

From Selection to Slant

Exploring How News Values and Framing Influence Arubans' Trust and Appreciation in News
Sources

Catherine Carraha

2788604

Multimodal Communication

Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

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Thesis Advisor: Luuk Lagerwerf

Second Assessor: Florentine Sterk

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To my parents,
Who always told me I could do it.
Who never failed to cheer me on.
And stood as my lighthouse,
guiding me steady, and safely through every storm.
This accomplishment is ours to share.
Thank you and I love you.

Abstract

This thesis explores how news framing shapes audience perceptions of trustworthiness in Aruba's unique media landscape, where government press releases and their corresponding news values are reinterpreted by independent outlets NoticiaCla and 24ora. Combining content analysis with experimental methods, the study investigates how news values and framing strategies influence trust and appreciation.

The content analysis reveals subtle but meaningful differences in how these outlets transform government communications, with NoticiaCla emphasizing *Magnitude* while 24ora amplifies *Drama*. Experimental findings demonstrate that objective framing consistently enhanced perceived credibility more than sensational approaches, regardless of the news source. Contrary to expectations, the outlet's brand reputation showed limited influence compared to framing style itself.

These results challenge conventional assumptions about media trust in concentrated markets, suggesting audiences prioritize framing cues over institutional reputation when evaluating news. The study affirms Arubans' capacity to critically engage with news framing while underscoring how transparent reporting practices strengthen public trust. By bridging production and reception analysis, this research offers insights into media environments where official and independent narratives coexist.

Keywords: News Values, Framing, Aruba Media Landscape, Trust, Appreciation, Sensationalism

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Introduction

Millions of people rely on the news, whether through newspapers, TV, radio, or online outlets, to stay regularly informed about world affairs, making the media a crucial component of democratic societies (De Vreese, 2005). Robert Entman (2005) states that “the ideal goal of traditional journalism has been to make power accountable” (p. 48). Therefore, journalism in its ideal form, gives people information, which enables them to hold their governing leaders accountable, make informed decisions, and to ensure transparency, integrity, and fairness. In essence, the media should serve the public’s best interest (Champlin & Knoedler, 2006).

All media are partisan to some degree, as truly neutral reporting does not exist. Every news story is shaped by editorial decisions on what to cover, how to cover it, and what language to use, making absolute objectivity impossible. According to Harcup & O’Neill, decisions on what to report are guided by news values, the criteria journalists and editors use to determine which events are deemed newsworthy. News values influence not only which stories are selected but also how they are presented to the public (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Harcup & O’Neill, 2017). As such, news values serve as a lens through which reality is filtered, reflecting a combination of professional norms, audience expectations, and commercial pressures in the news production process (Harcup & O’Neill, 2017). These dynamics, however, are not uniform. Differences in media market size, national context, and institutional structures further shape how journalism operates in practice.

Aruba, a small island in the Caribbean, has undergone significant changes in their reporting and distribution of news. As modern technology has expanded on the island, traditional physical newspapers have increasingly shifted to online forms of news dissemination. Today, Aruba’s news landscape consists of a number of active outlets operating across various platforms, including websites, physical newspapers, social media, radio, television, and more. Alongside independent journalism, government-issued news plays a prominent role in shaping public information. However, like in many other places, Aruba’s media also faces challenges such as sensationalized reporting and blurred lines between objective journalism and opinion (Aruba, 2025; Stamper, 2024; Drayer, 2024). Despite Aruba’s evolution and growth, little research has been conducted on the operations of its media landscape and even less in recent years.

While most research on media systems focuses on large, monolingual markets such as North America (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Minto & Dunn, 2010), considerably less attention has been given to smaller, multilingual contexts like Aruba. Aruba presents a unique media landscape in which a government-run information service (Bureau voor Voorlichting, BUVO) operates alongside independent digital outlets such as NoticiaCla and 24ora, an underexplored dynamic. Scholars note that small media markets often exhibit concentrated ownership and close journalist-source relationships (Lent, 1981), raising questions about how these structural factors mediate official narratives in Aruba's context. Empirical studies on media trust and framing effects are largely centered on audiences within larger media markets (Schranz et al., 2018; Hallin & Mancini, 2004). As a result, smaller nations where the number of news outlets is limited and reputational influence is significant remain unexamined (Minto & Dunn, 2010).

Aruba's news media feature two prominent online news sources: NoticiaCla and 24ora. NoticiaCla, operating in both digital and print formats, offers comprehensive multilingual coverage in Papiamentu, Dutch, and English with a focus on local and international news, emphasizing its trustworthiness through its slogan "noticia cu bo por confia" (news you can trust). In contrast, 24ora, an online-only outlet, similarly provides trilingual content but has faced criticism for sensationalism, ethical lapses, and clickbait tactics (Amigoe, 2025; Stamper, 2024; Drayer, 2024). Despite documented backlash over credibility issues, 24ora maintains a strong readership, underscoring the tension between accessibility and journalistic standards in Aruba's media ecosystem.

Their stark contrast embodies Aruba's media polarization between tabloid engagement and traditional reporting. However, these perceptions have not been empirically tested. This study aims to fill that gap by providing evidence-based insight into how framing strategies affect audience trust. Therefore, the current research attempts to answer:

RQ.1. How do NoticiaCla and 24ora differ in their application of news values when covering BUVO government-issued news releases?

RQ.2. How do NoticiaCla and 24ora differ in their framing of the same news events, and what are the potential effects of these differences on audience perception of:

a) Trustworthiness?

- b) Perceived Sensationalism?
- c) Audience appreciation?

RQ.3. To what extent does source reputation (NoticiaCla vs. 24ora) moderate the effects of news value framing on trustworthiness judgments?

Despite the global relevance of media trust and framing effects, few empirical studies have focused on how these dynamics function in small, multilingual media ecosystems like Aruba. This thesis aims to bridge that gap by offering a focused investigation into how news value framing may influence trust and appreciation among Aruban audiences. In doing so, this study contributes to both academic knowledge and public understanding of how media narratives are shaped and received within the island's evolving media landscape. By analyzing how two prominent outlets, NoticiaCla and 24ora, reinterpret the same government-issued news, this study offers insight into how discursive strategies influence perceptions of trust and appreciation.

Understanding these dynamics also bears practical significance for media literacy, public trust, and civic engagement in Aruba. Recent public criticism of sensationalist reporting, particularly directed at 24ora (Amigoe, 2025; Stamper, 2024; Drayer, 2024), illustrates a growing concern regarding the role of the media in shaping public discourse. At the same time, initiatives such as Devid Ilievski's project which underscore key challenges in Aruba's media system, such as, weak communication framework, limited transparency, and a lack of independent reporting (UNESCO Aruba, 2024). These concerns reflect a broader recognition of the media's power to influence political understanding and democratic participation, especially in a concentrated media market where few sources dominate the information landscape.

This research is intended not only to inform academic debates on news values and framing but also to contribute to local discussions about media quality, transparency, and credibility. If the findings can help clarify how different editorial strategies influence public trust, they may inform media policy discussions, journalism education, or even future reforms within Aruban newsrooms. At a minimum, this study hopes to empower citizens to become more critical and conscious consumers of the news.

This thesis is divided into two parts. The first study conducts a comparative content analysis of BUVO press releases and how they are transformed by NoticiaCla and 24ora. This

initial analysis identifies which news values are most prominently applied and how they differ across outlets. These findings then inform the design of the second study, which experimentally tests how variations in news value framing, and source identity, affect audience perceptions of trustworthiness, sensationalism, and appreciation. Together, these studies provide a comprehensive picture of how media framing works in Aruba, from editorial production decisions to the psychological effects on audiences.

Literature review

Democracy and Journalism

It is widely acknowledged that democracy fundamentally depends on the free flow of information and communication. For a democracy to flourish, it must enable its citizens to participate in public affairs, which necessitates both the ability to access accurate information and the freedom to express oneself openly (Encabo, 1995). Ryfe (2019) argues that progressive thinkers attributed strong reasoning, rationality, progress, and democracy to the development of newspapers. According to Entman (2005), “the ideal goal of traditional journalism has been to make power accountable” (p. 48). Hence, in its ideal form, journalism gives people information, which enables them to hold their governing leaders accountable, make informed decisions, and to ensure transparency, integrity, and fairness. The relationship between democracy and journalism became so deeply intertwined that, by the 20th century, the notion of their inseparability had gained widespread acceptance (Ryfe, 2019; Champlin & Knoedler, 2006).

From a liberal perspective, journalism’s role in democracy is understood as a profession entrusted with the crucial responsibility of delivering accurate and unbiased political information (Ryfe, 2019). However, media are inevitably subject to framing; truly neutral media do not exist. Every news piece is shaped by editorial decisions regarding what to report, how to report it, and which language or tone to employ. As such, complete neutrality in the media is unattainable. However, news framing does not operate in a vacuum, it builds on the initial selection process shaped by news values, the underlying standards that dictate which events are deemed newsworthy in the first place (Harcup & O'Neill's, 2016; Bednarek & Caple, 2012). If framing shapes how audiences perceive reality, news values first determine what even enters the frame.

Aruba’s Media Landscape in the 70s and 80s

While journalism plays a vital role in democracy, its operation varies significantly by media market size and national context. Aruba, a small Caribbean island, has undergone notable changes in news representation and distribution, mirroring its social, cultural, and technological shifts (Hartog, 1957). Before newspapers, news spread via town criers and priests. The first newspaper, *El Semanario* (1890), was multilingual but Curaçaoan-founded, while *Arubasche Courant* (1894) was Aruba’s first local paper which also featured news pieces in Dutch, Papiamentu, and Spanish. The early 20th century saw more papers, including *Pan-Aruban* (1929)

and *The Aruba Post* (1938), succeeded by *Arubaanse Courant* (1946), which all started as multilingual but gradually prioritized Papiamentu. While the similar names of *Arubasche Courant* (1894) and *Arubaanse Courant* (1946) suggest continuity, they were distinct publications, separated by half a century, differing in their language uses, and vastly different historical contexts, with no direct evidence of institutional connection. Radio transformed news in the 1950s with *Radio-Kelkboom* (1954) and *The Voice of Aruba* (1955), offering multilingual broadcasts. Despite challenges like limited revenue and distribution, Aruba's media adapted to technological and audience changes.

John Lent's analysis of the Dutch Antilles' media (1970s–1980s) found Aruba transitioning toward greater local representation and reduced Dutch influence (Lent, 1981). At the time, Aruba had one daily newspaper (*The News*), one weekly (*The Local*), and seven radio stations, with radio as the dominant medium (Lent, 1981). *TeleAruba*, launched in 1979, became Aruba's first televised news and remains a key source today. Though professionalism improved through press associations and training, the industry relied heavily on untrained personnel. A proposed media council raised press freedom concerns (Lent, 1981). The period also saw increased use of Papiamentu in the media, strengthening national identity. While Papiamentu media grew as a symbol of national identity, the proposed media council threatened to limit journalists' independence, creating tension between cultural empowerment and press freedom.

In the 1970s, the government's attempt to establish a bilingual (English-Papiamentu) daily newspaper failed (Lent, 1981). Later, it shifted to publishing official statements on its website, leaving daily news to independent outlets.

Aruba's Media Landscape in the 21st Century

Little research exists on Aruba's media landscape, particularly in recent decades. Today, Aruba's news landscape includes over 15 sources across print, radio, television, and digital platforms. However, studies on modern journalism, framing, and media dynamics remain scarce (UNESCO Aruba, 2024). Government news is managed by the Department of Government Information Services (*Bureau voor Voorlichting, BUVO*) (Government of Aruba, 2023). The BUVO department is responsible for managing how the Government communicates with the public, media, and other stakeholders (Government of Aruba, 2023). BUVO is responsible for managing all official communication between the Government and the public, ensuring that everyone is

well-informed about government decisions, policies, and initiatives (Government of Aruba, 2023). BUVO's vision is to uphold openness and transparency in communication as part of the government's broader information and communication policy. Furthermore, BUVO works to ensure that government communication is honest, accessible, and clear, helping to build trust between the Government and the people.

The dominance of elite sources in news reporting is a central issue in understanding the limits of diversity in media. In the United States, government executives (disproportionately male due to structural barriers) historically dominated news coverage as 'elite sources,' perceived as highly available, credible, and authoritative (Brown, 1987). While female leaders now feature more prominently (e.g., in Aruban politics with figures like Evelyn Wever-Croes), gendered sourcing biases persist, with male voices still overrepresented in U.S. political reporting. Furthermore, Brown (1987) argues that reliance on the elites is further reinforced by the widespread use of routine channels of information, such as press conferences, press releases, and official proceedings, which allow sources to control the narrative and shape the news agenda. While these channels make news production efficient and provide a steady flow of information, they also limit diversity by favoring powerful, institutional voices over non-elite or marginalized perspectives (Brown, 1987). Moreover, local newspapers rely heavily on government sources and male executives, reinforcing elite dominance in the media. This dependence on routine channels limits diverse perspectives and undermines the media's democratic role, prioritizing efficiency over true representation.

According to Friedrich Ungerer (2008), the rise of 'popular' newspapers was primarily linked with their low price and their expansive coverage of soft news items such as, disasters, crime, glamour, and romance. However, this model only works because crime and celebrity gossip cost far less to produce than investigative journalism. While some outlets cut corners by reducing print runs or pivoting to clickbait online content (e.g., Aruba's 24ora), others paradoxically spend heavily on sensationalism (e.g., paparazzi photos). Furthermore, the usage of flashy headlines, illustrations, and a top-down layout attracted the public to these 'popular' news papers (Ungerer, 2008). Kuiken et al. (2017) explained that in modern society people consume more newspaper articles online rather than in their physical form, mainly through scanning headlines that peak the consumer's interest.

Two of the most prominent online news sources on Aruba are NoticiaCla (Clear News) and 24ora (24 hours). NoticiaCla is a news outlet on Aruba that operates both online and in paper form. In addition, they also have regular live streams called NoticiaCla Live. NoticiaCla is known for providing comprehensive coverage in Papiamentu, Dutch, and English, catering to the island's multilingual population. Their slogan, “noticia cu bo por confia” (news you can trust), reflects their commitment to reliable reporting. NoticiaCla focuses on local news, politics, economy, sports, and community events, while also covering international news relevant to Aruba. They are recognized for their timely reporting and community engagement, often highlighting local stories and voices. By publishing in Papiamentu, it plays a crucial role in preserving Aruba's native language and culture, serving as a trusted source of information and a vital link between the Aruban community and the wider world.

In contrast, 24ora is a prominent online-only news outlet in Aruba, also providing coverage in Papiamentu, Dutch, and English. Their slogan “prome den noticia,” translates to (first in news) which reflects their endeavor of being the first to provide news to their viewers. Similar to NoticiaCla, it focuses on local news, politics, sports, entertainment, and community events, while covering international news relevant to Aruba. Known for its accessibility and multimedia content, including videos and live updates, 24ora is widely followed on its website and social media platforms. However, the outlet has faced significant criticism for sensationalism, bias, and ethical concerns, with accusations of prioritizing clickbait and dramatic stories over factual, balanced reporting (Amigoe, 2025; Stamper, 2024; Drayer, 2024). These issues have generated documented backlash from Aruban society (Amigoe, 2025; Stamper, 2024; Drayer, 2024), significantly impacting the outlet's credibility while paradoxically maintaining strong readership metrics.

Much of the existing literature on media production and consumption, including Brown's (1987) discussion of elite source dominance and Ungerer's (2008) and Kuiken et al. 's (2017) characterizations of ‘popular’ newspapers, reflects assumptions shaped by large, Western media landscapes. Brown's framework is grounded in the U.S. context which presumes a professionalized journalistic field with routine access to elite, male government sources; this assumption may not hold in smaller media landscapes like Aruba or may be exacerbated. Moreover, Kuiken et al. (2017)'s emphasis on digital consumption and headline-scanning, while relevant in broad terms, may oversimplify reader behavior by assuming uniformity in media

literacy, access to technology, and motivations for news engagement. The combination of tight social networks and limited media diversity in Aruba creates a paradox where citizens must depend on sensationalist outlets for essential news, despite widespread awareness of their unreliable framing. This raises important questions about how news values and framing practices operate in Aruba's distinct media environment.

News Values as understood by Harcup and O'Neill

As mentioned, news values are the criteria that journalists and news organizations use to determine which events and information are important enough to be selected and presented as "news" (Harcup & O'Neill, 2019). According to Harcup & O'Neill (2019), News values can be considered as "shared operational understanding" among journalists that serve as "shorthand references to shared understandings about the nature and purpose of news" which facilitate rapid news production (p. 213, 214). Moreover, journalists learn these news values through experience and socialization, often seeming instinctive, however they are established through rapidly applied and learned calculations (Harcup & O'Neill, 2019). Therefore, news values provide a framework for journalists to make decisions on what news materials get included and excluded, this transcends personal judgements. News values can operate differently based on the medium, format, and identity of the news organization (Harcup & O'Neill, 2019).

Harcup & O'Neill's (2019) seminal work on news values, building on the foundational work of Galtung and Ruge (1965), emphasizes the context-dependent nature of news selection, highlighting that these values are not universal or fixed. Harcup & O'Neill (2019) state "news selection is not based merely on intrinsic aspects of events, but also on functions external to events themselves, including occupational routines and constraints, and ideology whereby news is 'a socially determined construction of reality' (Staab, 1990, p. 428)" (p. 223). Therefore, Harcup & O'Neill argue that just because something interesting occurs it does not mean that it is an automatic indicator that it will be on the news. Several other factors come into play such as, organizational identity, audience and market, technological advancements/constraints, socio-cultural, political, and geographical situation, and individual/subjective context (Harcup & O'Neill, 2019).

First, the news organization's market position, budgetary constraints, and professional routines are fundamentally shaped by its organizational identity, which encompasses its mission

statement, ownership structure, and editorial values. News organizations choose whether they identify as broadsheet (quality) or tabloid (popular) which inevitably prioritize different values. Where broadsheets may prioritise news values such as *Power Elite* or *Relevance*, a tabloid may prioritize news values such as *Drama* or *Surprise*. These choices can also be shaped by the “news organization’s agenda,” which may be ideological or commercial (Harcup & O’Neill, 2019). Other practical considerations may revolve around availability of resources, time, budget constraints, or occupational routines. Another aspect that may influence which news values get picked, may revolve around the hierarchy within the newsroom.

Second, News organizations must keep their target audience and market into consideration, which inevitably forces the news organization to make crucial considerations. Journalists make judgements based on assumptions about what their audience will find important, attention-holding, understandable, enjoyable, or relevant (Harcup & O’Neill, 2017). Furthermore, the rise of digital and social media has introduced new commercial pressures that influence the selection of news stories, such as the likelihood to attract audiences (e.g., “clickbait”). Additionally, online dissemination of news gives journalists access to instant metrics (shares, likes, and comments) that provide constant feedback which also influences the selection process of news stories. As Kristensen (2023) points out, digital news dissemination has created real-time feedback loops where journalists now rely on quantified audience metrics (clicks, engagement time, social shares) rather than intuition, fundamentally reshaping content decisions. This data-driven environment, which is also fueled by analytical tools and platform algorithms, prioritizes measurable audience behavior going against traditional journalistic notions of importance, as audiences tend to share entertainment-focused pieces online.

Building on Galtung & Ruge, O’Neill & Harcup came up with the following news values: *The Power Elite*, *Celebrity*, *Entertainment*, *Surprise*, *Bad News*, *Good News*, *Magnitude*, *Relevance*, *Follow up*, *Newspaper Agenda*, *Audio-Visuals*, *Shareability*, *Drama*, and *Conflict*. *The Power Elite*, involves stories concerning powerful/authoritative individuals, organizations, institutions, or corporations (Harcup & O’Neill, 2017). Actions of elite individuals or nations are often seen as having more consequence. Furthermore, the big names attract audiences which results in further exposure. Harcup & O’Neill (2017) found that this particular news value was significant for quality/broadsheet press. Thus, BUVO news and releases by NoticiaCla may yield stronger preference for the Power Elite news value.

The *Celebrity* news value refers to stories that concern people who are already famous (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). Similar to the *Power Elite*, this news value also attracts audiences because of the names of these famous individuals. Furthermore, the news value of *Celebrity* is more significant in popular/mid-market newspapers.

Entertainment involves soft stories, for example stories concerning sex, show business, sport, lighter human interest, animals, or offering opportunities for humorous treatment, and witty headlines. This news value can aid in engaging and acquiring news consumers while offsetting more depressing news. Harcup & O'Neill (2017) note that focussing too much on entertainment may lead to other news being downplayed. The news value of *Surprise* is often found to overlap with the news value of *Entertainment*, however, this news value focuses on stories or events that have an element of surprise, contrast, or the unusual. The key difference between these two news values lies in their focus. *Entertainment* aims to please or divert the audience with lighter or amusing content, while *Surprise* highlights the unexpectedness, unusualness, or contrast of an event or situation.

Other news values considered to be prominent are *Good News* and *Bad News*. *Good News* revolves around stories that highlight positive outcomes such as recoveries, breakthroughs, cures, wins, and celebrations (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). *Bad News*, on the other hand, highlights more negative circumstances such as those concerning death, injury, defeat, or loss (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). Both *Good News* and *Bad News* were found to be shared often on social media. However, Harcup & O'Neill (2017) found that *Bad News* was more prevalent in the news specially in traditional newspapers, due to its perceived clarity, dramatic appeal, and focus on disruption.

Magnitude and *Relevance* are two notable news values ranking highly in the most frequently featured. *Magnitude* refers to stories that are highlighted because of their perceived significance based on the scale of the event or situation. Specifically, *magnitude* revolves around circumstances that impact a significantly large number of people or the potential impact, or involving a degree of extreme behavior or extreme occurrence. *Relevance*, on the other hand, involves the proximity of a given event or circumstance to a particular audience. According to Harcup & O'Neill (2017), a story is considered high in *relevance* if it is about groups or nations perceived to be influential with, or culturally or historically familiar to, the audience. While these two concepts overlap, they are distinct. Where *relevance* is audience-centric, revolving around

connected, familiar, or impactful stories to specific audiences of the news outlet, *magnitude* is event-centric, focusing on scales or intensity of an event itself, regardless of the specific audience's direct connection.

Another key concept identified by Harcup & O'Neill (2017) is *Follow Up*. The news value of *Follow Up* concerns stories about subjects already in the news. Essentially, this news value recognizes that once a certain topic or event enters the news cycle, any developments in the matter are considered to be more newsworthy because it builds upon news coverage that is familiar to the audience. Whereas *Follow Up* is concerned with stories that continue or evolve from a previous news topic, *Newspaper Agenda* centers on the prioritization and framing of specific stories within a newspaper. *Newspaper Agenda* revolves around stories that set or fit the news organization's own ideological, commercial, or specific campaign's agenda.

Two other very prominent news values, particularly in today's digital first environment, are *Audio-Visuals* and *Shareability*. The news value of *Audio-Visuals* refers to stories that are considered newsworthy because they possess strong visual or auditory elements. This may be stories that include striking photographs, video, audio or infographics. *Shareability* relates to stories deemed as newsworthy because they are believed to be shared and commented on frequently on social media. These news values have been recognized as distinct values in the contemporary digital media landscape. This is largely in response to the rise in social media and the ability to now track audience engagement which adds other commercial pressures.

The last two important news values by Harcup & O'Neill (2017) are *Drama* and *Conflict*. *Drama* concerns stories with unfolding drama such as escapes, accidents, searches, sieges, rescues, battles, or court cases. Conversely, *Conflict* involves stories concerning conflict such as controversies, arguments, splits, strikes, fights, insurrections, and warfare. While they seem similar, *drama* focuses on unfolding dramatic situations, while *conflict* focuses on confrontations and disputes.

News Values or Framing? News values as understood by Bednarek & Caple

Similar to Harcup & O'Neill, Bednarek & Caple (2012) explain that news values are the criteria or values used to judge one 'fact' or event as more newsworthy than another. Despite understanding news values through similar criteria, Bednarek & Caple take on a more discursive approach rather than a content-based or cognitive approach. Therefore, news values are believed

to determine what makes something worthy of being news. In their research, Bednarek & Caple identify three different perspectives on news values, namely, material–, cognitive–, and discursive perspective. The material perspective looks at the event itself, the event that took place in reality. Thus researchers using this perspective reflect on whether the event has characteristics that inherently make it newsworthy. Cognitive perspective aligns the most with Harcup & O’Neill’s perspective on news values, which emphasizes the focus on the minds of the journalists or editors. This perspective questions what journalists believe makes something newsworthy. As emphasized previously, this may involve the mental rules, criteria, or instincts of journalists or editors when deciding what stories are worth covering or prioritizing.

The last perspective, and the one that Bednarek & Caple adopt, is the discursive perspective. This perspective looks at the lexical choices of the news itself, this may be the written words, but also includes the layout and images chosen. This perspective therefore questions how newsworthiness is created or built within the news story using language and images. This particular choice in perspective transcends Harcup & O’Neill’s perspective on ‘how journalists think,’ and moves to the way in which a story is told that makes it newsworthy, in essence looking at its construction. What becomes apparent through this discursive approach is that the construction of news values also begins to intersect with the broader concept of framing. Bednarek & Caple do not directly conflate the two, however, their model reveals how the discursive realization of specific news values, such as Negativity, Superlativeness, or Eliteness, contributes to the narrative perspective or *frame* through which the audience is invited to understand a news story.

While Harcup & O’Neill (2017) and Bednarek & Caple (2012) offer distinct approaches to news values, I argue that these perspectives are not mutually exclusive but rather complementary. Harcup & O’Neill emphasize the cognitive dimension of news values, viewing them as internalized journalistic instincts formed through professional training, newsroom culture, and editorial norms. Their list of news values is grounded in content-focused criteria such as relevance, entertainment, and power elite, which reflect the recurring patterns in journalistic decision-making. In contrast, Bednarek & Caple adopt a discursive perspective, arguing that news values are not just mental checklists or inherent qualities of events, but are constructed through language, images, layout, and other meaning-making elements. Their approach shows how stories are packaged to highlight certain values (e.g., Negativity,

Superlativeness, Eliteness), thus making events appear newsworthy through communicative choices.

While these two approaches differ in emphasis, cognitive vs. discursive (internal instinct vs. textual construction), they are not contradictory. Rather, I argue that news values operate at multiple levels simultaneously: as internal guiding principles that influence what gets selected (aligned with Harcup & O'Neill), and as textual and visual devices that construct newsworthiness in discourse (as per Bednarek & Caple). Importantly, these levels are not isolated; the discursive realization of news values reinforces the very instincts that drive their selection, creating a cyclical process between cognition and discourse.

What complicates this picture further is the overlap between news values and framing. Although often treated as separate, news values concerning what is selected, and framing concerning how it is presented, this distinction breaks down when we recognize that the discursive construction of news values is itself a form of framing (Bednarek & Caple, 2017). For instance, emphasizing *Impact* through dramatic statistics and vivid imagery not only signals that the story matters but also activates a crisis frame by amplifying certain aspects of reality (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). Likewise, foregrounding *the Power Elite* by quoting political figures constructs a frame of institutional authority through selective salience (Entman, 1993). Therefore, news values inevitably influence both selection and framing. The same event can be reported in different ways depending on what the journalist thinks is most important.

In communication theory, framing refers to the way information is presented, and influences how audiences understand and interpret it (Morstatter et al, 2018; de Vreese, 2005). News reporters or journalists select and emphasize particular elements of a narrative while downplaying or excluding others (Morstatter et al, 2018; de Vreese, 2005, 2016, 2018; D'Angelo, 2019). This process challenges the notion of objectivity in news reporting because these choices influence the salience of ideas and can shape audience opinions, attitudes, and behaviors (de Vreese, 2016).

As previously noted, while news values determine what is reported, framing shapes how it is understood. However, from a discursive perspective, these processes are inseparable. The repeated emphasis on specific news values through language and imagery not only makes a story appear newsworthy but also shapes the interpretive frame through which audiences perceive the issue. Over time, this creates a dominant way of presenting the story that influences how it is

remembered and understood (Entman, 1993). In this way, the discursive construction of news values directly contributes to the framing process. Recent research by Milenković (2025) reinforces this view by explicitly demonstrating that discursive news values have framing effects. Through the Discursive News Values Analysis framework, the study reveals how linguistic and semiotic resources are strategically employed to construct contrasting political narratives (Milenković, 2025). Thus, differences in the realization of news values (such as Power Elite, Drama, and Good News) not only reflect an outlet's ideological orientation but actively shape public perception and understanding. DNVA shows that newsworthiness isn't just an objective measure, as it is shaped by language and influenced by ideology. This means the way news values are constructed plays a key role in how stories are framed and how media narratives take shape (Milenković, 2025).

From this standpoint, news values are more than just textual markers of newsworthiness; they function as discursive tools that participate in the way framing creates meaning in news. Importantly, this view retains the role of journalistic instinct. The cognitive perspective reminds us that journalists operate with internalized mental shortcuts formed by training, newsroom culture, and experience, that guide story selection before the text is even created. These instincts are inseparable and reinforced by the discursive construction of news values within the news text.

Therefore, for the purposes of this research, I propose an integrated understanding: News values are built through language and images in the news piece (as understood by Bednarek & Caple), however, these news values also form part of the bigger picture of how news is framed. These news values help journalists dictate (mental shortcuts/habits) what is worthy of covering and consequently shape how those stories are told to a particular audience. Thus, news values are important both for choosing what becomes news and for shaping how people understand that news.

Reassessing News Values by Harcup & O'Neill through a discursive approach

The following section draws extensively on Harcup and O'Neill's (2017, 2019) taxonomy of news values while reconsidering them through a discursive lens, questioning which of these values can be meaningfully identified through content analysis of news texts and images. As previously mentioned, Harcup & O'Neill (2017) through their research identified fourteen news

values. *The Power Elite* which revolves around stories that concern powerful/authoritative individuals, organizations, institutions, or corporations can be identified as a news value through content analysis. Textual elements such as references to powerful institutions or individuals in the text, or represented through images of politicians, CEOs, military figures, or recognizable institutions. Furthermore, power may be visually symbolized through settings (e.g., podiums, offices) and attire (e.g., suits, uniforms).

Stories focusing on individuals who are already well-known are considered to possess the *Celebrity* news value (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017; Harcup & O'Neill, 2019). *Celebrity* is similarly diagnosable with references to the names and achievements of famous individuals within text, along with images of celebrities in public appearances or recognizable settings. Their use often aims to attract attention and lend familiarity.

Entertainment, on the other hand, while more fluid, can still be partially diagnosed discursively. This news value involves soft stories, such as stories concerning sex, show business, sport, lighter human interest, animals, or offering opportunities for humorous treatment, and witty headlines. Texts that reflect *Entertainment* often include stories about celebrities, film, music, television, sex, or humorous incidents, and are marked by playful headlines, sensational phrasing (e.g., “You won’t believe...”), colloquial language, and an informal tone. These elements signal an intent to amuse, relax, or divert the audience, rather than to inform or analyze. Visually, this value may be expressed through images including or often featuring vibrant colors, playful compositions, or humorous facial expressions. Lifestyle elements such as parties, fashion, or leisure settings (e.g., beaches, nightclubs, game shows) may also signal this value.

Surprise, characterized by its focus on stories or events that have an element of surprise, contrast, or the unusual may sometimes be inferred through content that emphasizes contrast, irony, or novelty. Headlines with exclamatory markers or phrases like “unexpected twist” may signal this. Visually, the Surprise news value may be conveyed through images that depict unexpected juxtapositions (e.g., a politician dancing, animals in unusual settings), dramatic facial expressions (e.g., shock, confusion), or events that deviate from the norm (e.g., snow in a desert, protestors in formal wear). Elements of visual irony, absurdity, or anomaly often signal this value. Surprise as a news value can be visually communicated through unexpected image pairings (politician dancing, animals in strange places), dramatic facial expressions (shock,

confusion), and abnormal events (desert snow, formal-attired protestors). Visual irony, absurdity, or anomalies frequently indicate this news value.

Bad News, which encompasses negative events such as death, injury, defeat, or loss, is highly diagnosable through both textual and visual cues. Textually, it is marked by emotive or dramatic language referencing tragedy, conflict, or crisis. Visually, it often includes imagery of destruction, grieving individuals, emergency responders, or chaotic scenes that emphasize suffering or disruption. Conversely, Good News is discursively constructed through positively framed language, often using celebratory verbs (e.g., "wins," "achieves," "recovers") and optimistic narrative structures that emphasize resolution, progress, or success. Visually, it is represented through emotionally uplifting imagery such as smiling faces, embraces, award ceremonies, or scenes of communal joy and celebration.

Magnitude, classified by stories involving circumstances that impact a significantly large number of people or the potential impact of the circumstance, or involving a degree of extreme behavior or extreme occurrence. Magnitude can be diagnosed through phrases that indicate breadth (e.g., "affects thousands" or "nationwide impact") or statistics in the text. In images, magnitude may manifest in large crowds, destruction, or scale-based visuals can also contribute, although the full sense of magnitude often depends on textual framing.

Relevance, as previously identified, involves the proximity of a given event or circumstance to a particular audience, particularly geographic or cultural proximity, is difficult to diagnose solely through content unless explicitly stated (e.g., references to local places, communities, or familiar contexts). To diagnose relevance, it requires knowledge of the target audience of the news story, textual references to geographical, cultural, or political proximity (e.g., mentions of the reader's country, region, or community). Visually, relevance may be signaled through recognizable local landmarks, national flags, familiar public figures, or culturally specific scenes that anchor the story to the audience's context.

Follow up is difficult to diagnose through isolated content analysis. As it refers to stories that build upon previously reported events, its identification often requires contextual knowledge of prior news coverage. Textually, this value may be signaled through explicit references to earlier reports or developments (e.g., "as previously reported" or "in a new development"). However, visually, Follow Up is not easily isolatable; images rarely contain cues that indicate

continuity with earlier stories, unless they are recycled visuals from earlier coverage or include textual overlays referencing past events.

Newspaper Agenda, which refers to stories that align with a news organization's ideological stance, commercial interests, or specific editorial campaigns, is challenging to identify without prior knowledge of the outlet's institutional positioning. Diagnosing this value in content analysis requires an understanding of the publication's broader editorial patterns, recurring themes, advocacy positions, or a longitudinal or comparative analysis. While certain lexical cues such as loaded language, repeated emphasis on specific issues (e.g., crime, immigration), or selective sourcing, may indicate agenda alignment. Furthermore, this news value is largely difficult to diagnose in imagery. Without contextual understanding, images alone rarely provide sufficient evidence of an outlet's agenda, making visual identification largely speculative. Therefore Newspaper Agenda, will not be used in the content analysis of the images or text used by the news outlets.

Audio-Visuals, by definition, are identified through the use of compelling media such as striking photographs, engaging video content, or clear, informative infographics. In content analysis, this news value is identified in visual analysis by whether strong visual elements are present, how visually striking or high-quality they are, and how prominently they are placed within the layout (e.g., large headline images, central placement, or eye-catching graphics). Since this value pertains to the visual composition of the news, it will be considered only in the visual analysis. It will not be included in the textual content analysis, as it is not discursively constructed through language but rather through layout, imagery, font size, font type, color, and other non-verbal semiotic resources.

When analyzing the news value of Audio-Visuals through content analysis, it is important to consider the natural layout and design conventions of the news outlet in question. Many outlets have consistent stylistic features, such as the use of large, capitalized headlines or standard image placements, which form their baseline visual presentation. In this context, the presence, quality, and salience of audio-visual elements should be evaluated relative to this baseline. For example, a headline that is larger or more visually prominent than usual for that outlet signals a deliberate emphasis, thereby reinforcing the news value of Audio-Visuals. Conversely, elements that conform to the outlet's typical layout may not, on their own, indicate enhanced newsworthiness. Therefore, distinguishing between standard design practices and

purposeful visual emphasis is crucial in accurately diagnosing the Audio-Visuals news value in content analysis.

Shareability, as identified by Harcup & O'Neill (2017, 2019) involves stories deemed as newsworthy because journalists believe they are to be shared and commented on frequently on social media. While this news value is significant in the digital context, it is not directly diagnosable through content alone. Determining whether a journalist intends for a story to be shared remains speculative without explicit evidence. Although certain rhetorical strategies, such as clickbait headlines or emotional appeals, may hint at an aim for virality, shareability ultimately reflects audience behavior rather than an inherent textual feature. Therefore, shareability will not be used in the content analysis.

Drama, which includes stories with unfolding tension (e.g., rescues, chases, court proceedings), is often evident in both language and imagery. In language, drama may be signaled through action-oriented verbs (e.g., “escaped,” “battled,” “searched”), sentence structures that build suspense or urgency, and vivid descriptions of conflict or risk. Visually, drama is conveyed by dynamic images showing movement, such as emergency responders in action, distressed individuals, or scenes of chaos and urgency, such as fires, accidents, or police activity.

Lastly, *Conflict*, which involves stories concerning political disputes, protests, or warfare, is identifiable through confrontational language, words like “clash,” “protest,” “battle,” or “dispute.” Visually, conflict is depicted through images of opposing groups, demonstrations with banners or signs, police presence, or scenes of violence and tension.

Framing as the Discursive Realization of News Values

As established in the previous section, this thesis adopts Harcup & O'Neill's (2017) taxonomy of news values as the analytical framework for both textual and visual content analysis. However, rather than treating these values as mere selection criteria, they are approached discursively, as features that are constructed through language, imagery, and layout. This allows for the analysis of how particular events are not only deemed newsworthy, but also shaped for audience interpretation. News values such as Power Elite, Celebrity, Conflict, and Drama are therefore seen as doing more than guiding story selection; they also frame the way stories are told.

Framing, traditionally, refers to the way information is presented in order to shape how audiences understand and interpret a story (De Vreese, 2005, 2016, 2018; Morstatter et al.,

2018). De Vreese outlines a multi-stage model of framing that includes frame building, frame setting, and frame consequences. While this model has been influential in communication studies, it tends to treat framing and selection as sequential and conceptually distinct processes.

In this thesis, however, news values and framing are approached as analytically inseparable. Drawing on Harcup & O'Neill's (2017) list, this research examines how values such as Bad News, Drama, Conflict, or Entertainment are not only reasons for selecting stories, but also discursive tools that shape how those stories are presented to the audience. For example, the use of emotive language and crisis-focused imagery in stories about violence or disaster discursively constructs Bad News, while suspenseful narrative structures and unfolding action images help realize Drama. In this sense, the repeated emphasis on specific news values through textual and visual cues performs the function of framing.

This integrated approach positions Harcup & O'Neill's news values not as isolated selection triggers, but as central to the construction of meaning in news discourse. Importantly, the analysis remains grounded in what can be observed in the text or image. As such, values like Shareability or Newspaper Agenda, which rely on assumptions about journalistic intention or institutional strategy, are excluded from the analysis. Their identification requires access to newsroom processes or audience behavior, making them unsuitable for a discursive content analysis focused on the final media product.

Ultimately, this approach affirms that framing is not something applied after a story has been selected, but something that emerges through the way news values are made salient in the narrative. In other words, the discursive construction of news values in language and imagery is itself the mechanism through which framing occurs.

As the government's official information channel, BUVO's content strategy appears to prioritize the news value of Power Elite (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017), aligning with its institutional role in shaping authoritative narratives. This positioning creates a distinct dynamic for independent outlets like NoticiaCla and 24ora, which must negotiate the tension between reproducing official accounts and pursuing their own editorial agendas. NoticiaCla asserts its credibility through the slogan "*noticia cu bo por confia*" ("news you can trust"), emphasizing trustworthiness and positioning itself as a gatekeeper of accuracy and relevance. Thus, NoticiaCla may emphasize news values such as The Power Elite, Relevance, and Magnitude. In contrast, 24ora adopts a more immediate and sensational approach, captured in its motto "*promete*

den noticia” (“first in news”), prioritizing speed, Bad News, Drama, and Conflict to attract and retain audience attention.

This divergence in editorial missions reflects broader patterns identified by Harcup & O’Neill (2017), wherein digital media ecosystems increasingly valorize Bad News and Shareability, values embodied in 24ora’s rapid, attention-grabbing style. Meanwhile, NoticiaCla’s emphasis on reliability aligns more closely with traditional journalistic ideals, offering a counterpoint to the prevailing dynamics of the attention economy.

Supporting this distinction, Othman & Tiung’s (2009) study demonstrates that while Harcup and O’Neill’s news values are applicable across both popular and quality newspapers, the prominence of particular values varies: quality outlets emphasize Magnitude, Power Elite, and Relevance, whereas popular outlets lean toward Drama, Bad News, and Entertainment. In Aruba’s small yet competitive media landscape, both NoticiaCla and 24ora must therefore navigate the dual demands of reporting on BUVO’s government communications while carving out distinct journalistic identities through unique framing strategies. Building on their self-positioning and editorial priorities, this study hypothesizes:

H1: NoticiaCla’s “trustworthy news” positioning will show stronger application of news values like *relevance* and *magnitude* in comparison to 24ora.

H2: 24ora’s “first in news” mandate will demonstrate greater emphasis on news values like *Bad News* and *Drama* in comparison to NoticiaCla.

NoticiaCla and 24ora illustrate divergent discursive strategies in their reporting beyond BUVO content. NoticiaCla emphasizes multilingual, fact-based reporting and often prioritizes clarity and transparency, whereas 24ora’s approach has been critiqued for favoring fast publication and emotionally charged presentation (Amigoe, 2025; Stamper, 2024; Drayer, 2024). This divergence is reflected in how the two outlets frame the same news event.

For example, both covered a drug seizure incident at Reina Beatrix Airport involving three American tourists and the confiscation of firearms. NoticiaCla’s headline, “Polis a detene tres Mericano cu droga den maleta na aeropuerto” (“Police detain three Americans with drugs in their luggage at the airport”), is characterized by straightforward lexical choices and objective

structure. It reflects a discursive realization of Power Elite (involving state authorities) and Relevance (linking to public safety and legal enforcement in Aruba). In contrast, 24ora's headline, "Otro sla pa baho mundo: Varios detencion cu varios droga y arma di candela confisca" ("Another hit to the underworld: Several arrests with various drugs and firearms confiscated"), employs metaphor, exaggeration, and vague quantifiers. Phrases such as "another hit to the underworld" and "various drugs and firearms" presumably heighten emotional impact and uncertainty, which could discursively construct framings that emphasize Drama, Bad News, and possibly Entertainment (through spectacle and narrative intrigue). These choices do not merely report the facts; they shape how the audience is invited to feel about the event.

Building Trust: Reputation vs. Framing

This contrast illustrates how news values function discursively to frame the same event differently. NoticiaCla presents a restrained and fact-focused account, while 24ora performs newsworthiness through dramatization and ambiguity. Rather than applying pre-existing frames to content, these outlets construct meaning through the specific news values they emphasize, news values which, in turn, function as framing devices.

These patterns are also relevant to how audiences evaluate source credibility. Schranz et al. (2018) found that neutral, evidence-based reporting tends to enhance perceived trustworthiness. Meanwhile, sensational or emotionally charged discourse may draw attention but can erode perceived reliability over time. As Sundar (2008) and Kohring & Matthes (2007) argue, trust in news sources is shaped by both content and brand reputation, suggesting that the discursive construction of news values directly contributes to how journalistic credibility is assessed by the public.

Source credibility in communication research traditionally refers to the believability of information based on the perceived characteristics of the source of that information (Sundar, 2008; Schranz et al., 2018; Kohring & Matthes, 2007). According to Sundar (2008), people usually judge credibility based on who or where the information comes from. If the source is seen as trustworthy, the information is likely to be trusted as well. Source credibility is primarily determined by two key components: expertness and trustworthiness (Kohring & Matthes, 2007). Expertness refers to how well-informed and intelligent the communicator or source is perceived to be. This is based on the perceived ability of the source to make correct and valid statements.

Trustworthiness is operationalized by the perceived absence of persuasive intentions, and therefore involves the belief that the source will actually pass on information they regard as correct and valid.

Sundar (2008) makes an important observation: the digital age complicates source identification. With multiple layers of content dissemination online, determining source credibility becomes increasingly difficult for users. Both NoticiaCla and 24ora operate in an online format; however, NoticiaCla initially launched in physical form while 24ora began and continues to exist as a purely online outlet. Prior research indicates that legacy or reputable media brands are generally perceived as more credible, regardless of how content is framed (Kohring & Matthes, 2007). This suggests that NoticiaCla, as a traditionally objective news source with offline origins, may benefit from an inherent trust advantage over 24ora, even when presenting identical content.

Additionally, the differential effects of sensational and objective framing may not be uniform across media outlets. Given 24ora's established tendency toward sensationalism, audiences may be more skeptical of its credibility, making its use of sensational framing particularly detrimental to trust ratings. Conversely, NoticiaCla, with its reputation for objective reporting, may reinforce its credibility through objective framing while suffering comparatively less reputational damage from sensational content. This aligns with research on media heuristics, which suggests that audience expectations of a source play a significant role in how framing effects are interpreted (Stroud & Lee, 2013). By integrating these framing distinctions, the analysis moves beyond stylistic differences to explore how structural media choices shape public perception and trust in news sources. These differences extend to the independent journalism of NoticiaCla and 24ora, though the specific framing techniques require empirical verification through this study. Based on the compelling evidence of prior research, this study proposes:

H3: Objective framing will generate higher trustworthiness ratings than sensational framing across sources.

H4: Content perceived to be distributed by NoticiaCla will be perceived as more trustworthy than 24ora content even when controlling for framing style.

H5a: 24ora's sensational framing will produce significantly lower trustworthiness ratings than its objective framing, while NoticiaCla's objective framing will yield significantly higher trustworthiness ratings than its sensational framing.

H5b: 24ora's sensational framing will be perceived as significantly more sensational than its objective framing, while NoticiaCla's sensational framing will be perceived as less sensational than 24ora's sensational framing (due to source credibility differences).

The study addresses a critical gap in political communication by simultaneously examining news values (Harcup & O'Neill, 2016) and framing effects (Entman, 1993) in Aruba's small-island media ecosystem, a context where both theories remain under-tested despite their relevance to concentrated media markets. By analyzing how government releases (BUVO) are transformed by independent outlets (NoticiaCla and 24ora), it reveals how institutional, linguistic, and market pressures shape news production in resource-constrained environments. Furthermore, the project responds to ongoing debates in Aruba about sensationalism versus objective reporting, exemplified by public criticism of 24ora's attention-grabbing tactics and NoticiaCla's efforts to maintain neutrality. Findings will empirically clarify how these editorial approaches affect audience trust, a pressing concern given global media credibility crises (Schranz et al., 2018). As one of the first studies to combine content analysis of government news with framing experiments in the Caribbean context, the two-part design offers a replicable model for analyzing media ecosystems where official and independent narratives coexist.

Methods

Overview

This thesis adopts a mixed-methods approach to investigate news production and audience perception within Aruba's media landscape. The study is divided into two parts; Study 1 employs a comparative content analysis to examine which news values are emphasized across government-issued and independent news outlets (NoticiaCla and 24ora). Study 2 uses a 2x2 between-subjects factorial design to assess how framing and source cues influence audience trust and appreciation. These studies complement each other: Study 1 focuses on production by analyzing how NoticiaCla and 24ora apply news values to BUVO releases, revealing editorial priorities and framing strategies. Study 2 evaluates audience reception by measuring how these framing differences affect perceived trustworthiness and appreciation. Together, they explore how media framing functions in Aruba's small-market context, from journalistic decisions to public impact. The sequence of the studies allows for identifying production patterns first and then generalizing findings about audience effects. Study 1 answers research question 1 and part of question 2 by looking at how news values and framing differ between sources. Study 2 focuses on the other part of question 2 and question 3, exploring whether the source's reputation affects how trustworthy people find the information.

Study 1 - Comparative Content Analysis

Research Design

This study uses a comparative content analysis to investigate how three Aruban news outlets (BUVO, NoticiaCla, and 24ora) apply Harcup & O'Neill's (2017) revised news values when reporting on the same government-issued press releases. The method is particularly suited to this research as it enables a distinct exploration of discursive choices in news production, aligning with Bednarek and Caple's (2012) approach to news values as constructed through language and imagery. By comparing how the same BUVO releases are transformed across outlets, the analysis reveals differences in editorial priorities, whether emphasizing power-elite narratives or dramatized elements.

Data Selection and Sampling

The dataset consists of official BUVO press releases published between the years of 2024 to 2025, paired with their corresponding news coverage in NoticiaCla and 24ora. To ensure comparability, only press releases covered by both outlets are included, excluding routine administrative updates unlikely to elicit divergent framing (e.g., minor policy adjustments). This sampling strategy yields approximately 25 press releases (75 texts total: 25 BUVO originals and 50 repurposed articles). The selected releases focused on a variety of topics (e.g., public health, economic reforms, or security incidents). By anchoring the analysis in identical source material, the study isolates how institutional agendas, reputational strategies, and market incentives shape news discourse in Aruba's concentrated media landscape.

Instrumentation

The primary instrument for analysis was a custom-designed codebook (Appendix I) that combined the revised taxonomy of news values proposed by Harcup & O'Neill (2017) with the discursive news values analysis (DNVA) framework developed by Bednarek and Caple (2017). As mentioned in the literature review, the first part of this study adopts the news values framework developed by Harcup and O'Neill (2017) to analyze how news content is prioritized and presented. This hybrid framework facilitated an analysis of how newsworthiness was constructed across the 75 selected news articles. The codebook enabled the analysis of both the

thematic structure and lexical choices present in the articles. The news values chosen for the analysis of the textual elements of the articles can be found in the literature review, and the codebooks can be found in Appendix I. The codebook contained specific coder instructions to consistently identify news values. The chosen categories serve as a framework for analyzing news article content. Content analysis can systematically identify such values, revealing patterns in how media outlets construct and prioritize news coverage. The news values for the analysis of the visual elements can be found on pages 18 - 22, and the codebook can be found in Appendix I. Furthermore, there was only one coder who applied the codebook manually to each of the 75 articles.

Procedure

The coding process was conducted manually using Excel, with each article and its corresponding image entered into a structured coding sheet. The coding sheet was individually coded for BUVO, NoticiaCla, and 24ora, and consisted of a news piece in every row with each column indicating a news value. Images were structured similarly in a separate sheet. Coding was approached iteratively, allowing for the refinement and clarification of categories as new patterns emerged. When necessary, the codebook was updated to reflect more accurate or nuanced definitions of news values and framing strategies. Each article was systematically coded using the codebook's explicit criteria for headlines, leads, and images, ensuring consistent application of the coding framework. These elements were examined to determine:

- Which news values were emphasized
- How specific linguistic or visual cues framed the story

Data Handling

Prior to conducting statistical testing, a preliminary review of the coded data was carried out in Microsoft Excel (Appendix II). Articles were coded dichotomously (Present = 1, Absent = 0) for the presence of the aforementioned news values. Frequency counts were systematically compared between the two sources to assess variations in news value application. This quantitative analysis guided the selection of news values for further examination. This initial

screening informed the selection of news values that were further analyzed using McNemar tests to determine whether observed differences in emphasis were statistically significant. The McNemar test was chosen because the data were dependent. Based on this initial inspection, the following news values for the textual analysis were selected for further investigation using McNemar tests: Good News, Relevance, Magnitude, and Drama. As for the analysis of the images, the following news values were selected: Good News, Bad News, Audio-Visual, and Drama.

Results - Text

A series of McNemar tests were conducted to compare the use of selected news values, Good News, Relevance, Magnitude, and Drama, across three news outlets: BUVO, NoticiaCla, and 24ora. These values were identified during preliminary qualitative screening as those most frequently and distinctly employed across the sources. The tests aimed to determine whether any significant differences existed in the application of these values between sources. Where appropriate, log odds ratios and their exact tests were also examined to assess the direction and strength of observed differences. Tables can be found the appendix III.

Good News

A McNemar test was conducted to compare BUVO (counts = 13) and NoticiaCla (counts = 14). The test indicated no significant difference in the use of the Good News news value, $\chi^2(1) = 1.00$, $p = .32$. This suggests that both sources employed this news value at similar rates. Given the lack of significance, the log odds ratio was not further interpreted.

When comparing BUVO and 24ora (18), the test indicated a statistically significant difference between the two sources in the use of *Good News* ($\chi^2(1) = 5.00$, $p = .025$), suggesting that the observed difference is unlikely due to chance. The log odds ratio was infinite, which occurs when one source consistently used the news value while the other source never did, indicating a strong directional effect. While the exact test of the log odds ratio was only marginally significant ($p = .063$), this may be attributed to the small number of cases where the two sources differed, which can reduce the power of the exact test. Taken together, the results suggest that BUVO and 24ora differ meaningfully in their application of the *Good News* value.

A final comparison between NoticiaCla and 24ora also revealed a statistically significant difference in the use of *Good News*, $\chi^2(1) = 4.00$, $p = .050$. As with the previous comparison, the log odds ratio indicated a clear directional difference, however, the exact test of the log odds ratio was not statistically significant ($p = .125$), possibly due to the small sample size.

Relevance

Firstly, BUVO (17) and NoticiaCla (18) were compared. The test indicated no significant difference in the use of the *Relevance* news value, $\chi^2(1) = .20, p = .7$. This suggests that both sources employed this news value at similar rates. The log odds ratio was not further interpreted.

When comparing BUVO and 24ora (21), the test indicated a statistically significant difference between the two sources in the use of *Relevance* ($\chi^2(1) = 4.00, p = .05$). The log odds ratio was infinite, indicating a strong directional effect. However, the exact test of the log odds ratio was not significant ($p = .125$). These results suggest a potential difference between BUVO and 24ora in their use of *Good News*, but the evidence should be interpreted with caution.

A final comparison between NoticiaCla and 24ora revealed an not significant difference in the use of *Relevance*, $\chi^2(1) = 3.00, p = .08$. The log odds ratio was not further interpreted.

Magnitude

Similarly, BUVO (10) and NoticiaCla (17) were first compared. The test indicated a significant difference in the use of the *Magnitude* news value, $\chi^2(1) = 7.00, p = .008$. Furthermore, the log odds ratio was infinite, indicating one source consistently used Magnitude while the other source never did. The exact test of the log odds ratio indicated a significant difference ($p = .016$), supporting the conclusion that one source consistently applied the Magnitude value while the other did not.

When comparing BUVO and 24ora (13), the test indicated no significant difference between the two sources in the use of *Magnitude* ($\chi^2(1) = 1.29, p = .26$). The log odds ratio was not further explored.

Lastly, NoticiaCla and 24ora were also compared, the test indicated no significant difference ($\chi^2(1) = 2.67, p = .10$) and thus, the log odds ratio was not further explored.

Drama

The comparison between BUVO (2) and NoticiaCla (3) in their use of the news value *Drama* indicated no significant difference, $\chi^2(1) = 0.20$, $p = .66$. Suggesting that both sources employed this news value at similar rates. The log odds ratio was not further interpreted.

When comparing BUVO and 24ora (6), tests indicated a significant difference, $\chi^2(1) = 4.00$, $p = .05$. The log odds ratio was infinite, indicating a strong directional effect. However, the exact test of the log odds ratio was insignificant ($p = .125$). These results suggest a potential difference between BUVO and 24ora in their use of *Drama*, but the evidence should again be interpreted with caution.

A final comparison between NoticiaCla and 24ora also revealed no significant difference in the use of *Drama*, $\chi^2(1) = 1.80$, $p = .180$. The log odds ratio was not further interpreted.

Results - Image

Similarly, a series of McNemar tests were conducted to compare the use of selected news values, Good News, Bad News, Audio-Visual, and Drama, across two news outlets: NoticiaCla and 24ora. BUVO was excluded from this analysis, as they do not include images in their press releases. However, examining the added visual elements in NoticiaCla and 24ora introduced a new dimension to the analysis. Notably, 17 out of the 25 images used differed between the two news reports. The tests aimed to determine whether any significant differences existed in the application of these values between sources. Where appropriate, log odds ratios and their exact tests were also examined to assess the direction and strength of observed differences.

Good News

A McNemar test was conducted to compare NoticiaCla (2) and 24ora (5) in their employment of the news value '*Good News*'. The test indicated no significant difference in the use of the Good News news value, $\chi^2(1) = 1.80$, $p = .180$. This suggests that both sources employed this news value at similar rates. Given the lack of significance, the log odds ratio was not further interpreted.

Bad News

As for the *Bad News* news value, the test indicated no significant difference between NoticiaCla (3) and 24ora (5) in the use of the Bad News news value, $\chi^2(1) = 2.00$, $p = .157$. Consequently, the log odds ratio was not further interpreted.

Audio-Visual

Similarly, *Audio-Visual* was tested, however, the test indicated no significant difference between NoticiaCla (5) and 24ora (8) in the use of the Audio-Visual news value, $\chi^2(1) = 1.00$, $p = .317$. Consequently, the log odds ratio was not further interpreted.

Drama

Lastly, *Drama* was also tested, however, the test again indicated no significant difference between NoticiaCla (2) and 24ora (4) in the use of the Audio-Visual news value, $\chi^2(1) = 0.667, p = .414$. Consequently, the log odds ratio was not further interpreted.

Key Findings

In summary, both hypotheses were not supported. **H1**, which predicted that NoticiaCla would apply the news values *Relevance* and *Magnitude* more strongly than 24ora, was **rejected**, as no significant differences were found between the two outlets for Relevance or Magnitude. However, NoticiaCla and BUVO differed significantly in their use of Magnitude, with NoticiaCla showing more application of this value. **H2**, which proposed that 24ora would place greater emphasis on *Bad News* and *Drama* was also **rejected**, with no significant differences observed in the tested values. Despite this, a significant difference was found between BUVO and 24ora in the use of *Good News*, as well as between NoticiaCla and 24ora. While these findings do not directly confirm the original hypotheses, they suggest meaningful variation in how specific news values are applied across different outlets. Although images were coded independently, no statistically significant differences emerged between outlets. This may be attributed to the fact that the sample size was too small to locate any significant differences.

Study 2 - Perceived Trust and Appreciation

Research Design

An online 2x2 between-subjects factorial experiment was conducted to assess how emphasis on different news values, along with framing and source reputation, influences audience perceptions of news content. Specifically, the study examines the causal relationships between two independent variables (news value framing and source identity) and two dependent variables: (1) perceived trustworthiness and (2) audience appreciation. The independent variable of news value framing was manipulated at two levels: Drama and Magnitude versus Relevance and the Power Elite, while source identity was manipulated at two levels representing the branding of 24ora and NoticiaCla.

Participants and Recruitment

Participants were randomly recruited and went through a screening to assess their eligibility for participating in the current study. The screening characteristics included age (18+), either be native to Aruba or have resided there for a significant amount of time. A total of 204 respondents participated in the study. After applying inclusion criteria and removing cases with missing data, the final sample for ANOVA analyses comprised 133 respondents. Furthermore, out of the initial 204 respondents, 69% were female, 29% were male, and the rest preferred not to disclose their gender. The average age of the participants was $M = 33$, ($SD = 14.7$), ranging from 18 to 69. Furthermore, 46% of participants completed a Bachelor's degree or higher. Participants reported their primary news sources through a multiple-response question. Consumption frequency ranked as follows:

- 1) Social media platforms (91%; primarily Facebook, Instagram, or WhatsApp)
- 2) 24ora (74%)
- 3) TeleAruba (27%)
- 4) NoticiaCla (22%)

Note. Percentages exceed 100% as participants could select multiple options. Full response data appear in (Appendix IV).

Stimuli

The stimuli for this study were sourced from the online news platforms 24ora and NoticiaCla. The experimental manipulation focused on news framing style (objective vs. sensational) and source (outlet brand). Sensationally framed stimuli consisted of original 24ora articles using dramatic headlines, leads, and images that emphasized news values such as Surprise, Bad News, and Conflict. Objectively framed stimuli were taken from NoticiaCla, which presented factual, measured reporting with an emphasis on Relevance, Magnitude, and Follow-up. The stimuli for this study were sourced from 24ora and NoticiaCla. This study manipulated two aspects, news framing (how events were presented) and source attribution (outlet brand), using four parallel articles (two each from 24ora and NoticiaCla) covering the same events. Preserving the outlets' original visual identity (e.g., logos, layout) for authenticity, systematically altering headlines, leads, and images to reflect experimental conditions, enabling controlled analysis of their effects on audience perceptions.

The first stimulus covered a case involving the removal of the supervisory board at A.A.A. (Aruba Airport Authority) by one of the Aruban Ministers. 24ora's sensational version prioritized conflict and drama, while NoticiaCla's objective version focused on elite power dynamics and relevance (Appendix V). The second stimulus reported on another event but employed the same manipulation. The case involved a fatal traffic accident in which a Colombian woman was killed by a driver under the influence of alcohol. 24ora's version used dramatic and figurative language to emphasize tragedy, whereas NoticiaCla's version framed the incident within broader traffic fatality statistics, offering a more objective perspective (Appendix V).

These stimuli were selected based on two key criteria: (1) both outlets had to have reported on the same news event, and (2) the articles needed to exhibit contrasting framings (specifically, one more sensational and the other more objective, while also taking into account the results of the content analysis). Furthermore, for all stimuli, only the headline, lead, and accompanying image were either preserved or replaced with those from the corresponding article on the other platform.

Procedure

Respondents received a link inviting them to participate in the study, which directed them to a Qualtrics survey containing one of the conditions and the accompanying questionnaire. Upon accessing the survey, participants were presented with an informed consent form outlining the purpose of the study, estimated completion time, and ethical safeguards. After providing consent, participants completed a short screening questionnaire to assess eligibility based on age (18+), Aruban residency (native or long-term resident), and basic demographics (age, gender, nationality/residency status, and educational level).

Participants were then randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions in a 2x2 between-subjects factorial design. Each condition consisted of two stimuli—parallel news articles manipulated to reflect one of the two source identities (24ora or NoticiaCla) and one of the two framing styles (Drama/Bad News vs. Relevance/Power Elite). Participants were then asked to respond to 5 questions regarding trustworthiness, 6 questions related to sensationalism, and 3 questions related to appreciation. After these questions, respondents were asked what information they recalled of the two stimuli they were exposed to. Completing the entire questionnaire took approximately 9 minutes.

Measures

The questionnaire assessed three main aspects: perceived trustworthiness, sensationalism, and audience appreciation. All items were measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Perceived Trustworthiness was assessed with five items adapted from Kohring & Matthes (2007), including statements such as “How accurate was the article's description of events?” and “How much do you trust the information in the article?” The trustworthiness scale was administered twice, once after each stimulus. Item 2 (Bias) of the trustworthiness scale was reverse-coded to ensure consistent directionality across the scale. Internal consistency, as measured by Cronbach's alpha, was marginally reliable after the first stimulus ($\alpha = .65$) and improved notably after the second ($\alpha = .84$). This increase may be attributed to familiarity effects, where repeated exposure to the scale reduced ambiguity and improved response consistency. Despite the initial marginal reliability, the scale demonstrated acceptable

consistency overall, particularly in the second administration, supporting its use for assessing perceived trustworthiness in this context.

Sensationalism was measured using six items, adapted from prior research on media exaggeration (Babu, 2011; Kleemans et al., 2018). Participants were asked to rate items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Least fitting) to 5 (Most fitting), sample items included adjectives like “shocking,” “exaggerated,” and “dramatic.” Items that negatively affected internal consistency were removed from the final scale. Specifically, items exciting and sensational were excluded from the sensationalism scale, resulting in a marginal improvement in Cronbach’s alpha, reaching .66 for the first measurement and .74 for the second measurement.

Audience appreciation was measured using three semantic differential items: attractive–unattractive, pleasant–unpleasant, and readable–unreadable (adapted from Lagerwerf et al., 2016). While the items were initially intended to form a unified appreciation scale, internal consistency varied across stimuli ($\alpha = .61$ for Stimulus 1, $\alpha = .41$ for Stimulus 2). To maintain methodological consistency, it was decided to retain only the *attractive* item for the final analysis, as tests of alpha-if-item-dropped indicated that the removal of the other items would substantially reduce scale reliability. This decision ensured conceptual clarity and improved measurement precision while avoiding the overstatement of internal consistency.

Data Analysis

To investigate the effects of source (24ora vs. NoticiaCla) and style (objective vs. sensational) on participants’ perceptions, a 2 (source) $\times$ 2 (framing) $\times$ 2 (exposure) mixed design, with exposure as a within-respondents factor (two stimuli per condition) was conducted and analyzed via Repeated Measures ANOVA. The dependent variables tested were: trustworthiness, sensationalism, and appreciation. This design allowed for examination of main effects and interactions between source, style, and repeated exposure.

For significant interactions, post hoc pairwise comparisons with Bonferroni adjustments were conducted to explore simple effects. Effect sizes are reported using partial eta squared (η^2) to indicate the magnitude of observed effects. All analyses were performed using Jamovi with a significance level set at $\alpha = .05$.

Results

This section presents the results of the mixed-design ANOVAs investigating how source (24ora vs. NoticiaCla) and style (objective vs. sensational) influenced participants' perceptions of trustworthiness, sensationalism, and appreciation across two repeated exposures. The analyses focused on identifying main effects and interactions between source, style, and exposure to understand how these factors jointly shape reader perceptions.

Table 1. Means and Standard Deviations of Trustworthiness, Sensationalism, and Appreciation Across Style and Presented Source for Exposures 1 and 2

Measure	Style	24ora		NoticiaCla	
		Exposure 1	Exposure 2	Exposure 1	Exposure 2
Trustworthiness	Objective	2.38 (0.58)	3.56 (0.60)	2.54 (0.54)	3.11 (0.71)
	Sensational	2.26 (0.55)	2.41 (0.85)	2.27 (0.60)	2.72 (0.83)
Sensationalism	Objective	3.27 (0.72)	3.35 (0.96)	3.03 (0.56)	3.12 (0.65)
	Sensational	3.04 (0.90)	3.83 (0.81)	3.26 (0.78)	3.69 (0.75)
Appreciation	Objective	2.63 (1.16)	2.96 (0.93)	2.56 (0.99)	2.97 (0.85)
	Sensational	2.49 (1.07)	2.64 (1.27)	2.26 (0.98)	2.66 (1.04)

Trustworthiness

A mixed-design ANOVA was conducted to examine the effects of source (24ora vs. NoticiaCla) and style (objective vs. sensational) on perceived trustworthiness across two repeated exposures. A preliminary Within Subjects Effects test revealed a significant main effect of exposure, $F(1, 120) = 49.003, p < .001, \eta^2 = .290$, indicating that trustworthiness ratings differed significantly between the first stimuli ($M = 2.34, SD = 0.57$) and the second stimuli ($M = 2.95, SD = 0.75$). Furthermore, a significant Exposure $\times$ Style interaction $F(1, 120) = 10.174, p = .002, \eta^2 = .078$ suggests that changes in perceived trustworthiness between stimuli depended on whether articles were written in a sensational or objective style. Additionally, the three-way interaction between Exposure, Source, and Style was also significant $F(1, 120) = 6.298, p = .002, \eta^2 = .050$ meaning the direction and magnitude of change in trustworthiness depended on both the source

(24ora vs. NoticiaCla) and the writing style. Main effects for source were insignificant with $F < 1$.

Post hoc tests showed that within the second exposure, objective framing ($M = 3.34$, $SD = 0.66$) was more trustworthy than sensational framing ($M = 2.57$, $SD = 0.84$; $t(120) = 5.79$, $p < .001$), whereas within the first exposure there was no difference ($t(120) = 2.04$, $p = .26$).

For the three-way interaction, post hoc analyses showed mostly the same differences: the most pronounced effects emerged when comparing exposure conditions (1 vs. 2) and framing styles (objective vs. sensational).

The between-subjects analysis revealed a significant main effect for style $F(1, 120) = 33.48$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .218$, with objective framing ($M = 2.89$, $SD = 0.66$) rated as more trustworthy than sensational framing ($M = 2.40$, $SD = 0.66$). This indicates that articles written in an objective style were rated as significantly more trustworthy than those written in a sensational style, further supporting the main effect of style. The interaction between style and source was marginally significant, $F(1, 120) = 3.62$, $p = .060$, $\eta^2 = .029$.

For 24ora, objective articles ($M = 2.97$, $SD = 0.96$) were rated significantly more trustworthy than sensational ones ($M = 2.32$, $SD = 0.90$), $t(120) = 5.43$, $p < .001$. For NoticiaCla, objective articles ($M = 2.81$, $SD = 0.95$) were also rated more trustworthy than sensational ones ($M = 2.48$, $SD = 0.91$), $t(120) = 2.75$, $p = .041$. Thus, while both sources showed higher trust ratings for objective framing, the effect was more pronounced for 24ora.

Sensationalism

Similarly, a mixed-design ANOVA was conducted to examine the effects of source (24ora vs. NoticiaCla) and writing style (objective vs. sensational) on perceived sensationalism across two repeated exposures. A preliminary Within Subjects Effects test revealed a significant main effect of exposure, $F(1, 120) = 17.510$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .128$, indicating that sensationalism ratings varied significantly between the first exposure ($M = 3.14$, $SD = 0.76$) and the second exposure ($M = 3.49$, $SD = 0.76$). Furthermore, a significant Exposure $\times$ Style interaction was found, $F(1, 120) = 8.936$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = .070$, suggesting that changes in perceived sensationalism between stimuli depended on whether articles were written in a sensational or objective style. Main effects for source were not significant with $F < 1$.

Pairwise comparisons for the Exposure $\times$ Style interaction revealed that participants rated

the articles written in a sensational style in the second exposure as significantly more sensational ($M = 3.76$, $SD = 1.08$) than those in the second exposure written in an objective style ($M = 3.23$, $SD = 1.14$), $t(119) = -3.65$, $p = .002$, whereas there was no difference between objective and sensational style in the first exposure ($t < 1$). The Exposure $\times$ Style interaction revealed that while sensational articles were rated as significantly more sensational in the second exposure ($M = 3.15$, $SD = 1.02$) than the first ($M = 2.70$, $SD = 0.88$; $t(119) = -5.23$, $p < .001$), objective articles showed no exposure difference with ($t < 1$). This pattern indicates that style differences were negligible in the first exposure but significant in the second, confirming that repeated exposure influenced perceived sensationalism only for sensational-framed content.

The between-subjects effects revealed no significant main effects for source, $F(1, 119) = 1.49$, $p = .224$, $\eta^2 = .012$, however a significant main effect for style was found, $F(1, 119) = 5.97$, $p = .016$, $\eta^2 = .048$. Objective style ($M = 3.18$, $SD = 0.88$) was considered as less sensational than Sensational style ($M = 3.45$, $SD = 0.83$). No significant interaction effect was found, $F(1, 119) = 1.91$, $p = .169$, $\eta^2 = .016$.

Appreciation - Attractiveness

To assess Appreciation, a mixed-design ANOVA was conducted to examine the effects of source and style on perceived sensationalism across two repeated exposures. The Within-Subjects Effects test revealed a significant main effect of exposure, $F(1, 120) = 5.972$, $p = .016$, $\eta^2 = .048$, indicating that appreciation ratings differed significantly between the first exposure ($M = 2.48$, $SD = 1.06$) and the second exposure ($M = 2.81$, $SD = 1.03$). No other significant effects were found, suggesting that appreciation was not influenced by source or style, but potentially by other factors.

Between-Subjects effects indicated no significant main effect for source, $F < 1$. Furthermore, no significant main effect for style was found $F(1, 119) = 3.187$, $p = .08$, $\eta^2 = .026$. Lastly, no significant interaction effect was found, $F < 1$.

Hypothesis

The results provided clear evidence that framing style significantly affects perceived trustworthiness. **H3**, which predicted that objective framing would lead to higher trustworthiness ratings than sensational framing across sources, was **supported**. While no significant difference was found in the first exposure, a clear and significant effect emerged in the second exposure, where objectively framed content was rated as significantly more trustworthy than sensational content.

H4, which proposed that NoticiaCla would be perceived as more trustworthy than 24ora regardless of framing style, was **rejected**, as no significant main effect for source was found in the trustworthiness ratings.

Furthermore, **H5a**, which predicted that 24ora's sensational framing would produce lower trustworthiness ratings than its objective framing, and that NoticiaCla's objective framing would yield higher trustworthiness ratings than its sensational framing, was **partially supported**. For 24ora, there was no significant difference in trustworthiness between the two framing during the first exposure. However, during the second exposure, the objective framing was rated significantly more trustworthy than the sensational one. For NoticiaCla, a significant difference between the two framings also appeared only in the second exposure, with objective framing rated more trustworthy, but no difference was found during the first exposure. Therefore, while both outlets showed higher trust in objective framing by the second exposure, the hypothesis was only partially confirmed since trustworthiness was not consistent across both exposures.

H5b, which posited that 24ora's sensational framing would be perceived as more sensational than its objective framing, and that NoticiaCla's sensational framing would be perceived as less sensational than 24ora's sensational framing, was also **partially supported**. While sensational style was rated as significantly more sensational than objective style overall, no significant source effects or interactions were observed. Thus, differences in sensationalism perceptions between the two outlets could not be confirmed.

Further analysis

Further analyses were conducted to examine potential effects of age, binary gender, and education (categorized as High [VWO, university] versus Low [MBO, HAVO]) on trustworthiness ratings across exposure conditions. Style was included as a factor due to its

demonstrated influence on trustworthiness. Results showed no significant main effects or interaction effects for any demographic variables, indicating these factors did not systematically affect trustworthiness outcomes.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to explore how two Aruban independent news outlets (NoticiaCla and 24ora) transform BUVO press releases and how their use of news values and framing strategies affects audience perceptions of trustworthiness and appreciation. Using Harcup and O'Neill's (2017) taxonomy of news values in combination with a discursive approach, the study consisted of a content analysis of news production with experimental testing of news reception.

Study 1 analyzed 25 BUVO press releases and their corresponding coverage by NoticiaCla and 24ora (75 articles total). While both outlets covered the same events, their framing diverged in subtle ways. NoticiaCla showed significantly greater emphasis on the news value of *Magnitude* compared to BUVO. However, direct comparisons between NoticiaCla and 24ora revealed no statistically significant differences in the application of *Relevance* or *Magnitude*, thus rejecting H1. Contrary to H2, 24ora did not demonstrate significantly greater emphasis on *Bad News* or *Drama*. However, 24ora showed a significantly higher use of *Good News* compared to BUVO, suggesting editorial selectivity. These patterns may reflect the constraints of repurposing government-issued content, which potentially limited the degree to which the outlets could apply divergent framing strategies.

Study 2 employed a 2x2x2 mixed design to examine how manipulated news framing (objective vs. sensational) and source branding (NoticiaCla vs. 24ora) affected audience trust and appreciation across two exposures. Results revealed a significant main effect of framing style on perceived trustworthiness: objectively framed articles were rated significantly more trustworthy than sensationally framed ones, supporting H3. No significant main effect for source was found, leading to the rejection of H4. Furthermore, a marginally significant interaction between source and framing partially supported H5. Post hoc analyses showed that objective framing significantly enhanced trustworthiness ratings for both outlets, with a stronger effect for 24ora, which experienced a greater decline in trustworthiness when using sensational framing.

Together, these findings demonstrate that news values function as both selection criteria and framing devices, discursively shaping how audiences interpret news. In the Aruban context, where media outlets operate in a small, multilingual, and competitive environment, editorial decisions are shaped by institutional constraints and audience expectations. Despite public discourse that positions NoticiaCla as inherently more trustworthy, this study found that how the news is framed ultimately has a greater impact on trust than who delivers it. These findings

underscore the vulnerability of audience trust to sensationalism and highlight the need for media literacy efforts that help citizens critically assess framing strategies. Future research should investigate how outlets frame stories outside the constraints of government-sourced material to better understand the boundaries of editorial autonomy in small-state media landscapes.

Discussion

This study set out to examine how the Aruban news outlets, NoticiaCla and 24ora, apply news values to government-issued press releases (BUVO) and how their framing strategies influence audience trust and appreciation.

The content analysis revealed NoticiaCla and 24ora did not differ significantly in their application of the news values *Relevance*, *Magnitude*, or *Drama*, thus rejecting H1 and H2. However, NoticiaCla's use of *Magnitude* significantly differed from BUVO's, suggesting it may prioritize impact when repurposing official news. Furthermore, while 24ora did not employ *Bad News* or *Drama* more than NoticiaCla, 24ora differed sharply in *Good News* framing in comparison to BUVO.

The second part, the experimental study, elucidated how framing style (not source reputation) remains a primary driver of perceived trustworthiness. The experiment found that objectively objectively framed articles were rated as more trustworthy than sensationalist ones (supporting H3). However, when it came to source branding (NoticiaCla vs. 24ora), no significant effect was found (rejecting H4). Additionally, 24ora's more objective framing increased its perceived credibility in comparison to its original sensational counterpart and NoticiaCla's sensational framing eroded trust, therefore partially supporting H5.

These findings challenge assumptions about source hegemony in small media markets. Unlike Brown's (1987) observations about elite-dominated news in larger markets, Aruba's independent outlets did not amplify *Power Elite* or *Relevance* news values. Instead, their framing choices (objective vs. sensational) overrode pre-existing source reputations. This aligns with Bednarek & Caple's (2012) discursive perspective in which they affirm that news values are not just selection criteria but framing devices that shape audience interpretation. For instance, 24ora's use of *Bad News* and *Drama* (e.g., metaphors like "Value of Life: chauffeur involved in fatal car accident deported before justice was served") constructed a sensationalist frame, while NoticiaCla's focus on *Magnitude* (e.g., "9th traffic accident of the year") framed the same event as a systemic issue.

The study also extends framing theory (Entman, 1993; de Vreese, 2005) by showing that in small, reputation-driven markets, audiences may prioritize textual framing over institutional credibility, a departure from Kohring & Matthes' (2007) findings about legacy media trust. In Aruba's digital news environment, audiences seem to rely less on source reputation (e.g., trusting

NoticiaCla more than 24ora by default) and more on immediate framing cues (e.g., objective vs. sensational language) when judging credibility. Thus, while Sundar's (2008) heuristic processing theory suggests audiences typically rely on source credibility as a shortcut for evaluating news, this process appears to operate differently in small media landscapes like Aruba. Despite outlet loyalty, small-market audiences tend to judge each story independently, placing more trust in its framing than in the outlet itself.

The findings of this study yield several practical implications for both journalists and media audiences operating in small-market contexts. Framing superseeds credibility, news outlets with strong reputation risk eroding audience trust through sensational or biased framing. However, news outlets with a negative reputation or less-trusted, have the opportunity to rebuild credibility by adjusting their framing tactics to a more objective, transparent, and balanced reporting style. Furthermore, although critiques of sensationalism are often valid, audiences should not assume that more polished or reputable outlets are automatically unbiased. Considering that 24ora ranked among the most frequently used news sources for participants, and that many were sensitive to stylistic differences in reporting, media literacy workshops could further sharpen audiences' ability to critically assess framing techniques in news production. While this responsiveness suggests some level of media literacy, workshops could reinforce and expand these instincts, offering tools to dissect how even familiar sources use framing, and how to mitigate its subconscious effects.

In the current post-truth era, characterized by the diminishing influence of objective facts and the rising prominence of emotion-driven narratives, public trust in traditional media has declined significantly. Digital platforms spread misinformation faster than real news, often due to human psychology and sharing habits, undermining trust in traditional media and overwhelming people's ability to judge credibility (McIntyre, 2018; Lewandowsky et al., 2017). Within this context, the finding that framing style influences perceived trustworthiness more than source identity is particularly meaningful. It suggests that audiences may prioritize how news is presented over who presents it, highlighting the importance for media outlets to focus on transparent, balanced framing to rebuild credibility. While this study focused on a small media market, these dynamics likely can be applied globally, reflecting broader challenges faced by legacy media.

Although the study emphasized stylistic differences in news reporting, an important

unmeasured factor may be participants' prior familiarity or loyalty toward specific media outlets. Familiarity with a source can independently influence trust perceptions and potentially bias responses, regardless of framing. Future research could control this by assessing baseline attitudes toward news outlets or by using fictional sources to better assess the effects of framing.

Despite Arubans relying on 24ora for their day-to-day news (find results in: [participants and recruitment](#)), the experimental findings of this study remain hopeful. Aruban viewers seem to be critical in recognizing and critically interpreting stylistic differences in framing (sensational vs. objective). When exposed to parallel articles, participants consistently rated objectively framed content as more trustworthy than their sensationalist counterparts, regardless of the source. This means that even in a media landscape where attention-grabbing tactics are prevalent, Aruban news consumers are able to distinguish between reporting styles.

Such sensitivity is a baseline level of media literacy, which targeted interventions can build on. Where structural circumstances (e.g., outlet shortages) drive audiences to read sensational news, they are responsive to framing cues. By building on wider media education efforts and encouraging outlets to be more transparent in their reporting, Aruba can leverage this innate ability to think critically about news, creating stronger and healthier public discourse. These findings challenge passive audience expectations, indicating that even in scarce resource media contexts, there is active critical engagement with news by citizens.

This study attempted to measure audience appreciation as an indicator of emotional engagement but the results were inconclusive. Nonetheless, emotional responses likely play a critical role in shaping trust and perceptions of news value framing. Future research could build on this by incorporating more robust measures of emotional engagement and expanding the scope to different cultural contexts and a wider variety of news topics. Such work would deepen understanding of how framing affects audiences across diverse settings and issues.

While this study provides valuable insights into how participants respond to stylistic differences in news reporting, several limitations should be acknowledged. One limitation of the content analysis was the limited sample size. In order to compare coverage across outlets, the analysis required selecting news stories that originated from BUVO press releases and were also covered by both independent news sources (NoticiaCla & 24ora). This significantly narrowed the range of available content. Not only did this affect the sample size, but also may have limited the content analysis. Furthermore, the study's reliance on a single coder introduces potential

limitations in coding consistency, despite the use of a detailed codebook. Future research could benefit from: (1) examining how these outlets frame stories not derived from government press releases, which might reveal more pronounced editorial differences; (2) employing multiple coders to establish inter-rater reliability; and (3) expanding the sample to include more diverse news topics and sources to enhance generalizability. These improvements would help distinguish between outlet-specific framing tendencies and constraints imposed by shared source material.

In relation to the experiment, one of the limitations might be that the study relied on self-reported perceptions of trustworthiness and sensationalism. These self-reports of trustworthiness and sensationalism are inherently subjective, and may be influenced by other factors such as social desirability bias or pre-existing attitudes toward the media. Social desirability bias refers to the tendency of respondents to provide answers they believe will be viewed favorably by others, rather than expressing their true opinions or beliefs. This bias often plagues studies that concern sensitive topics such as politics, drug use, or sexual behavior. The stimuli for this study addressed issues of politics and traffic fatalities which could have triggered socially desirable responses among participants. Despite this study finding that participants were more sensitive to stylistic differences (objective vs. sensational) than to the source branding itself, it is possible that underlying biases toward certain outlets still played a role in shaping their responses, even unconsciously. Furthermore, the use of short, isolated excerpts (the lead) may not fully replicate how individuals engage with news content in more naturalistic settings. Future research could build on these findings by incorporating implicit measures or longitudinal designs to better account for deeper cognitive and emotional responses to news media.

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Appendix

Appendix I

Textual Codebook

News Value (H&O)	Description	Examples in text
The Power Elite	Coverage of powerful individuals, institutions, or corporations whose actions are perceived to have significant societal impact. Prestige or authority drives interest (e.g., government, UN, central banks). Prominent in broadsheets. Coder Tip: Look for institutional names, titles (e.g., PM, CEO), and policy decisions with wide impact.	Eliteness: “Prime Minister Rishi Sunak addressed the nation following the summit.” Impact: “The Bank of England’s rate hike is expected to push millions into financial hardship.” Consonance: “As expected, NATO reaffirmed its support for Ukraine amid rising tensions.”
Celebrity	Focus on people who are already famous or well-known. Name recognition alone can make a story newsworthy. Common in tabloids, but present across all media types. May overshadow more substantive issues. Coder Tip: Fame is the justification for coverage; check if the person’s role is incidental.	Eliteness: “Beyoncé’s Renaissance Tour dominates global headlines.” Personalisation: “In an emotional post, Selena Gomez opened up about her mental health journey.” Novelty: “Actor adopts entire shelter of dogs after filming ends in Romania.”

Entertainment	Light-hearted or amusing stories, including showbiz, sport, sex, animals, or human interest. Offers escapism, humor, and emotional appeal. Highly shareable; dominant in online news and tabloids. Risk of trivializing journalism. Coder Tip: Check tone—if the primary goal is amusement, it's entertainment.	Personalisation: “This retired teacher is going viral for teaching math to neighborhood kids for free.” Novelty: “Robot bartender serves drinks on a cruise ship — and dances while doing it.” Aesthetic Appeal: “Stunning slow-motion footage shows Northern Lights over Icelandic fjords.” Shareability: “10 hilarious signs from this year’s Glastonbury festival that will make your day.”
Surprise	Stories with unexpected, novel, or quirky elements. Newsworthiness stems from deviation from the norm. Ranked highly in traditional and digital news. Coder Tip: Ask: “Would this make someone say ‘wow’ or ‘wait, what?’”	Novelty: “Woman finds 130-year-old wedding dress sealed in attic wall.” Superlativeness: “World’s longest python discovered in Malaysian rainforest.” Timeliness: “Tourist stumbles upon ancient mosaic during vacation hike yesterday.”
Bad News	Coverage of death, disaster, defeat, or crisis. Often clear-cut and emotionally charged. Most frequent news value in traditional and digital platforms. Conflict, loss, and disruption feature prominently. Coder Tip: Emotional weight is negative; look for themes of harm or danger.	Negativity: “Train derailment kills 23 in northern India.” Impact: “Nationwide blackout leaves 80 million without power.” Superlativeness: “Worst flooding in a century submerges Venice.”

Good News	Stories with positive outcomes: recoveries, cures, wins, or human triumphs. Though less emphasized than bad news, still common, often in contrast or resolution to negative events. Coder Tip: Positive tone; can be standalone or counterbalance to bad news.	Impact: “Breakthrough malaria vaccine approved, expected to save thousands of lives.” Personalisation: “Nine-year-old raises £20,000 for hospital that saved her brother.” Timeliness: “Community bands together to deliver Christmas dinner to stranded travelers.”
Magnitude	Events with significant impact, either by scale (e.g., many affected) or intensity (e.g., extreme behavior, large consequences). Perceived importance elevates newsworthiness. Coder Tip: Ask: “Is this significant due to size or scope?”	Superlativeness: “Heatwave breaks all-time records across 14 countries.” Impact: “Global economic crash projected to cost trillions in lost productivity.” Negativity: “Drought decimates crops in Sub-Saharan Africa, triggering famine warnings.”
Relevance	Stories connected to the audience’s geographic, cultural, or political context. Proximity, shared values, or identity make topics more engaging or meaningful. Audience demographics shape this heavily. Coder Tip: Consider audience perspective—“Why should they care?”	Proximity: “New rail link to connect Manchester and Liverpool by 2028.” Impact: “Changes to national insurance to affect all UK freelancers.” Consonance: “As expected, Scottish MPs reject Westminster housing proposal.”

Follow up	Continuations or updates to previously covered stories. Maintains narrative continuity and taps into ongoing public interest. Ranked 4th in frequency in traditional news. Coder Tip: Look for references to “previously reported,” ongoing investigations, etc.	Timeliness: “Today, police confirmed new arrests in the Madeleine McCann case.” Relevance: “Following last week’s coverage, local council announces rent freeze for tenants.” Consonance: “As predicted, inflation figures continue to rise, causing fresh concern.”
Newspaper Agenda	Stories selected or framed to align with a news outlet’s ideological, commercial, or editorial priorities. Can include advocacy journalism or campaign-driven reporting. Especially evident in mid-market press. Coder Tip: Requires knowledge of the publication’s editorial stance or historical patterns.	Consonance: “Daily Mail slams new asylum policy as ‘chaotic and weak’.” Eliteness: “Former Chancellor warns against Labour’s proposed tax reforms.” Relevance: “Telegraph renews call for grammar school revival amid parent backlash.”
Audio-visuals	Stories with strong visual or multimedia elements (e.g., striking photos, video, infographics). Enhances appeal, clarity, and shareability. Plays a key role in digital and TV news formats. Coder Tip: Ask: “Would this story exist without the visuals?”	Aesthetic Appeal: “Photo gallery: Breathtaking aerial shots of spring tulip fields.” Shareability: “Watch: Baby elephant dances after being rescued — melts hearts online.” Surprise: “Drone footage captures unexpected whale pod off Cornish coast.”

Drama	Ongoing, high-stakes narratives involving danger, urgency, or spectacle (e.g., rescues, trials, disasters). Provides emotional engagement and a sense of progression. Coder Tip: Time sensitivity and unfolding tension are key clues.	Negativity: “Terrifying fire traps dozens in hotel near Heathrow.” Superlativeness: “Most dramatic courtroom twist yet: key witness recants under oath.” Impact: “Explosion injures 40 at gas plant; evacuation expands.” Timeliness: “Clock is ticking: Rescue team races to save miners trapped for third day.”
Conflict	Stories featuring opposing forces or viewpoints: political disagreements, protests, strikes, or war. Drives interest through confrontation and polarization. Some scholars argue this warrants separation from “bad news.” Coder Tip: Look for adversarial framing (“vs.” language, dueling quotes).	Negativity: “Dozens injured as rival protest groups clash in Paris.” Eliteness: “Biden vs. Trump: Clash over immigration heats up ahead of election.” Consonance: “As expected, unions reject latest NHS pay offer.” Impact: “Strikes expected to cripple transport network during holiday season.”

Visual Codebook

News Value (H&O)	Description	Image examples
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The Power Elite	Coverage of powerful individuals, institutions, or corporations whose actions are perceived to have significant societal impact. Prestige or authority drives interest (e.g., government, UN, central banks). Prominent in broadsheets. Coder Tip: Look for institutional names, titles (e.g., PM, CEO), and policy decisions with wide impact.	Politician at a press podium with national flags behind. G7 or UN summit with world leaders in a formal group shot. Central Bank building with media outside. CEO giving a keynote on a dark-lit stage. Police chief announcing a new policy at a press conference.
Celebrity	Focus on people who are already famous or well-known. Name recognition alone can make a story newsworthy. Common in tabloids, but present across all media types. May overshadow more substantive issues. Coder Tip: Fame is the justification for coverage; check if the person's role is incidental.	Celebrity walking the red carpet at Cannes or Oscars. Tabloid-style beach photo of a pop star. Selfie of a YouTuber with fans at VidCon. Singer performing onstage with fireworks. Reality TV star leaving court with paparazzi flashes
Entertainment	Light-hearted or amusing stories, including showbiz, sport, sex, animals, or human interest. Offers escapism, humor, and emotional appeal. Highly shareable; dominant in online news and tabloids. Risk of trivializing journalism. Coder Tip: Check tone—if the primary goal is amusement, it's entertainment.	Mascot dancing during halftime at a football game. Actor in full costume on a film set. A viral animal doing tricks or wearing clothes. Bright concert or festival crowd with glowsticks. Funny sign from a music festival (e.g.,

		"Free Hugs" board).
Surprise	Stories with unexpected, novel, or quirky elements. Newsworthiness stems from deviation from the norm. Ranked highly in traditional and digital news. Coder Tip: Ask: "Would this make someone say 'wow' or 'wait, what?'"	Woman holding century-old letter found in her wall. Giant unexpected snowstorm in a desert. Tourist stumbling on a fossil during a beach walk. Vending machine that dispenses poems instead of snacks. Giant carrot grown in someone's backyard.
Bad News	Coverage of death, disaster, defeat, or crisis. Often clear-cut and emotionally charged. Most frequent news value in traditional and digital platforms. Conflict, loss, and disruption feature prominently. Coder Tip: Emotional weight is negative; look for themes of harm or danger.	Emergency responders carrying victims from debris. Dark smoke clouds from a factory explosion. Grieving families at a mass funeral. Destroyed buildings from an earthquake. Flooded homes with residents on roofs waving for rescue.
Good News	Stories with positive outcomes: recoveries, cures, wins, or human triumphs. Though less emphasized than bad news, still common, often in contrast or resolution to negative events. Coder Tip: Positive tone; can be standalone or counterbalance to bad news.	Scientist celebrating a medical breakthrough in a lab. Reunited families at an airport. Volunteers delivering food or blankets to the homeless. Community mural painting event with smiling children.

		Child handing over a charity cheque.
Magnitude	Events with significant impact, either by scale (e.g., many affected) or intensity (e.g., extreme behavior, large consequences). Perceived importance elevates newsworthiness. Coder Tip: Ask: “Is this significant due to size or scope?”	Satellite image of wildfires across a continent. Protest with thousands filling a city square. Queue of hundreds waiting outside a collapsed bank. Empty supermarket shelves during a supply crisis. Aerial view of vast flood coverage across a region.
Relevance	Stories connected to the audience’s geographic, cultural, or political context. Proximity, shared values, or identity make topics more engaging or meaningful. Audience demographics shape this heavily. Coder Tip: Consider audience perspective—“Why should they care?”	Local infrastructure under construction (e.g., bridge, train line). Council meeting in a recognizable local hall. Shoppers on a familiar high street reacting to policy changes. School children in uniform at a protest relevant to local politics. Regional weather event (e.g., snow in Manchester).

Follow up	Continuations or updates to previously covered stories. Maintains narrative continuity and taps into ongoing public interest. Ranked 4th in frequency in traditional news. Coder Tip: Look for references to “previously reported,” ongoing investigations, etc.	Crime scene revisited with new evidence being retrieved. Court sketch of a trial update on a known scandal. Newspaper front page showing “UPDATE” over an older headline. Same activist from a prior story holding a new protest sign. Police giving second statement in an ongoing missing-persons case.
Newspaper Agenda	Stories selected or framed to align with a news outlet’s ideological, commercial, or editorial priorities. Can include advocacy journalism or campaign-driven reporting. Especially evident in mid-market press. Coder Tip: Requires knowledge of the publication’s editorial stance or historical patterns.	Politician caught in an unflattering expression, used selectively. Editorial photo with red/black overlay to indicate danger or corruption. Union picket line with aggressive signage (depending on paper’s stance). Smiling child in grammar school uniform for pro-education policy piece. Campaigning journalist interviewing a family impacted by a favored cause.
Audio-visuals	Stories with strong visual or multimedia elements (e.g., striking photos, video, infographics). Enhances appeal, clarity, and shareability. Plays a key role in digital and TV news formats. Coder Tip: Ask: “Would this story exist without the visuals?”	Infographic overlaying a crisis map or vaccine rollout. Cinematic drone flyover of a glacier melting. Close-up of a bee collecting pollen with extreme macro detail. 3D animation still showing how a virus

		spreads. Captivating slow-motion clip of a sports moment.
Drama	Ongoing, high-stakes narratives involving danger, urgency, or spectacle (e.g., rescues, trials, disasters). Provides emotional engagement and a sense of progression. Coder Tip: Time sensitivity and unfolding tension are key clues.	Nighttime rescue operation lit by headlamps. Trapped miners' relatives waiting anxiously at site entrance. Courtroom photo with lawyer dramatically pointing or arguing. Helicopter airlifting people from rising floodwaters. Countdown clock graphic during a high-stakes event (e.g., Brexit deadline).
Conflict	Stories featuring opposing forces or viewpoints: political disagreements, protests, strikes, or war. Drives interest through confrontation and polarization. Some scholars argue this warrants separation from "bad news." Coder Tip: Look for adversarial framing ("vs." language, dueling quotes).	Protesters and riot police in standoff. Split-screen of opposing politicians (e.g., Biden vs. Trump). Two people at a town hall with different signs arguing. Angry exchanges during a televised debate. Firebombed building after a political protest.

Appendix II

Content Analysis

 Data Sheet Thesis project NEW

Appendix III

Textual Analysis

Good News

BUVO - NoticiaCla

McNemar Test

	Value	df	p
χ^2	1.00	1	0.317
Log odds ratio exact	Inf		1.000
N	25		

BUVO - 24ora

McNemar Test

	Value	df	p
χ^2	5.00	1	0.025
Log odds ratio exact	Inf		0.063
N	25		

NoticiaCla - 24ora

McNemar Test

	Value	df	p
χ^2	4.00	1	0.046
Log odds ratio exact	Inf		0.125
N	25		

Relevance

BUVO - NoticiaCla

McNemar Test

	Value	df	p
χ^2	0.200	1	0.655
Log odds ratio exact	0.405		1.000
N	25		

BUVO - 24ora

McNemar Test

	Value	df	p
χ^2	4.00	1	0.046
Log odds ratio exact	Inf		0.125
N	25		

NoticiaCla - 24ora

McNemar Test

	Value	df	p
χ^2	3.00	1	0.083
Log odds ratio exact	Inf		0.250
N	25		

Magnitude

BUVO - NoticiaCla

McNemar Test

	Value	df	p
χ^2	7.00	1	0.008
Log odds ratio exact	Inf		0.016

N	25
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BUVO - 24ora

McNemar Test

	Value	df	p
χ^2	1.29	1	0.257
Log odds ratio exact	0.916		0.453
N	25		

NoticiaCla - 24ora

McNemar Test

	Value	df	p
χ^2	2.67	1	0.102
Log odds ratio exact	-1.61		0.219
N	25		

Drama

BUVO - NoticiaCla

McNemar Test

	Value	df	p
χ^2	0.200	1	0.655
Log odds ratio exact	0.405		1.000
N	25		

BUVO - 24ora

McNemar Test

	Value	df	p
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χ^2	4.00	1	0.046
Log odds ratio exact	Inf		0.125
N	25		

NoticiaCla - 24ora

McNemar Test

	Value	df	p
χ^2	1.80	1	0.180
Log odds ratio exact	1.39		0.375
N	25		

Visual Analysis

Good News

NoticiaCla - 24ora

McNemar Test

	Value	df	p
χ^2	1.80	1	0.180
Log odds ratio exact	1.39		0.375
N	25		

Bad News

NoticiaCla - 24ora

McNemar Test

	Value	df	p
χ^2	2.00	1	0.157

Log odds ratio exact	Inf	0.500
N	25	

Audio-Visual

NoticiaCla - 24ora

McNemar Test

	Value	df	p
χ^2	1.00	1	0.317
Log odds ratio exact	0.693		0.508
N	25		

Drama

NoticiaCla - 24ora

McNemar Test

	Value	df	p
χ^2	0.667	1	0.414
Log odds ratio exact	0.693		0.688
N	25		

Appendix IV

	Percentage	Count
Social Media	91%	153
Government website	11%	19
Amigoe	6%	10
NoticiaCla	22%	37
Diario	12%	21
24ora	74%	125
Awe Mainta	14%	23

TeleAruba	27%	46
Radio	22%	37
Other	15%	26

Appendix V

https://www.canva.com/design/DAGmyOiJ-Gc/76csyFKKMdnqfrd3HGL8vA/view?utm_content=DAGmyOiJ-Gc&utm_campaign=designshare&utm_medium=link2&utm_source=uniquelinks&utlId=h939aacf036

Appendix VI

Reliability Analysis Trustworthiness

Measurement 1

Scale Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's α	
scale	0.651

Measurement 2

Scale Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's α	
scale	0.838

Reliability Analysis Sensationalism

Measurement 1

Scale Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's α	
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scale	0.660
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Measurement 2

Scale Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's α	
scale	0.736

Reliability Analysis Appreciation

Measurement 1

Scale Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's α	
scale	0.609

Item Reliability Statistics

	If item dropped
	Cronbach's α
Appreciation_1	0.270
Appreciation_1 (2)	0.642
Appreciation_1 (3)	0.540

Measurement 2

Scale Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's α	
scale	0.411

Item Reliability Statistics

	If item dropped
	Cronbach's α
Appreciation_1 (4)	0.0164
Appreciation_1 (5)	0.3189
Appreciation_1 (6)	0.5583

Scale Reliability Statistics

	Cronbach's α
scale	0.558

Item Reliability Statistics

	If item dropped
	Cronbach's α
Appreciation_1 (4)	0.408
Appreciation_1 (5)	0.369

Appendix VII

Jamovi File - Experimental Analysis

https://drive.google.com/file/d/15YQx_Os4bfb-N5-_5FaPTP3OG3JeKHjs/view?usp=drive_link