Emotionalization in the Media Coverage of Honey Bee Colony Losses

Brigitte Huber 1,* and Ingrid Aichberger 2

1 Department of Communication, University of Vienna, 1090 Vienna, Austria; E-Mail: brigitte.huber@univie.ac.at
2 Department of Communication Studies, University of Salzburg, 5020 Salzburg, Austria; E-Mail: ingrid.aichberger@sbg.ac.at

* Corresponding author

Submitted: 27 September 2019 | Accepted: 8 January 2020 | Published: 18 March 2020

Abstract
Emotionalization is increasingly used in the daily news. However, communication scholars have only just begun to explore how journalists use emotionalization in coverage of scientific and environmental topics. This study contributes to filling this research gap by investigating emotionalization in reporting on honey bee colony losses. The aim of the study is to analyze the amount of emotionalization that took place, as well as to observe changes over time. Emotionalization is assessed in two ways; by analyzing to what extent journalists (1) explicitly mentioned discrete emotions in news stories (joy, hope, fear, anger, etc.) and/or (2) used rhetorical devices to evoke emotions (affective vocabulary, metaphors, colloquial language, superlatives, etc.). Results from a quantitative content analysis of four Austrian newspapers in 2010/2011, 2013/2014, and 2017/2018 show that the coverage is highly emotionalized across all three time periods studied. Emotionalization occurs far more often by using rhetorical devices than by explicitly mentioning positive or negative emotions. Interestingly, the incorporation of emotional elements and scientific expertise in the news items do not exclude one another. Hence, there seems to be no strict dichotomy between rational/objective and emotional reporting.

Keywords
content analysis; emotionalization; emotions; environmental communication; quality newspapers; science communication; tabloid newspapers

1. Introduction
Journalism has the potential to contribute to a well-informed and proactive citizenry by reporting on environmental issues. Accordingly, communication scholars are interested in investigating what kind of media coverage is best-suited for presenting information in a comprehensible way and for fostering engagement. For instance, research on climate change media reporting shows that journalists use adjectives and personal vignettes to generate feelings (Han, Sun, & Lu, 2017), and that emotions evoked by media coverage on climate change can influence one’s willingness to make sacrifices for climate change (Bilandzic, Kalch, & Soentgen, 2017). Hence, it is important to know the precise details on how media coverage on environmental issues is presented. However, surprisingly little is known so far in this regard. This is where our study comes in. We analyze emotionalization in media reporting on environmental issues by using the case of the colony collapse disorder (CCD). CCD describes the syndrome of “large-scale, unexplained losses of managed honey bee (Apis mellifera L.) colonies” (vanEngelsdorp et al., 2009, p. 1). The case of the CCD is especially interesting as it is less researched than other environmental topics that call for action such as climate change (Cho, 2010; Smith & Saunders, 2016; Suryanarayanan & Kleinman, 2012). Recent research shows increasing emotionalization in daily news (Donsbach & Büttner, 2005; Magin, 2017). Accordingly, this study aims to investigate whether this is
also true for media coverage on honey bee colony losses. More specifically, this article aims to show how emotionalized media coverage on honey bee colony losses is and whether changes can be observed over time as well as differences between the newspaper analyzed. To do so, we conducted a quantitative content analysis of news stories in Austrian daily newspapers from 2010 to 2018. In the following, we elaborate on the theoretical concept of emotionalization before presenting and discussing the empirical results.

2. Emotionalization

2.1. Emotionalization of Media Content

Emotionalization can be defined as the “intentional evoking of emotions” (Flemming, Cress, Kimmig, Brandt, & Kimmerle, 2018, p. 3). Communication scholars are interested in investigating how journalists (and other societal actors) evoke emotions and how it affects several outcomes (for an overview, see Schramm & Wirth, 2006). For instance, emotionalization has been studied as a news value (Elders, 1997; Schulz, 1977), as an indicator of tabloidization (Donsbach & Büttner, 2005; Magin, 2017), as well as in specific thematic contexts such as political communication (Brosda, 2002), natural disaster reporting (Zeller, Arlt, & Wolling, 2014) or news reporting on terrorism (Cho et al., 2003; Gerhards, Schäfer, Al Jabiri, & Seifert, 2011). Research suggests that emotions are a common feature in news coverage. For example, Uribe and Gunter (2007) showed that in 2002/2003, around 40% of British daily TV news stories contained verbal emotionality. Similarly, Leidenberger (2015) found that in 2010, 43% of German TV news items had textual emotionalization. However, the levels of emotionalization seem to vary between media outlets. For instance, Gerhards et al. (2011) found differences regarding the type of emotions used in the news coverage between the German public TV broadcast and private TV broadcasts; the private one included more positive emotions—such as hope—than the public one. The public TV broadcast entailed more sadness than the private one. Leidenberger (2015) identified differences in the use of rhetorical categories to evoke emotions. For instance, the private TV broadcast showed higher levels of coloquial language than the public one. When it comes to the printed media, it is interesting to what extent differences can be observed between elite newspapers and tabloids.

Research also reveals that journalists increasingly incorporate emotional elements in news stories. Donsbach and Büttner (2005) analyzed German TV news between 1983 and 1998 and found that while overall news contained a higher proportion of factually than emotionally presented news, the use of emotionalized elements in the news stories analyzed has significantly increased over time. Similarly, a study investigating emotionalization in German and Austrian newspapers between 1945 and 2009 shows that headlines are predominantly unemotional. The emotional vocabulary in the headlines nevertheless doubled from every hundredth to every fiftieth word in both countries (Magin, 2017). The increasing emotionalization of media content is evaluated differently by communication scholars. Some scholars speak of emotionalization as a danger and worry that rises in emotionalization, personalization and conflicts in the news might make it even harder for less-involved and less-motivated people to extract valuable information from the news (Donsbach & Büttner, 2005; Kowalewski, 2009). Other scholars criticize how the concept of emotions is treated dismissively when discussed in relation to journalism. Pantti (2010) argues that journalism’s relationship with expressing emotions is a complex one on account of the challenge it poses to the key professional value of objectivity, and that equating more emotions with less journalistic quality is too simplistic. Peters (2011) states that diverse emotional styles in presenting news might help to engage disparate audiences, and goes on to call the traditional news dichotomy (rational/objective vs. emotional) into question. Indeed, research has revealed that scientific findings and emotional elements are sometimes combined in news stories. For instance, Wilms (1994) found that news stories on technology often start with negative emotions in the thematic context of uncertainty. However, in the second paragraph, journalists often subsequently present scientific findings on the topic. These findings suggest that news stories containing emotional elements are not necessarily dominated by emotions throughout the whole story.

Empirical findings on the effects of emotionalized content show no clear picture. While emotionalization has been shown to have negative effects on certain outcomes such as recall (e.g., Brosius, 1993), studies have also found positive effects (e.g., Swim & Bloodhart, 2015). Brosius (1993) showed that emotional pictures led to recall errors and to an overestimation of numbers given in the news text. Brosius argued that these errors occur because emotional pictures focus viewers’ attention on specific parts of the news item. Perceptual judgments that are generalized from these specific parts are used when recalling a news item. Schultheiss and Jenzowsky’s (2000) study revealed that TV infotainment shows with high levels of emotionalization (emotional pictures, music, emotional language) are perceived as less credible than those not containing emotionalizing elements. Meanwhile, contrary to that finding, Brosius and Kayser (1991) found that the information quality of news was rated better when accompanied by emotional pictures. Research also shows that emotional pictures can have a mobilizing effect. More specifically, a study on climate change communication revealed that emotional pictures (polar bears harmed by climate change) motivated participants who developed an empathic perspective toward the animals to donate money to environmental activist groups (Swim & Bloodhart, 2015). Interestingly, fearful messages on climate change...
have been found to be an effective tool for increasing elaboration on information (Meijnders, Midden, & Wilke, 2001) and attracting people’s attention to climate change (O’Neill & Nicholson-Cole, 2009), but do not foster engagement because people feel helpless and overwhelmed. Hence, if scare tactics are used, they should be accompanied by practical advice on the actions that can be taken as a remedy (Reser & Bradley, 2017). In addition, it also depends on the level of fearfulness. Research indicates that readers who got exposed to a high-fear appeal text on climate change were less likely to engage in pro-environmental behavior than those who read a low-fear appeal text (M.-F. Chen, 2016).

2.2. Textual Emotionalization

Leidenberger (2015) identifies three forms of emotionalization: visual emotionalization, textual emotionalization, and emotionalization transmitted through music. In our study, we focus on textual emotionalization. Textual emotionalization in the context of media coverage can be defined as journalists’ use of written language to evoke emotions by including discrete emotions in the text, by using rhetorical devices that evoke emotions, or by reporting on individual cases (Donsbach & Büttner, 2005; Flemming et al., 2018). Accordingly, scholars used different approaches to capture textual emotionalization. While some analyzed emotions that are explicitly mentioned in news articles (e.g., Wilms, 1994; Zeller et al., 2014), others also considered rhetorical devices used by journalists to evoke emotions (e.g., Leidenberger, 2015; Wittwen, 1995).

When analyzing explicitly mentioned emotions, scholars typically use a list of terms containing positive and negative emotions. Emotions can be approached from two different perspectives: there is (1) the dimensional perspective of emotions (Barrett et al., 2007; Rubin & Talarico, 2009; Smith & Ellsworth, 1985) and discrete emotions (Ekman, 1992; Izard, 1977; Panksepp, 1998). The latter is used when investigating explicitly mentioned discrete emotion in news stories. Scholars refer to the psychological concept of primary emotions or basic emotions, i.e., emotions that are “innate, universal, and distinct affective states which evolved to serve adaptive functions” (Piorkowska & Wrobel, 2017, p. 1). Communication scholars are interested in testing whether positive or negative emotions are dominant in the reporting on specific topics or fields. For their part, for instance, Gerhards et al. (2011) investigated the reporting on terrorism and distinguished between positive (e.g., hope), negative (e.g., fear, sadness, anger) and ambivalent emotions (e.g., defiance, astonishment). Not surprisingly, negative emotions were prevalent in news reporting on terrorism. However, this is also true for some other topics that are not inherently negative. For instance, Wilms (1994) analyzed media reports on technology and found that negative emotions are dominant in the news stories analyzed.

Based on literature from linguistics, emotionalization can also be assessed by analyzing rhetorical devices that evoke emotions. A very common rhetorical device for evoking emotions in news stories is the elliptical construction. Elliptical construction means that in a given sentence, some words are omitted (W. Chen, 2016)—for example “Merkel in Paris” instead of “Angela Merkel is in Paris.” Another common rhetorical device uses affective vocabulary such as “martial,” “attack,” “brutal,” “murder,” “malicious,” etc. (Leidenberger, 2015; Mende, 1996). Journalists also use metaphors to evoke emotions in news stories. According to Knowles and Moon (2006), metaphors—the “use of language to refer to something other what it was originally applied to” (p. 3)—constitute a powerful tool in the communication of emotion because they allow writers to present meaning in a more open-ended fashion and they likewise allow readers to extract less narrow interpretations. Metaphors are often used in relation to emotions since emotions are rather abstract and figurative speech facilitates expression of emotions (Foolen, 2012). For instance, one can use “you make my blood boil” as metaphor for anger, or “my heart is on fire” as a metaphor for love (Sandström, 2006). Colloquial language is a rhetorical device characterized by expressivity and vividness (Wittwen, 1995). Finally, superlatives are common devices in journalism often used in headlines (e.g., “the best,” “the worst,” “the most dramatic”).

2.3. Research Questions and Hypotheses

Informed by this literature, we formulate research questions and hypotheses. Prior research has shown that with a share of around 40%, emotions are a common feature in news stories (Leidenberger, 2015; Uribe & Gunter, 2007). We are interested in investigating the extent to which the coverage on honey bee colony losses is emotionalized.

RQ1: To what extent is textual emotionalization used in media coverage of honey bee colony losses?

Research has revealed differences in the levels of emotionalization between media outlets (Gerhards et al., 2011; Leidenberger, 2015). Since emotionalization is described as one of the central characteristics of tabloid journalism (Bruck & Stocker, 1996; Reinemann, Stanyer, Scherr, & Legnante, 2011), we expect tabloids to show higher levels of emotionalization than quality papers. We thus formulate the following hypothesis.

H1: Tabloid papers will show higher levels of textual emotionalization in comparison to quality papers.

Prior research has shown that emotionalization has increased in daily news (Donsbach & Büttner, 2005; Magin, 2017). We test whether this likewise applies to the coverage on honey bee colony losses:
H2: The use of textual emotionalization will increase over time.

Finally, we aim to investigate how journalists use emotional and scientific elements in the coverage on honey bee colony losses:

RQ2: To what extent do journalists combine rational/evidence-based elements (scientific findings, scientific expert statements) and emotional elements within news stories?

3. Method

3.1. Sample

To study our research question, we conducted a quantitative content analysis of news stories in Austrian daily newspapers. We selected the two largest daily newspapers in the quality segment in terms of reach (Der Standard: 7.8% and Die Presse: 4.6%) and the two largest daily tabloids in terms of reach (Kronen Zeitung: 27.2% and Heute: 11.6%; see Media Analyse, 2018). We investigated three discrete time periods: (1) 2010/2011, (2) 2013/2014, and (3) 2017/2018. While the first two time periods were selected because of their proximity to important policy decisions related to bees and pesticides, the last time period was selected based on its proximity to the study date. More specifically, the starting point was chosen because in that month, the EU announced a budget increase of financial support for beekeeping (European Commission, 2010). The second relevant date was Austria’s vote against the pesticide ban in the EU in 2013. As a last point in time, the current year at the time of the data collection was chosen. By using a keyword search (“bee death”) in the digital newspaper archive database “APA Online Manager Library,” we identified 287 relevant news stories. The original keyword in German was “Bienensterben” which is the commonly and predominantly used term in the public debate. 56.8% of all articles appeared in the tabloid Kronen Zeitung, 18.8% in the quality paper Der Standard, 17.8% in the quality newspaper Die Presse and 6.6% in the tabloid Heute. For an overview of the newspaper articles analyzed, see Table 1.

3.2. Measurement

Building on prior research, we included 48 categories in our codebook. Besides formal categories (ID, newspaper, date, headline, genre, division, topic, etc.), we used the following categories to capture emotionalization in detail.

Explicit mention of discrete emotions: Prior research has led to several lists of discrete emotions. Scant agreement however exists on how many emotions constitute basic ones. The number of emotions included in the list of basic emotions varies thus accordingly (e.g., Ekman, 1992; Izard, 1977; Panksepp, 2007; Plutchik, 2003; Scherer, 2003; Strapparava & Mihalcea, 2010; Turner & Stets, 2005; for criticism of the basic emotions approach, see Cohen, 2005; Ortony & Turner, 1990). We expand on lists that have hitherto been applied in communication research (Gerhards et al., 2011; Renaud & Unz, 2006; Saxer & Märki-Koepf, 1992; Wilms, 1994; Zeller et al., 2014). Building on this literature, we have created a list of positive and negative emotions. Positive emotions include pride, hope, joy, pleasure, compassion, calm, longing, affection, satisfaction, fascination, emotion, surprise, courage. Negative emotions include guilt, fear, anxiety, grief, anger, rage, dislike, aggression, restlessness, disgust, contempt. In addition, positive or negative emotions found in the texts that were not listed were entered into an open-ended category. For example, our list of negative emotions contained the word “fear.” In the text, the coder found the word “panic,” which means “a sudden strong feeling of fear” (panic, n.d.) and hence could be clearly identified as an emotion by the coder. The coder then entered “panic” into the open-ended category. In addition, the category “negative emotion” was coded as “yes.” Hence, emotions deduced from the text were treated the same as emotions coded based on the list. The goal was to be able to capture the full range of possible emotions encapsulated in news stories.

Rhetorical devices that evoke emotions: We coded rhetorical categories that evoke emotions developed by Wittgen (1995). The list of the rhetorical devices contained the following eight types: affective vocabulary (e.g., “dramatic,” “disastrous”), colloquial language (e.g., “Yeah!”), superlatives (e.g., “best,” “worst”), metaphors (e.g. honey as the “sweet gold”), exclamation marks for emphasizing something (!), expressive word order (e.g., “no money, no hope”), elliptical construction (e.g., Crocus in November!), and colon construction (e.g., “or: no more bees!”). We added two types from the study of Leidenberger (2015): we-construction (e.g., “our bees,” “our nature”) and neologism (creating a new word or expression, e.g., “Bienenpapst,” translation: “Pope of the bees”). For each rhetorical category, we coded yes/no.

Table 1. Investigation period.

| Investigation period | Years       | Exact date          | n  |
|----------------------|-------------|---------------------|----|
| 1                    | 2010/2011   | 01.09.2010–01.09.2011| 40 |
| 2                    | 2013/2014   | 01.05.2013–01.05.2014| 186|
| 3                    | 2017/2018   | 01.09.2017–01.09.2018| 61 |
| Total                |             |                     | 287|
**Reference to science:** We coded whether journalists referred to scientific findings or included statements from scientific experts in the news stories.

**Intercoder reliability:** All news stories were coded manually by two coders. Intercoder reliability between the two coders was calculated using Holsti's formula of inter-coder agreement. Intercoder reliability ranges from .69 (we-construction) to 1.00 (formal categories). Given that the study at hand also contained exploratory elements, coefficients of .70 are appropriate (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Bracken, 2002).

## 4. Results

In total, 287 articles were analyzed. Results show that in 198 articles (69%), honey bee colony losses were reported as the main topic of the article. Moreover, in 39 articles (13.6%), they were incorporated as a subtopic, and in 50 articles (17.4%), journalists just referenced the term “bee death” without going into details. Articles belonging to the latter category were excluded by further steps of analysis.

The first research question (RQ1) asked how emotionalized the media coverage on honey bee colony losses is. Results show that 94.5% of the 237 articles coded contained emotionalizing elements. Regardless of whether honey bee colony losses were reported as a main topic or as a subtopic—the share of articles containing emotionalization is very similar for both types of reporting (main topic: 94.4%; subtopic: 94.9%; \( p = 1.000 \); Fisher’s Exact Test).

Interestingly, emotionalization occurred far more often by using rhetorical devices rather than by explicitly mentioning positive or negative emotions. Only in 38.4% of the articles coded did journalists *explicitly mention emotions*. More specifically, 17.3% of all articles mentioned only positive emotions, whilst 21.1% of all coded articles mentioned only negative emotions, and 4.2% included both positive and negative emotions. Table 2 shows examples of how positive and negative emotions were used in the media coverage.

Besides explicitly mentioning positive or negative emotions, journalists also used different *rhetorical devices* to evoke emotions. For instance, we identified a broad range of different metaphors (e.g., honey described as “sweet gold,” or “beekeepers show heart for bees”) and neologisms (e.g., “bee killer” or “bee disaster”). Journalists also applied “humanization” of bees by describing bees as “hard-working staff,” by writing that “Maja the bee is finally able to laugh again,” or by stating that “the bees say thank you.”

The next hypothesis (H1) expected higher levels of emotionalization in the tabloids analyzed compared to the quality newspapers. Results in Table 3 show that indeed tabloids feature a higher share of articles containing any kind of emotional element compared to quality papers. Hence, our data support H1.

Interestingly, *explicitly* mentioning emotions occurs in a similar amount in quality and tabloid papers (quality papers: 40.5% vs. tabloid: 37.5%; \( \chi^2 = .238, df = 1, p = .626 \)). It is the use of rhetorical devices to evoke emotions where tabloids show higher levels than quality pa-

| Table 2. Examples of how journalists incorporated positive and negative emotions in news stories. |
|---|
| Emotion | Sentences used in media reports |
| **Positive Emotions** |  |
| Hope | Hope for increased bee protection |
| Joy | Maja the bee would have enjoyed it |
| Love | Austrians love nature |
| Luck | Luckily, such a horror scenario is a long way off |
| Sympathy | Beekeepers feel people’s sympathy towards bees |
| **Negative Emotions** |  |
| Fear | Beekeepers fear honey bee colony losses |
| Worry | Beekeepers are worried |
| Sadness | The sad future awaiting our kids |
| Outrage | Citizens are outraged |
| Despair | A desperate push by local environmentalists to save our bees |
| Panic | Panic reaction by the European Commission |

| Table 3. Emotionalization in quality and tabloid papers. |
|---|
| Emotionalization | Quality papers | Tabloid papers | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 89.3% (75) | 97.4% (149) | 94.5% (224) |
| No | 10.7% (9) | 2.6% (4) | 5.5% (13) |
| Total | 100% (84) | 100% (153) | 100% (237) |

Notes: Table reports percentages and number of cases (in parentheses). \( p = .014 \); Fisher’s Exact Test; sig. 2-sided.
The following examples illustrate two possibilities for how emotionalization and references to science can be combined in an article: (1) a journalist combined the two elements by reporting on new scientific findings related to the honey bee colony losses and also by using rhetorical devices to evoke emotions, or (2) the statement of the scientist includes rhetorical devices for evoking emotions. For example, a biologist said in an interview: “I think you’ve never held a bee in your hand that has been poisoned…puts out its feelers to you and looks at you while dying.” In this case, the scientist was the one to evoke emotions.

5. Conclusions

This study investigated emotionalization in media reporting on honey bee colony losses. Results from content analysis of news stories in Austrian newspapers indicate that the media coverage of honey bee colony losses was highly emotionalized across all three time periods of focus. There was no significant increase over time. While prior research found an increase of emotionalization in the daily news (Donsbach & Büttner, 2005; Magin, 2017),...
Emotionalization occurred far more often by using rhetorical devices than by explicitly mentioning discrete positive or negative emotions. Emotion and scientific expertise did not exclude one another. Interestingly, we also found an example where a statement from a scientific expert contained emotional elements. Hence, future studies could have a closer look at such expert statements and investigate how and to what extent scientists are used as “opportunistic witnesses” (Hagen, 1992) to evoke emotions in news stories on scientific and environmental stories.

This study does not come without limitations. To capture explicitly mentioned emotions, we coded whether or not an article contained positive or negative emotions but did not count the numbers of emotions mentioned within each article. Future studies should assess it more precisely in order to give a more nuanced understanding of the level of emotionalization within each article. Moreover, when interpreting the results, one should be aware that while the first two time periods were selected based on important policy decisions related to bees, the last time period was selected based on its proximity to the study date. Hence, the slightly lower levels of emotionalization (statistically non-significant) in the last time period might have been seen in light of these selection criteria and point toward interesting questions for future research. That is, for example, how do different triggers influence levels of emotionalization in the news stories? And is the emotionalization of the coverage at such a high level because the topic is highly politicized in the Austrian context? Similarly, the search term (German: Bienensterben; translation: “bee death”) used in this study is problematic to some extent. Although it is the predominantly used term in public debate and hence a very effective term for identifying relevant articles, it might have biased the sample since it is an emotionalized term in itself. Hence, while the use of the term “bee” might be too vague, combination of search terms such as “bee*” AND “loss” etc. could be applied. Cross-cultural research is needed to determine whether or not we are talking about a possibly specific case of the honey bee colony losses, the tabloid Kronen Zeitung had by far the most coverage (56.8% of all articles analyzed appeared in this newspaper) and positioned themselves as clearly in favor of “saving the bees.” Hence, analyzing newspaper coverage on the same topic in other countries where quality papers are more influential might show different results. Similarly, analyzing TV and radio news might reveal additional relevant findings, since further strategies for evoking emotions can be analyzed there (visual emotionalization, musical emotionalization). While we focused on analyzing the text, we think that it would be relevant for exploring visual components of printed news stories. Research is needed to capture the power of pictures in evoking emotions in media coverage of science and environmental topics. During the coding process, we noticed that news stories were illustrated by using the same recurring pictures (Maja the bee, a nice big flower with a bee on it, a smiling woman holding a glass of honey, etc.). There seems to be sort of a discrepancy between the text that deals with a serious topic and the positive, beautiful pictures. Experimental studies should investigate whether or not bees might have a similarly mobilizing effect in the fight against the use of pesticides as polar bears have when it comes to sacrificing environmental protection pursuits (Swim & Bloodhart, 2015). Moreover, future experimental studies on the effects of emotions in science and environmental issues should take into account participants’ emotions as mediators (e.g., Bilandzic et al., 2017; Lecheler, Schuck, & de Vreese, 2013).

Despite these limitations, this study provides interesting insights on how journalists evoke emotions when reporting on environmental issues. The study differentiated between explicitly mentioning positive or negative emotions in a news story and using rhetorical devices to evoke emotions. In addition, the study shows that in some cases, emotional and scientific elements are combined in news stories.

Acknowledgments

Open access funding provided by University of Vienna. We would also like to thank the Faculty of Social Science at the University of Vienna for funding the proofreading of the manuscript.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

References

Barrett, L., Lindquist, K., Bliss-Moreau, E., Duncan, S., Gendron, M., Mize, J., & Brennan, L. (2007). Of mice and men: Natural kinds of emotions in the mammalian brain? A response to Panksepp and Izard. Perspectives on Psychological Science, 2(3), 297–312. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-6916.2007.00046.x

Berg, H. (2018). Wissenschaftsjournalismus zwischen Elfenbeinturm und Boulevard: Eine Langzeitanalyse der Wissenschaftsberichterstattung deutscher Zeitungen [Science journalism between ivory tower and boulevard: A long-term analysis of the
Nachrichtenfaktoren und Rezeption.

Bilandzic, H., Kalch, A., & Soentgen, J. (2017). Effects of goal framing and emotions on perceived threat and willingness to sacrifice for climate change. *Science Communication*, 39(4), 466–491. https://doi.org/10.1177/107554701718553

Brosda, C. (2002). “Emotionalisierung” als Merkmal medialer Politikvermittlung. Zur Diskursivität emotionaler Äußerungen und Auftritte von Politikern im Fernsehen [Emotionalization as a characteristic of political communication: On the discourse of emotional statements and media appearances of politicians on TV]. In C. Schicha & C. Brosda (Eds.), *Politikvermittlung in Unterhaltungsformaten* [Communicating politics in entertainment media]. Münster, Hamburg, and London: Lit-Verlag.

Brosius, H.-B. (1993). The effects of emotional pictures in television news. *Communication Research*, 20(1), 105–124. https://doi.org/10.1177/009365093020001005

Brosius, H.-B., & Kayser, S. (1991). Der Einfluss von emotionalen Darstellungen im Fernsehen auf Informationsaufnahme und Urteilsbildung [Effects of emotional pictures in TV on information processing and judgment]. *Mediennpsychologie*, 3, 236–253.

Bruck, P. A., & Stocker, G. (1996). *Die ganz normale Vielfältigkeit des Lesens. Zur Rezeption von Boulevardzeitungen* [The diversity of reading. Consuming tabloid papers]. Münster: LIT.

Chen, M.-F. (2016). Impact of fear appeals on pro-environmental behavior and crucial determinants. *International Journal of Advertising*, 35(1), 74–92. https://doi.org/10.1080/02650487.2015.1101908

Chen, W. (2016). Ellipsis and cognitive semantics. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 6(11), 2134–2139. https://doi.org/10.17507/tpls.0611.10

Cho, A. (2010). “Silence of the bees”: A study of scientific representation in media. Unpublished manuscript. Retrieved from https://nature.berkeley.edu/classes/es196/projects/2010final/ChoA_2010.pdf

Cho, J., Boyle, M., Keum, H., Shevy, M., McLeod, D., Shah, D., & Pan, Z. (2003). Media, terrorism, and emotionality: Emotional differences in media content and public reactions to the September 11th terrorist attacks. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 47(3), 309–327. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15506878jobem4703_1

Cohen, M. A. (2005). Against basic emotions, and toward a comprehensive theory. *The Journal of Mind and Behavior*, 26(4), 229–253.

Donsbach, W., & Büttner, K. (2005). Boulevardisierungstrend in deutschen Fernsehnachrichten [Tabloidization in German TV news]. *Publizistik*, 50(1), 21–38. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11616-005-0116-6

Elders, C. (1997). *Nachrichtenfaktoren und Rezeption. Eine empirische Analyse zur Auswahl und Verarbeitung politischer Information* [News vaules and media use. An empirical analysis on the selection and processing of political content]. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Ekman, P. (1992). Are there basic emotions? *Psychological Review*, 99(3), 550–553.

European Commission. (2010). Increase in the EU support for the beekeeping sector. *European Commission*. Retrieved from http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-10-1121_en.htm

Flemming, D., Cress, U., Kimmig, S., Brandt, M., & Kimmel, J. (2018). Emotionalization in science communication: The impact of narratives and visual representations on knowledge gain and risk perception. *Frontiers in Communication*, 3(3), 1–9. https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomm.2018.00003

Foolen, A. (2012). The relevance of emotion for language and linguistics. In A. Foolen, U. M. Lüdtke, T. P. Racine, & Zlinatev, J. (Eds.), *Moving ourselves, moving others. Motion and emotion in intersubjectivity, consciousness and language* (pp. 347–368). Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/ceb.6.13foo

Gerhards, J., Schäfer, M. S., Al Jabiri, I., & Seifert, J. (2011). *Terrorismus in den Medien. Formate, Inhalte und Emotionen in westlichen und arabischen Sendern* [Terrorism and media. Formats, content and emotions in Western and Arabic media]. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.

Hagen, L. (1992): Die opportunen Zeugen. Konstruktionsmechanismen von Bias in der Zeitungsberichterstattung über die Volkszählungsdiskussion [Opportune witnesses. Constructing bias in media coverage of discussions on population census]. *Publizistik*, 37(4), 444–460.

Han, J., Sun, S., & Lu, Y. (2017). Framing climate change: A content analysis of Chinese mainstream newspapers from 2005 to 2015. *International Journal of Communication*, 11, 2889–2911.

Izard, C. E. (1977). *Human emotions*. New York, NY: Plenum.

Knowles, M., & Moon, R. (2006). *Introducing metaphor*. London: Routledge.

Kowalewski, K. (2009). “Prime-time” für die Wissenschaft? Wissenschaftsberichterstattung in den Hauptfernsehnachrichten in Deutschland und Frankreich [Prime time for science? Science reporting in German and French TV news]. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Lecheler, S., Schuck, A., & de Vreese, C. (2013). Dealing with feelings: Positive and negative discrete emotions as mediators of news framing effects. *Communication: The European Journal of Communication Research*, 38(2), 189–209. https://doi.org/10.1515/commun-2013-0011

Leidenberger, J. (2015). *Boulevardisierung von Fernsehnachrichten. Eine Inhaltsanalyse deutscher und französischer Hauptnachrichtensendungen*. [Tabloidization in German TV news]. Münster, Hamburg, and London: Lit-Verlag.
formed. Media effects on developing opinions on politics. In Kommunikationspolitische und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Forschungsprojekte der Bundesregierung (1974–1978) [Communication policy and communication research projects of the Federal Government (1974–1978)]. Bonn: Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung.

Smith, C., & Ellsworth, P. (1985). Patterns of cognitive appraisal in emotion. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 48(4), 813–838.

Smith, T., & Saunders, M. (2016). Honey bees: The queens of mass media, despite minority rule among insect pollinators. Insect Conservation and Diversity, 9, 384–390. https://doi.org/10.1111/icad.12178

Strapparava, C., & Mihalcea, R. (2010). Annotating and identifying emotions in text. In G. Armano, M. de Gemmis, G. Semeraro, & E. Vargiu (Eds.), Intelligent information access (pp. 21–38). Berlin: Springer-Verlag.

Suryanarayanan, S., & Kleinman, D. L. (2012). Be(e)coming experts: The controversy over insecticides in the honey bee colony collapse disorder. Social Studies of Science, 43(2), 215–240. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306312712466186

Swim, J., & Bloodhart, B. (2015). Portraying the perils to polar bears: The role of empathic and objective perspective-taking toward animals in climate change communication. Environmental Communication, 9(4), 446–468. https://doi.org/10.1080/17524032.2014.987304

Turner, J., & Stets, J. E. (2005). The sociology of emotions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Uribe, R., & Gunter, B. (2007). Are ‘sensational’ news stories more likely to trigger viewers’ emotions than non-sensational news stories? A content analysis of British TV news. European Journal of Communication, 22(2), 207–228.

vanEngelsdorp, D., Evans, J. D., Saegerman, C., Mullin, C., Haubrude, E., Nguyen, B. K. . . . Pettis, J. S. (2009). Colony collapse disorder: A descriptive study. PLoS ONE, 4(8), e6481. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0006481

Wilms, B. (1994). “Emotionen” im Spiegel der Technikberichterstattung: Eine Inhaltsanalyse ausgewählter Tageszeitungen am Beispiel des Kölner Petuniexpoeriments [Emotions in the reporting on technology. A content analysis of the coverage on the experiments on petunia in Cologne in printed newspapers]. Münster: Lit-Verlag.

Wittwen, A. (1995). Infotainment. Fernsehnachrichten zwischen Information und Unterhaltung [Infotainment. TV News between information and entertainment]. Bern: P. Lang

Zeller, F., Arlt, D., & Wolling, J. (2014). Emotionalisierte Berichterstattung? Wie die Presse in Großbritannien, den USA und Deutschland über die Folgen des Erdbebens und des Tsunamis in Japan berichtete [Emotionalized coverage? How the press in the UK, US and Germany reported on the consequences of the earthquake and tsunami in Japan]. In J. Wolling & D. Arlt (Eds.), Fukushima und die Folgen: Medienberichterstattung, Öffentliche Meinung, Politische Konsequenzen [Fukushima and its consequences: Media reports, public opinion, and political consequences] (pp. 183–209). Ilmenau: Universitäts-Verlag Ilmenau.

About the Authors

Brigitte Huber is a Post Doc at the Department of Communication at the University of Vienna. She finished her PhD at the University of Vienna in 2013, worked as a Post Doc at the Department of Communication Science and Media Research at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, and came back to the University of Vienna to join the Media Innovation Lab in 2014. Her research interests include science communication, political communication, journalism studies, and social media.

Ingrid Aichberger worked as a Senior Scientist at the Department of Communication Studies at the University of Salzburg. She received her master in communication sciences at the University of Vienna in 2009, and worked as a Research Assistant in several research projects for university and non-university research institutions in Austria. Her research interests include science communication, social media, journalism studies, and mediatization research.