *Titanic*" and has entered the social memory and history of Japan (Hood 2012: 172). Hood's study (2012: 152) is relevant for this thesis in two ways. First, it reaffirms previous arguments concerning the interest of the people and the media in airplane disasters: "Viewing figures for that morning [after the crash] were around 20 per cent higher than normal, reaching a peak of over 60 per cent, in the Kantō" (Hood 2012: 152). Second, part of Hood's analysis showed that the Japanese media narrative of the disaster tended to focus primarily on survivors of the crash, "once survivors were found", and grieving relatives (Hood 2012: 157-158). For instance, he writes:

> Mr and Mrs Miyajima firmly believed that their [nine-year-old] son was still alive and took a change of clothes with them. Despite seeing some of the images on the TV news, they believed that their son could be lost in the mountains somewhere, but on arrival at the site they saw the grim reality of the crash site for themselves and realized that there was no hope. Mrs Miyajima fell to her knees and wept saying 'sorry' and 'it must have been hot'. The media were there to capture this moment. (Hood 2012: 158)

This is an important aspect as it begins to demonstrate the media's emotional engagement with the disaster (see section 2.6). However, Hood's study (2012: 158) merely covers the presentation of the events surrounding the Japan Airlines flight 123 and does not provide a detailed analysis of the media's reporting on the incident (Hood 2012).

Studies by Garner (1996[a], 1996[b]) and Vincent et al. (1989) do this more directly. Garner's analyses (1996[b]: 157, 1996[a]) investigated the news coverage of transportation disasters using the crash of Delta flight 1141 in 1988 to study the media's themes and education of aviation safety. Vincent et al. (1989: 1) examined the media reporting of four major American airplane crashes in 1978, 1979 and 1982 to make inferences about the use of visual devices and narrative structure. These studies are good starting points for this thesis as they provide in-depth examples of how to conduct research on airplane disaster news. Findings by Vincent et al. (1989) are especially useful as they pick up on the use of dramatic devices, including visual, linguistic and emotional means, and highlight some recurrent themes in the media coverage, such as "a) tragic intervention of fate into everyday life; b) mystery of what caused the crash; and c) the work of legitimate authority to restore normalcy" (Vincent et al. 1989: 22). Yet, despite the relevance of these studies, they are almost three decades old, dating to a time before the notable September 11 incidents and subsequent aviation safety and security discourses.

Other studies by Siqi (2015), Halim (2014), Bier et al. (2018) and Ramanathan (2016) were published more recently and examine the framing of news reports on the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident. However, instead of trying to establish a broader conceptualisation of airplane disaster reporting, they approach the subject from a specific angle, such as how "political forces and socio-cultural forces" (Halim 2014: 171), national ideologies (Siqi 2015: 127), national interests (Bier et al. 2018: 158) and "[c]ross-cultural perspectives" (Ramanathan 2016: 23) affect the reporting of the incident. Therefore, while they may be useful in

providing a basis for media research, their contribution to this thesis is limited in terms of the overall findings they present.

For this reason, it is important to single out a study by Sonnevend (2018). Although the focus of the research lies on "foregrounding 'event' as a key concept within journalism" (Sonnevend 2018: 75), the study bears resemblance to some of the research questions and findings of this thesis as it examines the Malaysia Airlines 370 disaster and also, if only briefly, covers issues such as the reported topics, speculation, the representation of 'victims' as well as how journalists are limited in their reporting by the boundaries of the events they cover (Sonnevend 2018). For instance, Sonnevend (2018: 75) observes that, when journalists are limited by information, they draw on substitute events and "turned to the past and the future for events in their reporting". Nevertheless, the approach of this thesis varies in the sense that it attempts to establish a broader conceptualisation of the reporting of airplane disasters by treating the issues in more depth. Therefore, Sonnevend's study (2018) is used to strengthen the analysis of the research results.

Other studies of airplane disasters use incidents as exemplary cases to examine more specific issues, such as media bias and balance (Entman 1991; Peh and Melkote 1991), accuracy in reporting (Ramanathan 2016), ethical reporting and journalists' errors of judgment (Latif 2015), media relations and crisis management (Henderson 2003; Adebayo 2017; Rodriguez-Toubes and Dominguez-Lopez 2017; Canny 2016; Kirmse 2016; Mujeebu 2016; Zafra and Maydell 2018; Howell 2015), freedom of speech online (Daud 2014), social media behaviours (Masip et al. 2019) and implications for the mental health profession (Jacobs et al. 1990). All these studies relate to this thesis as they examine specific crashes as the sample of their research. However, they are not directly relevant because the focus of the studies lies more on specific issues rather than the mainstream media's representation of airplane disasters.

Finally, it is worth mentioning a study by Martin and Boynton (2005), which examines the coverages of the Challenger and Columbia space shuttle incidents and NASA's subsequent crisis communication. Although the study does not refer to airplane disasters directly, it does investigate the reporting of rare transportation disasters that attract a great deal of media attention (Martin and Boynton 2005: 255). Therefore, it provides a valuable guideline on how to conduct media research with airplane disasters. Interestingly, the study also examines the representation of 'victims' and their families, even though this is more explored in relation to NASA. For instance, the scholars argue:

> The attribute looked for comments by NASA officials that pertained to the victims of either the *Challenger* or *Columbia* tragedy. Concern for victims in both cases took the form of kind words said about those who died in the tragedies, and how the agency and the world would grieve their passing (Martin and Boynton 2005: 257-258).

Moreover, Martin and Boynton (2005: 258) consider the role of compassion and speculation in relation to the causes of the incidents. With regards to 'compassion', the scholars observe that, except for three statistically non-significant modifiers, compassion attributes "were similar between the two disasters" (Martin and Boynton 2005: 258). The study lacks synthesis at this point as it does not elaborate on the compassion attributes or the number of their appearances. With reference to 'speculation', Martin and Boynton (2005: 258) found that its overall use was limited in newspaper reports and that, on the occasions when agency officials did speculate in the media, they mostly "hinted at what might have caused the explosion of either *Challenger* and *Columbia*" (Martin and Boynton 2005: 258). Even though speculation was not prominent in this study, the idea still needs further exploration and recognition in academic research given its relevance to the field.

2.11. MEDIA SPECULATION AND UNCERTAINTY

'Speculation' refers to the act of "forming … a theory or conjecture without firm evidence" (Oxford Dictionary of English 2010) or "the activity of guessing possible answers to a question without having enough information to be certain" (Cambridge Dictionary, no date[h]). There is still a lack of literature on speculation in and by the media (Neiger 2007; Kim and Lee 2008: 85-86; Vincent et al. 1989; Durham 1998: 109). An explanation for this could relate to journalism's striving to report and find out the 'truth' about events rather than raise speculations (Stocking and Holstein 2015: 105): As Stocking and Holstein (2015: 105) note, "[a]sk any journalist about the role of news media in society, and chances are you will be assured that it is to shine a light, to raise the curtain, to reveal "the truth.""

However, the limited amount of literature that does raise arguments about media speculation – or, moreover, explicitly acknowledges media speculation – is often situated in studies on airplane disasters. Kim and Lee (2008: 85), for instance, explain that "[i]n the aftermath of plane crashes, news media begin to indulge in a considerable amount of speculation … It is unsurprising that, in the early stages of air disaster reporting, confusion, competition and a lack of information often result in [speculation and] factual errors". The scholars attribute the reason for speculation to uncertainty around the causes of the disasters (Kim and Lee 2008: 85). This is because the causes often depict a mystery and allow for somewhat justified speculation until they become known (Kim and Lee 2008: 85-86; Vincent et al. 1989). Kim and Lee (2008: 85-86), for example, argue that the initial uncertainty in the Trans World Airlines 800 and EgyptAir 990 crashes led to "a considerable amount of speculation", ranging from a fuel tank explosion and a shootdown (in the former incident) to sabotage by the co-pilot and concerns about a bomb (in the latter incident).

Durham (1998: 109) supports this argument, investigating the social narratives of news frames with the Trans World Airlines 800 disaster. Although speculation is not explicitly discussed, the scholar mentions it indirectly by arguing that the

news media adopt certain theories in the discussion on the cause of the crash (Durham 1998: 109). For instance, Durham writes: "The missile theory received added attention because eyewitnesses claimed to have seen a missile-like object near that plane at the time of the crash" (Durham 1998: 109); "[a]t the same time, in support of the bomb and missile theories, the broader category of terrorism … received similar attention … Sexton [a *New York Times* reporter] wrote that, "Investigators and prosecutor have already assembled a long list of theories about why someone might have attacked the plane," including "Middle Eastern terrorists" and members of some "domestic militia organization"" (Durham 1998: 109).

It is unclear whether the established form of media speculation relates to quality or tabloid journalistic ideals or whether there is a focus on selling the mystery of the unknown. The question around the operationalisation of media speculation also remains open-ended as most of the studies merely touch on it and are almost exclusively situated in the field of airplane disasters, which is an area of study that in itself is incomplete and requires further investigation (see section 2.11). However, despite the lack of generalisability and focus in the arguments, the claims in the limited number of previous studies have positioned the question of speculation in the forefront of future research: Especially the mention of speculation in the *New York Times*, a newspaper highly renowned for its excellence in journalism that was chosen as the sample in the study by Durham (1998: 109), demands further research on the role of speculation in journalism. Therefore, this thesis investigates the concept of speculation in more detail because it plays a role in the coverage of airplane disasters but also because its existence seems to stand in contrast to journalism's ideals to truth-telling. The next section examines previous literature on aviation terrorism, the hijacking of airplanes and the deliberate causing of crashes.

2.12.   AVIATION TERRORISM

Aviation terrorism, most prominently, entered public consciousness with the terror attack series of September 11 (Cobb and Primo 2003: 120, 131). Cobb and Primo explain:

> While terror acts had been a part of everyday existence in settings throughout the world, most Americans did not experience them close to home ... When terrorists planned and carried out the commandeering of four separate airliners leaving from Eastern cities heading toward the West Coast with the intention of destroying major symbolic icons, September 11 was added to that list [of terrorism acts that had a considerable effect on public awareness]. (Cobb and Primo 2003: 120)

Indeed, the scholars argue that, as a result of the September 11 incidents, the public perception of aviation terrorism changed completely (Cobb and Primo 2003: 131; Altheide 2009: 182). They explain that, while terrorists were typically seen "as hijackers (who would demand that the plane fly to another destination) or bombers (who would attempt to destroy the plane in flight)", they suddenly also became a concern to national security (Cobb and Primo 2003: 131). This resulted in a shift from a public discourse of aviation *safety* to a more prominent emphasis on *security* (Cobb and Primo 2003: 140-141):

> Before September 11 the operative term in debates about protecting the lives of airline passengers was *safety*. The enemies of safety were poor airliner construction and lax maintenance. The response was usually reactive: When an airline crash occurred and a mechanism was found to be working improperly, a recommendation was made ... to remedy the problem. After September 11 the word *safety* either was deemphasized or disappeared from the debate to be replaced by another symbol: *security*. Here, the aircraft's construction, functioning, and maintenance were given

lower priority; the new enemy was terrorists and their weapons. (Cobb and Primo 2003: 140-141).

This change in public perception of aviation safety and security also found its way into the media coverage. Lewis (2012: 259) explains that the incidents "signalled the start of a new era of terrorist attacks [which] became conventional wisdom [in the news narrative] in the blink of an eye, bypassing any sober analysis". Under those circumstances, news coverage on terrorism then increased significantly after the September 11 attacks, "with more terrorism-related stories in 2002 and 2003 than any year before 2001" (Lewis 2012: 259). Kern et al. argue:

> news coverage of terrorism following 9/11 reached record levels; one simple indicator is that the number of news stories about terrorism on the three major networks jumped from around 178 in the 12-months prior to September 2001 to 1345 stories in the twelve months afterwards, not counting, of course, the extensive number of 24/7 news bulletins, round-the-clock cable news, local news programs, news magazine special reports, and documentaries (Kern et al. 2003: 290).

Much of this interest of the news media in terrorism relates to two factors. First, just like airplane disasters, terrorism attacks are "inherently newsworthy … as accounts of human drama, tragedy and perseverance" (Schaefer 2003: 93). Their news value lies in the unusualness rather than the routine; and, with its focus on "violence, conflict, drama, a threat to public safety and an ability to register on the political agenda", terrorism inherently provides "all the perfect ingredients" for the production of news and the capturing of attention (Lewis 2012: 257-259).

Second, just like airplane disasters, terrorist attacks and their reporting build on something more inherent in the psychology of human nature: the producing of an atmosphere dominated by fear and anxiety through "focused acts of brutality and violence that gain publicity" (Huddy et al. 2003: 256; Debatin 2002: 164-165; Long 1990: 6; Altheide 2006: 114-115). According to Altheide (2009: xv) and

Huddy et al. (2003: 264), the media play a central role in this as they construct a representation of "'terrorism' through a prism of fear" (Altheide 2009: xv), "publicize a terrorist event and may serve to amplify fearful reactions" (Huddy et al. 2003: 264).

There is a lot of previous academic literature on how the news media report terrorism (Altheide 2009: 159; Mogensen et al. 2002: 113; Debatin 2002: 169-170). Here, the focus often lies less on aviation terrorism and more on terrorism in the media in general or specific incidents such as the September 11 attacks (Altheide 2009: 159; Mogensen et al. 2002: 113; Debatin 2002: 169-170). Given the relevance for this thesis, some of the findings need to be briefly explored.

Initial media reporting of terrorism is often characterised by caution in statements (Mogensen et al. 2002: 109). This means that the media heavily rely on information by "first-hand sources ... statements and news conferences held by key governmental officials and on analysis delivered by former governmental officials" (Mogensen et al. 2002: 109). For instance, DiBenedetto (cited in Mogensen et al. 2002: 109), a former executive at CNN Worldwide, states that "[w]e don't want to put somebody on the air that says something that's premature or somebody that doesn't have all the facts". Therefore, during the September 11 terrorist attacks, CNN "used a parade of governmental officials to confirm reports" in order to present verified information (Mogensen 2002: 110). In addition, media outlets continuously verified and updated information, saying that sometimes "[i]f the information wasn't right, it was corrected on air as quickly as possible" (Mogensen et al. 2002: 113).

Mogensen et al. (2002: 114) argue that media reporting on terrorism also attempts to create "an atmosphere that would convey the seriousness of the crisis without creating panic". Based on interviews with journalists who covered the September 11 attacks, the scholars note:

Several respondents said they were trying to maintain calm and be as dispassionate as they could, realizing they were conduits of information. [Jon] Scott [who had also covered the Oklahoma City bombing] summarized, "At some point it occurred to me that part of my job that day was just to sort of, as dispassionately as possible, just let people know what was going on, but to let them know that these were, for all the horror of them and the catastrophe involved, they were isolated events" (Mogensen et al. 2002: 114).

Imagery also feeds into this because "taste" plays a central role in decisions about what images should be broadcast (Mogensen et al. 2002: 111). Mogensen (2002: 111) explains that, during the September 11 attacks, CNN was "careful to limit the human carnage it showed on the air. Although that decision was made easier by the destruction at the scene, there were instances where the network could have shown much more than it chose to do". On this note, it is worth mentioning that the semiotics of some images can substantially add to the stories' meaning. Debatin explains:

The *directionality* of the plane … is of particular interest. As semiotic studies on the meaning potential of images have shown, a person or object moving from the left to the right indicates "going away" or "leaving," at least in the Western culture. Contrary to this, moving from the right to the left indicates "coming back from," or even "coming home". Thus, the incidental camera perspective of this particular sequence created a powerful connotation that strongly underscored a feeling that terror has finally come to us–to our homeland. (Debatin 2002: 169-170)

Finally, the media's representation of terrorism sometimes went against ideas of balance. According to Altheide (2009: 159), the media often stress "the good works as well as the suffering–and injustice–of their [country's] "side"", whereas less attention is paid to the coverage of "both sides" in the conflict. Altheide (2009: 159) – and by extension Jackall (1994) – suggest that the reporting

sometimes even borders near propaganda. To illustrate, Altheide (2009: 159) uses the example of the Bush administration's reaction to the September 11 attacks and its declared 'War on Terror': "The absence of critical journalism that would challenge official government definitions and information contributed to the rush to war ... The systematic avoidance of covering death and suffering of the enemy reinforces stereotypes of the opposition" (Altheide 2009: 159). However, Altheide (2009: 160) argues that, with the rise of Internet and blogging sites, such propaganda "is difficult to sustain when contrary and especially "humanizing" information is forthcoming".

This section provided information on how (aviation) terrorism has been perceived, responded to and reported by the media. It also added insights into how the media's representation of aviation terrorism could be analysed and is kept in mind in the subsequent research.

2.13. CONCLUSION

This literature review established the key justification of this thesis, which is that, although airplane incidents tend to receive a disproportionate amount of media coverage, research is lacking in journalism studies and disaster communication on how these disasters are reported in traditional mainstream media and broadcast news. These news sources are dominant in the UK and, given the extensive coverage attributed to airplane disasters, have the power to shape our understanding of the incidents. To provide a theoretical framework and position the research in the wider context, this chapter reviewed literature from various subject areas, including the various definitions of the term 'disaster', the relationship between disasters and the media, previous studies of how disasters have been mediated (looking at frames, tones, discourses, visuals and emotions) and mediated representations of 'suffering', risk, speculation and terrorism. As part of the review, the chapter also identified potential areas of questioning,

which the next chapter builds on to develop the research questions of this thesis and the methodological approach taken to them.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1.   INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains the methodological underpinning of this thesis. It begins with a discussion of qualitative and quantitative methods, arguing in favour of combining these for the enrichment of research findings. It then develops the research questions of this thesis and explains the methodological approach taken to them. The chosen methods are examined in greater depth, and details given about the research design.

3.2.   MIXED METHODS

The scholarship in the humanities and social sciences is "sharply divided between proponents of qualitative methods and proponents of quantitative methods" (Priest 2010: 7). Proponents on each side often view the respective methodological approaches to research as incompatible with each other (Deacon et al. 2007: 117). At its worst, "this has meant that advocates of qualitative forms of analysis have dismissed quantitative methods … [as] obsessed with frequency counts … and unable to get past the manifest content of communications to where the crucial meanings lie, beneath the textual surface" (Deacon et al. 2007: 117); while supporters of quantitative methods repeatedly insisted that "qualitative methods are too subjective, depending too much on the individual researcher's point of view" (Priest 2010: 7).

However, recent academic discussions have started to reject these positions and increasingly encouraged the combining and 'mixing' of research methods (Jensen 2002: 272). Jensen (cited in Priest 2010: 7), for instance, explains that "[i]nstead of engaging in conflict over a singular definition of the empirical domain, a realist strategy … proposes to take advantage of several methodologies in order to

document various aspects of mediated communication". This thesis follows such an approach as the benefits of it are evident.

The use of combined methods in a single study can provide a "richer and ... [more] satisfactory account" (Deacon et al. 2007: 10, 117) and achieve "better illumination of a research problem than a single method applied in isolation" (Hansen and Machin 2013: 6). This is because a multi-method approach allows gathering diverse data sets and gaining "several perspectives on the same phenomenon" (Jensen 2002: 272). In addition, a multi-method approach can balance out the weaknesses of a single method through the use and advantages of other methods (Deacon et al. 2007: 117; Williams et al. 1988: 47). Deacon et al. (2007: 140), for instance, explain that barriers "between different approaches are often self-defeating, and instead we argue for mixing judiciously in the interests of analytical enrichment and the triangulation of research findings".

Hansen and Machin (2013: 7) point out that, while conducting multi-method research, methodological choices shall be chosen based on the research questions and the issues at hand. This means that it is important to be "asking the right questions" first and "*only then* consider which method or methods might be most suitable for addressing the issue or problem" (Hansen and Machin 2013: 6). Therefore, the next section defines the research questions and the approach taken to them.

3.3.   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The overarching idea behind this thesis is to examine how the media represent major airplane disasters. Based on the literature review, a set of sub-questions was established to guide and narrow down the focus of the research. This can be seen in table 1.

Table 1: Research questions and methods employed on them

Overall research question: How do the news media report on major airplane disasters?		Content, thematic, discourse and visual analyses
1	What is said about the disasters, and what responses to them are mentioned?	Content, thematic and discourse analyses
2	How does the reporting make use of language and visuals?	Content, discourse and visual analyses
3	What role does emotionality and 'suffering' play in the reporting?	Thematic, discourse and visual analyses
4	How is risk represented?	Content, thematic and discourse analyses
5	How do the media deal with uncertainty and ignorance, and how does speculation feed into the reporting?	Content, thematic and discourse analyses

The first research question considers the thematic nature of airplane disaster news. This means that it establishes implications of content by asking what is said about the disasters in the coverage, including the mentioned topics, causes and disaster responses.

The second research question relates to the technical elements and asks how language and images are used in the reporting. This tells us more about the specific construction of the coverage.

Research questions 3 to 5 refer to issues that were discussed as part of previous studies (see chapter 2). In particular, the questions relate to debates around emotionality in journalism (see section 2.6), the media's representation of 'suffering' (see section 2.8) and risk (see section 2.9), and the role of uncertainty and speculation in news reporting (see sections 2.9 and 2.11). These questions are central to the overall field of disaster communication and are yet to be investigated with airplane disasters.

To answer the research questions, a variety of methods are employed. These are content, thematic, discourse and visual analyses. As shown in table 1, the methods vary for each research question. This is because one needs to "consider which method or methods might be most suitable for addressing the issue or problem at hand" (Hansen and Machin 2013: 6). The next part of this chapter explores the benefits and disadvantages of the research methods, highlights how the methods complement one another and establishes the methodological design to answer the research questions.

3.4. CONTENT ANALYSIS

Content analysis is a widely used quantitative analysis in the field of journalism, media and communication studies as well as many other disciplines (Hansen and Machin 2013: 85). Reasons for this can be attributed to a "combination of characteristics, including that it is systematic, quantitative, highly flexible and adaptable, easy to use … and particularly well suited for revealing trends and patterns in the large quantities of communications" (Hansen and Machin 2013: 85). In particular, this can be accomplished by identifying and counting "the occurrence of specified characteristics or dimensions of texts" (Hansen et al. 1998: 95), systematically assigning them into categories and then quantifying the data into trends, patterns or absences by making use of statistical methods and evidence (Riffe et al. 2014: 23; Hansen and Machin 2013: 89; Hansen et al. 1998: 95; Riffe et al. 2014: 23).

As a result, one can argue that content analysis places an importance on the "*extent* to which the analytic categories appear in the content, i.e. the relative emphases and omissions" (Berelson 1952: 17). The wider purpose and benefit behind this is that the procedure allows making broader, systematic inferences about "the processes and politics of representation" (Deacon et al. 2007: 119) as well as "about the messages, images, representations of such texts and their wider social significance" (Hansen and Machin 2013: 85). Therefore, content analysis,

like most quantitative methods, draws on numbers because "numerical methods are an extremely useful tool for summarizing a large quantity of data and establishing relationships among different factors" (Priest 2010: 6, 7).

However, the research method is at a disadvantage compared to qualitative methods because it is descriptive and fails to "capture the way in which meaning arises from the complex interaction of symbols in texts" (Hansen and Machin 2013: 90). As a result, it "does not offer much opportunity to explore texts in order to develop ideas and insights" and "tends to skate over complex and varied processes of meaning-making *within* texts" (Deacon et al. 2007: 119). This means that content analysis is not "well suited to studying 'deep' questions about textual and discursive forms" as it lacks consideration of context and "can only support, qualify or refute … initial questions" (Deacon et al. 2007: 119). Despite the numerous benefits of the research method, these arguments are objections to its utilisation. Therefore, this project combines the research method with thematic and discourse analyses as the counteractive strengths of the research designs allow evening out the weaknesses of content analysis by providing different perspectives on the same data (Jensen 2002: 272; see section 3.2).

3.5. THEMATIC ANALYSIS

Thematic analysis is a popular qualitative method, which, in comparison to content analysis, "move[s] beyond counting explicit words or phrases" (Guest et al. 2012: 10) and focuses on "thematizing meanings" within texts (Holloway and Todres 2003: 34). It aims to identify "implicit and explicit ideas within the data, i.e. themes" (Guest et al. 2012: 10) because these help "to understand the potential of any issue more widely" (Alhojailan 2012: 40). In that sense, thematic analysis approaches the data from a 'deeper' level than content analysis as it attempts to capture "the complexities of meaning within a textual data set" (Guest

et al. 2012: 11).[4] The benefits of this research method are palpable. Amongst others, thematic analysis allows gaining a deeper understanding of an issue by providing "a rich and detailed, yet complex, account of data" (Braun and Clarke 2006: 78; Guest et al. 2012: 11), highlighting similarities, differences and potentially "unanticipated insights" (Nowell et al. 2017: 2).

Just like any method, thematic analysis also has its disadvantages. First, there are few guidelines about "what thematic analysis is and how you go about doing it" (Braun and Clarke 2006: 78-80). This often leads to an "'anything goes' critique", which can be retraced to the fact that the researcher plays an "active role ... in identifying patterns/themes, selecting which are of interest, and reporting them to the readers" (Braun and Clarke 2006: 78, 80). To overcome this critique, the data collection and analysis is conducted "in a rigorous and methodical ... precise, consistent, and exhaustive manner through recording, systematizing, and disclosing the methods of analysis with enough detail" (Nowell et al. 2017: 1). In addition, the data is subject to other research methods, such as content analysis, which "makes approaches based on observation and interpretation more accurate and reliable" (Deacon et al. 2007: 7-8). Finally, attention is paid to the meticulous presentation of results. Nowell et al. (2017: 11) point out that "[e]xtracts of raw data need to be embedded within the analytic narrative to illustrate the complex story of the data, going beyond a description of the data and convincing the reader of the validity and merit of the analysis".

 The second disadvantage of thematic analysis is that, in comparison to other methods, it does not allow for statements about language use (Nowell et al. 2017: 2) or "the fine-grained functionality of talk" (Braun and Clarke 2006: 97). This is

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[4] Some scholars argue that thematic analysis may also be used to "transform qualitative data into a quantitative form, and subject them to statistical analyses" (Braun and Clarke 2006: 98) – such as by establishing "the prevalence of themes, i.e. how often their occur" (Maguire and Delahunt 2017: 3359). However, it was decided against such an approach because the purpose of the research method in this thesis is to add to the findings of the content analysis by providing a different, more qualitative "perspective on the same [research] phenomenon" (Jensen 2002: 272).

important because issues are "constructed and managed … [through] language as a key component" (Simmerling and Janich 2016: 961-962). Therefore, this thesis draws on discourse analysis as a complementary research method to the thematic and content analyses.[5]

3.6. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Discourse analysis examines how language is used to create meaning and representation (Hansen and Machin 2013: 115-117). Hansen and Machin (2013: 115, 117) explain that the research method "can allow us to reveal more precisely how speakers and authors use language and grammatical features to create meaning": "It is how language can be used to subtly convey ideas and values that … [discourse analysis] can draw out. And through this we can get a much clearer idea of what is actually being conveyed" (Hansen and Machin 2013: 115, 117).

As a result, unlike content and thematic analyses, the research method is a form of linguistic analysis: It presupposes that language is not "simply a neutral vehicle of communication" (Hansen and Machin 2013: 119). Indeed, Hansen and Machin (2013: 116) argue that there is "no neutral way to represent the world through language as all the words we use are motivated and are laden with certain kinds of meanings and values". This gives rise to what the term 'discourse' inherently means to describe: "*a way of speaking which gives meaning to experiences from a particular perspective*" (Phillips and Jørgensen 2002: 66-67). 'Discourses' may comprise of language, non-verbal or visual communication (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 38), and the analysis of them aims to examine how "discourses are activated textually and arrive at, and provide backing for, a particular interpretation" (Phillips and Jørgensen 2002: 83).

Scholars also link the research method to the study of power, power relations and ideology (Machin and Mayr 2012: 4-5; van Dijk 1993: 249; Fairclough and Wodak

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[5] The compatibility of the two research methods was established by Braun and Clarke (2006).

1997: 272). Deacon et al. (2007: 154), for instance, explain that discourse analysis possesses the potential to examine "how power relations and structures of power are embedded in the forms of everyday language use, and thus how language contributes to the legitimisation of existing social relations and hierarchies of authority and control". The idea of ideology relates to this argument as the concept refers to "meaning in the service of power" (Fairclough 1995: 14); and, more precisely, the "interests of a particular point of view" (Deacon et al. 2007: 151) or "ideas and values that … reflect particular interests … buried in texts" or language (Hansen and Machin 2013: 119).

One of the aims of discourse analysis is to draw out these interests or ideologies by pointing them out in texts, often using linguistic details (Hansen and Machin 2013: 119; Machin and Mayr 2012: 5). Therefore, the research method may also be 'critical' when it aims to denaturalise language to reveal "the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of the social world, including those social relations that involve unequal relations of power" (Phillips and Jørgensen 2002: 63) or the "kinds of power interests buried in these texts" (Machin and Mayr 2012: 5).

Disadvantages of discourse analysis relate to the fact that texts can be "polysemantic" or "polysemous" (Deacon et al. 2007: 145). This means that they can be subject to multiple meanings and are not in themselves "amenable to an absolutely definitive interpretation" (Deacon et al. 2007: 145). Hence, critics claim that discourse analysis is not systematic as the researcher may simply point to "linguistic and grammatical features that they feel are significant and then explains their meaning" (Hansen and Machin 2013: 151). Consequently, results can sound 'unscientific' as the research method arguably "lacks the necessary objective stance to what we study that is normally required by academic ideals" (Hansen and Machin 2013: 116).

The latter criticism can be counterargued with the point that, unlike content analysis, the purpose and aim of discourse analysis is not to provide an 'objective' systematic analysis but to actively engage with the research to study 'deeper'

"questions about textual and discursive forms" (Deacon et al. 2007: 119). The criticisms on the polysemous nature of texts are justified objections against the utilisation of the research method.

Therefore, to counterbalance any weaknesses, a multi-method approach is adopted. Deacon et al. (2007: 7-8) explain that "research based primarily on qualitative materials might wish to employ some forms of counting or refer to existing statistics. Doing this does not necessarily compromise observation and interpretation; it simply makes approaches based on observation and interpretation more accurate and reliable". The next section examines the method of visual analysis.

3.7. VISUAL ANALYSIS

Visual analysis is typically used when "an image is introduced into a discussion as an example or case study" (UTS Design Index, no date). It serves to understand qualities of an image and how these "relate to seemingly relevant ideas, histories, narratives, politics, cultures, affects, and/or experiences" or "create specific effects and/or affects" (UTS Design Index, no date). This means that visual analysis may look at content (i.e. the depicted), form and style, processes of production as well as the use of and (possible) "reactions to visual stimuli" (Pauwels 2011: 11).

However, there are various kinds of visual analyses. Examples include compositional analysis, semiotic analysis, iconography and visual rhetoric analysis. This thesis primarily draws on compositional analysis because it offers a way of explaining and "describing the visual impact of an image … and may also begin to say something about an image's possible effects on a spectator" (Rose 2012: 77).

The analysis focuses on the composition of an image and its effects (Rose 2012: 28, 51, 58). Rose (2012: 51), for instance, argues that "visual images … catch the

gazes of spectators and affect them in some way, and they do so through how they look". Thus, compositional elements that are examined include the content of the image, the positioning of subjects, the spatial and temporal organisation and "expressive content" (Rose 2012: 74). In places, this thesis also goes further and asks questions about connotations, which are the "ideas and values" that the "people, places and things represented in images stand for" (van Leeuwen 2001: 92), or draws on production practices to explain findings (Rose 2012: 56). This becomes clearer in chapter 7.

Disadvantages of compositional analysis are that it "does not encourage discussion of the production of an image (other than of its technological or compositional modalities)" or "how it might be used, understood and interpreted by various viewers" (Rose 2012: 77). In fact, Rose (2012: 55) argues that our understanding of visuals does not "exist in a vacuum, and looking at them for 'what they are' neglects the ways in which they are produced and interpreted through particular social practices".

However, Rose (2012: 51) also points out that "there is no point in researching any aspect of the visual [including the production practices and audience's perception] unless the power of the visual is acknowledged". This especially applies to the nature of this thesis because the focus lies on the media's representation of airplane disasters, which is "the way that someone or something is shown or described" (Cambridge Dictionary, no date[g]), and not on the production practices or the audience's perception of media texts. Therefore, while the counterarguments are borne in mind in the analysis, they can be put aside at this point. The next section establishes the methodological framework of the research and explains how the different methods are used to answer the research questions. For that purpose, it makes general decisions about the sample and goes into detail about the approach taken to each research method.

3.8.   RESEARCH DESIGN

This thesis investigates case studies because they enhance our understanding of an issue by establishing a basic conceptual framework, which may then be applied to other cases. As Jensen (2002: 239) notes, the "purpose of case studies is normally to arrive at descriptions and typologies which have implications for other, or larger, social systems". The focus is placed on commercial, passenger-carrying airplane disasters because these incidents, in contrast to smaller ones, are the ones that receive most of the attention of the media (Hood 2012: 28). This is an essential aspect as the main incentive behind this thesis is based on the discrepancy between the amount of coverage airplane disasters generate and the notable lack of academic literature in the area (see section 2.10).

Following on from this argument, the subsequent two case studies were chosen for examination because both incidents had generated vast amounts of media interest and were, at the time of writing, some of the most recent and prominent, if not the most prominent, airplane disasters since the September 11 terrorist attacks:

- **Malaysia Airlines flight MH370:** On March 8th, 2014, the aircraft was on route from Kuala Lumpur to Beijing when, less than an hour after take-off, it lost contact with air traffic control and went missing with 239 people on board (BBC 2017[b]). The initial search operation focused on the South China Sea as the airplane's scheduled route would have gone towards the northeast over Cambodia and Vietnam (BBC 2017[b]). However, tracking data and further satellite analysis later suggested that the airplane had changed course considerably and might have crashed into the Indian Ocean, southwest of Australia. With the search covering nearly three million square miles and the bulk of the airplane still missing, the tragedy "is likely to remain the world's greatest aviation mystery" (BBC 2017[b]).

- **Germanwings flight 4U9525:** On March 24th, 2015, the aircraft was on route from Barcelona to Düsseldorf when the co-pilot, who had previously been diagnosed with suicidal tendencies, prompted the aircraft to descend and crash into the French Alps (Behrend et al. 2015). With 150 people on board, including 16 adolescent school children from Germany, the tragedy hit international news headlines and received a considerable amount of media attention (Behrend et al. 2015).

It is important to mention that the case studies are limited in number and that, throughout this project, there have been other notable airplane disasters, such as the Boeing 737 MAX incidents, Lion Air flight 610 and Ethiopian Airlines flight 302. Therefore, it needs to be pointed out that the purpose of the above case studies is solely to establish an initial detailed conceptual framework, given that there is currently one missing in academia, which may then be applied to other airplane disasters. This would allow understanding the issue in depth first, before focusing on a number of incidents. However, to overcome any potential issues, an additional study was conducted and attached to appendix A, which examines the representativeness of the findings on the reporting of eight further incidents: These are the flights of Air France 447, Malaysia Airlines 17, Indonesia AirAsia 8501, Metrojet 9268, EgyptAir 804, Saratov Airlines 703, Lion Air 610 and Ethiopian Airlines 302. This additional study dismisses issues about the limited number of case studies and the fact that there have been more recent airplane disasters since the conduct of the main research.

The sample is taken from broadcast news. This choice was made because, aside from texts, it allows examining the role of moving images and sounds as part of the research. Such an approach is valid as these elements can have a powerful effect on how representations of disasters are perceived (Juneja and Schenk 2014: 18, 24; Chouliaraki 2006: 5; see section 2.5). The sample is news broadcasts published by the main television channels in the UK. Therefore, contributions by the BBC, ITV, Sky, Channel 4 and Channel 5 are examined. The sample is

accessed through Box of Broadcasts, using the search terms 'Malaysia Airlines' or 'Malaysian Airlines' and 'Germanwings' as the units of analysis. These search terms were chosen because, given the informative nature of journalism, there is a likelihood that the name of the airline is mentioned at least once in each broadcast on the incidents. This ensures that all broadcasts are included in the search. On top of that, the broadness of the search terms allows access to the full variety of topics, which is important because some research questions consider the thematic nature of the reports (see section 3.3).

The sample period is restricted to a year of coverage starting on the day before the incidents. This time span was chosen generously as it guarantees that most, if not all, broadcasts related to the flights are included in the Box of Broadcasts search. Here, it was primarily borne in mind that the search operation and investigation of Malaysia Airlines 370 had continued for several months (Brown 2014). For consistency, the same time frame is adopted for the research on Germanwings 9525. In this case, the fact that the cause of the incident was resolved quickly is irrelevant because it is safe to assume that the media ceased reporting once there had been no more news (see sections 2.3 and 4.2) and that, as a result of this, no new search results would be present on Box of Broadcasts.

A search retrieved an overall population of 285 broadcasts – 145 of these relate to the case study of Malaysia Airlines 370 and 140 to Germanwings 9525. Table 2 shows a breakdown of the broadcasts for each channel.[6][7]

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[6] Contributions that were shown in the search results but were not relevant to the nature of the research were excluded from the numbers (Peh and Melkote 1991: 65).

[7] Given that there are barely any broadcasts from Channel 4 and Channel 5, it was decided against examining the results of individual publications because a comparison would not be statistically representative.

Table 2: Breakdown of the sample size by news broadcaster

Broadcaster	Malaysia Airlines 370	Germanwings 9525
BBC	74	69
ITV	21	31
Sky	35	25
Channel 4	12	10
Channel 5	3	5
Population of the case	145	140
Total population	285	

The content analysis examines the total population of broadcasts as opposed to a selected random sample size. This allows making 100% definite statistical, rather than just representative, statements about the data and the mediated nature of the case studies. The length of the total footage is 28 hours, 7 minutes and 4 seconds, which makes every broadcast 5 minutes and 55 seconds long on average.

The independent variables of the content analysis are the name of the television channel, the publication date of the broadcast and the length of the news piece. The dependent variables are coded according to the research questions. This means that they include variables related to the general content, a variable that examines the construction elements of the news and variables that explore issues raised in the literature review concerning airplane disasters (see appendix B for the coding sheet).[8]

The variables that code the general content investigate the reported topics, suggestions for the cause and the mentioned responses to the disasters. The variable that codes construction elements examines the visuals on-screen and counts the presence of repeated image groups in the news broadcasts. The variables that describe aspects from the literature review explore how frequently risk, uncertainty, ignorance and speculation are represented in the news

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[8] A lot of the variables were constructed by thinking about the individual research questions and contemplating which variables would be needed to answer them. However, some of the variables and their codes also lean on previous academic literature or additional web searches. These are indicated and fully referenced in the coding sheet in appendix B.

broadcasts: The variables dealing with risk consider the mention of the safety of flying, the risk of flying and the safety of the aircraft types and airlines that operated the flights; variables of uncertainty, ignorance and speculation examine whether the news item mentions any uncertain, ignorant or speculative claims in the reporting.

All variables were subject to intercoder-reliability testing (McHugh 2012). For this, a random sample of 30 out of 285 broadcasts (≈ 10% of the population) was generated. The coder agreement for the independent variables was 100%, and the one for the dependent variables ranged between 84% and 100%. Given that percentages above 80% are usually acceptable (Belur et al. 2018: 7), the content analytic results can be considered reliable. Table 3 shows the percentage agreement for each variable.

Table 3: Percent agreements of the intercoder-reliability test

Variable	Coder agreement
Publication	100 %
Publication date	100 %
Length of the broadcast	100 %
Topics	86.89 %
Potential Causes	84.00 %
Responses to the disasters	100 %
Safety of flying	96.67 %
Risk of flying	100 %
Safety of the aircraft type	100 %
Safety of the airline	100 %
Uncertainty and ignorance	100 %
Speculation	100 %
Visuals	85.02 %

The sample size for the thematic, discourse and visual analyses varies depending on the issue to be addressed. This is because some issues are not covered as extensively as others. Where possible, it was aimed to analyse at least 10% of the total population because, in line with the temporal scope of this thesis, this allows

examining the issues in "full context" or detail (Jensen 2002: 119), while using a broader sample size for more representative statements about the data. Table 4 shows a breakdown of the sample sizes for the issues that address the research questions. The sample was generated randomly from the broadcasts that cover the issues.[9] Here, it was drawn on the findings of the content analysis to establish which broadcasts mention an issue.

Table 4: Sample sizes for the thematic, discourse and visual analyses

Variable	Total	Malaysia Airlines 370	Germanwings 9525
Potential causes	63	25	38
Responses to the disasters	57	30	27
Emotionality and 'suffering'	55	25	30
Safety and risk	37	16	21
▪ Safety of flying	12	2	10
▪ Risk of flying	7	1	6
▪ Safety of aircraft type	29	13	16
▪ Safety of airline	15	5	10
Uncertainty, ignorance and speculation	32	15	17
Visuals	60	26	34

The thematic analysis approaches the sample from a semantic level. This means that "themes are identified within the explicit or surface meanings of the data" (Braun and Clarke 2006: 84), and "the analytic process involves progression from description, where the data have simply been organized to show patterns in semantic content, and summarized, to interpretation, where there is an attempt to theorize the significance of the patterns and their broader meanings and implications … often in relation to previous literature" (Braun and Clarke 2006: 84).

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[9] A full list of the examined broadcasts can be found in appendix C.

The discourse analysis subjects the sample to an analysis of key linguistic features where suitable. These include a lexical analysis with an emphasis on common instances of word groups, labelling and grammatical features, the classification of actors and an examination of modality (Hansen and Machin 2013: 120-145; Phillips and Jørgensen 2002: 83; Deacon et al. 2007: 155-159). Table 5 demonstrates how the different features are employed on the research questions.

Table 5: Discourse analytic features employed on the research questions

Overall research question: How do the news media report on major airplane disasters?		Lexical analysis, classification of actors and examination of modality
1	What is said about the disasters, and what responses to them are mentioned?	Lexical analysis, classification of actors and examination of modality
2	How does the reporting make use of language and visuals?	Lexical analysis, classification of actors and examination of modality
3	What role does emotionality and 'suffering' play in the reporting?	Lexical analysis, classification of actors and examination of modality
4	How is risk represented?	Lexical analysis and classification of actors
5	How do the media deal with uncertainty and ignorance, and how does speculation feed into the reporting?	Lexical analysis and examination of modality

The visual analysis subjects the sample to a compositional analysis. Here, attention is paid to the content ("What does the image actually show?"), the positioning of subjects (orientation, looks and gazes), the spatial organisation (shot distance or size, height and angle), the temporal organisation (edits) and "expressive content" (the "'mood' or 'atmosphere' of an image") (Rose 2012: 58, 74). In places, the analysis also goes further and asks questions about

connotations, which are the "ideas and values" that the "people, places and things represented in images stand for" (van Leeuwen 2001: 92), or draws on production practices to explain findings (Rose 2012: 56). This becomes clearer in chapter 7.

3.9. CONCLUSION

This chapter developed the research questions of this thesis and explained the methodological approach taken to them. The chosen methods, which are content, thematic, discourse and visual analysis, were examined in greater depth, and details given about the research design.

The next five chapters present the results of this thesis. For simplicity in keeping track of supporting evidence, any examples of data will not be cited as per Harvard Referencing guide but assigned a number, e.g. "broadcast 17". The full citations for the numbers are attached to appendix C. Furthermore, all statistical results from the content analysis can be found in appendix D.

CHAPTER 4: GENERAL PATTERNS IN AIRPLANE DISASTER NEWS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines general patterns in airplane disaster news using, as case studies, the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 incidents. By investigating media interest, the topics of the broadcasts, and the reported causes and disaster responses, the findings demonstrate that four features characterise the coverage: (1) a high amount of initial media interest that reduces and vanishes over time, (2) topics which focus on informing the viewer of the events and the emotional response to the incidents, (3) a marked change in the reporting of (potential) causes in two distinct phases which will be called the ignorance and epilogue phases and (4) the reporting of policy changes, activism and security as a result of discoveries emerging from the investigation. Finally, the chapter points out relevant uses of language, such as the application of modality in the ignorance phase, when they contribute to the understanding of the above issues (Simmerling and Janich 2016: 961-962).

4.2. MEDIA INTEREST

Box of Broadcasts registered a total of 285 broadcasts on the two incidents – 145 for Malaysia Airlines 370 and 140 for Germanwings 9525. Figure 1 shows how these broadcasts are dispersed over time. It demonstrates that media interest is initially high and tends to decay within the first three months.

Figure 1: Publication dates of the broadcasts on Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525
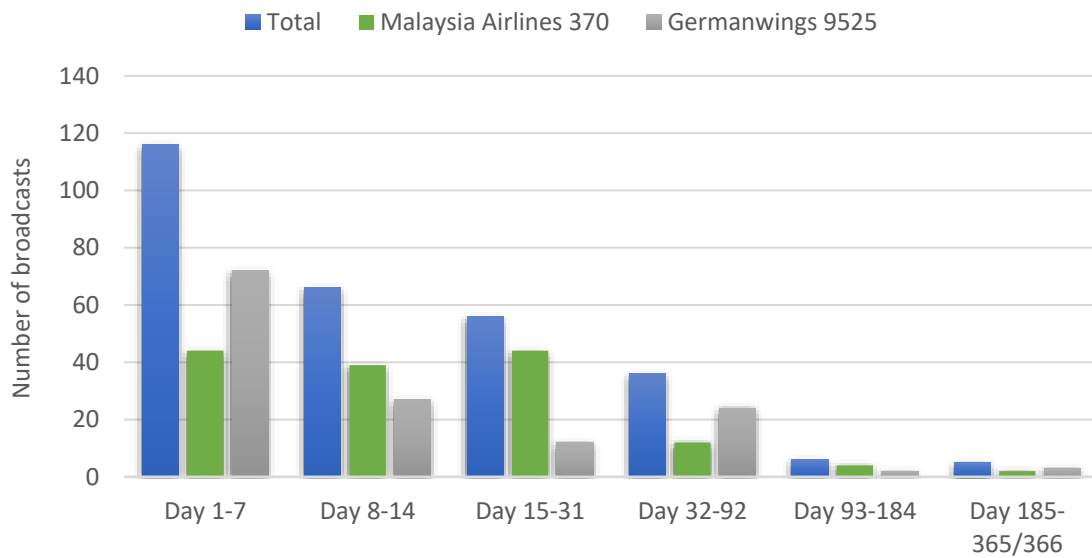
When examining the period for each incident more closely, one can observe small differences in the peaks of coverage. This is shown in figure 2. The news of Malaysia Airlines 370 breaks suddenly and keeps its climax almost evenly for the first two weeks after the incident. It then keeps going for the following two weeks with a moderate number of broadcasts, until it almost gradually vanishes in the second and third month of coverage. In contrast, the news development of Germanwings 9525 follows a more extreme pattern. The incident generated extremely high and intense media interest in the first week, which dropped to a moderate amount in the second week and ceased afterwards.

Figure 2: The course of media interest in Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 in proportion to the time period
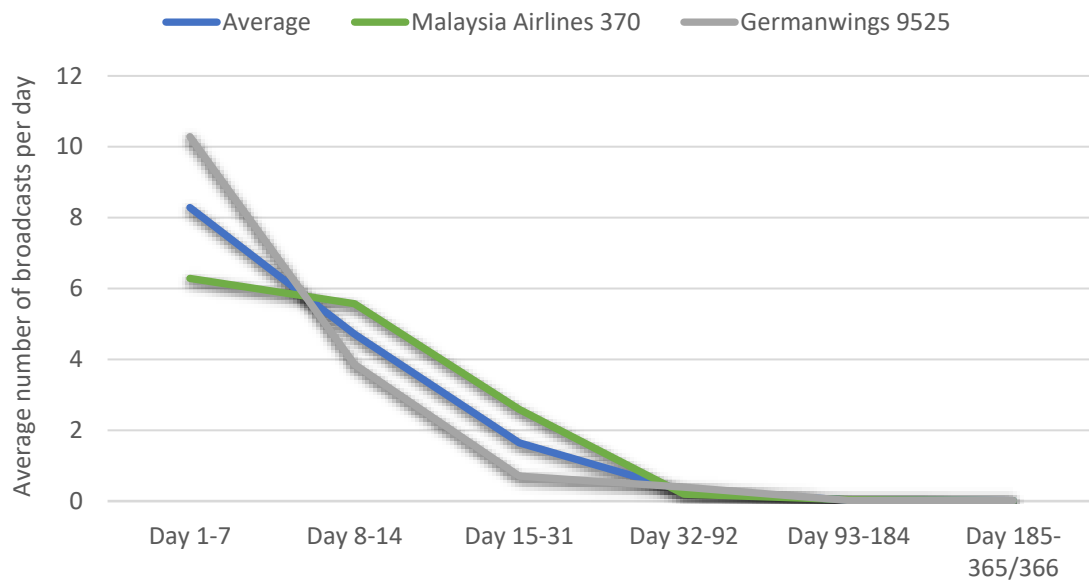
The nature of the disasters can easily explain the different levels of media interests. Both incidents possess elements of a news story that "allow television news to do what it does best: tell a compelling story by capitalizing on dramatic … narrative" (Vincent et al. 1989, cited in Kim and Lee 2008: 85). They are "compelling and dramatic" (Kim and Lee 2008: 85) and easily feature elements that make a story 'newsworthy' (Galtung and Ruge 1965, 1981; Harcup and O'Neill 2001; Lewis 2012; Traugott and Brader 2003; Gans 1980). As a result, they both generated a high amount of media interest in the first week after their occurrence. However, while Malaysia Airlines 370 bears similar characteristics to Germanwings 9525, the latter incident received almost twice as much coverage in the first week in comparison.

This discrepancy might stem from the fact that the Germanwings 9525 incident occurred geographically closer to the UK viewership. Greenberg and Scanlon (2016) note that "[d]espite the fact that large-scale disasters are more likely to occur in the developing world, they are more likely to receive sustained coverage and attention if they occur in the west". This is because events which are closer to

"the place where they are being reported" generally tend to have more news value and seem to attract more easily the media's attention (Dictionary Central 2017).

The difference in media interest might also be explained by the fact that the Germanwings 9525 incident and the predominant nations it affected were based in a more politically and culturally proximate location to the UK (Pantti et al. 2012: 35; Harcup 2014: 174; Harcup and O'Neill 2001: 263; Campbell 2004: 119-120; Dictionary Central 2017). The media tend to prioritise this feature in its news selection process as it "allow[s] citizens to make sense of disasters within the framework of the nation state and its relationship to global power relations" (Pantti et al. 2012: 35; Harcup 2014: 174). For instance, Harcup explains (2014: 174) that "the UK media are more likely to run stories about the USA [or France, Germany and Spain in this case] than about countries with which the UK audience is less culturally familiar".

Figure 2 shows that, in the subsequent weeks, the difference in media interest is less spread out between the two case studies. Both disasters generated a moderate amount of coverage in the second week after the occurrences, which then gradually declined and slowly ceased in the second and third month. It is noticeable that, starting from the second week after the incidents, the levels of interest in the two case studies reverse entirely. This means that, while the media attributed more broadcasts to Germanwings 9525 in the first week, they paid comparatively more attention to Malaysia Airlines 370 in the second and following weeks after the disasters. One reason for the loss of interest might be that the mystery of Germanwings 9525 was resolved within the first week after its occurrence and left the media without further or ground-breaking news to report (Hille 2015). As Benthall (1993: 39-40) notes, when the media "get the impression that a … disaster has become a normal way of life, it thereby ceases to be news".

In comparison, the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident remains, up to this day, "the world's greatest aviation mystery", with the bulk of the aircraft still missing (BBC

2017[b]). This repeatedly offered the media with "new journalistic angles" (Benthall 1993: 109) and might explain the gradual decline of interest as opposed to an extreme closure of the case. However, despite these differences, one can still argue that both airplane disasters follow the same pattern of media interest in that they are subject to life cycles where "the news media aggressively cover an issue for a short time, after which coverage fades as the event recedes into the past" (Kuttschreuter et al. 2011: 202). The next section delves into the content of the reporting and examines the topics that were covered in the broadcasts.

4.3.   TOPICS OF THE BROADCASTS

Topics are "matter[s] dealt with in a text, discourse, or conversation" (Oxford Dictionaries, no date[f]) and can be used to focus the attention of news audiences "on particular ideas" out of the bigger issue or theme (Wilkins 2016). McCombs and Guo (2014: 254) argue that, when "news stories report on an object, an issue … some aspects of the object are emphasized, some are mentioned less frequently, and other aspects not at all". As a result, "media audiences not only learn factual information from exposure to news, but … people also learn about the importance of topics in the news based on how the news media emphasize those topics" (McCombs and Reynolds 2002: 2).

The content analysis shows that the reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 juxtaposes several topics. These are the description of the incident, background information, the search and recovery operation, the scope of the damage, the investigation, the cause, the question of the plane's location, airplane safety procedures, the responses and emotional states of the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers, commemoration, repatriation and funerals as well as financial issues. Figure 3 shows that the topics can be divided into four prominent groups which overlap.
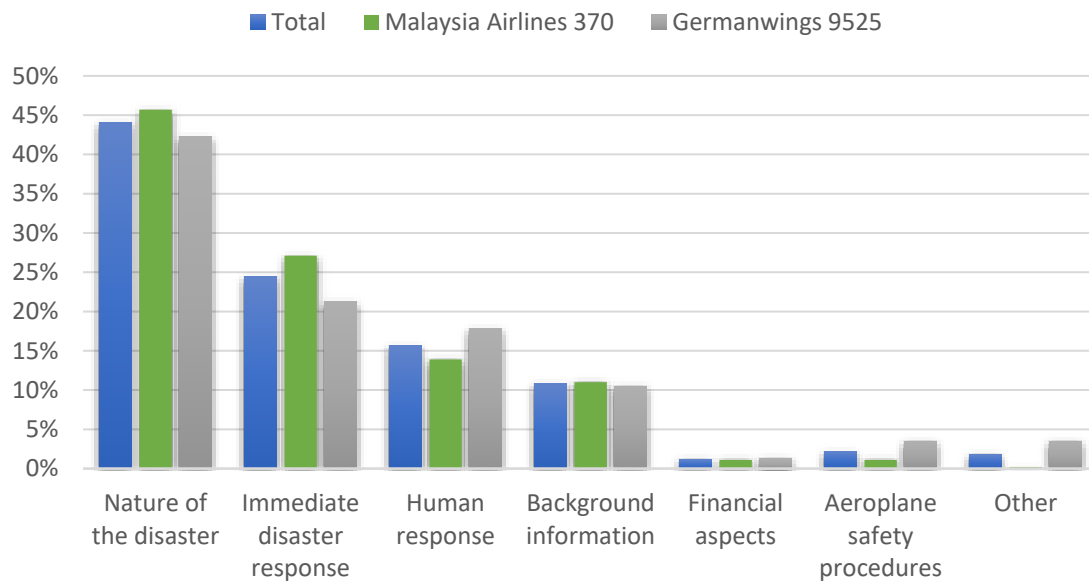
	Total	Malaysia Airlines 370	Germanwings 9525
Total number of topics mentioned in the broadcasts	1756	930	826

The first group deals with the overall nature of the disasters and covers general information on the incidents and what happened. This means that it may mention the number of casualties (scope of the damage: 13.7%), the cause (12.3%), the airplane's location (10.1%) or a general description of the incident (8.0%). Reaching up to a total of 44.1%, this group is the most prominent one. This finding is expected, given that the very nature of journalism is to inform citizens about occurrences and events. As Dean (no date^b) explains, "[n]ews is that part of communication that keeps us informed of the changing events, issues, and characters in the world outside. … The purpose of journalism is … to provide citizens with … information". Therefore, most instances of this category serve to answer the 'W' and 'How' questions about the immediate disasters, the "what, who, where, when and why [and how]", which help a journalist "discover the

necessary information" (Hart 1996: 136). The examples in text box 1 illustrate this as they provide a rundown of the disaster events.

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[Voice-over:] The [Malaysia Airlines 370] plane went missing on Saturday with 239 people on board. The Boeing 777 took off from Kuala Lumpur to fly along Vietnam's east coast to Beijing. Around two hours into the flight, contact with air traffic control was lost near Vietnam's Tho Chu islands. (broadcast 100)

Germanwings 9525:

[News presenter:] The Germanwings flight to Düsseldorf took off from Barcelona yesterday morning, and it climbed for 45 minutes to an altitude of 38,000 feet … before dropping towards the mountains. And then, within eight minutes, it lost contact and disappeared from the radar and then crashed killing 150 people on board. The cause of the crash is still being investigated. (broadcast 218)

The second group of topics is concerned with the immediate disaster responses and amounts to a total of 24.4% of all topics. It covers the search and recovery operation (12.5%) as well as the general investigation of the disasters (11.9%). This means that the content of the reporting can range from information on the search and investigation teams to the weather conditions on the days of the flights. This category is a result of the incidents as both disasters led to a search and rescue operation as well as an official investigation into what happened. The prominence of the finding can be retraced to the previous argument and stems from the fact that journalism informs about the nature and "changing" nature of "events, issues, and characters in the world outside" (Dean, no date[b]). Therefore, it does not only report immediate information about the incidents, which are the 'W' and 'How' questions, but also how these develop. Examples of this can be found in text box 2.

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[Voice-over:] Nine countries have 40 ships and 34 aircraft searching an area around 10,000 square miles wide in areas off Vietnam and Malaysia. Authorities have also begun searching the west of Malaysia amid reports the plane may have turned back. (broadcast 78)

Germanwings 9525:

[News correspondent:] But, in France, prosecutors believe evidence is mounting up [against the co-pilot]. … Tonight, at his parents' house, police were carting away boxes of potential evidence. (broadcast 157)

The third group of topics focuses on the human, emotional responses to the disasters. It looks at the responses and emotional states of the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers on board the airplanes (10.2%) and any forms of commemoration (5.5%). With a total of 15.7%, this category is still prominent and offers a different and more personal side to the incidents. Examples which demonstrate this are provided in text box 3, and this topic is explored in more depth in chapters 5 and 7.

Text box 3: Examples of coverage dealing with the human response to Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[Voice-over:] It was an anxious and anguished wait for a plane that would never arrive. Families, who came to Beijing airport to collect their loved ones, slowly realised they were lost. In Kuala Lumpur, where the plane took off, people clamoured for information and hope. But there was none of either to give them. (broadcast 75)

Germanwings 9525:

[Voice-over:] Relatives of those on board are now absorbing the news that those they were waiting for are gone. And what should have been private, unremarkable reunions are instead cause for presidential sympathy, national grief … [Angela Merkel, German Chancellor:] My thoughts and my sympathies, and also those of the entire Government, are with those people who so suddenly lost their lives. The suffering of their families is immeasurable. We will do everything to make sure they get help and assistance. (broadcast 149)

The fourth prominent group of topics refers to background information (10.8%) and provides additional information on the incidents and the content of the news stories. As the examples in text box 4 show, this can range from details on the ocean's behaviour in the case of Malaysia Airlines 370 to information about the co-pilot of Germanwings flight 9525.

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[Dr Erik van Sebille, oceanographer, University of New South Wales:] The ocean down there is very, very dynamic, very volatile, very chaotic, if you want … It is, essentially, uncharted territory. Nobody has ever been down there. We know very little of the ocean floor, and we know particularly little about the ocean floor of the Southern Ocean. In fact, I think we know more about the surface of the moon than we know about the ocean floor down there. (broadcast 52).

Germanwings 9525:

[Voice-over:] This is the tiny airfield in the Rhineland where Andreas Lubitz's dreams were born … This is the glider in which he first learned to fly. From here, he went on to join Germanwings two years ago and be co-pilot on the ill-fated flight 9525. (broadcast 157).

This section showed that the reporting of airplane disasters focuses on certain groups of topics as opposed to others. These groups include more informative elements, such as news on the general nature of the disasters, follow-up information on the immediate disaster responses and any background information on the incidents or operations. However, there is also a focus placed on the human responses, with an emphasis on the responses and emotional states of the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers on board the airplanes. The next section delves further into the content of the broadcasts and examines the media discussion on the (potential) causes of the incidents. This discussion is integral to the reporting because it is an important piece of information to the news story itself: the 'why' and 'how' surrounding the disasters.

4.4.   CAUSES OF THE DISASTERS

Journalism attempts to satisfy the audience's need for information by "asking, and answering, the questions Who? What? Where? When? Why? How?" (Harcup

2009: 3, 2015: 3; Hart 1996: 139; Pöttker 2003: 502; Vale 2013: 681; Fengler and Ruß-Mohl 2008: 669). Hart (1996: 139) writes that the premise of this is that the "audience pays attention to attempts at communication because they have certain needs that they expect to be solved". Although the questions of what happened, when, where and to whom are important in the sense that they provide a rundown of the events, Buttry (2011) argues that the questions 'why' and 'how' are often the most crucial ones to answer because they help us "make sense of the world" (Haas and Vogt 2015: 22) and provide explanations for events. According to Bivins (2006: 19), "[h]uman beings seek accountability. People want to know who [or what] is responsible for certain actions [or events] and who [or what] is accountable for the consequences of those actions [or events]". Thus:

> Events need explanation in journalism; it is not enough to say that 'stuff happens'. This is where 'fatalistic' understandings of events in many academic disciplines clash with journalists' perceptions of events. While some philosophers, historians, and sociologists may be inclined to argue that stuff can indeed just happen, bricks can fall of [sic] on our heads, and wars can break out on irrational grounds, journalists are likely to insist that everything has or at least deserves an explanation. (Sonnevend 2018: 88)

Often, this also means that disasters and their coverage have political implications in the sense that they "challenge societies and their governments to demonstrate their resilience" (Chong and Chang 2018: 251; Pantti et al. 2012: 102; Abney and Hill 1966: 974; Bose 1994: 119-120). Manyena et al. (2011: 419), for instance, argue that "disaster resilience could be viewed as the intrinsic capacity of a system, community or society predisposed to a shock or stress to "bounce forward" and adapt in order to survive by changing its non-essential attributes and rebuilding itself". This becomes clearer in section 4.5, which examines the responses to the airplane incidents. The following paragraphs first investigate how the coverage deals with the (potential) causes.

Table 6 demonstrates that discussions on the (potential) causes of the disasters are relatively common in the storylines. In total, there were 247 instances in which either the actual cause or possible scenarios were outlined. These are spread over 175 broadcasts, which means that ≈ 61% of the sample mention at least one (possible) cause in their reporting. At closer examination, there are differences between the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 incidents. Both case studies reach almost a similar number of instances where a (potential) cause is mentioned in the broadcasts (118 for Malaysia Airlines 370 and 129 for Germanwings 9525). These are spread over 60 broadcasts in the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident and 115 broadcasts in the Germanwings 9525 incident. This means that a broadcast on Malaysia Airlines 370 is more likely to include several potential causes as part of the 'why' and 'how' discussion, whereas the Germanwings 9525 reporting is narrower and only provides roughly one explanation per recorded broadcast on average.

Table 6: Descriptive statistics about the reported causes of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525

Variable	Total	Malaysia Airlines 370	Germanwings 9525
Number of (potential) causes mentioned in the broadcasts	247	118	129
Number of broadcasts mentioning (potential) cause(s)	175	60	115
Percentage of the sample	61.4 %	41.4 %	82.1 %

The nature of the incidents easily explains this finding. The Malaysia Airlines flight 370 remains, up to this day, "the world's greatest aviation mystery," with no trace of the aircraft or clues as to what happened having been found (BBC 2017[b]). As a result, this leaves the media with more scope to discuss the potential causes surrounding the incident. Kim and Lee (2008: 85, 94), for instance, argue that, when there is no "dominant conclusion [or resolution]" about an airplane

disaster, "news media begin to indulge in a considerable amount of speculation". This helps "thicken[] the plot" (Tenenboim-Weinblatt 2008: 31), when "a final closure of the event … [is] not available" (Sonnevend 2018: 84).[10] The example in text box 5 shows how this translates into practice as it discusses several possible theories in succession on what might have gone wrong.

In contrast, the mystery of Germanwings 9525 was resolved in the first week after its occurrence (Hille 2015). This means that, while the aftermath might have left some room for the media to discuss all kinds of possible causes, the majority of these were eliminated as soon as the investigation report concluded that pilot suicide was the cause of the incident. The examples in text box 6 illustrate this more clearly as they show the differences in media reporting styles before and after the cause of Germanwings 9525 became known.

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[10] The concept of speculation is explored in more depth in section 6.4.

Text box 6: Discussions of causes in the Germanwings 9525 reporting

[News correspondent:] Flight 4U 9525 took off this morning at 10 am, Spanish time, after a 30-minute delay. Weather conditions were reportedly fine. 45 minutes later, the A320 had reached its regular cruising altitude of 38,000 feet. But, just one minute later at 10:46, the aircraft began to descent, without clearance from air traffic control. … [Tilmann Gabiel, former Lufthansa captain:] The speculation on our side is very much that it might have been a decompression in the cabin. (broadcast 217)

[News presenter:] A shocking revelation in the last hour as a senior French prosecutor … described in detail what investigators had found on the cockpit voice recorder, saying that, after the pilot left the cockpit to go to the toilet, the German co-pilot, now named as 28-year-old Andreas Lubitz, put the plane into an accelerated descent … and did not to allow the pilot back inside the cockpit. (broadcast 154)

The results in figure 4, which show the prevalence of explanations for the incidents given in the broadcasts, resonate with these findings. They demonstrate that the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting draws on a range of explanations, which are sabotage (33.9%), mechanical error (19.5%) and terrorism (16.9%), while the Germanwings 9525 coverage focuses predominantly on one explanation that is sabotage (76.7%). In the Germanwings 9525 reporting, the explanation of mechanical error also gained some mention (7.8%). However, this can again be attributed to the fact that the initial aftermath of the incident was characterised by an absence of information about the actual cause and allowed the media, just like in the case of Malaysia Airlines 370, to discuss all kinds of possible scenarios.

Therefore, the thematic analysis distinguished the reporting of causes into two phases: the (initial) ignorance phase, which is dominated by an absence of information and a "scramble" to discuss what happened (Granatt 1999: 106), and the epilogue phase (Granatt 1999: 106), which factually concludes what happened.
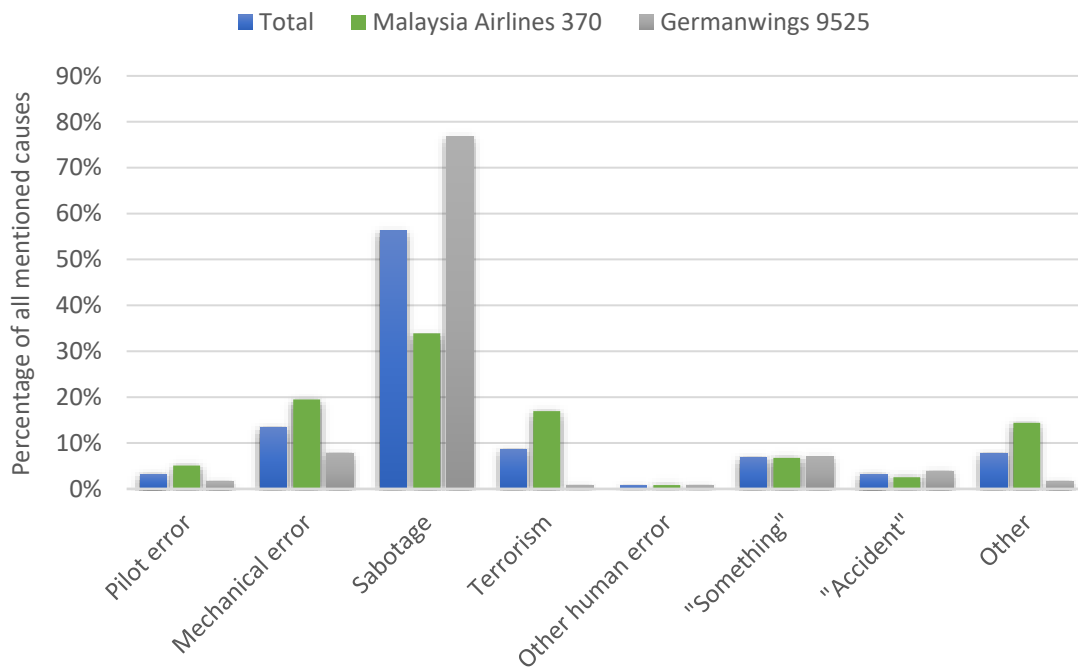
	Total	Malaysia Airlines 370	Germanwings 9525
N	247	118	129

The reporting of causes in the (initial) ignorance phase is "confronted with the limits events set to their narratives" (Sonnevend 2018: 79). This means that, while there is an overall demand for information about the causes of the disasters, the journalist is limited by the events to provide it. As Sonnevend (2018: 79) writes, "events set boundaries for journalistic storytelling. Events ... define *what* and *how* journalists cover, and journalists are desperate to construct ... events". The thematic analysis shows that, in the cases of Malaysia Airlines 370 and the initial aftermath of Germanwings 9525, journalists primarily dealt with such an absence of knowledge by drawing on externally available evidence and developments in

the investigation to establish possible explanations for what might have happened.[11]

This resonates with arguments about the reporting of the future because "[in such cases] … we meet journalists in their full might as creators of texts of 'reality' that has not yet occurred and may never come to be" (Neiger 2007: 311), and one way to deal with the uncertainty of the future is through 'speculation'. Neiger (2007: 314) notes that there are four varying levels: These are (1) the predictable future with "low levels of speculation", (2) informed assessments with "medium level of speculation", (3) speculative assessments with "high level[s] of speculation" and (4) the conjectured future with "very high level[s] of speculation" (Neiger 2007: 314-316). At this point, the first two are perhaps the most interesting because, just like the reported causes of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525, they rely on "measurements" and "experience showing that this will be the course of events" (Neiger 2007: 314).

Table 7 shows how the different developments and pieces of evidence in the incidents are used to propose potential causes in the (initial) ignorance phase. It is important to mention here that the table only lists sabotage, and not terrorism, because the terms both suggest deliberate action and malicious intent as the reason for a disaster. To briefly visit this point, the main difference between the terms is that 'sabotage' is broader and encompasses any form of deliberate action with malicious intent, such as instances of pilot suicide or "even a passenger with some sort of psychological problem forcing the plane down" (broadcast 101); whereas 'terrorism' is more direct in that it is politically orientated in its action and draws on violence, force and fear to achieve its political goals (Bruce 2013: 27; Schmidt et al. 1988: 5-6; Laqueur 1977; Martin 2011: 9). This means that

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[11] The evidence is called 'external' because it refers to investigative data that is readily available or discovered from an outside standpoint on the disaster, such as radar data, weather reports, etc. This stands in comparison to 'internal' evidence, which describes data gathered during the course of the disaster, such as the recordings of the cockpit flight data recorders. This distinction was made because the epilogue phase (in the Germanwings 9525 incident) relies increasingly on internal evidence to establish the actual cause of the disaster.

'terrorism' could be a form of 'sabotage', but 'sabotage' may not necessarily be 'terrorism'.

The Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting, as seen in table 7, primarily draws on seven developments to suggest sabotage or mechanical error as the cause. These are (1) the disappearance of the aircraft at the point of maximum confusion, (2) the turn-around of the aircraft, (3) registered problems with key communications systems, (4) the question of who was at the controls of the cockpit when the aircraft disappeared, (5) the fact that two passengers were able to board the plane with stolen passports, (6) possible production and maintenance mistakes and (7) the lack of wreckage.

Table 7: Overview of the external evidence and its reported implications for the causes of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 in the (initial) ignorance phase

Case study	External evidence	Proposed cause
Malaysia Airlines 370	Disappearance at the point of maximum confusion	Sabotage
	The turn-around of the aircraft	Sabotage or mechanical error
	Problems with key communication systems	Sabotage or mechanical error
	The question of cock-pit control	Sabotage
	The stolen passports	Sabotage
	Possible production and maintenance mistakes	Mechanical error
	Lack of wreckage	Mechanical error
Germanwings 9525	Flight behaviour	Mechanical error
	Aircraft data	Mechanical error

Here, attention needs to be drawn to two points: First, some lines of inquiry in the investigation, which are the turn-around of the aircraft and problems with key communication systems, can be used to propose several potential causes. This can cause contradictions in the reporting and shows that journalism, despite its ideals to report the 'truth' (Stocking and Holstein 2015: 105), can develop inconsistency and perhaps disseminate false information. Table 8 shows

examples of this. However, given that there is uncertainty and ignorance involved in any disaster and they thus set limits to the 'truth' of "journalistic narration" (Sonnevend 2018: 79, 76; Granatt 1999: 106), some inconsistency can perhaps be expected.

Table 8: Overview of how the same external evidence is used to propose sabotage and mechanical error as causes in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting

External evidence	Sabotage	Mechanical error
The turn-around of the aircraft	[Voice-over:] It's not exactly clear when the jet diverted, but it did appear to make a sharp turn to the west. The next scheduled ACARS update was due at 1.37 am, but it wasn't received. The system appears to have been disabled. (broadcast 29) [News presenter:] Now, there's a suggestion the plane may have been deliberately flown across the Malay Peninsula towards the Andaman Islands in the Indian Ocean. (broadcast 23)	[News correspondent:] Was it mechanical failure? Well, now, we know that the plane potentially did this U-turn and was in the air for quite a while (broadcast 101)
Problems with key communication systems	[Voice-over:] How can a modern airliner disappear into thin air? The Malaysian authorities have confirmed that MH370's onboard communications were deliberately switched off early in the flight. But, to do that, you'd need expert knowledge. … So, somebody knew what they were doing to make the [Boeing] 777 just disappear off the grid. (broadcast 32)	[David Gleave, air accident investigator:] You can have a massive electrical failure on board the aircraft or a fire which takes out that type of thing. (broadcast 20)

The second point is that all examples, as seen in table 8, draw on linguistic constructions associated with modality. This is a feature to express possibility and allows adding caution to a possible connection between the evidence and the

proposed causes for the disaster (von Fintel 2006: 20; Simmerling and Janich 2016: 964; Lehmkuhl and Peters 2016: 922).

There are varying levels of "how much certainty or evidence the speakers [of the examples] have for the proposition expressed by the utterance" (Neiger 2007: 313). For instance, there are some broadcasts which are notably cautious and only insinuate the possibility of some form of relation. This becomes clear in the use of modal verbs (e.g. "would", "may" or "appear", broadcasts 32, 23 and 29), questions (e.g. "Was it mechanical failure?", broadcast 101) and sentence constructions with uncertain terms (e.g. "suggestion", broadcast 23), all of which lessen the certainty attached to the statements made (von Fintel 2006: 20; Simmerling and Janich 2016: 964; Lehmkuhl and Peters 2016: 922). However, there are also other broadcasts which establish a more explicit link by speaking of "deliberate" action (broadcast 23) or "that somebody knew what they were doing to make the [Boeing] 777 just disappear off the grid" (broadcast 32). This shows how different linguistic features and the choice of words can impact our understanding of certainty by making the possible causes sound more or less related, certain and likely to the viewers than they may actually be.

The explanations for Germanwings 9525 in the phase of (initial) ignorance, as seen in table 7, also draw on external evidence from the investigation. These are fewer than those in the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident, but they too examine more generic data on the flight behaviour and aircraft's maintenance. This means that, while the coverages tend to go into the specifics of each disaster, the reporting of both cases draws on similar evidence to establish the potential causes of the incidents.

The examples in text box 7 show how the flight behaviour and data on the aircraft are used to indicate mechanical failure as a potential cause for the Germanwings flight 9525. Here, just like in the case of Malaysia Airlines 370, the explanations use modal language to express caution in assigning a definite cause. This

demonstrates that, while the media may draw on justified 'theories' to explain the disasters, they also initiate a degree of distance to the statements they make, which is again in line with journalistic ideals to 'truth' (Stocking and Holstein 2015: 105).

Text box 7: Discussions of causes in the (initial) ignorance phase in the Germanwings 9525 reporting

Flight behaviour:
[Tilmann Gabriel, former Lufthansa captain:] The <u>speculation</u> on our side is very much that it <u>might</u> have been a decompression in the cabin, and that usually initiates from the pilots a relatively fast descent to get below 10,000 feet or around 10,000 feet, 3,000 metres, so that we all have oxygen to continue to breathe. (broadcast 216)

Aircraft data:
[Voice-over:] It was 24 years old but had been serviced regularly and checked yesterday. And it was fitted with the latest electronics. Amongst other things, investigators will be looking at the engines, the fuel, <u>whether</u> something broke mid-flight or even fell off the aircraft. (broadcast 149)

The epilogue phase refers to the resolution of the disasters and factually concludes the causes (Granatt 1999: 106). This means that the reporting, unlike in the (initial) ignorance phase, can make definite statements about what happened (Granatt 1999: 106). Given that Malaysia Airlines 370 is still unresolved, the epilogue phase is only found in the case of Germanwings 9525. Here, the coverage relies on internal evidence, which describes data gathered during the disaster, such as the transcriptions of the aircraft's voice-recorders. These recorded noises inside the cockpit and aircraft in the moments leading up to the crash and helped the investigators reconstruct the course of events and determine the cause of the incident as pilot suicide or sabotage (broadcasts 154, 239).

Text box 8 demonstrates this as it shows examples of how the reporting focuses on the revelation of the investigation, which is the discovery of the voice-

recorders, and the reconstruction of the events. In comparison to previous findings, the language tends to take on an indicative mood, which is "the form that a verb or sentence has when it is stating a fact that can be known" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, no date[b]). In contrast to modality, this is connoted with more certainty and makes the reported causes sound more definite.

Even though the cause of Germanwings 9525 was identified, the revelation itself opened further realms of uncertainty and ignorance, which focused on the motive the co-pilot may have had. For instance, the reporting asks: "[news correspondent:] Once again tonight, the question here is why?" (broadcast 225); "[news correspondent:] What were Andeas Lubitz's motives for carrying out the horrors that he carried out?" (broadcast 255); "[news correspondent:] Why did Andreas Lubitz, who was entrusted to fly these people safely, appear to deliberately crash the plane?" (broadcast 164). This suggests that the epilogue phase, at least in the two case studies, does not seem to be a phase of entire resolution but is instead closely linked to the ignorance phase, where every revelation leads to new questions, leading to new revelations and so on. As Gross and McGoey (2015: 1) argue, "[n]ew knowledge always leads to new horizons of what is unknown. ... new knowledge is never complete knowledge ... the unknown

is not diminished by new discoveries. Quite the contrary: the real, of the unknown is magnified".

To provide some information about the questions, the media adopt a similar approach to the one in the (initial) ignorance phase and draw on discoveries and evidence from the investigation. This means that several broadcasts reported that the co-pilot "had a history of mental instability" (broadcast 258), had "suffered from serious mental illness" (broadcast 230) and "been treated for suicidal tendencies in the past, according to investigators" (broadcast 230). The example in text box 9 also suggests that eye problems, "a crushing diagnosis" (broadcast 172), may have contributed to the cause of the disaster, potentially causing inconsistency in the reporting again.

Text box 9: Continuing uncertainty and ignorance in the epilogue phase in the Germanwings 9525 reporting

[News correspondent:] So, investigators <u>are looking</u> at his mental health. <u>But they are also looking</u> at his physical health because the New York Times today <u>suggests</u> that a couple of sources close to the investigation say that he <u>may have been having</u> problems with his eyesight, vision problems, which, <u>potentially</u>, were so bad that he <u>could have had</u> his pilot's licence taken away from him. We do know that he was suffering from health problems because documents were found in his flat and, also, those sick notes were found from his doctor, which said he shouldn't have been flying on the day that this tragedy happened. And he visited a medical centre here in Düsseldorf. They wouldn't say why; they said it wasn't for depression. But maybe it was for some sort of eyesight problem. And that medical centre does have an eye clinic. So, <u>the mystery [about his motive] remains</u>. (broadcast 255)

The next section moves away from the ignorance and epilogue phases and examines how "societies and their governments" (Chong and Chang 2018: 251) responded to the incidents. This is important because it demonstrates "what … needs to be done" (Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Neiger 2015: 1051) as, "with growing air traffic, another aviation disaster is arguably inevitable" (Chong and Chang 2018: 249), unless measures in response to its causes are taken.

4.5.   RESPONSES TO THE DISASTERS

Table 9 shows that responses to the disasters are mentioned in one out of five broadcasts. There is almost no difference in percentage between the individual case studies, which means that a discussion of them is relatively common, independent of the case study examined.

Table 9: Descriptive statistics about the reported responses to Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525

Variable	Total	Malaysia Airlines 370	Germanwings 9525
Number of disaster responses mentioned in the broadcasts	64	31	33
Number of broadcasts mentioning disaster responses	57	30	27
Percentage of the sample	20.0 %	20.7 %	19.3 %

Figure 5 demonstrates that the three predominant responses that were mentioned are policy change, activism and security. The following paragraphs explore all these in more detail.

Figure 5: The reported responses to Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525
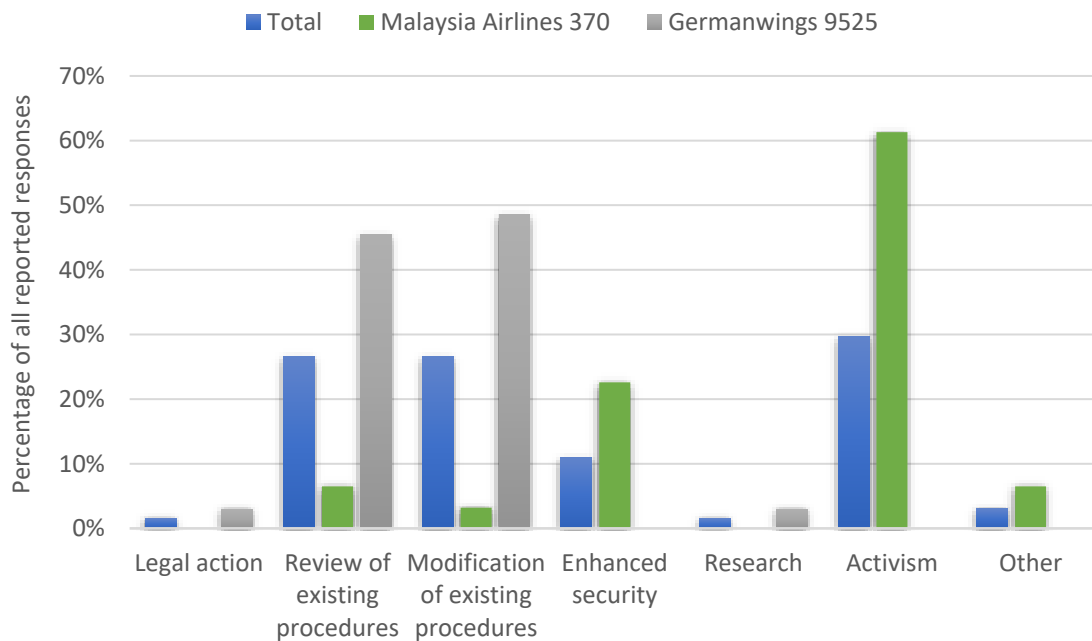
	Total	Malaysia Airlines 370	Germanwings 9525
N	64	31	33

POLICY CHANGE

Policy change refers to the idea that catastrophic events may impact policy regimes in the sense that they can lead to policy discussions and enable change (Wilson 2000: 247; Birkland 2006: 182). Birkland (2006: 22) defines this as event-related policy learning, "a process in which individuals apply new information and ideas, or information and ideas elevated on the agenda by a recent event, to policy decisions".

The response was predominantly found in talks about reviewing (26.6%) and modifying (26.6%) existing aviation procedures following the disasters (see figure 5). The statistics of the individual case studies show that the discussion on policy change was mostly prominent in the Germanwings 9525 incident as opposed to Malaysia Airlines 370. In the reporting of the former, 94% of the mentioned disaster responses relate to either a review (45.5%) or a modification (48.5%) of

existing procedures, while the same categories only reach a total of 9.7% in the coverage of the latter (6.5% for review, 3.2% for modification). This difference is considerable and may be explained by looking to the causes of the disaster(s) and aviation policies failing to prevent them in the first place, opening an opportunity for a discussion on policy change (Birkland 2006: 49).

In the Germanwings 9525 incident, investigators very quickly identified the cause of the crash, i.e. a suicide act of the co-pilot, and revealed a failure in aviation policy to the public: A security system designed to protect the aircraft and its passengers 'let' the co-pilot of an airplane commit suicide with 149 other people on board (Birkland 2006: 63; Wilson 2000: 262). Birkland (2006: 49) says that "[t]he event itself is evidence that policy failed to prevent … tragedy from occurring [in the first place]". While such an event is tragic, the result of such a policy failure, perhaps enhanced by the "public pressure to "do something" after the events", can open discussions on policies that may need changing and thus offer a "window of opportunity for policy change" (Birkland 2006: 58, 160; Wilson 2000: 247).

This explains why policy change, or the discussion thereof, was frequently mentioned as a response in the case of Germanwings 9525 and not Malaysia Airlines 370. As the cause of the latter aviation incident remains unknown and can only be speculated about, no explicit policy failures became evident. This, in turn, did not allow for discussions on direct policy changes in response to the disaster and explained the very few mentions in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting. Given this observation, the following results exclusively focus on the media discussion of policy changes in the Germanwings 9525 incident.

The perhaps most prominent discussion of policy change relates to the so-called two-person cockpit rule, which requires that "two people must be present on the flight deck at all times" (broadcast 224). This means that "whenever either the pilot or co-pilot steps out of the cockpit, a second member of the crew, such as a flight attendant, is required to enter" (Vuorio 2015: 385). This rule is standard

procedure in America "put in post-9/11" but not EU policy (broadcast 251, 224). Here, it "is up to the individual airline" (broadcast 222).

However, when the cause of Germanwings 9525 was revealed, the idea of implementing a two-person cockpit rule became increasingly popular. In some instances, especially in the reporting of the earlier stages, this manifested itself in the form of a 'suggestion', a 'review' or a 'recommendation' for change. For example, it was reported that "[news presenter:] airlines <u>will now have to think</u> about measures to ensure that there is never an occasion when only one person is in the cockpit" (broadcast 222). Another instance explicitly speaks of reviewing current procedures: "[Voice-over:] A number of carriers <u>are urgently reviewing their procedures</u> on whether two crew members should be required to be in the cockpit at all times" (broadcast 273). A third example comes from the European Commission body for aviation safety, the European Aviation Safety Agency, which highly 'recommends' change: "[News presenter:] Tonight, the body that governs aviation safety across Europe <u>issued a new guidance</u> saying all airlines <u>should now fly</u> with two people in the cockpit" (broadcast 252).

Especially in the later stages, the actual implementation of policy change was much more prominent, often even so that the wider impact of the cause on the aviation industry became evident. This is shown in the examples in text box 10, where several airlines were reported to be changing their rules as a result of the incident. The airlines are mostly European, but there are also instances of policy impacts with international dimensions, such as Emirates (see the first example in text box 10) and Australian airlines (see the second example in text box 10).

Text box 10: Policy changes in the Germanwings 9525 reporting

[Voice-over:] Tonight, Virgin Atlantic, Emirates, easyJet, Monarch and Thomas Cook have told ITV News that they are revising their safety rules to ensure there will always be two people in the cockpit. (broadcast 224)

[News presenter:] The Australian government has ordered the country's airlines to ensure that two crew members are present at all times in the cockpit of planes carrying more than 50 passengers. The requirements take immediate effect following the crash of a Germanwings aircraft in the French Alps last Tuesday, thought to have been the result of deliberate actions by the plane's co-pilot, who was left alone in the cockpit. (broadcast 175)

These examples show that disasters can have far-reaching policy impacts, especially in states that are geographically or policy proximate. Nohrstedt and Weible (2010: 21) argue that "close geographic and policy proximity provide [sic] strong incentives … to mobilize resources to either preserve or challenge pre-existing policy order". This is because "close proximity will increase the likelihood for widespread perceptions and allegations of policy failure" (Nohrstedt and Weible 2010: 21-22); while policy proximate crises, even those that are geographically distant, "enable some subsystem actors to learn the relevant policy lessons from the event to change the affairs of their subsystems" (Nohrstedt and Weible 2010: 22). Australia is one such example as the country could be considered geographically distant from the Germanwings 9525 incident, yet policy-proximate in the sense that the country has "strong political, economic and cultural ties with the European Union" and "enjoy[s] a strong, dynamic and continuously evolving partnership" (European External Action Service 2018).

While the previous examples show a willingness of individual airlines and certain countries to enforce change as a response to the disaster's policy failure, the actions of the affected company group, Lufthansa, the parent company of Germanwings, actually show a certain resistance, which was heavily scrutinised in the media. This is shown more clearly in the example in text box 11.

> [Voice-over:] One of Britain's biggest airlines, easyJet, will change its rules tomorrow, to have two people in the cockpit all the time. <u>Other airlines are following suit, but not Lufthansa.</u> [Airline representative:] I wish you understood my German because I have said it twice, and I repeat it in English without any doubt: <u>My firm confidence in the selection of our pilots, in the training of our pilots, in the qualification of our pilots and the work of our pilots has not been touched by this single tragedy</u>. (broadcast 155)

This behaviour is interesting insofar as one would imagine that a company affected by policy failure would want to rush for policy change, both to rectify the apparent flaw and save its public reputation and revenue by showing an immediate reaction to the failure and in favour of safety. Zafra and Maydell (2018: 44), for instance, argue that "adequately managing the media is crucial in ending the crisis quickly and repairing tainted credibility". While the development of the storyline leads to change eventually, as seen in the examples in text box 12, there continues to be some hesitation in the process, ranging from an evasive "Lufthansa <u>might join</u> them" to "change <u>may be forced</u> on the company" (broadcasts 157, 158). It is also interesting to mention that, once the company had changed its regulations, value-laden comments ("somewhat bullish boss", broadcast 157) and talks about a forced policy change ceased in the media (see the third example in text box 12).

[Voice-over:] easyJet, Virgin and Thomas Cook are among airlines changing their rule tonight so that two people are in the cockpit all the time. Lufthansa <u>might join</u> them despite their somewhat bullish boss insisting earlier on that nothing could have stopped this tragedy. (broadcast 157)

[Voice-over:] Initially, at least, Lufthansa, the parent company of Germanwings, said there was no need to review its security measures. But the German airline regulator is meeting today, and <u>change may be forced on the company</u>. (broadcast 158)

[News correspondent:] Before the crash, Lufthansa was one of many European airlines relaxed about leaving just one person locked up and alone … at the controls. <u>Along with many other airlines, they have now changed those rules.</u> So, if you're flying soon, you'll notice a flight attendant coming in here [the cockpit] if one of the pilots steps out, so there are always two people in the cockpit. (broadcast 161)

A second prominent discussion of policy change in the Germanwings 9525 reporting relates to the efficiency of medical and psychological testing for air crew and "whether or not … [it] is robust enough" (broadcast 257). This discussion is based on suggestions that the co-pilot's mental health problems may have been the cause of the incident (see section 4.4). Vuorio (2015: 386), for instance, argues that "to reduce the chances [of pilot suicide], those doctors involved in aircraft safety investigation will need better training in detecting tell-tale signs that indicate risk of serious suicidal ideation in pilots". In the reporting, this manifests itself in "calls for the annual medical assessment for pilots to be made more rigorous" (broadcast 203) but also in recommendations "to take greater interest" in pilots' mental health and well-being to prevent similar future disasters (broadcast 252). Text box 13 shows examples of this.

[Professor Robert Bor, psychologist:] Whether it is a rogue trader in a bank, whether it is an airline pilot who is not simply suicidal but homicidal, there is always that risk that the person will literally go under the radar. However, with closer monitoring, more scrutiny of pilots, it is less likely to happen. (broadcast 203)

[Professor Robert Bor, psychologist:] It is likely that one of the reactions to all of this will be that airlines will want to take a greater interest in the well-being of the pilot and, obviously, not only in the workplace but outside of the workplace as well. That may include more frequent psychological tests, interviews, appraisals and so on, so that they can get to know pilots in another capacity as well. (broadcast 252)

This type of policy change remains entirely in the discussion stage throughout the sample period. This means that, while suggestions, recommendations and calls for change were made, there was no documentation in the reporting of any actual implementation of change regarding this policy failure. In fact, some broadcasts even mentioned objections to the approach (broadcast 222). For instance, it was reported that "[Professor Norman Shanks, aviation security expert:] Any test, psychological or otherwise, is only as good as the time it is taken. If something had happened in the last week, the test results would be meaningless. We can't really look at every individual day of pilots' lives to see if they are about to do something unnatural" (broadcast 222).

Hence, there have been calls for more openness and a better reporting culture instead. In the reporting, this describes a more open space for pilots to report mental health issues without any setback or penalties and a less restricted reporting culture for people who notice an anomaly, such as doctors, so that they can speak out and report issues to the authorities without having to fear legal consequences (broadcasts 273, 157, 245, 280). The Civil Aviation Authority's definition of "Just Culture" perhaps summarises this best as it describes this as a "culture in which front-line operators or other persons are not punished for

actions, omissions or decisions taken by them that are commensurate with their experience and training, but in which gross negligence, wilful violations and destructive acts are not tolerated" (Parker 2015: 6).

ACTIVISM

The second reported response to the disasters is activism. This is associated with a collective activity "or group action by ordinary people ... who come together" to raise awareness about issues "they consider to be unacceptable or unfair circumstances", intending to promote and establish change (Takahashi 2009: 1; Martin 2007). In other words, activism is about expressing dissent (Schwedler and Harris 2016), giving "voice to the actors themselves" (Schwedler and Harris 2016) and is usually "undertaken by those with less power, because those with positions of power and influence can usually accomplish their aims using conventional means" (Martin 2007).

With 29.7% out of the total amount of mentions, activism is the second most frequent response mentioned as a result of the disasters (see figure 5). The disaster response only existed in the reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370 (61.3%) and not Germanwings 9525 (0%). Explanations for this were found in the thematic analysis and involve the fact that the lack of concrete news (broadcast 32), paired with the spreading of confusing information and conflicting claims (broadcast 122) as well as the fact that the search continued to encompass "a massive area of ocean" (broadcast 113), has reportedly led to all kinds of reactions from the relatives which eventually spurred activism. This is shown more clearly in the example in text box 14.

[News presenter:] Not knowing what happened and a mounting level of frustration at a lack of concrete news from the authorities has now prompted some [relatives] to threaten to go on hunger strike, convinced the truth about their loved ones is being kept from them. (broadcast 32)

The kinds of reactions that motivated activist action derived from a variety of emotions. As Jasper (1998: 397) notes, "emotions accompany all social action, providing both motivation and goals". Thus, according to news reports, there were both positive and negative emotions which triggered action, although the negative emotions dominated the news agenda. This corresponds with news coverage more broadly, potentially because "overwhelming negative orientation of emotional expression is consistent with long-standing scholarly observations regarding the salience of news values of negativity and conflict … but also highlights journalists' construction of saddened subjects negotiating a dangerous and frightening world" (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 138).

Irrespective of the reason, the negative emotions that were detected ranged from general frustration, anguish and distress to anger, accusations and suspicion, with some relatives convinced that "the truth is being kept from them" (broadcast 31). Often, these emotions were also mentioned explicitly, which means that the reporting spoke of "frustration" (broadcast 31), "anguish" (broadcast 87), "distraught" (broadcast 34) and "anger" (broadcast 53). Text box 15 provides examples which illustrate this more clearly.

Text box 15: The 'negative' emotions behind the activism in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting

> [News presenter:] <u>Frustration</u> among the relatives of the passengers of Malaysia Airlines flight MH370, which went missing more than ten days ago, <u>is boiling over</u>. (broadcast 31)
>
> [Voice-over:] It was a provocative start [of the protest] as <u>grieving families tired of waiting turned their anguish into action</u>. (broadcast 87)
>
> [News presenter:] As the search for Malaysia Airlines flight MH370 continues, the <u>families of the missing passengers have become increasingly distraught</u>, with some even threatening to go on hunger strike if the authorities fail to provide more accurate information. (broadcast 34)
>
> [Voice-over:] <u>Grief turning to anger on the streets of Beijing</u>. A rare show of protest from families of those lost on board flight MH370. If you don't let me through, you're not Chinese, this woman says. (broadcast 53)
>
> [Voice-over:] China's government, too, isn't giving them information, and <u>they believe the truth is being kept from them</u>. (broadcast 31)

Positive emotions were grounded in love, the desperation to reunite with loved ones and the belief that their relatives aboard the missing plane are still alive. Although these emotions do stem from the negativity of the disaster and may thus not necessarily be classified as 'positive', they were categorised this way as they show some form of light and hope in the negativity of the situation. This corresponds with the argument by Wahl-Jorgensen (2013: 138) that 'hope' tends to be "the most frequently mentioned positive emotion by sources ... under what were usually discouraging circumstances".

One reason for this might be that 'hope' offers a coping mechanism to "serious and prolonged psychological stress" (Folkman 2010: 901) and allows facing "the unfulfillment of our wishes without becoming desperate" (Miceli and Castelfranchi 2010: 259) by focussing on "possible positive futures" (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 138; Neiger 2007). Whether this ultimately applies to the next-of-kin of the passengers aboard the Malaysia Airlines flight 370 shall remain open

here. However, text box 16 does show examples of coverage where emotions are represented as somewhat 'positive' despite the "discouraging circumstances" (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 138).

Text box 16: The 'positive' emotions behind the activism in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting

[Voice-over:] An overnight flight to the city where your loved one was last seen alive is a lonely pilgrimage. … [Relative:] We are here to see how it goes step by step. Because, in Beijing, we are totally desperate. There is nothing coming out of Beijing. [Voice-over:] They [relatives] asked us, as they left the airport, if we knew how they could get in contact with the Malaysian Government. This clearly was a flight of blind desperation. A journey of love. (broadcast 122)

[Over-voice of a relative:] Their conclusion is only based on mathematical analysis, and they are using an uncertain mathematical model. Then, they come to the conclusion that our relatives are all gone. This is a very irresponsible kind of attitude. [News correspondent:] At the core of this, a belief, a conviction, shared by many that those people on board flight MH370 may still be alive. And 22 days into this affair, we are still not able to answer even the most basic questions about it. (broadcast 139)

All the different emotions resulted in a series of goals that the relatives wanted to achieve with their activism. Those that were explicitly mentioned by the media, though some of them may be improbable, include the return of their relatives (broadcast 144) as well as to get (concrete) information (broadcast 144), spur the investigation (broadcast 89), put pressure on the Malaysian government (broadcast 122) and get an apology (broadcast 89). Table 10 shows examples of these.

Table 10: The different activist goals in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting

Goals	Examples
The return of the passengers	[Voice-over:] They unfurled banners and issued demands for the truth and the return of their relatives. (broadcast 144)
To get (concrete) information	[Voice-over:] 29 Chinese relatives arrived in Malaysia today, seeking meetings and more information. (broadcast 144)
To spur the investigation	[News correspondent:] In a vacuum of evidence, all the Chinese families can do, on behalf of all the relatives of passengers on board, is to protest and plead for constant information, in the hope that their campaign will spur this investigation on. (broadcast 89)
To put pressure on the Malaysian government	[News correspondent:] The relatives told us they don't have any long-term plan now that they are in Malaysia. But they feel that, just by being in Kuala Lumpur, as opposed to being in Beijing, they are closer to the centre of the investigation and they can put pressure on the Malaysian Government to give them answers to their many questions. (broadcast 122)
To get an apology	[Over-voice of a relative:] We demand the Malaysian government says sorry for giving out confusing information, which delayed the search. We want them to apologise for drawing the conclusion that all on board died without substantial evidence and with such irresponsibility. (broadcast 89)

All this then spurred a series of different activist actions by the relatives, which include (1) threats of a hunger strike, (2) protests at media conferences, (3) frontline action in Malaysia and (4) a protest march in Beijing. These vary in how they gained media momentum and the form. In other words, some activist actions were reported in a shorter or longer manner, while all of them can differ in type, the form of behaviour and degree of physical force (Takahashi 2009: 3; Martin 2007; Schwedler and Harris 2016). This becomes clearer subsequently, where every activist action is examined more closely.

The first form of activist action describes the threats of relatives to conduct a hunger strike to achieve their goals. This action is perhaps the one that is reported most briefly and with the smallest amount of media momentum as there is not

much detail in the media coverage attributed to it. In addition, this form is hypothetical. This means that it only involves "a suggestion that something unpleasant ... will happen ... if a particular action or order is not followed" (Cambridge Dictionary, no date[i]), but that there is no actual physical action undertaken. As a result, one can reasonably assume that this type of activism is civilised and peaceful as it does not show any reported forms of violent behaviour. Per definition, this action can still be considered 'activism' because "ordinary people ... [have] come together to [try and] change what they consider to be unacceptable or unfair circumstances" (Takahashi 2009: 1). Text box 17 shows an example of all this.

Text box 17: Example of a threatened hunger strike in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting

> [Voice-over:] Relatives of Chinese passengers who were on the missing Malaysian Airlines plane are threatening to go on hunger strike, claiming officials are withholding information from them. It comes as an international team continues to search a massive area of ocean for any sign of the passenger jet. (broadcast 113)

The second form of activist action describes protests at a media conference. The action itself is reported briefly, too. However, content-wise, the coverage goes into more depth as it singles out relatives and lets them speak directly and indirectly. As there were no reported forms of violence or expressions that would suggest some forms of physical force in the reporting, one could also classify this form of activism as civilised and peaceful. An example of this is shown in text box 18.

Text box 18: Example of protests at a media conference in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting

> [Voice-over:] They brought a long, white banner, with the words in Chinese characters [on it] saying, 'we protest against the Malaysian government for hiding the truth and for wasting time in finding the passengers. We want our MH370 loved ones to be returned to us'. (broadcast 35)

The third form of activist action refers to frontline activism. This describes the act of relatives flying from Beijing to Malaysia to "demand answers" and "to seek an apology from the Malaysian government" (broadcast 140). At the point of arrival, the relatives did hold protests at a media conference. Therefore, in a sense, this action integrates the previous form of activism. However, it was decided to point it out separately as there is a focus placed in the media on the act of flying from Beijing to Malaysia and being close to the 'frontline'.

An example which illustrates this is provided in text box 19. Although there are instances where this third form of activism is reported briefly, it is generally more elaborate and given more attention. In fact, in the example, one media team accompanied the relatives during the whole journey, i.e. from the flight from Beijing to Kuala Lumpur to the arrival at the airport to the hotel and finally to their demonstration: "[Voice-over:] We went along with them and filmed them, with their agreement" (broadcast 122). This brings the action closer to the viewers as it allows them to retrace it in full detail through the media. Even though this action describes a form of 'doing something' for the missing passengers aboard the plane, the media did not report any forms of violence, which makes this, too, a civilised and peaceful form of activism.

Text box 19: Example of frontline activism in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting

[Voice-over:] An overnight flight to the city where your loved one was last seen alive is a lonely pilgrimage. You can only imagine what it must have felt like for these Chinese to fly the same route, all be it in reverse, that their relatives took three weeks ago. … [Over-voice of a relative:] The main purpose of our journey is to demand evidence and truth for our loved ones. … [News correspondent:] The relatives told us they don't have any long-term plans now that they are in Malaysia. But they feel that, just by being in Kuala Lumpur as opposed to being in Beijing, they are closer to the centre of the investigation, and they can put pressure on the Malaysian government to give them answers to their many questions. (broadcast 122)

The fourth type of activist action refers to a protest march on the streets of Beijing. This form of action is reported elaborately as the media gave considerable attention to the event. Perhaps the reason for this is that, unlike the previous forms of activism, the nature of the action was less restrained and involved higher degrees of physical force and violence (and is thus much less civilised and peaceful than the previous ones). McClure (2014: 394), for instance, argues that "people show a greater interest in large-scale protests when the use of violence is employed, though this trend does not strongly hold in every case".

Irrespective of the reason, the physical force and violence is evident in the reporting and can be seen in video footage of the protest where a woman pushes an armed policeman (broadcast 54), in the shouting noises (broadcast 144) and the wording of the broadcasts themselves: While some reports may describe the event in more neutral terms, such as "relatives of people on board flight MH370 … [taking] to the streets to protest" (broadcast 53), the majority uses terminology or military language that implies violence. This may include individual words and word groups, such as "marched on the Malaysian embassy" (broadcast 120), "bursting towards the Malaysian embassy" (broadcast 54), "[a]ngry relatives … clashed with police" (broadcast 54), "storm the building" (broadcast 144), "accusing" (broadcast 144), "armed police and … riot police" (broadcast 120), "riot shields, protecting the ambassador and his staff" (broadcast 120). However, the 'violent' language may also be used in combination and rapid succession in the broader context of the storyline, which can be seen in the example in text box 20.

Text box 20: Example of protest marches in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting

[News presenter:] In Beijing, angry relatives of passengers who were on board the doomed airliner have clashed with riot police. The families marched on the Malaysian embassy, accusing the government of delays and deception …. [Voice-over:] Their grief has manifested itself in action. Give back our relatives, they shout. … The banners accuse the Malaysian government of murdering the passengers from the missing plane. … [News correspondent:] The armed police are keeping us from going down to the embassy, while the protesters are surrounded by riot police. [Armed policeman:] Inside. (broadcast 120)

It is interesting to mention that, while the previous forms of activism demonstrated activist action as a means of expressing dissent and frustration with the general disaster operation, there was one instance where an activity was organised "as an outpouring of support in Malaysia" (broadcast 50): A bike ride from the Formula One Circuit in Sepang to the Departure Terminal of Kuala Lumpur airport from where Malaysia Airlines flight 370 took off (Zen 2014). The bike ride was organised in honour of the passengers on board and, according to one of the participants who blogged about his experience, let the cyclists "express our empathy" (Zen 2014). An example of coverage can be seen in text box 21.

Text box 21: Example of 'positive' activism in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting

[Participant in the bike ride:] it is a hard time for many of us; it is a hard time for many, especially those of the families affected. [Social activist:] We all do feel sort of bound together with this plane. It is kind of a national tragedy. … [Participant in the bike ride:] Give us all a moment of silence. (broadcast 50)

One could argue that the bike ride does not necessarily qualify as an act of 'activism', given that it focuses more on solidarity than on expressing dissent and promoting change (Schwedler and Harris 2016; Takahashi 2009: 1; Martin 2007). However, the example was still interesting to mention as it shows that collective activities or "group action[s] by ordinary people" may also take place as an act of support and kindness.

SECURITY

The third predominant disaster response refers to increased security measures. These tend to be linked to suggestions of malicious intent involved in the causes (see section 4.4) and aim to avoid a potential "second or third ... attack" (Jenkins et al. 2016: 8). As Dev and Grabiszewski (2019: 1926) note, "more security makes it less likely that the [subsequent] attack will be successful".

Although the disaster response is mentioned fewer times than the previous ones, figure 5 shows that this category still gained a considerable amount of mentions (10.9%). The statistics of the individual case studies show that an increase in security was, just like in the case of activism, only mentioned in the reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370 (22.6%) and not Germanwings 9525 (0%). The reason for this was found in the thematic analysis: The investigation into the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident revealed that two men with stolen passports had been on board the plane (broadcasts 106, 105). Even though it was later revealed that the two men were trying to migrate to Germany (broadcast 101), the initial storyline reported that the Chinese, fearing malicious intent, "immediately tightened security at their airports" as a result of this discovery (broadcasts 106, 105). This is shown in the example in text box 22.

Text box 22: Increased security as a disaster response in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting

> [Voice-over:] The Chinese, fearing terrorism might be the cause, tightened security at their airports <u>as it becomes apparent</u> that the passenger manifest for the flight has two anomalies on it. An Austrian called Christian Kozel and an Italian, Luigi Maraldi. Neither man boarded the plane. It is quickly discovered that both had had their passports stolen whilst in Thailand. (broadcast 106)

The thematic analysis demonstrated that this storyline is exclusive to the results of increased security. This means that, in all instances where the response is mentioned, the topic of discussion deals with the "tightened security" at Chinese

airports in the context of the two anomalies on the passenger list. Sometimes, this occurs very directly through an explicit linking of the two cases. For instance, the voice-over in the example in text box 22 uses the conjunction 'as' or 'as it became apparent' and creates a connection between the two topics due to the causal relationship of the two sub-sentences. At other times, a link between the anomalies and tightened security is only insinuated. This is shown in the examples in text box 23, where the two topics are mentioned in the same sentence or paragraph but are missing a direct causal link because the 'as' from the previous example was replaced by an 'and' (see the first example) or removed entirely (see the second example).

Text box 23: Increased security as a disaster response in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting

[Voice-over:] The Chinese have tightened security at their airports, <u>and</u> the passenger list for the flight itself has two anomalies. An Austrian called Christian Kozel and Luigi Maraldi, an Italian, but neither man was on board. Both had had their passports stolen. It could, though, just be a coincidence, and, with so few details, other than the point at which it vanished, aviation experts can only look at similar incidents. (broadcast 96)

[Voice-over:] It's emerged two passengers may have been travelling on stolen passports – but officials say it's too soon to speculate on the cause. [Government official:] We are looking at all possibilities, but it is too early to make any conclusive remarks. [Voice-over:] But the Chinese authorities have tightened aviation security, while helping with the huge search effort. (broadcast 75)

4.6.   CONCLUSION

This chapter examined general patterns in airplane disaster news. It found that airplane disasters generate a high amount of initial media interest, which decays over time. The speed at which this happens depends on the nature of the disasters. As Benthall (1993: 39-40) notes, when the media "get the impression that a … disaster has become a normal way of life, it thereby ceases to be news".

Therefore, airplane disasters are subject to life cycles where "the news media aggressively cover an issue for a short time, after which coverage [then] fades as the event recedes into the past" (Kuttschreuter et al. 2011: 202).

The chapter then delved into the content of the reporting and examined the most prominent topics of the broadcasts. In line with journalism's objective to report the nature and "changing" nature of "events, issues, and characters in the world outside" (Dean, no date[b]), these were primarily informative elements on the incidents, such as news on the general nature of the disasters, follow-up information on the immediate disaster responses and background information. However, there was also a prominent focus on the human response to the incidents, which places an emphasis on the responses and emotional states of the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers aboard the aircraft and offers a different and perhaps more personal side to the disasters. This juxtaposition is interesting as it begins to suggest that journalism can "combine the objectivity, the factuality of the scenes and actions, and the greatest attention to the subjective dimension of the experience and feelings of the actors of the events" (Neveu 2014: 538). In other words, there may be a shift from traditional journalistic values to a form of reporting which produces compelling coverage in line with ideals to 'objectivity' and truth-telling. This argument will be developed further subsequently.

Finally, the chapter examined the media discussions on the causes and responses to the disasters. The causes are integral to the reporting because they explain 'why' and 'how' the disasters happened in the first place. The chapter demonstrated that, although the nature of the incidents and the (potential) causes may differ, the media discussion can be distinguished into an (initial) ignorance phase, which is dominated by an absence of information and a "scramble" to discuss what happened (Granatt 1999: 106), and an epilogue phase (Granatt 1999: 106), which factually concludes what happened. The reporting of

both phases draws on evidence and developments from the investigation to make justified explanations for the disasters.

The media discussion on the responses to the disasters considers how "societies and their governments" (Chong and Chang 2018: 251) react to incidents to prevent future ones. The chapter showed that responses were primarily triggered by (the lack of) discoveries about the disasters. To illustrate, the revelation of the suicide act in the case of Germanwings 9525 led to policy change, the absence of information in the case of Malaysia Airlines 370 to activism and the stolen passports in the case of Malaysia Airlines 370 to security enhancement. The next chapter examines the nature of airplane disaster news from a specific vantage point – the role of emotionality in the reporting, representations of 'suffering' and the previously mentioned human response to the incidents.

CHAPTER 5: THE MEDIATION OF EMOTIONALITY AND 'SUFFERING'

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines how the news media construct emotionality in the reporting of airplane disasters because emotions play a crucial role in all "disaster narratives" and "communications" (Pantti et al. 2012: 61). In particular, the chapter argues that the reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 draws on emotionality in two ways, through the use of (1) emotional content and (2) stylistic features which construct emotions. The emotional content refers to situations which, by nature, appeal to the emotional side of audiences and primarily relates to the experiences of those affected by the disasters. Thus, the chapter also deals with the human response to the incidents and examines representations of 'suffering'. The stylistic features bring across emotions from a linguistic level as they actively construct and produce emotions and place "them in story plots and wider narratives" (Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007: 5). For that purpose, a variety of narrative, linguistic and technical tools are explored, including the use of personalised storytelling, the outsourcing of emotions, detailed descriptions, juxtapositions and contrasts, conditional perfect as well as technical features such as emotional language, visuals and sounds (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013).

5.2. DISASTERS AND EMOTIONALITY

The profession of journalism has long been linked to ideas of objectivity, rationality and the aim to present an "an emotionally detached view of the news" and events (Dennis and Merrill 1984: 111; Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 131; Schudson 2001: 150; Tuchman 1972: 660-661; Richards and Rees 2010: 863-864; Stenvall 2008: 1569). However, recent academic research has highlighted that emotions

are, in fact, "profoundly constitutive of journalistic narratives" (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 131; Kotišová 2017: 5). This especially becomes evident in the reporting of disasters because the coverage is "emotional by nature" (Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007: 5): Be it because it pays attention to the emotions of "individuals directly affected by the tragic events" or focuses on "the collective emotions of the larger community reacting to the misfortunes of others like them", "[d]isasters make emotions prominent because they involve reportorial practices outside of ordinary structural routines" (Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007: 5).

The next sections examine how this applies to the reporting of airplane disasters. This is important because emotions "facilitate the understanding of [airplane disaster] news" in the sense that they are "integral to processes of assigning meaning, i.e. to shaping how we understand and respond to specific disasters" (Pantti 2010: 179; Pantti et al. 2012: 61). However, emotions also carry the potential to "bring the story closer" to the audiences (Gürsel 2010: 40-41, cited in Wahl-Jorgensen 2019: 32) and enable empathy. This especially becomes relevant for the human response to airplane incidents because a "focus on emotions reveals the experiental dimension [sic] of suffering and inequality" (Nikunen 2019: 29). Therefore, to a great extent, the sections also pay attention to the representation of 'suffering'.

The results demonstrate that the broadcasts, irrespective of the case study, make prominent use of emotionality. This is established in two ways, using (1) emotional content and (2) stylistic features which have the ability to construct 'emotions' from a linguistic level.

5.3.   EMOTIONAL CONTENT

The emotional content primarily refers to situations which, by nature, appeal to the emotional side of audiences. This means that it relates to the experiences of those affected by the disasters and shows what the people affected have gone or

are going through at the time of the reporting. In essence, it describes two topics: the tragedies of the disasters (the passengers and how it came to cause their 'suffering') and the subsequent emotional impact the incidents have had on people's lives (the 'suffering' of the relatives, friends and colleagues).

The first topic primarily focuses on the experiences of the passengers and how they came to board the aircraft. This may include tales of people returning to their families, holidaymakers enjoying their lives or pupils returning home from a student exchange. These are emotional, though in varying degrees, as they show the mundane reasons why people were on the fateful airplanes and emphasise the human destruction in the disaster as well as the tragedy of the situation that struck them: They have been hit by bad luck, "ironically struck down at an unfair moment" (Kitch 2000: 185-186); they are "[t]he men, women and children who never made it to their destination" (broadcast 249). This is shown in the examples in text box 24.

Text box 24: Representations of passengers in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[Voice-over:] Movie stuntman Ju Kun was flying home to Beijing to see his two young children. Teenagers, Chao Yan and Adrian Waterloo, from France, were enrolling in University in China; while Mary and Rod Burrows from Australia were travelling the globe, enjoying their retirement. (broadcast 144)

Germanwings 9525:

[News presenter:] In the last few minutes, a second Briton who died in the crash has been named. He was 28-year-old Paul Bramley. He had been on holiday in Barcelona and was flying to Düsseldorf to meet his family. (broadcast 151)

[News correspondent:] One Spanish woman actually lived in Manchester in the UK. She had been here in Spain for a funeral. She was trying to get home to the UK but had to fly via Germany in order to get back. She was flying with her baby boy, who was also on board that flight. (broadcast 247)

One narrative, which is the story of how 16 school children aboard the Germanwings flight 9525 were returning home from a language exchange in Spain, stands out in particular. This is because, as the example in text box 25 shows, it explicitly describes the cruelness of the situation of how the school children were 'chosen', almost as if by destiny, to participate in the exchange and ended up taking that fateful flight (broadcast 250). This reminds one of Kitch's study on how the deaths of celebrities are covered in the media: "news coverage moves … into that [realm] of tragedy. That tragedy is heightened by the implication that the celebrity was ironically struck down at an unfair moment" (Kitch 2000: 185-186). In the case of the school children, this involves the fact that the school exchange, which was supposed to be a joyful experience, ended in the death of those "favoured by chance initially", while the classmates who were disappointed by chance at first were the truly lucky ones and live on (broadcast 250).

Text box 25: A representation of passengers in the Germanwings 9525 reporting

> [Voice-over:] The story of how the school chose 16 students from a group of 40 is a tragedy in itself. [News correspondent:] The school exchange trip to Spain was always hugely popular and, because of that, pupils were invited to take part in a raffle, leading to inevitable disappointment for some. But those who lost out now live on. And those who seemed to have been favoured by chance initially have lost everything. They are mourning across the nation, but nowhere more so than in the school victims' lakeside hometown. (broadcast 250)

Reports on the actual 'suffering' of the passengers, be it emotional or physical, are less common and exclusively found in the Germanwings 9525 reporting. An explanation for this likely relates to the practicalities around the individual incidents. The Germanwings 9525 investigation was able to retrospectively reconstruct the events aboard the aircraft with the help of cockpit voice recorders and mobile phone footages and provided the information for the media to report;

while any similar endeavours in the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident were likely complicated, if not impossible, given the missing airplane, evidence and information.

However, it is worth mentioning that, in the few instances where the 'suffering' of the Germanwings 9525 passengers was described, the content of the reports can be considered emotional. This can be attributed to the horror of the situation in which the passengers were, but it may also be the case because we imagine what the situation was like and try to get a sense of how the passengers feel. As Glasser (1991: 235-236) notes, "[s]tories enable us to think creatively and imaginatively about our experiences and the experiences of others" (Glasser 1991: 235-236). The examples in text box 26 demonstrate this as the amount of detail allows us to recount the final moments aboard Germanwings 9525, imagine the situation and thus functions as a stimulant for empathy or compassion for the passengers.

Text box 26: Representations of 'suffering' in the Germanwings 9525 reporting

[News correspondent:] Passengers can be heard screaming as the pilot shouts, 'for god's sake, open this door'. An alarm goes off. The passengers continued to scream. And then … there is the sound of the impact. (broadcast 173)

[Olivier Royant, editor at Paris Match, who has seen mobile phone footage of the plane's last moments:] You can hear people screaming. And they are screaming, 'Oh God', in German; they are screaming in Spanish. (broadcast 235)

[Elmar Giemulla, lawyer:] This suffering [of the relatives, friends and colleagues] is, of course, very huge if you consider the pain and suffering the passengers had to go through in the last six to seven minutes of their lives, seeing the captain banging at the door. This is a horror you cannot imagine in your deepest nightmares. (broadcast 214)

The second emotional topic focuses more on the aftermath of the disasters and the impacts they have had on people's lives. In particular, it shows how the

relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers are dealing with, and 'suffering' from, the loss of their loved ones. In other words, it focuses on the "emotions of individuals directly affected by the tragic events" (Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007: 5).

This topic is emotional because it again makes us think about "the experiences of others" (Glasser 1991: 235-236), but also because it communicates beyond the tragedy of airplane disasters and appeals to more general human values. As Wahl-Jorgensen (2019: 77) writes, "[t]ales of personal experience have the capacity to generate compassion because they dramatize the large and small events that unfold around us by linking them to tales of emotions that others can understand, whether they be the ones of pain, fear, happiness or love". As a result, it can be argued that "it is the witnessing of the ordinary people at the scene that loads the news event with an exceptional emotional charge and binds the readers to the disaster of others" (Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007: 10-11).

The emotional states of the relatives, friends and colleagues that were detected in the reporting can be divided into shock and denial, pain, desperation, hope, anger and frustration as well as love. Each of these is described in more detail in table 11. The emotional states likely vary because individuals deal with the loss of loved ones in different ways. This is similar to Kübler-Ross' stage theory, which finds that "dying people go through five stages of grieving: denial, anger, bargaining, depression, and, finally, acceptance" (Stroebe et al. 2017: 457); or her extension of the theory which suggests that "(anticipatorily) bereaved" (Stroebe et al. 2017: 457) "[f]amily members undergo different stages of adjustment similar to the ones described for ... patients" (Kübler-Ross 1969: 168-169).

However, it is important to point out that the focus in table 11 lies not on pointing out any potential "sequential" (Stroebe et al. 2017: 457) connections between the different emotions but on highlighting the similarities and differences in the emotional states and their 'emotional' contribution to the reporting. The table shows that, although the prominence of the emotional states may vary depending

on the incident, one can detect parallels between the case studies as both coverages show shock and denial, pain, hope, anger and frustration as well as love as reactions of the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers. These are emotional to the viewers because, independent of the incident, they show the 'suffering' of losing a loved one, which is something most people can identify with. The following paragraph explores this in more detail.

Table 11: The emotional states of the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Emotional states	Malaysia Airlines 370	Germanwings 9525
Shock and denial: This state describes situations where relatives, friends and colleagues are not able to believe what happened or actively deny it (Kübler-Ross 1972: 176).	[Voice-over:] So difficult is it to accept that a plane can simply disappear that some have chosen not to. [Sarah Bajc:] [Crying] Until there is proof that Philip is dead, I refuse to believe it. If there is anybody that could survive something like this, it is him. I mean he is such a fighter, and he has so much to live for. (broadcast 106)	[Classmate, no name:] We were confused because we didn't really know why we should leave school, and then we heard it from the news, and it was just shocking. [Another classmate, no name:] I always think, well, tomorrow, they will be there again, and I can ask them about how the trip was and what they did, and I think that I will see them again and that they will tell me all the stories and everything they did and all the adventures. (broadcast 149)
Pain: This state describes the "unpleasant or negative sensation" (Ahmed 2014: 23) of the relatives, friends and colleagues in response to the disasters. It often also manifests itself through audio-visual clues, such as crying and holding tissues, looking down or lost, voices cracking, holding one another for comfort, losing composure, shouting and physically breaking down.	[Voice-over:] [Agonising screams] Led out clutching one another. But little can console this mother. Her son, her granddaughter, her daughter-in-law were all on that plane. Her whole family now wiped out. Her anguish is so great she collapses, begging for help. (broadcast 86)	[Voice-over:] Under a sky of stone, a town is drowning in its river of loss. Dazed teenagers overwhelmed and raw, a school sunk in immeasurable sorrow. There are memories, and there are tears, mourning 18th birthday parties that will now never happen. … Two schoolmates, Janik and Erin, talked of the world of sudden pain. [Janik:] You just have to figure out that they don't exist anymore, that they are no longer here. It is just … crazy … and it is hard to take in. (broadcast 272)

Emotional states	Malaysia Airlines 370	Germanwings 9525
Desperation: This state describes "the feeling [of the relatives, friends and colleagues] of needing or wanting something very much" (Cambridge Dictionary, no date[c]). It only occurs in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting as the relatives, friends and colleagues lack information and are desperate for news about their loved ones.	[Danika Weeks, wife of missing passenger:] We feel we have to do something about it, and it makes us feel a bit of doing this. … Someone must have seen something. … We just want to find our loved ones. I just want to find my husband. (broadcast 71)	
Hope: This state describes the aspiration of the relatives, friends and colleagues for "something [good] to happen" in the future (Cambridge Dictionary, no date[d]). It is primarily found in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting as the relatives, friends and colleagues hope for the safe return of the passengers. In the Germanwings 9525 coverage, there are instances of destroyed hope, where some hope had initially been there but was destroyed as more information got revealed.	[Mother of missing passenger, no name:] [Crying] Most of all, I am hoping for a miracle to bring everybody home safely, all of them. (broadcast 109)	[Ulrich Wessel, headmaster:] When we received the first phone call, we still had hope. Perhaps they had missed the flight; perhaps there were two flights from Germanwings at that time. But then, shortly before 2 pm, we were informed that our students and colleagues were on the passenger list. (broadcast 249)

Emotional states	Malaysia Airlines 370	Germanwings 9525
Anger and frustration: This state describes "a strong feeling of displeasure" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, no date[a]). It primarily occurs in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting as relatives, friends and colleagues get increasingly angry and frustrated over the lack of information regarding their loved ones. Section 4.5 already discussed how this anger led to various forms of activism.	[Voice-over:] Grief turning to anger on the streets of Beijing. A rare show of protest from families of those lost aboard flight MH370. If you don't let me through, you're not Chinese, this woman says. Bursting towards the Malaysian embassy: the focus of their anger. (broadcast 53)	[News correspondent:] To the crushing emotions of grief and sorrow that these people were already experiencing, you can now add anger. That's because, when they set off on their journeys here, they thought their loved ones were the victims of an accident. Now, they know they were the victims of a mass murderer, a pilot who had been sworn to protect them. (broadcast 225)
Love: This state describes an "intense feeling of deep affection" (Oxford Dictionaries, no date[c]) and can be found in the reporting of both incidents. It often manifests itself through grief, reminiscence and commemoration.	[Jayden Burrows, son of missing passengers:] Our family is coming to terms with this terrible tragedy. [Tearing up] We dearly love and will miss our mum and dad. (broadcast 144)	[Voice-over:] [Pipe organ music] This woman, Sarah, lost a relative. 'Oh, Lord', she prays for all the families and friends who miss their loved ones painfully and don't know what is to come, 'I ask you, dry our tears'. [Sad, slow-paced music] Carved angels passed from hand-to-hand. A symbol of faith and a message too: In all this, the mourners were told you're not alone. (broadcast 194)

Discussing the emotional states, the media often mention archetypical situations in which the relatives, friends and colleagues find themselves. These can be emotional because audiences can identify with them as they appeal to "presuppositions, or claims based on shared normative assumptions that are … 'embedded within the explicit meaning of a text or utterance' (Richardson, 2007:

63)" (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 135). In the case studies, this primarily refers to the archetype of the separation of families, the cause of which is explicitly attributed to the disasters. However, audiences can relate to this because they may be familiar with the separation of families due to more mundane reasons, such as separation, divorce or death. The examples in text box 27 illustrate this as they describe children asking for their fathers, relatives not being able to say 'I love you' or 'goodbye' and the separation of families in general.

Text box 27: Emotional archetypical situations in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[Ms. Wen, wife of missing passenger:] My husband was on that plane, my child is asking me for their dad, day after day. What can I do? But, now, there is no information at all. We really are helpless. (broadcast 106)

[Mother of missing passenger, no name:] [Crying] There is something I really want to say to my son: I love you, all of us love you. (broadcast 109)

Germanwings 9525:

[Monika Kuestermeier:] It is very difficult because we haven't seen her and we can't say goodbye to her. (broadcast 217)

[Ulrich Wessel, headmaster:] Our sympathy, first and foremost, goes out to the parents who have lost their beloved sons and daughters, the grandparents who are missing their grandchildren and all of the relatives. The husband of one of the teachers who died is at the school right now. They were newlyweds and had been married for less than six months. It is a tragedy that makes one speechless. (broadcast 249)

5.4. STYLISTIC FEATURES

The previous arguments demonstrated that the nature of some content could be emotionally appealing to audiences (Pantti 2010: 175). However, the media also use certain tools and techniques to actively construct and produce emotions and place "them in story plots and wider narratives" (Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen

2007: 5). This falls in line with the point by Nikunen (2019: 10-11) that "affective intensities and emotional responses do not just happen. They are produced in particular media contexts."

The narrative, linguistic and technical features which are involved in the "meaning-making processes" (Nikunen 2019: 10-11) of emotionality are personalised storytelling (human-interest stories), the outsourcing of emotions, detailed descriptions, juxtapositions, contrasts, conditional perfect as well as technical features like emotional language, visuals and sounds (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013). Largely, these features are present in the previous arguments concerning emotional content as both features are often used in conjunction with each other. However, for clarity, the chapter distinguishes between the two aspects as it helps stress the emotional side of both topics and techniques.

Personalised storytelling is about telling "the stories of individuals" that are affected by the disasters (Kitch 2000: 172). This has an emotional effect as it "put[s] a face on the bewildering universe" (Wahl-Jorgensen 2016: 130-131) and allows for identification with "the personal experience of a particular individual caught up in a story" (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 135). Stenvall (2008: 1581), for instance, argues that "[r]eaders are aligned into feeling empathy for "Iraq's 25 million people", but especially for the tailor, Mohammed Abed. The reporter describes how much Abed suffered in the war – losing his wife, his mother and sister and cousin–, and what other "hardships" he has endured during one year; thus evoking Affect [or emotions]".

In the cases of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525, personalised storytelling is based on the 'suffering' of the relatives and passengers as these are the "face[s] on the bewildering universe" of the disasters (Wahl-Jorgensen 2016: 130-131). As a result, personalised storytelling is often closely linked to the providing and constructing of identities. In that context, the naming of individuals plays an important role as "a name quite literally 'personifies' the individual by encapsulating the essence of that person" (Finch 2008: 713),

bringing them closer to the audiences. This means that the 'sufferers' in the examples in text box 28 are not just 'sufferers': They are Wang Le and his parents, Monika, Leonie and Rabia Kuestermeier.

Text box 28: Personalised storytelling in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[Voice-over:] Wang Le's mother was on the plane … He was getting married next month. Instead of planning his wedding, he is now comforting his father. [Wang Le, son of missing passenger:] Every evening, I have dinner with my father, now only us in our house. And he talks about my mother, the old stories about them. And, sometimes, he cries. [Voice cracking] He talks about my mother every day. (broadcast 109)

Germanwings 9525:

[Voice-over:] Monika Kuestermeier's niece, Rabia, who was just 16, was on board the plane. Her daughter Leonie, who was in the same class as Rabia, tries to comfort her. [Monika Kuestermeier:] It is very difficult because we haven't seen her, and we can't say goodbye to her. [Leonie Kuestermeier:] I was in school when we got the message that the airplane was crashed into a mountain and, first, we thought it wouldn't be true, and we thought, tomorrow, they will be in school again but, after a period of time, we realised that they will never come back. (broadcast 217)

Nationality and age, both of which also contribute to the identity of a person, work in a similar function. According to Höjier (2004: 217), age, in particular, has the potential to appeal to audiences' emotions. The scholar suggests that children "are often seen as helpless in a violent situation" and thus 'worthier' of compassion (Höijer 2004: 217). Perhaps, this might be because tragedies that happen to children seem cruel as children usually still have most of their lives in front of them (broadcast 220).

However, what does need to be pointed out is that the reporting of the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 incidents does increasingly single out the

children that were aboard both aircraft, be it babies or the 16 school children in the case of Germanwings 9525. This resonates with findings by Shapiro (2006) that "narratives about fatal illnesses and disfiguring ailments" are appealing to newspapers "particularly when they involve children". Examples where age is mentioned distinctly can be seen in text box 29.

Text box 29: Personalised storytelling in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[News presenter:] There were 239 people on board. Of those, seven were children. (broadcast 71)

Germanwings 9525:

[News presenter:] 150 people were on board, 144 passengers and six crew. Among those, a party of 16 German exchange students and two teachers as well as two babies. (broadcast 247)

[Ulrich Wessel, headteacher:] We have to remember every day that we have lost 16 pupils and two teachers. All of them were very young. Most of their lives were in front of them. And it is so terrible. I myself have three children and, perhaps, I can imagine what the parents have lost. (broadcast 220)

The second feature involved in the construction of emotionality refers to the *outsourcing of emotions*. This suggests that journalists show the feelings of others "who are … authorized to express emotions" in journalism (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 130). In that sense, it closely relates to personalised storytelling because it describes people's emotional responses to the disasters. The outsourcing of emotions can primarily occur in two ways, through direct 'emotional' speech or, more passively, through descriptions of other people's emotions (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 136, 138-139). The examples in text box 30 demonstrate this as they show relatives and friends describing their own emotions but also journalists explaining their emotions. The emotionality behind this can be attributed to the fact that humans have the "tendency to automatically

mimic and synchronize expressions, vocalizations, postures, and movements with those of another person's and, consequently, to converge emotionally" (Hatfield et al. 1992: 153-154). In other words, the reported emotions can act "contagious" and appeal to the emotions of audiences (Hatfield et al. 1992: 153-154; 1993: 96).

Text box 30: Examples of the outsourcing of emotions in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[Voice-over:] But, of course, the families of the passengers and crew are still hoping, and they are praying. [Kamariah Sharif, mother of missing passenger:] Oh God, give me strength and guidance. I can't tell you how much I miss my son. This has gone on for so long now. I've been talking to a photo of him, asking, when will you come back to me? I pray for you, son, to be home safe. (broadcast 118)

Germanwings 9525:

[Voice-over:] Two schoolmates, Janik and Erin, talked of the world of sudden pain. [Janik:] You just have to figure out that they don't exist anymore, that they are no longer here. It is just … crazy … it is hard to take in. (broadcast 272).

Detailed descriptions (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 135) refer to lengthier storytelling, which adds weight and context to the story. This can be emotional because it makes the story more vivid and allows the audiences to imagine or identify with the scenario or people on screen more easily. The technique is sometimes paired with *juxtapositions* or *contrasts*, which compare the "before" and "after" of events (Stenvall 2008: 1579; Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 135, 140; Edwards 1999: 278). As Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen (2007: 10) note, "[e]motional story-telling in disaster news starts with graphic depictions of dreadful realities. The horror of the present is without exception contrasted with the accounts of happiness or ordinariness of the everyday life just before the disaster" (Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007: 10).

Examples which illustrate this are prominently found in the Germanwings 9525 incident and can be seen in text box 31. These describe, in detail, the horror of the crash location and contrast it to what was once 'beautiful' scenery. However, what perhaps also makes the scene so horrific to viewers is the fact that the destruction ultimately stands for the passengers that perished. This resonates with the earlier argument that some content or situations can appeal to the emotional side of audiences.

Conditional perfect, often used with the third conditional mood, describes a hypothetical, unreal or wishful situation that is based on the outcome of an event in the past (Education First, no date[a] [b]). In other words, it imagines a situation which could have happened if the past had been different. The examples in text box 32 demonstrate this as they show how the disasters changed the plans or lives of the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers. Here, the horrors of the present are aligned with an imagined situation of what would have happened if the disasters had not happened.

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[Voice-over:] An executive with IBM, Philip Wood, had just turned 50, and the couple were about to move from Beijing to begin a new life in Malaysia. (broadcast 32)

Germanwings 9525:

[Voice-over:] 17-year-old Mira Boos should have been celebrating this special day with her best friend [it was her birthday]. [Mira Boos:] She was really lovely. … She was so [pause]. She knew what she wanted to do in her life. We said we'd travel together to the south of America. It's unbelievable. She had her birthday today. I don't know what I can say. [Father of Mira Boos:] Today, she would have had her birthday. (broadcast 250)

To some extent, the conditional mood relates to juxtapositions and contrasts in the sense that it compares the dreadful reality with a hypothetical situation. Yet, it needs to be pointed out separately because its emotionality also derives from a wishful state of reality for the future rather than from the contrast alone. This relates to Neiger's argument (2007: 316) of an "averted future", asking the question, "'What would have happened if?'". However, while his argument focuses on "a conjectured, uncertain future in which worst-case scenarios could become reality", the conditional perfect suggests the opposite, which means that there is "a worst-case scenario" in the past which could have resulted in a better present or future, had it not occurred or been avoided in the first place. The tragedy behind this produces emotionality.

Finally, the media can evoke emotions by drawing on technical features such as *emotional language* (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 135; Namkoong et al. 2012: 32), *visuals* and *sounds*. The first aspect primarily refers to "emotion words" (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013: 135), which, in themselves, are associated to 'mean' or describe an emotion. These words are often linked to the outsourcing of emotions as they are used to describe the emotions that the relatives, friends and colleagues or the

passengers are going or may have gone through. Likewise, they may be used by relatives, friends and colleagues themselves to express their own emotions; or by the voice-over and members of the news team to describe the emotions of the relatives, friends and colleagues or the passengers from an outsider's perspective. Examples which illustrate this can be seen in text box 33 where, for instance, it is spoken of "torment" (broadcast 71), "lives extinguished so cruelly" (broadcast 217) and how it is "really awful" (broadcast 219) or "very tough" (broadcast 71) and "hard to believe they are gone" (broadcast 219).

Text box 33: Emotional language in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[Danika Weeks, wife of missing passenger:] We are sitting around waiting, and every day is torment for us. It is on our minds 20/7. … [tearing up] It is very tough. It is not getting any easier on us. You know, I miss him more and more every day. He was our world. And we just don't feel complete without him. And we have not been able to feel anything different because we have had nothing to go on. (broadcast 71)

Germanwings 9525:

[Voice-over:] Young lives extinguished so cruelly; so many other lives changed forever. Tonight, many in this quiet town came to church in search of a sanctuary. A day, which dawned with the hope of joyful reunion, ending with the darkest of hours. (broadcast 217)

[Voice-over:] Lara's friend, Paula, was on the flight. [Lara, a school friend of a passenger:] It's very hard to believe they are gone. I feel so sorry for the families. My friend, Paula, was on board. It was her birthday the day before yesterday. It's really awful. (broadcast 219)

Emotional *visuals* and *sounds* are exclusively linked to the representation of 'suffering' in the sense that they depict emotional scenes, re-emphasising the importance of some topics in the construction of emotionality. The reason for their emotionality is that they provide a sense of 'realness' or authenticity to the

reports, perhaps even "transcend the boundaries of time and space" (Namkoong et al. 2012: 32). As Kyriakidou (2015: 216-217) notes, "[i]f the audio-visual mediation of suffering forms the basis for the emotional character of witnessing, its liveness, the fact that it takes place simultaneously to the act of viewing, is what renders media witnessing morally compelling".

The power of visuals and their use by the media is discussed in detail in chapter 7. The findings on the use of sounds and tones demonstrate that the media pointedly make use of breaks or pauses in the narration, sometimes even explicitly pointing out an intended use of silence. This has the effect that the audiences focus on or take in the words and natural sounds from the scene as if they were there 'feeling' it. The examples in text box 34 show this as the silence in them focuses the attention of the viewers towards the 'suffering' of Daniel Tan, the commemoration in church and the impact the loss of the school children had at the school.

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[Daniel Tan, brother of missing passenger:] As long as they don't find an aircraft, it is going to be a waiting game for us. We just have to wait until they find the body of the aircraft. Before then, we will continue waiting. We will continue to wait. Until we see the wreckage of MH370. Otherwise, we will not give up hope. [A few-second sequence of a pause; relative tearing up, getting emotional]. Sorry. (broadcast 53)

Germanwings 9525:

[News presenter:] Well let me take you now to the French Alps town of Digne-les-Bains, which is near to the crash site, and a church service in remembrance to the victims is being held there at the moment. Let's just listen for a few moments. [Showing people in church, sitting together in silence for 15 seconds] (broadcast 165)

[Voice-over:] Most striking outside the Josef König high school today was the silence. [Pause] 1,200 boisterous students normally laugh, jostle and shout their way around here. But, today, nothing is normal. 16 school friends, boys and girls, alive with future hopes and dreams, have gone. [Pause] The school shut down on hearing the news, but these youngsters linger on. The reality of their friends' plane crash barely sinking in. (broadcast 149)

Finally, it is worth mentioning that, in the case of Germanwings 9525, some reports broadcast music from a memorial service commemorating the passengers who lost their lives. This is interesting as news reports generally avoid such audio, given that, in contrast to journalism's ideals, music possesses the ability to explicitly convey emotions (Juslin 2013; Juslin and Sloboda 2010: 1). Juslin and Sloboda point out that:

Music is often regarded as a 'language of the emotions' (Cooke, 1959). It expresses emotions that listeners perceive, recognize, or are 'moved' by. … Indeed, there is some indication that most people experience music (somehow, somewhere) every day of their lives, often with an

accompanying affective reaction of some sort (Juslin and Sloboda 2010: 3).

Therefore, one can argue that the use of sounds or music, as seen in the example in text box 35, adds an emotional touch to the reporting.

Text box 35: Music in the Germanwings 9525 reporting

[Voice-over:] [Pipe organ music] There are so many questions. So few answers. This woman, Sarah, lost a relative. 'Oh, Lord', she prays for all the families and friends who miss their loved ones painfully and don't know what is to come, 'I ask you, dry our tears'. [Sad, slow-paced music] Carved angels passed from hand-to-hand. A symbol of faith and a message too: In all this, the mourners were told you're not alone. (broadcast 194)

5.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter demonstrated how the reporting of airplane disasters draws on emotionality, using (1) emotional content and (2) stylistic features which construct emotions on a linguistic level. The emotional content refers to situations which, by nature, appeal to the emotional side of audiences. In other words, it relates to the experiences of those affected by the disasters and shows what the people affected have gone or are going through at the time of the reporting. In essence, it describes two topics: the tragedies of the disasters (the passengers and how it came to cause their 'suffering') and the emotional impact the incidents have had on people's lives (the 'suffering' of the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers).

The stylistic features bring emotions across from a linguistic level. As a result, they actively construct and produce emotions and place "them in story plots and wider narratives" (Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007: 5). For that purpose, a variety of narrative, linguistic and technical tools were used, including the use of personalised storytelling, the outsourcing of emotions, detailed descriptions,

juxtapositions, contrasts, conditional perfect as well as technical features such as emotional language, visuals and sounds (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013).

On a final note, it is important to note two limitations of the previous findings: First, this chapter only aimed to provide an account of how the media utilise emotions. It does not claim that the strategic ritual of emotionality can be applied to the entirety of the news reporting or the experiences of those affected as examples can be found where news is reported more factually and less emotionally. Therefore, the stance needs to be adopted that emotion discourse is, in fact, *flexible* "in providing the sense of events, of states of mind" (Edwards 1999: 277-278) as – contrary to a "professional mythology [which] implies there is only one 'story'" to report – journalists can actually "choose between potential angles on a story" (Richards and Rees 2011: 865).

Second, the chapter explained how some content or stylistic features could be emotionally appealing to audiences. However, "it is of course never certain how, or if at all, an individual reader really feels when … [seeing] the journalist's text" (Stenvall 2008: 1584). This means that, while some content and stylistic features may be considered "influential in shaping public emotions in diverse and subtle ways", further research needs to be conducted on the "formative influence" that emotional news content actually has on audiences (Richards and Rees 2011: 854). The next chapter examines the representation of airplane disasters through the lens of aviation safety and risk and the concepts of uncertainty, ignorance and speculation. This is important because the concepts are crucial to the nature of airplane incidents and also play a part in their mediated representation.

CHAPTER 6: THE REPRESENTATION OF SAFETY, RISK, UNCERTAINTY, IGNORANCE AND SPECULATION

6.1. INTRODUCTION

The first part of this chapter examines how the media produce representations of safety and risk. This is important because, even though airplane disasters dominate the news media when they do occur and may cause "concern [for the public at large] that one may become a victim oneself" (Hood 2012: 28), they are rare phenomena (National Safety Council 2017). While one might expect some dramatisation, given that the media must 'sell' news, the findings demonstrate that, contrary to arguments in the literature, the reporting takes an ethical approach to the communication of safety and risk and mentions discussions through a discourse of reassurance. This is primarily accomplished in three ways: (1) by statements that 'state' the safety of aviation and the aircraft and airlines involved in the disasters, (2) explanations that provide reasons for the safety of aviation, the aircraft and airlines and (3) stylistic features or constructions which demonstrate safety on a linguistic level.

The second part of this chapter deals with the representation of uncertainty, ignorance and speculation because the concepts contribute to questions about reality and 'truth', and any inaccurate representation of them can influence the audience's perception of the disasters. The findings show that representations of uncertainty and ignorance are integral to the reporting and that there is a pattern behind the topics they cover. These almost exclusively relate to the nature of the event, i.e. an airplane disaster, and refer to the locations of the airplanes or passengers, the health status of the passengers, the causes and moments leading up to the incidents, a general lack of information and the question of resolution. The chapter then develops the concept of speculation as the media's answer to some of the proposed uncertainty and ignorance. Here, it was found that

speculation, just like uncertainty and ignorance, forms a key role in the news reporting and that the nature of it often relates to the causes or the question of resolution. Finally, the chapter demonstrates that uncertainty, ignorance and speculation are expressed through similar linguistic features. These are words or expressions that "refer prototypically" to the concepts and linguistic modality (Simmerling and Janich 2016: 964), both of which allow the emphasising of caution and are indefinite about the uncertain, ignorant and speculative statements made.

6.2.   SAFETY AND RISK

The risk of aviation is fundamental to the nature of airplane disasters and the general coverage of them. As discussed previously, an airplane crash "achieves maximum media attention and causes concern for the public at large" and "[w]hen a crash occurs on American soil, the mass media, the public, and the government focus on it, sometimes, perhaps out of proportion to its importance" (Cobb and Primo 2003: 143, 2). While understandable, "often the level of interest in them, and the level of concern that one may become a victim oneself, is out of proportion to the reality" (Hood 2012: 28) because the aviation industry "is the most reliable of all the transportation modes in death avoidance" (Cobb and Primo 2003: 143) and incidents are rare phenomena (National Safety Council 2017). Therefore, this section examines how the media produce representations of risk through the discourse of aviation safety. This is important because our understanding of safety and risks is almost entirely dependent on their construction. For instance, scholars have argued that risk "is neither entirely abstract nor wholly physical: it is socially constructed" (Gerrard 2000: 435-436), which allows it to be "changed, magnified, dramatized or minimized within knowledge" (Beck 1992: 23).

Table 12 shows that, while a discussion of aviation safety does not present a necessary piece of information, it is integral to the reporting in the sense that

roughly every eighth broadcast mentions it, irrespective of the case study examined.

Table 12: Descriptive statistics about discussions on aviation safety in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Variable	Total	Malaysia Airlines 370	Germanwings 9525
Broadcasts mentioning aviation safety (including the safety of the aircraft and airlines)	37	16	21
Percentage of the sample	13.0 %	11.0 %	15.0 %

The findings of the thematic analysis demonstrate that aviation safety as a concept needs to be further refined and can be discussed in two forms. First, aviation safety may describe the safety and risk[12] of flying, which examines the issue from a more general viewpoint. Second, it can refer to specific features of safety, which include the safety of the aircraft types and airlines that were involved in the disasters. Given that both forms are important to the overall discourse of safety, they are examined in more detail subsequently.

THE SAFETY AND RISK OF FLYING

Table 13 shows that the overall safety of flying is mentioned in 4.9% of the sample. The Germanwings 9525 reporting mentions it roughly five times more often than the Malaysia Airlines 370 coverage, while the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting rarely mentions the safety of flying, to begin with. This might be explained by the fact that the Germanwings flight 9525 occurred in European air space and in closer proximity to the UK viewership with an airline that operates flights both to

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[12] The term 'risk' is used to describe the likelihood that an airplane disaster may occur. Given that this is extremely rare, the term argues for the safety of aviation rather than any potential 'riskiness'.

and from the UK (broadcast 146). However, the small number of occurrences in the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident prohibits a representative in-textual comparison between the two case studies. Therefore, the findings of the thematic analysis focus on the similarity that stood out in both case studies, which is the utilisation of the topic as a means of reassurance.

Table 13: Descriptive statistics about discussions on the safety and risk of flying in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Variable	Total	Malaysia Airlines 370	Germanwings 9525
Broadcasts mentioning the safety of flying	12	2	10
Percentage of the sample	4.2 %	1.3 %	7.1 %
Broadcasts mentioning the (un)likelihood of an airplane disaster	7	1	6
Percentage of the sample	2.5 %	0.7 %	4.3 %
Broadcasts mentioning the safety and risk of flying	14	3	11
Percentage of the sample	4.9 %	2.1 %	7.9 %

Previous literature (see section 2.9) examined how our perceptions of risks are dependent on their construction and may be subject to change, amplification and attenuation (Beck 1992: 23; Allan 2002: 94; Campbell 2014: 59). Here, especially media outlets "are major agents, or what we term social stations, of risk amplification and attenuation" (Kasperson and Kasperson 1996: 97). This means that low-risk events, such as airplane disasters, can appear amplified or dramatised (Power 2004: 33), while "other hazards that experts judge more

serious receive comparatively less attention from society [and the media] (risk attenuation)" (Kasperson et al. 2003: 13).

However, Kasperson et al. (2003: 3) found that, at least in the coverage of "crisis [and by extension disaster] situations", the "media reporting has been shown to avoid emphasising risk in favour of offering reassurance". According to Walter (2006: 273), the reason for that "is that we want to be reassured that the next sports stadium, ferry, or airplane we enter will be safe. Our trust in technology and technique has been dented, and we want that trust restored". Thus, the media take on a functionalist role in the sense that it can reassure people "that what has happened can't be repeated" (Fisher 2018) and "that their model of the universe, formed in part by the information the media feed[] them, is accurate" (Frost 2000: 34).

The thematic and discourse analyses showed that there are primarily three ways in which a discourse of reassurance is accomplished. First, it is achieved by the 'word' or 'faith' of someone with more knowledge about the situation. This can be an expert whose credentials allow for an informed, 'factual' and reliable risk assessment of the situation or a journalist who, by association with the ideals of the craft, follows the "professional discipline of assembling and verifying facts" before reporting them (Dean, no date[a]). All these sources have in common that their credentials "add weight [credibility and legitimacy] to the argument being made" (van Dijk, cited in Rowe et al. 2004: 161; Mencher 2001; Albæk 2011: 338; Weiler 1983). As Porlezza and Russ-Mohl (2012: 46) note, "trust and credibility" are central to journalism because "[w]ithout credibility and trust, journalism may be considered superfluous by audiences".

The examples in text box 36 demonstrate this is as they show a news presenter pointing out the rarity of air incidents as well as travel journalist, Simon Calder, and former Lufthansa executive, Captain Tilman Gabriel, stressing the continuing safety of air travel despite Germanwings 9525. Here, the speakers, especially those in the Germanwings 9525 reporting, do not provide the viewers

with arguments for why air travel could still be considered 'safe': Simply, their occupations, and by association their expertise in the trade, reinforce or reassure of the statement that aviation remains safe despite the disaster (van Dijk, cited in Rowe et al. 2004: 161; Mencher 2001; Albæk 2011: 338; Weiler 1983).

Text box 36: 'Reliable' statements about the safety of air travel in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[News presenter:] It is very rare for planes to fall out of the sky when they are at cruising speed on a normal flight. (broadcast 6)

Germanwings 9525:

[News presenter:] Nevertheless, one takes off every second. Thousands are going to be getting on one today. And it can't help but feel anxious seeing these images and know what they know. [Simon Calder, travel journalist:] Absolutely, I sympathise with that, but … anybody stepping on board an aircraft – they'll be about 10 million people daily worldwide – need not have any anxieties. Although I do sympathise with those people feeling nervous. (broadcast 218)

[News presenter:] Just one last thought, Captain Gabriel. You know when a captain, a man who has been a captain for many years, hears of something like this, what happens? How do you feel? … [Captain Tilmann Gabriel, former Lufthansa executive:] We are a safer industry today. We have much more aircraft than last year and years before. So, even if these accidents are very popular in the media, flying is safer. (broadcast 271)

The second form of reassurance is accomplished by explanations for 'why' aviation remains safe. As seen in the examples in text box 37, these may be safety procedures set in place for protection or improvements in aviation investigation, infrastructure and modernisation.

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[Voice-over:] Could what happened to MH370 happen here in the UK? … [David Gleave, aviation safety investigator:] We have a lot of back-up systems here whereas, [in] countries like Indonesia, which is next to Malaysia where we lost the airplane … the procedures are lax. (broadcast 135)

Germanwings 9525:

[David Gleave, aviation safety researcher:] We have had one of the safest years ever last year. So, in fact, all the routine that we go through, investigating accidents as well as trying to prevent accidents, has begun to work. We started replacing the older generation airplanes. We have got infrastructure coming into the third World to guide the airplanes to avoid mountains and things like that. So, we have done a lot of work, and we are really looking to try and get down to our target of something in one [incident] in 10 million. (broadcast 246)

In the case of Germanwings 9525, the explanations also draw on the "fantastic" statistics of air travel (broadcast 246). Here, the argument is that, while air accidents do occur, they are rare, especially if viewed in comparison to the number of successful flight missions, flight hours and passengers that are safely conducted and transported each year (broadcasts 281, 152, 246): Campbell (2004: 122) points out that "[j]ournalists report the occasional plane crash rather than the thousands of flights weekly that don't crash". This draws on the 'risk' of flying in the sense that the argument describes the likelihood that an airplane disaster may occur in one of the flight missions (Gerrard 2000: 442). However, in this context, the concept is more used to demonstrate safety rather than any potential 'riskiness' of flying. As Hollnagel notes:

> Risk, for instance, is normally defined as the likelihood that something unwanted can happen. Safety is likewise defined as the absence of unwanted events, which essentially means as the absence of risk. … [Thus] safety – or rather, the lack thereof – usually is measured by the number of

specified unwanted events, such as accidents and incidents. A higher level of safety is equivalent to a lower occurrence of such events and therefore, to a lower level of risk. (Hollnagel 2008: 221)

The examples in text box 38 show how the statistical explanations were used in the reporting. Here, especially the second and third examples are interesting because they not only defend aviation safety using its safety record but go further and insinuate that news coverage can (falsely) influence our perception of the 'riskiness' of aviation incidents. In academic literature, this phenomenon is described as the "social amplification of risk", which are "those processes by which certain hazards and events that experts assess as relatively low in risk can become a particular focus of concern and socio-political activity within a society" (Kasperson et al. 2003: 13). In other words, rare events, such as airplane disasters, may be perceived as more likely than they actually are (Power 2004: 33; Campbell 2006: 206-207, 212). Especially media outlets play a key role in this as they are "are major agents … of risk amplification" (Kasperson and Kasperson 1996: 97).

However, while previous findings may have demonstrated a focus of the reporting on emotionality and perhaps a dramatisation of the disasters (see chapter 5), the actual 'risks' of airplane disasters, as seen in the examples in text box 38, are almost exclusively represented in an accurate manner. As Hanitzsch et al. (2013: 35) note, "[i]n the journalists' responses [on ethical journalism] … accuracy could also mean to report the fact or things "as they are"". This shows that news reports may follow ethical guidelines when communicating risk in the sense that they "establish a "congruence" or "correspondence" between the "reality" [of the risk] and the way it is reported in the news" (Hanitzsch et al. 2013: 35).

Text box 38: Explanations for the safety of air travel in the Germanwings 9525 reporting

[Captain Mike Vivian, pilot:] To put it bluntly, there is nothing without risk. Whatever we do in life has some risk attached to it. And I can't give you, as a former regulator, an assurance that flying is 100% safe. So, things do happen. But they are so tiny. It is right that I should reassure your viewers that flying remains as safe as it always has been. (broadcast 150)

[News presenter:] In the last twelve months, we have seen some very serious aviation accidents, but it is worth remembering that these stories make the news, simply because, on the whole, they're so unusual. 2014 was the safest year on record for air travel, despite the two well-publicised Malaysia Air crashes. Around 1300 civilians died in plane and helicopter crashes worldwide last year. And this compares to just over 1700 road deaths in the UK alone in 2014. Now, while each death is, of course, a tragedy, industry figures show that 3.3 billion passengers were safely transported last year. (broadcast 152)

[David Gleave, aviation safety researcher:] We are getting safer and safer every year. It is just, with rolling 24-hour news coverage and instant media and things like that, we are beginning to see every accident that happens around the world. But it is still an incredibly safe way to travel around Western Europe. (broadcast 273)

The third form of reassurance is accomplished by a process of "journalistic narrativization" (Allan 2002: 94), which refers to linguistic or grammatical constructions that reinforce the discourse of safety despite the disaster. The perhaps most apparent terminological feature is the repeated use of the word "safe", its comparative or superlative forms ("safer" and "safest", broadcasts 271, 273, 246 and 281) or its pairing with an intensifying adverb ("incredibly safe", broadcast 273). This explicitly emphasises 'safety', and text box 39 provides examples of this.

Text box 39: Stylistic devices emphasising reassurance in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[News presenter:] We need to know what happened … in order <u>to keep air flight safe</u>. (broadcast 136)

Germanwings 9525:

[Captain Tilmann Gabriel, former Lufthansa executive:] We are <u>a safer industry</u> today … <u>flying is safer</u>. (broadcast 271)

[David Gleave, aviation safety researcher:] <u>We are getting safer and safer</u> every year … it is still <u>an incredibly safe way to travel</u> around Western Europe. (broadcast 273)

[David Gleave, aviation safety researcher:] We have had <u>one of the safest years</u> ever last year. (broadcast 246)

Another terminological feature includes the fact that risk tends to be expressed in terms of low quantities, such as "rare" and "tiny", which are often also paired with intensifiers, such as "very", "very, very", "extremely", "extraordinarily" (broadcasts 6, 273, 215, 271, 282 and 150). This reassures simply because the chance of an incident is very low (Hollnagel 2008: 221). Examples can be seen in text box 40.

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[News presenter:] <u>It is very rare for planes to fall out of the sky</u> when they are at cruising speed on a normal flight. (broadcast 6)

Germanwings 9525:

[Anthony Davis, aviation journalist:] The reality is that we have a hundred thousand flights taking off commercially every single day across the world, and <u>the chance of a plane crash is very, very rare</u>. (broadcast 215)

[News presenter:] <u>Major air crashes in Europe are extremely rare</u> these days. (broadcast 271)

[Simon Calder, travel editor, The Independent:] But just because an airline has suffered <u>the extraordinarily rare event of having a crash</u> does not mean for a moment that you should shun it. (broadcast 282)

In the case of Germanwings 9525, the news reporting also draws on numbers and "frequencies" to describe the safety or risk of flying (Gerrard 2000: 442). These guide the viewers' understanding as they add orientation and comprehension to the "magnitude" of the risks and the disaster (Calman and Royston 1997: 939). The example in text box 41 demonstrates this by pointing out the number of civilians who "died in plane and helicopter crashes worldwide" in 2014, the number of "road deaths in the UK alone in 2014" and the number of passengers who "were safety transported" in 2014 (broadcast 152).

The example also goes a step further by comparing different frequencies. This can be a comparison between two frequency sets, such as the fatality rates of "plane and helicopter crashes worldwide" in 2014 with those of road accidents that some people might be more familiar with (Calman and Royston 1997: 941). As Calman and Royston (1997: 941) note, "[risk] comparison is a somewhat contentious area, particularly when it involves comparing risks with very different features, but even this can be useful where the emphasis is on conveying a feeling of the

magnitude of a risk". However, the comparison also lies between the comparatively low number of civilians and the enormous amounts of passengers that were safely transported during the same year. This stark contrast, perhaps in comparison to the higher number of fatalities in road accidents, makes the incident appear less severe in the overall context of the aviation industry: As Hollnagel (2008: 221) notes, "[a] higher level of safety is equivalent to a lower occurrence of such events".

Text box 41: Stylistic devices emphasising reassurance in the Germanwings 9525 reporting

[News presenter:] 2014 was the safest year on record for air travel, despite the two well-publicised Malaysia Air crashes. <u>Around 1300 civilians died in plane and helicopter crashes worldwide last year.</u> And this compares to just over 1700 road deaths in the UK alone in 2014. <u>Now, while each death is, of course, a tragedy, industry figures show that 3.3 billion passengers were safely transported last year.</u> (broadcast 152)

On a final note, it is important to mention that instances which exhibit a discourse of reassurance may sometimes be paired with a sense of drama, which becomes clear in the introductory questions in the examples in text box 42.

Text box 42: Dramatisation of air travel in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[Voice-over:] Could what happened to MH370 happen here in the UK? … [David Gleave, aviation safety investigator:] We have a lot of back-up systems here whereas, [in] countries like Indonesia, which is next to Malaysia where we lost the airplane, … the procedures are lax. (broadcast 135)

Germanwings 9525:

[News presenter:] But, David, has it been a difficult few years for the airline industry? [David Gleave, aviation safety researcher:] We have had one of the safest years ever last year. (broadcast 246)

[News presenter:] Just one last thought, Captain Gabriel, you know, when a captain, a man who has been a captain for many years, hears of something like this, what happens? How do you feel? … [Captain Tilmann Gabriel, former Lufthansa executive:] We are a safer industry today. We have much more aircraft than last year and years before. So, even if these accidents are very popular in the media, flying is safer. (broadcast 271)

One explanation for this might be that drama can appeal to viewers in the sense that it addresses their "level of concern that one may become a victim oneself" (Hood 2012: 28) and makes the news story more newsworthy and thus profitable (Harcup and O'Neill 2017: 1482). This refers to theories discussed in section 2.10. However, what is interesting about these cases is that the dramatic overtone is always refuted, either with statistics or through reassurance by an expert. This may be because the fact remains that the aviation industry "is the most reliable of all the transportation modes in death avoidance" (Cobb and Primo 2003: 2, 44, 143) and that disasters are, in fact, rare phenomena (National Safety Council 2017). This highlights that, while the media may use drama to make the risks of airplane incidents more appealing to viewers, the reporting remains accurate and emphasises an overall discourse of reassurance.

THE SAFETY OF THE AIRCRAFT TYPES AND AIRLINES

Discussions of aviation safety in the form of the safety of the aircraft and airlines that were involved in the disasters are relatively common in the news reporting. This can be seen in table 14, which shows that the safety of the aircraft is mentioned in 10.2% of the sample and the safety of the airlines in 5.3% respectively. There are minimal differences between the case studies, which means that the coverages of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 mention the aspects almost equally often.

Table 14: Descriptive statistics about discussions on the safety of the aircraft types and airlines in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Variable	Total	Malaysia Airlines 370	Germanwings 9525
Broadcasts mentioning the safety of the aircraft	29	13	16
Percentage of the sample	10.2 %	9.0 %	11.4 %
Broadcasts mentioning the safety of the airline	15	5	10
Percentage of the sample	5.3 %	3.4 %	7.1 %

The thematic and discourse analyses found that, just like the mention on the overall safety and risk of flying, discussions on the safety of the aircraft and airlines take place as a means of reassurance. Here, it remains unclear how much influence the affected aircraft companies and airlines had on the representation: After all, companies that are affected by major failures or disasters must adopt crisis management strategies to stay in business, which may involve trying to get the media on their side. Zafra and Maydell, for instance, point out that:

> Airline accidents are unfortunate worldwide phenomena and have been recorded since the early days of aviation history (Ray, 1999). Whether causing a large or small number of casualties, these crises entail human

tragedy and therefore attract a considerable amount of attention and scrutiny from the public, particularly the media … adequately managing the media is crucial in managing the crisis quickly and repairing tainted credibility. (Zafra and Maydell 2018: 42, 44)

However, the findings show that reassurance is primarily accomplished in the reporting in three ways: (1) by statements that simply 'state' the safety of the aircraft and airlines, (2) explanations that provide reasons for the safety of the aircraft and airlines and (3) stylistic features or constructions which demonstrate 'safety' on a linguistic level. These resemble the previous findings on the overall safety and risk of flying.

The first form of reassurance exclusively relies on the 'word' of the speaker in the sense that there is no information provided other than the statement that the aircraft and airlines involved in the incidents are safe. Here again, the value of the statement relies on the speakers whose credentials or professions are associated with factual and reliable information and reinforce the point being made about safety (van Dijk, cited in Boyce 2006: 891; Mencher 2001; Albæk 2011: 338; Weiler 1983). As van Dijk (cited in Boyce 2006: 891) argues, "media tend to use 'experts' whose reputations and qualifications add weight to the argument being made". These may include knowledge experts, such as former commercial pilots or aviation experts, but also journalists or members of the news team who, by association with the ideals of the craft, follow the "professional discipline of assembling and verifying facts" before reporting them (Dean, no date[a]). Examples which demonstrate this point can be seen in text box 43.

Text box 43: 'Reliable' statements about the safety of the aircraft and airlines in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[News presenter:] Both the airline itself and the aircraft, the Boeing 777, have good safety records. (broadcast 1)

[Voice-over:] Instead, they and 237 other people have vanished, along with one of the biggest and safest aircraft in the skies. (broadcast 17)

Germanwings 9525:

[Captain Janet Alexander, former commercial pilot:] As Simon quite rightly says, it is a very safe aircraft, thousands of them flying. It is a good airplane. There is no question about it. … [News presenter:] If you were a pilot this morning, would you be thinking, in the scheme of things, this is still a safe aircraft? … [Captain Janet Alexander, former commercial pilot:] Yes, I would. (broadcast 218)

[News correspondent:] Germanwings is the budget subsidiary of the German national carrier, Lufthansa. And it has a very strong safety record as, indeed, does Germanwings. (broadcast 271)

[Simon Calder, travel editor, The Independent:] Just because an airline has suffered the extraordinarily rare event of having a crash does not mean for a moment that you should shun it. Again, Germanwings had some cancellations yesterday because crew did not want to fly. Today, they are back to a full service, and I would step on board very happily tomorrow. (broadcast 282)

The second form of reassurance goes into more detail and provides explanations for why the aircraft types and airlines, despite the incidents, can be considered safe. This can have a reassuring effect because it demonstrates safety to the viewers through a logical argument. Fisher (2018), for instance, argues that "[p]eople want to feel reassured that what has happened can't be repeated. In some situations you may be able to refer to safety protocols you have in place or a previously good record." (Fisher 2018).

The explanations used in the reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 can be summarised under three umbrellas: (1) the previous

accident history, (2) the companies' safety standards and (3) the reputation or popularity in the industry. These apply to both aircraft and airlines involved; however, the safety of the airline is only explained in the Germanwings 9525 coverage. One reason for this might relate to the fact that the Germanwings 9525 incident happened to an airline that operates flights both to and from the UK (broadcast 146). This can cause greater "concern for the [UK] public at large" (Cobb and Primo 2003: 2, 44, 143) that "one may become a victim oneself" (Hood 2012: 28) and, in turn, require more engagement and reassurance from the media about the safety of the airline at large. Tables 15 and 16 show how each explanation was used in the case studies respectively.

The previous accident history describes the number of (fatal) accidents that have happened in the history of the aircraft and airlines being in service. This is very low or zero and can be considered reassuring, especially if viewed in comparison to the number of flights that have been safely conducted.[13] The companies' safety standards refer to measures adopted by the aircraft and airlines that proactively prevent disasters from happening. In the case of the aircraft, these may be high standards in construction and maintenance; in the case of the airline, these may include safety procedures, such as maintenance controls, the scrutiny and enforcement of safety regulations and the competence of the company, its management and employees.

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[13] There was one instance where the safety record of the airplane is used to create a dramatic or spectacular effect out of the previous incidents. This stands in contrast to the much more prominent discourse of reassurance. However, given its limited occurrence, this shall be put aside.

Table 15: Explanations for the safety of the aircraft in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Aircraft	Malaysia Airlines 370: Boeing 777	Germanwings 9525: Airbus A320
Accident history	[Voice-over:] The Boeing 777, though, has a great safety record, the only fatal crash being the one at San Francisco [airport] last summer, which was put down to pilot error. (broadcast 96)	[Dai Whittingham, UK Flight Safety Committee:] It has got a brilliant safety record, the A320. I think this is the 24th loss out of 6000 that are operating. And not all of those have been fatal whole losses, so a fantastic record in widespread use across the globe. (broadcast 247)
Safety standards (construction and maintenance)	[Voice-over:] It is one of the world's safest airliners. Made to the highest standards, full of electric equipment that tells the ground where it is. (broadcast 11) [David Learmount, Flightglobal:] Today's airplanes are incredibly reliable, and you do not get some sudden structural failure in-flight. It just doesn't happen; it just won't happen. (broadcast 3) [Voice-over:] Malaysia Airlines has 15 Boeing 777-200 jets in its fleet. It is one of the safest aircraft in aviation history. Capable of travelling extremely long distances, with two giant engines. Even if one fails, it shouldn't fall out of the sky. (broadcast 105)	[Simon Calder, travel journalist:] I absolutely understand their [people's] concerns, but there is nothing that I can see, statistically, in terms of the design of the aircraft, anything like that, that would stop me getting on board an Airbus A320 operated by Germanwings today. (broadcast 218) [Alex Macheras, aviation analyst:] These aircraft are not designed to have an expiration date. They are checked, rechecked and reserviced in such a way that, by the time they have reached ten years old … they are, practically, you know, born again. (broadcast 282) [Captain Peter Benn, airline pilot:] I think it is important to emphasise that these airplanes are maintained as near to perfect condition as can be. It had a sea check apparently in 2013, which is a … 6,000-plus man-hours [evolution]. It can take three weeks to do. So, yes, this is one of the most, if not the most, checked form of transport in the history of human mobility. (broadcast 271)

Aircraft	Malaysia Airlines 370: Boeing 777	Germanwings 9525: Airbus A320
Popularity in the industry	[Voice-over:] The missing plane, a Boeing 777, has an outstanding safety record. And, with more than 900 in service, it is a workhorse of the airline industry. (broadcast 2)	[News presenter:] There are currently 6157 of them in operation … And, David, I suppose one of the reasons why it is used by so many airlines across the world is because of its very good safety record? [David Gleave, aviation safety researcher:] It has got an excellent safety record. It is very fuel-efficient. It is modern. The pilots love it. It has got a lot of modern safety features. So, yes, it is very, very popular indeed. (broadcast 246)

Finally, the reputation or popularity in the industry is used to demonstrate the respectability of the aircraft and airlines. In the case of the aircraft, the argument is that the types of aircraft that were involved in the incidents are frequently used by airlines because they are known for their safety; in the case of the airline, it is based on people's belief that Germanwings is a safe airline, with the Germanwings 9525 disaster coming unexpectedly (see tables 15 and 16).

Airline	Germanwings
Accident history	[News correspondent:] Passengers are arriving here at Düsseldorf as normal. There are no outward signs of the tragedy that struck that plane that was meant to land here yesterday. Inside the airport, beds have been erected for passengers who are afraid to fly. But reassuring for some of these people is the safety record of this airline. The Germanwings airline has no recorded fatal accidents in its history. (broadcast 150)
Safety standards (maintenance controls, safety regulations and competence)	[Anthony Davis, aviation journalist:] I don't think we should read too much [into the age of the aircraft] … It's more about the maintenance record that planes are checked regularly. That they have their service books up to date. And, really, [with] an airliner like Germanwings, which is a subsidiary of Lufthansa, we shouldn't have any cause for concern there. (broadcast 215) [News presenter:] And what about this budget airline? … [David Gleave, aviation safety expert:] It is under very strict scrutiny from Lufthansa. They operate as a low-cost airline, so it is just a different operating system to the passengers but, in terms of the safety and things like that, the Lufthansa group have followed the site of what goes on. (broadcast 146) [News presenter:] How is Germanwings regarded? [Captain Tilmann Gabriel, former Lufthansa executive:] Germanwings is a full subsidiary of Lufthansa. It flies all the inner European routes that are not covered by Lufthansa itself. … It was founded in 2001 out of another Eurowings subsidiary of Lufthansa. And it had no accident so far. So, it is a very competent airline, very competently managed by the friends that I know there. (broadcast 271)
Reputation	[News correspondent:] How, people ask, could this have happened to an airline known for its safety and reliability? (broadcast 151)

The third form of reassurance refers to stylistic features or constructions, which reinforce safety on a linguistic level. This includes the pairing of accident statistics with low quantities, such as "the only fatal crash" (broadcast 96), "the 24th loss out of 6000" (broadcast 247) and "[t]he Germanwings airline has no recorded fatal accidents in its history" (broadcast 150); and an emphasis on the word "safe"

or variations of it, including the expression "good safety record", conjugations, such as "safest", or its pairing with intensifying words like "very" (broadcasts 6, 9, 11, 105, 150, 217, 218, 246 and 271). Examples which demonstrate this are provided in text box 44.

Text box 44: Stylistic devices emphasising the safety of the aircraft and airlines in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

"its safety record is very, very good" (broadcast 6); "one of the world's safest airliners" (broadcast 11); "a reputable company with a good safety record" (broadcast 9)

Germanwings 9525:

"a plane with a good safety record" (broadcast 150); "one of the safest aircraft in aviation history" (broadcast 105); "good safety record" (broadcast 217); "very strong safety record" (broadcast 271); "very safe Western airline" (broadcast 218); "excellent airline … they have got a good safety record" (broadcast 246)

Finally, just like the safety and risk of flying, the safety of the aircraft and airlines is sometimes introduced by reservations which create a dramatic overtone. For instance, it was reported: "[News presenter:] This one [aircraft] itself was 24 years old. I mean, you would have to persuade someone to get in a car that old, so why are we still flying planes that are nearly a quarter of a century old?" (broadcast 282). However, these overtones are often refuted by the statements and explanations that follow. This shows that, while the media may use drama to make the risks of aircraft or airlines more appealing to viewers, the reporting remains accurate and emphasises an overall discourse of reassurance.

The next part of this chapter investigates the representation of uncertainty and ignorance in the news reporting. This is important because the concepts also contribute to questions about reality and 'truth', and any inaccurate representation of them can influence the audience's perception of the disasters.

Contrary to journalism's ideals, it also develops the concept of speculation as the media's answer to some of the proposed uncertainty and ignorance.

6.3.   UNCERTAINTY AND IGNORANCE

The ideals of journalism are "to shine a light, to raise the curtain, to reveal "the truth."" (Stocking and Holstein 2015: 105). This endeavour becomes more complicated when the information available is incomplete or non-existent: Stocking and Holstein (2015: 105) point out that "[w]hat journalists do, or mean to do, is to dispel [uncertainty and] ignorance". Yet, "in violation of the ideals of journalism", journalists "become purveyors" or "agents in the social construction of … [uncertainty] and ignorance" (Stocking and Holstein 2015: 105). Gross and McGoey argue:

> the news industry needs to become more attuned to [uncertainty and] ignorance, for even as most journalists embrace as their mission rooting out and dispelling [uncertainty and] ignorance, they may hew to specific roles that lead them to instead promote [uncertainty and] ignorance themselves. (Gross and McGoey 2015: 7)

This makes an examination of the media's representation of uncertainty and ignorance even more crucial as an inaccurate presentation can influence the audience's perception of events. Dunwoody (2018: 5) points out that "it is important that epistemic uncertainty [and ignorance] be communicated … This might reduce the risk that uncertainty [and ignorance] is misunderstood or overestimated"; conversely, "including uncertainty [and ignorance] estimates might benefit the trustworthiness of information … possibly because information might then seem more scientific" (Dunwoody 2018: 5). Before analysing the media's representation of the concepts, it is important to understand their definitions first.

The term 'uncertainty' "is usually understood as ambiguity or ambivalence in a truth claim" (Lehmkuhl and Peters 2016: 911) and often "result[s] from lack of information" (Painter 2013: 11-12) or the fact that "scientific knowledge is incomplete about some feature of nature" (Zehr 2000: 87). In other words, it describes "a situation where something is not known [and certain]" (Cambridge Dictionary, no date[j]) "because of insufficient knowledge" (Lehmkuhl and Peters 2016: 911). The concept of ignorance feeds into this as it refers to an "absence of knowledge" (Haas and Vogt 2015: 17) and, in a broader sense, describes the very basis of 'uncertainty'. However, it is important to stress that 'ignorance' can take on various forms and extents: "it can be vague or well-defined; it can be at the periphery of a cognizer's attention, or can be acutely felt; it can be extensive ... or specific" (Haas and Vogt 2015: 22). Conversely, ignorance "can be a lack and it often is a lack. But for someone not to know, for example, what every reader of this chapter, including you, had for breakfast today is not lack, but mere absence [of knowledge]" (Haas and Vogt 2015: 18).

Some authors seek a distinction between these concepts. In the context of science and risk, such a separation is perhaps useful as the concept of uncertainty often takes on more specific meanings than those in the definition given (see section 2.9). However, subsequently, the two terms are used similarly because the ideas behind uncertainty and ignorance are closely interrelated and often occur simultaneously: Uncertainty is caused by ignorance because the absence of information or knowledge, i.e. 'ignorance', prohibits certainty; while, when one is aware of ignorance or an absence of knowledge, one tends to be unsure or 'uncertain' about the truth.

There is some disagreement in previous research as to the roles of uncertainty and ignorance in news reporting. Some studies "report an underrepresentation of scientific uncertainty [and ignorance] in the media" (Guenther and Ruhrmann 2016: 929) and suggest that claims are not "a typical feature of science journalism" (Zehr 2000: 90). Arguably, this is because the concepts are "not

attractive to journalists" and dispel newsworthiness (Kitzinger and Reilly 1997: 344). One explanation for this might be that journalists "–probably correctly– assume that their audience is looking for valid and concrete information about the world when they turn to the media" (Peters and Dunwoody 2016: 897) and prefer "to have a clear point" (Ashe 2013: 47) and ""certain" scientific results" (Peters and Dunwoody 2016: 897).

However, other studies also highlighted "over-representations ... or at least frequent mentioning of scientific uncertainty" (Guenther and Ruhrmann 2016: 928-928). This might be due to "a general journalistic duty of care and commitment to truth" (Simmerling and Janich 2016: 965). As Lehmkuhl and Peters (2016: 910) argue, "[t]he public interest in journalistic representations is based primarily on the fact that they are viable reconstructions of reality ... Therefore, journalistic activity ... must somehow address the uncertainty of the underlying scientific truth claim".

Then, scholars disagree with previous arguments and state that a news story with elements of uncertainty and ignorance can, in fact, elicit newsworthiness (Guenther and Ruhrmann 2016: 938; Ashe 2013: 14; Peters and Dunwoody 2016: 897; Stocking and Holstein 1993: 202; Simmerling and Janich 2016: 965). Peters and Dunwoody (2016: 897) explain that "a story may be perceived as newsworthy by journalists even if the claim on which the story is based is uncertain, such as in the communication of risk, or if scientific speculation is fascinating ... (e.g. time travel, particles moving faster as light, parallel universes)". As a result, one can argue that some uncertainty and ignorance can "arouse curiosity" and make audiences "want to read [or watch] further" (Simmerling and Janich 2016: 965).

Table 17 suggests that airplane disasters fall more likely into the latter category of arguments, which is where uncertainty and ignorance claims make "a strong characteristic of the media's reporting on science" (Guenther and Ruhrmann 2016: 928-928), as 84.2% of the broadcasts identify uncertainty and ignorance at least once in the reporting. This may be because the aftermath of an airplane

disaster is typically characterised by an absence of knowledge about the event. However, it may also be because the disasters are inherently newsworthy: As argued elsewhere, "[a]irline disasters are an area of fascination for many" (Hood 2012: 28); they "are tailor made for ... [news] stories, having all the necessary elements: death, destruction, mystery, conflict, human interest, and tragedy" (Cobb and Primo 2003: 9).

Table 17: Descriptive statistics about discussions of uncertainty and ignorance in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Variable	Total	Malaysia Airlines 370	Germanwings 9525
Broadcasts with uncertainty and ignorance claims	240	145	95
Percentage of the sample	84.2 %	100 %	67.9 %
Broadcasts without uncertainty and ignorance claims	45	0	45
Percentage of the sample	15.8 %	0 %	32.1 %

The statistics on uncertainty and ignorance vary between the two case studies. The Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting referred to uncertainty and ignorance in every one of its broadcasts, while the Germanwings 9525 coverage made an uncertainty and ignorance claim in 67.9% of its broadcasts. This statistical difference can be explained with the individual nature of the incidents: With the aircraft still missing, the case of Malaysia Airlines 370 naturally involves more uncertainty and ignorance, e.g. about the way it went missing and its current location; while the uncertainty and ignorance surrounding Germanwings 9525 gets more or less resolved and 'certain' over time. This only explains the statistical differences between the two case studies. Even though there is an overall resolution to the Germanwings 9525 incident, the number of broadcasts that mention something 'uncertain' and 'ignorant' in the reporting remains relatively

high, suggesting that uncertainty and ignorance claims form an integral part in the reporting of both case studies.

While the previous arguments highlighted the conceptual definitions and different uses of uncertainty and ignorance, it is important to go a step further and examine what the uncertainty and ignorance claims entail. In other words, "what is not known and why?" (Janich and Simmerling 2015: 109, 129). This is useful because the answers are key to how audiences learn about the incidents and the uncertainty and ignorance involved. As Corbett and Durfee (2004: 143) argue, the "key in the public communication of science in general and global warming in particular ... is not to deny the uncertainty (or the controversies that inevitably arise from it) but to place the uncertain finding in the proper and objective context of the scientific process".

The thematic analysis of the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 coverages found great similarities between the two case studies: While uncertainty and ignorance claims can vary, there were prominent overlaps in the topics they described. These almost exclusively relate to the nature of the reported event, i.e. an airplane disaster, and predominantly include the locations of the airplanes or passengers, the health status of the passengers, the causes and moments leading up to the incidents, a general lack of information and the question of resolution.

Each topic is discussed in more detail subsequently. However, it needs to be mentioned at this point that the prominence of them can vary depending on the nature of the incident. This is shown in claims about the locations of the airplanes or passengers and the health status of the passengers. The claims on the former topic, as seen in the examples in text box 45, primarily mention the unknown locations of the airplanes and passengers aboard. The claims on the health status of the passengers, as shown in the examples in text box 46, remain open about whether there are any survivors and suggest that "hopes are fading" (broadcast 133), avoiding the providing of certain or definite information.

Text box 45: Uncertainty and ignorance claims about the unknown locations of the aircraft and passengers in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[Voice-over:] Flight MH370 has simply vanished … And what might have been a door now cannot be found. … no trace of the 239 people on board, of artist, Memetjan Abra, of IBM executive, Philip Wood. And, for their families, cooped up in a Beijing hotel, the lack of any definite news is taking a terrible toll. (broadcast 14)

Germanwings 9525:

[Rejane, eyewitness:] It is behind us, so we can't really see anything. We don't really know exactly where the plane is because the mountain is quite high. Then, there are lots of mountains above. So, it is complicated to locate the plane. The area, the access, is difficult. (broadcast 147)

Text box 46: Uncertainty and ignorance claims about the health status of the passengers in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[News correspondent:] The authorities are still calling this a search and rescue operation, not a recovery mission. But I am afraid hopes are fading for the 239 people on board. (broadcast 133)

[Selamat Omar, father of missing passenger:] I feel very sad. I cannot run away from it. I accept everything. Whatever the result, whether he is alive or dead. … [Voice-over:] But this family must wait yet longer to know how, why and what happened to their child. (broadcast 84)

Germanwings 9525:

[News presenter:] A German passenger plane on route from Barcelona to Düsseldorf has crashed in the French Alps with 150 people on board. It's believed there are no survivors. … The French president says all are feared dead. (broadcast 147)

Both uncertainty and ignorance claims are much more prominent and explicit in the Malaysia Airlines 370 coverage, while, in the case of Germanwings 9525, they

primarily occurred in the initial reporting. These trends can be explained with the fact that the search and investigation team discovered the Germanwings 9525 aircraft and its passengers early on and so eliminated any remaining uncertainty or ignorance regarding their location; whereas the Malaysia Airlines 370 aircraft and its passengers are missing up to this day, leaving their whereabouts unknown. This suggests that, as the uncertainty and ignorance about a disaster gets increasingly resolved, claims decrease or cease in the reporting. Figure 6 supports this as it shows how uncertainty and ignorance claims develop over time. Here, one can see that, in the case of Germanwings 9525, the broadcasts with uncertainty and ignorance claims decrease more rapidly, while those on the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident decay more slowly.[14]

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[14] These findings overlap with the results in section 4.2, which demonstrated that the media interest in Germanwings 9525 was initially higher than in Malaysia Airlines 370. This might explain why Germanwings 9525 generated more broadcasts with uncertainty and ignorance claims than Malaysia Airlines 370 in the beginning. Likewise, the media interest in Germanwings 9525 decreased more rapidly over time, while the media interest in Malaysia Airlines 370 decayed more slowly, which might also contribute to the results on broadcasts with uncertainty and ignorance claims.

Figure 6: Broadcasts on Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 with uncertainty and ignorance claims in proportion to the time period
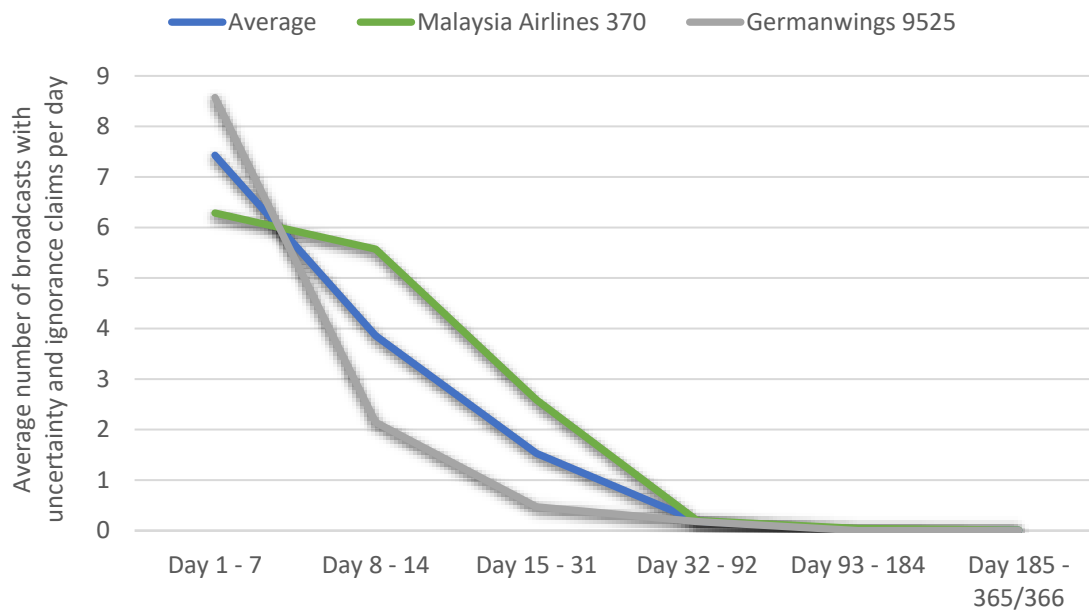
A similar finding applies to uncertainty and ignorance claims about the causes and the moments leading up the incidents. Given that the Malaysia Airlines 370 airplane is still missing, there remains an overall uncertainty and ignorance about what happened, why and how. In comparison, in the case of Germanwings 9525, the cause and the moments leading up to the incident are revealed throughout the investigation. This again eliminates some uncertainty and ignorance. However, it also opens further questions, particularly surrounding 'why' the co-pilot committed suicide. As Gross and McGoey (2015: 1) argue, "[n]ew knowledge always leads to new horizons of what is unknown. ... new knowledge is never complete knowledge ... the unknown is not diminished by new discoveries. Quite the contrary: the real, of the unknown is magnified".

The examples in text box 47 demonstrate how both case studies draw on uncertainty and ignorance claims about the causes. As discussed, the case of Malaysia Airlines 370 shows continuous reporting on the claims, while, in the Germanwings 9525 reporting, there is an overall development from the cause to the question of the motive. This is not necessarily a difference between the two

case studies as questions around possible motives still fall into the overall category of the cause.

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[News correspondent:] <u>Officials are stressing that they are mystified, they are baffled, as to why this aircraft simply disappeared from radar screens</u> more than 40 hours ago, and they are stressing that, until they locate the black box, the emergency recorder, <u>it will be very difficult to determine exactly what happened</u>. (broadcast 6)

[News correspondent:] As for the police, they say <u>they are going to concentrate on four main areas: sabotage, hijacking and possible personal or psychological problems</u> experienced by those people on board. <u>But there are a host of other scenarios, and I am afraid the uncertainty is set to continue.</u> (broadcast 133)

Germanwings 9525:

[News presenter:] As details of the victims begin to emerge, <u>the cause of the crash remains a mystery.</u> (broadcast 281)

[News presenter:] The French authorities here believe that they know what happened. <u>What, of course, we don't understand is why perhaps this co-pilot flew that plane into the mountains.</u> (broadcast 155)

Uncertainty and ignorance claims that refer to the moments leading up to the incidents are mentioned in text box 48. It is important to note that, in the case of Germanwings 9525, the claims are more used to express caution rather than any absolute absence of knowledge.

Text box 48: Uncertainty and ignorance claims about the moments leading up to the incidents in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[News correspondent:] They are also looking to the west of Malaysia and the Malacca Straits. That is a very, very long way off course because they believe that it is possible somehow, undetected, the plane went off course there. How that could have happened, how there could have been no radio communication, is still a big mystery. And the word 'baffled' is one that we heard Malaysian officials telling us. They don't appear to have a very clear picture yet of those last few moments of the plane or where it could have ended up. (broadcast 6)

Germanwings 9525:

[Voice-over:] Most of the victims were German or Spanish, on their way to Düsseldorf, when the plane came down, crashed it appears on purpose, by this man, the co-pilot Andreas Lubitz. It is believed he locked his senior colleague out of the cockpit, put the plane into descent and then accelerated. (broadcast 193)

Finally, uncertainty and ignorance claims about a general lack of information and the question of resolution appear consistent throughout the reporting of the two case studies. The claims about the former are very explicit in acknowledging an overall absence of knowledge and thus the uncertainty and ignorance involved in the incidents. Examples can be seen in text box 49.

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[News correspondent:] There is a growing sense of frustration from the families gathered at this hotel about the lack of information. But the truth is there appears to be very little to give them. (broadcast 6)

Germanwings 9525:

[Voice-over:] Still so much pain, so many questions. (broadcast 178)

[News presenter:] So many questions still to be answered. (broadcast 155)

The claims about the latter show uncertainty and ignorance regarding the question of whether the incidents, or parts of the incidents, are ultimately resolved. In all examined cases, these are developed into the realm of speculation, debating whether there will ultimately be a resolution or how much time some form of resolution will take. This becomes clearer in the next section.

6.4. SPECULATION

The concept of speculation refers to the act of "forming … a theory or conjecture without firm evidence" (Oxford Dictionary of English 2010) or describes "an activity of guessing possible answers to a question without having enough information to be certain" (Cambridge Dictionary, no date[h]). It closely relates to the concepts of uncertainty and ignorance in the sense that speculation is developed from an "absence of knowledge" and describes the "mere possibilities" resulting from it (Hyde 2006: 243).

The concept, just like claims of uncertainty and ignorance, often finds its way into the reporting of airplane disasters to explain some of the uncertainty and ignorance involved (Kim and Lee 2008: 85; Durham 1998: 107; Walter 2006: 273; Wampole 2018). Kim and Lee (2008: 85), for instance, argue that "[i]n the

aftermath of plane crashes, news media begin to indulge in a considerable amount of speculation … confusion, competition and a lack of information often result in [speculation and] factual errors" (Kim and Lee 2008: 85). Table 18 supports this as it demonstrates that 209 out of the 285 broadcasts ($\approx$ 73.3%) mention, at least once, something speculative in the reporting.

Table 18: Descriptive statistics about the use of speculation in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Variable	Total	Malaysia Airlines 370	Germanwings 9525
Broadcasts with speculation	209	136	73
Percentage of the sample	73.3 %	93.8 %	52.1 %
Broadcasts without speculation	76	9	67
Percentage of the sample	26.7 %	6.2 %	47.9 %

Just as in the results on uncertainty and ignorance claims, the findings are not evenly distributed between the two case studies, and there are almost twice as many 'speculative' broadcasts on Malaysia Airlines 370 than Germanwings 9525. This can likely again be attributed to the continuous versus decreasing uncertainty and ignorance about the incidents. As Jaworski et al. (2003: 47) point out, "when uncertainty becomes certain, the scope for speculation ceases" (Jaworski et al. 2003: 47). However, this only explains the statistical differences between the two case studies. Even though there is an overall resolution of the Germanwings 9525 incident, the number of broadcasts that mention something speculative in the reporting remains relatively high, which suggests that speculation forms an integral part in the reporting of both case studies.

In the context of journalism, this finding is surprising as "[s]peculative language [and speculation] is a form of subjective speech and as such its presence in press content defies the journalist principle of objectivity" (Hudock 2005: iii). Previous

research, perhaps given the general incompatibility with journalistic ideals, has only accessed and tried to account for this phenomenon in a very limited way (Kim and Lee 2008: 85-86; Vincent et al. 1989; Durham 1998: 109). One explanation for the presence of speculation could be that the media are expected to fill an overall demand and "need for closure" (Durham 1998: 113; Kim and Lee 2008: 94; Tenenboim-Weinblatt 2008: 34; Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Neiger 2018: 40-41); and, "without a dominant conclusion [or resolution]" about the disaster (Kim and Lee 2008: 94), they end up filling it by drawing on 'theories', 'possibilities' and 'speculation'. Wampole (2018) highlights this point further by placing it in the context of the immediacy of news:

> One explanation for all this [speculation] is that the acceleration of information flow has heightened our impatience with not knowing. Until the internet's arrival, the "jour," or day, was the primary unit of time by which journalism functioned. But now that the minute, or better, the second, is the new unit of preference, it might be more fitting to change the profession's name to minutalism or secondalism. In the attempt to capture an event just as it happens, or even before it does, the news becomes less factual and more hypothetical. (Wampole 2018)

Given the centrality of speculation in the reporting and the current lack of research on the phenomenon, it is crucial to examine how the media employ it as a rhetorical tool, which perhaps may open further lines of inquiry for journalism in general.

The thematic analysis demonstrated that, just as in the findings on uncertainty and ignorance, speculation or speculative claims can be divided into several topics that are covered repeatedly. Given the close relation of speculation with the concepts of uncertainty and ignorance, these topics resemble those described previously. This means that, irrespective of the case study, they cover the causes, the moments leading up to the incidents and the question of resolution. The first two topics 'speculate' about unknown information on the past "where journalists

had no credible information about particular events and had to build up possible scenarios" (Sonnevend 2018: 86); while the latter deals with the uncertainty of the future, discussing possible outcomes of the events (Neiger and Tenenboim-Weinblatt 2016: 155). In that context, Neiger (2007: 309) argues that "contrary to the conventional perception of journalism, this type of journalism does not report what has already happened, but speculates on future events".

Speculation on the causes was already discussed in the limited amount of literature that explored speculation in the context of airplane disasters (Kim and Lee 2008: 85-86; Durham 1998: 109-110; Walter 2006: 273). The primary argument is that the mystery surrounding the causes allows for speculation in the form of "conjectures and theories about probable crash causes" (Kim and Lee 2008: 90, 85-86; Durham 1998: 109). Kim and Lee, for instance, argue:

> Several air disasters, such as the TWA 800 crash over Long Islang, New York (1996), and the EgyptAir 990 crash over the Atlantic Ocean (1990), involved uncertainty over the causes of the crashes, giving opportunities to the news media to indulge in a considerable amount of speculation and to pose lingering questions to refute the official findings. (Kim and Lee 2008: 85-86).

The examples in text box 50 show how this translates into practice in the cases of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525. Here, the reporting tends to draw on clues in the investigations to establish some form of explanation for what might have happened. For instance, it was reported that "the fact it just dropped off the radar suggests a sudden catastrophic break-up in mid-air" (broadcast 14); or that the fast descent in the Germanwings 9525 incident suggests "a decompression in the cabin" (broadcast 217). This relates to the findings in section 4.4, which investigated the reporting of the disasters' causes in more detail.

Text box 50: Speculation about possible causes in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[News correspondent:] <u>The fact it just dropped off the radar suggests a sudden, catastrophic break-up in mid-air</u>. (broadcast 14)

[Ravi Madavaram, aerospace and defence consultant:] I think <u>it was very well planned. They knew what is there … and they planned it well; they practised it even. They are way ahead of us</u>. It is a vast area to just search. We do not know yet where it is. That is going to be very challenging to be able to figure this one out. … [Voice-over:] There are now 26 countries involved in this search, but <u>whoever took the plane</u> has left them almost no trail to follow. (broadcast 29)

Germanwings 9525:

[Tilmann Gabriel, former Lufthansa captain:] The speculation on our side is very much that <u>there might have been a decompression in the cabin, and that usually initiates from the pilots a fast descent</u> to get below 10,000 feet, so we get oxygen to continue to breathe. (broadcast 217)

[Voice-over:] So many faces, so many lives and a single question, why? Why did Andreas Lubitz, entrusted to fly these people safely, appear to deliberately crash the plane? <u>Investigators believe the answer may lie closer to home</u>. [Christoph Kumpa, public prosecutor:] We found medical records indicating an existing illness and treatment. Torn-up sick notes, including one from the day of the crash, were found. (broadcast 161)

The speculation on the moments leading up to the incidents feeds into the speculation on the causes as it makes suggestions about the unfolding events. This means that, in the case of Malaysia Airlines 370, it may include references to the possible location of the airplane, while, in the Germanwings 9525 coverage, it may refer to the mental state and earlier intentions of the co-pilot. Examples which demonstrate this are provided in text box 51.

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[News correspondent:] This tracking from Flightradar24 seems to show the last time that transponder was heard. Interestingly, look at the other aircraft that are around. They would normally be keeping an ear on the emergency radio channel. No one heard anything. Finally, the signal goes. Now, that does not mean the aircraft crashed in this area. <u>It may have simply dropped out of range, or the transponder may have stopped, or it may have been switched off</u> … Malaysian military radar tracked an unidentified aircraft hundreds of miles off course, but they don't know if it was the Malaysian Airlines flight. (broadcast 21)

[Voice-over:] <u>Authorities suggest the aircraft might have turned around</u>. So, they are looking on the other side of the Malay peninsula as well as on land itself. (broadcast 98)

Germanwings 9525:

[Alastair Rosenschein, former BA pilot:] My personal view on it is that <u>he was probably planning to commit suicide to crash the aircraft on the outbound leg but, for reasons only known to him, changed his mind</u>. (broadcast 267)

Given that these situations were, to some extent, discussed in previous literature on airplane disasters, it is much more interesting to explore the final type of speculation found in the case studies, which deals with the question of resolution. As mentioned earlier, this debates whether there will ultimately be some form of resolution or how much time this form of resolution will take. This point is interesting as it tries to provide an answer to the uncertainty and ignorance about the disasters by postponing the issues to the future and speculating about the future in general.

Therefore, in a theoretical sense, the argument closely relates to the media discourse of the future, which suggests that "news is no longer conceptualized as rooted solely, or even primarily, in present and recent events", but may also orientate itself towards the future by "report[ing] on, predict[ing] and

interpret[ing] what is about to happen" (Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Neiger 2015: 1050-1051). The basis of the discourse is always uncertain and hypothetical and supports the previous finding because "contrary to the conventional perception of journalism", "[w]riting about the future [and prediction] is an inherently speculative act" (Neiger 2007: 309). Neiger (2007: 311, 313) argues:

> we meet journalists in their full might as creators of texts of 'reality' that has not yet occurred and may never come to be ... Even if all the actors in the political scene are sure that a certain event is going to happen (a strike, a vote), things can always change at the last moment (Neiger 2007: 311, 313)

The examples in text box 52 demonstrate the relation between speculation and the discourse of the future more clearly as they show speculative predictions on the question of the incidents' resolution. This means that they show "a statement about the future", i.e. a prediction, which describes "what someone thinks will happen": It is "a guess, sometimes based on facts or evidence, but not always" (Vocabulary, no date). As Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Neiger (2015: 1051) note, "the news media do not only inform on, construct and explain societies' present and past, but also report on, predict and interpret what is about to happen".

Text box 52: Speculation about possible resolutions of the disasters in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

[News correspondent:] It is now the end of the third day of the search and, for relatives here in Beijing, in Kuala Lumpur and elsewhere in the world, hopes of a swift conclusion to this mystery are now fading. [Voice-over:] <u>It may still be days before we have the answers so desperately wanted</u>. (broadcast 98)

[News correspondent:] Well, unfortunately, <u>the reality is those relatives we have just seen may never really know what happened to this aircraft … Even if they do find a piece of wreckage</u>, okay, so we'll know that the aircraft did crash, and we'll know it's in the ocean, but <u>it could be years, they may never find the bulk of the aircraft, the black boxes that can tell us exactly how it ended up there</u>. (broadcast 53)

Germanwings 9525:

[Voice-over:] <u>It'll take several weeks of work</u> before investigators can be certain about the cause of this crash. (broadcast 234)

[Voice-over:] The news comes as families begin to receive the remains of their loved ones for burial. But, as the investigation gets underway, <u>for many, it may be some time before they can finally have closure</u>. (broadcast 211)

While the previous sections examined the concepts of uncertainty, ignorance and speculation from a thematic perspective, it is also worth investigating the linguistics behind their mediated construction. This is because "language is the medium through which uncertainty [ignorance and speculation] are interpreted" (Simmerling and Janich 2016: 961-962). The findings demonstrate that there are great similarities in how the concepts are drawn on. These apply to the different case studies and the different concepts because all terms and expressions serve to express caution and are indefinite about the uncertain, ignorant and speculative statements made.

The common features of language can be divided into two categories. First, there are words or expressions that "refer prototypically to ignorance and uncertainty"

and speculation (Simmerling and Janich 2016: 964; Janich and Simmerling 2015: 134). This category is self-explanatory in the sense that all uses of language where this applies are, in one way or another, associated with uncertainty, ignorance and speculation. Examples of the reporting which demonstrate this can be seen in text box 53 and include statements, such as "we don't really know" (broadcasts 147), which indicate an absence of knowledge or uncertainty about a truth claim; or terms, such as "possibility" (broadcast 17) or "theory" (broadcast 29), which allow for speculative suggestions about the 'truth'.

Text box 53: Uncertain, ignorant and speculative terms in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

"do not know" (broadcasts 6, 21); "no one knows yet" (broadcast 84); "no way of telling" (broadcast 14); "have no idea" (broadcast 6); "very unclear" (broadcast 6); "not a clear picture" (broadcast 6); "we just want to know what happened" (broadcast 14); "lack of information" (broadcast 6); "mystery" (broadcasts 6, 8, 14, 17, 29, 39, 53, 98, 133); "baffled" (broadcasts 6, 14, 29); "little to go on" (broadcast 6); "have had little to pass on" (broadcast 133); "cannot confirm" (broadcast 6); "possible" or "possibility" (broadcasts 6, 17, 76, 98); "theory" (broadcasts 6, 29); "uncertainty" (broadcasts 14, 76, 133); "speculation" (broadcasts 21, 98)

Germanwings 9525:

"we don't really know" (broadcast 147); "No one knows for sure" (broadcast 178); "What we don't know" (broadcast 253); "possible" or "possibility" (broadcast 147); "they have no idea" (broadcast 155); "theory" (broadcast 161); "it is still unclear" (broadcast 161); "their picture is far from complete" (broadcast 234); "so many questions" (broadcast 178); "who now look for answers" (broadcast 253); "baffling" (broadcast 253); "mystery" (broadcasts 272, 281); "they still can't explain" (broadcast 272); "they are still some way off from being able to say" (broadcast 272)

The second feature is linguistic modality and allows for the "expression of possibility" (von Fintel 2006: 20). This means that it provides the linguistic

means to discuss "what could be or must be the case, as opposed … what actually is the case" (Swanson 2008: 1193). The feature can discuss the concepts of uncertainty, ignorance and speculation in three ways, which are through (1) the subjunctive or conditional mood, (2) modal verbs and words and (3) questions (Simmerling and Janich 2016: 964; Lehmkuhl and Peters 2016: 922).

The subjunctive and conditional mood both refer to moods "expressing what is imagined or wished or possible" (Oxford Dictionaries, no date[e]). Examples which demonstrate this are provided in text box 54.

Text box 54: Subjunctive and conditional mood in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Malaysia Airlines 370:

"[Voice-over:] For the families, if it did turn back, it only deepens the mystery as to why no distress signal was sent" (broadcast 8); "[Geoffrey Thomas, editor, Airline Ratings:] it is probably going to be the most difficult discovery of an airplane ever if that's where it is" (broadcast 39)

Germanwings 9525:

"[News correspondent:] No one knows for sure whether the co-pilot's mental health problems are to blame for what's happened" (broadcast 178)

Similarly, modal verbs and words can be defined as verbs or expressions used to "express an idea such as possibility" (Cambridge Dictionary, no date[e]). Examples of this can be seen in text box 55.

Malaysia Airlines 370:

"appear" (broadcasts 6, 29); "believe" (broadcasts 6, 8, 63); apparently" (broadcasts 6, 29); "could" (broadcasts 6, 8, 29, 53, 63); "perhaps" (broadcasts 6, 17); "suggest" (broadcasts 6, 14, 98); "may" (broadcasts 8, 14, 17, 21, 53, 76, 98); "seem" (broadcasts 14, 21, 39, 133); "potentially" (broadcast 14); "likely" or "less likely" (broadcasts 29, 98, 133); "indicative" (broadcast 29); "probably" (broadcast 39); "might (broadcasts 39, 98); "think" (broadcast 76); "maybe" (broadcast 84); "would" (broadcast 84); "I am afraid" (broadcast 133)

Germanwings 9525:

"believe" (broadcasts 147, 155, 161, 220, 253); "are feared" (broadcast 147); "suggest" (broadcasts 147, 155, 178, 234, 267, 272); "should" (broadcast 148, 272); "might" (broadcast 148); "may" (broadcasts 155, 178, 220, 267, 272, 281); "most plausible" (broadcast 155); "apparently" (broadcast 178); "it looks like" (broadcast 155); "seem" (broadcasts 155, 274); "appear" (broadcasts 161, 178); "likely" (broadcasts 217, 220, 272); "it is hoped" (broadcast 220); "probably" (broadcasts 234, 267, 274); "I cannot imagine" (broadcast 253); "think" (broadcast 277); "could" (broadcast 281); "there is a chance" (broadcast 281)

Questions are "sentence[s] worded or expressed so as to elicit information" and, by definition, are about "matter[s] requiring resolution or discussion" (Oxford Dictionaries, no date[d]). The examples in text box 56 demonstrate how they can be used to point out uncertainty and ignorance but also to raise possible 'theories'.

Malaysia Airlines 370:

"[Voice-over:] But what if it is the plane?" (broadcast 39); "[news correspondent:] What caused this flight on route to Beijing to crash deep into the Southern Indian Ocean?" (broadcast 53); "[voice-over:] But how can a modern aircraft simply vanish?" (broadcast 21); "[voice-over:] Seemingly innocuous, but does it hold a clue that something wasn't right?" (broadcast 29)

Germanwings 9525:

"[News correspondent:] And the central question is this: Why did the plane and its pilot lose contact with air traffic control for at least eight minutes before it finally crashed?" (broadcast 272); "[voice-over:] Could a sudden loss of air pressure have left the pilots unconscious? … Was there engine failure … Could it have been a terrorist attack? … Was the disaster down to pilot error?" (broadcast 281); "[voice-over:] Investigators will delve deep into his life and the life of his family: Were there money troubles? Grudges? Problems with the law or his love life?" (broadcast 155)

This linguistic analysis demonstrated that the media reporting of both case studies draws on similar linguistic features to express uncertainty, ignorance and speculation. These include words or expressions that "refer prototypically" to the concepts and any forms of modality because they allow the emphasising of caution and are indefinite about the statements made (Simmerling and Janich 2016: 964). In other words, they help express the nature of the concepts on a linguistic and semantic level.

6.5.   CONCLUSION

This chapter examined how the media produces representations of safety and risk. While one might expect some dramatisation, given that the media have to 'sell' news, the findings demonstrate that they take an ethical approach to the

communication of safety and risk and report discussions through a discourse of reassurance. This argument contributes to knowledge in the field because, next to the social amplification of 'risk' framework, it proposes an alternative way to understand the representation of 'risk' in the media, which is through reassurance. This applies to discussions on the general safety and risk of flying and specific features of safety, such as the safety of the aircraft types and airlines that were involved in the disasters. The chapter then demonstrated that a discourse of reassurance can be accomplished in three ways: (1) by statements that simply 'state' the safety of aviation, the aircraft and airlines, (2) explanations that provide reasons for the safety of aviation, the aircraft and airlines and (3) stylistic features or constructions which demonstrate safety on a linguistic level.

The second part of this chapter examined representations of uncertainty, ignorance and speculation. The findings showed that claims of uncertainty and ignorance play an integral part in the reporting of both case studies and that there is a pattern behind the topics they cover. These almost exclusively relate to the nature of the event, i.e. an airplane disaster, and refer to the locations of the airplanes or passengers, the health status of the passengers, the causes and moments leading up to the incidents, a general lack of information and the question of resolution. The chapter then developed the concept of speculation as the media's answer to some of the proposed uncertainty and ignorance. Here, the findings show that speculation, just like uncertainty and ignorance, forms a key role in the news reporting and that the nature of it often relates to the causes, the moments leading up to the incidents and the question of resolution. While this advanced knowledge about the media's response to absent information and the concept of speculation, future research needs to consider the aspects, and especially 'speculation', from a more general perspective because of its importance to journalism's ideals of objectivity. Based on previous findings, one line of thinking could be that there may be a shift in television news from a traditional to a more narrative form of reporting, which combines compelling

coverage with the pursuit of truth-telling. The overall discussion in chapter 8 develops this thought further.

Finally, this chapter demonstrated that the concepts of uncertainty, ignorance and speculation are expressed through similar linguistic features. These are words or expressions that "refer prototypically" to the concepts and linguistic modality (Simmerling and Janich 2016: 964), both of which allow the emphasising of caution and are indefinite about the uncertain, ignorant and speculative statements made. The next chapter steps away from the thematic and linguistic construction of airplane disaster news and investigates its visual representation.

CHAPTER 7: THE VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF AIRPLANE DISASTER NEWS

7.1.   INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the use and construction of television visuals in the reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 to establish a framework for the visual understanding of airplane disaster news. This is important because visual elements "are not simply mere style or 'presentation'" but actually form an important "part of the way in which news creates meaning" (Machin and Polzer 2015: 2). The chapter finds that visuals can be divided into several prominent groups. These include shots of (1) interviews and press conferences, (2) the disaster operation, (3) the (potential) crash location, (4) supporting visuals, (5) informational graphics, (6) the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers, (7) commemoration, (8) the passengers and (9) the suspects or perpetrator. All the visual groups help to understand airplane disaster news from a more visual perspective and show the different functions visuals can take on: They may be informative (interviews, press conferences and footage from the operation), emotionally appealing (footage of grief, commemoration, death and destruction) or supportive to the news story (supporting visuals and informational graphics).

7.2.   VISUALS AND THE MEDIA

Visual elements are inherently valuable to journalism because it is powerful to present "news through pictures" (Iyengar and Kinder 1987: 35, cited in Domke et al. 2002: 132; Domke et al. 2002: 132). For example, "it is one thing to understand that American boys are fighting and dying in Vietnam; quite another to watch them fight and die." (Iyengar and Kinder 1987: 35, cited in Domke et al. 2002: 132). This means that visual elements are not just a form of presentation but

contribute to the "way in which news creates meaning" (Machin and Polzer (2015: 2). Despite this, there is still a lack of research on how they "are employed, arranged and designed" (Machin and Polzer 2015: 1). This is especially the case in the area of airplane disaster reporting. Therefore, this chapter examines how the reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 makes use of visual elements in more detail.

Table 19 demonstrates that visuals are an essential part of television news on airplane disasters because 100% of the broadcasts registered at least one kind of visual in the reporting. Given that television news essentially relies on visuals, this finding is to be expected. Thus, to further our understanding of the construction of television news more generally, it is more interesting that the examined visuals can be divided into twelve different groups, which can take on different functions. These are footages of (1) interviews and press conferences, (2) the disaster operation, (3) the investigation, (4) the (potential) location, (5) supporting visuals, (6) informational graphics, (7) the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers, (8) commemoration, (9) the passengers, (10) the suspects or perpetrator, (11) the relatives, friends and colleagues of the suspects or perpetrator and (12) other visuals (such as random shots, footage from other media and re-enactments).

Table 19 shows that these groups are drawn on frequently in the reporting as 1506 of these visual groups were found across the examined 285 broadcasts in total. This attributes to roughly five visual groups per broadcast on average and suggests that the reporting of the disasters is relatively diverse in the visuals it presents. Here, no notable differences were recorded between the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 incidents, which means that the finding applies to both case studies.

Table 19: Descriptive statistics about the use of visuals in the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 reporting

Variable	Total	Malaysia Airlines 370	Germanwings 9525
Broadcasts with visuals	285	145	140
Percentage of the sample	100 %	100 %	100 %
Total number of visual groups in the broadcasts	1506	782	724
Average number of visual groups per broadcast	5.28	5.39	5.17

The following sections examine how the most prominent visual groups were used in the media coverage more closely to establish a framework for the visual construction and understanding of airplane disaster news. Here, the focus does not lie on the individual case studies but more on the visual representation and function of each group. The reason for this is that the presentation of each visual group is similar, irrespective of the case study examined.

7.3.   INTERVIEWS AND PRESS CONFERENCES

The visuals of interviews and press conferences appear in 78.2% of the broadcasts. This suggests that they are almost essential in the construction of television news on airplane disasters. Mencher (2001) states that "[y]ou will be hard-pressed to find a story that lacks information from an interview ... you will more often than not find information a source has supplied through an interview [or press conference], brief as that ... may have been". The reason for their common use in news reporting could be explained by their key benefit and function in the reporting: Interviews and press conferences serve to provide information on an event and help to explain it in more detail to the viewers

(Mencher 2001; Hansen and Paul 2015: 145-146). In fact, one could even argue that journalists are dependent on them. Albæk (2011: 337-338) notes:

> Journalists, in order to confirm their framing and conclusions in news articles, cannot afford to be seen as simply having brought their own thinking into the articles. They need 'compensatory legitimation' (Weiler, 1983) – that is, they need to draw on the authority of experts, persons who are perceived as having neutral, factual knowledge (Albæk 2011: 337-338)

By examining the contexts and, in particular, the mentioned functions of the speakers in the reporting, it becomes apparent that journalists primarily draw on interviews and press conferences in three different ways. This means that they may be used to provide official knowledge, informed knowledge and personal experience: As Allgaier (2011: 449) notes, journalists "can employ their sources for different uses".

Official knowledge is often provided by individuals in an official function who provide statements or information about the disaster operation to the public. Examples can be seen in figure 7 and 8 and include the Director of the Malaysia Civil Aviation Authority, Azharuddin Abdul Rahman, John Young from the Australian Maritime Safety Authority, the Chief Executive of Lufthansa, Carsten Spohr, and Brice Robin, one of the French prosecutors in the Germanwings 9525 incident.

Figure 7: Official interviews in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting (credits: broadcasts 106 and 84)

Figure 8: Official interviews in the Germanwings 9525 reporting (credits: broadcasts 157 and 157)

The settings and attires often match the status of the knowledge provided. The declarations tend to take place in the format of a press conference rather than an interview. The speakers also wear formal clothing, underlining the official nature of their function and the occasion. It becomes clear that the speakers talk to a group of journalists, rather than the viewers directly. This creates the appearance of officialness as only a selected group of journalists, but no civilians, have access to the speaker, which can be deduced from the numerous microphones from different news outlets. The backgrounds typically depict monochrome, neutral colours. This allows the viewers to focus on the speakers who, in their formal attire, emit the officialness of the situation. On some occasions, there are prints or writings on the background. However, when these occur, they always tend to match the function of the speaker. For instance, the poster behind Young (see figure 7, right) depicts the phrase "Australian Government" and its logo, the name of the department the speaker works for, which is the Australian Maritime Safety

Authority (AMSA), and the link to the website of AMSA. Therefore, one can argue that the environment and setting of the interviews, irrespective of the different backgrounds, convey an atmosphere of serious- and officialness.

Some press conferences in the case of Germanwings 9525 also make use of flags (see figure 8, right). This is interesting insofar as flags, and especially the combination of several flags, can signal unity. Machin (2007: 26), for instance, argues that "flags tend to all be used to connote very similar sets of myths, as are national anthems: loyalty, glory, landscape, etc. But then this is the nature of nations which require a set of shared ideas/myths in order for people to be able to conceptualise the idea of many millions of people who may have very little in common, and who will never meet, being a unified nation". Whether the flags are ultimately intended to signify unity shall remain open at this point. However, what can be said is that they symbolise the national affiliation of the speaker.

Informed knowledge, as the term suggests, serves to add expertise or exclusive information on any aspects of the disaster operation to the news reporting. The form of knowledge is primarily conveyed by direct interviews, not press conferences, with people whose professions or occupational involvements allow them to make informed or knowledge-based assessments of the situation: As Albæk (2011: 338) notes, experts are journalists' "'sparring partners' to develop a story and give it sufficient depth and breadth". Examples of interviewees who provide informed knowledge on the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 incidents can be seen in figures 9 and 10. These include aviation security experts, pilots and team members of the operations.

Figure 9: Informed interviews in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting (credits: broadcasts 76 and 39)
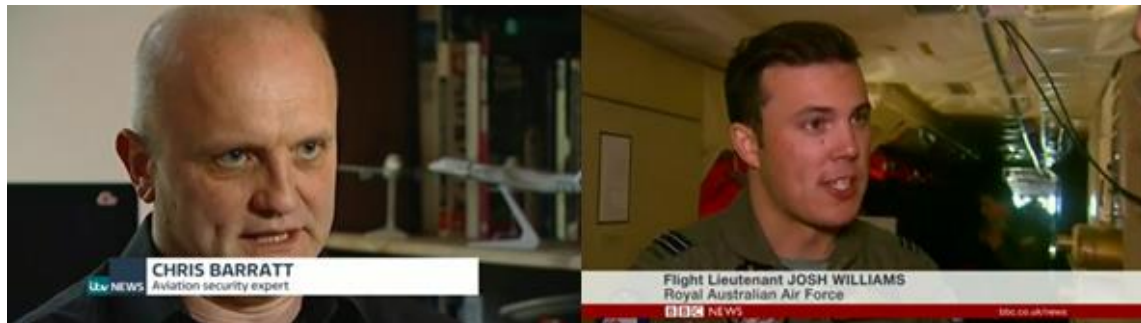
Figure 10: Informed interviews in the Germanwings 9525 reporting (credits: broadcasts 157 and 151)

These experts can be further divided into two categories, which are those who provide 'external' and 'internal' knowledge on the disasters. 'External' refers to the knowledge provided by experts in relevant fields, such as university professors, aviation security experts or (former) airline pilots, whose professional functions are not directly linked to the operation but allow for informed assessments of the situation, given their relevant field of expertise. 'Internal' knowledge is provided by team members in the operation who can provide crucial information, or 'intel', gathered from their involvement in the disaster operation. Both forms of informed knowledge, though they may differ in terms of involvement in the operation, are important as they add technical and factual knowledge but also "credibility and quality" to the news stories (Mencher 2001).

The attires and settings in the interviews often support this purpose. The clothing of externally informed knowledge providers often consists of formal or semi-

formal shirts and jumpers (see figures 9 and 10, images on the left); while internally informed knowledge providers can be seen wearing their uniforms indicating their affiliation in the disaster operation. For instance, figures 9 (right) and 10 (right) show members of the Royal Australian Air Force and the French National Gendarmerie in clothing associated with the respective organisations. Even though the attires of the externally and internally informed knowledge providers differ, both emit professionalism and credibility through their (semi-) formality or association with the organisations and allow the viewers to 'verify' the expertise of the interviewees.

Similar associations can be made with the settings of the interviews. Both types of knowledge providers are often placed in front of a background that visually supports their function of expertise and degree of knowledge. This may occur both directly and indirectly. For instance, examples of direct scene-setting can be found in figures 9 (right) and 10, which depict a pilot in the cockpit and team members of the operations at the scene of the search or crash site. Indirect scene-setting takes place in figure 9 (left), which shows an aviation security expert in front of books, indicating knowledgeability and expertise.

The third category, which refers to interviews of personal experience, differs from official and informed knowledge as it serves to convey "the flavour of an experience" (Hansen and Paul 2015: 147) rather than factual information. In other words, it is about "impressions, ideas, and emotions" (Hansen and Paul 2015: 147), and interviewees who typically fall into this category are, in one way or another, linked to the missing or deceased passengers, such as relatives, friends and colleagues. Examples of this can be seen in figures 11 and 12 (left). However, in the case of Germanwings 9525, they may also include eyewitnesses who have heard and describe the noise of the crash (see figure 12, right).

Figure 11: Personal experience interviews in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting (credits: broadcasts 100 and 106)

Figure 12: Personal experience interviews in the Germanwings 9525 reporting (credits: broadcasts 221 and 220)

The visuals tend to highlight the mannerisms, facial expressions and emotional reactions that are linked to the personal experience described (Mencher 2001). The partner of a missing passenger seen in figure 11 (right) is a good example as her facial features suggest that she might have been crying, which is often an indicator for "sadness and suffering" (Knight 2014). Her furrowed eyebrows and strained lips support this as they emit unhappiness, worry and concern. All of this, paired with the focus on her as the sole individual in the shot, intensifies and perhaps makes her experience more personal and emotional to the viewers. It is important to note that this is a more extreme example. Other facial features, as seen in figure 11 (left), are a bit less expressive.

The clothing, and sometimes the setting, also point out the personal and more intimate side of the interviews. They tend to take place in casual clothes and sometimes at the homes of the interviewees. This invites the viewers to see the

interviewees in their natural habitat with "their taste" and "their mannerisms" (Mencher 2001), which, in turn, creates intimacy, familiarity and closeness. As figure 13 shows, there are other visuals in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting, such as protests, briefings and press conferences, where relatives of passengers are interviewed, and which do not emit these perceptions. However, they can equally convey the personal side of the interview in that they play more on the previously discussed emotional features of the interviewees. This aspect is explored in more detail in section 7.6.

Figure 13: Personal experience interviews in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting (credits: broadcasts 97 and 39)

Finally, it is worth mentioning that most of the examined interviews and press conferences allow the viewers to see the actual faces of the speakers. This creates the illusion of 'liveness' or 'realness' in the sense that viewers perceive what is happening on screen as "real … actually happening" (Kyriakidou 2015: 216) and lends authenticity to the visuals (Joffe 2008: 85; Sontag 2003: 3). On some occasions, interviews are also conducted by phone, providing the sounds of the interview paired with still images of the speaker or other supporting visuals, such as maps or photographs of ships or airplanes. This is shown in figure 14 and is interesting insofar as it changes the setting to something more static. However, the occurrence can perhaps be retraced to production practicalities and an inability to access the source for a visual interview. For instance, the commanding officer in figure 14 (left) may be at sea and only reachable by non-visual communication systems.

The previous classification into official knowledge providers, informed knowledge providers and personal experience providers can be applied to all interviews, independent of how they take place. The next section examines the visual representation of the disaster operation and (potential) crash location.

7.4. DISASTER OPERATION AND (POTENTIAL) CRASH LOCATION

The visuals of the disaster operation and (potential) crash location appear in 76.8% and 65.6% of the broadcasts. These are considerable frequencies, which suggests that the visual groups are almost essential in the construction of television news on airplane disasters.[15] The visuals of the disaster operation depict the efforts and management in the aftermath of the incidents. In the case of Malaysia Airlines 370, this primarily includes the search for the aircraft, while the disaster operation of Germanwings 9525 mostly revolves around the recovery of the aircraft from the French Alps. There are two prominent similarities in how the reporting of the two case studies represents the disaster operation visually.

First, as figures 15 and 16 show, both media coverages show team members at work. These are predominantly filmed at the scene, such as inside of an aircraft

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[15] The visuals are often interlinked, which means that the footage can be classified as shots of both the disaster operation and (potential) crash location. However, in this section, the visual groups are examined independently of each other to produce clarity in argument.

looking for debris or at the Germanwings 9525 crash site sifting through wreckage. Almost exclusively, the team members are filmed being immersed in their work, sometimes working with equipment, such as search machinery, paper and maps. The team members are also filmed from behind or the side, turning away from the camera and almost never facing towards it. This highlights how focused the team members are on their tasks in that they do not seem distracted by the camera. It also has the effect of positioning the viewers as 'observers' in the sense that they "watch[] what happens but … [have] no active part in it" (Cambridge Dictionary, no date[f]). As figures 15 and 16 show, team members can be seen interacting with or working alongside each other while looking away from the camera lens, perhaps inviting the viewers into the scene but not into the operation.

Figure 15: Visuals of the disaster operation in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting (credits: broadcasts 106, 56, 76 and 71)

Figure 16: Visuals of the disaster operation in the Germanwings 9525 reporting (credits: broadcasts 272, 161, 279 and 157)

Most of the shots are medium close-up, medium or medium-long shots and thus appear to be filmed from somewhat close proximity to the events. These kinds of shot sizes normally have the effect of bringing the viewers closer to the action in "that [they] reveal your subject in more detail" (Studio Binder, no date). However, in figures 15 and 16, one could argue that the effect is overshadowed by the fact that the team members are focused on their task or work alongside other team members while avoiding the eye of the camera lens and the viewers simultaneously.

The second way of representing the disaster operations is focused on the technical means of transportation employed in the search and recovery, e.g. via shots of airplanes, ships and helicopters at the scene of the operation (see figures 17 and 18). These are depicted both stationed on the ground and in action, i.e. flying or sailing, and can be seen through various shot sizes. Some of the transportations are filmed through full or long shots. This has the effect that one "keep[s] … [the transportations] in plain view amidst grander surroundings" (Studio Binder, no date), which emphasises the modes of transportation and builds up the location

at the same time (Studio Binder, no date). Other transportations are depicted through an extreme long shot, where they "appear small against their location" (Studio Binder, no date). The result is that it makes the "subject [or transportation] feel distant ... [and overshadowed] by its location" (Studio Binder, no date). This means that the focus lies less on the transportation itself but more on the (potential) crash site.

Figure 17: Visuals of modes of transportation in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting (credits: broadcasts 106, 106, 106 and 144)

Figure 18: Visuals of modes of transportation in the Germanwings 9525 reporting (credits: broadcasts 151 and 249)

The visuals of the (potential) crash location either show the debris of the aircraft or indicate the place where potential wreckage could be. In the case of

Germanwings 9525, actual physical material was found in the French Alps, and the accompanying footage focuses on the debris scattered over the mountain or in-tact objects, which can sometimes be very clearly attributed to the crashed aircraft. Examples can be seen in figure 19, which depicts scattered wreckage, a piece from the back of the aircraft with the registration number "D – AIPX" and the national flag of Germany (BEA 2016), a tire and a yellow object which looks like a lifejacket. Figure 19 (bottom right) also falls into this category as it shows wreckage "dotted with red flags" (NPR 2015). This image not only shows the technical destruction but indicates the human loss in the disaster, with each red flag "marking partial human remains" (NPR 2015). This aspect is explored in more detail in section 7.6.

Figure 19: Visuals of the disaster location in the Germanwings 9525 reporting (credits: broadcasts 151, 236, 236 and 226)

All these images are very explicit in their representation of the crash. This means that they all show the actual debris and the degree of destruction. However, the shot sizes of this vary. Some visuals were filmed from further away, giving the viewers an overview of "the location" and the geographical extent of the

destruction (Studio Binder, no date), while others were shot close-up, focusing more on the details of the destruction. This difference is important as it shows different ways of presenting the disaster site; yet, one could still argue that the shots are equally devastating as both show actual footage of the crashed aircraft and bring the viewers psychologically close to the disaster site.

While the previous visuals are the most prominent representations of the disaster site, there are also other visuals, which depict the crash scene more inexplicitly. These tend to show the skyline of the mountainside of the French Alps from the far-away exterior, without entering the site of the crash. Here, the viewer can only gather from the information provided by the voice-over that an airplane disaster occurred in the presented scenery. These visuals abstain from explicit vividness and focus on more cautious scenery, which perhaps makes them less devastating than the previous ones. The examples in figure 20 illustrate this as they, if seen independent of the narrative and context, simply depict a mountainside from the French Alps. The shots are almost exclusively filmed through an extreme long shot, which naturally increases the perception of distance to the scene.

Figure 20: Visuals of the disaster location in the Germanwings 9525 reporting (credits: broadcasts 157 and 157)

The case of Malaysia Airlines 370 is, by nature, less explicit in showing the (potential) crash site. This can be retraced to the fact that the disaster operation, according to the broadcasts, never recovered any physical wreckage through the search. This means that the visuals cannot show wreckage but only satellite

images of possible debris or scenery of potential crash sites. Examples can be found in figure 21, which shows objects in the ocean that could stem from the missing aircraft or a part of the ocean, which was assumed to be the area where the airplane crashed.

Figure 21: Visuals of the disaster location in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting (credits: broadcasts 143, 84, 56 and 144)
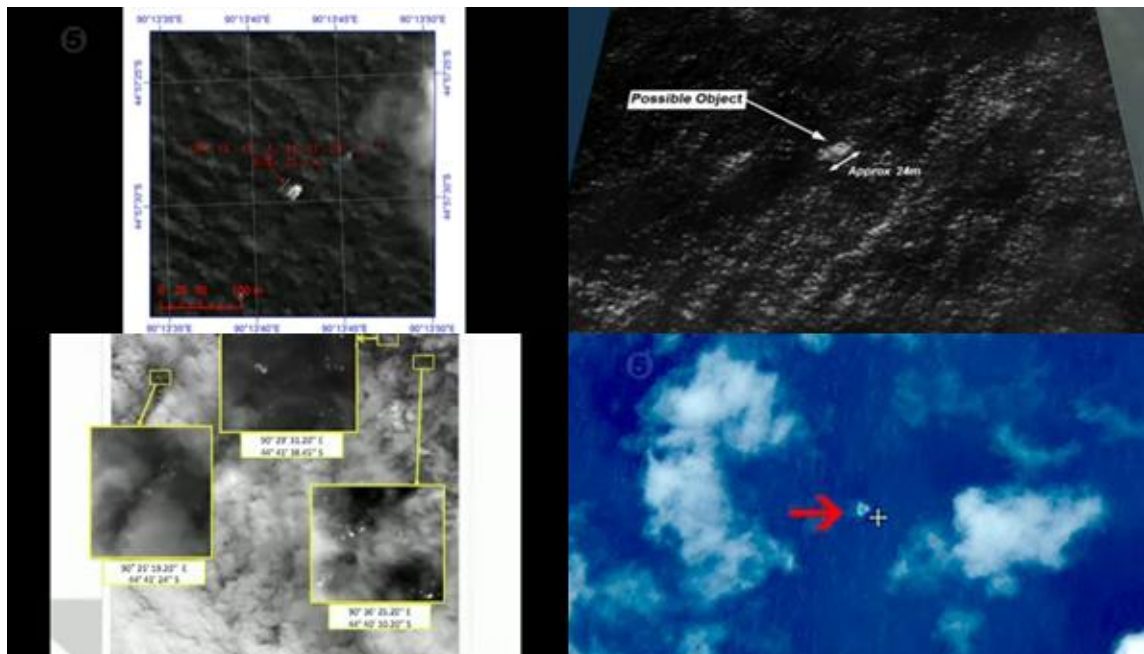
The shots are filmed through an extreme long, aerial shot from space or through an extreme long shot from above the ocean. This, again, creates the perception of distance and keeps the viewers geographically away from the scene. In addition, the visuals lack detail and definiteness regarding the identified wreckage. This suggests that the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting utilises a more inexplicit representation of the potential crash location. Given the context of the incident, this can be expected as there is simply no footage of physical wreckage to show. The next section examines the use of supporting visuals and informational graphics.

7.5. SUPPORTING VISUALS AND INFORMATIONAL GRAPHICS

Supporting visuals and informational graphics appear in 55.8% and 50.5% of the broadcasts. The purpose of both elements is to "mostly support and embellish the news report" and "provide visual … backdrops for the verbal story" (Graber 1996: 6). In other words, they 'support' the "'talk about' the event, rather than [show] images of the event" (Griffin 1992, cited in Graber 1996: 6).

Supporting visuals primarily rely on "corroborating 'representative' images" (Griffin 1992, cited in Graber 1996: 6), which visualise and come to stand for aspects of the storyline by association. This means that supporting visuals are "highly condensed symbolizations of the events that they are intended to illustrate" (Graber 1996: 6). Visual elements which fall into this category can vary in the overall themes, objects and subjects they depict, but also in the way they are filmed through shot sizes and angles.

However, as figures 22 and 23 illustrate, there are some similarities which were detected in the reporting of both Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525. These include the use of visuals which show the arrival announcement boards at the airports on the days of the incidents, aircraft from the airlines involved, visuals of a black box and flight data recorder as well as documentary evidence of air incidents that resemble those of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525. The shots of the examples are often filmed in similar shot sizes and from similar angles. For example, the arrival announcement boards as well as the black boxes and flight data recorders are filmed at a close distance, revealing details of the objects; while aircraft tend to be filmed from further away, revealing enough details to make out their relevance to the storyline.

Figure 22: Supporting visuals in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting (credits: broadcasts 106, 100, 3 and 14)
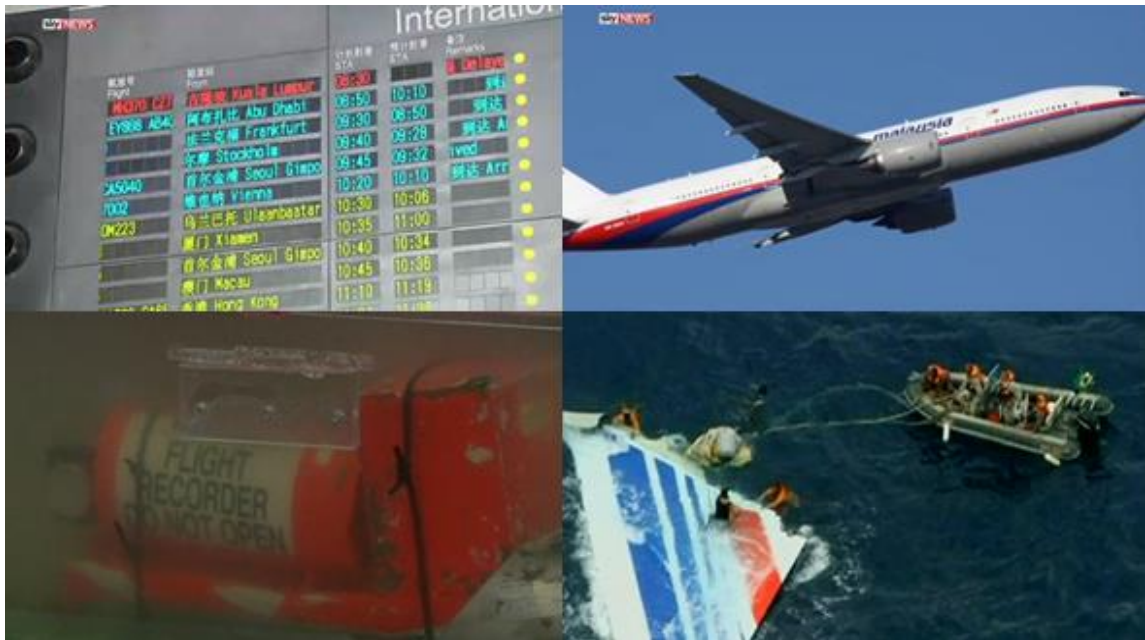
Figure 23: Supporting visuals in the Germanwings 9525 reporting (credits: broadcasts 217, 217, 151 and 272)

There are also supporting visuals which can be less easily compared by the objects they depict because they directly relate to the content of the storyline of each incident. Examples in the Malaysia Airlines 370 case, as seen in figure 24, include

images of the passenger manifest and passport control, after it became known that two individuals with stolen passports entered the aircraft. In comparison, examples in the Germanwings 9525 reporting, as illustrated in figure 25, include images of the flight school where Andreas Lubitz learned flying, a Lufthansa aircraft – as Germanwings is a subsidiary of the company – as well as an EasyJet aircraft and British Airways' flying manual, after the cause of the disaster brought about a discussion on the two-person cockpit rule of airlines.

All these examples are very different from the previous ones in figures 22 and 23 as they do not depict any visual similarities. However, they are still linked by the fact that they illustrate the storyline through similar functions of symbolisation and association (Graber 1996: 6). As noted earlier, supporting visuals are "highly condensed symbolizations of the events that they are intended to illustrate" (Graber 1996: 6). This means that they are "corroborating 'representative' images" (Griffin 1992, cited in Graber 1996: 6), which visualise and come to stand for aspects of the storyline by association.

Figure 24: Content-related supporting visuals in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting (credits: broadcasts 106 and 12)

Figure 25: Content-related supporting visuals in the Germanwings 9525 reporting (credits: broadcasts 157, 161, 157 and 224)

Informational graphics also "support and embellish the news report" as well as "provide visual … backdrops for the verbal story" (Graber 1996: 6). To accomplish this, they rely on simulated or animated visual aids, which "combine the intellectual satisfaction of words with the emotional power of visual messages" (Lester 2013: 215). The purpose of these is to help "explain aspects of a story that words, traditional pictures, and video alone could not explain fully" or "tell a story that is [simply] too tedious for words, yet too complex for photographs alone" (Lester 2013: 210, 214). Examples often include "numerical" or "dry, statistical data", which is more "understandable" and interesting "in a format that … engage[s] the viewer and help[s] … understand the information in a new [and clearly laid out] way" (Lester 2013: 215).

The understanding of what may constitute informational graphics is broad. This means that they may depict statistical and non-statistical data and can vary "from a pleasing arrangement of facts and figures in a table to a complex animated interactive diagram with accompanying text and audio that helps explain a story's meaning" (Lester 2013: 224-236, 210). The reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370

and Germanwings 9525 utilises three different kinds of informational graphics. These include non-data maps, fact boxes and animations, and all the examined informational graphics rely on non-statistical data. This can be retraced to the fact that the focus of the storylines – perhaps in contrast to other news reports with different themes or subjects – relies on the events of the incidents rather than on any statistical findings.

Non-data maps educate the public about foreign locations and "show immediately where a news story has taken place" (Lester 2013: 230). They can be categorised into locator data maps, which "show a geographic location … in a simplified design that lets the reader or viewer know where something of importance has occurred" (Lester 2013: 230); and explanatory data maps, which "not only reveal where a news story has occurred, but also tell how a series of events has taken place" (Lester 2013: 230). The examples in figures 26 and 27 show a combination of both. This means that they not only reveal the location of the incident, but also the distance the aircraft had travelled, the countries involved and the efforts from search and investigation teams. The visuals apply to both case studies as they all depict a part of the world map and the journey the aircraft took.

Figure 26: Non-data maps in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting (credits: broadcasts 84 and 144)

Fact boxes "contain a series of statements that summarize the key points of a story" and "catch the reader's attention in a graphic and entertaining way" (Lester 2013: 229). The examples in figure 28 illustrate this as they provide a visually appealing overview of the possible causes for the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident (engine failure, hijacking, depressurisation and catastrophic failure) and background details on the Germanwings 9525 airbus that crashed (delivered in 1991 and carried out 46,700 flights). The coverages of the case studies utilise similar designs as they both illustrate information inside of text boxes surrounded by related images.

Figure 28: Fact boxes in the Malaysia Airlines 370 (left) and Germanwings 9525 (right) reporting (credits: broadcasts 14 and 217)

Finally, animations are computerised, "moving images" (Cambridge Dictionary, no date[a]) which visualise the "accompanying text and audio" (Lester 2013: 210) of the news story through "successive drawings or positions of puppets or models"

(Oxford Dictionaries, no date[a]). Examples of animations can be found in figures 29 and 30, which 'create' visualisations of the search for the Malaysia Airlines 370 aircraft and the sequence of events in the Germanwings 9525 incident. The animations from the coverages of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 resemble each other as they both draw on image- and text-based footage.

Figure 29: Animations in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting (credits: broadcasts 56 and 106)

Figure 30: Animations in the Germanwings 9525 reporting (credits: broadcasts 224 and 217)
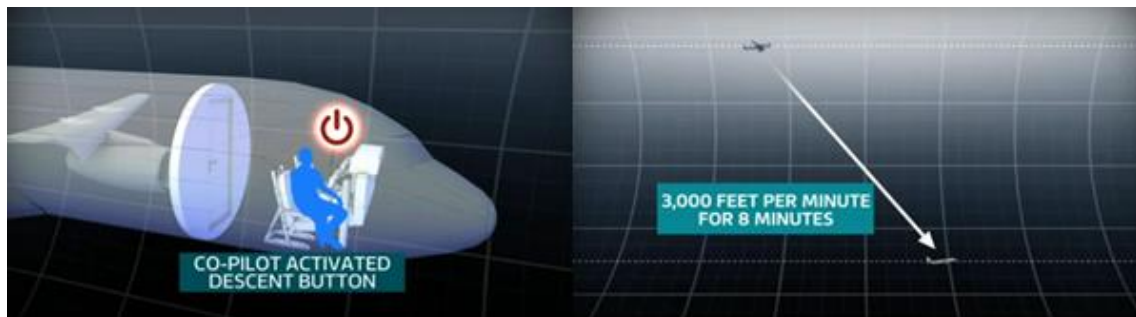
The next section examines the visual construction of grief, commemoration and death, relating back to the findings in chapter 5 on the representation of emotionality and 'suffering'.

7.6. GRIEF, COMMEMORATION AND DEATH

The visuals comprise of footage showing the relatives, friends and colleagues of the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 passengers, any shots of

commemoration and visuals of the passengers aboard the aircraft. The first two visual groups are relatively prominent in the media coverage as they appear in 54.0% and 38.6% of the broadcasts. Shots of the passengers can be found in 24.2% of the broadcasts and appear less often than the previous groups.[16]

The first visual group, as the name suggests, shows the relatives, friends and colleagues of the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 passengers and how they are coping with the news of the disasters. All visuals show some form of emotional turmoil going on in the images. However, the types of reactions vary from image to image. The perhaps most prominent reactions are intimate and show the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers processing their emotions. In figures 31 and 32, people are seen crying, holding tissues or a hand in front of their face, looking down, kneeling on the floor and hugging each other, while smiles or any expressions of happiness are absent. This visualises their sadness, grief and despair towards the news of the disasters. As Fishman (2017: 29) notes, "[n]ews coverage of death frequently includes images of those who are neither dead nor injured, but who were emotionally affected". This is because "it is part of the tragedy, just as much as what happened to the plane or the authorities' responses" (Duncan and Newton 2014).

What is particularly noticeable is that the relatives, friends and colleagues show different kinds of coping reactions. Some are shown as individuals, absorbed in their grief and withdrawing themselves from other people, while others seek comfort and consolation with other people amid groups. The former reaction can be seen in figures 31 (top left and right) and 32 (bottom left), which depict women with their heads tilted down or embraced by their arms, staring aimlessly into the distance, ignoring the people around them. This shows how alone they seem in

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[16] All these visuals relate to one another, and their appearances, especially in the first two visual groups, are often interlinked. For instance, visuals can show relatives, friends and colleagues of the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 passengers 'commemorating' their loss. However, for clarity, the visual construction of each category is examined separately, and commemorating relatives, friends and colleagues are only discussed under the visuals of commemoration.

their sadness and grief. According to Moeller (2017), this might be because grief "can be a very lonely and isolating experience. … you are very much alone in how it impacts you. Even if others have experienced the same loss, or one that is very similar, how you feel is never the same as someone else".

In contrast, figures 31 (bottom left and right) and 32 (top left and right, bottom right) show relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers hugging, consoling and just being with each other. This form of reaction is interesting as it, in contrast to the previous one, depicts a particular type of bond and community among the affected people, which is based on the fact that they are all going through the same situation. As Bastian et al. (2014: 2083-8084) note, "shared pain promotes cooperation … and bonding among strangers … Pain, it seems, has the capacity to act as social glue, building cooperation within novel social collectives".

Figure 31: Visuals of grief in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting (credits: broadcasts 109, 109, 39 and 76)

The visuals are almost exclusively filmed through medium and medium close-up shots. This brings the viewers physically close to the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers and allows them to observe the details and intimacy of their emotions, irrespective of whether the shots show individuals or groups of people.

However, there are also other types of images, which are less inviting into their grief. Examples can be seen in figures 33 and 34, which depict people being ushered, shielded and driven away by buses from the media. Here, the attention lies not on the grief of the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers, but more on the protection of their privacy as their faces and emotional reactions are hidden. This could be some form of sensitive reporting as "relatives have the right to privacy and dignity while coming to terms with their grief and shock" (Duncan and Newton 2014). Yet, as the media still show images of them, it seems more likely related to access issues: Given that the relatives, friends and colleagues are protected by security and the safety of buses, journalists cannot access them without authorisation.

While all previous examples show the relatives, friends and colleagues in a relatively passive state in the sense that their movements are limited, there is also another set of visuals which depicts highly contrasting scenes of violence and aggression. These exclusively stem from the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting. Examples can be seen in figure 35, which shows people pushing and being pushed around, fighting, screaming and shouting, and an overall turmoil, all of which is highlighted by rapid movements in the shots and the more 'face-on' media attention seen in the number of cameras, microphones and flashlights.

This set of visuals is interesting insofar as it shows a different side to the 'suffering' of the relatives, friends and colleagues, which is anger and rage rather than sadness and despair. As Pantti et al. (2012: 62) note, "disasters can bring a flood of powerful emotions to the public sphere." This can include anger, "a "negative" emotion leading to acts of violence" (Pantti et al. 2012: 161). As section 4.5 showed, this emotion is primarily attributed to the relatives, friends and

colleagues who are frustrated with the overall lack of news, information and progress in the disaster operation. Therefore, while it may demonstrate that disasters can bring about several discourses of emotions (Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen 2007: 21; Pantti et al. 2012: 161), it only applies to the reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370, and not Germanwings 9525, because of the specific set of circumstances.

Figure 35: Visuals of anger in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting (credits: broadcasts 39, 86, 39 and 39)

Visuals of commemoration show "the action or fact" of remembering, honouring and paying respect to the passengers that were lost on board the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 aircraft (Oxford Dictionaries, no date[b]; Macmillan Dictionary 2018; Cambridge Dictionary, no date[b]). To accomplish this, the shots show the 'actual' action of commemoration, sometimes with the help of objects, or objects on their own which imply a previous action and thus symbolise commemoration. Examples can be found in figures 36 and 37, which show various forms of commemoration, such as people holding a minute of silence in honour of those perished, praying, singing, lighting candles, sending off sky

lanterns, writing messages and letters of love and support, putting down flowers and placing flags on half-mast.

Figure 36: Visuals of commemoration in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting (credits: broadcasts 76, 12, 14, 14, 14 and 14)

Figure 37: Visuals of commemoration in the Germanwings 9525 reporting (credits: broadcasts 249, 242, 193, 281, 177 and 193)

The objects used in the images, both in a supportive and main function, support the commemoration on a symbolic level. Lit candles and lanterns flying off symbolise light, hope and the casting away of "worries and negative thoughts … into the sky" (Candle Bags UK 2018); crosses, in Christian terms, symbolise "salvation" as well as "acceptance of death or suffering" and "give[] people the ability to orient themselves within space and time" (Protas 1997); messages, letters and flowers show love and support; and flags, half-mast or not, represent unity and solidarity. These instances are almost ritual-like in the sense that they show "a form of action that includes dramatic symbolism and arouses emotions through which individuals might think, feel and act as members of a community" (Pantti and Sumiala 2009: 120).

They also set the overall mood of the scenes. In contrast to previous footage, the visuals exclusively exhibit calmness and tranquillity; love, solidarity, hope and community; perhaps even positivity in the face of darkness (Protas 1997). One might even be able to argue that they depict some form of acceptance or coming to peace with the events in the sense that the people are letting go. Hanusch (2010: 134), on the basis of Kitch (2000), argues:

> journalists mediate the larger cultural process of mourning, beginning with the separation through the death itself, followed by the funeral ritual characterized by a feeling of 'communitas' (Turner, 1969) and concluding with the reaffirmation of group values and acceptance of death (Hanusch 2010: 134).

The visuals of commemoration are almost exclusively filmed from proximity, which brings the viewers physically close to the scene and allows them to observe, understand and perhaps even be a part of the emotions that are spread. Exceptions, where shots are filmed from further away, can be seen in figures 38 and 39, which depict church services or minutes of silence held by masses of people. While these may increase the physical distance to the scene, they also allow the viewers to see the large number and extent of people that are united in commemoration to show their love, prayers and solidarity for those lost aboard the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 aircraft.

Figure 38: Visuals of mass commemoration in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting (credits: broadcasts 60, 56, 23 and 76)

Figure 39: Visuals of mass commemoration in the Germanwings 9525 reporting (credits: broadcasts 242, 193, 197 and 193)

Finally, the visuals of passengers show photographs of the people that were on board the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 aircraft. The most prominent images that fall into this category are photographs which show "the deceased when still alive" (Hanusch 2010: 60). As figures 40 and 41 show, these

are arranged by means of a photo gallery, which positions several pictures of passengers next to each other, blend-ins and -outs, which show pictures of passengers floating in and out of the screen replacing one another, and single shots, which only show one passenger or a small group of passengers who know each other at a time on the screen.

Figure 40: Visuals of the passengers in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting (credits: broadcasts 127, 144, 144 and 14)

The effects of these arrangements vary. The first two focus more on the number of passengers that were lost and thus centre on the extent of human destruction in the disasters. This can be deduced from the photo galleries, which show several passengers at once, and photo blend-ins that show several passengers in succession by replacing one another. In comparison, single shots or shots of small groups of passengers focus more on the stories of the individuals rather than the human destruction as a whole. Here, the narrative that accompanies the shots often goes into detail and focuses on the backgrounds of the individuals. Therefore, the shots and news report sequences are "honouring … [the] dead through retrospectives about their lives" (Hanusch 2010: 49).

However, leaning on chapter 5, this honouring primarily occurs by mentioning the tragedy that struck them. This means that the focus of the reports almost

exclusively lies on the reason of the individuals' being on the aircraft, rather than the lives of the human beings as a whole. In other words, in figures 40 and 41, the viewers do not actually get to know the people in the image, but only the reason why they decided to take those airplanes: A French couple was attending university in Beijing (see figure 40, top right); two retirees were travelling to Beijing to enjoy their retirement (see figure 40, bottom left); artists were "returning home after attending a cultural exhibition in Kuala Lumpur" (BBC 2017a; see figure 40, bottom right); a businessman was travelling home to his family after a work trip (see figure 41, middle left); opera singers were returning to Germany after a concert (see figure 41, middle left); a family was travelling through Europe (see figure 41, bottom left); and a pupil was returning home from a student exchange (see figure 41, bottom right) (broadcasts 144, 14, 249, 217, 151 and 284).

All these images, irrespective of whether they occur as part of a photo gallery, a blend-in and -out sequence or as single shots on the screen, are medium-close portraits of the passengers in happy moments of their lives. This could be because the photos were likely selected and provided to the media by the relatives of the passengers. However, this presentation of the passengers also brings the deceased closer to the viewers as they can relate to and perhaps feel solidarity with them.

Other shots, which show photos of passengers, can be seen in figure 42. In comparison to the previous slide shows, these are part of the visual setting of the shot and share the screen with other objects, such as hands holding a print-out or flowers surrounding print-out portraits. The objects make the arrangement appear personal as they link the photos of the deceased to loved ones mourning their disappearance or loss. This, again, creates relatability and accessibility to the visuals and perhaps even makes the viewers think about the relatives, friends and colleagues who placed the photos in the shots in the first place.

While all the previous visuals of passengers focused on photos of the deceased when they were still alive, there are images which indicate or imply their death and deal "with death … symbolically" (Hanusch 2010: 60, 69, 2013: 502). These typically "do not show any actual bodies" but play on scenes that "suggest [through the voice-over or symbolic association] that someone has died but show little physical evidence of it" (Hanusch 2013: 502). As the Malaysia Airlines 370 aircraft and passengers were never found, these kinds of visuals are exclusively found in the Germanwings 9525 reporting. Examples can be seen in figure 43, which shows white cars carrying the bodies of the deceased home or red flags "indicating partial human remains" (NPR 2015). One could consider the image of the red flags as graphic as it shows "scenes of general destruction" (Hanusch 2010: 60); however, it is entirely "devoid of corpses" and blood and only symbolises 'death' by association (Hanusch 2010: 60, 69, 2013: 498).

Figure 43: Symbolic displays of the deceased in the Germanwings 9525 reporting (credits: broadcasts 270 and 226)

Images which explicitly show death were not detected in the examined broadcasts. This is entirely in line with findings by Hanusch (2010, 2013) who notes that "while reports of death were common", visuals "are treated with much sensitivity" (Hanusch 2010: 59, 71). This means that photos which "actually depict death", and especially ones that do so explicitly, are "indeed very seldom shown" and "still largely hidden from our newspapers and television screens" (Hanusch 2010: 77, 59). While there are exceptions to this when on "relatively rare occasions … death is depicted directly, showing the body" (Fishman 2017: 5), Hanusch (2010: 72) and Campbell (2004: 140-141) attribute the reason for this to matters of taste and decency: Journalists often "shy away so much from publishing gory images" (Hanusch 2010: 72) because they do not want to offend or upset "their domestic audience" (Campbell 2004: 142). Hanusch argues:

> Journalists believe that most of their readers or viewers access their news while eating, and who would want to see anything upsetting during a meal? Similarly, children may often be present at those times, so the issue of the protection of minors comes into the equation as well. Taylor … argues that 'the balance the papers try to strike is between the right to know (which is connected with the right to see) and the right to be shielded from too much reality' (Taylor, 1998, p. 70). (Hanusch 2010: 72)

There are also "quite a number of ethical guidelines restricting the visual depiction of death in Western societies" (Hanusch 2010: 73). Indeed, some "newspapers and, especially, broadcasting codes have quite explicit restrictions on the coverage of death and graphic images" (Hanusch 2010: 73). For instance, the editorial guidelines of the BBC state:

> We will always need to consider carefully the editorial justification for portraying graphic material of human suffering and distress. There are almost no circumstances in which it is justified to show executions and very few circumstances in which it is justified to broadcast other scenes in which people are being killed. It is always important to respect the privacy

and dignity of the dead. We should never show them gratuitously. (BBC 2005, cited in Hanusch 2010: 73)

This shows that an absence of explicit images of death is not solely attributed to the sensitivity of the media to audiences but also to news organisations' restrictions preserving the dignity of the deceased. The next section examines the final prominent set of visuals, which are those of culpability.

7.7. CULPABILITY

Visuals of the suspects or perpetrator appear in 35.4% of the broadcasts. They depict suspects of the disaster investigation or the perpetrator if the cause became evident. Examples can be seen in figure 44. Here, the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting exclusively shows suspects, which were the aircraft's pilots as well as two Iranian men who boarded the flights on stolen passports and were later eliminated as suspects because they were trying to migrate to Germany (broadcast 101). The visuals that accompany the reporting show the suspects through airport security cameras in the process of boarding the airplane or in earlier situations of their lives, such as with two passengers and a colleague after a previous flight (see figure 44, first three images). What is interesting about these photos is that they present the suspects in two types of situations: First, they may be seen as the suspects they are, such as being searched at the airport security with wide-spread arms or on papers that resemble 'wanted' posters. Second, they are depicted as individuals who pose for pictures that viewers can relate to.

In comparison, the Germanwings 9525 reporting focused on the perpetrator who caused the incident: the co-pilot of the flight. The visuals almost exclusively show him in previous, perhaps even 'happy' situations of his life, such as exercising, travelling or in the privacy of his home (see figure 44, last three images). This seems in contrast to the role he played in the incident as the visual representation

makes him appear more human than it could be expected given the atrocity of his action.

Figure 44: Visuals of the suspects and perpetrator in the Malaysia Airlines 370 (first three images) and Germanwings 9525 (last three images) reporting (credits: broadcasts 82, 106, 106, 157, 169 and 177)
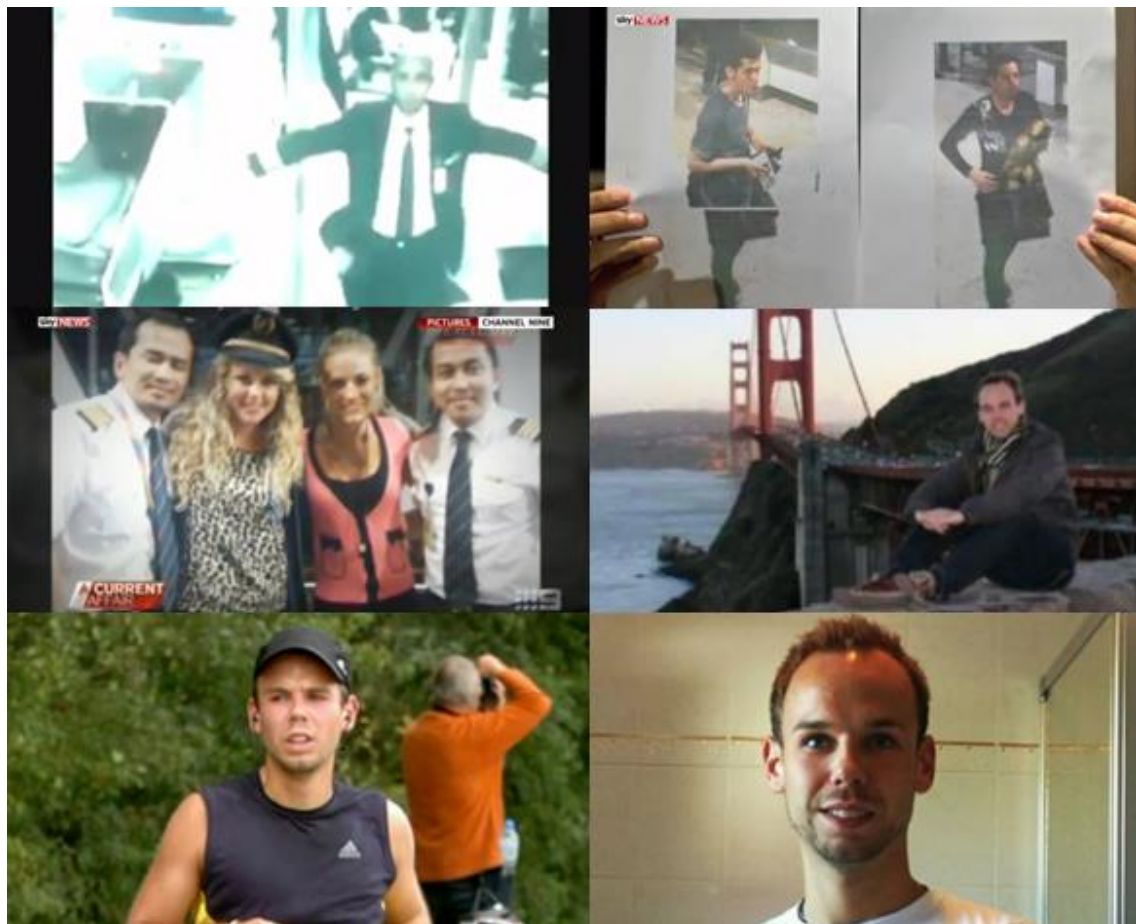
All these visual representations of suspects and the perpetrator, i.e. as criminals and human beings, could be common themes in crime stories. However, previous literature on this could not be found as visual analyses tend to focus more on those affected by crimes rather than the culprits (see e.g. Greer 2017). Therefore, this is a line of inquiry that needs to be investigated in future research.

7.8.   CONCLUSION

This chapter examined the use and construction of television visuals in the reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 to establish a framework for the visual understanding of airplane disaster news and potentially other disaster stories. As Machin and Polzer (2015: 2) noted, this is important because visual elements "are not simply mere style or 'presentation'" but actually form an important "part of the way in which news creates meaning". The chapter found that visuals are central to the reporting of the case studies and can, irrespective of the incident, be divided into several prominent groups. These include:

- interviews and press conferences, which can provide three different types of knowledge that are official knowledge, informed knowledge and personal experience.
- visuals of the disaster operation, which depict the efforts and management in the aftermath of the incidents, including the search and recovery of the aircraft.
- visuals of the (potential) disaster location, which show the debris of the aircraft or indicate the place where potential wreckage could be.
- supporting visuals, which visualise and come to stand for particular aspects of the storyline by association.
- informational graphics, which "provide … visual backdrops for the verbal story" (Graber 1996: 6).
- visuals of grief, which show how the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers are coping with the news of the incidents.
- visuals of commemoration, which show the act of remembering, honouring and paying respect to the passengers.
- visuals of death, which show images of or symbols that come to stand for the passengers aboard the aircraft.

- visuals of culpability, which show the suspects or perpetrator of the incidents.

These groups not only help to understand airplane disaster news from a more visual perspective but also show the different functions that visuals can take on. Thus, in an overall argument, visuals may be informative (interviews, press conferences and footage from the operation), emotionally appealing (footage of grief, commemoration, death and destruction) or supportive to the news story (supporting visuals and informational graphics). This adds to the impact of the reporting and helps draw in audiences because the coverage provides both a compelling and informative account of the events. The next chapter concludes the main arguments of this thesis and discusses the relevance of the findings to journalism studies and disaster communication more generally; it also points out the limitations of the research and makes suggestions for areas of future study.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

By drawing on concepts from journalism studies and disaster communication, this thesis contributed to knowledge by developing a framework for understanding the media's representation of airplane disasters through broadcast news. It is important to highlight that, while the previous results are based on two case studies, an additional study was conducted and attached to appendix A, which confirms the representativeness of the findings across eight further incidents. Based on this, one can acceptably conclude that the reporting of airplane disasters can be understood through the following key attributes:

(1) Media interest

The finding shows that airplane disasters are generally newsworthy events, which attract a disproportionate amount of initial media attention that decays over time. The speed of this process can vary as media interest may be more extreme or gradual for some cases than others. This may be attributed to a variety of factors, such as new leads or varying interests due to geographical and -political influences. However, the overall development of media interest in airplane disasters still follows life cycles and is similar to findings by Benthall (1993: 109) on "the rhythm of the classic 'big story' which breaks suddenly ... keeps going for a time ... and finally peters out".

(2) Topics

The topics of the broadcasts show that the media focus "on particular ideas" out of the bigger issue or theme (Wilkins 2016). These can be informative elements on the disasters, such as news on the general nature of the incidents, follow-up information on the immediate disaster responses and background information. However, they may also have a more personal side, which includes the human response to the disasters and especially the emotional states of the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers. This juxtaposition is interesting as it

begins to suggest that journalism can "combine the objectivity, the factuality of the scenes and actions, and the greatest attention to the subjective dimension of the experience and feelings of the actors of the events" (Neveu 2014: 538)

(3) Causes

The reporting of the causes explores the 'why' and 'how' of the disasters and shows that the media coverage of incidents, and perhaps even 'events' in general, can be distinguished into ignorance and epilogue phases. The former is characterised by an absence of information and often relies on external evidence from the investigation to make (founded) speculations about what may have happened. The latter tends to be based on internal evidence from the investigation and factually concludes what happened. The epilogue phase can also develop further uncertainty or ignorance by asking questions about the responsibility for the disaster. It is fitting then that the dominant linguistic mood in the ignorance phase is modality, which allows the expression of possibilities by adding distance between the speakers and the statements they make (Neiger 2007: 313); while the epilogue phase uses the indicative and is thus much more certain and definite about the reported causes and information provided. Like the previous point, this suggests an ambivalence in the tone of coverage as there are both a captivating "narrative" and the display of the truth using facts (Naranjo 2017: 49).

(4) Disaster responses

The media discussion of disaster responses demonstrates how societies and governments respond to disasters, probably intending to prevent future ones. It shows that responses tend to be triggered by specific discoveries about the disasters, but that they can typically be summarised under the categories of policy change, security and other actions taken or planned in response to the incidents, such as activism. These need not be actual implementations but can also involve recommendations, discussions or hypothetical propositions. In the case of

activism, there are also varying degrees of physical force, ranging from civilised protests at media conferences to more violent marches.

(5) Emotionality and 'suffering'

This finding shows that, contrary to the ideals of dispassionate journalism and truth-telling, the reporting of airplane disasters can be compellingly emotional. This is primarily accomplished in two ways, using (1) emotional content and (2) stylistic features which construct emotions. The emotional content refers to situations which, by nature, appeal to the emotional side of audiences. These are the tragedies of the disasters themselves (i.e. the passengers and their 'suffering'), those emotionally impacted by the disasters or, as the findings in appendix A add, the destruction at the crash sites and eyewitness reports describing the events of the incidents. The stylistic features bring across emotions from a linguistic level and may include devices like personalised storytelling, the outsourcing of emotions, detailed descriptions, juxtapositions, contrasts, conditional perfect as well as technical features such as emotional language, visuals and sounds (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013).

(6) Safety and risk

Contrary to arguments in the literature, this finding shows that the media take an ethical approach to the communication of safety and risk through a discourse of reassurance. This is primarily accomplished by (1) statements that 'state' the safety of aviation, the aircraft and airlines involved in the incidents, (2) explanations that provide reasons for the safety of aviation, the aircraft and airlines and (3) stylistic features or constructions which demonstrate safety on a linguistic level. However, it is necessary to add that, while the findings in the additional study in appendix A support this, they also show a discourse of dramatisation, which means that there is a juxtaposition between a factual and captivating form of reporting (Naranjo 2017: 49).

(7)   Uncertainty, ignorance and speculation

The representations of uncertainty, ignorance and speculation illustrate how the media deal with reality and 'truth' when the information available is incomplete or non-existent and how they may draw on speculation as a proposed answer to some of this. The findings demonstrate that all concepts are usually linked to specific topics. This means that claims of uncertainty and ignorance relate to the locations of the airplanes or passengers, the health status of the passengers, the causes, responsibilities and moments leading up to the incidents, a general lack of information and the question of resolution. Speculation tends to develop some of these topics further and offers 'theories' about the causes, the moments leading up to the incidents and the question of resolution. All concepts are expressed linguistically through words or expressions that "refer prototypically" to the concepts and linguistic modality (Simmerling and Janich 2016: 964), both of which help to express caution and stress the uncertain, ignorant and speculative statements by being indefinite about the information provided.

(8)   Visuals

The analysis shows how the media rely on visuals to form "part of the way in which news creates meaning" (Machin and Polzer 2015: 2) by using several different image groups. These include shots of (1) interviews and press conferences, (2) the disaster operation, (3) the (potential) crash location, (4) supporting visuals, (5) informational graphics, (6) the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers, (7) commemoration, (8) the passengers and (9) the suspects or perpetrator. Each of these takes on similar compositions and functions. Thus, footage can be filmed from proximity or at a distance and be informative (interviews, press conferences and footage from the operation), emotionally appealing (footage of grief, commemoration, death and destruction) or supportive to the news story (supporting visuals and informational graphics).

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

While the main contribution of the findings was to advance knowledge on the representation of airplane disasters, the eight established features also add to the field of journalism studies and disaster communication more generally because they develop ideas which can apply to media coverage more broadly. Most prominently, this includes the concepts of uncertainty, ignorance and speculation as these show how journalists and the media deal with a situation where they are "limited by something much larger than themselves, something much larger than life" (Sonnevend 2018: 76), namely an absence of information.

One argument that was made is that, in the ignorance phase, the media add possibility to the provided information by drawing on modality and speculation. This may not just be relevant for the understanding of disaster coverage but also political or economic news as, here too, the foundation is that "events set boundaries for journalistic storytelling" (Sonnevend 2018: 76) until new evidence or information comes to light and allows for a factual conclusion in the epilogue phase. Then, speculation as a concept also adds to previous studies in the field as it is under-researched and, just like emotionality (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013), poses an important counterview to the ideals of journalism to 'objectivity' and truth-telling. If the concept is present in other news, the conceptual implications of this would be enormous as it would not only reform our understanding of the field but could also contribute to establishing new forms of journalistic practice, which are perhaps more in line with narrative journalism.

To briefly explain, narrative journalism is a form of (new) journalism, which applies the compelling "style and techniques of fiction" (van Krieken and Sanders 2017: 1367) to the factual reporting and truth-telling of traditional journalism (Vanoost 2013: 77; van Krieken and Sanders 2017: 1365). This not only has the capacity to (better) attract and maintain the attention of news audiences but also to improve their retention and comprehension because "[c]ompared to traditional journalism, narrative journalism ... [can] provide a meaningful [and

richer] context to news events and situations" (van Krieken and Sanders 2017: 1365; Machill et al. 2007: 186-187; Neveu 2014: 537-538).

While this form of journalism may "regularly [be] challenged on the grounds of factual accuracy and stretching the truth" (Habers and Broersma 2014: 640), counterarguments are that narrative journalistic texts do not actually "abandon the principle of truth" or "their intention to inform and tell a true story", but simply "do so using literary tools such as structure, tone, dialogue or literary scenes, and do it in such a way that they build a narrative framework as attractive as any fictional text" (Naranjo 2017: 54). It is fitting then that, contrary to critical claims, narrative journalism is seen as "the highest achievable goal for journalists" (van Krieken and Sanders 2017: 1364), which is often "reward[ed] … with professional recognition such as press awards" (Habers and Broersma 2014: 640) or "important journalism prizes" and thus associated with high quality journalism rather than sensationalism (van Krieken and Sanders 2017: 1372, 1374).

This explanation is important because it raises questions about some of the key academic theories on journalistic practice (Schudson 2001; Kovach and Rosenstiel 2001; Tuchman 1972; Murphy et al. 2006). However, the findings of this thesis begin to suggest that the phenomenon can be seen in the reporting of airplane disasters and may perhaps be more common in journalism than originally thought. One reason for this might be that "journalism cannot get by without a mass audience" and has to compete with "an overabundance of information" for audience attention (Ekström 2000: 489, 465). Therefore, one solution to this problem is the move from traditional journalism towards a more narrative form of journalism as it allows combining the facts with a captivating narrative by communicating both "information and fascinating images and drama" (Ekström 2000: 489).

In the findings, this becomes clear in several points. Representations of uncertainty, ignorance and speculation, just like the strategic ritual of

emotionality, illustrate how news reporting can produce compelling coverage in line with the ideals of traditional journalism to 'objectivity' and truth-telling; while the reporting of the topics, safety and risk, and the visuals juxtaposes information and discourses of emotionality or dramatisation. All this can be seen in the previous summary of findings (as well as chapters 4-7). Therefore, an overall conclusion can be drawn, which suggests that the striving for truth-telling is not contradictory to the provision of engaging forms of storytelling and narrative journalism.

Finally, this thesis contributes to knowledge by advancing the concept of risk and the visual representation of television news. In the case of risk, this means that, contrary to arguments in the literature, the media do not exclusively amplify or dramatise the risk of unlikely events (Kasperson and Kasperson 1996: 97; Power 2004: 33), but may also take an ethical approach to the communication of safety through a discourse of reassurance. In the case of visuals, this means that television news visuals, or at least those of (airplane) disasters, may be categorised into common types of groups with different functions that add to "part of the way in which news creates meaning" (Machin and Polzer 2015: 2). This finding may not be revolutionary but contributes to a generally neglected area of study, which is the understanding of "the way in which … [television visuals] are employed, arranged and designed" (Machin and Polzer 2015: 1)

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

There are some limitations to the research. This includes the fact that the thesis is exclusively based on broadcast news and disregards other media, such as newspapers, social media or citizen-generated media. While this decision was defended previously, future research may want to examine the comparability of the results across different media channels to build a better understanding of the representation in the media in general. Then, the main research is only based on two incidents, which are Germanwings 9525 and Malaysia Airlines 370. This

choice was justified in section 3.8, but a broader study, which tests the results on the reporting of eight further cases, was conducted and attached to appendix A. The results of this demonstrate that an overall representativeness of the framework can be observed across several, different incidents (both recent and more remote) and that the representation of airplane disasters can thus be understood through the previous findings.

However, this study comes with a new set of limitations. First, as "disasters" are usually defined by a higher number of casualties, only incidents with at least 50 fatalities were investigated. Therefore, it might be worth examining smaller airplane or even helicopter incidents with fewer casualties to extend the framework for understanding mediated airplane disasters and compare differences in coverage. Second, only disasters which produced at least ten broadcasts on Box of Broadcasts were examined. The reason for this is to ensure that the results hold across a broader range of data. However, in the selection process of the disasters for the study in appendix A, it became evident that, within the sample period from January 2005 to July 2019, there were also 41 other "forgotten" disasters with at least 50 fatalities which received barely any media coverage on Box of Broadcasts or LexisNexis.[17] While this does not invalidate any of the previous findings, it does question some arguments about the general visibility of airplane disasters, as discussed by several scholars in the literature review. Therefore, it is necessary to consider this in future research as it may tell us more about the impact of geopolitics on the reporting of disasters. Third, included in those 41 "forgotten" disasters were the SpanAir 5022 and Helios

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[17] These disasters are the flights Cubana de Aviación 972, US-Bangla Airlines 211, Iran Aseman Airlines 3704, La Mia Airlines 2933, Flydubai 981, Trigana Air 267, Air Algérie 5017, Tatarstan Airlines 363, Dana Air 992, Bhoja Air 213, Hewa Bora Airways 952, Iran Air 277, Aero Caribbean 883, Airblue 202, Afriqiyah Airways 771, Air India Express 812, Ethiopian Airlines 409, Caspian Airlines 409, Yemenia 626, Calgan Air 3407, Aeroflot-Nord 821, Iran Aseman Airlines 6895, Atlasjet 4203, Malift Air 9Q-COS, One-Two-GO Airlines 269, TAM Airlines 3054, Kenya Airways 507, Adam Air 574, ADC Airlines 53, Gol Transportes Aéreos 1907, Pulkovo 612, Sibir or S7 Airlines 778, Armavia 967, Sosoliso Airlines 1145, Bellview Airlines 210, Mandala Airlines 091, West Caribbean Airways 708, Equatorial Express Airlines 3C-VQR and Kam Air 904.

Airways 522 incidents, which received coverage on LexisNexis, potentially because of their geographical or -political proximity to the UK, but not on Box of Broadcasts, which suggests an archival problem rather than them being "forgotten" disasters. Therefore, a limitation is also that the disasters should have been included in the broader research but could not because broadcasts on them were not available or existent.

Finally, future research may want to consider exploring some of the aspects examined in this thesis, such as those of uncertainty, ignorance and speculation or the use of television visuals, in other journalism contexts like political or economic news. One reason for this is that the concepts are under-researched and, just like ideas on emotionality, pose important counterviews to the ideals of journalism to truth-telling. If the concepts are present in other news, the conceptual implications would not only reform our understanding of the field but could also contribute to establishing new forms of journalistic practice in line with narrative journalism. Thus, given its significance, more treatment and attention need to be given to this field, at least in discussions on the future and (potential) new forms of journalism.

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APPENDIX A: THE BROADER APPLICATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

This appendix study tests all previous findings on other airplane disasters. The results demonstrate that, while some of the issues may differ depending on the examined disaster, overall tendencies between the case studies can be seen, which means that the framework established with the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 incidents provides an acceptable basis for understanding the media's representation of airplane disasters.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The methodological design is similar to the one described in section 3.8, except for the chosen disasters. This is because the focus does not lie on two case studies but several to examine the broader applicability of the research findings. The disasters to be investigated were chosen using four requirements. First, they need to have occurred between 2005 and July 2019, which allows examining a broader sample and more recent incidents. Second, they need to have been operated by commercial, passenger-carrying airlines because these incidents are the ones that receive most of "the attention" of the media (Hood 2012: 28). Third, the disasters need to have at least 50 fatalities as these are major incidents, which are likely to receive a lot and lasting media coverage. Fourth, there need to be at least ten broadcasts on Box of Broadcasts which report on the disasters during the first year after the incident. This helps to establish a relatively comparable sample.

Based on these requirements, the following eight disasters were found and examined: Air France 447, Malaysia Airlines 17, Indonesia AirAsia 8501, Metrojet 9268, EgyptAir 804, Saratov Airlines 703, Lion Air 610 and Ethiopian Airlines 302. Table 20 describes each incident in more detail. For simplicity in keeping track of supporting evidence, any examples of data, just as in the main body of this thesis, will not be cited as per Harvard Referencing guide but assigned a

number, e.g. "broadcast 7". To distinguish between the different case studies more clearly, the initials for the airlines, as seen in table 20, will be used, e.g. "AF447 broadcast 7". The full references of the broadcasts are attached to appendix C.

Table 20: Background information on the additional airplane disasters

Flight ID	Description of the incident
Air France AF 447	On June 1st, 2009, Air France flight 447 was travelling from Rio de Janeiro to Paris when it disappeared over the Atlantic Ocean (Ross and Tweedie 2012). It took almost two years of searching to discover the aircraft, and the investigation concluded technical failures and pilot error as the cause of the incident (The Guardian 2012). 228 people were on board (Ross and Tweedie 2012).
Malaysia Airlines MH 17	On July 17th, 2014, Malaysia Airlines flight 17 was on the way from Amsterdam to Kuala Lumpur when it was shot by a Russian-made missile and crashed in Eastern Ukraine (BBC 2016). 283 passengers and 15 crew members were on board (BBC 2016).
Indonesia AirAsia QZ 8501	On December 28th, 2014, Indonesia AirAsia flight 8501 was on route from Surabaya, Indonesia, to Singapore when it crashed into the Java Sea (BBC 2015). The incident was attributed to a faulty instrument and pilot error (BBC 2015). 162 people were on board (BBC 2015).
Metrojet KGL 9268	On October 31st, 2015, Metrojet flight 9268 was on the way from Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, to St Petersburg, Russia, when a bomb on board caused it to explode over the Sinai desert (Oliphant 2016). The incident was linked to a terrorist attack (Oliphant 2016). 224 people were on board (Oliphant 2016).
EgyptAir MS 804	On May 19th, 2016, EgyptAir flight 804 was travelling from Paris to Cairo when it crashed into the eastern Mediterranean Sea (BBC 2018[a]). The incident is most likely attributed to a fire in the cockpit, which caused the loss of the aircraft's control (BBC 2018[a]). 66 people were on board (BBC 2018[a]).

Flight ID	Description of the incident
Saratov Airlines SOV 703	On February 11th, 2018, Saratov Airlines flight 703 was on route from Moscow to Orsk, Russia, when icing and "wrong actions taken by the flight crew" caused the aircraft to crash (Russian Aviation Insider 2019). 65 passengers and six crew were on board (Russian Aviation Insider 2019).
Lion Air LN 610	On October 29th, 2018, Lion Air flight 610 was on the way from Jakarta to Pangkal Pinang, Indonesia, when a fault in the aircraft type, Boeing 737 MAX, caused it to crash into the Java Sea (BBC 2018[b]). 189 people were on board (BBC 2018[b]).
Ethiopian Airlines ET 302	On March 10th, 2019, Ethiopian Airlines flight 302 was on route from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to Nairobi, Kenya, when it experienced a fault in the aircraft type, Boeing 737 MAX, and crashed (BBC 2019). The incident is often linked to Lion Air flight 610 and led to the grounding of all Boeing 737 MAX aircraft until further notice (Isidore 2019). 149 people were on board (BBC 2019).

For consistency with the cases of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525, the sample is news broadcasts by the BBC, ITV, Sky, Channel 4 and Channel 5. It is accessed through Box of Broadcasts, using the names of the airlines as the units of analysis. The sample period is restricted to a year of coverage starting on the day before the incidents. This guarantees that most, if not all, relevant broadcasts are included in the search. The only exception to this is the Air France flight 447 because it was resolved about two years after its occurrence. Therefore, an additional sample period of four months, i.e. from April to July 2011, is examined. Table 21 shows a breakdown of the search results for each case study.

Table 21: Breakdown of the sample size for each disaster by channel

Case study	BBC	ITV	Sky	Channel 4	Channel 5	Total
Air France 447	16	0	0	0	0	16
Malaysia Airlines 17	75	13	16	3	1	108
Indonesia AirAsia 8501	25	4	7	3	1	40
Metrojet 9268	13	15	11	1	2	42
EgyptAir 804	36	8	7	3	3	57
Saratov Airlines 703	6	1	0	1	3	11
Lion Air 610	21	3	3	1	4	32
Ethiopian Airlines 302	22	8	7	4	8	49

Unlike the cases of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525, the sample is only subject to thematic, discourse and visual analyses, and not content analysis, because contextual analyses can go deeper than the surface level and make inferences about the application of specific findings. Given that this appendix only serves as a complement to previous findings, the sample is limited to ten broadcasts per incident, chosen randomly, making it a total of 80 additional reports to be analysed.

The methodological approach is similar to the one described in section 3.8. This means that the thematic analysis identifies themes, organises and summarises them "to show patterns" and "theorize[s] the significance of the patterns and their broader meanings and implications" (Braun and Clarke 2006: 84). The discourse analysis, where applicable, makes sense of linguistic constructions, such as common instances of word groups, labelling and grammatical features, the classification of actors and modality (Hansen and Machin 2013: 120-145; Phillips and Jørgensen 2002: 83; Deacon et al. 2007: 155-159). Finally, the visual or compositional analysis examines the "the aesthetic or formal qualities of an image" and considers aspects such as content, the positioning of subjects, spatial

and temporal organisations, "expressive content" (Rose 2012: 74), connotations (van Leeuwen 2001: 92) and production practices (Rose 2012: 56).

The following sections provide a list of the findings from the additional eight disasters. This means that all incidents are investigated from the vantage points of media interest, the reported topics, causes and responses to the disasters, emotionality and 'suffering', safety and risk, uncertainty, ignorance and speculation as well as visuals.

MEDIA INTEREST AND TOPICS

Box of Broadcasts registered a total of 352 broadcasts on all eight incidents.[18] Figure 45 shows how these are distributed across the individual case studies. It demonstrates that none of the eight cases was covered as frequently as Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525. Indeed, the only incident that produced a similar amount of media interest is the Malaysia Airlines flight 17, which was shot by a missile over Ukraine in 2014 (BBC 2016). Likewise, differences in media interest can be detected between the eight case studies. For example, the Saratov Airlines 703 incident registered 11 broadcasts, while the EgyptAir flight 804 led to 57 broadcasts in comparison. This suggests that, while airplane disasters generally "attract a great deal of media attention" (Kim and Lee 2008: 85; see section 2.10), the amount of media interest in individual disasters can vary.

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[18] This refers to the one-year sample period after each disaster and excludes three additional broadcasts on the recovery of Air France 447.
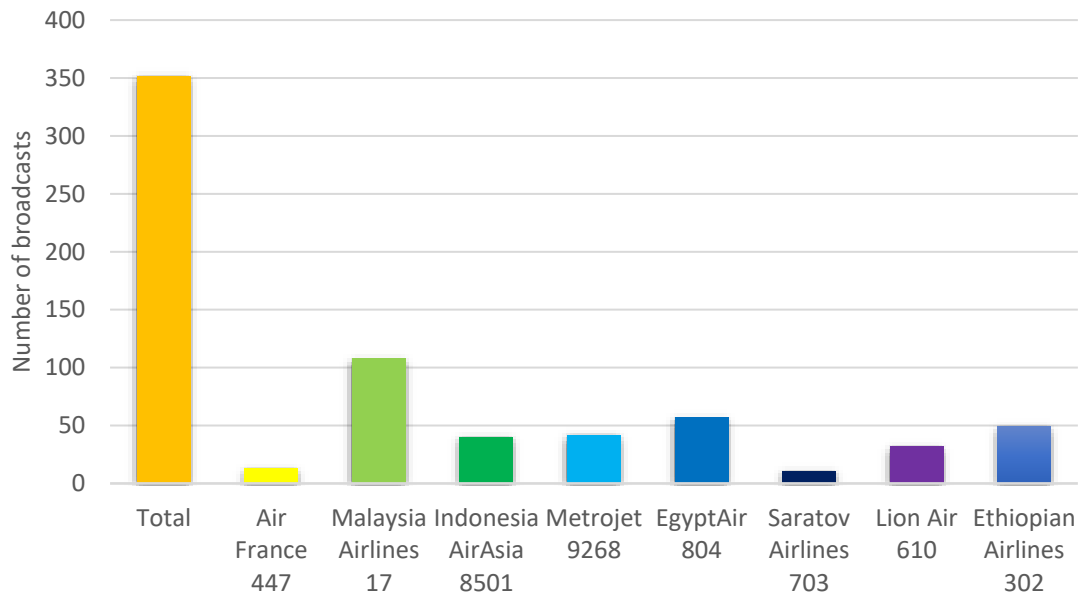
One reason which might explain these findings relates to the geographical, political and cultural natures of disasters: Although new communication technologies have transformed and increased the visibility of disasters "where high-resolution satellite monitoring can now map disasters and record and transmit images of many of them as they unfold over time" (Pantti et al. 2012: 178), the amount of coverage they receive is still dependent on other factors, such as the geographical, political and cultural proximity to the UK (Harcup 2014: 174; Harcup and O'Neill 2001: 263; Dictionary Central 2017). Greenberg and Scanlon note:

> most of the world's disasters rarely receive airtime or attention at all, even with the almost pervasive reach of global news organizations … Despite the fact that large-scale disasters are more likely to occur in the developing world, they are more likely to receive sustained coverage and attention if they occur in the west. (Greenberg and Scanlon 2016)

Thus, despite increasingly horizontal and globalised networks of communication (Cottle 2008: 859), "media also frequently frame and anchor our understanding of events within national contexts. They construct narratives that allow citizens to make sense of disasters within the framework of the nation state and its relationship to global power relations" (Pantti et al. 2012: 35).

In the additional case studies, this means that the amounts of media interest can be explained with the facts that (1) the disasters occurred geographically close and (2) were relevant to political or national interests at the time of the incident. The first point can be observed in the cases of Air France 447, Malaysia Airlines 17 and EgyptAir 804 as the departure, arrival destination or disaster location was based in Europe and geographically (but also politically) close to the UK. The second can be seen in the Metrojet 9268, Saratov Airlines 703, Indonesia AirAsia 8501, Lion Air 610 and Ethiopian Airlines 302 incidents because all disasters affected countries of interest to the UK (e.g. Indonesia as a popular holiday destination) or had important policy implications for the UK (i.e. national security concerns or the question of safety surrounding the Boeing 737 MAX aircraft that also operated in UK airspace).

Figure 46 shows that, despite this, there is still a pattern behind the development of media interest in each study. This means that the news of each incident breaks suddenly with a relatively high and intense media interest in the first week, drops to a moderate amount in the second week and then begins to cease afterwards. This process is more extreme for some cases and more gradual for others. However, the overall development of the case studies is similar to the findings on Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 (see section 4.2, figure 2), and one can argue that the media coverage of airplane disasters thus tends to follow "the rhythm of the classic 'big story' which breaks suddenly, … keeps going for a time with the help of new journalistic angles, and finally peters out" (Benthall 1993: 109). The following paragraphs delve into the content of the reporting and examine the general topics covered in the broadcasts.

Figure 46: The course of media interest in the additional case studies in proportion to the time period
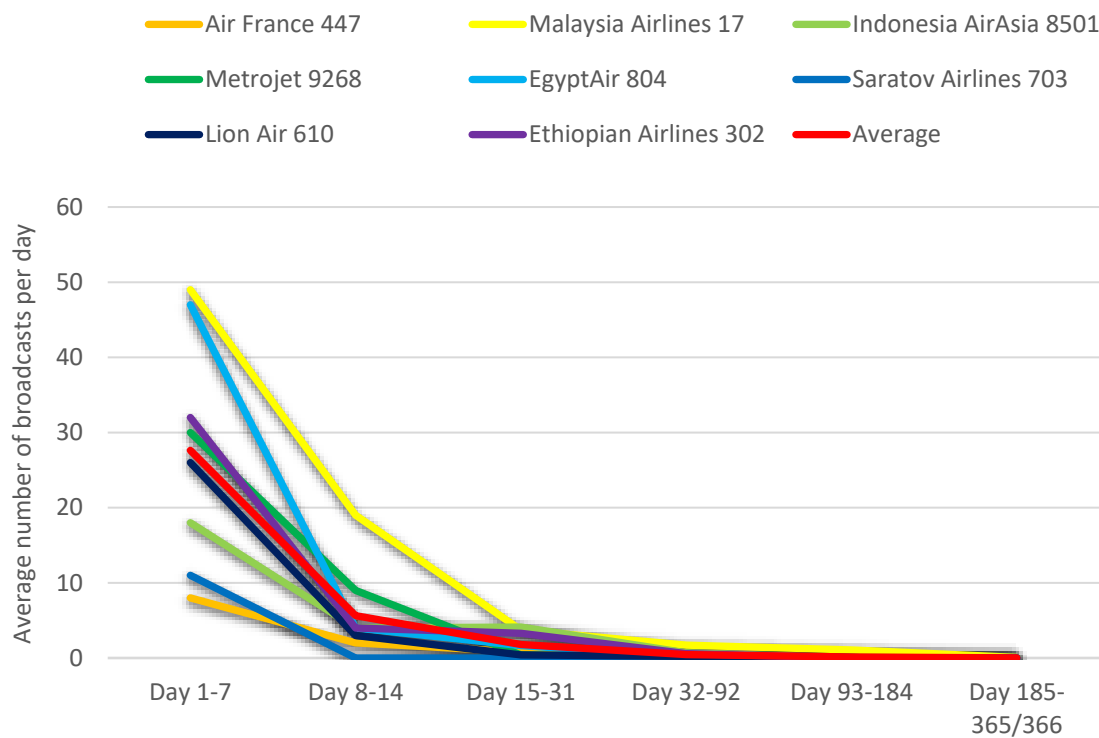
The thematic analysis showed that the four topical groups seen in the coverages of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 are also present and prominent in the reporting of the additional case studies. This means that, on the whole, airplane incidents are covered through the themes of the natures of the disasters, the disaster responses, the human responses and background information. Just like in the cases of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525, these categories can be further divided into several topics, which are (1) the descriptions of the incidents, scopes, causes and questions of the planes' locations (i.e. the nature of the disaster), (2) the searches, recoveries and investigations of the disasters (i.e. the disaster response), (3) the emotional states of those affected and acts of commemoration (i.e. the human response) and (4) background information. [19] Table 22 shows examples which demonstrate some of this.

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[19] While the eight case studies discuss most of these topics, few topics were also absent, depending on the incident. The reporting of Metrojet 9268, Saratov Airlines 703 and Ethiopian Airlines 302

Table 22: Topics in the reporting of the additional case studies

Topics		Examples
Nature of the disaster	Description	[News presenter:] An Air France plane with more than 220 passengers and crew *[scope]* has disappeared over the Atlantic. *[question of location]* … The aircraft was four hours into a flight from Rio de Janeiro in Brazil to Paris when it sent an automatic signal indicating there'd been an electrical problem *[description and cause]*. It's thought the plane may have flown into a massive thunderstorm. *[cause]* (AF447 broadcast 2)
	Scope (number of casualties)	
	Cause	
	Question of the plane's location	
Disaster response	Search and recovery	[Voice-over:] In the Sinai desert, they are searching for victims and for evidence. *[search]* … Today, Russia's transport and emergencies ministers arrived at the scene, along with 100 Russian rescue workers and investigators who will help with the recovery of the plane, its 224 passengers and crew. *[recovery]* (KGL9268 broadcast 16)
	Investigation	[Voice-over:] The Egyptian-led investigation in the desert is huge. There are no conclusions yet, but what was disclosed today is telling. (KGL804 broadcast 11)
Human response	Emotional states of the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers	[Voice-over:] And, around the world, there are families plunged into shock and then grief. … [Ben Kuria, son of passenger:] We're still kind of hoping to wake up from what's been a really bad dream. We hope, you know, it has kind of not sunk in yet. (ET302 broadcast 45)
	Commemoration	[Voice-over:] A week on from flight 9268, they remembered. Russian soldiers laying tribute at the site of their nation's worst-ever air disaster. (KGL9268 broadcast 11)
Background information		[News presenter:] There has been fighting on the Ukraine Russian border since March, following the overthrow of the Ukrainian government. (MH17 broadcast 4)

did not question the locations of the airplanes likely because there was no uncertainty surrounding them. The Lion Air 610 incident lacks coverage of commemoration, which might be due to access issues. Finally, the Saratov Airlines 703 incident misses reporting on the search and recovery operation as well as commemoration possibly because of access issues or less media interest in the disaster (see section on media interest).

Some of the eight case studies also add to the previously established list of topics and deal more directly with questions of blame and responsibility for the disaster. To some extent, these fall into the category of causes and were discussed in previous sections on Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525. However, in those cases, the issues were somewhat put aside because the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident still lacks certainty as to what happened (and a culprit). Therefore, the examples in text box 57, which stem from the Malaysia Airlines 17 reporting, show how issues of blame and responsibility can take on a more prominent role in the coverage of airplane disasters.

Text box 57: Blame and responsibility in the Malaysia Airlines 17 reporting

[Voice-over:] Ukraine's Vice Prime Minister said the people who fired the missile do not know anything about dignity or the cost of human life. (MH broadcast 83)

[Silene Frediksz-Hoogzand, mother of a passenger:] I can't understand why they shoot a plane. But, even more, I can't understand why they keep the dead bodies away from us. I cannot understand for what reason. Animals. (MH broadcast 83)

The next section examines the mentioned (potential) causes and the general implications of the incidents. These discussions are important because they describe the 'why' and 'how' surrounding the disasters as well as how "societies and their governments" respond to them (Chong and Chang 2018: 251).

CAUSES AND DISASTER RESPONSES

The natures of the case studies vary, which means that the (possible) causes and the indications for (possible) causes can differ greatly from each other and the cases of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525. Indeed, the discussions ranged from weather, mechanical error and pilot error to sabotage and terrorism. However, the coverage can still be distinguished into the two phases that were

detected previously. These are the (initial) ignorance phase, which is dominated by an absence of information and a "scramble" to discuss what happened, and the epilogue phase, which factually concludes what happened (Granatt 1999: 106).

The (initial) ignorance phase is present in all case studies, and the reporting – just as in the cases of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 952 – often draws on externally available evidence and developments in the investigation to establish possible explanations for what may have happened to cause the disasters. Given that the explanations were published in a time of ignorance and uncertainty, these can easily vary for one incident alone and describe different or contradicting 'theories' altogether. Table 23 demonstrates this as it shows how the reporting of the case studies draws on different pieces of evidence in the investigations to establish possible explanations for the incidents.

Table 23: Causes in the ignorance phase in the reporting of the additional case studies

Case study	External evidence	Proposed cause
Air France 447	Lack of mayday and contact	(1) Sudden, catastrophic emergency (2) Relatively minor situation, which the pilot thought he could control and became worse
	Weather	(1) Fire (2) Incapacitation of crew
	Automatic messages	(1) Electrical problems (2) Fire
	Oil slick	Not a fire or explosion
Malaysia Airlines 17	Explosion	Anti-aircraft missile fired
	None	Shootdown / terrorism
Indonesia AirAsia 8501	Weather	Mechanical and pilot error
	Lack of mayday and contact	Sudden event
	Wreckage	Change of pressure, which triggered an explosion

Case study	External evidence	Proposed cause
Metrojet 9268	Break-up of plane	(1) Mechanical or physical impact on the plane (2) External activity (3) Structural failure
	Large crash site	Destruction of the plane at high altitude
	Claims by the Islamic State	Terrorism
	Early tests on black box	Not struck from outside
	Sound of an explosion on the black box	(1) Something untoward (2) Bomb
	Suspension of flights	Bomb
EgyptAir 804	Lack of mayday and contact	(1) Sudden event (2) Explosion (3) Terrorism rather than a mechanical error
	Similarity to Air France 447	Mechanical and pilot error
	None	(1) Terrorism (2) Mechanical error (3) Explosion (4) Bomb
	Instability in the region	Terrorism
	Erratic movements before the incident occurred	(1) Explosion (2) Crew or passenger
	Data that showed smoke alarms went off	(1) Accident (2) Explosion
Saratov Airlines 703	Weather	Weather
	None	(1) Bad weather (2) Pilot error (3) Mechanical failure
Lion Air 610	Pilot radioed problem	Mechanical error
	Tracking data and problem with altimeter readings on the previous flight	Mechanical error
Ethiopian Airlines 302	Same aircraft as Lion Air flight 610, and both were encountering problems minutes after take-off	Problem with the aircraft
	Wreckage	Aircraft fell almost vertically at high speed

There are no thematic overlaps between all case studies and the different pieces of evidence as the latter are linked to the nature of the incidents. However, in all examined cases, the coverage of the (initial) ignorance phase tends to be produced linguistically by means of modality, which weakens the degree of definiteness in the explanations and adds a sense of caution to the information provided (Swanson 2008: 1193; von Fintel 2006: 20). The example in text box 58 illustrates this as it shows how the Air France 447 reporting draws on modal words and verbs to add a linguistic sense of uncertainty and ignorance to the information provided (Simmerling and Janich 2016: 964).

Text box 58: Modal verbs and verbs in the Air France 447 reporting

> [News correspondent:] This area, this storm belt that the plane flew through was pretty daunting. … But modern airliners have weather radar and can see the storms ahead. They can fly around them. And, actually, when you look through the databases, it is very hard to find an example of a modern aircraft, flown by a mainstream airline Air France, succumbing directly to weather. … But <u>what is possible</u> is <u>some of those possibilities, possible causes</u>, <u>might have led</u> indirectly to the crash. <u>Perhaps</u> a fire caused by an electrical failure or a lightning strike. <u>Perhaps</u> turbulence incapacitating the crew, severe turbulence. So, it is that chain of events that is so common in aviation accidents that the investigators will be looking for. (AF447 broadcast 3)

The epilogue phase factually concludes what happened and thus provides some form of resolution (Granatt 1999: 106). In contrast to the (initial) ignorance phase, the coverage of the explanations here often relies on internal evidence gathered during the incidents, such as data from the black boxes or lengthy investigations (ET302 broadcast 19; QZ8501 broadcast 25). Reports may still include further ignorance and uncertainty, such as the question of who may have been responsible for the Malaysia Airlines 17 and Metrojet 9268 incidents (MH17 broadcast 4; KGL9268 broadcast 35). However, as table 24 demonstrates, overall factual conclusions on the incidents were drawn, which corroborate with the information provided about the disasters in table 20 (see pages 266-267).

Table 24: Causes in the epilogue phase in the reporting of the additional case studies

Case study	Internal evidence	Cause
Air France 447	Black box recording and 24 automatic error messages	Mechanical and pilot error
Malaysia Airlines 17	Explosion	Anti-aircraft missile fired Further uncertainty: responsibility
Indonesia AirAsia 8501	Year of investigation	Mechanical and pilot error
Metrojet 9268	In-flight break-up and black box recording	Something sinister Further uncertainty: responsibility
EgyptAir 804	Automatic computer messages	Fire on board Further uncertainty: cause of the fire
Saratov Airlines 703	None	None
Lion Air 610	Preliminary report of investigation	Jet was not airworthy and nosedived
Ethiopian Airlines 302	Black box recording	Problem with the aircraft type

The epilogue phase was present in all case studies, except for the Saratov Airlines flight 703. This may be deduced to the quickly decreasing media interest in the disaster likely because of missing geopolitical interests, as discussed previously. Just like in the reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525, the epilogue phase is often constructed by an indicative mood. This means that it linguistically confirms "a fact that can be known" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, no date[b]) because the feature is connoted with certainty and makes the reported causes sound more definite. An example of this can be seen in text box 59.

Text box 59: Indicative mood in the Lion Air 610 reporting

[News presenter:] A preliminary report into last month's deadly Indonesian plane crash <u>has found</u> the jet involved <u>was not</u> airworthy. The Boeing 737 operated by the budget-carrier Lion Air <u>nosedived</u> into the Java Sea 13 minutes after take-off from Jakarta, killing all 189 people on board. (LN610 broadcast 19)

Responses to the disasters are mentioned in six out of eight case studies, and all are exclusively based on specific developments in the aftermath.[20] Given that these differ for each incident, the responses can vary. However, all disaster responses can be summarised under the three categories of policy change, security and other actions taken or planned in response to the disasters. The first refers to responses which impact policy regimes through event-related policy learning (Wilson 2000: 247; Birkland 2006: 182).[21] These need not be actual implementations but can also involve recommendations or discussions of change. Security refers to any measures taken or planned to enhance the security that was compromised as a result of the incidents. This may refer to security threats but also safety concerns about the aircraft. Lastly, other actions taken or planned in response to the disasters can be sanctions or retaliations. To understand this classification further, table 25 lists all registered disaster responses and their categorisation as policy change, security and other actions in response to the incidents. Examples of each category can be seen in footnotes 22 to 24. [22] [23] [24]

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[20] The coverages of Indonesia AirAsia 8501 and Saratov Airlines 703 were lacking discussions on disaster responses entirely. The reason for this could be that none were taken (after all, both were, to some extent, caused by pilot error). However, an alternative explanation may be a limited amount of media interest in the incidents (see section on media interest).

[21] As discussed in section 4.5, Birkland (2006: 22) defines 'event-related policy learning' as "a process in which individuals apply new information and ideas, or information and ideas elevated on the agenda by a recent event, to policy decisions".

[22] An example where policy change is reported as a disaster response is: "[Voice-over:] The final report, expected next year, may well make recommendations for extra training to make sure it does not happen again." (AF447 broadcast 16)

[23] An example of reported security as a disaster response is: "[Voice-over:] There have been warnings not to fly low over the area since December last year. The BBC understands UK carriers have been avoiding it for some time. They found a lot of this aircraft very quickly, so there could be answers soon." (KGL9268 broadcast 5)

[24] An example of a reported action planned in response to an incident is: "[News presenter:] In Brussels, European foreign ministers are meeting to discuss tightening sanctions against Russia because of its backing for the rebel separatist fighters blamed for shooting down the aircraft." (MH17 broadcast 24)

	Response	Cause for response
Policy change	Recommendation for extra pilot training	The Air France 447 crew was lacking knowledge about full-stall recovery.
	Suspension and grounding of Boeing 737 MAX airplanes	The Ethiopian Airlines 302 and Lion Air 610 incidents were caused by the aircraft type.
Safety and security	Recommendation to avoid and avoidance of airspace	Malaysia Airlines flight 17 was shot over a conflict zone.
	Suspension and grounding of flights from Egypt	Metrojet flight 9268 was attacked by IS terrorists.
	Recommendation to leave the country and evacuation	Metrojet flight 9268 was attacked by IS terrorists.
	Cancellation of holiday bookings	Metrojet flight 9268 was attacked by IS terrorists.
	Increased airport security	Metrojet flight 9268 was attacked by IS terrorists. Speculation that a bomb might have been smuggled on board EgyptAir flight 804.
	Inspections of all Boeing 737 MAX 8 airplanes in Indonesia	Possibility the Lion Air 610 incident was caused by the aircraft type.
Other actions taken or planned in response to the incidents	Discussion on tightening sanctions against Russia	Russia's backing for separatist rebel fighters blamed for the shootdown of Malaysia Airlines flight 17.
	Increased air rates by Russia against IS targets	Metrojet flight 9268 was attacked by IS terrorists.

The findings in the table resonate with those on Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 as policy responses and increased security resulted from both incidents. The only exceptions to this are the different forms of activism that were mentioned in the Malaysia Airlines 370 reporting (threats of a hunger strike, protests at a media conference, frontline action and protests marches). However, these can easily qualify as an action taken in response to the incident, i.e. the third

proposed category, which means that the reporting of responses to airplane disasters, despite their different natures and triggers, can be summarised as previously.

The next section examines the coverage of airplane disasters from a specific vantage point – the role of emotionality in the reporting, representations of 'suffering' and the human response to the incidents. This is important because the aspects play a crucial role in all "disaster narratives" and "communications" (Pantti et al. 2012: 61).

EMOTIONALITY AND 'SUFFERING'

The reporting of all additional case studies draws on emotionality through emotional content and stylistic features which can linguistically or audio-visually construct emotions. To recapitulate, emotional content primarily describes the tragedies of the disasters themselves – the passengers and their 'suffering' – and those emotionally impacted by the disasters. Amongst others, this means that the coverage often refers to the reasons why the passengers were on board the aircraft or shows the several, different emotional states that the relatives, friends and colleagues of the deceased go through. These contents, including the different stages of grief, are present in most case studies and reported similarly to the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 incidents, which means that the findings are in line with previous ones.

It is perhaps interesting to mention that two other emotional topics were also detected in most of the eight case studies. These are the destruction seen at the crash sites and eyewitness reports describing the events of the disasters. To some extent, both were present in the Germanwings 9525 reporting and discussed under different aspects in sections 5.4 and 7.3. However, they were excluded in the earlier discussion on emotionality and 'suffering' (see chapter 5) because the comparability to the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident was missing likely because the aircraft disappeared and left no verified crash site or eyewitness reports.

Table 26 shows examples of emotional contents in the coverages of the additional case studies and illustrates that the mentioned destruction and eyewitness reports need to be included in the framework as they add a sense of visualness and liveness to the horror of the disaster, and emotionality to the reporting (Mortensen 2015: 21).

Table 26: Emotional contents in the reporting of the additional case studies

Emotional Content	Examples
Details of passengers and circumstances of death	[Voice-over:] Final holiday mementoes. Three-year-old, Anastasia Shien, and her dad pose for a photo as they step on the plane. Ten-month-old, Darina Gromova, peers through the airport window. The youngest passenger, heading home after a holiday with her parents. But, now, this is all that remains of flight 9268: Strewn across eight square miles of desert, the debris and personal belongings of the 224 people on board. (KGL9268 broadcast 41)
Moments during the disaster	[News correspondent:] When the crisis began, the most senior member of the flight crew, the captain, was away from the cockpit on a legitimate break. 45 seconds after the autopilot disengaged, one of his co-pilots called him back. But it was another 50 crucial seconds before he returned and, by then, they had less than three minutes left. (AF447 broadcast 16)
Emotions of relatives	[News correspondent:] It is a moment of tragedy and deep pain for the families of the passengers here. … Some of them were crying; others were angry. I spoke to an old lady. She told me her daughter was a stewardess on this flight. She spoke to her last night and, since then, she heard nothing of her until this morning when she woke up to the horrifying news. (MS804 broadcast 3)
Destruction	[Voice-over:] Each [body] is marked with a makeshift stick with a white rag tied to it. In some places, there is a forest of markers, indicating where burnt, twisted and now bloated passengers lie. There are about 100 bodies still missing. [News correspondent:] It is a tragic and a devastating scene. People's clothes and belongings and their life jackets are scattered amongst the charred bodies. You can still smell the death and the burning in the air. (MH17 broadcast 12)

Emotional Content	Examples
Eyewitness reports	[Voice-over:] In the villages around, parts of the plane and bodies are scattered everywhere. People watched as they plummeted to the earth. [Eyewitness:] There was a very loud rumbling noise and an explosion. And then people started falling from the sky. [Eyewitness:] When we ran out, we saw part of a plane falling on our house. (MH17 broadcast 12)

The stylistic devices that were previously established as means to linguistically or audio-visually construct emotions in the reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 are the same for the additional case studies and can be found in the coverages of most, if not all, of the disasters. These are personalised storytelling, the outsourcing of emotions, detailed descriptions, juxtapositions, contrasts, conditional perfect, emotional language and sounds (Wahl-Jorgensen 2013). [25] Table 27 shows examples of how they are applied in the coverage.

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[25] The reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 also showed the emotional power of visuals, but this finding will be tested on the additional case studies in the final section of this appendix, which examines the use of television visuals.

Table 27: Linguistic features used to establish emotionality in the reporting of the additional case studies

Stylistic devices	Examples
Personalised storytelling	[Voice-over:] Joanna's father says she was so pleased to have just moved in with her boyfriend. [Adrian Toole, father of passenger:] One of the tragedies of this is that she had just settled down. She could actually live and work in the same city. And she'd recently set up home there with Paul. (ET302 broadcast 45)
Outsourcing of emotions	[Barry Sweeney, father:] I just want everybody to know what a tremendous bloke ... If he is looking Down ... bloody hell, all those people. Sorry. (MH17 broadcast 12)
Detailed descriptions	[News correspondent:] This is now the grim ritual that is taking place here at the port. These coastguard boats coming in, bringing back what they have been able to recover from the wreckage. It's then laid out here on the concrete. There's people's baggage, clothes, amongst it also children's items, shoes and toys and the wreckage of the plane that they have been able to retrieve from the ocean. (LN610 broadcast 11)
Juxtapositions and contrasts	[Voice-over:] In the summer sunflower fields of the area, off-duty miners were searching for more bodies. (MH17 broadcast 12)
Conditional perfect	[Voice-over:] On the deck of an Egyptian naval ship: The first of the debris that has been hauled from the water. The remnants of the plane. The fabric from the seats, which would have been settled into for the flight. The lifejackets that were never worn [and] so could never save. And the belongings of those who would never reach their destinations. (MS804 broadcast 41)
Emotional language	[Voice-over:] With a care and precision <u>so cruelly denied</u> them so far, the Royal Dutch air force loaded the <u>most heart-breaking</u> of cargoes. ... [News correspondent:] This may have been a simple ceremony, but it has managed to restore dignity to the victims of flight MH17 as they prepare to make <u>the saddest journey of all</u>. (MH17 broadcast 83)
Sounds	[News presenter:] The coffins of the dead from Malaysia Airlines flight MH17 begin arriving back in Holland. [Sound of a bugle]. Only a lone bugler broke the silence as they were carried off huge transporter planes. ... Relatives of the victims from all over the world, including the UK, have gathered in Eindhoven as the Dutch declare a day of mourning. (MH17 broadcast 33)

The next section examines how the reporting deals with representations of safety and risk.

SAFETY AND RISK

Just as seen in the findings on Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525, the coverages of the additional case studies use the concepts of safety and risk as a means of reassurance. There are differences of focus across the cases, which means that the reporting of earlier incidents, such as Air France 447 and Malaysia Airlines 17, tends to focus more on the safety and risk of flying; while that of later ones, such as Indonesia AirAsia 8501, Metrojet 9268, EgyptAir 804, Saratov Airlines 703, Lion Air 610 and Ethiopian Airlines 302, pays more attention to the safety of the aircraft types and airlines involved.

The three ways of reassurance that were established previously can still be detected. To recapitulate, these were (1) statements that simply 'state' safety, (2) explanations that provide reasons for the safety and (3) stylistic features that demonstrate safety linguistically. The Malaysia Airlines 17 reporting also provides an additional explanation for the safety of flying, which is the belief that "lightning never strikes twice in the same place" (MH17 broadcast 4), and none of the case studies mentions 'risk' in terms of frequencies or comparisons. However, the findings of the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 incidents can overall be applied, which becomes apparent in table 28 showing examples of each of the three ways of reassurance.

Table 28: Three ways of reassurance in representations of safety and risk in the reporting of the additional case studies

Ways of establishing reassurance	Examples
Statements	[Simon Calder, travel expert:] I understand people get very, very anxious about flying. … if the captain is happy to fly a [Boeing 737] MAX 8 aircraft, I am very happy to be on board that jet. I will trust in his or her professional expertise. Flying remains extremely safe. (ET302 broadcast 45)
Explanations: ▪ "Lightning never strikes twice" (MH 17 broadcast 4) ▪ Previous history of crashes ▪ Design of today's aircraft ▪ Safety record of the aircraft and airlines ▪ Maintenance, age and design of the aircraft ▪ Popularity and reputation of the aircraft and airlines	[Barry Sim:] In my mind, lightning never strikes twice in the same place, so I'm still philosophical that you get on the flight and you go about your life …. We inevitably have to fly home, so what to do but catch a flight? And, probably, now is the best time. (MH17 broadcast 4) [Voice-over:] This is the actual aircraft that crashed, filmed with different branding some years ago. It is an Airbus A320-1, the Ford Focus of the sky, very popular with an excellent safety record. (KGL9268 broadcast 5)
Stylistic features: ▪ "Safe" ▪ Risk expressed through low quantities	[News correspondent:] This Airbus is one of the safest aircraft in the skies … and the airline itself has a very good safety record. (QZ8501 broadcast 2) [News correspondent:] And, actually, when you look through the databases, it is very hard to find an example of a modern aircraft, flown by a mainstream airline, Air France, succumbing directly to weather. (AF447 broadcast 3)

The analysis of the additional case studies also uncovered a second discourse of dramatisation in the reporting of safety and risk. This discourse, which is almost absent in the reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525, is predominantly characterised by the questioning of safety – be it of flying in general or the aircraft types and airlines – and often draws on the incidents as a case in point for aviation's lack of safety. The example in text box 60 demonstrates

this as it shows how the Indonesia AirAsia flight 8501 was framed as a cause for concern rather than a platform to reinforce a discourse of safety.

Text box 60: Dramatisation of aviation safety in the Indonesia AirAsia 8501 reporting

[Voice-over:] Flying has been enjoying a golden era for safety, but this latest disappearance, plus the loss of two Malaysia Airlines aircraft earlier in the year, is casting a shadow over that record. (QZ8501 broadcast 2)

Dramatisation, though less prominently, may also occur by drawing on other reasons. These include (1) the lack of safety in the airspace given the Malaysia Airlines 17 incident, (2) the fact that some airlines started following alternative flight routes after the Metrojet 9268 incident, (3) (potentially) lax airport security measures in the cases of Metrojet 9268 and EgyptAir 804 and (4) safety concerns about Lion Air and the Boeing 737 MAX aircraft in the cases of Lion Air 610 and Ethiopian Airlines 302. Then, dramatisation can be linguistically constructed by using contrasts or statements by knowledge experts who have "reservations and doubt in getting into and operating the 737 MAX today" (ET302 broadcast 12). Table 29 provides examples of all this and shows that, as an update of the previous findings, the representation of safety and risk can be understood, not just through a discourse of reassurance, but also through one of dramatisation.

Table 29: Dramatised representations of safety and risk in the reporting of the additional case studies

Dramatisation	Examples
Unsafe airspace and use of alternative flight routes	[News presenter:] If nothing can be ruled out, like in MH17, we have to look then at the possibility of other airlines flying over the area and just how safe they are. … Of the major ones, Emirates, Lufthansa and Air France have stopped flying now over the Sinai Peninsula until more is known about what happened with this crash. British Airways say they will continue travelling over the area, insisting they wouldn't operate a flight that wasn't safe. Budget airline easyJet will also continue to take people to and from Sharm el-Sheikh … but would actively review the safety of flights … If they really don't need to fly over there, why would they bother? (KGL9268 broadcast 41)
Lax security measures	[Dr Sally Leivesley, Newsrisk Limited, risk management:] The fact that it's been able to go through Charles de Gaulle airport, which is a major security airport in the middle of Europe, that will be a worry to all of Europe because, if it can happen in Charles de Gaulle, can it be repeated somewhere else? (MS804 broadcast 10)
Safety concerns about Lion Air and the Boeing 737 MAX aircraft	[Voice-over:] That worrying safety record [of Lion Air], one that earned bans in the EU and the US in the past, is now back under the spotlight. (LN610 broadcast 26) [News presenter:] Questions are now being raised about the safety of the particular plane model, with multiple airlines choosing to ground it until further notice. (ET302 broadcast 45)
Contrasts	[News correspondent:] One official said planes don't simply vanish over the Atlantic Ocean. Yet, that is what appears to have happened to flight 447. (AF447 broadcast 3)
Statements by knowledge experts	[Voice-over:] This British pilot, who is not authorised by his airline to talk to us, is trained to fly the 737 MAX. [Anonymous British pilot:] I am somewhat apprehensive about the similarities between the Lion Air crash and the current Ethiopian crash. I'd have my reservations and doubt in getting into and operating the 737 MAX today. (ET302 broadcast 12)

The next section examines the representation of uncertainty, ignorance and speculation because the concepts contribute to questions about reality and 'truth',

and any inaccurate representation of them can influence the audience's perception of the disasters.

UNCERTAINTY, IGNORANCE AND SPECULATION

The reporting of all additional case studies shows representations of uncertainty and ignorance. The nature of these can vary on a thematic level, but the pattern behind them, irrespective of the case study, bears a stark resemblance to that identified in the coverages of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525. To recapitulate, this means that the topics of uncertainty and ignorance almost exclusively relate to the nature of the event, i.e. an airplane disaster, and refer to the locations of the airplanes or passengers, the health status of the passengers, the causes and moments leading up to the incidents, a general lack of information and the question of resolution. All of these are present in most, if not all, additional case studies.

However, in line with previous findings, it might be worth adding the question of responsibility to the category of causes. The reason for this is that questions surrounding it take on a prominent role in the reporting of Malaysia Airlines 17 and Metrojet 9268. An example of this can be seen in text box 61.

Text box 61: Uncertainty and ignorance claims about responsibility in the Metrojet 9268 reporting

[News correspondent:] There are any number of suspects that could be fingered for being behind this attack on the Russian airliner if, indeed, it was a terror attack. … the top of the list has to be the Islamic State. … But it is not all about the so-called Islamic State. If we go back to Syria, we can find a number of other groups that would have an interest in attacking particularly the Russians. (KGL9268 broadcast 35)

All additional case studies also position the concept of speculation as the media's answer to some of the proposed uncertainty and ignorance. Similarly to the

findings on Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525, the reported topics often relate to the causes and the question of resolution. In most cases, there are also speculations about the moments before the incidents or responsibility. However, overall, one can argue that all findings – be it on uncertainty and ignorance or speculation – are in line with the previously established framework on the reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525. Table 30 demonstrates this more clearly as it shows examples of each of the uncertain, ignorant and speculative topics mentioned in the broadcasts.

Table 30: Representations of uncertainty, ignorance and speculation in the reporting of the additional case studies

	Examples
Uncertainty and ignorance: ▪ Locations ▪ Health status ▪ Causes ▪ Responsibility ▪ Moments before the incident ▪ Lack of information ▪ Resolution	[News correspondent:] Somewhere around these waters lies the main body of JT610. They still haven't found that bit yet, but they have been picking up debris, piece by piece, tiny scraps. That was the force of the impact. *[location]* (LN610 broadcast 26)
	[Voice-over:] More than 150 recovery workers are at the site where it crashed, looking for evidence and for victims. But, as the snow continues to fall, it may be some time before relatives find out what happened to those on board. *[health status]* (SOV703 broadcast 8)
	[Voice-over:] One flight recorder has been found, but there are no clues yet as to what caused this disaster. *[cause]* (SOV703 broadcast 1)
	[News presenter:] Meanwhile, UK experts are now examining the plane's black box flight recorders in an effort to ascertain what happened as the jetliner was downed over Ukraine. *[moments before the incident]* (MH17 broadcast 83)
	[Voice-over:] The news was sparse *[lack of information]*; the flight had simply disappeared over the Atlantic. *[location]* (AF447 broadcast 3)
	[News correspondent:] It now seems that a resolution to this mystery is going to be a lot longer off, a lot further away, than the relatives and families had hoped. *[resolution]* (QZ8501 broadcast 4)

	Examples
Speculation: ■ Causes ■ Responsibility ■ Moments before the incident ■ Resolution	[Alistair Rosenschein, aviation expert:] There is definitely a chance it could have been a structural failure. *[cause]* … There have been a number of cases where aircraft have broken up in the air. None particularly recently, but it has happened. … It could also have been, you know, an explosion in the aircraft. It is possible. Nothing can be ruled out at this stage. *[cause]* (KGL9268 broadcast 41)
	[News presenter:] Obviously, speculation is rife about what possibly brought the plane down … [News correspondent:] Of course, it is too early to confirm or verify any of the information that we have been seeing. Possibly shot down by … the pro-Russian separatists *[responsibility]*, but, of course, the blame game seems to have started, with rebels denying that they have. (MH17 broadcast 4)
	[News correspondent:] If the plane had been at cruising altitude, it would have been high enough to give half an hour's gliding time, enough time to recover, say, from a loss of engine power and enough time for the crew to make a mayday call. But there was none, suggesting a more sudden emergency resulting in a mid-ocean crash. *[moments before the incident]* (AF447 broadcast 2)
	[Voice-over:] It is still far too early to say why this aircraft vanished. Even if they find it soon, it could be weeks or even months before these families get all the answers. *[resolution]* (MS804 broadcast 3)

Finally, the stylistic features that were employed in the coverages of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 were also detected in the reporting of all case studies. This means that claims of uncertainty, ignorance and speculation about airplane disasters generally tend to be expressed through words or expressions that "refer prototypically" to the concepts and linguistic modality using the subjunctive, conditional mood, modal verbs and words or questions (Simmerling and Janich 2016: 964; Lehmkuhl and Peters 2016: 922). Table 31 shows how these are used in the coverage.

Table 31: Linguistic features used to establish uncertainty, ignorance and speculation in the reporting of the additional case studies

Stylistic features	Examples
Words or expressions	"possible" (SOV703 broadcast 4); "possibility" (MS804 broadcast 32); "do not know" (LN610 broadcast 9); "It's unclear" (SOV703 broadcast 4); "lack of information" (MS804 broadcast 3); "I have no idea" (LN610 broadcast 9); "mystery" (MS804 broadcast 16); "speculation" (KGL9268 broadcast 5)
Subjunctive or conditional mood	[News presenter:] This would be, if it turns out to be, a total disaster; the worst accident in Air France's history and the worst accident for civil aviation in the past ten years. (AF447 broadcast 2)
Modal verbs and words	"appear" (ET302 broadcast 1); "may" (ET302 broadcast 9); "might" (AF447 broadcast 3); "could" (MH17 broadcast 4); "possibly" (LN610 broadcast 11); "perhaps" (AF447 broadcast 3); "indicate" (ET302 broadcast 19)
Questions	[News correspondent:] So, what might have gone wrong with flight 8501? (QZ8501 broadcast 2)

The next section examines the media's visual representation of the additional case studies. This is important because visual elements "are not simply mere style or 'presentation'" but play an important role in how "news creates meaning" (Machin and Polzer 2015: 2).

VISUALS

The findings show that the reporting of the additional case studies uses most of the visual groups that were established in chapter 7. To recapitulate, these were shots of (1) interviews and press conferences, (2) the disaster operation, (3) the (potential) crash location, (4) supporting visuals, (5) informational graphics, (6) the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers, (7) commemoration, (8) the passengers and (9) the suspects or perpetrator(s).

Figure 47 shows examples of interviews and press conferences. These are present in all additional case studies and, just like in the cases of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525, can be divided into official knowledge, externally and internally informed knowledge and personal experience providers.

Official knowledge providers are individuals in an official function who provide statements or information about the disaster operation to the public. Informed knowledge providers add expertise or exclusive information to the reporting: They can be 'external' experts in relevant fields who can make informed assessments of the situation given their expertise; or 'internal' team members who provide information, or 'intel', gathered from their involvement in the disaster operation. Personal experience providers convey "the flavour of an experience" (Hansen and Paul 2015: 147), "impressions, ideas, and emotions" (Hansen and Paul 2015: 147); and interviewees who typically fall into this category are people who are linked to the missing or deceased passengers, such as relatives, friends and colleagues, or eyewitnesses who saw the incidents taking place.

The composition of the visuals is in line with previous findings. This means that the setting and facial expressions support the function of the speaker in the reporting: Official knowledge interviews emit the seriousness of the situation through formal clothing and backgrounds; externally and internally informed interviews signify professionalism and credibility through uniforms or (semi-) formal attire; personal experience interviews tend to show more explicit emotions of the interviewees, usually in a personal setting and casual clothes.

Figure 48 shows examples of the disaster operations and (potential) crash locations. The visual groups are used in all additional case studies and, just like in the reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525, show team members at work and modes of transportations as well as the 'graphic' destruction at the scene and (potential) crash locations. The composition of the footage is similar to the one described in section 7.4. This means that most of the shots are filmed from some proximity to the events, although there are the occasional shots from further away depicting the extent rather than the detail of the destruction and locations.

Figure 48: Visuals of the disaster operations and (potential) crash locations in the reporting of the additional case studies (credits: ET302 broadcast 41, SOV703 broadcast 8, QZ8501 broadcast 4, MH17 broadcast 12, ET302 broadcast 9 and MS804 broadcast 7)

Figure 49 shows examples of supporting visuals and informational graphics. Both visual groups can be found in all additional case studies. The former, just as in the coverages of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525, depicts "corroborating 'representative' images" (Griffin 1992, cited in Graber 1996: 6), which visualise aspects of the storyline. These can be comparable objects, such as airport announcements boards or aircraft, but also footage which relates to specific aspects of the incidents and supports the storyline through symbolisation or association. Examples are a sign asking the next-of-kind of the Indonesia AirAsia 8501 passengers to seek assistance or CCTV footage showing the Saratov Airlines 703 incident as it happens. Informational graphics depict simulated or

animated aids that "tell a story that is [simply] too tedious for words, yet too complex for photographs alone" (Lester 2013: 210, 214). Prominently, these are non-data maps, fact boxes and animations, as mentioned in section 7.5.

Figure 49: Supporting visuals and informational graphics in the reporting of the additional case studies (credits: AF447 broadcast 2, MS804 broadcast 3, QZ8501 broadcast 2, SOV703 broadcast 4, LN610 broadcast 22 and MS804 broadcast 7)

Figure 50 shows examples of grief and commemoration. Visual representations of the former can be found in all additional case studies and, just like in the reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525, depict the emotional states of the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers in reaction to the loss of their loved ones. This means that they may be seen crying, holding hands or tissues in front of their faces, staring aimlessly into the distance or breaking

down, while smiles or any expressions of happiness are absent. This visualises their sadness, grief and despair towards the news of the incident. The two coping reactions proposed in section 7.6 are also present, which means that the relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers can be seen (1) withdrawing themselves from other people, absorbed in their grief, or (2) seeking comfort and consolation with others, creating a particular type of bond and community in their grief. The visuals of commemoration are present in five out of the eight case studies and show an action of commemoration, sometimes with the help of objects, such as holding candles or mass services, or objects on their own which imply a previous action and symbolise commemoration. Given all this, both visual groups, as well as their compositions, are similar to the findings on the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 incidents.

Figure 51 shows examples of the representation of passengers. These are present in seven out of eight case studies and, just like in the coverages of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525, show videos or photographs of "the deceased when still alive" (Hanusch 2010: 60). This takes place by means of photo galleries, blend-ins and -outs, single shots and symbolic or graphic representations, such as the lonely head of a doll that used to belong to a passenger and white flags marking the places where human remains were found. Images which explicitly show the deceased were absent, likely for reasons mentioned in section 7.6. The footage is usually filmed from proximity.

Finally, figure 52 shows a visual representation of culpability. The visual group was only present in the Metrojet 9268 reporting, which might be due to the human intent behind it. This argument is supported by the fact that all visual representations of culpability in the coverages of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 were images of suspects or the culprit that were actively investigated (see section 7.7). However, the visual representation in the Metrojet 9268 case differs from them as potential responsibility is attributed to several terrorist groups and not individuals. Hence, the footage shows a map where each of them is located, rather than portraits of people. This does not contradict previous findings but requires a readjustment to the framework in that visuals of

culpability, if present, can also show symbolic representations of suspects or perpetrators, such as maps standing for (potentially) responsible regions.

Figure 52: A visual of culpability in the Metrojet 9268 reporting (credit: KGL 9268 broadcast 35)
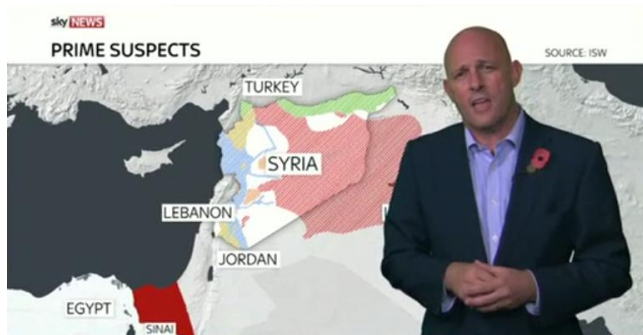
All the previous images showed that most, if not all, visual groups (including most of their features) that were identified in the reporting of Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 could also be found in the eight cases. Likewise, the visuals may take on different functions. Thus, visuals may be informative (interviews, press conferences and footage from the operation), emotionally appealing (footage of grief, commemoration, death and destruction) and supportive to the news story (supporting visuals and informational graphics). This was discussed in more detail in chapter 7.

CONCLUSION

This appendix tested if the previous results from the Malaysia Airlines 370 and Germanwings 9525 case studies can be applied to other airplane disasters, using the Air France 447, Malaysia Airlines 17, Indonesia AirAsia 8501, Metrojet 9268, Saratov Airlines 703, Lion Air 610 and Ethiopian Airlines 302 incidents. For this reason, all disasters were examined from the perspective of media interest and how the broadcasts cover topics, causes and responses to the disasters, emotionality and 'suffering', safety and risk, uncertainty, ignorance and speculation as well as visuals. The findings demonstrated that, while some of the

issues may differ for individual case studies or even add to previous results, overall tendencies between the coverages of the incidents can be seen, which means that the framework established in this thesis can be applied and provides an acceptable basis for understanding the media's representation of airplane disasters.

APPENDIX B: CODING SHEET

Case number: _____

TV channel:

BBC	ITV	Sky	Channel 4	Channel 5

Publication date: _____

Length of the news piece (in mm:ss):

0:00–0:30	0:31–1:00	1:01–2:00	2:01–3:00	3:01–4:00
4:01–5:00	5:01–6:00	6:01–7:00	7:01–8:00	8:01–9:00
9:01–10:00	10:01–12:00	12:01–14:00	14:01–16:00	16:01–18:00
18:01–20:00	20:01–25:00	25:01–30:00	30:01–35:00	35:01–45:00

Topics (multiple responses possible):

Description of the incident	Background information	Recovery / search / emergency operation	Scope of the damage	Investigation of the disaster
Cause of the disaster	Question of the plane's location	Airplane safety procedures	Responses / states of relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers	Commemoration
Repatriation / funeral	Financial aspects	Other	Not applicable	

Reference: Englehardt et al. (2004: 142-143, 145)

Suggestions for cause (multiple responses possible):

Pilot error	Mechanical error	Weather	Sabotage	Terrorism
Other human error	"Something"	"Accident"	Other	Not applicable

References: Bennett (2015); R & B Law (no date)

Mentioned responses to the disaster (multiple responses possible):

Legal action	Review of existing procedures	Modification of existing procedures	Enhanced security	Research
Activism / protests	Other	Not applicable		

Does the broadcast mention the safety of flying?

Yes	No	Not applicable

Does the broadcast mention the risk of flying?

Yes	No	Not applicable

Does the broadcast mention the safety of the aircraft?

Yes	No	Not applicable

Does the broadcast mention the safety of the airline?

Yes	No	Not applicable

Does the broadcast mention unknown information?

Yes	No	Not applicable

Does the broadcast mention speculative information?

Yes	No	Not applicable

Visuals (multiple responses possible):

Interviews and press conferences	Disaster operation	Disaster investigation	(Potential) disaster location	Supporting visuals
Informational graphics	Relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers	Commemoration	Passengers	Suspect(s) or perpetrator
Relatives, friends and colleagues of the suspect(s) or perpetrator	Other	Not applicable		

APPENDIX C: REFERENCES OF THE BROADCASTS

The references of the broadcasts can be found on the page(s):

- 309-320 for the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident.
- 321-332 for the Germanwings 9525 incident.
- 333-334 for the Air France 447 incident.
- 335-343 for the Malaysia Airlines 17 incident.
- 344-347 for the Indonesia AirAsia 8501 incident.
- 348-351 for the Metrojet 9268 incident.
- 352-356 for the EgyptAir 804 incident.
- 357 for the Saratov Airlines 703 incident.
- 338-360 for the Lion Air 610 incident.
- 361-364 for the Ethiopian Airlines 302 incident.

The content analysis in the chapters 4-7 is based on the broadcasts:

- 1-145 about the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident.
- 146-285 about the Germanwings 9525 incident.

The thematic and discourse analyses in section 4.4 are based on the broadcasts:

- 4, 6, 9, 14, 16, 17, 20, 23, 25, 26, 29, 32, 76, 77, 78, 97, 99, 100, 101, 105, 106, 131, 133, 136 and 143 about the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident.
- 146, 147, 149, 150, 154, 155, 157, 161, 163, 164, 172, 178, 185, 194, 207, 209, 215, 216, 217, 218, 221, 225, 230, 234, 239, 241, 246, 253, 255, 258, 264, 272, 273, 274, 277, 282, 283 and 284 about the Germanwings 9525 incident.

The thematic and discourse analyses in section 4.5 are based on the broadcasts:

- 1, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 50, 53, 54, 55, 71, 75, 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 96, 97, 105, 106, 109, 113, 120, 122, 124, 135, 139, 140 and 144 about the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident.
- 147, 154, 155, 157, 158, 161, 162, 175, 203, 204, 205, 206, 212, 222, 224, 225, 245, 246, 249, 251, 252, 257, 258, 273, 274, 279 and 280 about the Germanwings 9525 incident.

The thematic and discourse analyses in chapter 5 are based on the broadcasts:

- 14, 19, 23, 32, 39, 53, 71, 75, 76, 77, 80, 83, 86, 97, 100, 106, 109, 111, 118, 120, 122, 127, 131, 138 and 144 about the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident.
- 149, 151, 154, 155, 165, 173, 194, 198, 214, 215, 217, 219, 220, 221, 225, 226, 227, 234, 235, 241, 244, 247, 249, 250, 260, 267, 272, 282, 283 and 284 about the Germanwings 9525 incident.

The thematic and discourse analyses in section 6.2 are based on the broadcasts:

- 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 17, 65, 96, 97, 105, 106, 112, 135 and 136 about the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident.
- 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152, 205, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 246, 247, 248, 249, 271, 272, 273, 281 and 282 about the Germanwings 9525 incident.

The thematic and discourse analyses in the sections 6.3 and 6.4 are based on the broadcasts:

- 6, 8, 14, 17, 21, 29, 39, 53, 63, 76, 84, 98, 133, 142 and 145 about the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident.
- 147, 148, 155, 161, 178, 185, 193, 211, 217, 220, 234, 253, 267, 272, 274, 277 and 281 about the Germanwings 9525 incident.

The visual analysis in chapter 7 is based on the broadcasts:

- 12, 14, 17, 19, 23, 39, 56, 60, 71, 75, 76, 82, 84, 86, 89, 94, 97, 100, 106, 109, 120, 127, 138, 143 and 144 about the Malaysia Airlines 370 incident.
- 146, 151, 155, 157, 161, 169, 177, 185, 193, 197, 199, 210, 212, 214, 217, 220, 221, 224, 226, 234, 236, 242, 248, 249, 253, 255, 258, 264, 267, 270, 272, 279, 281 and 284 about the Germanwings 9525 incident.

The thematic, discourse and visual analyses in the additional study in appendix A are based on the broadcasts:

- 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 15 and 16 about the Air France 447 incident.
- 4, 12, 24, 33, 48, 54, 69, 83, 95 and 107 about the Malaysia Airlines 17 incident.
- 2, 4, 9, 13, 17, 22, 25, 27, 37 and 40 about the Indonesia AirAsia 8501 incident.
- 2, 5, 11, 14, 16, 25, 28, 35, 39 and 41 about the Metrojet 9268 incident.
- 3, 7, 10, 16, 24, 32, 41, 48, 55 and 57 about the EgyptAir 804 incident.
- 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 about the Saratov Airlines 703 incident.
- 3, 9, 11, 17, 19, 21, 22, 26, 29 and 31 about the Lion Air 610 incident.
- 1, 4, 9, 12, 19, 24, 31, 40, 41 and 45 about the Ethiopian Airlines 302 incident.

The intercoder-reliability test was conducted using the broadcasts:

- 23, 29, 41, 53, 54, 63, 68, 76, 84, 100, 106, 107, 127, 136 and 144 about the Malaysia Airlines 370.
- 155, 157, 169, 178, 193, 194, 209, 217, 220, 225, 250, 253, 267, 272 and 281 about the Germanwings 9525 incident.

MALAYSIA AIRLINES 370:

Broadcast 1: BBC Breakfast. 2014. BBC News, 08 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B44BEA?bcast=107704005 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 2: BBC Weekend News. 2014. BBC News, 08 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06A7B5B5?bcast=107704962 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 3: BBC Weekend News. 2014. BBC News, 08 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06A7B5AF?bcast=107705463 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 4: BBC Breakfast. 2014. BBC News, 09 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06A7B5ED?bcast=107776201 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 5: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 09 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B44C7C?bcast=107777594 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 6: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 09 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B44C79?bcast=107777756 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 7: BBC Weekend News. 2014. BBC News, 09 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06A7B5E4?bcast=107778324 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 8: BBC Weekend News. 2014. BBC News, 09 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06A7B5DE?bcast=107778758 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 9: BBC Breakfast. 2014. BBC News, 10 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B0CCB6?bcast=107781308 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 10: BBC World News. 2014. BBC News, 10 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06AB0ACD?bcast=107782508 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 11: BBC News at One. 2014. BBC News, 10 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B0CCB3?bcast=107782763 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 12: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 10 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B44D2D?bcast=107783081 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 13: BBC London News. 2014. BBC News, 10 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B0C64C?bcast= 107783573 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 14: BBC News at Ten. 2014. BBC News, 10 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B0CCA1?bcast= 107784021 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 15: BBC Breakfast. 2014. BBC News, 11 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B0CCFB?bcast= 107853551 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 16: BBC London News. 2014. BBC News, 11 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B0C660?bcast= 107855767 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 17: BBC News at Ten. 2014. BBC News, 11 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B0CCE6?bcast= 107856202 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 18: BBC Breakfast. 2014. BBC News, 12 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B0CD3E?bcast= 107858822 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 19: BBC News at Ten. 2014. BBC News, 12 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B0CD29?bcast= 107861483 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 20: BBC Breakfast. 2014. BBC News, 13 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B0CD81?bcast= 107931279 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 21: BBC News at Ten. 2014. BBC News, 13 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B0CD6C?bcast= 107933912 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 22: BBC Breakfast. 2014. BBC News, 14 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B4502C?bcast= 107936474 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 23: BBC News at Six. 2014. BBC News, 14 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B45008?bcast= 107938632 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 24: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 16 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06BD8DC3?bcast= 108015758 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 25: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 17 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06BD8ECA?bcast= 108087057 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 26: BBC News at One. 2014. BBC News, 17 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B89333?bcast=1 08087617 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 27: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 17 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06BD8EAE?bcast =108087736 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 28: BBC News at Six. 2014. BBC News, 17 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06BD8E9F?bcast= 108088338 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 29: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 17 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06BD8E8B?bcast= 108088753 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 30: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 18 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06BD901C?bcast= 108093045 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 31: BBC News at Six. 2014. BBC News, 18 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06BD900D?bcast= 108093598 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 32: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 18 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06BD8FFE?bcast= 108094003 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 33: BBC News at Ten. 2014. BBC News, 18 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B89365?bcast=1 08094125 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 34: BBC Breakfast. 2014. BBC News, 19 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B893C7?bcast=1 08163648 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 35: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 19 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06BD90F4?bcast= 108164520 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 36: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 19 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06BD90D1?bcast= 108165870 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 37: BBC Breakfast. 2014. BBC News, 20 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B8940F?bcast= 108168864 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 38: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 20 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06BD91B1?bcast=1 08169767 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 39: BBC News at One. 2014. BBC News, 20 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B8940C?bcast= 108170335 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 40: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 20 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06BD91A5?bcast= 108170448 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 41: BBC London News. 2014. BBC News, 20 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06BA463F?bcast= 108171065 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 42: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 20 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06BD9190?bcast= 108171107 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 43: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 21 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06BD925B?bcast= 108241790 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 44: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 21 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06BD9258?bcast= 108242024 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 45: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 21 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06B4794B?bcast=1 08242240 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 46: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 23 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06C63FC0?bcast= 108257343 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 47: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 23 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06C63FB7?bcast=1 08257869 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 48: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 23 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06C63FA8?bcast= 108258547 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 49: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 23 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06C63F99?bcast=1 08258918 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 50: BBC World News. 2014. BBC News, 24 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06BDB9B1?bcast= 108329818 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 51: BBC News at Ten. 2014. BBC News, 24 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06C0AE42?bcast= 108331271 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

Broadcast 52: BBC News. 2014. BBC News, 24 March. Available at: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/06C64043?bcast=1 08331425 [Accessed: 15 October 2017].

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APPENDIX D: SPSS TABLES

PUBLICATION: ALL BROADCASTS

Statistics

TV channel

N	Valid	285
	Missing	0

TV channel

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	BBC	143	50,2	50,2	50,2
	ITV	52	18,2	18,2	68,4
	Sky	60	21,1	21,1	89,5
	Channel 4	22	7,7	7,7	97,2
	Channel 5	8	2,8	2,8	100,0
	Total	285	100,0	100,0	

PUBLICATION: MALAYSIA AIRLINES 370

Statistics

TV channel

N	Valid	145
	Missing	0

TV channel

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	BBC	74	51,0	51,0	51,0
	ITV	21	14,5	14,5	65,5
	Sky	35	24,1	24,1	89,7
	Channel 4	12	8,3	8,3	97,9
	Channel 5	3	2,1	2,1	100,0
	Total	145	100,0	100,0	

PUBLICATION: GERMANWINGS 9525

Statistics

TV channel

N	Valid	140
	Missing	0

TV channel

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	BBC	69	49,3	49,3	49,3
	ITV	31	22,1	22,1	71,4
	Sky	25	17,9	17,9	89,3
	Channel 4	10	7,1	7,1	96,4
	Channel 5	5	3,6	3,6	100,0
	Total	140	100,0	100,0	

PUBLICATION DATE: ALL BROADCASTS

Statistics

Publication date

N	Valid	285
	Missing	0

Publication date

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Day 1-7	116	40,7	40,7	40,7
	Day 8-14	66	23,2	23,2	63,9
	Day 15-31	56	19,6	19,6	83,5
	Day 32-92	36	12,6	12,6	96,1
	Day 93-184	6	2,1	2,1	98,2
	Day 185-365/366	5	1,8	1,8	100,0
	Total	285	100,0	100,0	

PUBLICATION DATE: MALAYSIA AIRLINES 370

Statistics

Publication date

N	Valid	145
	Missing	0

Publication date

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Day 1-7	44	30,3	30,3	30,3
	Day 8-14	39	26,9	26,9	57,2
	Day 15-31	44	30,3	30,3	87,6
	Day 32-92	12	8,3	8,3	95,9
	Day 93-184	4	2,8	2,8	98,6
	Day 185-365/366	2	1,4	1,4	100,0
	Total	145	100,0	100,0	

PUBLICATION DATE: GERMANWINGS 9525

Statistics

Publication date

N	Valid	140
	Missing	0

Publication date

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Day 1-7	72	51,4	51,4	51,4
	Day 8-14	27	19,3	19,3	70,7
	Day 15-31	12	8,6	8,6	79,3
	Day 32-92	24	17,1	17,1	96,4
	Day 93-184	2	1,4	1,4	97,9
	Day 185-365/366	3	2,1	2,1	100,0
	Total	140	100,0	100,0	

LENGTH OF THE NEWS PIECE: ALL BROADCASTS

Statistics

Length of the news piece

N	Valid	285
	Missing	0

Length of the news piece

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0:00-0:30	53	18,6	18,6	18,6
	0:31-1:00	14	4,9	4,9	23,5
	1:01-2:00	15	5,3	5,3	28,8
	2:01-3:00	44	15,4	15,4	44,2
	3:01-4:00	31	10,9	10,9	55,1
	4:01-5:00	13	4,6	4,6	59,6
	5:01-6:00	11	3,9	3,9	63,5
	6:01-7:00	17	6,0	6,0	69,5
	7:01-8:00	12	4,2	4,2	73,7
	8:01-9:00	6	2,1	2,1	75,8
	9:01-10:00	9	3,2	3,2	78,9
	10:01-12:00	21	7,4	7,4	86,3
	12:01-14:00	12	4,2	4,2	90,5
	14:01-16:00	6	2,1	2,1	92,6
	16:01-18:00	5	1,8	1,8	94,4
	18:01-20:00	4	1,4	1,4	95,8
	20:01-25:00	5	1,8	1,8	97,5
	25:01-30:00	4	1,4	1,4	98,9
	30:01-35:00	2	,7	,7	99,6
	35:01-45:00	1	,4	,4	100,0
	Total	285	100,0	100,0	

LENGTH OF THE NEWS PIECE: MALAYSIA AIRLINES 370

Statistics

Length of the news piece

N	Valid	145
	Missing	0

Length of the news piece

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0:00-0:30	14	9,7	9,7	9,7
	0:31-1:00	3	2,1	2,1	11,7
	1:01-2:00	3	2,1	2,1	13,8
	2:01-3:00	23	15,9	15,9	29,7
	3:01-4:00	21	14,5	14,5	44,1
	4:01-5:00	13	9,0	9,0	53,1
	5:01-6:00	8	5,5	5,5	58,6
	6:01-7:00	13	9,0	9,0	67,6
	7:01-8:00	9	6,2	6,2	73,8
	8:01-9:00	4	2,8	2,8	76,6
	9:01-10:00	7	4,8	4,8	81,4
	10:01-12:00	8	5,5	5,5	86,9
	12:01-14:00	5	3,4	3,4	90,3
	14:01-16:00	3	2,1	2,1	92,4
	16:01-18:00	3	2,1	2,1	94,5
	18:01-20:00	1	,7	,7	95,2
	20:01-25:00	3	2,1	2,1	97,2
	25:01-30:00	3	2,1	2,1	99,3
	30:01-35:00	1	,7	,7	100,0
	Total	145	100,0	100,0	

LENGTH OF THE NEWS PIECE: GERMANWINGS 9525

Statistics

Length of the news piece

N	Valid	140
	Missing	0

Length of the news piece

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0:00-0:30	39	27,9	27,9	27,9
	0:31-1:00	11	7,9	7,9	35,7
	1:01-2:00	12	8,6	8,6	44,3
	2:01-3:00	21	15,0	15,0	59,3
	3:01-4:00	10	7,1	7,1	66,4
	5:01-6:00	3	2,1	2,1	68,6
	6:01-7:00	4	2,9	2,9	71,4
	7:01-8:00	3	2,1	2,1	73,6
	8:01-9:00	2	1,4	1,4	75,0
	9:01-10:00	2	1,4	1,4	76,4
	10:01-12:00	13	9,3	9,3	85,7
	12:01-14:00	7	5,0	5,0	90,7
	14:01-16:00	3	2,1	2,1	92,9
	16:01-18:00	2	1,4	1,4	94,3
	18:01-20:00	3	2,1	2,1	96,4
	20:01-25:00	2	1,4	1,4	97,9
	25:01-30:00	1	,7	,7	98,6
	30:01-35:00	1	,7	,7	99,3
	35:01-45:00	1	,7	,7	100,0
	Total	140	100,0	100,0	

TOPICS: ALL BROADCASTS

Case Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
$topics[a]	285	100,0%	0	0,0%	285	100,0%

a. Group

$topics Frequencies

		Responses		Percent of
		N	Percent	Cases
Topics[a]	Description of the incident	140	8,0%	49,1%
	Background information	189	10,8%	66,3%
	Recovery / search / emergency operation	219	12,5%	76,8%
	Scope of the damage	240	13,7%	84,2%
	Investigation of the disaster	209	11,9%	73,3%
	Cause of the disaster	216	12,3%	75,8%
	Question of the plane's location	178	10,1%	62,5%
	Airplane safety procedures	38	2,2%	13,3%
	Responses / states of relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers	179	10,2%	62,8%
	Commemoration	97	5,5%	34,0%
	Repatriation / funeral	22	1,3%	7,7%
	Financial aspects	21	1,2%	7,4%
	Other	8	0,5%	2,8%
Total		1756	100,0%	616,1%

a. Group

TOPICS: MALAYSIA AIRLINES 370

Case Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
$topics^a	145	100,0%	0	0,0%	145	100,0%

a. Group

$topics Frequencies

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Topics^a	Description of the incident	69	7,4%	47,6%
	Background information	102	11,0%	70,3%
	Recovery / search / emergency operation	143	15,4%	98,6%
	Scope of the damage	117	12,6%	80,7%
	Investigation of the disaster	109	11,7%	75,2%
	Cause of the disaster	94	10,1%	64,8%
	Question of the plane's location	145	15,6%	100,0%
	Airplane safety procedures	10	1,1%	6,9%
	Responses / states of relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers	104	11,2%	71,7%
	Commemoration	25	2,7%	17,2%
	Financial aspects	10	1,1%	6,9%
	Other	2	0,2%	1,4%
Total		930	100,0%	641,4%

a. Group

TOPICS: GERMANWINGS 9525

Case Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
$topics[a]	140	100,0%	0	0,0%	140	100,0%

a. Group

$topics Frequencies

		Responses		Percent of
		N	Percent	Cases
Topics[a]	Description of the incident	71	8,6%	50,7%
	Background information	87	10,5%	62,1%
	Recovery / search / emergency operation	76	9,2%	54,3%
	Scope of the damage	123	14,9%	87,9%
	Investigation of the disaster	100	12,1%	71,4%
	Cause of the disaster	122	14,8%	87,1%
	Question of the plane's location	33	4,0%	23,6%
	Airplane safety procedures	28	3,4%	20,0%
	Responses / states of relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers	75	9,1%	53,6%
	Commemoration	72	8,7%	51,4%
	Repatriation / funeral	22	2,7%	15,7%
	Financial aspects	11	1,3%	7,9%
	Other	6	0,7%	4,3%
Total		826	100,0%	590,0%

a. Group

POTENTIAL CAUSES: ALL BROADCASTS

Case Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
$suggestions_cause[a]	175	61,4%	110	38,6%	285	100,0%

a. Group

$suggestions_cause Frequencies

		Responses		Percent of
		N	Percent	Cases
Suggestions for the cause of the disasters[a]	Pilot error	8	3,2%	4,6%
	Mechanical error	33	13,4%	18,9%
	Sabotage	139	56,3%	79,4%
	Terrorism	21	8,5%	12,0%
	Other human error	2	0,8%	1,1%
	"Something"	17	6,9%	9,7%
	Accident	8	3,2%	4,6%
	Other	19	7,7%	10,9%
Total		247	100,0%	141,1%

a. Group

POTENTIAL CAUSES: MALAYSIA AIRLINES 370

Case Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
$suggestions_cause[a]	60	41,4%	85	58,6%	145	100,0%

a. Group

$suggestions_cause Frequencies

		Responses		Percent of
		N	Percent	Cases
Suggestions for the cause of the disaster[a]	Pilot error	6	5,1%	10,0%
	Mechanical error	23	19,5%	38,3%
	Sabotage	40	33,9%	66,7%
	Terrorism	20	16,9%	33,3%
	Other human error	1	0,8%	1,7%
	"Something"	8	6,8%	13,3%
	Accident	3	2,5%	5,0%
	Other	17	14,4%	28,3%
Total		118	100,0%	196,7%

a. Group

POTENTIAL CAUSES: GERMANWINGS 9525

Case Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
$suggestions_cause[a]	115	82,1%	25	17,9%	140	100,0%

a. Group

$suggestions_cause Frequencies

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Suggestions for the cause of the disaster[a]	Pilot error	2	1,6%	1,7%
	Mechanical error	10	7,8%	8,7%
	Sabotage	99	76,7%	86,1%
	Terrorism	1	0,8%	0,9%
	Other human error	1	0,8%	0,9%
	"Something"	9	7,0%	7,8%
	Accident	5	3,9%	4,3%
	Other	2	1,6%	1,7%
Total		129	100,0%	112,2%

a. Group

RESPONSES TO THE DISASTER: ALL BROADCASTS

Case Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
$responses_disasters[a]	57	20,0%	228	80,0%	285	100,0%

a. Group

$responses_disasters Frequencies

		Responses		Percent of
		N	Percent	Cases
Mentioned responses to the disasters[a]	Legal action	1	1,6%	1,8%
	Review of existing procedures	17	26,6%	29,8%
	Modification of existing procedures	17	26,6%	29,8%
	Enhanced security	7	10,9%	12,3%
	Research	1	1,6%	1,8%
	Activism / protests	19	29,7%	33,3%
	Other	2	3,1%	3,5%
Total		64	100,0%	112,3%

a. Group

RESPONSES TO THE DISASTER: MALAYSIA AIRLINES 370

Case Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
$responses_disaster[a]	30	20,7%	115	79,3%	145	100,0%

a. Group

$responses_disaster Frequencies

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Mentioned responses to the disaster[a]	Review of existing procedures	2	6,5%	6,7%
	Modification of existing procedures	1	3,2%	3,3%
	Enhanced security	7	22,6%	23,3%
	Activism / protests	19	61,3%	63,3%
	Other	2	6,5%	6,7%
Total		31	100,0%	103,3%

a. Group

RESPONSES TO THE DISASTER: GERMANWINGS 9525

Case Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
$responses_disaster[a]	27	19,3%	113	80,7%	140	100,0%

a. Group

$responses_disaster Frequencies

		Responses		Percent of
		N	Percent	Cases
Mentioned responses to the disaster[a]	Legal action	1	3,0%	3,7%
	Review of existing procedures	15	45,5%	55,6%
	Modification of existing procedures	16	48,5%	59,3%
	Research	1	3,0%	3,7%
Total		33	100,0%	122,2%

a. Group

SAFETY OF FLYING: ALL BROADCASTS

Statistics

Safety of flying in the broadcast

N	Valid	285
	Missing	0

Safety of flying in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	12	4,2	4,2	4,2
	No	273	95,8	95,8	100,0
	Total	285	100,0	100,0	

SAFETY OF FLYING: MALAYSIA AIRLINES 370

Statistics

Safety of flying in the broadcast

N	Valid	145
	Missing	0

Safety of flying in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	2	1,4	1,4	1,4
	No	143	98,6	98,6	100,0
	Total	145	100,0	100,0	

SAFETY OF FLYING: GERMANWINGS 9525

Statistics

Safety of flying in the broadcast

N	Valid	140
	Missing	0

Safety of flying in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	10	7,1	7,1	7,1
	No	130	92,9	92,9	100,0
	Total	140	100,0	100,0	

RISK OF FLYING: ALL BROADCASTS

Statistics

Risk of flying in the broadcast

N	Valid	285
	Missing	0

Risk of flying in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	7	2,5	2,5	2,5
	No	278	97,5	97,5	100,0
	Total	285	100,0	100,0	

RISK OF FLYING: MALAYSIA AIRLINES 370

Statistics

Risk of flying in the broadcast

N	Valid	145
	Missing	0

Risk of flying in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1	,7	,7	,7
	No	144	99,3	99,3	100,0
	Total	145	100,0	100,0	

RISK OF FLYING: GERMANWINGS 9525

Statistics

Risk of flying in the broadcast

N	Valid	140
	Missing	0

Risk of flying in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	6	4,3	4,3	4,3
	No	134	95,7	95,7	100,0
	Total	140	100,0	100,0	

SAFETY OF THE AIRCRAFT: ALL BROADCASTS

Statistics

Safety of the aircraft in the broadcast

N	Valid	285
	Missing	0

Safety of the aircraft in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	29	10,2	10,2	10,2
	No	256	89,8	89,8	100,0
	Total	285	100,0	100,0	

SAFETY OF THE AIRCRAFT: MALAYSIA AIRLINES 370

Statistics

Safety of the aircraft in the
broadcast

N	Valid	145
	Missing	0

Safety of the aircraft in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	13	9,0	9,0	9,0
	No	132	91,0	91,0	100,0
	Total	145	100,0	100,0	

SAFETY OF THE AIRCRAFT: GERMANWINGS 9525

Statistics

Safety of the aircraft in the
broadcast

N	Valid	140
	Missing	0

Safety of the aircraft in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	16	11,4	11,4	11,4
	No	124	88,6	88,6	100,0
	Total	140	100,0	100,0	

SAFETY OF THE AIRLINE: ALL BROADCASTS

Statistics

Safety of the airline in the broadcast

N	Valid	285
	Missing	0

Safety of the airline in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	15	5,3	5,3	5,3
	No	270	94,7	94,7	100,0
	Total	285	100,0	100,0	

SAFETY OF THE AIRLINE: MALAYSIA AIRLINES 370

Statistics

Safety of the airline in the broadcast

N	Valid	145
	Missing	0

Safety of the airline in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	5	3,4	3,4	3,4
	No	140	96,6	96,6	100,0
	Total	145	100,0	100,0	

SAFETY OF THE AIRLINE: GERMANWINGS 9525

Statistics

Safety of the airline in the broadcast

N	Valid	140
	Missing	0

Safety of the airline in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	10	7,1	7,1	7,1
	No	130	92,9	92,9	100,0
	Total	140	100,0	100,0	

UNCERTAINTY AND IGNORANCE: ALL BROADCASTS

Statistics

Uncertainty and ignorance in the broadcast

N	Valid	285
	Missing	0

Uncertainty and ignorance in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	240	84,2	84,2	84,2
	No	45	15,8	15,8	100,0
	Total	285	100,0	100,0	

UNCERTAINTY AND IGNORANCE: MALAYSIA AIRLINES 370

Statistics

Uncertainty and ignorance in the
broadcast

N	Valid	145
	Missing	0

Uncertainty and ignorance in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	145	100,0	100,0	100,0

UNCERTAINTY AND IGNORANCE: GERMANWINGS 9525

Statistics

Uncertainty and ignorance in the
broadcast

N	Valid	140
	Missing	0

Uncertainty and ignorance in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	95	67,9	67,9	67,9
	No	45	32,1	32,1	100,0
	Total	140	100,0	100,0	

UNCERTAINTY AND IGNORANCE X PUBLICATION DATE: ALL BROADCASTS

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Publication date * Uncertainty and ignorance	285	100,0%	0	0,0%	285	100,0%

Publication date * Uncertainty and ignorance Crosstabulation

Count

		Uncertainty and ignorance		Total
		Yes	No	
Publication date	Day 1-7	104	12	116
	Day 8-14	54	12	66
	Day 15-31	52	4	56
	Day 32-92	23	13	36
	Day 93-184	4	2	6
	Day 185-365/366	3	2	5
Total		240	45	285

UNCERTAINTY AND IGNORANCE X PUBLICATION DATE: MALAYSIA AIRLINES 370

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Publication date * Uncertainty and ignorance	145	100,0%	0	0,0%	145	100,0%

Publication date * Uncertainty and ignorance Crosstabulation

Count

		Uncertainty and ignorance	Total
		Yes	
Publication date	Day 1-7	44	44
	Day 8-14	39	39
	Day 15-31	44	44
	Day 32-92	12	12
	Day 93-184	4	4
	Day 185-365/366	2	2
Total		145	145

UNCERTAINTY AND IGNORANCE X PUBLICATION DATE: GERMANWINGS 9525

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Publication date * Uncertainty and ignorance	140	100,0%	0	0,0%	140	100,0%

Publication date * Uncertainty and ignorance Crosstabulation

Count

		Uncertainty and ignorance		Total
		Yes	No	
Publication date	Day 1-7	60	12	72
	Day 8-14	15	12	27
	Day 15-31	8	4	12
	Day 32-92	11	13	24
	Day 93-184	0	2	2
	Day 185-365/366	1	2	3
Total		95	45	140

SPECULATION: ALL BROADCASTS

Statistics

Speculation in the broadcast

N	Valid	285
	Missing	0

Speculation in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	209	73,3	73,3	73,3
	No	76	26,7	26,7	100,0
	Total	285	100,0	100,0	

SPECULATION: MALAYSIA AIRLINES 370

Statistics

Speculation in the broadcast

N	Valid	145
	Missing	0

Speculation in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	136	93,8	93,8	93,8
	No	9	6,2	6,2	100,0
	Total	145	100,0	100,0	

SPECULATION: GERMANWINGS 9525

Statistics

Speculation in the broadcast

N	Valid	140
	Missing	0

Speculation in the broadcast

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	73	52,1	52,1	52,1
	No	67	47,9	47,9	100,0
	Total	140	100,0	100,0	

VISUALS: ALL BROADCASTS

Case Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
$visuals[a]	285	100,0%	0	0,0%	285	100,0%

a. Group

$visuals Frequencies

		Responses		Percent of
		N	Percent	Cases
Visuals[a]	Informational graphics	144	9,6%	50,5%
	(Potential) disaster location	187	12,4%	65,6%
	Disaster operation	219	14,5%	76,8%
	Commemoration	110	7,3%	38,6%
	Relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers	154	10,2%	54,0%
	Passengers	69	4,6%	24,2%
	Supporting visuals	159	10,6%	55,8%
	Interviews and press conferences	223	14,8%	78,2%
	Suspect(s) or perpetrator	101	6,7%	35,4%
	Relatives, friends and colleagues of the suspect(s) or perpetrator	18	1,2%	6,3%
	Disaster investigation	49	3,3%	17,2%
	Other	73	4,8%	25,6%
Total		1506	100,0%	528,4%

a. Group

VISUALS: MALAYSIA AIRLINES 370

Case Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
$visualsª	145	100,0%	0	0,0%	145	100,0%

a. Group

$visuals Frequencies

		Responses		Percent of
		N	Percent	Cases
Visualsª	Informational graphics	104	13,3%	71,7%
	(Potential) disaster location	78	10,0%	53,8%
	Disaster operation	126	16,1%	86,9%
	Commemoration	31	4,0%	21,4%
	Relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers	86	11,0%	59,3%
	Passengers	27	3,5%	18,6%
	Supporting visuals	84	10,7%	57,9%
	Interviews and press conferences	131	16,8%	90,3%
	Suspect(s) or perpetrator	26	3,3%	17,9%
	Relatives, friends and colleagues of the suspect(s) or perpetrator	6	0,8%	4,1%
	Disaster investigation	21	2,7%	14,5%
	Other	62	7,9%	42,8%
Total		782	100,0%	539,3%

a. Group

VISUALS: GERMANWINGS 9525

Case Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
$visualsª	140	100,0%	0	0,0%	140	100,0%

a. Group

$visuals Frequencies

		Responses		Percent of
		N	Percent	Cases
Visualsª	Informational graphics	40	5,5%	28,6%
	(Potential) disaster location	109	15,1%	77,9%
	Disaster operation	93	12,8%	66,4%
	Commemoration	79	10,9%	56,4%
	Relatives, friends and colleagues of the passengers	68	9,4%	48,6%
	Passengers	42	5,8%	30,0%
	Supporting visuals	75	10,4%	53,6%
	Interviews and press conferences	92	12,7%	65,7%
	Suspect(s) or perpetrator	75	10,4%	53,6%
	Relatives, friends and colleagues of the suspect(s) or perpetrator	12	1,7%	8,6%
	Disaster investigation	28	3,9%	20,0%
	Other	11	1,5%	7,9%
Total		724	100,0%	517,1%

a. Group