



1 Seismic Risk: The Biases of Earthquake 2 Media Coverage

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19 **Abstract**

20 The capacity of individuals to cope with threatening situations depends directly on their
21 capacity to anticipate what will come next. The media should play a key role in that respect,
22 but an extensive analysis of earthquake media coverage by the international press reveals
23 systematic biases. Exploring a corpus of 320 888 news articles published by 32 worldwide
24 newspapers in 2015 in English, Spanish or French, we found that the press covers a very
25 small number of events: 71% of the news was dedicated to only 3 earthquakes (among the
26 1559 of magnitude 5+). A combination of frequency and content analysis reveals a typical
27 framing of the ‘earthquake news’. Except for the ‘Nepal quake’, the duration of the coverage
28 is usually very short. The news thus tends to focus on short-term issues: the event magnitude,
29 tsunami alerts, human losses, material damage, and rescue operations. Longer-term issues
30 linked to the recovery, restoration, reconstruction, mitigation and prevention are barely
31 addressed. Preventive safety measures are almost never mentioned. The news on
32 impacts show a peculiar appetency for death counts, material damage estimates and
33 sensationalism. News on the response tends to emphasize the role played by the international
34 community in helping the ‘poor and vulnerable’. The scientific content of the coverage is
35 often restricted to mentions of the magnitude, with the concept of the seismic intensity being
36 largely ignored. The notion of the ‘seismic crisis’ also seems unclear, with aftershocks
37 sometimes being treated as isolated events. Secondary hazards are barely mentioned, except
38 in the case of tsunami alerts. Together, these biases contribute to fatalistic judgments that
39 damage cannot be prevented. If scientific messages are to be communicated, they should be
40 broadcast a few hours after an event. Why not taking that opportunity to familiarize people
41 with the real timeline of seismic disasters?



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43 **Keywords**

44 earthquake, media coverage, seismic risk, risk perception, international news flow theory

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48 **Key Points**

49 • Analysis of earthquake media coverage by the international press reveals
50 systematic biases in the coverage of seismic crises

51 • News focuses on a small number of events: in 2015, 3 earthquakes attracted 71%
52 of the news (among 1559 earthquakes of magnitude over 5)

53 • The duration of the coverage is very short with respect to the issues at stake:
54 from a few hours to a few days, rarely more

55 • The 2015 Nepal quake was exceptionally well covered both in terms of duration
56 and number of news items

57 • There is a typical framing of ‘earthquake news’ in the international press

58 • News content focuses on short-term issues: the event magnitude, tsunami alerts,
59 human losses, material damage, and rescue operations

60 • Longer-term issues linked to recovery, restoration, reconstruction, mitigation
61 and prevention measures are barely addressed

62 • To reach the public, scientific messages should be released within hours of big
63 events. Why not taking that opportunity to familiarize people with the real
64 timeline of seismic disasters?

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70 **1 Introduction**

71 **1.1 The media play a key role in times of disaster**

72 The coverage that is made of an event has a huge power to influence national and global
73 public opinion, giving (or not) visibility to disaster-related issues. With social media, the
74 online press is among the fastest channels for informing a large number and a great diversity
75 of people. One would expect the press to not only inform but also to empower the
76 communities with relevant knowledge to influence public action and policy toward disaster
77 preparedness and mitigation. Things, however, have proven to be more complex.

78
79 Scientists often blame journalists for distorting their messages and for playing the role of
80 a “crisis catalyst” (Boin et al. 2008). Comparing the news treatment of a real earthquake with
81 that of a false quake prediction, Smith (1996) explores the place of science in the media. His
82 study leads him to conclude that “the interest in drama at the expense of public affairs
83 interferes with good scientific reporting.” In general, scientists denounce the tendency of the
84 press to search for “culprits” and “accountability” and for “stirring up old rivalry and
85 exaggerating conflicts” (Harris, 2015a and b). Harris (2015a) explores the biases introduced
86 by the ‘media filter’ in the communication of scientific information during the eruption of
87 Iceland’s Eyjafjallajökull volcano in 2010. He shows how the placement of the information in
88 the frame of the pages, selection of stories, use of sources, selection of data, exaggeration,
89 omissions and preferences for certain sources or pieces of information contribute to the
90 oversimplification of complex arguments and an orientation toward information
91 interpretations forcing inclination or prejudice for, or against, an argument, person or group,
92 putting a particular emphasis on some aspects of the situation. Harris (2015b) explores the
93 influence of this media filter on the perception of uncertainty by the public and argues that a
94 careful study of the media filter can help scientists to communicate in a manner that reduces
95 the chance of message distortion.

96
97 Numerous studies have explored the ability of the news media to influence public
98 perception. According to McClure et al. (2001) and Mc Clure and Velluppillai (2013), public
99 education programs and news reports often describe disasters “in ways that accentuate the
100 extent and severity of damage”, thus contributing to “fatalistic attributions and judgments that
101 the damage cannot be prevented”. Improper attribution can hinder peoples’ preparedness:
102 “When people attribute damage to an earthquake’s magnitude, they invoke an uncontrollable
103 cause, but when they attribute damage to human design, they invoke a relatively controllable
104 cause”. For authors such as Gaddy & Tanjong (1987) or Hiroi, Mikami, & Miyata (1985),
105 understanding how the media report on disaster situations has direct implications as it shows
106 “how agencies could reduce fatalism and facilitate preventive action by the way they present
107 information about earthquakes and other disasters.”

108
109 From the social science and humanities perspectives, media do not just introduce biases
110 into the perception of ‘real’ events, they also construct part of the reality (Searle & Willis,
111 1995). Media are primarily seen as being a cultural tool helping people to make sense of what
112 happen to them, collectively. Among the few psychological studies focusing on the impacts of
113 media coverage in a post-disaster context, Yoshida et al. (2016) suggest that watching the



114 news may even help people to recover from their traumatic experiences, as it provides a good
115 opportunity for deliberate rumination over disaster-related memories. Studying two Canadian
116 rural communities following a forest fire in 2003, Cox et al. (2008) show that the newspaper
117 coverage acts as “a local as well as a broader cultural resource for affected individuals and
118 communities in determining the ‘correct’ way of responding to and recovering from the
119 disaster”. Their analysis emphasizes the power of media “to convey and normalize dominant
120 cultural assumptions” and influence social attitudes and health-related behavior (Gaddy &
121 Tanjong, 1987). It points out the effect of the neoliberal discursive framing of recovery,
122 emphasizing the economical-material aspects of the process and a reliance on experts. Cox
123 and Perry (2011) shows that the dominant discursive constructions of disasters have drawn on
124 and reinforced a hierarchy of credibility in which local voices are marginalized in favor of
125 experts.

126

127 **1.2 This study**

128 This study is led by a pluri-disciplinary team of researchers (from geophysics,
129 psychology and geography). It builds on previous results (Devès, 2015; Grasland et al., 2016;
130 Le Texier & al., 2016) to address the following question: in a globalized world, can we find
131 systematic trends in how the international press covers earthquake events? Many hypotheses
132 about the rules governing the international news flow were formulated more than 50 years ago
133 (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Østgaard, 1965) and verified by empirical studies concerning the
134 unequal salience of countries in the media and the effects of size, proximity and the
135 preference for elite countries or negative news (Peterson, 1981; Kim & Barnett, 1996; Wu,
136 2000). The development of new forms of electronic communication has not modified the rules
137 previously observed, and recent works confirmed that the circulation of international news is
138 still very influenced by cultural factors such as language and physical factors such as the
139 distance between the location of the media and the location of events (Segev, 2016; Grasland
140 et al., 2016). However, the salience of countries is generally manifested over a mixture of
141 heterogeneous events, and some authors have focused on subsets of events that are either
142 mentioned or ignored by the media. The event-oriented approach is based on a selection of
143 foreign news related to a specific topic for which it is possible to define a finite and possibly
144 objective list of events occurring in the “real” world. One of the most interesting areas of
145 research from this perspective is the study of the media coverage of earthquakes, for which
146 objective measures of the magnitude or victims are regularly published. It is then possible to
147 analyze the level of newsworthiness according to the different laws postulated by Galtung
148 (Koopmans & Vliegthart, 2010).

149 Examining the media coverage of more than 900 earthquakes, Le Texier et al. (2016)
150 showed that the event severity (reported by the media as a moment magnitude) affected the
151 volume of media coverage following a power law. Studying the dynamics of public interest in
152 major earthquakes using Google Trends, Tan & Maharjan (2018) find that the duration and
153 search peak vary with the death toll and damage but not with the earthquake magnitude. Earle
154 et al. (2010) found the same pattern for the 2009 Mw 4.3 Morgan Hill (California) earthquake
155 using Twitter data, in a period of only a dozen minutes.

156 This study goes further. First, in analyzing the intensity, time distribution and content of
157 a large corpus of approximately 382 249 news items published by 32 international media RSS



158 feeds in 2015. Second, through the association of a statistical analysis of the news frequency
159 with a textual analysis of the content of the news. Section 2 presents this dataset and the
160 methodology we adopted for analyzing it. Section 3 offers a description of our major results,
161 and Section 4 concludes the paper.

162

163 2 Materials and methods

164

165 2.1 Presentation of the datasets

166 The datasets run from January 1, 2015 at 00:00:01 to December 31, 2015 at 23:59:59.
167 2015 is particularly interesting as it is the year of the Nepal Quake, a major event well
168 covered by the international press. The *geophysical dataset* is built from the online seismic
169 catalogue provided by the USGS (ANSS). The *media dataset* is built from the ANR corpus
170 GEOMEDIA, which contains information published by more than 330 news RSS feeds from
171 180 media, localized in 61 countries and written in 10 languages over three years ([ANR-12-
172 CORP-0009](#), Grasland et al., 2012-2015). We selected international media RSS feeds based
173 on several criteria: media quality, RSS feed regularity, media localization, and the volume of
174 transmitted information. The final corpus consists of 32 RSS feeds related to international
175 news in three languages (English, French and Spanish) that are sufficiently homogeneous and
176 equitably geographically distributed, according to the possibilities offered by the initial
177 database (Figure 1).

178

179 (insert Figure 1 – currently located at the end of the document)

180

181 2.2 Data cleaning and selection through tagging

182 Before starting the data analysis, three processing steps were required (Figure 2). First,
183 some of the selected RSS items were not worth analyzing because they were totally devoid of
184 information, simply advertising or summarizing a heterogeneous set of news of the day. These
185 items were deleted from the corpus. Second, the initial database continuously collects RSS
186 items on newspaper websites, and a similar item can be published several times without
187 changes. Therefore, we had to delete all the duplicate items (items with the same title and
188 text). During these two processing steps, more than 60 000 RSS items were deleted. After the
189 cleaning, the dataset contains 320 888 news items. To build the joint corpus (called EQ-
190 MEDIA in the following), we then enriched the media dataset with a tagging process in two
191 steps: 1) the geographical tagging of all mentioned countries using word dictionaries and 2)
192 the thematic tagging of all news mentioning a seismic event using an ‘earthquake dictionary’.
193 The first dictionary was tested and validated in previous research (Grasland & al., 2016). The
194 latter has been tested manually on 1% of the total number of items to determine the number of
195 false positives (i.e., items containing metaphoric references to earthquakes such as a ‘political
196 earthquake’). We found a reasonable error rate of approximately 4%. The rate of false
197 negatives (i.e., missed items) was even smaller (approximately 2 to 3%). The final number of
198 news items dedicated to earthquakes over the year 2015 is 4411, which represents 1.37% of
199 the total number of items published during that time period by all the RSS feeds of the corpus.
200 (insert Figure 2)

201



202 **2.2 Two levels of analysis: the year 2015 and 3 major events**

203 An analysis of the intensity and duration of coverage is undertaken on the whole
204 EQMEDIA corpus. The analysis of the news content, which requires coupled qualitative and
205 quantitative approaches, is undertaken on a selection of earthquakes. As shown in Figure 3,
206 the ‘earthquake news’ is not evenly distributed over time. Three earthquakes garnered the
207 most attention:

- 208 • *the Gorkha earthquake*: Nepal and neighboring countries witnessed a 7.8 magnitude
209 earthquake on the 25th of April 2015. It was followed by many aftershocks, among which
210 one on May 12th had a magnitude of 7.3. These earthquakes killed more than 9,000
211 people and affected at least 8 million, affecting the main economic and political center of
212 the country (Katmandu) and causing massive economic losses (half of the GDP of the
213 country) (CRED, 2017). The first quake (April 25th) was the most devastating. It also
214 triggered landslides and avalanches in the mountains, killing hundreds of people, among
215 whom were foreign tourists whose fates most interested the media. The magnitude of the
216 main shock was similar to that of the 1934 earthquake.
- 217 • *the Ilapel earthquake*: An earthquake of magnitude 8.3 hit the area of Ilapel, Chile, on
218 September 9th, 2015, killing at least 15 persons and affecting thousands. Chilean
219 authorities ordered the immediate evacuation of the coast due to a tsunami threat. Pacific-
220 wide tsunami warnings were issued, and the evacuation affected approximately 1 million
221 people.
- 222 • *the Hindu Kush earthquake*: An earthquake of magnitude 7.5 hit the Hindu Kush region
223 between Afghanistan and Pakistan on October 26th, 2015. The earthquake and its
224 aftershocks killed approximately 400 people and affected thousands in Afghanistan,
225 Pakistan and the neighboring countries (including India and Tajikistan).

226
227 (insert Figure 3)

228

229 **2.3 Analyzing the news content**

230 To more closely examine our dataset, we adopted a method inspired by Cox et al. (2008)
231 who analyzed the print-news media coverage of the recovery process following a forest fire.
232 The first step toward critical discourse analysis is to conduct a careful analysis of the content
233 of the news itself to identify thematic patterns but also possible “textual silences”, defined by
234 Huckin (2002) as “the omission of some piece of information that is pertinent to the topic at
235 hand”. As we are dealing with hundreds of thousands of items, this qualitative approach is
236 complemented by a quantitative analysis based on keywords.

237

238 It was possible but ultimately not relevant to proceed to a classification of the content of
239 our thousands of items with inductive exploratory methods such as cluster analysis (Wilks,
240 2011) or latent Dirichlet allocation (Blei & al., 2003). Thus, we chose a deductive approach
241 where we tried to extract from the media coverage the categories or concepts defined by
242 experts on disasters. Following Hass, Kates and Bowden (1977) and Kates et al. (2006), we
243 define six *expected categories of content*: hazards, impacts, response, restoration,
244 reconstruction and preparedness. The category of *hazards* refers to the seismic phenomenon
245 itself or to any hazardous event it can trigger such as tsunamis or landslides. The category of



246 *impacts* refers to the immediate effects of these hazards: human loss, injuries, and damage to
247 buildings and infrastructures. The category of *emergency response* refers to the actions taken
248 during or immediately after the earthquake to save lives, reduce health impacts, ensure public
249 safety and meet the basic subsistence needs of the people affected. The category of
250 *rehabilitation* includes recovery and restoration, i.e., actions taken to restore basic services
251 and facilities and improve the livelihoods and health, as well as economic, physical, social,
252 cultural and environmental assets, systems and activities, of the earthquake-affected
253 community. By *reconstruction*, we mean the medium- and long-term rebuilding and
254 restoration of the critical infrastructures, services, housing, facilities and livelihoods.
255 *Preparedness* refers to actions carried out to build the capacities needed to efficiently manage
256 future emergencies. News may refer to one or several of these categories of content.

257

258 We classify the most frequently used words of the ‘earthquake news’ into one of these
259 categories of content and build two keyword dictionaries: a *discourse content dictionary*
260 corresponding to the above categories (table 1) and an *identity matrix* dedicated to actors
261 (table 2). For this work to be manageable in a reasonable time, we adopt a threshold of a
262 minimum of 4 occurrences in French and Spanish and 8 in English (there are, respectively,
263 619 and 478 items in Spanish and French, so the threshold remains very low, as it corresponds
264 to words occurring in at least 0.36% of the items. There are 2097 items in English, and thus
265 the threshold remains sensibly the same: it corresponds to words occurring in at least 0.38%
266 of the items). Conjunctions and adverbs are not considered, and words with common roots are
267 treated together. We use words that are representative of one and only one of our categories of
268 discourse (principle of exclusivity) and that do not introduce too many false positives.
269 Tagging the database using these two keyword dictionaries allows us to quantify the
270 presence/absence and evolution of each theme/subtheme/topic. There are limitations to this
271 keyword approach, but the independent classification of the items by the coauthors indicates a
272 good consistency in the coding of themes and subthemes and the identification of topics (we
273 reach a maximum of 12% of differences for the emergency response category).

274

275 (insert table 1 and table 2)

276

277 **3 Results**

278

279 **3.1. ‘Earthquake news’ analysis of temporality**

280 News concentrates on a very small number of earthquakes. 71.4% of the items were
281 dedicated to three earthquakes (Figure 3). The ‘Nepal Quake’ was exceptionally well-covered,
282 representing 59.7% of the news, and the earthquakes in Chile (Iapel) and Afghanistan (Hindu
283 Kush) collected, respectively, 6.1% and 5.8% of the news. The other events of the year (some
284 of which are visible as small peaks in the brown curve of Figure 3) share the remaining 28.6%
285 of the coverage.

286

287 The curves of coverage intensity exhibit a similar trend for all earthquakes: the initial
288 peak is followed by an exponential decrease. This signature has been proved as typical of the



289 media coverage of dramatic events, characterized by an initial shock to public opinion
290 (Boomgaarden, H. G. & de Vreese, 2007). The amplitude of the initial peak is higher in the
291 case of the ‘Nepal Quake’ than in the other cases. The duration of the coverage is also much
292 longer with a second peak, corresponding to the aftershock of May 12th, triggering a new
293 round of coverage. This may be explained by various factors, including a death toll an order
294 of magnitude higher and that it affected the economic and political center of a touristic
295 country (Koopmans & Vliegenthart, 2010). However, despite these differences in intensity
296 and duration, the overall signature of the ‘Nepal quake’ is similar to the signature of the
297 Hindu Kush earthquake, likely because both events occurred in similar geodynamical settings
298 (i.e., intracontinental faulting) and both caused massive impacts (i.e., huge death tolls and vast
299 material damage). The real question is why the Chilean earthquake, which only caused
300 moderate impacts, was so well covered. Occurring in a different geodynamical setting (i.e.,
301 subduction faulting), the earthquake triggered tsunami waves threatening many countries on
302 the ocean rim. The release of the tsunami alert explains the level of the international coverage
303 in remote countries. All together, these observations support earlier works showing that the
304 death toll in itself is not sufficient to predict the volume of media coverage, as other factors –
305 such as the physical, political, or economic distance to the place of publication – also
306 influence the newsworthiness of disasters (i.e., Adams (1986), Simon (1997), and Van Bell
307 (2000), among others).

308

309 Eventually, the main peaks of intensity are not significantly different among the English,
310 Spanish and French newspapers. Only small differences are observed, essentially on the
311 extent of the main peaks or on the secondary peaks. The similarity of the results obtained in
312 the three different languages confirms the robustness of our methodology. It also suggests the
313 existence of a typical *and global* framing of the ‘earthquake news’, inviting us to dive deeper
314 into the analysis of content.

315

316 3.2. ‘Earthquake news’ analysis of content

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318 3.2.1 News reproduces the categories of content expected from Disaster Risk Management (DRM) models

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320 The ‘earthquake news’ content broadly reproduces the sequence expected from DRM
321 models but with an important bias: the duration of coverage is too short (hours to days) for
322 mid- to long-term issues (weeks to months or years) to be well-covered (Figure 4). The
323 themes of *Hazards*, *Impacts* and *Emergency Response* are overrepresented compared with
324 those of *Recovery*, *Restoration*, *Reconstruction* and *Preparedness* (Figure 5).

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- 77% of the news items contain a general description of the *Impacts* of the event, either simply to outline its level of destructivity or to count fatalities.
- 46% of the news items refer to the *Hazards*, often to communicate the magnitude of the earthquake but sometimes to inform about secondary hazards such as tsunamis, aftershocks and, more rarely, avalanches, mud slides or floods.
- 45% of the news items refer to *Emergency response* describing either aid, search and rescue operations (in the case of the Nepal and Hindu Kush earthquakes) or the release and lifting of tsunami warnings (in the case of the Ilapel earthquake).



- 332 • Only 5.6% of the news items refer unambiguously to *Recovery, Restoration and*
333 *Reconstruction*, and none refer directly to issues of *Preparedness*. These low
334 percentages are partially due to the small numbers of keywords identified for
335 each of these themes, but it is the low frequency of these themes in the database
336 that prevented us from identifying more keywords.

337 It is interesting to note that the big aftershock of May 12th in Nepal triggered a new cycle
338 of information. Although characterized by a peak of smaller intensity, the news content
339 followed a similar sequence to the one triggered by the main shock.

340 Figure 6 show the temporal distributions of these themes. The Nepali and the Afghani
341 earthquakes have similar signatures: content on hazards comes first, very soon followed by
342 content on impacts; content on response comes next, and content on recovery, rehabilitation
343 and reconstruction comes later on – when it comes. The Chilean earthquake has a
344 significantly different signature, which is due to its tsunamigenic character. The news focuses
345 first on the hazards including tsunamis, which makes the content on the response (tsunami
346 warnings) appear much earlier.

347

348 (insert Figures 4, 5 and 6)

349

350 3.2.2 The typical ‘earthquake news’

351

352 To give a sense of the framing of ‘earthquake news’, in the following, we build an
353 (artificial but well-informed) example of the evolution of the news content over time after an
354 event. Of course, there are to be variations due to elements of context, but our guess is that the
355 main trends would remain comparable.

356

357 Imagine that an important earthquake occurs...

358

- **Within a few hours**

359

360 The news focuses on the description of the seismic hazard and, when relevant, passes on
361 information about tsunami warnings. The news first reports that an earthquake has been felt,
362 providing an approximate location of the impacted area (often a country, sometimes a region
363 or a city). Many recall the magnitude of the event.

363

364 e.g., ‘USGS: Magnitude 7.5 earthquake strikes Afghanistan’ (USA today, October 26th, item

365

366 10366718), ‘Un terremoto de 7,9 grados sacude el centro de Nepal’ (Faro de Vigo, April 25th,

367

368 item 6369528), ‘Un séisme de magnitude 7,5 a secoué lundi le massif de l’Hindu Kush’ (Le

369

370 Monde, October 26th, item 10368842)

371

372 It quickly becomes clear that the event is worth mentioning because it had noticeable impacts.

373

374 e.g., ‘La ONU advierte dramático impacto tras nuevo temblor en Nepal’ (El informador, May

375

376 13th, item 6774985), ‘Scores of people were killed when a 7.5-magnitude earthquake centered

377 in Afghanistan rocked neighboring Pakistan and rattled buildings as far away as India.’ (USA

378

379 Today, October 26th, item 10371195)

380

381 The combination of the location and magnitude is often use to ‘label’ the event and
382 distinguish it from other ones. After a few days, ‘big’ events are known by their ‘nicknames’,



376 and the magnitude is less often mentioned. A few hours after the main shock, journalists
377 named the earthquake the ‘Nepal earthquake’, and it soon became the ‘Nepal Quake’.

378 e.g., ‘5 things to know about the Nepal earthquake’ (The Star, April 25th, item 6376436) ‘Nepal
379 quake: 7.9 magnitude tremor hits near Kathmandu’ (The Guardian, April 25th, item 6370804)

380 However, only a few earthquakes become famous enough to be called by nicknames; the
381 Chilean and Afghani earthquakes of 2015 did not, and the news settled for recalling the
382 country and magnitude of the main shocks.

383

384 Interestingly, that initial phase of coverage is also the phase with most scientific content.
385 The extensive use of the notion of magnitude, although often made at the expense of the
386 notion of seismic intensity, testifies to the successful transfer of a geophysical notion to the
387 lay public. We should also outline here that aftershocks are sometimes treated as singular
388 events by the press, with the notion of a seismic crisis remaining unclear to many. Among the
389 most cited expert bodies, the USGS is the most visible internationally, as it provides
390 immediate information about the earthquakes. Regionally important centers such as the
391 Servicio Hidrográfico y Oceanográfico de la Armada (SHOA) in Chile can also be cited.

392

393 Secondary hazards are barely mentioned in the news, except for tsunamis. In Chile, the
394 news passed on very well the information about tsunami warnings, mentioning at the same
395 time the primary and the secondary hazards and the authorities’ response to it:

396 e.g., ‘Tsunami warnings in Chile and Peru as 8.3 quake hits’ (Daily Telegraph, September 17th,
397 item 9501990), ‘The tsunami warning from New Zealand’s Ministry of Civil Defence & Emergency
398 Management after a big quake off Chile will affect a night surfing event.’ (The Age, September
399 17th, item 9504366).

400

401 • **Few hours to few days after the event**

402 The peak of coverage is reached within a few hours to a day after the event, with many
403 updates of the same news including more and more precision or detail. Earthquake events
404 become ‘breaking news’ or ‘top stories’ and are disseminated simultaneously on different
405 RSS feeds. Most news talk about impacts, especially human losses. The description of the
406 impacts is the theme that attracts the most coverage. 76.7% of the news of our corpus focuses
407 on the description of the impacts (81% for the three considered earthquakes). 34.3% focus on
408 human losses, and only 17.3% on material damage. Messages about human impacts adopt a
409 factual tone and evolve following a rather systematic pattern.

410 For illustration, we provide an example of the treatment by *The Guardian* of the ‘Nepal
411 Quake’. The news starts by mentioning the occurrence of an event with fatalities:

412 e.g., ‘Fatalities as earthquake hits Nepal’ (The Daily Telegraph, April 25th, 09:19, item 6371294)

413 Within a few hours, the regular update of the human losses starts:

414 e.g., ‘Nepal earthquake: more than a hundred people dead’ (The Guardian, April 25th, 12:04,
415 item 6371816), ‘Nepal earthquake: nearly 700 people dead’ (The Guardian, April 25th, 13:42,
416 item 6373501), ‘Nepal quake: more than 1,000 people dead after tremor near Kathmandu’
417 (The Guardian, April 25th, 17:44, item 6381853)

418 As the hours go by and the numbers continue to rise, concurrent topics start emerging.
419 Stories become more personalized, the event starts to be romanticized and the news starts
420 referring to distinct categories of victims (famous people, nationals, vulnerable ones, etc.):



421 e.g., ‘Nepal quake kills more than 1,000 and spreads terror on Everest’ (The Guardian, April
422 26th, 00:23, item 6382569), ‘Google executive Dan Fredinburg filmed at Everest base camp
423 before death’ (The Guardian, April 26th, 16:49, item 6396313)), ‘Népal: le bilan des victimes
424 françaises pourrait s’alourdir’ (Le Parisien, May 3rd, item 6542461)

425 **Aid and rescue operations and life conditions start attracting interest:**

426 e.g., ‘Nepal earthquake: rescue continues as death toll exceeds 2,500’ (The Guardian, April
427 26th, 18:18, item 6397229), ‘Nepal earthquake: thousands seek shelter as death toll exceeds
428 2,500’ (The Guardian, April 27th, 2:04, item 6402976)

429 **As the days go by, the death toll appears less frequently, with the news reporting official
430 numbers only when those are updated:**

431 e.g., ‘Nepal earthquake death toll exceeds 4,000 with many still missing. More than 4,000 are
432 confirmed dead and 6,500 injured...’ (The Guardian, April 28th, item 6430398)

433 **Proportionally, there is a lack of interest in injuries and general health issues (with
434 psychological issues even more ignored).**

435

436 **During the phase of coverage dedicated to impacts, we observe a tendency to
437 sensationalism. Almost half of the news items use superlatives such as ‘devastating’,
438 ‘powerful’, ‘catastrophic’, ‘enormous’, ‘dramatic’, ‘monster’, or ‘violent’, etc., emphasizing
439 the extent of the devastation. Surprisingly, terms referring directly to emotions (such as ‘fear’,
440 ‘desperation’, ‘panic’, ‘courage’, etc.) remain rare.**

441 e.g., ‘Nepal’s second monster quake’ (The Australian, May 12th, item 6749166), ‘As rescue efforts were
442 hampered by bad weather, dramatic details emerged about the devastation at the base camp in the
443 wake of an avalanche’ (The New York Times, April 28th, item 6423784), ‘Nepalíes cavarón con sus
444 manos para sacar a sobrevivientes de montañas de escombros. Pánico. Lágrimas. Miedo. Todos estos
445 sentimientos se conjugaron ayer como parte de la jornada trágica que vivieron los miles de nepalíes
446 que habitan Katmandú, y es que tras el fuerte terremoto de 7.8 grados en la escala de Richter que dejó
447 en el país al menos mil 475 muertos [...] los sitios históricos están completamente devastados’ (La
448 cronica de hoy, April 26th, item 6387254), ‘vías de comunicación completamente sepultadas por
449 corrimientos de tierra y rocas’ (La cronica de hoy, October 27th, item 10394058), ‘En el barrio de
450 Gongabu, completamente arrasado, fallecieron 500 de las 8.000 víctimas del terremoto’ (El Pais, May
451 13th, item 6779435), ‘Reportage dans des villages coupés du monde, dévastés par la catastrophe, où les
452 secours peinent à arriver comme l’aide des autorités.’ (Le Monde, April 28th, item 6434796)

453

454 **• Within a few days after the event**

455 **The focus slides from impacts to response operations. 45.2% of the news of our corpus
456 refer to that category (Figure 5). In the case of a tsunami alert, the theme of response
457 operations appears earlier in the coverage, as the news passes on information about warnings
458 and, if relevant, mass evacuations. In the absence of a tsunami threat, the news focuses on aid,
459 search and rescue operations. In that case, evacuation and displacement are generally
460 undercovered.**

461 e.g. ‘Rescue teams dig for Nepal quake survivors’ (USA Today, April 27th, 6401498); ‘Rescuers
462 were struggling to reach quake-stricken regions in Pakistan and Afghanistan on Tuesday as
463 officials said the combined death toll from the previous day’s earthquake rose to 339.’ (The
464 Times of India, October 27th, item 10393016), ‘FRANTIC rescue efforts to save people trapped
465 under rubble are taking place after a 7.9 magnitude earthquake hit near Nepal’s capital,
466 Kathmandu.’ (Daily Telegraph, April 25th, item 6372184)

467 **First, the messages adopt a general tone, becoming more specific when the international
468 community starts sending help:**



469 e.g., ‘China’s rescue team pulls first survivor out of debris after Nepal quake’ (China Daily, April
470 27th, item 6409965), ‘The burly Californian and fellow members of a disaster response team
471 deployed by the U.S. Agency for International Development were looking, against all odds, for
472 collapsed buildings’ (The Los Angeles Time, May 1st, item 6499637), ‘Turkish rescue workers in
473 Kathmandu, Nepal pulled a man alive from the rubble of a destroyed building on Monday.’ (USA
474 Today, April 27th, item 6414192).
475

476 We note a tendency of the international press to glorify the contribution of the
477 international community to help the ‘poor and vulnerable’.
478

479 Rescue operations are also an occasion for relating personal stories, if not miraculous
480 ones.

481 e.g., ‘Google executive Dan Fredinburg filmed at Everest base camp before death’ (The Guardian,
482 April 26th, item 6396313), ‘Boy found alive 5 days after Nepal quake’ (The Age, April 30th, item
483 6481498)

484 Such stories, that one could call *topoi*, can take different forms depending on context. In
485 Nepal, one finds several stories about ‘children saved from the rubble’ (The Guardian, April
486 30th, item 6480552). In Afghanistan, stories focus on ‘twelve girls caught in a stampede while
487 trying to escape from their school’ (Daily Telegraph, October 26th, item 10367166).
488

489 At that stage, the duration of coverage plays an important role in the richness of the
490 content of the news. The coverage of the ‘Nepal Quake’ is longer and richer: the living
491 conditions, internal displacement, epidemic risk, and mass cremation are all issues that are not
492 at all addressed in the coverage of the other earthquakes.
493

494 • **Few days to few months after the event**

495 The coverage intensity has faded out, impeding the proper coverage of long-term issues
496 (Figure 4). Few items refer to *recovery*, which tends to cover distinct temporalities, from a
497 few days to several months (Figure 5).

498 e.g., ‘Nepalese villagers clean up four days after a monster earthquake killed more than 5,000
499 people in the Himalayan nation’ (USA today, April 29th, item 6462063), ‘The International
500 Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies warned on Friday that longer-term support is
501 needed to help shattered communities recover six months after a magnitude 7.8 earthquake
502 struck Nepal.’ (China Daily, October 10th, item 10361489)

503 The theme of *reconstruction* is dedicated to more permanent repairs and rebuilding.
504 There are enough items referring to that theme for us to identify a few keywords, but the
505 coverage remains poor (Figure 5). There are again different temporalities. In the short term,
506 the news reports that people are rebuilding their homes. In the longer term, the news reports
507 the reopening of public infrastructures such as schools, hospitals and historical buildings as a
508 sign of returning to normal life.

509 e.g., ‘Survivors in quake-hit Pakistan seek help to rebuild homes’ (Times of Malta, October 28th,
510 item 10408082), ‘Hundreds of thousands of Nepalese children have returned to school in Nepal
511 for the first time since two earthquakes last month killed more than 8,700 people and injured
512 23,000...’ (The Guardian, May 31st, item 7161853)

513

514



515 • **A window of communication for scientists**

516 According to Haas et al. (1977), the second and longer phase of reconstruction
517 corresponds to the continuing assessment of hazards and risks and structural and nonstructural
518 improvements to reduce the impact of future events (i.e., mitigation and adaptation measures,
519 prevention). This phase lasts many years, during which attempts are made not only to recover
520 but to improve the state of living, and society devotes some attention to the construction of
521 memorials or the institutionalization of a narrative memory of the event. We could not find
522 enough items referring to mitigation, adaptation and prevention to identify keywords. There
523 are, however, a few items referring to a narrative dimension: the ones that place the event in a
524 country's history.

525 e.g., 'El terremoto fue el sexto mayor movimiento telúrico en la *historia* de Chile y el de mayor
526 intensidad en el mundo durante 2015.' (El Universal, September 17th, item 9516610)

527 A few items also mention the lessons learned (or not learned) from past events.

528 e.g., 'Nepal earthquake: learn lessons or more will die in future disasters, warns expert' (The
529 Guardian, April 29th, item 6460947), 'How Nepal can avoid the mistakes of Haiti' (The Guardian,
530 May 12th, item 6745299)

531 By doing so, the press contributes to maintaining a form of knowledge about existing
532 risks. That contribution to the collective memory often happen just after the main shock (or
533 after large aftershocks). It is also a time when the press listens to experts, and so it might be a
534 good window for communication. People are looking for elements to make sense of what has
535 just been going on. Scientists can take that chance to send a message.

536

537 **3.2.3 The figures of 'earthquake news'**

538 The identity matrix allows the identification of the categories of actors that are the most
539 present in the news. 44.2% of the news mentions the people affected by the earthquake. The
540 exact terminology varies with time. 'Those affected' start as 'victims' to become 'rescued',
541 'survivors' and then 'locals' or 'villagers'. 6% of the news refers explicitly to vulnerable
542 persons.

543 27.7% of the news mentions state representatives who are responsible for organizing the
544 public response, but regional and local public services are absent (Figure 5). Surprisingly,
545 only 8% of the news refers to civil and military security services and 7.7% to rescuers in
546 general. 3.8% of the news mentions UN agencies, and 2.5% international aid. Only 5.4% of
547 the news refers to experts, specialists or scientists, mostly during the initial phase of coverage
548 after the main shock and after the big aftershock in the case of the Nepal Quake. The private
549 sector is rarely mentioned, except Google and Facebook for their people finder tools. Other
550 figures emerging from the 'earthquake news' are 'famous unknowns' whose stories serve to
551 exemplify the experience of the affected people. The news sometimes refers to famous
552 personalities, either because they are among the victims or because of their generous
553 donations. It is interesting to observe that local communities and their representatives are
554 almost absent from the news.

555

556



557 **4 Discussion**

558 Studying earthquake coverage at the global scale, we reach different conclusions from
559 authors such as Rovai and Christine (1998). Among the 7 136 earthquakes of magnitude 4.5+
560 occurring in 2015, we indeed observe significant differences in coverage: most events are not
561 reported by the media, except a few that are particularly well-covered. However, once events
562 are covered, we observe an astonishing homogeneity in the news content. There are, of
563 course, variations in the way journalists treat the information - editorial choices and cultural
564 proximity with the impacted countries are both parameters influencing the duration and
565 content of the coverage - but these variations remain small. Our results suggest that there is a
566 typical framing of earthquake news in the international press.

567 This framing seems to introduce major biases in the representation of the seismic risk. A
568 first bias is linked to the short duration of the coverage. Analyzing Googling trends, Tan et al.
569 (2018) confirm our empirical observation that the peak of public interest after destructive
570 earthquakes follows an exponential temporal decay. The same tendency was observed for
571 smaller events by Earle et al., 2010. Our results complement these findings in showing that
572 the international online journals follow the same tendency. However, we go further than
573 previous studies in exploring the consequences of that exponential decay on the news content.
574 It focuses the information on short-term issues such as the description of the hazard and of its
575 impacts and emergency operations. The mid-term and long-term issues of recovery,
576 restoration, reconstruction, adaptation, mitigation and preparedness are largely undercovered.

577 This finding outlines the necessity for scientists to communicate, whenever possible,
578 within a few hours after the occurrence of an earthquake, especially the big ones that are the
579 most capable of catching a large audience. Of course, the need for reactive
580 communication should not result in unpreparedness. Having a knowledge of the content and
581 the evolution of typical earthquake news can help design typical communication tools that
582 could be quickly adapted on a case by case basis once the event has occurred. Designing
583 scientific messages, one should pay particular attention to counterbalance the known biases.

584 Communicating about the hazards, for instance, it would be important not to insist on
585 including information about the magnitude but to find simple words to pass on the notions of
586 seismic intensity, seismic crisis and potentially earthquake swarm. About impacts, our
587 analysis supports the statement of McClure et al. (2001): the representation of the seismic risk
588 that is built by the press emphasizes the immediateness and hyperdestructivity of the event,
589 occulting the real timing of such disasters: a time to anticipate and get prepared, a time to
590 protect and a time to recover and reconstruct. We agree with Lamontagne et al. (2016):
591 scientific messages should encourage people to take preparedness actions and get them
592 prepared for potential losses, describe to them the timeline of the disaster cycle and teach
593 them ways to diminish losses.

594 Although unprecedented, we are aware that our study also has some caveats. The use of
595 keywords to quantify themes and topics provides robust conclusions but is not completely
596 satisfactory. We tried to get around its limitations by preselecting words from a list of the
597 most frequently used terms. A further step is to engage with more complete techniques of text
598 analysis combining inductive and deductive approaches. We could, for example, use machine
599 learning methods such as word2vec (Le & Mikolov, 2014) for the simplification of the
600 collection of keywords and the quantification of the different steps of the news coverage.



601 However, this tool would complement but not replace the qualitative analysis of the content
602 we undertook in this study.

603 One of our working hypotheses was to demonstrate the existence of a global framing of
604 earthquake news and, to reach that goal, we chose to work on the international press, but it
605 would be important to undertake a similar analysis on the national and regional press as well
606 as social media. A recent work by Jamieson and Van Belle (2019) suggests for instance that
607 the level of development of the disaster-stricken community influences the nature of news
608 coverage in other at-risk communities : “if an earthquake occurs in a community with a high
609 level of development, the news coverage is much more likely to draw lessons for their
610 community, and less likely to emphasize differences that prevent policy learning”.

611 Another interesting lead to explore would be to study the evolution of the public state of
612 mind as they read the news. This could allow choosing more carefully which information to
613 provide and at which time (see Wein et al., 2016, for an example).

614

615 **5 Conclusion**

616 “Most people do not experience disasters first-hand, but rely on mediated depictions of
617 distant events.” (Jamieson and Van Belle, 2019). This is why it is of utmost importance to
618 study the narratives built by the news media in reporting about distant disasters. In this paper,
619 we explore the media coverage of seismic events in the international press during the year
620 2015, analyzing 320 888 news published in English, Spanish or French by 32 RSS feeds
621 distributed worldwide. Among the 7 136 earthquakes of magnitude 4.5+ occurring that year,
622 three were predominantly covered: the sadly famous ‘Nepal quake’ that hit the valley of
623 Kathmandu in April, an earthquake in Chile that shook the area of Ilapel in September, and an
624 earthquake in Afghanistan that struck the Hindu Kush in October. We compare the duration
625 and content of the media coverage of these three major earthquakes with classical models of
626 Disaster Risk Management.

627 Doing so, we demonstrate that: 1) there is a typical framing of the news about
628 earthquakes in the international press, 2) this framing introduces major biases in
629 representation, impeding the proper appropriation of the seismic risk by the public. The news
630 content faithfully follows the succession of phases predicted by the DRM scheme, describing
631 the hazard before reporting on its effects and the response of the impacted communities.
632 However, an important bias is introduced by the very short duration of coverage: only the first
633 phases of the DRM scheme are covered, while the issues of recovery, restoration,
634 reconstruction, adaptation, mitigation and preparedness remain largely ignored. We also
635 observed the following biases: i) The news tends to concentrate on the description of impacts
636 and, among them, more specifically on human losses. That focus is associated with the
637 pervasive use of sensationalistic terms describing a landscape of devastation, which may
638 contribute to fatalistic judgments that the damage cannot be prevented. ii) The second theme
639 of interest – the second in terms of coverage intensity but the first one in terms of timing - is
640 that of hazards. The communication is centered on the notion of magnitude, with the concept
641 of seismic intensity being ignored. Aftershocks can be occasionally treated as isolated events,
642 testifying to a lack of understanding of the concept of the seismic crisis and, except for
643 tsunamis, secondary hazards are barely mentioned. iii) The third theme of interest is that of



644 the emergency response. The focus is made on alert and evacuations in case of tsunami
645 warnings and on aid, search and rescue otherwise. Other issues such as safety measures,
646 temporary housing, water or electricity cuts, etc., and longer-term issues are barely
647 mentioned.

648 On the basis of that analysis, we discussed leads to improve the scientific communication
649 on earthquakes. Taking the opportunity of the short window of interest that follows big
650 earthquakes, scientists should familiarize people with the real timeline of a seismic disaster
651 cycle... which tends to last longer than the interest of the news media.

652

653 **Data and Resources**

654 This paper has benefited from the database GEOMEDIA produced and maintained by the
655 International College of Territorial Science (<http://www.gis-cist.fr>). Earthquake parameters
656 were obtained from the USGS Comprehensive Earthquake Catalog (ComCat), which was
657 searched using <https://earthquake.usgs.gov/earthquakes/search/> (last accessed on November,
658 1th 2019).

659

660 **Authors contribution**

661 Conceptualization, project administration, methodology, writing – original draft: M. Devès;
662 Writing – review & editing: all authors; Data curation and investigation: M. Devès, M. Le
663 Texier, H. Pécourt; Formal analysis: M. Le Texier, H. Pécourt; Validation; M. Le Texier, M.
664 Devès; Visualization: H. Pécourt, M. Devès ; Resources: C. Grasland.

665

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670

671



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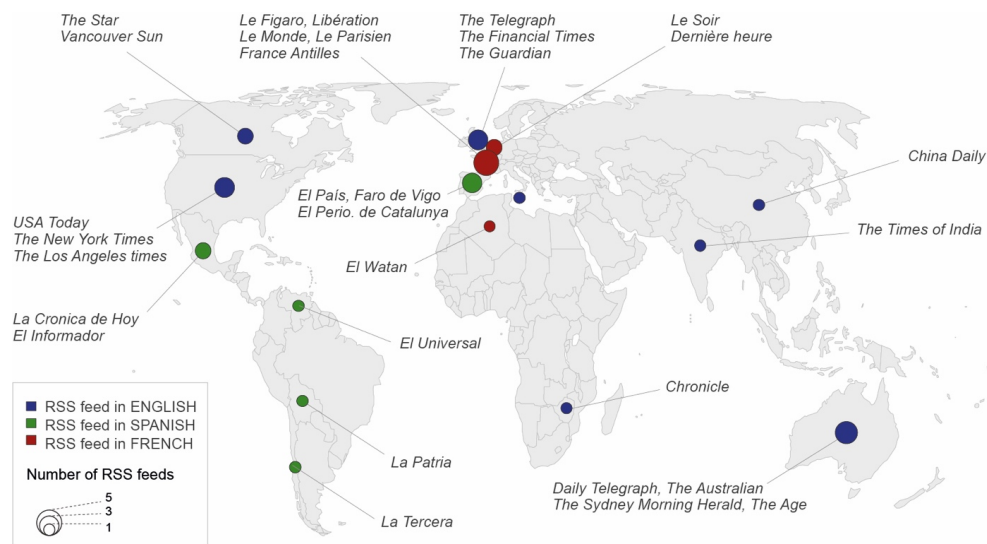
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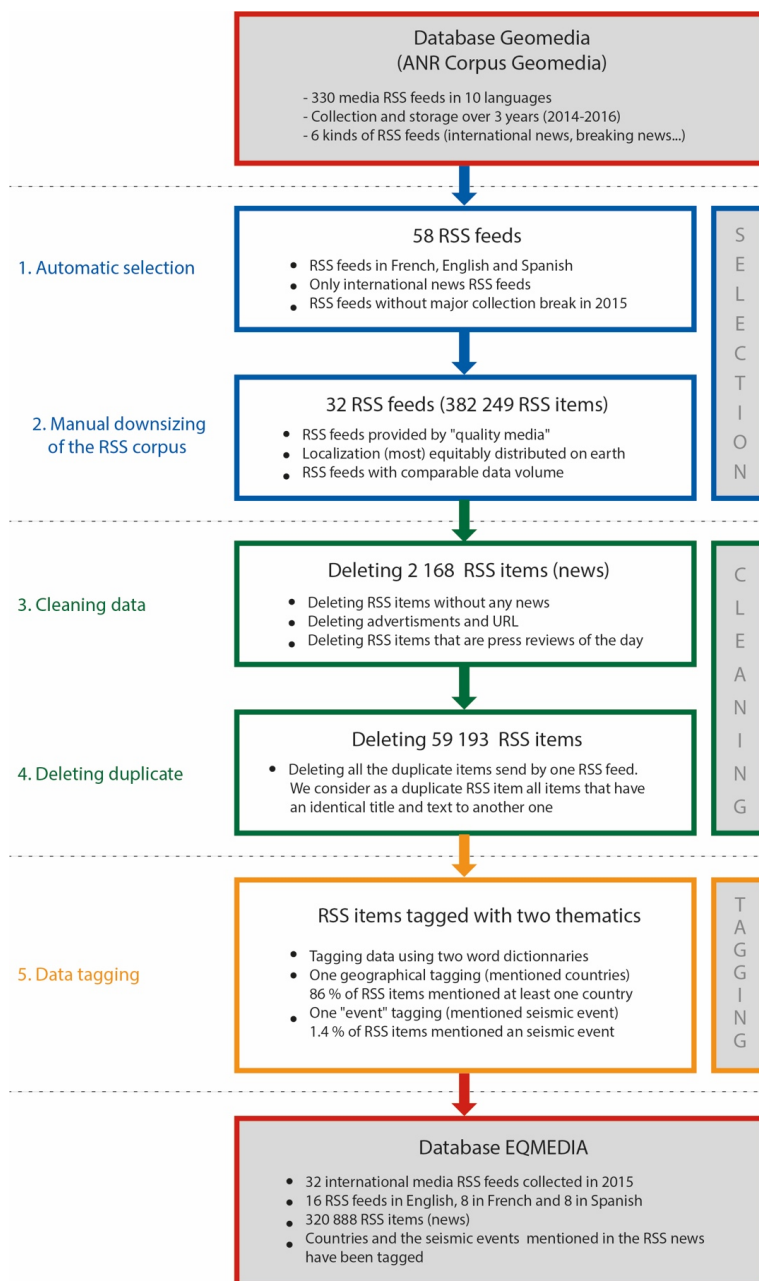
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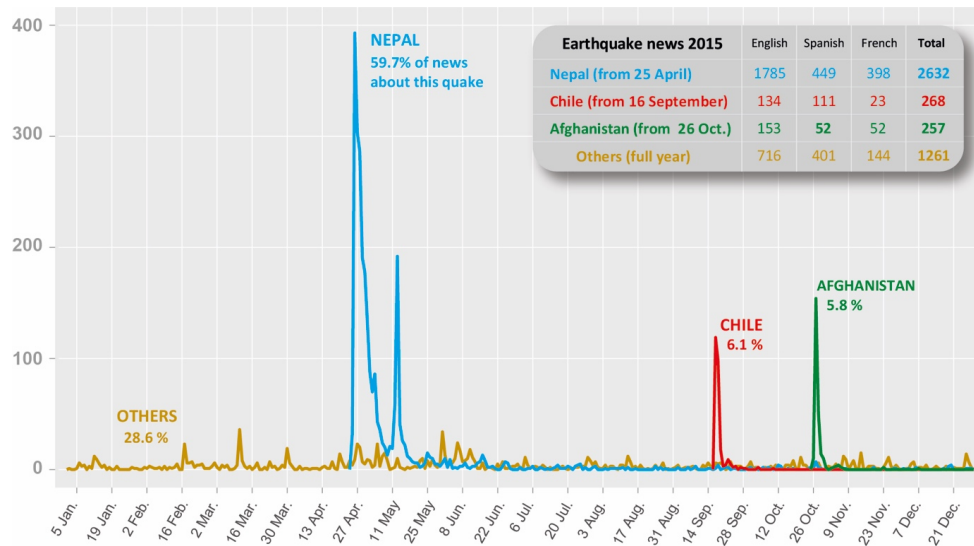
Figure 1. Corpus of news RSS feeds used, by origin and language

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Figure 2. Building the EQMEDIA database



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Figure 3. The media coverage intensity (number of news articles published per day) of the year 2015 is dominated by three events: the Nepal Quake, an earthquake in the area of Ilapel, Chile and an earthquake in the Hindu Kush, Afghanistan.

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Table 1 (next page). Discourse content dictionary. Contains the keywords used to classify items into categories of discourse corresponding to the main phases and topics of disaster risk management. Keywords were identified from a list of most frequent words using different thresholds for English, Spanish and French to balance differences in the RSS feed numbers.

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CONTENT CATEGORIES	KEYWORDS BY THEMES AND TOPICS
HAZARDS	<p>Magnitude EN: magnitude, Richter SP: grados, Richter, magnitud(es) FR: magnitude, Richter</p> <p>Tsunami EN: tsunami(s) SP: tsunami(s), maremoto(s), olas FR: tsunami(s)</p> <p>Aftershocks EN: aftershock(s) SP: aftershock(s), réplica(s) FR: aftershock(s), réplique(s)</p> <p>Other secondary hazards EN: avalanche(s), landslide(s), flood(s)/flooding SP: avalancha(s), deslizamiento(s), alud, inundacion(es) FR: glissement(s) de terrain, avalanche(s)</p>
IMPACTS	<p>Impacts – general EN: hit(s), struck, felt, shook, shak(e)(ing)(en), rocked, jolt(s)(ed), rattled, shattered, sway(ed), battered, suffered, toppling, crushed, strike, stricken, impact SP: impacto, estimacion(es), afectación, sacud(e)(ido)(ida)(idas)(ieron), golp(e)(eó)(ea), golpead(o)(os)(a)(as), azotó, azotado, sentido, se sintió, afectó, sufrieron, arrasó, temblar, asoló, castigad(o)(a) FR: frappé(e), touché(s), ressenti(e), ébranlé, secoué</p> <p>Human impact <i>Human impact – general</i> EN: fatalities, casualty(y)(ies), victim(s), affected, stranded SP: balance, víctima(s), afectados, damnificados, recuento(s), saldo, contabilizado FR: bilan, victime(s), sinistrés <i>Human impact – death toll</i> EN: death(s), kill(s)(ed)(ing), dead, bodies, died, deadly, claimed SP: muerto(s), muerte(s), mueren, murieron, mortal(es), fallecido(s), fallecieron, cuerpos, cadavers, decesos, mató FR: mort(s), tué(e)(s), corps, meurtrier <i>Human impact – injured</i> EN: injured, wounded SP: heridos FR: blesses</p> <p>Material damage <i>Material damage – general</i> EN: rubble, damage(d), collaps(e)(es)(ed)(ing), devastat(ed)(ion), destroy(ed)(ing), destruction, wreckage, debris, ravaged, ruins/ruined SP: daños, escombros, dañad(os)(as), destruid(o)(os)(as), perdidas, destrucción, ruinas, caíd(o)(a), destruyó, destrozadas, colapso, devastó, devastadas, derrumb(e)(es)(aron)(ado) FR: dévast(é)(ée), décombres, dégâts, détruit/détruits, effondr(é)(ées), destructions, gravats</p>



	<p><i>Material damage - on buildings</i> EN: homes, building(s), houses, structure(s), property SP: edificio(s), vivienda(s), edificaciones FR: maisons, bâtiments</p> <p><i>Material damage - on infrastructures</i> EN, FR: no recurrent keywords were found SP: eléctricas, infraestructuras</p>
EMERGENCY RESPONSE	<p>Tsunami warning EN: tsunami warning(s), alert(s) SP: alerta de tsunami, alarma FR: alerte</p> <p>Evacuation EN: evacuat(e)(ed)(ion)(ions), evacuees SP: evacuad(os)(as), evacuar, evacuación FR: evacu(ees)(er)(ation)</p> <p>Aid, Search & Rescue <i>General</i> EN: effort(s), response, respond, operation(s), deployed, aid, rescu(e)(es)(ed)(ing), relief, help(ed)(ing), assist(ance), helicopter(s), chopper, aircraft, support, send(s)(ing), save(d), distribut(ing)(ion), airlifted, dig(ging), dug, missing, search(ing), alive, pulled, trapped, recovered + table 2/rescuers SP: operación/operaciones, gestión, respuesta, solidaridad, crisis, apoy(o)(ar), ordenó, responder, envoi, enviado(s), reacción, ayuda, ayudar, ayudas, ayudando, rescate, rescatar, rescatan, rescatado, helicóptero(s), asistencia, socorro, atender, ofrece, aeronave, búsqued(a)(as) + table 2/rescuers FR: operation(s), répondre, secours, aide, sauver, assistance, disparu, chiens, recherchés, sans nouvelles + table 2/rescuers <i>Vital needs and supplies</i> EN: food, hungry, sanitation, water, drink(ing), fuel, blankets, gasoline, suppl(y)(ies), resources, basic, vital, lack of, goods, need, needed, material, equipment SP: agua, alimentos, alimentaria, necesidad(es), comida, suministro(s) FR: de materiel, besoins</p> <p>Medical care EN: hospital(s), medical, medicine(s), disease(s), health, outbreak, epidemic(s), treatment, patients SP: hospital(es), médico(s), salud, medicinas, sanitarios FR: no recurrent keywords were found</p> <p>Displacement & Temporary shelter EN: shelter(s), outdoors, sleep, sleeping, homeless, refuge, fled SP: noche al raso, albergues, tiendas de campaña, desplazados, refugio(s) FR: camps, fuir, dehors</p> <p>Cremation EN, FR: no recurrent keywords were found SP: funerarias</p>
RECOVERY REHABILITATION	<p>Recovery/Reconstruction EN: recover(y)(ing), return to, returned, reconstruction, rebuild(ing), reopen(s)(ed),</p>



RECONSTRUCTION (PREPAREDNESS)	<p>normal SP: desescombros, reconstrucción, reconstruir, normalidad FR: reconstruction</p> <p><i>No recurrent keywords were found that unambiguously refer to Risk assessment, development and land use planning / Adaptation and mitigation measures / Education and information / Preparedness, contingency planning, consolidate preparations for next disasters</i></p>
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808 **Table 2.** Identity matrix. Contains the keywords used to quantify the presence/absence of

809 different categories of stakeholders. Keywords were identified from a list of most frequent

810 words using different thresholds for English, Spanish and French to balance differences in the

811 RSS feed numbers.

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CONTENT CATEGORIES	KEYWORDS BY THEMES AND TOPICS
STATES	<p>EN: nation, state(s), government(s), authorities, minister(s), ministry, foreign secretary, foreign office, president, parliament, royal rulers, embassy, European Union SP: país, nación, gobierno, autoridades, ministerio, ministro, president(a)(e), exteriores, funcionarios, gabinete, ispr, fàta, europea FR: pays, gouvernement, affaires etrangeres, autorités, ministère, ministre, Quai d'orsay</p>
UN AGENCIES	<p>EN: United Nations, UNICEF, UNESCO, World Food Programme SP: onu, naciones unidas, Programa Mundial de Alimentos, unesco, unicef FR: nations unies, onu</p>
INTERNATIONAL AID	<p>EN: international aid, international agencies, aid agencies, humanitarian aid SP: ayuda internacional, comunidad internacional, organización no gubernamental, ong, cruz roja FR: aide internationale, croix rouge, humanitaire(s)</p>
CIVIL SECURITY & DEFENSE	<p>EN: police, army, military, marine(s), air force, soldiers, troops, firefighters, Gurkhas SP: ejército, policia, militares, armada, marina, soldados, Oficina Nacional de Emergencia</p>
RESCUERS	<p>EN: rescuers, rescue team(s), aid workers, rescue workers, relief workers, volunteer(s), personnel SP: equipo de rescate, equipos de rescate, servicios de emergencia, rescatistas, socorristas FR: équipe, secouristes, sauveteurs</p>
AFFECTED PEOPLE	<p>Directly affected ones EN: people, rescued, survivor(s), victims, those affected SP: persona(s), víctima(s), los afectados, damnificados, desaparecid(o)(a)(os)(as), supervivientes, sobrevivient(e)(es), rescatad(o)(os) FR: victimes, survivant(s), sinistrés, rescapes, personnes</p>



	<p>Locals EN: residents, locals, villagers, sherpa(s), guides, Famous locals: Ang Tshering, Bajracharya SP: población, habitantes, guías FR: habitants, villageois, population</p> <p>Vulnerable ones EN: children, child, boy, girl(s), wo(man)(men), famil(y)(ies), teenag(e)(er), teen, bab(y)(ies) SP: niños, famili(a)(as), muj(er)(eres), jóven, bebe, anciano FR: familles, adolescent, enfants, orphelins</p>
<p>‘EXPERTS’</p>	<p>EN: expert(s), US Geological Survey, specialists, scientists SP: usgs, Centro Sismológico Nacional, especialistas, Servicio Hidrográfico y Oceanográfico de la Armada FR: usgs, institute américain de géophysique</p>
<p>PRIVATE COMPANIES</p>	<p>EN: Google, Facebook, compan(y)(ies) SP: google, Facebook FR: no recurrent keywords were found</p>

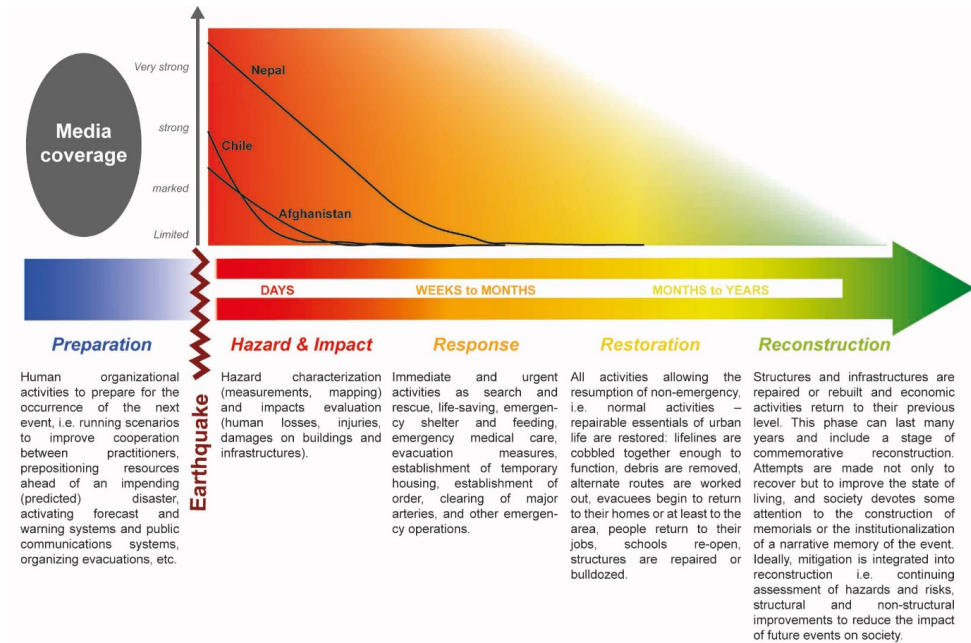
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Figure 4. Temporal distribution of the media coverage for the three well-covered earthquakes of the year 2015. The color scale allows comparing the duration of the media coverage with the expected duration of the different phases of disaster risk management models.



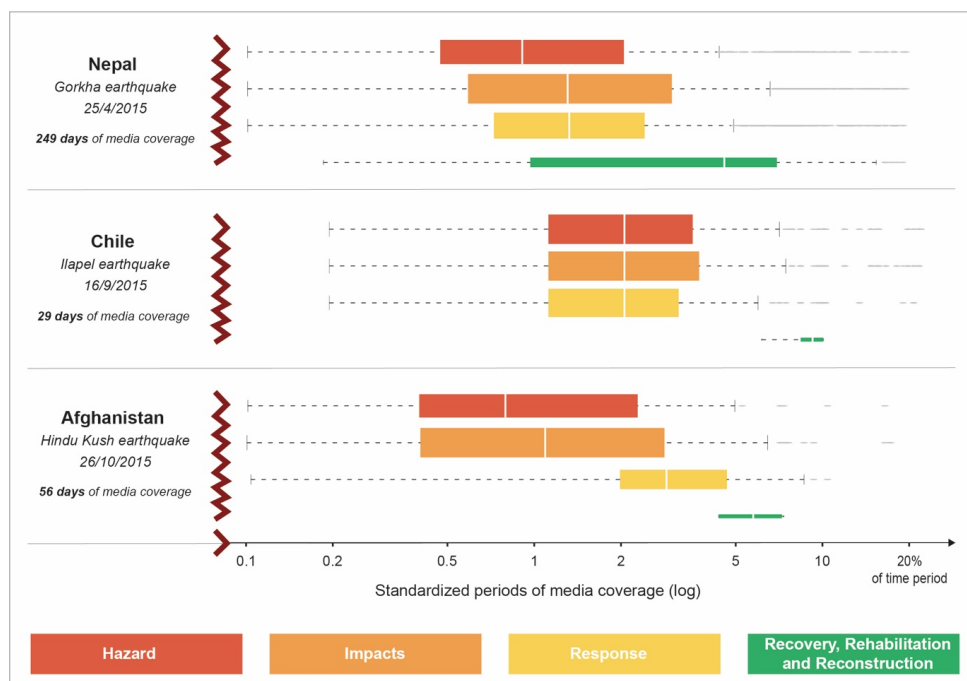
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	Themes	% of earthquake news	Number of items	Subthemes	%	Number of items	Topics	%	Number of items	
Discourse content	Hazard	45,8	2020	Tsunami	8,9	301				
				Aftershocks	5,8	234				
				Secondary hazards	7,8	343				
				Magnitude estimation	23,5	1030				
	Impacts	76,7	3384	General impact	40,9	1802	General	17,1	756	
				Human impact	49,6	2189	Death toll	40,7	1797	
							Injured	8,9	393	
							General	26,1	1150	
				Material damage	30,8	1358	Buildings	13,3	585	
	Response	45,3	1996			4,3	191			
						Evacuation	2,1	93		
Aid Search Rescue				34,0	1501	General	29,6	1306		
						vital needs	4,4	196		
Medical care				2,2	95					
Temporary shelter	2,7	117								
Reconstruction	5,6	243								
Identity Matrix	States	27,7	1220							
	Un agencies	3,8	168							
	International Aid	2,5	111							
	Civil Security Defence	8,0	353							
	Rescuers	7,7	341							
	Affected People	44,2	1951	Directly affected ones	33,4	1475				
				Locals	4,8	211				
				Vulnerables	6,0	265				
Expert	5,4	239								
Private Companies	1,6	72								

Corpus = 320 888 news, including 4 411 news about earthquake (1,37%)

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832 **Figure 5.** Percentage of news by themes and topics



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Figure 6. Temporal distribution of the DRM categories in the media coverage of three main earthquakes in 2015. The height of the boxes is proportional to the number of items (for each earthquake). Box starts and ends corresponds to the first and third quartiles. The white line inside corresponds to the median.